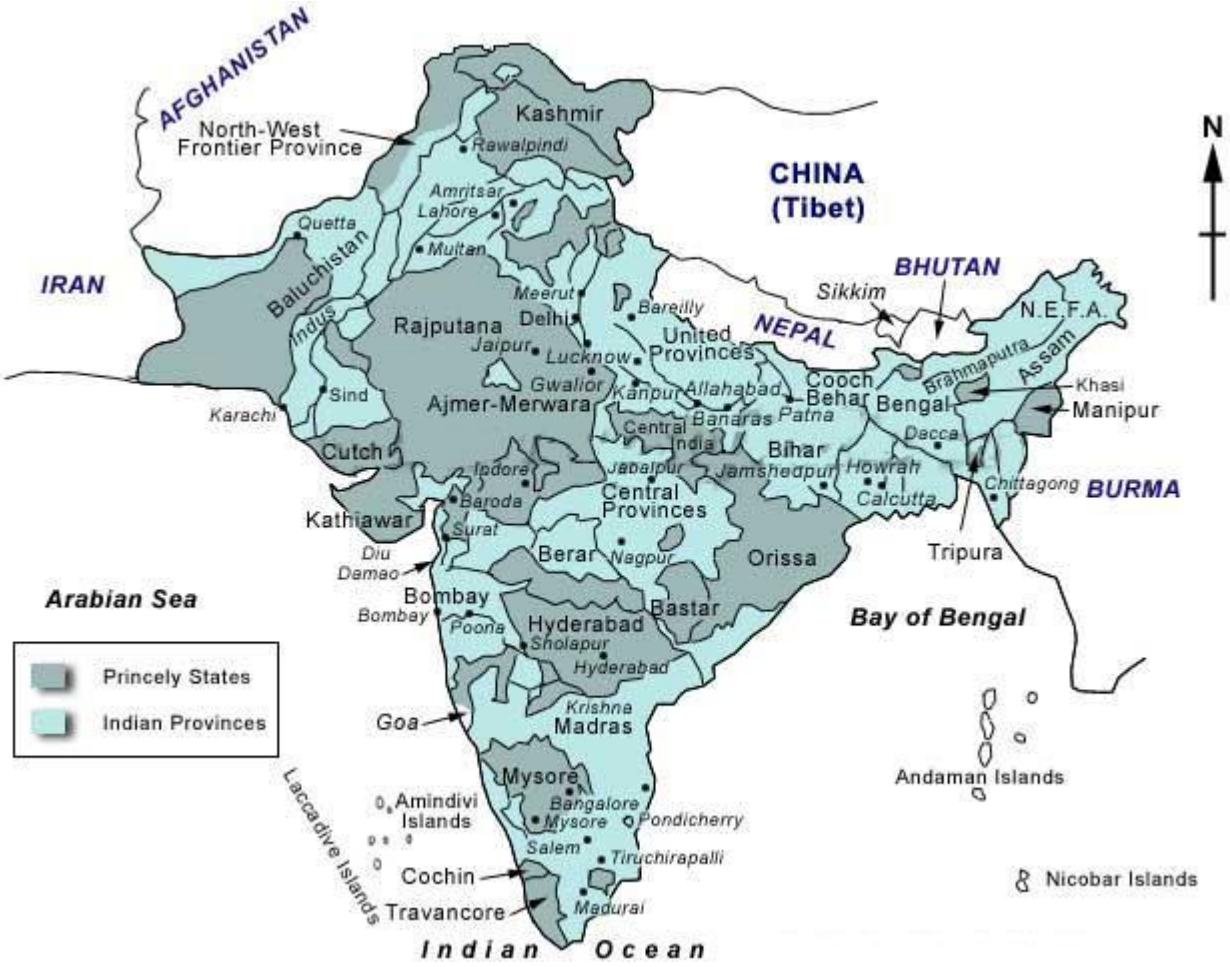
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Lecture 1

People in India

(A Historical Perspective)



Sub-continent is a part of the Asia region and the North side on the upper side of the map, South on the downside, East on the right side and West on the left side. In this map, the mountain territory on the north side and the world's highest peak of the Himalayas that are situated on the Northern side of the Sub-continent. It's been said that the weather of this region will be cold like China and Russia without the Himalayas territory. On the other side, this mountain side served as a defensive line which benefited Hindustan because this region limited the attacks from the north side region. Though, it's been witnessed in past that Hindustan was invaded from the north side of the country. The Aryans came into Sub-continent years ago during the 1700-1500 BCE. Indian ocean is situated on the south side of Hindustan and it has its significance. Because it connects two big oceans named the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic

Ocean respectively. On the other side, this ocean side is significant for defense purposes for Hindustan and it's also an important region for trade. On the west side of the Sub-continent, where Pakistan is situated that's actually a part of Muslim world. Muslim world starts from this point and reaches to Arabian sea and connect with Middle East. On one side it stretches to African Northern area and on the other side it reached to Turkey. It also connects with North side countries which were established after the fall of communism of Soviet Union. South East area is a part of Hindustan's own land alongside Pakistan and contrary, other side covers the area of Indo-China, China, Japan and Pacific Ocean. West side is a part of Muslim world and East side is a part of Hindu world. This region has multiculturalism, multi religious value system, multi linguistic system and, in geographical context, it exists in regionalism. Sub-continent is a mixture of sociolect-cultural-political-economic. This region demands for a government that's centralized in nature in order to maintain the uniformity in the region. Perhaps that's the only reason, in history of Hindustan, this region has put a lot emphasis on centralization. These selected segments that were spread in all corners because of multiculturalism and social diversity. So, a centralized form of administration had always been fond necessary for socio-political-economic development of sub-continent. If we want to study about Pakistan, so, it's important to keep in touch with historical foundations, geographical foundations, sociocultural foundations, economic foundations and ideological foundations. India has been always divided into very wide range of regionalism and that had always created a problem of national integration. Thus, the political development problem with reference to geographical situation of the country had always been there for the administrative issues of the country.

The history of Sub-continent is divided into three major eras.

1) Ancient India

2) Medieval India

3) Modern India

Ancient India

Ancient India was covered by the Aryans and Dravidian's, the medieval India was covered by Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghans and Mughal (Muslims) and the modern India was covered by British Imperialism (Christians). The ancient India was covered by religion Hinduism and the different religions of the native Indians called Dravidian's. The Medieval India was covered by

the Muslim world by the religion of Islam and British India continued its political set up in the Sub-continent mostly with administrative system. It continued the religious fellow's system with Hinduism on the one hand and Islam on the other hand. It was not surprising that the British government didn't immediately change the Hindu laws and the Muslim laws in the Sub-continent.

According to history, the roots of ancient civilizations in the Sub-continent goes long way back, this date backs to 15 BCE century when Aryans entered into Sub-continent from Central Asia. Aryans were warriors, they were fighters and they came into the Sub-continent through the northern region. Aryans settled in the northern region and ignore the southern part where new race was already living in India during those days under their racial name of Dravidian's. Therefore, Indian became a combination of the two races i.e. Aryans and the Dravidian's. It's a common notion that Hindustan doesn't anything of its own rather borrowed from outside world. For instance, religions, languages, culture and its administration. For example, when the Aryans came, they brought themselves with Hindu religion, the Sanskrit language and their own socio-political and cultural value system. In other words, they brought caste system with reference to religion. They brought Brahmin, they brought Kshatriyas, and they brought Vaishyas and those people who were the native Indians "Dravidian's".

Then they brought Sanskrit with them and Sanskrit expanded in India as Indian language during their 700 years long stay. That's why we are unfamiliar with original language because Sanskrit accepted and used as the official language of India. This language was once forgotten for a quiet period of time but in the recent times a lot focus has been put on its usage. It's pertinent to highlight the contribution of ancient India. To begin with the most significant contribution of ancient India had been that it was basically an agrarian culture. Dravidians settled in rural places as there were no urban places. On the other hand, India was itself a rural society. That's why whole India under Aryans became the part agrarian society. Another noteworthy point of agrarian society is that the elder family members were considered most respected member and that's why family system emerged. Similarly, a lot focus had put on the caste system in Hinduism. That's why group system emerged because of caste system instead of professionalism.

Caste System

Caste system led towards the development of professionalism, for instance, Brahmin became the priest and a notion surfaced that they are associated with religious matters and they will

serve their role as a connection between God and people. That's how temples were accredited with respect and Brahmin cast was considered superior among other caste system in Hinduism. Kshatriyas are the second part of Hindu caste system. Kshatriyas were warriors and they captured the land and became rulers of this land. They started to run the state affairs and sought support of the third cast of Hinduism system "Vaishyas" for that purpose. They were assigned to cater financial administration of Indo-Pakistan's at that time. That's how a political system was formed in the history of ancient India automatically where Brahmin ruled over temples by supervising their religious ideology, Kshatriyas managed powers and Vaishyas managed administration. The last part of the caste system was not from Aryans but from native Indians whom we call "Dravidian's." They were treated as workers and their civilization was considered inferior. Dravidians were labeled them as untouchables by the other casts and kept them out of from their places. That's how ancient India was populated under the banner of agriculture society, caste system and religious influence.

Panchayat System

Panchayat system was the 2nd most prominent things, a panchayat system was established through small councils whose representation was assigned to five individuals. This panchayat system became a center of strong administration in the particular area. These panchayats were assigned the duties of daily business affairs that Deputy Commissioner or Tehsildar perform nowadays. This panchayat system gave birth to new local system in India. Therefore, the foundation of local government actually if we really look into the framework Sub-continent history, we see that it was not the contribution of British rather the British picked up the panchayat system for the foundation of local administration in the Sub-continent. After that we also see that the ancient India with all of these backgrounds with agrarian society, the influence of the family, the influence of the caste system and the influence of panchayat system, India became a society of authoritarian regime. There was a dire need of unity in Hindustan because of regionalism or multiculturalism. They picked up authoritative rule to reach toward unity. That's why despotism rooted automatically in Hindustan and the supremacy of authoritarian rule established. Regionalism emerged as a new phenomenon along with previous concepts. Dravidian's, automatically appeared to regions of the north and the south. India was always ruled by the north. Before the partition of India, it was under the influence of northern region particularly the Uttar Pradesh, they called the united province, the province of Punjab and the up northern area of the land of Kashmir. The southern people always remained a depressing class, their education system, their administrative system, their sociocultural system had been

weak. Even after the partition of India when India became a republic, we see that most of the prime ministers came from the northern area of India, even today, India is ruled by the north and it is in history that it is exceptional that they had few prime ministers and government from the south.

Language in Ancient Period

Aryans brought Sanskrit language with themselves so it became the language of north but in south side, people used to speak many languages like Tamil, Malayalam that are still in practice. Fourteen languages were included in the official languages in Hindustan after partition including Urdu, which emerged within India, and Hindi, which emerged from Sanskrit. That's why Hindustan couldn't reach to a point where it can declare its official language. That shows that regionalism in India was so intense that it is impossible for India to unite its citizens under one language. As a result, today's Hindustan is very much different on the basis of language on its federal system from its Independence and divided its administrative units by establishing new states. For instance, at the time of partition, there were ten states but now it has 27 states on the exact same provinces just because of sociocultural system in which language is an integral part. To conclude, if we thoroughly look into the ancient history coverage of Sub-continent so it established some fact that it was an agrarian society, it was a Hindu society, caste system society, Panchayat system society and it was a regionalism society in which language and authoritarian rule played an important role.

Medieval India

This era is also an interesting part of Sub-continent history because in this era, that stretches to 1000 years, Muslims enter into this region from different part of Muslim world. These people also ruled Sub-continent later on that includes Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghans and Mughals. It's interesting to note that when these people became conqueror in Hindustan over the period of time and they also brought their culture with them. It's usually considered that Islam has its distinguished culture however, these people were the representatives of different local cultures. For instance, Turkish food, Turkish Clothes and Turkish language was different compared to the Arabs, Persians, Afghans and of Mughals. When these people came and settled into Hindustan over the period of time and religion made its place in the region then Muslims communities started to emerge and all of these groups were intermingled. That led towards the development of an Islamic culture instead of Arabs culture, Persians culture, Afghans culture or Mughals culture. That's how the Muslims of Hindustan were known as Muslim community.

Medieval history of this region was different as compared to ancient history. For instance, ancient India was an agrarian society while medieval India was an urban cultural society. The reason was that all of the invaders came from urban areas and they had understanding about urban areas and that's how they started their administration from urbanization. For instance, they ended the Panchayat system from Sub-continent because they were not familiar with Panchayat system in their region.

Religion and Sectarianism in the Sub-continent

The Muslims came into Sub-continent from the different parts of the Muslims world which combined many of the nations such as the Turks, Afghans, Persians and the Mughals but they carried one religious value system that was Islam. Islam entered into the Sub-continent with the influence of the Arabs. It's a very interesting point that we think that Islam entered into Sub-Continent from the time of Muhammad Bin Qasim. That's why we label Sindh region as the Door of Islam. But, on the other hand, according to history Muslims came for trade purpose into this region long time before Muhammad Bin Qasim and settled into the Bengal region. That means Muslim entered into Bengal first compared to Sindh. The process of invasion opened the route of northern that helped the Muslims to invade the south region through Punjab. As an example, you'll find Arabic invaders in southern area like Noor-ul-Islam, Abus-Salam, Shafi-ur-Rehman and Zia-ur-Rehman etc. In the northern side like Punjab there you'll find name like Persian names like Javed, Pervaiz and Nasreen. That shows that Arabs settled in Bengal while Persians settled in Punjab. Historical facts sometimes complicate questions like which side was more influenced by Muslims first. But we label Sindh as Door of Islam because Muhammad Bin Qasim started invasion from Sindh and established its government. Muslims influenced Hindustan greatly and spread a new wave of culture. Muslim invaders not only brought Islam but also brought their culture. As a result, the concept of Muslim community prevailed in Hindustan which let us to forget that either we were Turkish or Arabs or Afghani. Instead, we labeled ourselves as Hindustani and called ourselves as Muslims. That's how a new wave of Muslim community started that led towards the development of new culture and also gave birth to a new language of Urdu in Shah Jahan era. It's hard to tell where foods like Biryani and Qorma and dresses like Shalwar Qameez are Turkish, Persians or Arabic. With the addition of Masalas, Muslims food begun to separate from Hindus. Some of the sectarian's value system started to emerge, some started within while some started from outside like Shias, Sunnis, Wahabis.

Supremacy of Authoritarian Rule

It was exactly like that of the ancient times, the Muslims conquerors who came to India, they established their imperialism with monarchical system. The concept of regionalism, that was a part of ancient India, continued with little addition. For example, there were only two regions in ancient India named as North and South but in Mughal era these regions divided into four parts South, Bengal, Punjab and center Delhi and Agra. This was the reason the British India when established its own administrative system, it had to use the geographical and historical foundation to make India a federal state on the basis of regionalism.

But in Mughal times, Hindustan expanded into administrative system with the efforts of Mughals and Hindustan started to emerge as a united state. Persian remained official language of Hindustan for a period of time till 1855 when Britishers replaced it with English. A new language of this land emerged named as Urdu before the replacement of Persian. The concept of Islamic Community strengthened with the addition of Urdu language along with its unique culture in the world. So, Islamic community became of combination of language and culture and Urdu became a distinguishing feature for Muslims. Ideology was a last contribution of medieval India. In medieval India, the Muslims reliance on religion was so increased that Hindus became jealous and extremists because of it. Hindus isolated themselves from Muslims even after living under Muslims rule for 1000 years because they couldn't absorb Muslims culture. Ideological foundation era which was founded and continued by Mujaddid Ali Saani and Shah Waliullah entered into a new era just because of their efforts.

Modern India

This period was officially started when East Indian Company entered into Sub-continent in 17th century. The British brought a new culture in India. It was a combination of western culture and eastern culture and also it developed a culture which was a combination of Rural-Urban culture. Western culture means western language, western ammunition, western education, and western administration entered into Hindustan. On the other hand, ancient Panchayat system which was abolished in medieval era was restored back by Britishers and also continued the Mughal's urban culture. That's how rural-urban combination emerged. The first contribution of the British empire in the Sub-continent was a cultural value system which created a new kind of culture the combination of Hindu culture, Muslim culture and the western culture. The conflict between the Hinduism and Islam which was also the initiative of British imperialism in the Sub-continent. British contribution is the expanded bureaucratic system in the Sub-

continent. The only difference in British rule was that they divided into three steps. First one was called central government, second one was provincial government and third one was called local government.

Pakistan appeared as a separate country; the credit goes to Britishers because they strengthened the concept of Islamic community by creating conflicts with Hindus through which helped Muslims to recognize their potential. On the other hand, Muslims realized that they can't stand with the concept of minority because of Britishers authoritarian regime and their trust on Hindus superiority.

Conclusion

Number one, India doesn't own anything of its own and Impotent things were imported like Hindu religion, Hindu civilization, Hindu caste system, Hindu Panchayat system was brought by Aryans. Similarly, Islam, Islamic civilization, Islamic languages like Urdu was brought by Muslims.

Lecture 2

Geography and Culture

The Subcontinent is covered by the Indian Ocean in the south, which has significance because it is at the center of the two oceans, the Pacific and Atlantic, and in the north, by the mountains, on the west side, it has the Muslim world, and on the east side, it has the Buddhist world, and itself has a Hindu majority. Therefore, the geography of the Sub-continent itself became a significant part of the study of the Sub-continent.

Geographical and Sociocultural Foundations of Pakistan

“Geography is the study of the natural environment's impact on social and cultural development.” In 1947, Pakistan was created, dividing the Sub-continent into West Pakistan and East Pakistan. West Pakistan included Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan, Punjab, and Sindh, along with FATA and the disputed area of Jammu and Kashmir. East Pakistan comprised Eastern Bengal, establishing Pakistan with a federal government. In 1971, a significant geographical change occurred when East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh.

Figure: 2.1 Map of Pakistan



After 1971 with the creation of Pakistan with new provincial status, and also a change in the name of NWFP which used to be a North west frontier province, now given a new name with the amendment in the constitution Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). Hence geographically speaking Pakistan remain a federal state now with four provinces, Punjab, KPK, Baluchistan, Sindh, and Gilgit Baltistan.

Geography regarding the territorial boundary of a state covers the study of the following:

Table: 2.1 Geographical Divisions

Sr. No.	Geographical Divisions
1.	Regions
2.	Mountains
3.	Deserts
4.	Seas
5.	Plains
6.	Rivers

Regions

Pakistan comprises diverse regions, each contributing to the nation's geographical unity while influencing sociocultural dynamics. Regional studies encompass economic, political, historical, and social aspects, highlighting differences rooted in history and geography.

Punjab: Punjab, a crucial and fertile region, stands out for its economic activities, irrigation, and high population. Historically, it played a significant role, with foreign invaders like the Aryans shaping its civilization. Punjab's geographical importance and mountainous features make it vital for defense.

Baluchistan: Baluchistan's Makran and Kharan areas host inhabitants with diverse origins, including Turkey, Iran, and Africa, leading to a rich blend of cultures and races. The region reflects a mosaic of traditions, creating a unique cultural identity.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK): The Frontier region of KPK retains ancient traditions traced back to the Aryans, contributing to the region's distinct cultural heritage. The Pathan community, with Aryan characteristics, has historically shaped the morale of Punjab.

Sindh: Sindh boasts a cultural influence rooted in Arab traditions. Arabic alphabets are prevalent in the Sindhi language, showcasing the region's rich connection with Arab culture.

Cultural Diversity: The historical and geographical differences across regions have resulted in the dominance of Persian traditions in Punjab, a blend of African, Iranian, Turkish, and Afghani cultures in Baluchistan, Aryan influences in KPK, and Arab cultural elements in Sindh. This diversity highlights the existence of four distinct civilizations within Pakistan's regions.

Regions in Pakistan also cover the mountainous and deserts are following;

Mountainous

Table: 2.2 Mountains of Pakistan

1	Koh-e-Safaid and Waziristan Hills	3	Baluchistan Plateau
2	Suleiman and Kirthar Mountains	4	Potwar Plateau and Salt Range

Deserts

Table: 2.3 Deserts of Pakistan

The Thar Desert (Sindh)	The Cholistan Desert (Punjab)	The Kharan Desert (Baluchistan)

Seas

The southern region of Pakistan is bordered by the Arabian Sea, featuring the longest coastal line in the country, spanning 771 km in Baluchistan alone. In total, Pakistan's coastal areas extend approximately 1100 km, encompassing the provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan. These coastal areas serve as crucial connections to the rest of the world via sea routes, with prominent ports like Gwadar and Karachi playing vital roles.

Historically, the Arabian Sea has been a focal point for international trade and exploration. In the late 15th century, the Portuguese arrived in the Goa area, initiating sea trade that attracted various European powers, including the British, French, and Dutch. This historical significance

has persisted, with the geopolitical importance of Pakistan's sea connecting regions from China to central Asia and parts of the Middle East. The sea route through Pakistan has been of strategic importance for nations seeking access to the Indian Ocean, reinforcing Pakistan's enduring geopolitical significance.

Plains

The plains region of Pakistan is largely covered by Punjab and Sindh, where Punjab is highly fertilized for irrigation purposes. Punjab remain a very significant region, because it was a very important geographical part of Indo-Pakistan. Today Punjab is also a very significant region for irrigation and fertility, and also very important economically.

Rivers

Pakistan is covered with several rivers, such as;

Table: 2.4 Rivers of Pakistan

Indus River	Chenab River	Jhelum River
Sutlej River	Ravi River	Kabul River

The river itself had been very significant for Pakistan, and it is today significant for Pakistan for irrigation and agriculture.

Culture

Definition of the culture is, "way of life based on traditions, value system, norms, and common goal". Pakistani culture covered two aspects.

1. **Multi-cultural Society**
2. **Socially diversified**

Multi-cultural Society

A multi-cultural society is divided into many parts;

Table: 2.5 Attributes of Pakistani Society

Languages	Subcultures	Castes	Tribes
Rural Culture	Mass Culture	Religion	Urban Culture

The foundation of Pakistan, the evolution of Pakistan, and the progress of Pakistan depend on these factors, which we called multiculturalism and a socially diversified society.

National and Regional Languages

Pakistan is multilingual and languages are very important and an essential part of civilization. Owing to its importance we should start with language. Language is interesting because it can be strange, and debatable. After all, at the time of partition, there were different dominant languages in different geographical regions in Pakistan, Punjab (Punjabi), Sindh (Sindhi), Baluchistan (Balochi), NWFP (Pashtun), and Bengal (Bengali) but Urdu language was considered as a national language in Pakistan. The Urdu language is considered the Muslim language because it was started during Muslim reign and it was considered that the Muslims in the Sub-continent speak Urdu. As the Aligarh movement start the Urdu language flourish, and students of Aligarh during the formation of All India Muslim League spread Urdu throughout the Sub-continent. Hence at the time of partition Islam was the bases of the new state while the Urdu language came to Pakistan as the national language.

Sub-cultures

How subcultures are part of multiculturalism in Pakistan, basically Pakistan is a pluralistic cultural society, and Pakistani culture is a mixture of a different cultures. There are two cultures in Pakistan one is the whole Pakistani culture and the other is the regional cultural values system.

Castes/Tribes

In Pakistan's politics caste system plays a dominant role, especially in the politics of Punjab province. On the other side in Baluchistan, Sindh, and KPK the tribal system plays the same role in politics as the caste system in Punjab. The tribe system always remained significant in Pakistan politics.

Rural and Urban Culture

Ancient India, including Pakistan, was predominantly rural. Even today, Pakistan is largely an agricultural society, with irrigation and farming playing a vital role in the economy. Traditional rural culture holds significance in politics, driven by family affiliations and caste or tribal

influences, especially in Punjab. This traditional foundation contributes to a distinct political system in Pakistan.

In contrast, urban culture, influenced by the Mughal Empire and later by British policies, holds a unique position. Urbanization began during the Mughal era, and British rule further shaped urban and rural dynamics. Three distinct cultures emerged - metropolitan, city, and town - with town culture bridging the gap between rural and city cultures. Cities like Lahore and Karachi exemplify this blend of metropolitan, city, and town cultures.

Urban vs. Rural Culture: The primary distinction lies in traditions (rural) versus modernity (urban). Urbanization is not synonymous with Westernization; instead, it represents a shift towards modern lifestyles and systems.

Mass Culture

Encompassing the common people, including the poor and middle class, mass culture differs from elite culture in lifestyle and political participation. During unrest, the mass may actively participate in demonstrations, unlike the elite who prioritize business stability.

Elite Culture

Associated with the upper class, elite culture includes both wealthy individuals and influential figures within various sectors. Political acts by leaders from the poor, though not economically elite, can still be considered politically elite.

Religion

Divided into state religion (e.g., Islam in Pakistan) and sectarian divisions, religion plays a significant role in shaping cultural dynamics. Both Islam as a religion and different sects contribute distinctively to politics.

Socially Diversified

Our culturally diverse nation is characterized by a socially stratified society, where individuals are classified into various groups, including the rich, poor, managers, workers, officers, subordinates, teachers, and students.

Rich Class

The affluent class, historically and across civilizations, has consistently held a prominent position. Wealth bestows power, importance, and societal standing. Despite being a minority,

the rich exert significant influence, emphasizing the adage that "wealth can buy everything." In this era of industrialization, wealth plays a crucial role, particularly in shaping democratic societies. Wealthy individuals, whether behind the scenes or actively influencing the government, significantly impact society.

Poor Majority

The majority, represented by the poor, influences society through their aspirations, dreams, and active participation in societal processes. Similar to historical trends, contemporary elite classes enjoy economic and political advantages. In democratic systems, although everyone is technically part of the government, practical considerations lead to differing social statuses for the rich and poor.

Manager-Worker Dynamics

The relationship between managers and workers mirrors the economic orientation seen in the rich-poor dynamic. Workers, akin to the poor, experience pressure from authority figures, emphasizing the economically driven nature of this relationship.

Officer-Subordinate & Teacher-Student Dynamics

In the categories of officers and subordinates, and teachers and students, social structures persist. Unlike the rich-poor and manager-worker dynamics, both officers and subordinates, as well as teachers and students, are educated. Officers exert social pressure on subordinates, reflecting a hierarchical relationship.

Our socially diversified society underscores the interplay between wealth, education, and democracy. Understanding these dynamics helps us navigate the intricate fabric of our society, recognizing the significance of each stratum in shaping our collective identity.

Conclusion

The study of geography and the sociocultural foundation of Pakistan gives us a lot of information for our study of Pakistan. We come to understand that Pakistan is a pluralist cultural society, combined with multi-culturalism and social diversities which have been playing a constructive role in the political development of the country.

Lecture 3

Economic Foundations

The economy and society are closely intertwined, as progress in the economy necessitates a deep understanding of history, geography, society, and civilization. History teaches us to learn from past mistakes, while geography provides insights into physical positioning, irrigation, land distribution, and the division of people into rich and poor. In the previous lecture, three key factors were emphasized: history, geography, and society. In this lecture, the economy will be discussed in greater detail, and the role of the economy in improving Pakistan's political and social conditions will also be explored. Similar to history, geography, and society, the economy also needs to be studied thoroughly while examining its past and present position and forecasting its future.

In the historical perspective of the economy, Pakistan is a small country with five geographical units. Geographically, Pakistan's geography places it among the small countries, but its population categorizes it as a large country. Both population and geography play pivotal roles in the economy, as they are integral components of its functioning.

While studying the historical perspective of the economy, it can be traced back to the Indian Sub-continent, where the economy was primarily based on agriculture by the Aryans.

Indo-Pakistan Economy before 1947

Agriculture

The foundation of Indian civilization was rooted in the agriculture sector, which consequently shaped the economic activities of society. Over time, the ancient agrarian society of India transformed into a more efficient agricultural system. Simultaneously, Muslims from the Middle East began to migrate to the Indian Sub-continent. It is worth noting that historically, Muslims such as Arabs, Persians, Afghans, Turks, and Mughals entered India through urban areas and settled in Indian cities. Interestingly, during the reign of Ashoka, a Hindu ruler in ancient India around the 4th century BC, the city of Pataliputra emerged as the largest urban center, not only in India but in the entire world. This highlights the significance of ancient Indian cities like Patna in the Bihar region, which held prominence during the 4th century BC.

Therefore, it is evident that the urban structure during ancient times in India, as well as globally, differed significantly from the urban culture as observed today.

Figure: 3.1 Map of Pakistan Agriculture



As the Muslim period commenced in the Indian Sub-continent, urban centers began to develop, and Muslims settled in cities such as Lahore, Kolkata, Kanpur, Delhi, Mudras, and even Pataliputra transformed into a major city. This period brought about new developments in urban centers, creating a favorable economic environment. Consequently, Indian society underwent a shift from being predominantly rural and agrarian to becoming more urbanized, with limited industrial development. While permanent industries were not yet established, small-scale cottage industries emerged, where individuals would produce local goods. Indian artists played a significant role in this transition from a rural-based society to an urban one. Simultaneously, the influx of foreign invaders such as Afghans, Turks, Arabs, and Mughals brought new forms of business and commercial activities to India, contributing to the flourishing of trade and commerce within the society.

In ancient times, various invaders and traders, including the Chinese, Muslims, and even Alexander the Great, visited India for trade and to acquire fertile lands. The entry of Muslim traders from Central Asia and the Middle East marked a significant period of flourishing trade. During this era, most traders relied on sea routes, but they faced challenges from pirates who looted their ships. To combat these Hindu pirates, the Islamic caliph dispatched Muhammad bin Qasim, who successfully launched a movement against them. Consequently, Islam made its way into the Indian Sub-continent, particularly in Sindh, leading to the establishment of

secure trade routes. This amalgamation of geography, economy, and history contributed to the emergence of a strong economy in India.

However, with the decline of the Mughal Empire, India's economy began to falter. While rulers such as Akbar the Great, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb had made remarkable contributions and established a stable economy, the subsequent Mughal rulers could not maintain that stability. The architectural marvels like the Taj Mahal, built by Shah Jahan, exemplify the grandeur of Mughal craftsmanship. The Taj Mahal's symmetrical design, emphasizing bilateral symmetry along a central axis, stands as a testament to their remarkable work. Alongside such architectural wonders, the Mughal rulers constructed expansive parks and palaces and established an efficient administrative system that bolstered the economy. However, by the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the Indian economy had weakened.

Unfortunately, after the decline of Aurangzeb, the credit for the economic advancements in the Sub-continent was unjustly claimed by the British. Initially entering India as traders during Jahangir's reign, the later Mughal rulers failed to sustain the progress in the economy and trade, which had devastating effects on India. However, with the arrival of the British, colonialism brought certain benefits. They introduced bureaucracy, strengthening both urban and rural systems. Additionally, they brought advancements in science, along with technologies such as electricity, transportation, railways, airplanes, and telephones, establishing a comprehensive communication system in India.

It is undeniable that British colonialism gradually weakened the Mughal empire, and a sense of deprivation grew among the Indian population. On the other hand, the introduction of advanced technology, science, and education brought significant benefits to India, with the British playing a substantial role in modernizing Indian society. However, alongside these developments, the British also exploited Indian resources, particularly in the trade and cotton industries. They produced inexpensive textiles at home and sold them in various regions, such as Asia and Africa, at exorbitant prices, causing the wealth of India to flow into Europe while India fell prey to extreme poverty.

To further their trade and business interests, the British established new cities like Kolkata, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Karachi, and Lahore. Among these, Karachi, Kolkata, Madras, and Bombay held particular importance to the British due to their proximity to the sea, making them centers of modernity and trade. The British focused more on Bombay, Kolkata, and Bengal, as these regions had a high population density.

The focus on technology, science, and urbanization by the British played a significant role in India. They not only introduced advancements in technology, science, bureaucracy, and education but also brought industrialization to the country. The establishment of the railway system and improved communication, including the telephone, contributed to various forms of communication and hinted at the economic development of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. Understanding the historical perspective of the Indian economy is crucial before delving into the present conditions, especially in the context of Pakistan's creation and the subsequent economic position.

In studying the history of the Indian economy, it is important to explore the roles played by rural and urban societies, foreign trade, and the impact of the British on the Indian economy. The British introduced numerous advancements in India. However, upon their departure from India, they shifted their economy and resources to England; as a result, England became prosperous while India remained impoverished. Following the War of Independence in 1857, a new phase commenced in India, characterized by a shift in economic power. The British aligned themselves with Hindus, depriving Muslims of various business and trade opportunities, ultimately leading to a decline in their economic and political status. The Muslims lost their grip on prestigious positions and their identity as a Muslim nation, as business and commercial activities were predominantly controlled by Hindus with the assistance of the British.

When Hindus started the all-India national congress Muslim remain aloof from it, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan forbid Muslims to participate in such political organizations, and he tried to restore the Muslim image in the British eyes through education. The consequences of the Sir Syed Ahmad Khan movement were very significant that the Muslim awaking started to reshape the economic condition that was declining since Aurangzeb's demise, Sir Syed Ahmed Movement create a new spirit in Muslims which played a significant role in the formation of All India Muslim League in 1906.

Feudalism

The British brought two significant elements to India: bureaucracy and feudalism. The introduction of bureaucracy brought about a new political structure in India, promoting and spreading landlordism. As the Mughal economy and Muslim civilization declined, feudalism thrived. It appeared that with industrial development, the agrarian sector also experienced growth, indicating the British involvement in both rural and urban administration.

At the local level, the British implemented the position of commissioner and deputy commissioner for districts. However, educated individuals were scarce in these roles, and the positions were mainly occupied by landlords and wealthy individuals. Consequently, a close relationship developed between the British commissioners and the landlords. Indirectly, the British transferred power to the feudal lords, resulting in the establishment of feudalism alongside bureaucracy as a new system in India. Thus, they left behind three significant developments: industrialization, bureaucracy, and feudalism, which fundamentally transformed the entire Indian system.

Pakistan's Economy at the time of Independence

Pakistan emerged as an independent state in 1947, inheriting a severely deteriorated economic structure characterized by various challenges:

- **Disrupted agriculture**
- **Lack of industrialization**
- **Absence of urban development**
- **Insufficient self-sufficiency in living standards**
- **Mass exodus of refugees from India**
- **Absence of a proper taxation system**
- **Existence of a feudal despotic society**
- **Extremely impoverished economy**
- **Political instability**

These issues posed significant obstacles to Pakistan's economic progress and overall stability during its early years of existence.

Unfortunately, geographically, Pakistan faced challenges of lack of contiguity among its units during the partition. Pakistan consisted of East Pakistan and West Pakistan, separated by thousands of miles. Additionally, Punjab, a significant province, was divided between India and Pakistan, while Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Baluchistan, and Kashmir were included as disputed areas within Pakistan.

Disrupted Agriculture

East Pakistan was characterized by streams, marshes, and small rivers, with a history of strong winds, storms, rains, and hurricanes. It had a high average annual rainfall, making it suitable

for abundant tea and jute production. However, East Pakistan lacked industries and heavily relied on agriculture and fishing. While they cultivated jute, tea, and rice, the excessive rain often disrupted rice cultivation, making it challenging to meet the demands of the growing population.

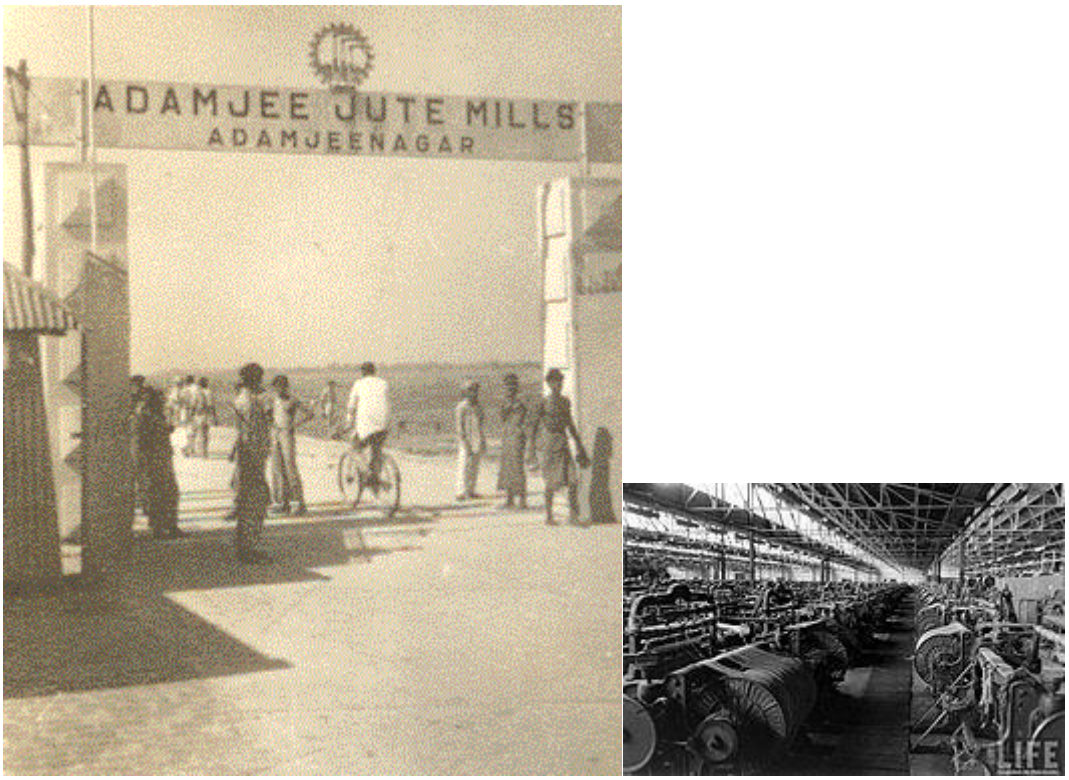
In contrast, West Pakistan, particularly Punjab, possessed fertile land and an extensive canal and river system, which had made it a prominent agricultural region in undivided India. Unfortunately, Punjab suffered greatly during the partition, experiencing numerous riots and clashes. The communal violence resulted in the destruction of the fertile and irrigated land, leaving it neglected for an extended period due to the bloodshed it witnessed. Sindh, on the other hand, had less fertility compared to Punjab, with a significant portion consisting of deserts and marshy lands. It mainly produced goods to fulfill the local population's requirements, thus not playing a strong role in the agricultural sector. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was self-sufficient in agriculture and could meet the population's needs with its fertile and irrigated land. Baluchistan, unfortunately, struggled to meet the population's requirements due to its barren and mountainous terrain. The local population primarily focused on fruit production, which was the main contribution of these areas to agriculture.

Lack of Industrialization

As Pakistan gained independence, it initially had only two prominent industries: jute and tea. However, following the partition, a significant influx of people migrated from India to Pakistan,

particularly to Karachi, and initiated the establishment of industries. Among these industrialists, two names stood out: Dawood and Walika, both of whom hailed from Bombay. These families played a crucial role in introducing the textile industry to Pakistan, marking the beginning of progress in the industrial sector.

Figure: 3.2 Industries 1947….



Absence of Urban Development

Before the partition, cities like Lahore, Karachi, and Dhaka were considered significant urban centers, although they were not as developed as their Indian counterparts such as Kanpur, Mudras, Bombay, and Kolkata, which were rich in industries and had a larger urban presence. Pakistan, being a newly formed state, lacked proper urban centers and industries at that time. Urbanization, a crucial factor for economic development, was absent in the early years of Pakistan's existence.

However, over time, Pakistan has made significant progress in developing urban centers and establishing industries. Cities like Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Karachi, and Multan have now emerged as thriving urban hubs with industrial growth. These cities, which were devoid of industries during the partition, have undergone considerable transformation.

It is worth noting that even in Bengal, which was known for its significant production of jute and tea, most of the exports were directed to India and West Pakistan, and there were limited industries established within Bengal itself.

Insufficient self-sufficiency in Living Standards

Pakistan has consistently maintained a higher standard of living compared to India or Hindus. Even today, if one were to travel from Lahore to Delhi, they would find that the living standards in Lahore are higher than in Delhi. In Pakistan, the middle class or lower-middle-class individuals enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of upper-class Hindus in Delhi. This indicates that while our economy may not be as strong as India's, culturally we are incredibly rich.

On the other hand, it is often said that the public in India is poor while the government is wealthy, whereas in Pakistan, the public is well-off while the government faces financial challenges. This further supports the notion that Pakistan's living standards surpass those of India. Our culture is indeed rich, our lifestyle is affluent, and our standard of living is high. However, it is important to acknowledge that our economy is relatively weak compared to India's. While we earn and spend, Hindus tend to earn and save.

Unfortunately, Pakistan is no longer self-sufficient in terms of living standards. Throughout history, Muslims have witnessed the prosperity of their ancestors and the Mughal rule in India. They experienced a time of economic abundance, and the Mughal era was the pinnacle of Muslim culture. However, over time, this prosperity has been lost. In present-day Pakistan’s weak economy has led to a loss of self-sufficiency in the living standards.

Mass exodus of Refugees from India

The partition of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent in 1947 witnessed an unprecedented mass movement, with a large number of people migrating from India to Pakistan. Pakistan was ill-prepared for the consequences of such a massive migration. Both the general public and even the Muslim League, the ruling party, were uncertain about how to effectively manage the newly established state and determine its governing system. Amidst various challenges, Pakistan had to grapple with the task of accommodating millions of migrants who were moving towards Pakistan without any knowledge about the availability of land, housing, food, and shelter. This unorganized migration rapidly increased Pakistan's population, while the country's economy was ill-equipped to handle such a surge. There were no banks, no industries, and a weak

agricultural sector. Furthermore, the Reserve Bank of India held all the money, and Pakistan did not receive its rightful share from the bank.

Figure: 3.3 Mass exodus of Refugees from India





Even with no currency an old coin was launched in India and Pakistan with King George's photo on it. There was no administrative structure no offices no bureaucracy, mostly lived in India then they shifted to Pakistan and were appointed to be highly ranked in Pakistan.

Absence of a Proper Taxation System

In terms of the economy, Pakistan lacked a proper tax system and a reliable source of income. It is noteworthy that in unified India, an agriculture tax was imposed in Bengal in 1943. However, after the creation of Pakistan, agriculture tax was abolished and has not been imposed to this day. The British were well aware of the significance of agriculture tax, even though Bengal had relatively weaker agricultural capabilities compared to other regions. Nevertheless, Pakistan did not implement an agriculture tax

Existence of a Feudal Despotic Society

In a newly formed state like Pakistan, the preexisting feudal despotic society played a significant role. Landlordism, which exerted authoritarian control over rural areas, gained even more prominence. This shift towards landlordism further destabilized Pakistan's economy, leading to the emergence of a highly impoverished society.

Political Instability & Impoverished Economy

After the formation of Pakistan, the first major challenge it faced was in establishing a political system. Initially, there was no constitution in place, so Pakistan adopted the Indian Act of 1935 as a temporary constitution, along with a parliamentary form of government. As a result, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the Governor-General of Pakistan, and Liaquat Ali Khan assumed the position of Prime Minister.

Since there were no fresh elections held, the Constituent Assembly was formed based on the 1946 elections and given the responsibility of drafting a new constitution for Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the Muslim League held the majority, while in Bengal, the political landscape was different, with the presence of other political groups. Quaid-e-Azam made efforts to manage these differences, but due to declining health, he was unable to fully address the challenges. Liaquat Ali Khan, who was a close associate of Quaid-e-Azam, worked diligently to tackle the initial problems faced by Pakistan.

However, the untimely demise of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had a significant impact. Many landlords took advantage of the state's resources for personal gain, leading to an unstable economy. The early loss of national leadership created a crisis in the political system, resulting in instability and a weak political foundation. This, in turn, adversely affected the economic development of the country. Politicians became more focused on regional politics and engaging in internal conflicts, rather than prioritizing the economy. As a result, Pakistan emerged as a struggling economy, lacking a solid economic foundation.

Lecture 4

Ideological Foundations

Definition and Notion of Ideology

"Ideology is the foundation of thoughts emerging from visionary wisdom, spreading into the socio-political environment of society, and serving as a forceful source guiding the life process of mankind."

An ideology consists of three essential components:

- The agent
- The goal
- The obstacles

The agent refers to the public or a group of people in society who are facing challenges and seeking solutions. From within this group, certain individuals emerge as leaders who provide the public with a goal and lead them towards it. However, they encounter obstacles along the way that hinder their progress. They require someone who can guide them towards their goal and show them the path to overcoming these obstacles.

Explanation

For instance, during the war of independence in the subcontinent, Muslims faced numerous challenges with no apparent solution. Hindus and the British posed as major obstacles. After the war, the blame for the conflicts was unfairly placed on Muslims by the Hindus. In their struggle to overcome these challenges, Muslims sought an ideology or a way forward, which were the ideology of Islam and the creation of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan is deeply rooted in the teachings of the Holy Quran. The Quran serves as a significant source of guidance for Muslims. As Muslims, the Quran and its teachings are of utmost importance. Its teachings provide us with a path to success, enabling us to face obstacles with courage. The ideology of Islam aligns with the ideology of Pakistan.

Islamic ideology is based on two fundamental teachings of the Holy Quran: faith and Islam as a complete code of life. Faith resides within our hearts and cannot be challenged. It is a belief that is not open to debate or interpretation. It is an integral part of our identity. The ingredients of Islamic faith include the concepts of Wahdat (Unity) and Azmat (Greatness), Risalat (Prophethood), and Akhirat

(Hereafter). These aspects are intrinsic to our faith and are not up for discussion. The Madni suras (verses) of the Quran specifically address matters of faith.

Islam: Complete Code of Life

"Islam is a complete code of life, encompassing all aspects of living. It provides guidance for success and offers a proper way of life. Allah has bestowed wisdom upon people to distinguish between right and wrong, use their wisdom to overcome obstacles, and achieve their goals. Islam empowers Muslims to attain success. Thus, Muslims rely on the ideology of Islam to support the ideology of Pakistan and achieve success. The teachings related to a complete code of life can be found in the Madina Munawara, specifically in the Madini Surahs. These Surahs address social setup, ways of life, warfare, relationships, and the economic structure of Muslim society.

Islam is the only religion that gives rise to a culture, whereas other religions are products of culture itself. Interpreting Islam pertains to its teachings and sayings regarding actions or steps. We can understand the conditions and ways Islam prescribes for specific acts. Failure to adhere to these principles may result in being deemed as not acting in accordance with Islam or being considered a weak Muslim rather than a non-Muslim. This establishes a societal structure known as an Islamic society.

Ideology of Pakistan: A Historical Perspective

Hinduism was not limited to the ancient world but also extended to the mid and modern levels of the subcontinent. During this period, the decline of the Mughal Empire began after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir. The downfall of the Mughals was primarily due to their own actions, and the British took advantage of the situation. They established their trade and brought their army to the subcontinent, gradually gaining power. In 1757, they won a significant battle against Siraj-ud-Daulah, with the betrayal of Mir Jafar contributing to the defeat.

From 1757 to 1857, the Muslims experienced a decline while Hindus progressed. Hindus aligned themselves closely with the British, adopting modernization, education, and political participation. The significant event that pushed Muslims further back was the War of Independence in 1857, which started in Meerut. Hindus blamed the Muslims for the war, as Meerut was predominantly Muslim, and the British also held the same belief. As a result, Muslims regressed, while Hindus gained favor with the

British. The progress and development of Muslims were hindered socially, culturally, and economically.

Ideology of Pakistan and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

However, during the British era, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan emerged as a prominent figure who recognized the need for Muslims to establish friendly relations with the British, prioritize education, and avoid involvement in politics. Although this period was not the time of the ideology of Pakistan, it laid the foundation for it. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan led Muslims towards progress while the British aimed to strengthen their social and political setup, leading to the establishment.

Ideology of Pakistan and Allama Iqbal

During that period, Muslims embraced their ideology. Another remarkable figure, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, provided Muslims with a profound vision of their identity and ideology. He merged the ideologies of Islam and Pakistan, blending Western concepts with Eastern (Muslim) thinking.

Allama Iqbal harmonized Western thoughts with Eastern thinking, emphasizing the essence of a nation by associating it with Islam. According to him, humanity had reached a level of maturity where no further revelation or Prophets were required, as the Holy Quran constituted the final revelation and Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was the last Prophet. Allama Iqbal's doctrine of self-consciousness and his emphasis on the religious ideal of Islam were driving forces behind the creation of Pakistan. He also advocated for a separate geographical boundary to nurture the distinct ideology and state of Muslims. He fused Islamic and Pakistani ideologies, with Islam being the foundation and soul of Pakistan. Islam does not reject a secular state, as religion influences the governance of political affairs. Religion is intertwined with political matters, even in countries like America and India. However, the Muslims' concept and system differ, as they are conscious of their Islam and their country.

Conclusion

The ideology of Pakistan is a multi-faceted concept encompassing various components that define the nation's identity and aspirations. It is rooted in the principles of Islam, which provide a moral and ethical framework for society. Additionally, the ideology emphasizes the rights and empowerment of all

citizens, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or social background. It promotes the principles of democracy, justice, and equality, fostering a sense of unity and inclusivity among the people. Moreover, the ideology of Pakistan upholds the importance of economic progress and self-reliance, as well as the preservation of cultural heritage. By embracing these components, Pakistan continues to strive towards its founding vision of a democratic, progressive, and prosperous nation that respects the rights and aspirations of its diverse population.

Lecture 5

Making of Pakistan: Movement for Freedom

The fall of the Mughals marked a significant turning point in the Subcontinent, characterized by sweeping changes. Aurangzeb, a courageous and capable administrator, faced personal challenges during this time. Similar circumstances unfolded with his sons, as each one aspired to be the sole ruler of the entire country, while Aurangzeb intended to divide the kingdom among them. Consequently, a war erupted among the brothers. Muazzam, the eldest son, emerged victorious by killing his three brothers and claiming the throne. However, his rule was short-lived, as he passed away in 1709. Following his death, his four sons fought for kingship, resulting in the partition of Hindustan into multiple territories. The waning power of the Mughal dynasty presented an opportunity for the Hindus to capitalize on the ruling family's weaknesses and strive for independence. Meanwhile, the East India Company was also emerging as a formidable force in the Subcontinent.

Three major events occurred in the Subcontinent:

- The death of Aurangzeb and the decline of the Mughal dynasty.
- The independence of Hindus and their division into multiple states in the Subcontinent.

The rise of the East India Company and British influence in Hindustan.

Freedom Movement: A Historical Account

The British entered Hindustan in 1600 AD after getting a Charter of the trade from Queen Elizabeth, obtaining a charter for trade from the British Parliament. When Jahangir was the King of Hindustan, the British arrived in Bengal. Gradually, they established their presence in Hindustan under the name of the East India Company, bringing guns from England for safety purposes.

With the downfall of the Mughal Empire, Hindus grew stronger while Muslims grew weaker. When the Nawab of Bengal, Ali Wardi Khan, announced Siraj-ud-Daulahas his successor, his sons Mir Jafar Ali Khan and Mir Qasim Ali Khan turned traitors. After fifty years of Aurangzeb's death, the famous Battle of Plassey took place in 1757 between Siraj-ud-Daulah and the East India Company led by Lord Clive. Mir Jafar betrayed Siraj-ud-Daulah, resulting in Siraj-ud-Daulah's defeat and death, and the East India Company took control of Bengal. This

marked the beginning of British rule over Bengal and most of South Asia. At that time, Lord Clive served as the Governor of the East India Company a former clerk.

Major-General Robert Clive, also known as Lord Clive, played a significant role in establishing the military and political supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal. He is recognized as the savior of India and was instrumental in the creation of British India. He also held the position of a Tory Member of Parliament in Great Britain.

One of Lord Clive's major achievements was the Grant of Diwani in 1765, which gave the East India Company the authority to collect revenue from the province of Bengal. This marked the first step towards the East India Company's success in Hindustan during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In 1798, Lord Wellesley, as the Governor General, introduced the subsidiary allowance. He believed that through this measure, the East India Company could gain control over the entire India. The subsidiary allowance required all states and provinces in India to accept the company's governance and allow them to collect revenue. In return, the company would provide defense and support to these states. While some strong states like Mysore, Maharashtra, and Madras refused, the Nizam of Hyderabad, located in the center of India and facing pressure from all sides, accepted the subsidiary allowance. As a result, the East India Company had to engage in wars in India, including the Anglo-Mysore War, Anglo-Burmese War, Anglo-Sindh War, and Anglo-Punjab War. Through their military power, the British gradually gained control over India from 1757 to 1858.

India has witnessed three instances of unity in its history. The first was during Ancient India, under the reign of Ashoka. The second occurred during Medieval India, under the rule of Akbar. The third instance took place in Modern India, under British rule. However, these periods of unity were enforced through force and control. After the events of 1857, a significant turning point in Indian history, the Indian National Movement and the Pakistan National Movement began to take shape. Eventually, Pakistan gained its independence.

The Battle of Plassey on 23 June 1757 marked a significant triumph for the British East India Company over the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies. This victory solidified the Company's rule in Bengal, which later expanded its dominion over most of India for the ensuing century. By bribing Mir Jaffer, the commander in chief of the Nawab's army, Lord

Clive orchestrated an attack on Bengal. The Nawab was ultimately defeated at Plassey in 1757, leading to the capture of Bengal and subsequently vast territories across South Asia.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed, born in Rai Bareilly in 1786, drew immense inspiration from the teachings of Shah Wali Ullah and became a devoted follower of Shah Abdul Aziz, his son. Syed Ahmed Shaheed witnessed with great distress the decline of the Muslim community, both socially and economically. After the events of 1857, Muslims emerged as a distinct nation in the annals of history. As the burden of responsibility for the war fell upon the Muslims, Hindus embarked on self-improvement endeavors. Meanwhile, Muslims faced a decline in various aspects of life, including social, cultural, economic, and political realms. Consequently, the British and Hindus reaped the benefits, with the former gaining control over the government and status of Muslims, while the latter acquired their lands and positions. During the time of Akbar, Hindus enjoyed a higher social status and positions of authority.

After 1858, the Muslim community saw the establishment of India as a colony with the removal of the East India Company. Queen Victoria was declared the Queen of India, and under the Government of India Act of 1858, the East India Company lost all its administrative powers, with the Crown assuming control of its Indian possessions and armed forces. The rule of the country shifted from the East India Company directors to a Secretary of State for India, who was advised by a council appointed by the British Crown. The Crown also directly appointed the governor-general, or viceroy, and provincial governors in India. In 1874, the East India Company was officially dissolved by an Act of Parliament, marking the beginning of the British Raj, which entailed direct imperial rule of India by the British state.

Although the Proclamation of 1858 referred to Lord Canning as the "first Viceroy and Governor-General," subsequent warrants appointing his successors did not use the title 'Viceroy.' Instead, the title was primarily used for ceremonial purposes, particularly about the state and social functions of the Sovereign's representative. The Governor-General remained the sole representative of the British Crown, and the Government of India remained vested in the appointments of the Governor-General of India, made by the British Crown upon the advice of the Secretary of State for India.

The Viceroy, following the model of kingship established by figures like Ashoka and the Mughals, governed India as a colony on behalf of the British Crown. Meanwhile, a division of authority emerged in India, with the Viceroy holding power and Hindus, who were more modern and educated compared to Muslims, assuming greater influence. The British regarded

Hindus as their partners in the government and bureaucracy, while Muslims gradually distanced themselves from education, culture, and government affairs.

Before the 1857 event, known as the War of Independence or the Mutiny by the British, there had been insurgencies and movements led by Syed Ahmad Shaheed and his associates against foreign invaders in the subcontinent. These movements were rooted in the ideology of Jihad against infidel rule. The aftermath of the 1857 event marked a new era for Muslims in the subcontinent, where they emerged as a distinct Muslim community, known as Millet-e-Islamia.

Syed Ahmad Shaheed, who started his mission in 1820, was the son of Shah Wali Ullah and a student of Shah Abdul Aziz. Shah Abdul Aziz had urged his brother to translate the Quran into Urdu, while Shah Wali Ullah had translated the Quran into Farsi (Persian). Syed Ahmad Shaheed took responsibility not only for education but also for practical work. He began his Jihad from Patna, where he met two brothers named Wilait Ali and Anyat Ali. Together, they formed a small group that eventually grew into a larger movement, spreading Jihad throughout the country. This conflict reached Peshawar, where a significant battle took place in Balakot against Ranjit Singh. It was in this battle that Syed Ahmad Shaheed lost his life, marking the end of the Jihad initiated by him. However, the struggle continued until the last member of his group perished.

Emergence of Muslim Nationhood in Indian Sub-continent

After 1857, a new chapter in the history of the Indian subcontinent began. The Muslims were held responsible for the war by the Hindus and the British, resulting in the social, political, and financial weakening of the Muslim community. Furthermore, their Persian culture and language also suffered a decline after the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

The period witnessed a socio-economic decline within the Muslim community, juxtaposed with the social and economic rise of Hindus. This shift in fortunes was influenced by several factors, including the increasing influence of the British in India. British imperialism, coupled with the partnership between the British and the Hindu community, created a dynamic that favored the Hindu population. However, this favorable treatment and emerging modernization among Hindu culture led to the development of a negative attitude towards Muslims. Historically perceiving Muslims as their absolute rulers for nearly a millennium, some Hindus harbored resentment and hostility towards the Muslim community, further exacerbating the socio-economic challenges faced by Muslims.

Amidst these circumstances, notable figures such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy emerged, championing the cause of modernization within Hindu culture. Initiatives like the abolition of Sati, the practice of widows self-immolating upon their husband's death, showcased the progressive mindset and reformist tendencies among Hindus. These movements contributed to the overall transformation and modernization of Hindu society, while Muslims experienced a socio-economic decline. The contrasting trajectories of the two communities underscored the complex dynamics at play during this period of socio-cultural change in India.

Role of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played a pivotal role in revitalizing the Muslim community while simultaneously engaging with the emerging modernization among Hindus. He introduced a new approach through his teachings, focusing on various aspects such as education, science, and technology, and fostering harmony among Muslims, Hindus, and the British. By advocating for education in both Islamic and Western knowledge, as well as promoting vernacular and English languages, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan aimed to equip Muslims with the tools to adapt to a changing world. He also emphasized the importance of keeping away from politics and promoting a peaceful coexistence between different religious and ethnic groups. His efforts were significant in reshaping the mindset and direction of the Muslim community. Sadly, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan passed away in 1898, leaving behind a lasting legacy of educational and social reforms.

Formation of Indian National Congress (1885)

During the same period, significant developments were taking place in the political landscape of the Indian subcontinent. The formation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885 marked a crucial milestone in the aspirations of the Hindu community. Meanwhile, the British implemented various acts such as the Charter Act of 1813, 1833, and 1853, which aimed to exert social, cultural, and administrative influence on Indian society. Additionally, the Indian Council Acts of 1861 and 1892 were adopted, leading to the establishment of a new political framework in the minds of the Hindu community. These changes brought forth novel ideas and visions for the Hindus, shaping their perceptions of governance, society, and their own identity within the evolving socio-political landscape. The evolving political scenario laid the foundation for increased Hindu assertiveness and demands for representation in the government, while Muslims, under the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, pursued their own path of educational and social development.

The period of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan brought hope and change to the Muslims. They began to pursue education and modernize themselves. Sir Syed Ahmed also taught the Muslims not to fight with Hindus and British, but rather to compete with them on sociocultural, educational, and economic levels. During this period, it became evident that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations, although Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had initially advocated for unity. He established institutions for Muslims similar to how Ram Mohan Roy had done for Hindus.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had a visionary outlook, considering both religion and modern culture. Modernization did not imply nudity but rather adapting to the changing times. His efforts focused on the following aspects:

- **Education in both Islamic and Western knowledge, including vernacular and English**
- **Science and technology**
- **Staying away from politics**
- **Promoting harmony among Muslims, Hindus, and the British**

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan established numerous educational institutions not only for Muslims but also for all Indians. He also taught Muslims and Hindus that the British had divided them. His teachings brought about a transformation among Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan passed away in 1898.

On the other hand, the Hindus, who had close ties with the British, also began to aspire for strength. They established the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885, uniting Hindus politically. The INC, founded by retired Civil Service officer Allan Octavian Hume, became a powerful political party in India. While Hindus grew stronger politically, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advised Muslims to abstain from politics and instead foster harmony with other communities.

The Charter Acts of 1813, 1833, and 1853 were implemented to exert British social, political, and administrative influence on Indian society. These acts significantly influenced culture, education, and governance in India. English gradually replaced Persian as the dominant language. The INC, established in 1885, developed a close relationship with the British and began demanding a share of the government from the Viceroy. The Indian Council Acts of 1861 and 1892 were introduced, allocating seats to Indians in the government.

It took nearly twenty years to make it clear that Muslims were not the only participants in the War of Independence. In 1878, the British acknowledged this fact, but apart from that recognition, they did not grant Muslims a share in the government until 1892.

Partition of Bengal

The partition of Bengal in 1905 was carried out by Lord Curzon, the British Viceroy in India, despite strong opposition from Indian nationalists. This division marked a significant turning point for the Indian National Congress, transforming it from a middle-class pressure group into a mass movement with nationwide support. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa had been a single province in British India since 1765. However, by 1900, the province had become too large to administer effectively. East Bengal, due to its isolation and poor communication infrastructure, had been neglected in favor of West Bengal and Bihar.

Lord Curzon selected a partition scheme that involved uniting Assam, which had previously been part of the province until 1874, with 15 districts of East Bengal to form a new province with a population of 31 million. The capital of the new province was Dacca (now Dhaka, Bangladesh), and the majority of its inhabitants were Muslims. The Hindu population of West Bengal, who held significant control over commerce, professions, and rural life in Bengal, protested against the partition. They argued that dividing the Bengali nation in two would make them a minority in a province that included the entirety of Bihar and Orissa. They viewed the partition as an attempt to suppress nationalism in Bengal, where it had developed more strongly than in other regions.

On December 30, 1906, the All-India Muslim League (AIML), popularly known as the Muslim League, was founded in Dhaka, British India (Now Bangladesh). The Indian Councils Act of 1909 and the subsequent annulment of the partition of Bengal were significant events that fueled separatism in India.

Lecture 6

Ideological Movement

The topic under discussion pertains to how the ideological movement of Pakistan contributed to the establishment of a distinct homeland for the Muslims residing in the Sub-continent. Having previously examined the significance and definition of ideology, it is now pertinent to adopt a panoramic perspective of ideology as a movement that emerged within the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. The basis of the ideological movement can be comprehended by studying it from a historical perspective, which involves examining the following three aspects:

1. **The Ancient India**
2. **The Muslim India**
3. **The British India**

The Ancient India

Hindu India refers to ancient India, which traces its origins back to the Aryan invasion of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent from the northern region, followed by their expansion towards the western part through the Indus River. This successful expansion led to the establishment of their empire, and India, known as Bharat, extended its influence to the northern territories, creating a division between the northern and southern regions.

Historically, India was divided into North India and South India. Furthermore, in discussing the historical foundations, it is important to mention the original inhabitants of India, who were segregated from the Aryans and belonged to the Dravidian ethnicity. The caste system emerged, and these individuals were referred to as "Shudras" or "untouchables," which still exist in contemporary India.

A crucial aspect of ancient India, or Hindu India, was the presence of a despotic form of government in the country. The ideological aspect of Hindu governance was based on the despotic rule of the Aryan caste known as the Kshatriyas, who ruled over southern India. This division between North and South India persisted. Later, the Mauryan Empire emerged with a notable king named Ashoka the Great.

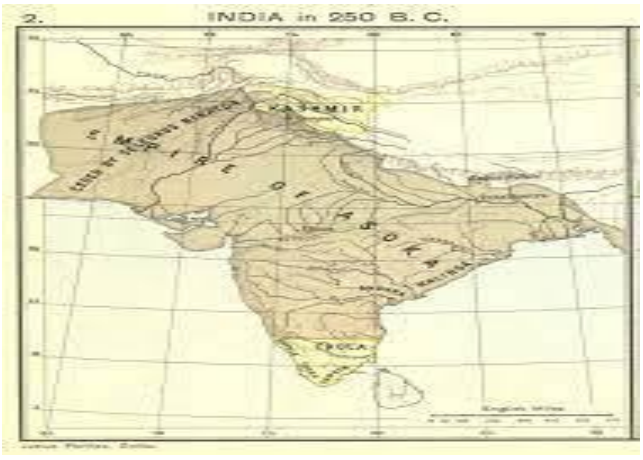
Ashoka was the first ruler in India to unify the country by conquering the southern region. The region now known as Odisha was captured by Ashoka during the famous Kalinga war, which he won, leading to the unification of India through the victory over Kalinga. This marked the

first instance of unifying the Indian empire, and it was achieved through force. As previously mentioned, India has been unified three times in history: in ancient times by Ashoka the Great, in medieval India by Akbar the Great, and during the British era. In each of these instances, the unification of India was based on war rather than negotiation or politics. Consequently, the unification of India relied heavily on the use of force, thereby emphasizing the second aspect, which led to the establishment of despotism within the Indian government system.

Furthermore, Ashoka expanded his empire beyond the southern regions, extending it up to Afghanistan in the northwest. Under the rule of the Maurya Dynasty, Ashoka played a pivotal role in uniting India. However, the aftermath of Ashoka's victory in the Kalinga War left him profoundly disturbed by the bloodshed. Buddhism had already been gaining popularity in India, and due to his deep aversion and anguish resulting from the war, Ashoka embraced Buddhism. The central tenet of Buddhism was nonviolence, and Ashoka transformed into a nonviolent individual, fostering a culture of nonviolence within the Mauryan Empire.

Sadly, the demise of Ashoka and the subsequent decline of the Mauryan Empire brought forth a period of negativity. With the fragmentation of the Mauryan Empire, India became divided into numerous smaller entities. This historical development led to a state of anarchy, as witnessed in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. The disintegration of the Mauryan Empire gave rise to small, anarchical political societies, resulting in a divided and fragmented India.

Figure: 6.1 Map of Ashoka Empire



The Muslim India

The Muslim period in India began with the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 AD. Muhammad bin Qasim's arrival in India was not as a conqueror but rather to address piracy issues in the Arabian Sea. Al-Hajjaj bin Yousef, the responsible Governor, dispatched Muhammad bin Qasim for this campaign, and with his victory over the Indian forces, Islam entered this territory.

During this period, India was influenced by Buddhism, a non-violent ideology that was expanding within the country. While Hinduism did not decline, there were ideological differences between Hinduism and Buddhism. Hinduism was rooted in the violent activities of the Aryans, while Buddhism embraced non-violence as taught by Buddha.

The Khiljis extended their empire in the southern part of India, and subsequently, the Afghans and Turks followed their rule in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. After the Tughlaqs and the Afghans, the Lodhis became the last empire of the Sultanate, eventually losing to the Mughal Empire. The Mughals, led by Babar (a descendant of Changas Khan and Timor Lang), entered India and emerged as a significant force. Babar easily won the Battle of Panipat against Ibrahim Lodhi in 1526 and established the Mughal dynasty. However, Babar's reign was short-lived, and he was succeeded by his son Humayun. Unfortunately, due to various reasons, Humayun could not establish political stability in India and was subsequently removed by Sher Shah Suri, an Afghan who resided in India. Sher Shah Suri, a strong military general, recognized the necessity of establishing an empire. Humayun fled with his wife and sought refuge in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Sher Shah ruled India with a distinctive style different from that of the Afghans and Turks. Sher Shah's notable contribution was the construction of the Grand Trunk Road, famously known as the GT Road, stretching from Kolkata to Peshawar, which still exists today. The purpose of this road was not just communication and transportation but also espionage and political communication, covering the entire geographical area of India. Unfortunately, Sher Shah passed away very early, paving the way for Humayun's return to India and the restoration of his throne.

After Humayun's death, his twelve-year-old son, Akbar, ascended the throne of India. Akbar was raised in a typical Indian society and recognized the importance of ruling India peacefully, politically, and harmoniously, fostering coexistence with the diverse cultures existing in the country. Upon assuming power, Akbar sought to revive the cultural value system in India, which had diminished after the death of Ashoka. Akbar understood that the best way to govern

India was by fostering harmony between the Hindu and Muslim communities in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. He even married a princess from Rajputana, bringing a Hindu wife into the Mughal palace. Akbar's wife, Rani Jodha Bai, steadfastly maintained her Hindu religious practices, which were incorporated into the palace. Akbar's profound influence on Hinduism led him to invite prominent Hindu intellectuals of the time, such as Birbal, Raja Maan Singh, and Raja Todar Mal, who became key members of Akbar's modern cabinet. Consequently, Akbar emerged as a ruler deeply influenced by Hindu religious and cultural values.

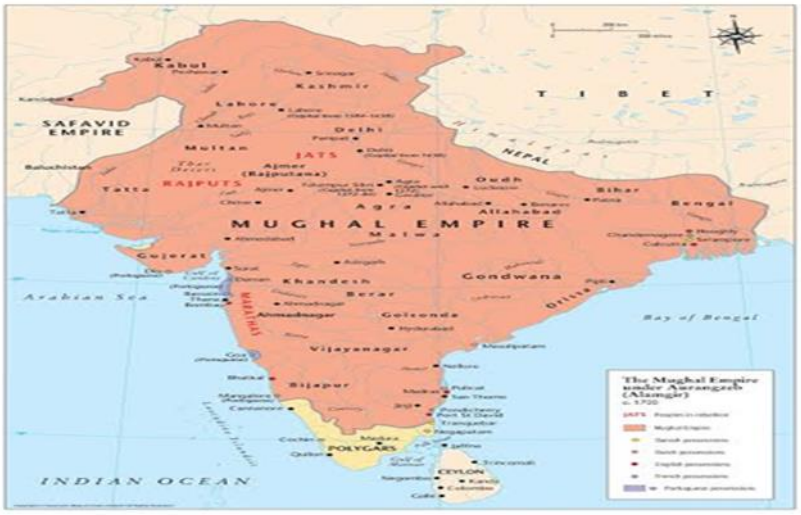
During Emperor Akbar's reign, the Mughals succeeded in uniting India once again. Akbar accomplished this unification by extending his authority over all four boundaries of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent: north, south, east, and west. Akbar's sociocultural system embraced a combination of Hindu and Muslim communities. Although Akbar successfully created harmony between these two cultural value systems, he became so impressed by this harmony that he went to the extent of attempting to establish a new religion in India called Din-e-Elhi. Although Din-e-Elhi did not endure, Akbar firmly believed that for India to be united and peaceful, it needed to harmonize the Hindu and Muslim cultures.

Akbar was succeeded by his son Jahangir, who also married a Hindu wife. Consequently, the influence of Hindu culture persisted in the palace, much like his father's reign. However, Jahangir's son, Shahjahan, born to a Hindu mother, was closely associated with Islamic values. Shahjahan, being an orthodox Muslim, removed many Hindu cultural practices from the palace, leading India to embrace an influential Islamic value system. This transformation was not solely attributed to Shahjahan but was also influenced by Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, popularly known as Mujadid Alif Sani. Although Islam did not establish itself as the dominant religion on the political scene of the Indo-Pak Sub-continent during that time, Aurangzeb laid the foundation for an ideological awakening among Muslims. Notably, an ideological conflict arose between Shahjahan's two sons, Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb. Dara Shikoh closely followed the teachings of his grandfather and great-grandfather, Jahangir and Akbar, and reintroduced ritualistic and cultural values in the palace. On the other hand, Aurangzeb became an orthodox Muslim, influenced by Khawaja Masoom, the grandson of Mujaddid Alif Sani.

Unfortunately, Aurangzeb's strict adherence to Sunni Islam had negative consequences. He attempted to establish a typical Sunni state in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. Although successful in removing his three brothers and capturing the throne in Agra, Aurangzeb's reign

led to the decline of Muslims in the socio-political and economic spheres of the Sub-continent upon his death.

Figure: 6.2 Map of Mughal Empire



The British India

The British presence in India began as a trading company with a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth I in 1600 AD. They established themselves in the city of Kolkata and observed the political decline of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb had removed three of his brothers to ascend the throne, and his eldest son, Moazzam, killed his three brothers to seize power. However, Moazzam's reign was short-lived, as he died in 1709, leaving behind four sons who fought among themselves, leading to the division of India under Mughal rule. The weakening of the later Mughals allowed the Rajas and Maharajas to gain independence, which they had previously threatened during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, and especially Aurangzeb.

The British took advantage of the situation and gradually expanded their control over India after the death of Emperor Jahangir in 1707. Within 50 years, they had established their rule over the entire country. In 1757, the British won the historic Battle of Plassey against Siraj-Ud-Daulah, the Governor of Bengal, and gained governmental control in Bengal. The Grant of Diwani in 1765 further shifted power from the Mughals to the British, granting them the right to collect revenue.

During the medieval period, India had developed a mixed society based on Hindu and Muslim cultures, but with the decline of Aurangzeb, the cultural decline also began. Muslim civilization had deteriorated significantly by 1857. From 1757 to 1857, two emerging powers in India were the British and the Hindus. The Hindus embraced modernity, while the British focused on administration. Under British rule, English culture spread in India, including the language, clothing, and education, which posed challenges for Muslims. Muslims hesitated to align with the British as they were seen as direct rivals, while Hindus developed closer ties with them.

The 1857 War of Independence, though initiated jointly by Hindus and Muslims, was wrongly perceived by the British as a Muslim movement due to their longstanding conflicts with Muslims since 1757. The war began in Meerut, where Muslims were in the majority, but Hindus also actively participated. During this period, an ideological awakening took place among Indian Muslims as they sought to unite based on their religion and strive for separate identities. To understand this awakening, it is important to compare the religious and sociocultural differences between Hindus and Muslims.

Hinduism, the oldest religion in India, originated with the Aryans and encompasses various faiths, beliefs, rituals, practices, and myths. Defining Hinduism as a faith is challenging due to the diversity of beliefs within it. Some Hindus believe in multiple gods, while others adhere to the concept of three major gods: Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu. Hinduism encompasses numerous gods, and sometimes, a stone can be considered a deity when it is accepted as such with utmost devotion. Jawaharlal Nehru once stated, "It is hardly possible to define it." According to him, Hinduism encompasses believers in one god, believers in multiple gods, and even non-believers. Hinduism is not just a religion, but rather a complex combination of beliefs, institutions, and doctrines, making it difficult to comprehend even in modern times.

The Religion Islam

Islam, as a religion distinct from Hinduism, is characterized by its clear and simple principles defined in the Qur'an and Sunnah. A Muslim strictly believes in the oneness of God and follows the guidance outlined in the holy text. The Qur'an states that God has granted life, wisdom, and the ability to distinguish between good and evil to humankind, providing guidance for individuals to choose their path.

Unlike other religions that are shaped by culture, Islam stands as a comprehensive code of life. It goes beyond mere religious practices and encompasses a complete value system. This value

system, consisting of faith, beliefs, rituals, and various practices, forms the foundation of Muslim society. When this value system is internalized, it leads to a value-oriented society where culture and economy are influenced by the principles of the Qur'an and Sunnah. In such a society, Muslims expect fellow believers to adhere to these values and follow the path defined by the holy texts, resulting in the emergence of an Islamic culture.

A comparison between Hinduism and Islam reveals significant differences. For Muslims, the world is a unified entity, and their role is to assert and affirm themselves while upholding moral values derived from the concept of Allah's oneness and greatness. In contrast, Hindus perceive the world as Maya, an illusion, leading them to pursue wealth, which they consider divine. Other disparities exist in areas such as legal systems, personal laws, language, traditions, history, customs, manners, dress, and food preferences. From birth to death, the practices and beliefs of Muslims and Hindus diverge. Muslims consider every child to be born Muslim, while Hindus believe a religious ceremony Hinduizes a baby. Funeral practices also differ, with Hindus cremating their deceased and Muslims burying theirs.

In conclusion, Hindus view India as Bharat Mata, while Muslims see it through the lens of Islam. These ideological differences laid the foundation for a distinct movement in the Sub-continent, led by influential figures such as Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi, Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Shah Abdul Aziz, Syed Ismail Shaheed, and the brothers Waliat Ali and Inayat Ali.

Lecture 7

Historical Movement

The movement for the creation of Pakistan had its origins with the commencement of the War of Independence in 1857. This significant event began on the 10th of May, 1857, in Meerut, a region within the United Province of the Indian Sub-continent. The occurrence triggered various transformations, particularly in the political strategies employed by three distinct groups: the British, Hindus, and Muslims. This event played a crucial role in shaping the trajectory of British and Hindu political aspirations and their subsequent establishment. The War of Independence did not possess religious motivations. The initiation of this phenomenon could be attributed to a combination of economic and socio-cultural factors. However, Hindus attributed the event solely to Muslims, perceiving it as a religious conspiracy against the British.

The Urdu-Hindi Controversy 1867

The Hindi-Urdu controversy experienced an intensification in Hindu revivalist movements, redirecting their attention towards the Muslim community. Hindu nationalism emerged as a counterforce to Muslim nationalism, placing pressure on the Muslim community and prompting them to strategically mobilize for the protection of their interests. The post-1857 period marked the onset of the Hindi-Urdu Controversy, a significant conflict where Hindus challenged the Muslim heritage and the esteemed legacy of the Muslim Empire. Hindus exhibited a bias against Urdu due to its association with the Muslim community. There was a demand for Hindi to be established as the official language, thereby replacing Urdu. In 1867, the Hindu community in Banaras engaged in demonstrations expressing their opposition to the Urdu language. The onset of the Hindi-Urdu controversy was observed. Sir Syed predicted the precarious future of Hindu-Muslim unity regarding this matter. The Hindu community made significant efforts to replace Urdu with Hindi.

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885. The organization in question was initially established by a British individual named A. O. Hume, although it is worth noting that the subsequent members and participants were primarily of Hindu descent. Initially, the organization had a social focus, but within a short span of time, it expanded its scope beyond

the confines of social work and became actively engaged in political affairs, particularly in relation to the partition of Bengal.

The Partition (1905) and Annulment (1911) of Bengal

The United Bengal region consisted of an area of approximately 189,000 square miles and was home to an estimated 80 million people. The Lieutenant Governor encountered challenges in effectively managing the eastern regions. In 1905, the British Government implemented a partition of Bengal, resulting in the division of the region into two distinct entities: Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal. Incidentally, East Bengal emerged as a province with a Muslim majority, while West Bengal became a province with a Hindu majority. Muslims expressed great satisfaction with the partition, as it provided them with an opportunity to enhance their socio-economic circumstances. It was indeed an appropriate occasion for reparation. The Muslim community exhibited significant support for the aforementioned matter, while the Hindu community responded vehemently, arguing that it resulted in the partition of the nation. The Congress Party became a participant in the anti-partition movement. The individuals initiated a broad-based campaign characterized by agitation, acts of violence, and an organized refusal to purchase foreign goods. The primary catalyst for the Hindu protest was the perceived weakening of their control over the eastern regions. Consequently, the British government rescinded the partition in order to preempt any potential disturbances during the visit of King George V. The Muslim community expressed its dissatisfaction with the aforementioned decision.

The Simla Deputation 1906

The Simla Deputation marked the first organized effort by the Muslim community to convey their grievances to the British government and seek recognition. Comprising 35 distinguished individuals representing Muslims from diverse regions in India, the delegation included a varied group of Muslim leaders, representing different backgrounds within the community. Therefore, in 1906, when this delegation met with Lord Minto, the Viceroy, it can be asserted that it was the most extensive and inclusive representation of the Muslim community at that time. A significant achievement during the Simla Deputation was the successful adoption of the principle of separate representation by the Viceroy.

World War I and the Khilafat Movement

The Great War, also known as World War I, began on July 28, 1914, and concluded on November 11, 1918. Initially, a conflict emerged between Great Britain and Germany, eventually drawing in numerous nations. France and Russia allied with the United Kingdom, while Italy and Turkey sided with Germany. This devastating war resulted in the defeat of Germany and its allied forces.

The Khilafat Movement exhibited significant connections with the Pakistan movement. The movement primarily emerged in response to the perceived unjust actions and aggression of the British colonial power, particularly in relation to the Khilafat of Turkey during the reign of the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslim community exhibited a sense of solidarity and kinship, commonly referred to as Ummah, which fostered a profound empathy towards the Turkish Caliph. This resulted in the emergence of a comprehensive movement in India opposing British intervention in Turkey, spearheaded by Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Maulana Shaukat, and their mother, B. Amma. The Khilafat movement initiated the introduction of mass mobilization in the Sub-Continent, albeit without achieving its intended outcomes.

The Allahabad Address 1930

Allama Iqbal presided over the annual session of the All India Muslim League in 1930 in Allahabad. During this session, he proposed the establishment of a North-West Indian Muslim State as the ultimate aspiration for Muslims residing in the western and northern regions of India. He envisioned the amalgamation of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan into a single state. Whether through self-government within or outside the British Empire, the creation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State seemed, to him, to be the final destiny of Muslims, especially in North-West India. This vision aimed at achieving unity in terms of language, race, religion, identity, and economy in the Indian context.

The Sharif Report 1938

The Sharif Report pertains to the convening of the All India Muslim League's annual convention in Patna in 1938. During this gathering, a committee was established under the leadership of Mr. S. M. Sharif. The primary objective of this Committee was to thoroughly investigate and subsequently report on the government's treatment of Muslims within the Congress-led majority provinces. The Sharif Committee concluded its final Report during the

AIML convention in 1939, highlighting the perceived negative treatment and alleged oppressions faced by Muslims in provinces with a majority of Congress party influence, primarily perpetrated by Hindus.

The Lahore Resolution 1940

The Lahore Resolution, adopted during the annual session of 1940 on the 24th of March, articulated the aspiration of the Muslim population in the Sub-continent for the establishment of a self-governing and autonomous nation. This resolution proposed the partition of India into two separate states, namely India and Pakistan, to accommodate the interests and rights of the Muslim community. The event in question was regarded as a significant milestone in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan, as it provided a clear and definitive vision for the future destiny of Muslims that they were obligated to attain.

Conclusion

Therefore, it can be concluded that the Historical Movement played a pivotal role in the establishment of Pakistan, as evidenced by the adoption of the Lahore Resolution in 1940. The Lahore Resolution had significant consequences, leading to the transformation of the All-India Muslim League into a comprehensive political movement dedicated to the establishment of Pakistan.

Lecture 8

Political Movement

War of Independence 1857

The 1857 War of Independence had profound effects on India's political history, impacting both Muslim and Hindu communities. Beyond religious causes, it was driven by social, economic, and political factors. Notably, economic disparities in pay and facilities for Indian soldiers, enforced by the East India Company, deeply disheartened the soldiers.

In Meerut cantonment, a soldier's killing of a British soldier was labeled a mutiny by the British, sparking a rebellion that spread across the Sub-continent. Religious, economic, and political factors were key in inciting the war. Muslims and Hindus protested the use of cartridges allegedly containing pig or cow fat, triggering religious tensions. Politically, the British sought to expand control, erode indigenous civilizations, and establish dominance. Socially, they introduced missionary schools, churches, and conversion efforts, causing concern among Muslims and Hindus about the potential destruction of their civilizations. The economic gap between British and Indian soldiers also contributed to the conflict. Unlike previous Muslim invaders, who slowly established their rule through conquests, the British entered India as traders. They initially signed a charter with Jahangir for trade and later defeated Siraj ud Daula in the Battle of Plassey, ultimately gaining control over Bengal and eventually the entire Indian Sub-continent within a hundred years. A comparison of both histories reveals that Muslims arrived in India as conquerors, while the British employed cunning policies to gradually occupy the entire country. The British also employed different conversion strategies compared to Islam's peaceful propagation in India. As the British recognized the significance of Persian and Muslim cultures, they sought to convert Indians to Christianity and replace Persian with English as the court language in 1835. Consequently, the importance of English increased while the importance of Persian diminished, resulting in the decline of the Persian language in India. The War of Independence in 1857 served as a foundation for the subsequent national movement, which played a pivotal role in the nineteenth-century history of India.

Partition of Bengal 1905

The partition of Bengal in 1905, initially an administrative decision by Lord Curzon, had significant political implications. Bengal, being a vast province, faced administrative challenges prompting the partition. Hindus criticized Curzon, attributing the partition to deliberate action. East Bengal had a Muslim majority, while West Bengal had a Hindu majority. The Calcutta High Court, located in West Bengal, saw a majority of Hindu lawyers representing wealthy Muslim landlords from East Bengal. When the partition occurred, these cases shifted to the Dhaka High Court, where Muslim lawyers began representing the landlords. This partition economically impacted the Hindu community in Bengal, leading to the initiation of a movement against it. Hindus perceived the partition as favoring Muslims and believed that Curzon implemented it to appease them. While the partition was primarily an administrative decision, it became a catalyst for a political movement. Muslims, witnessing the opposition from Hindus, realized the need for political organization and approached Lord Curzon with a delegation.

Simla Deputation 1906

The Simla Deputation of 1906 constituted a noteworthy political movement. In accordance with the counsel of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Muslims adhered to a stance of political detachment until Hindus voiced their discontent over the partition of Bengal. Following the Hindu-led agitation against the partition, Muslims began contemplating their own political organization. Consequently, they resolved to seek an audience with Lord Curzon, beseeching him to receive a delegation of Muslims. Responding to their entreaty, Lord Curzon extended an invitation to Simla, where an assemblage of more than 19 to 20 eminent Muslims convened. Anticipating the imminent establishment of representative governance in India, the Muslim delegation sought from the viceroy the grant of a separate electorate, thereby empowering them to dispatch Muslim representatives to the legislative assembly. The Simla Deputation thus assumed a pivotal role in the annals of India's political history.

All India Muslim League 1906

When the Simla Deputation returned from Simla, they were filled with hope due to Lord Curzon's favorable response. For the first time, they believed that the British government was willing to engage in dialogue with them. Hindus already had a political party in the form of the

Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, which took charge of the movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905. In order to have a similar organization that could advocate for their rights like the Congress, Muslims felt the need to take action. Consequently, the All-India Muslim League (AIML) was established. The formation of the Muslim League in the same year was influenced by the impact of the Simla Deputation. The league emerged as a distinct organization dedicated to safeguarding the rights of Muslims in India. Furthermore, its establishment played a significant role in the introduction of representative government in India. The demand for representative government necessitated the holding of elections, which, in turn, required the presence of a political party. Hence, the creation of the AIML served this purpose.

Minto Morley Reforms 1909

The Government of India Act (GIA) of 1909 called for the expansion of provincial councils. Notably, it introduced the concept of a separate electorate. The separate electorate marked a significant milestone in Indian history as it allowed Muslims to actively participate in Indian politics through a separate electoral system.

Lucknow Pact 1916

Between 1906 and 1911, Muslim politics remained relatively quiet, with a major development occurring in 1911 when the partition of Bengal was annulled. In 1913, during the annual session of the Muslim League, losing faith in the British pledge, they proposed a form of self-government suitable for India to protect Muslim interests. It was in the same year that Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the Muslim League, coinciding with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In 1916, both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress established a joint committee to work towards political reforms in India, which were subsequently accepted in the Lucknow Pact. The Lucknow Pact endorsed the principles of separate electorates and paved the way for the Government of India Act of 1919.

The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 resulted in strained relations between Hindus and Muslims, as the British failed to honor the promises made to Muslims. In 1916, Congress and the Muslim League decided to jointly present their demands to the British government. This collaborative effort led to the signing of the Lucknow Pact during a joint session of the Muslim League and Congress, hence its name. The Lucknow Pact's major achievement was

laying the groundwork for the Government of India Act of 1919. It stands as a significant political event in the history of India.

Nehru Report 1928

During the annual convention of the Indian National Congress held in Delhi, a committee was formed, with Motilal Nehru as the chairman and Jawaharlal Nehru as the secretary. The committee deliberated on the future of India and the constitutional development of the country, resulting in the presentation of the Nehru Report.

According to the Nehru Report, the constitutional reforms proposed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Act had failed. The report emerged as a response to this failure. However, the Nehru Report was criticized for being Hindu-centric, as it neglected the interests of the 70 million Muslims in India. Muslims viewed the Congress as a predominantly Hindu political party that did not prioritize the welfare of Muslims and even rejected the idea of separate electorates. In response to the Nehru Report, Quaid-e-Azam (Muhammad Ali Jinnah)

Jinnah's 14 Points 1929

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, commonly known as Quaid-e-Azam, presented a report in 1928. Among the various points discussed, the most significant outcome of the Nehru Report was the Muslim League's reaction, represented by Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points.

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of a separate electorate as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and the North West Frontier Province.

7. Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association, and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourth of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution, or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community, or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the constitution to give Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture, for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, and Muslim charitable institution, and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

Mr. Jinnah emphasized the need for a federal constitution with strong provinces and uniform powers. He advocated for effective representation of minorities in every province. He proposed that the central legislature have one-third Muslim representation. Additionally, he called for the grant of full religious liberty to all communities. Through these points, Jinnah aimed to protect the rights and interests of Muslims in India. However, the Nehru Report and Jinnah's fourteen points diverged in their objectives, causing Muslims to perceive Hindu domination, thus leading to the dissolution of the Lucknow Pact.

Round Table Conferences (1930-31-32)

Observing the conflict between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, the British government decided to invite both parties to the round table conferences in order to

engage in discussions and implement the resulting agreements. Three round table conferences were convened in London between 1930 and 1932.

The Indian government disregarded both the Nehru Report and Jinnah's fourteen points, prompting the call for the roundtable conferences in London. These conferences were held in 1930, 1931, and 1932. However, due to various reasons, all three conferences failed. Both political parties expressed objections to British policies, leading to the conferences' lack of success. Consequently, the British government deemed the Government of India Act of 1919 ineffective and recognized the need for a new constitution. Thus, in 1934, a bill was presented in the British Parliament, which later materialized as the Government of India Act of 1935. This act holds great significance in Indian history.

Government of India Act 1935

Under the Government of India Act of 1935, Sindh was separated from Bombay, provincial autonomy was granted, and there were plans for the integration of princely states. The first two suggestions were implemented in 1935, but the integration of the princely states did not occur due to the outbreak of World War II. The separation of Sindh from Bombay was a political decision, considering Bombay's vastness and the Muslim majority in Sindh. It was seen as a valuable concession to the Muslims of Sindh, allowing them to have a distinct status and live according to their cultural identity.

World War II (1939-1945)

Following the implementation of the 1935 Act, provincial autonomy elections were held in India, and the Indian National Congress formed governments in nine out of the eleven provinces. In the Muslim League's annual session of 1938, a committee was established, headed by MM Sharif, to assess the Congress' treatment of Muslims in the provinces where they held power. Sharif's report was presented in 1939. Subsequently, with the onset of World War II, the Congress resigned from its ministries. The Muslims celebrated the Day of Deliverance in response.

Lahore Resolution 1940

During the annual session convention of the All-India Muslim League in 1940, the Sharif Report was thoroughly examined. In March 1940, the Muslim League's annual session was

held in Lahore, where the Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Resolution, was presented. This resolution called for the creation of a separate country for the Muslims of India, in the form of Pakistan.

Cripps Mission 1942

In an attempt to maintain the unity of India and address the demands of Pakistan, the British sent a mission known as the Cripps Mission to India in 1942. However, the mission failed due to the outbreak of the Quit India movement led by Gandhi. The Quit India movement, a nonviolent protest, aimed for the immediate departure of the British from India. Gandhi urged Hindus to boycott British goods, return British titles to the government, and engage in the symbolic burning of British goods, all in the pursuit of asserting Indian identity. While the Cabinet Mission was ongoing, with the Pakistan movement on one side and the Quit India movement on the other, the situation became increasingly complex.

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

In 1946, general elections were held, revealing the division between the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. Provincial elections also took place, further highlighting the divide between the two parties. Consequently, the British government dispatched a mission known as the Cabinet Mission, led by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pathic Lawrence, with Cripps and Alexander as members. The mission proposed the formation of a united India, with British India and the princely states handling foreign affairs, defense, and communications, while other powers would be vested in the provinces. However, the mission ultimately failed. Although an interim government was established, violent communal riots erupted, leading to the partition of India. On June 3rd, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy of India, announced his plan, which ultimately proved unsuccessful.

The Cabinet Mission marked the last attempt at unifying India, but the political crisis persisted. Meanwhile, riots broke out in the western region of Punjab and the eastern region of Bengal. Jinnah declared that it was time for Pakistan to be created. Observing the communal violence, the British Parliament swiftly presented the Division of India Bill in July 1947, which was promptly enacted. India was divided on 15th August, and Pakistan came into existence as a nation-state.

Lecture 9

Constitutional Movement

This significant effort helped the Government of India to write the Constitution. After the Battle of Plessey, the British Government passed the first law called the "Regulating Act." This law was passed in 1773.

Declaration of the Colonization of India, 1858

- Declaration of the Colonization of India, 1858
- Queen Victoria became the Empress of India

Indian Councils Act, 1861

Characteristics

- The Indian Councils Act of 1861, enacted during the British colonial period, is considered a significant milestone in the constitutional history of India as it was the first Act to be passed.
- The transfer of the East Indian Company's territory to the British Crown happened. This Act established a system of governance in India that consisted of legislative and executive functions.
- The Governor General Council was expanded to comprise five members, including the Governor General.
- For the first time, the Indians were granted the opportunity to participate in the governance of their homeland. The measure facilitated the establishment of legislative councils within the provinces.
- This Act established a system of governance in India that encompassed both legislative and executive functions.
- In order to achieve this objective, the council must be appointed by the Indian Viceroy, who in turn is appointed by Queen Victoria. The appointment of the Viceroy necessitates the concurrence of both the Parliament and the prime minister. Indirectly, the governance of the state remains under the purview of the British Government and Parliament.

- The Viceroy served as the official representative of the British Government. Hence the title of Governor General of the Sub-continent was also attributed to this position. This legislation conferred upon India the authority to formulate the Indian Constitution.
- As per the Act, Indigenous individuals were included in the British legislative council solely through a nomination, not an election. As per this legislation, the Legislative Council was also operational at the provincial level. The federation originated in India during that period.

Indian Councils Act, 1892

Following the establishment of the Indian National Congress, the British Government introduced the Indian Councils Act in 1892. This legislation constituted the subsequent phase in the progression of the Indian Constitution.

The primary characteristics of this Act are outlined below:

- The legislative Councils were expanded at both the central and provincial levels.
- The number of members in the Centre Council escalated to sixteen, while the provincial council expanded to twenty. Additionally, the ratio of non-official members witnessed a surge.
- The councils were granted the authority to deliberate on the budget and express dissent.
- These factors indicate that India has taken a step forward in governing its nation.

Indian Councils Act, 1909

This marked the commencement of the development of the Indian Constitution. The 1909 Act, commonly called the Minto-Morley Reforms, was formulated by Lord Minto, the Governor General of India, and Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India.

The Simla deputation (1906), which had a fruitful meeting with him, holds significant importance in Pakistan's history as it deliberated upon the issue of a separate electorate. The formation of the Muslim League in 1906 was a response by the Muslim community in the Sub-continent to the agitation by Hindus regarding the Partition of Bengal. Muslims perceived that Hindus were not sincere in their dealings with them and believed that a different platform was necessary for Indian Muslims to participate in elections under the Indian Councils Act of 1909. The formation of the Muslim League can also be attributed to the Indian Council Act of 1909.

The primary characteristics of the legislation were:

- The system of separate electorates was adopted, and the method of party election was both indirect and partly direct.
- The Provincial Councils underwent an expansion.
- The provincial entities were granted non-official majorities, while the official majority persisted at the Centre.
- The Legislative Council Centre underwent expansion.
- The Administration and Policy could be subject to questioning by the Central Legislative Council.

Government of India Act, 1919

The Montagu-Chelmsford reform, also called the Diarchy, was an alternate name for the preceding reform. "Montagu-Chelmsford reforms" comes from Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, conceived them. As part of these changes, the Congress-League Scheme was cancelled, and a compromise was worked out in the form of the Government of India Bill, or GIA 1919, which the British Parliament approved in December 1919.

The key characteristics of it were as follows:

- The proposal suggests implementing distinct representation for both the Muslim and Sikh communities.
- The Central Legislative Council has been expanded to a total of sixty-seven members.
- A bicameral legislature was established, consisting of the Council of State and the India Legislative Assembly.
- In both cases, the vast majority of members would be elected.
- The Act established a Diarchic system within the provincial Government, dividing power between responsible ministers and irresponsible Executive Councilors.
- The Provincial Legislature is an institution that ensures the provision of elective representation through enlargement.
- The enfranchisement of voting rights resulted in a reduction of property requirements.
- Constituencies were allocated to universities, landholders, industries, and commerce for representation.
- The general populace had yet to be granted suffrage rights. Individuals can submit their respective representations based on their profession differently.

- The British Administration reserved the Law & Order and Land Revenue departments for their exclusive use.
- The transfer department and reserve department are two distinct entities within a federation. Ministers transferred to different departments were allocated responsibilities to education, healthcare, and everyday affairs. However, it is noteworthy that the revenue department and other sectors, such as finance and law and order, continued to be under the purview of the British Administration. An Indian individual can gain experience in governing a nation.
- However, the final jurisdiction rested with the provincial governor, appointed directly by the Viceroy.
- The British-proposed Act put forth by the Hindu and Muslim communities was met with non-acceptance, leading them to introduce alternative legislation.

Government of India Act, 1935

The Act stated that India would be a federation of provinces and princely states. Following Aurangzeb's reign, the governance of India was subsequently administered by Raja Maharaja and Nawab in conjunction with the British colonial power. All 11 provinces and princely states were incorporated into the federal system upon establishing a federation within the Government.

This Act granted provincial autonomy.

- The parliamentary system has been established in all provinces.
- The provincial assembly was scheduled to be elected for the respective province. Electing a chief minister in the public domain involves a voting system whereby the electorate casts their ballots to elect their preferred candidate.
- Once elected, the chief minister assumes the responsibility of appointing their cabinet, a process that mirrors the central governance structure of Britannia. The establishment was referred to as a miniature version of Britannia.
- The effective governance of a province necessitates the collaborative efforts of the chief minister and their cabinet. The central Government continued to operate within a federal framework.
- The operation was conducted under the leadership of the Viceroy and his cabinet. Provincial assemblies were also established.

- The individual who leads the political party that has won the election assumes the position of chief minister. Additionally, a governor was elected by the governor-general. The entirety of the governor's powers was conferred upon the Chief Minister. However, the autonomy continues to be subject to federal oversight.

The lists of subjects were drawn up:

1) Federal List

2) Provincial List

3) Concurrent List

Importance of the Government of India Act 1935

This important law in Pakistan and the wider Sub-continent region marked a big change in its early years. It created new provinces and got rid of a certain system. After this, there were elections in 1937, leading to Congress ministries being formed. When World War II started, there were concerns that if certain countries reached India, it could be a threat to the British government there. In response, Congress left the government, and Muslims remember this day as a day of freedom. The Lahore Resolution followed, and the British tried to prevent the splitting of India through the Cripps mission, which was rejected by both Hindus and Muslims. Gandhi then started the Quit India movement against British rule, but it turned violent and didn't succeed. These events shaped the early history of the region in an important way.

Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

The British Government dispatched a fresh delegation known as the Cabinet Mission as a final effort. Under the cabinet mission, subsequent elections were conducted. However, the outcome was deemed unsuccessful. The cabinet mission oversaw the conduct of the General Elections in 1946. The election results demonstrated the clear division between the League and the Congress within the assembly. A provincial election was conducted in the year 1946. A clear division between the League and Congress was apparent at this juncture. Despite the formation of an interim government, the failure to prevent violent communal riots ultimately resulted in the Partition of India. Lord Mountbatten, the newly appointed Viceroy of India, announced a plan on June 3, 947. However, this plan ultimately proved unsuccessful.

Indian Independence Act, 1947

On the 4th of July, the British Prime Minister, Attlee, drafted a bill which was subsequently introduced to the House of Commons. The House of Commons passed the bill on July 15, and

the House of Lords on the following day, July 16. On July 18, the bill was granted Royal assent without any modifications. This legislation presented a framework for the division of India and the formation of two sovereign states, namely India and Pakistan, which were officially established on the night of August 14th-15th, 1947.

Other prominent features of this Act were as under:

- The legislative supremacy of the two Dominions
- The Legislators were given full powers to make laws.
- The British Government had no control over the affairs of Dominions.
- The Act terminated British authority over India.

On July 20, 1947, distinct provisions were established for the governments of India and Pakistan. On August 7, 1947, Mr. Jinnah, also known as Quaid-e-Azam, departed from India for the final flight to Karachi, the capital of the newly-formed Dominion of Pakistan. On August 11, 1947, the Constitutional Assembly convened and designated Muhammad Ali Jinnah as its President. Pakistan achieved independence on August 15, 1947, when the Governor-General was sworn in, and the new Cabinet of Pakistan assumed power.

Lecture 10

Role of Leadership

The role of a leader is crucial in any movement, as they are the ones who inspire and guide the followers. Both leaders and followers are interdependent, highlighting the importance of their mutual relationship. In Pakistan, we are fortunate to have a diverse range of leaders, such as political, social, religious, ideological, and constitutional leaders, each possessing unique characteristics. To gain a theoretical understanding of the significance of leaders in movements, it is essential to discuss their traits and roles.

Characteristics and Style of Leadership

There are different definitions of leadership by different authors, e.g., corporate organization leadership has a separate characteristic; religious leadership has separate characteristics; and political leadership has separate characteristics. But focus on the leadership that helped the people achieve their goals and gave a country its independence by running a movement.

Leadership is fundamentally defined as interpersonal influence directed toward achieving a specific goal, a process inherently tied to effective communication. It involves the dynamic force of motivating and coordinating individuals, inspiring confidence, and garnering support. Successful leaders possess a range of traits, including visionary thinking, coordination skills, and the ability to inspire others. The leaders create a compelling vision and demonstrate a commitment to achieving goals, crucially accompanied by a dedicated following. Whether in political, religious, or military realms, effective leadership transcends various styles, ultimately centering on the ability to influence, inspire, and build strong relationships with followers. In essence, leadership is not just an act but an ongoing process that entails shared direction, collaborative action, and the unwavering commitment of both the leader and their followers.

Who are the people that we refer to as leaders?

Although leaders represent a minority of the population, they wield the majority of political power. These individuals, like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, come from a small group but govern over the larger majority. Leaders are accountable for arranging, rallying, and distributing resources that are crucial for the people they serve. These tasks would not be achievable without a leader. A competent leader is necessary for coordinating and administering a society's affairs, ultimately benefitting the masses.

Leadership Qualities

There are three types of leadership:

(1) Political leadership (2) Traditional leadership (3) Charismatic leadership

1) Political Leadership

Leadership in politics can be divided into two categories: **Moral and Legal**

- Moral leaders hold authority over their followers without the support of legal sanctions. They are often referred to as opposition leaders.
- Legal leaders, on the other hand, are granted legal sanctions that are considered legitimate by a group or institution. For instance, members of parliament who are elected by the people and make decisions on their behalf.

2) Traditional Leadership

Leadership that follows traditional practices has been established over time and is often associated with traditional elites. These elites are individuals who have achieved leadership positions through customary, hereditary, or cultural means. In rural areas, traditional elites have included landlords, Jaghirdars, and Nawabs during British rule. Today, village leaders are often determined by caste, with the Chaudhary, big landlords, and cultivators being considered the traditional leaders. Those who inherit their leadership positions and continue to follow cultural traditions are known as traditional leaders. The importance of traditional leadership in Pakistani politics has been emphasized since the country's partition, with power being based on tradition, family, land, and religion.

3) Charismatic Leadership

The concept of charismatic leadership, a recent addition to political science stemming from sociology, has significantly shaped political discussions and become a crucial area of study. In the realm of political sociology, the focus lies in understanding the intricate relationship between politics and society, particularly how societal influences impact political processes. Charismatic leadership, deriving its name from the Arabic word "Karishma," has played a pivotal role in political landscapes, notably in Pakistan.

Examining historical and contemporary charismatic figures like the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), Napoleon, Churchill, Mao Zedong, Gandhi, and Kennedy, underscores

their radical approaches and questioning of conventional practices. In Pakistani politics, charismatic transfer is evident, with leaders like Indira Gandhi, Nehru, and Z. A. Bhutto passing down their influence.

The charisma of historical figures, exemplified by Quaid-e-Azam during the Pakistan movement, is believed to contribute significantly to a nation's growth. By delving into the fundamental aspects of issues, charismatic leaders, like Quaid-e-Azam, create significant events, demonstrating their ability to bring about positive change. This quality, coupled with superior individuality, possession of powers, interpersonal influence, and the ability to inspire confidence, defines effective leadership. Therefore, charismatic leadership serves as a lens through which political developments and changes in any given country can be assessed.

Style of Leadership

There are four types of leadership style:

1. **Authoritarian (Autocratic)**
2. **Participant (Democratic)**
3. **Delegative (Free Reign)**
4. **Oligarchic (Coterie Reign)**

All of these four are present in political system in different forms.

Autocratic

This type of leadership is commonly referred to as a dictatorship, where the leader holds all the power. This power can be in the form of military, political, or religious leadership, and the leader uses their charismatic, religious, or political personality to exert their authority over the people. This type of leader is known as an authoritarian leader.

Participant

Participant leadership is a form of democratic leadership, where leaders are elected by the masses. There are many examples of democratic leaders who have risen to prominence through their participation in society. In international politics, we can see leaders like Chuchal, Mozetung, and Lenon who emerged from their communities. Moze Tung is a prime example of a participant leader who was elected democratically but later transformed into an autocratic leader when he became the head of a country and formed a separate nation.

Delegative

There exist leaders who distribute power upon coming into office, such as a Prime Minister who delegates authority to their Cabinet. Delegative leadership examples are rare, but Nehru's early term as PM saw him delegate power to Ministers like Patel, Azad, and Qadwai. However, as time progressed, Nehru shifted towards autocratic leadership, ultimately embodying its characteristics in his final days as leader.

Oligarchic

This describes a system where a select few individuals hold power based on their wealth or political influence. They form a group of supporters who they utilize for their own benefit and interests. This type of government is considered to be oligarchic rather than authoritarian, as it involves multiple individuals rather than just one.

Types of Leadership

Charismatic Leadership

Quaid-e-Azam is a revered figure in Pakistan, known as the father of the nation. His charismatic personality and visionary leadership played a significant role in putting Pakistan on the world map. Moving on to the topic of Participative Leadership, we must discuss the contributions of Z.A. Bhutto. He educated the people of Pakistan about the essence of participative leadership and encouraged them to actively participate in the country's political affairs.

Situational Leadership

The concept of situational leadership is closely tied to the specific circumstances in which leadership arises. One example of this is the War of Independence in 1857, which plunged Muslims into darkness. It was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who emerged as a key figure in bringing them out of that darkness. Therefore, studying Sir Syed serves as an excellent example of situational leadership.

Transactional Leadership

a style of leadership that is often referred to as eventful leadership. To exemplify this type of leadership, we will explore the life and philosophy of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Through his teachings, Iqbal instilled a sense of self-awareness and moral consciousness within us, which ultimately led to the birth of nationalism. As a result, Iqbal's famous statement that "moral consciousness is a nation" became a defining moment in the creation of Pakistan.

Transformational Leadership

The significance of this matter lies in Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar's role in politicizing the Indo-Pak Sub-continent's environment for the first time. By advocating for the Khilafat Movement, he spurred the awakening of Indian Muslims and taught them the ways of political activism. He is rightfully regarded as a pivotal figure in shaping events and transforming the political landscape, earning him the title of a transformational leader.

Quiet Leadership

There is a unique style of leadership that operates with a quiet skill and a focus on society's progress, and one person who exemplifies this is Abdul Sattar Edhi. His selflessness and dedication to improving the lives of others is unparalleled in Pakistan's history. Edhi's leadership is not about grand speeches or gathering crowds, but rather he leads by example and through his complete and inspiring personality. It's safe to say that Pakistan's social environment owes much of its progress to the work of Edhi.

Servant Leadership

This type of leadership is characterized by a peaceful approach that aims to mold individuals through philosophical teachings and worldly methods. Its goal is to guide people towards a more conscious and emotional state, empowering them to recognize their worth and speak up for themselves. Shah Waliullah is a prime example of a servant leader who recognized that Muslims were straying from their Islamic roots. He believed that it was vital for Muslims to understand the Holy Quran, so he translated it into Persian, a language commonly understood by the people at that time. By doing so, he enabled them to comprehend the Quran's teachings and adopt them into their lives. Shah Waliullah's actions exemplify the qualities of a servant leader.

Autocratic Leadership

The term autocratic leadership refers to a dictatorial style of leadership. Ayub Khan is often recognized as a leader who exhibited autocratic qualities. Despite claiming to improve democratic practices in Pakistan, his government ultimately became dictatorial. He relied on the support of both civil and military bureaucracy to establish an autocratic system in the country.

Lecture 11

Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed

Muslim scholars and intellectuals throughout history played a significant role in shaping the ideological foundations and aspirations that eventually led to the establishment of Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims in the Indian Sub-continent. Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed are the most notable Muslim scholars who categorically changed the discourse of Sub-continent. Their personalities were so vibrant that it direct and in-directly affected the Muslims of this region.

Leadership with reference to Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah was born in Delhi in 1703 and died in 1762. Shah Waliullah was the first Sufi in the modern times who bothered to give a thought to declining conditions of the Muslim community and decay of the Mughal Empire. He was the first one to identify the causes behind the social and economic downfall of Muslims. He played a great role in awakening Muslims and laid the basis for Muslim's revival in the light of guiding principles of Islam. Just like Ibn-Khaldun, he followed history, but unlike him he was not a political theorist but also practical re-organizer of the Muslim society of the Sub-continent.

Shah Waliullah was born in 1703, four years prior to Aurangzeb's death. After the death of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Mughal dynasty started becoming weak. Shah Waliullah witnessed the period of decline of Muslim empire and subsequent Muslim's degeneration. He saw the disintegration of Mughal Empire and the aftermath that affected the social, religious, and ethical values of life in Sub-continent. This ironical period of life made him to revitalize the Muslim of India and Islamic values in the region.

Educational Ventures of Shah Waliullah

Shah Wali Ullah was a son of Sufi and had a background of strong religious teachings. He wanted to reorganize Muslim's life on the line of Islamic teachings. He, therefore, opened a school at Delhi called Madrassa-e-Rahimia in the name of his father Sheikh Abdur Rahim. He was convinced that for the Muslims of India that declining period of the Muslims after Aurangzeb's death was a critical period for their socio-political and spiritual life because the spirit of Islam was forgotten. Moreover, the self-styled Ulama were narrow minded, intolerant

and fabricators of false Hadith. They acted as a shopkeeper selling Dua and Taveez. All these false things resulted in apathy in Muslims toward Islamic values. Being a practical philosopher, he knew that renaissance of Islam was not possible without re-orientation of Muslim's mind. For that purpose, he established hundreds of schools in different parts of India. He believed that the purpose of knowledge is to save the community with preservation of Islamic believe and the ideological entity of the Indian Muslims. Moreover, he also believed that discovery of truth was feasible only through the knowledge of history. Thus, to know the present and to be careful for the future, investigations of the past was necessary.

Shah Waliullah criticized economic disparity and corruption. He held a belief that a nation cannot rise unless the condition of working class improves. Thus, he found it necessary to work on the spiritual awakening of Indian Muslims for their socio-economic and spiritual development. To him, Islamic state does not only balance social, economic and spiritual life but also pave the way for salvation after death. He interpreted Tatbiq recommending Ijtihad (exercise of independent judgement) as oppose to Taqlid (imitation). He held a view that Ijtihad is necessary as each age brings new problems and new situations. He also believed that Prophet's (PBUH) code of law should appeal to common sense. He advised Muslims not to mix up their dresses, behavior and life with non-Muslim population. Shah Wali Ullah is called the founder of Muslim revivalism. Hence, to Shah Wali Ullah, the religious and social believes of the Muslims of subcontinent and of Pakistan are the manifestation of his teachings.

Leadership with reference to Shah Abdul Aziz

Shah Abdul Aziz, the son of Shah Waliullah, was born in Delhi in 1746 and died in 1824. Teachings of Shah Waliullah were further spread by his son Shah Abdul Aziz. He declared India a Dar-ul-Harab, a land of war and called upon Muslims to engage in Jihad. Shah Abdul Aziz wanted to get the authority of Muslims back from non-Muslims. He succeeded his father in continuing teaching and preaching.

According to Shah Abdul Aziz, India was no longer Dar-ul-Islam because the blind Mughal emperor, King Shah Alam, had lost his power to the British Christians. This led him to initiate jihad, taking several steps. First, he had a Holy Quran translation in Urdu, the common language of Muslims, completed by his brother Shah Rafi Uddin. Second, he established **centers** in key cities to disseminate his philosophies. Third, he appointed a loyal commander, Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, to lead the Muslim force for this purpose.

Like his father, Shah Abdul Aziz desired to create a democratic Islamic social order with economic equality with all its citizens. His fatwa that India had become a declaring India as Dar-ul-Harab stirred the Muslim population, preparing for liberation war to make India once again a Dar-ul-Islam.

Leadership with reference to Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed

Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed, born in Rai Bareli in 1786 and martyred in 1831, was a passionate follower of Shah Walullah and Shah Abdul Aziz, becoming the foremost executor of the philosophy of Islamic revivalism. He aimed to restore the lost glory of Indian Muslims with puritan Islamic values, inspiring people to religious belief. Appointed by Shah Abdul Aziz as the leader of the liberation movement, Ahmad Shaheed acquired war tactics through six years of learning. Rather than pursuing conventional education, he preferred martial sports, even organizing Islamic regiments and simulated attacks on non-believers during childhood games. As a young man, he engaged in social work, assisting the poor and unfortunate. While he studied various theological works, he did not achieve scholastic distinction. However, he prepared for Jihad by establishing mass contacts, extensively touring the subcontinent and meeting people from all walks of life, regardless of wealth or social status, in both villages and towns.

His strategy involved first crushing the Sikh power in Punjab before attacking the British. In his battle against Ranjeet Singh, he emerged victorious in their initial encounter. However, in the second battle at Balakot, he attained martyrdom at the hands of Sikh forces. It is believed that several factors contributed to his defeat, including the betrayal of a chief named Yar Muhammad Khan. This betrayal stemmed from the conflict between the enforcement of Shariat laws by Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and the customary laws of the local population.

Conclusion

Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed made notable achievements with reference to education, revival of Islam, glory of Islam and helped Indian Muslim to stay focus on their religious path. All of them played a crucial role in the Sub-continent history to influence Indian Muslims and ultimately paved the way for the creation of an independent state for Muslim in the heart of Indian Sub-continent.

Lecture 12

Sir Aga Khan III, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar (Khilafat Movement)

Role of Leadership

Sir Aga Khan III (1877-1957)

Sir Aga Khan III, born as Sultan Muhammad Ali in 1877 in Karachi, held a distinctive position in the history of the subcontinent. Not only was he the spiritual leader of the Ismaili community but also played a pivotal role in the broader Muslim community. As the 48th Imam of Shia Muslims, he introduced visionary interpretations of Shi'ism, emphasizing the concept of Hazir Imam (living Imam). His influence marked the beginning of the second Muslim renaissance, following in the footsteps of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Aga Khan III's impact extended beyond religious realms. His persona encompassed dual qualities - a religious leader and a political figure. In Europe, he was regarded as political aristocracy, earning titles such as His Highness and Prince from Queen Victoria. His political influence and statesmanship spanned three continents - Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Addressing the socio-religious, political, and economic aspects of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, Sir Aga Khan emerged as a charismatic figure influencing affairs well into the 20th century. His commitment to unity was evident as he advocated for harmony among different communities, supporting separate Muslim electorates due to Hindu-Muslim tensions.

Aga Khan III also prioritized educational development, encouraging Muslims to embrace Western values for material progress while maintaining Islamic principles. Despite being a Shia Muslim, he showed equal respect for all four pious Caliphs, working towards bridging the gap between Shia and Sunni Muslims.

His legacy endures through his grandson, Sir Aga Khan Karim, the current living Imam. Sir Aga Khan III's enduring impact lies in his contributions to the development and unity of the Muslim community, leaving an indelible mark on the history of the subcontinent.

Aga Khan III held a firm belief in the universality of Islam and vehemently rejected intolerant sectarianism. The Indian Council Act of 1892 introduced elective representation principles,

later extended in 1906. As a member of the Viceroy's Council, he ardently advocated for Muslim representation, pushing for a 1/3 share in the council. During his time, the partition of Bengal triggered Hindu agitation, causing Muslims to fear justice from a Hindu majority. Aga Khan, opposing the Hindu agitation, represented Muslims to the British and led the successful Simla Deputation to the Viceroy in 1906.

The success of the Simla Deputation can be attributed to Aga Khan's influential personality and his significant impact in Europe, earning respect from the Viceroy, Lord Minto. Utilizing his British Aristocratic background, Aga Khan convinced Lord Minto to accept the proposal of separate electorates. The Simla Deputation became a landmark event in the history of Indo-Pak, fostering the Two-Nation Theory that eventually led to the demand for a separate Muslim state - the sovereign State of Pakistan.

Initially, Aga Khan endeavored to bridge the gap between Hindus and Muslims, following in the footsteps of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. However, faced with failure, he, like Sir Syed, organized a separate political party for Muslims. In December 1906, he established the All-India Muslim League in Dhaka, marking a significant development in the quest for Muslim representation. True to Sir Syed's vision, Aga Khan pursued higher education for Muslims, leading to the transformation of the MAO College of Aligarh into Aligarh Muslim University.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar

Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar stands as a prominent leader in Pakistan's history, particularly associated with the Khilafat Movement. In the diverse tapestry of leadership that contributed to the freedom of Pakistan, Maulana Johar's role remains distinctive, marked by his unique personality and dedication to the cause of independence.

Maulana Johar introduced a novel approach to political engagement, emphasizing the involvement of the masses in political and social movements. His advocacy for the practical participation of Muslims in political affairs left a lasting impact on the political landscape of Pakistan. His significance is underscored by his integral role in the Khilafat Movement, a movement with strong ties to the broader struggle for an independent Pakistan.

The Khilafat Movement emerged in response to British injustices and attacks on the Khilafat of Turkey under the Ottoman Empire, particularly during the First World War. The movement gained momentum due to the deep-seated sympathy of Indian Muslims for their Muslim brethren, viewing themselves as part of a united Muslim Ummah. The movement sought to

address the unfair treatment of Muslims by the British, and the resonance of this sentiment was notably expressed through the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, who sent funds to the Caliph of Turkey for the development of Muslims.

Interestingly, the Caliph of Turkey held a significant religious position, even being mentioned in the Khutba of Friday and Eid in India, reflecting Turkey's unique religious importance in the lives of Indian Muslims. This connection, while lacking a basis in the Holy Quran and Hadith, exemplifies the special religious significance that the Caliph held for the Muslims of India.

In summary, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar's contributions, especially through his involvement in the Khilafat Movement, played a crucial role in shaping the narrative of the independence struggle in Pakistan.

The Khilafat Movement

The term "Khilafat" finds its roots in the word "caliph," denoting a successor or an authoritative representative. In the context of the subcontinent, Muslims accorded this position to the Caliph of Turkey. The legal authority of the caliph remained unchallenged until the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in Bugbad in 1258 A.D. Subsequently, the Ottomans assumed the title of Khalifa, considering themselves the successors of the Caliphates and holding authority on behalf of Muslims worldwide. The Ottomans were widely recognized as the custodians of the Khilafat.

However, with the advent of British Christian rule in India, this recognition was denied. One major factor was Germany's influence on Turkey during World War I, as Germans were involved in constructing a railway complex in Turkey. Turkey aligned with Germany during the war, and its subsequent defeat led to the Ottomans being on the opposite side of Great Britain. Throughout the war, students from Aligarh took a leading role in collecting funds to aid Turkey, and medical missions were dispatched to assist the Turkish army. This movement culminated in the establishment of a society called the Servants of the Kaaba under the leadership of Maulana Shaukat Ali, an alumnus of Aligarh and elder brother of Maulana Johar. The names of these two brothers became synonymous with the Khilafat Movement.

Initially, the British government promised to respect the status of the Caliph and the rights of the Turks to their homeland to appease the Muslim population. However, after the war, at the Peace Conference, it became apparent that Britain sought revenge against Turkey for opposing British forces. Consequently, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, leading the All-India Khilafat

Conference, declared it a religious duty for Muslims to abstain from supporting British victory, boycott British goods, and refuse cooperation with the British government.

Although the credit for the mass movement idea goes to the Khilafat movement, it ultimately failed due to the end of the Ottoman Empire and the abolition of the Khilafat by Kemal Ataturk. Despite the movement's shortcomings, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar's leadership played a significant role in the Freedom Movement of the Muslim community in India.

Conclusion

The transcriptions illuminate the pivotal contributions of leaders like Sir Aga Khan III and Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar to the historical and political fabric of the Indian Subcontinent. Sir Aga Khan III, with his unique position as both a spiritual and political leader, played a vital role in fostering unity among Muslim sects, supporting educational development, and contributing to the Muslim Freedom Movement. Meanwhile, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar's leadership during the Khilafat Movement showcased his commitment to addressing British injustices against Turkey and advocating for Muslim welfare. Despite the challenges faced by the Khilafat Movement, both leaders left enduring legacies that significantly influenced the region's political and social evolution, contributing to the complex narrative of the Subcontinent's journey toward independence and nationhood.

Lecture 13

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Aligarh Movement

Introduction

The condition of Indian Muslim in Sub-continent went through significant changes after the death of Aurangzeb. The decline of the Mughal empire initiated a series of events that worsened the socio-economic conditions of Muslims. For almost next hundred years, Muslims' witnessed period of decline and turmoil. After the takeover of Sub-continent by British, Hindus and British together oppressed Muslims and made their lives miserable. After the war of 1857, Hindus put the entire blame of mutiny on Muslims although they were equally involved in the war. This resulted in further degradation of Muslims. Although the British historian at the later period had realized that the Muslims were not solely responsible for the 'Mutiny', it was Sir Syed who in fact convinced the British earlier than that about this truth.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed was born in Delhi in 1817 in highly respectable family. He entered the service of East India Company and rose to the position of judge. During 1857, he served with loyalty and distinction. He wrote the famous pamphlet "Essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt" and "Loyal Muhammadans of India". He elaborated the causes of 1857 disturbances as:

- People were not satisfied with the action of Government.
- The laws were of alien origin.
- People and government were pole apart.
- Acts causing uneasiness among the soldiers
- Denial of representation to the people
- Unwillingness of people towards the welfare of the people
- The Muslims' share was not greater than that of Hindus.
- It was not a planned insurrection.

Muslim's Early Conditions

People were dissatisfied with the actions of the East India Company, as they showed no respect for the religion or traditions of the people in the Indian subcontinent. Indians were treated as

outcasts and subjected to British laws that did not align with their society. The Company, being a merchant entity, lacked the understanding and ability to effectively govern the people, resulting in a disconnect between the government and the people. Indian soldiers were treated as inferior to their British counterparts, receiving lower salaries, poor living conditions, and lower social status. The rumors of pig and cow fat in cartridges further fueled the tensions, leading to a mutiny. Indians were denied representation, and the government showed no willingness to bridge the gap between the rulers and the people.

Sir Syed argued that it was the unjust and oppressive policies of the East India Company, rather than the fault of Indians alone, that caused the mutiny. He also emphasized that Hindus shared responsibility for the war and that it was not a planned event but rather a spontaneous outbreak triggered by the incident in Meerut. Sir Syed defended Muslims against British accusations of sedition and disloyalty. In 1875, he established the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College in Aligarh. He retired in 1876 and served as a member of the Governor General's Legislative Council for five years until his death in 1898.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s Educational Services

Sir Syed was a remarkable personality who left an unmistakable impact on Muslims in four interconnected spheres: education, religion, social life, and politics. Education served as the foundation for his religious, social, and political ideas. He advocated for Muslims to pursue Western education, learn English, and acquire knowledge of science and technology. While emphasizing the retention of Islamic beliefs based on the Holy Quran and Sunnah, he encouraged Muslims to move away from traditional Islamic learning during their educational journey. Sir Syed advocated for a rational approach to religion, asserting that revealed truth could be best understood through reason.

He believed there could be no contradiction between the word of God (revealed truth) and the work of God (laws of physical sciences), asserting that truth could be comprehended and interpreted in light of human knowledge. His primary objective was to foster reconciliation between the ruling powers and the marginalized Muslim population, promoting a closer affinity between Islam and Christianity. In social life, he advocated for simplicity, honesty, and other virtuous qualities. In his renowned book "Tahdhib-ul-Akhlaq," he encouraged people to embrace the positive and appealing aspects of European manners and social life. In politics, Sir Syed had three main ideas to instill:

1. Muslims should refrain from active political involvement.
2. Maintain friendly relations with the British.
3. Abstain from joining the Congress.

To conclude, Sir Syed made significant contributions to the Muslim renaissance in India, instilling a sense of self-confidence among his people. He led them out of darkness and dispelled accusations of disloyalty, thus facilitating their reconciliation with the ruling British authorities. His greatness lies in providing a solid foundation upon which Muslims could establish their strength and identity as a nation.

The Aligarh Movement

The emergence of a new political consciousness among Muslims took place at Aligarh, where a convergence between Islam and the West was discovered. Aligarh served as a unifying platform for Muslims from different regions of the Indian subcontinent, encompassing diverse sub-cultural backgrounds, native languages, and traditions. They came together at Aligarh, identifying themselves as a Muslim community and communicating through shared languages such as Urdu and English, facilitating mutual understanding. Consequently, Aligarh played a pivotal role in establishing a socio-political and religious force, representing the Muslim community in opposition to the Hindu community. The Muhammadan Education Conference fostered a fresh awareness that led to the establishment of Muslim schools across India, while the annual reports of the conference contributed to the purification and enrichment of the Urdu language.

By the time of Sir Syed's passing, Aligarh had solidified as a central hub of the Muslim movement in the subcontinent, advocating for the recognition of Muslims as equals to Hindus. Notably, the renowned Ali brothers emerged from Aligarh, leading the Muslim community and the broader Indian populace in the Khilafat Movement against British rule. This movement laid the foundation for mass mobilization in India.

The Aligarh Movement played a crucial role in establishing a distinct identity for Indian Muslims, revitalizing the spirit of the Ummah. Aligarh became a symbol of Muslim politics, particularly after the establishment of the prestigious Aligarh Muslim University. Undeniably, the Aligarh Movement played a significant part in shaping the idea of Pakistan.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, being a great leader of Muslim community, guided the Muslims in the difficult times and paved way for their salvation. His Aligarh Movement, brought Muslims out

of darkness, helped Muslims to recognize in the eye of British and laid down the initial foundation for an independent country for Indian Muslims in Sub-continent.

Lecture 14

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Introduction

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a poet, philosopher, and politician, as well as an academic, barrister, and scholar in British India who is widely regarded as having inspired the Pakistan Movement. He is considered one of the most important figures in Urdu literature, with literary work in both the Urdu and Persian languages.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot on 9th November 1877 and died in Lahore on 21st April 1938. For his academic studies, he traveled to Cambridge in England and Germany, where he earned a Ph.D. in philosophy. He began working as a teacher at the Government College in Lahore. He was recognized as a renowned poet and philosopher of the subcontinent. Later, He entered Indian politics as a part of the Muslim League. He has written many well known books to mention few:

- The Development of Metaphysics in Persia
- The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam
- Bang-e-Dara
- Bal-e-Jabril
- Zarb-e-Kalim
- Javed Nama

Contribution of Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Allama Iqbal is a unique contributor to the making of Pakistan. If Sir Syed prepared the ground through the Aligarh movement for a Muslim state; if Sir Agha Khan founded a separate electorate for Muslims through Simla Deputation; if Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar taught the style of mass movement through Khilafat Movement; then Allama Muhammad Iqbal raised the structure of the Muslim State through the Allahabad Address on which the blueprint was

prepared in the Pakistan Resolution. Allama Muhammad Iqbal is more prominent than Sir Agha Khan, Muhammad Ali Johar, and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan because Allama Muhammad Iqbal constructed the Lahore Resolution.

It goes to Allama Muhammad Iqbal's credit that he initiated the idea of separation of the two communities, Muslims and Hindus. Before him, people advocated partition, but Allama Muhammad Iqbal gave the concept of Nationalism and Nation-State for the community of the Sub-continent. He clearly declared that the principle of European democracy could not be applied in India as communalism was indispensable to form a harmonious country. Allama Muhammad Iqbal first stated in the Indian sub-continent that the concept of European democracy would not work for the Indian communities because there are two major communities in India—Hindus and Muslims—and the European concept of democracy is not feasible in India. This concept of majority and minority in a democracy was imported from Europe, and Allama Muhammad Iqbal rejected this idea. And After that He strongly defended His concept of Nationalism, with the definition of nation is the moral consciousness.

Thus in an Allahabad Address, he declared:

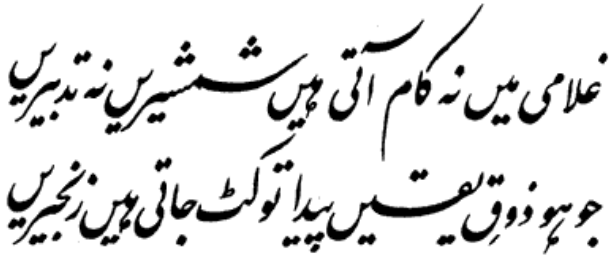
> ***"I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of Muslims at least of North-West India."***

In this way, Allama Muhammad Iqbal called for the establishment of a separate Muslim homeland in the Indian subcontinent. Areas highlighted by Allama Muhammad Iqbal during his speech, such as those with a Muslim majority in the North West of India, were those that Allama Muhammad Iqbal claimed would ultimately become Muslim India. However, Allama Muhammad Iqbal did not mention about the Bengal, it was a Muslim-majority area and later became East Pakistan after the partition but Allama Muhammad Iqbal was not assured about Bengal whether it becomes part of the Muslim state.

The abolition of the Caliphate in Turkey left the Indian Muslims aimlessly drifting in Indian politics. It was Allama Iqbal who with his well-versed knowledge on Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English, the Holy Quran, the hadith, and the Islamic theories appeared on the scene in support of the Muslim community.

He dominated the Muslim thought infusing the Muslim mind with the sense of advancement through effort and struggle. It was his philosophical thought of “Khudi” or selfhood which became a turning point for the development of the dynamic mind of the Indian Muslims.

Through his political theories, Allama Muhammad Iqbal attempted to control Muslim behavior and strengthen Muslim thought through the concept of "Khud" and by using Persian and Urdu poetry for Muslim awakening, such as...



He believed that the creation of superior people centers around Islam alone and not the race. In his book ***Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,*** he argued that modern Western thought was a direct descendant of the glorious medieval intellectual culture of Islam which came in West through Spain and Sicily.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal believed that the Holy Quran and the teachings of Holy Prophet (PBUH) are highly meaningful for the development of mankind. He therefore stressed on faith and institution denouncing intellectualism and reason being hallow and useless and insisted upon faith as sole guide in his famous book Bal-e-Jabril. His concept of “Khudi” and Philosophy of believe in faith and institutions led him to the concept of Nation as moral consciousness which declared his genius in his famous Allahabad Address. It was definitely Iqbal’s call to action in the name of Islam that Pakistan came into shape. It was he who gave the meaning of ideology of Pakistan as ideology of Islam.

Quaid -e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Introduction

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, commonly referred to as the "Father of the Nation" or "Founder of Pakistan," was a pivotal figure in the creation of the independent state of Pakistan. He was born on December 25, 1876, in Karachi, which was then a part of British India, and died on September 11, 1948.

Quaid-e-Azam is a unique personality of the 20th century of the Muslim politics in the subcontinent filled with charismatic qualities of leadership. To estimate him as a hero, legal mind superior individual we can quote the Australian Governor of Bengal R.G. Casey who had said that…

"It is not too much to say that Mr. Jinnah is the only outstanding Muslim of All India stature in Indian politics today. He appears to have the legal mind. He holds his cards very close to his chest. A man of iron discipline. He is dogmatic and sure of himself; I would believe that it does not ever occur to him that he might be wrong."

Up to 30 years of age he was a lonely man. He discouraged intimacy. It was Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar who brought him to the Muslim league circle. It was G. D. Tilak who gave him the taste of politics. In 1913, he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

Quaid-e-Azam joined the All-India Muslim League in 1913 and began working to bring the Muslim and Hindu communities together. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a key player in the negotiations that led to the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The agreement aimed to reduce tensions between Hindus and Muslims, foster political collaboration, and protect Muslims' rights and representation in Indian politics. Muhammad Ali Jinnah is referred to as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity for this reason. However, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's perspective on Hindu-Muslim unity, particularly in light of the Nehru Report, changed in favor of Muslim interests alone. In a similar vein, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan initially supported Hindu-Muslim unity, but the Urdu-Hindi controversy convinced him that the Hindus are a separate nation.

He influenced the Muslim thought with his famous 14 points in reply to Nehru's report. The Simon Commission came to examine the working of the 1919 reforms. Quaid-e-Azam condemned it saying that for the constitutional issues Indian representatives must be added to any commission to bring reform. The British remembered Sir Syed's opinion that if Indian opinion was not given any share in Indian administration, a revolt like 1857 might occur more often and the British took notice of Sir Syed's advice. Similarly, Quaid-e-Azam convened a Round Table Conference of Indian delegates to sought out the constitutional issues and the British government agreed on that. After the Round Table Conferences, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political journey took several significant turns as he continued to advocate for the rights and interests of Muslims in India.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah increasingly focused his efforts on strengthening the All-India Muslim League as the primary political platform for Muslims in India. He worked to expand its influence and promote the Muslim League as the representative voice of the Muslim community. Jinnah's significant political move after the Round Table Conferences was the Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Resolution, passed in 1940. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political journey after the Round Table Conferences was characterized by his unwavering commitment to securing the rights of Muslims and his ultimate goal of creating an independent state for them.

Conclusion

Although Iqbal did not live to see his ideal come true, his concepts and poetry continue to reverberate with Pakistanis and influence the country's culture. His emphasis on “Khudi” and the notion of a separate homeland for Muslims is still a major aspect of Pakistan's ideological framework, making him one of the most prominent philosophers and poets in the country's history.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was aptly given the title of Quaid-e-Azam. He was the only man who had the capability to lead Muslims politically and constitutionally safeguarded their rights. He is rightly called as Baba e Qoum (Father of the Nation).

Lecture 15

Lahore Resolution, 1940 and Aftermath

In this lecture, the study is divided into six parts, such as...

1. The Lahore resolution was passed on March 24th, 1940, in Lahore at the then Minto Park, and the structure is now known as Minar-e-Pakistan which is located in the city of Lahore.
2. Background of the passage of the Lahore resolution
3. October 1940 saw Gandhi's announcement of the Satyagraha (resistance)
4. Cripps Mission of March 1942
5. Arrival of the Cabinet Mission in 1946
6. Failures of the Cabinet Mission Plan and passage of the 1947 Act

Lahore Resolution

The Lahore resolution was passed on March 24th, 1940, in Lahore, at the time known as Minto Park, now known as Minar-e-Pakistan.

Background of the passage of the Lahore Resolution

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah made several attempts during 1935–39 to make the congress leader understand Muslims' point of view. Such as:

He started in 1935 with Rajendra Prasad (then Congress President) but failed. In 1937, he exchanged letters with Gandhi and Nehru, but both refused to understand him. He exchanged letters with newly elected Congress president Subhas Chandra Bose, which had no eventful result.

Then again, when he exchanged letters with Nehru in 1939, he adamantly believed that there was no Hindu-Muslim problem. Consequently, it showed that Congress's attitude reinforced Muslim separatism, showing oppression in Hindu-majority provinces by the Congress government.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah tried his best to reconcile with the Hindus and Muslims by exchanging letters with different leaders of Congress but failed. He talked with Nehru and he adamantly said the Hindu-Muslim problem does not exist in India. That was the stage when Muhammad Ali Jinnah completely felt that Hindus are not ready to accept that there exists a Muslim community and they also have the authority, the power, and the desire to have an equal share in the constitutional making and also in the government participation of the subcontinent. In the end, he decided that there is no other way than the foundation of a new state where they can live in peace and according to their culture, norms, and values.

During a previous study about ideological foundations, two terminologies were discussed: Dar al-Harb and Dar al-Islam. This was the time when Shah Waliullah and his son Shah Abdul Aziz and Syed Ahmed Shaheed slogans raised the word Dar al-Harb and it should be changed into Dar al-Islam. Muslims called it Dar al-Harb because they lived under Hindu rule. The concept that ideologically becomes the basis of the separation of Hindus and Muslims based on cultural norms and values has taken on a proper political shape. Muslims needed a place in India where they could rule and live according to their religion, and that was the start of the Lahore Resolution. On one side, a world war was fought, and the concept of democracy was practically implemented in India in the election of 1937, after an act of 1935.

After exchanging letters and opinions with Congress officials, who assured Nehru that there was no issue with Hindu Muslims in India, this majority and minority ideology of democracy posed a threat to Muslims. Muslims had learned about democracy as a form of government and about the rights of the majority and the minority. Muhammad Ali Jinnah made his final try in 1939, but it failed. He offered the Hindus some points for reconciliation, and they are as follows:

1. Coalition ministries in the provinces.
2. No legislation would have an effect on the Muslims if 2/3 of the Muslims opposed it.
3. Hoisting the Congress flag on public buildings is prohibited.
4. No Vande Mataram (Bande Mataram) as the national song.
5. To stop Congress actions that destroy the Muslim League.

All five points were not favourable to Muslims, but this shows that Jinnah favoured the preservation of the foundational socio-cultural value system of Muslims. Congress rejected all these points. AIML met at Patna for the annual convention in 1938 and created a committee headed by Mr. S.M. Sharif to examine and report the government's attitude towards Muslims

in the majority provinces of Congress. In 1939, Sharif's report revealed that the Congress government had committed numerous immoral activities, such as performing Vande Mataram and Saraswati Puja in schools, and that instead of creating a secular state, Hindustan was headed in the direction of a Hindu state. The Sharif report, released in December 1939, emphasized the dangerous nature of these activities.

Thus, in the 1940 annual session, the Lahore resolution was passed on March 24th, which declared the demand for an independent sovereign state for the Muslims of the Sub-continent by dividing India into two states, India and Pakistan. When the annual session was held on March 23–24, a historical resolution was passed, and it was declared that the Muslims of India wanted a separate state. In this way, the Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Resolution, becomes the foundation of Pakistan.

October 1940: Gandhi's announcement of the Satyagraha (Resistance)

In October 1940, Gandhi announced his plan of individual Satyagraha, which led over 600 people, including top Congress leadership, to the prison. Gandhi provoked a mass movement but failed because it was not for the freedom of India but for the British government to recognize Congress as the only representative of the Indian people. Gandhi started his Satyagraha (mass movement), but this mass movement remained unsuccessful. The concept of leadership that was present in his mind failed; no mass movement became successful in India.

Cripps Mission 1942

The British sent a mission to India to create reconciliation between the Muslim League and Congress. The Cripps Mission tried reconciliation between Congress and the Muslim League but failed. The British were in trouble in the geographical area of the Sub-continent in World War II as the Japanese had advanced in Burma. Sir Stafford Cripps led a mission to Delhi in 1942 on behalf of the British government, with the aim of establishing an elected body in India after the war. Mission failed with the outbreak of the Quit India movement in 1942 by Gandhi. When Japan joined Germany in World War II, Japan started moving in the Far East from Japan to China, China to Indo-China, Southeast Asia, and then Burma and captured Burma. When the British saw that Japan had reached Burma, they wanted to normalize the political condition of India because two events happened: the Lahore resolution of 1940 and the Satyagraha movement of Gandhi. So, the British Parliament sent the Cripps Mission, but it failed because

no one accepted it. Gandhi started the Quit India movement in 1942. He always called himself the champion of non-violence, but the Quit India movement was a type of violence that burned down everything on the roads constructed by the British. The result came in the form of the failure of Satyagraha, the Quit India movement of Gandhi, and the Cripps Mission. World War II was ended; no decision was taken for the creation of Pakistan or to divide India, and no reconciliation happened.

Arrival of the Cabinet Mission in 1946

In 1946, the British Parliament sent a mission known as the Cabinet Mission, consisting of the cabinet members of the British Parliament, to solve the political problems of India and to facilitate reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims. General elections were held in 1946. The election showed how the assembly was divided between the League and Congress. Provincial elections were also held in 1946. Here also, the League Congress division became obvious. Finally, the British government sent a mission by a British parliament member called the Cabinet Mission. It comprised the Secretary of the State, Lord Pethick Lawrence, as its head, with Sir Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of Trade) and A. V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty) as its members. The mission declares the union of India with British India and the states with foreign affairs, defense, and communication. Other powers should rest with the provinces.

However, it failed, and although an interim government was formed, the outbreak of violent communal riots led to the division of India. On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the new viceroy of India, announced his plan, but it failed. First of all, the entire government delegation (members of the Cabinet Mission) consisted of British nationals; neither the Muslim League nor the Congress were represented. Second, the election took place before the cabinet delegation arrived in India. Election results revealed that both communities are on opposing sides and that both were working for their own communities since Muslims voted for the Muslim League. Muslims desired their own state, whereas Hindus sought to rule over all of India. When the Lahore resolution was approved in 1940, it became apparent in the 1946 elections that its effects led Muslims to a point where they were unwilling to engage in any form of reconciliation instead of a separate state. Consequently, the Cabinet Mission was likewise a failure.

On June 3, 1947, a new viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, came to India and presented his plan, known as the 3rd June Plan, for the unity of India, but his plan was also unsuccessful. However, it failed, although an interim government was formed, and the outbreak of the Hindu-Muslim communal riots started in Bengal, then in Bihar, and later reached Punjab. Muslims were badly tortured during these riots. Muslims were in the minority, and Hindus were in the majority. We can say that Muslims have ruled for 1000 years over Hindus, and when the British came to India, Hindus supported them. Hindus did not forget that the thousand-year rule of Muslims was not accepted by Muslims wholeheartedly. On the other hand, Muslims did not give pain to the Hindus based on their religion; mosques were constructed in India. Conversion also happened in India, but that conversion was not done by the kings'; this conversion was done by the Muslim Sufis, Faqirs and prominent Muslim scholars who came to India for the preaching of Islam. The conversion was done in a soft way; no force was used for the conversion of the non-Muslims in India. When the British came to India, they constructed different churches, and Muslim children went to the Muslim Madrassas (religious schools). No Hindus went to the Muslim Madrassas of Shah Wali Ullah and Shah Abdul Aziz, but people from both communities went to the churches of the British. A very vast conversion happened in the Hindu community towards Christianity. If we do a comparative study, we come to know why Hindus remained annoyed during the Muslim government and also remained satisfied as slaves during the period of Akbar and Jahangir. When the decline came to the Muslim empire, these Hindus went towards the British, and Hindus did the same things that were done during the Akbar period and became closer and closer to the British government. History is witnessing that Muslims did not do the forceful conversion of the Hindus, but the British used different tactics for the conversion of Hindus by giving money and other things and different ways for the conversion of the Hindus towards Christianity. Hindus gave pain to the Muslims by joining hands with the British and in the end, in Cabinet Missions and after the coming of the Mountbatten, British total favor and support was towards the Congress. All these things forced the Muslims to think that Muslims don’t have any other way, and riots started today. Youth don’t know about the sacrifices made during the riots of 1946–47 and what Muslims lose and gain from these riots. This was the time when the Hindus got a chance to mass kill after the creation of Pakistan. Mass-level killings were done by Hindus trains were cut by Hindus and the Muslim who was coming from India was in a miserable condition; he did not have anything other than his clothes, and he didn’t know anything about his family—his brothers, sisters, and parents. All this did not happen with Hindus; those Hindus who migrated from Sindh to India did not face any violence, but the Muslims who came from East Punjab faced this. Bihar was

far away from East Bengal, and half of them were killed while migrating from Bihar to Bengal. Mass killings of Muslims were done in Bihar against Muslims. The Cabinet mission came in 1946, and in the same year, Lord Mountbatten tried to stop these riots but failed, and then the 3rd June plan came in 1947.

Indian Independence Act, 1947

The bill was drafted and introduced in the House of Commons by the British Prime Minister, C.R. Attlee, on July 4th, and passed on July 15th by the House of Commons and on July 16th by the House of Lords. Without amendment, received royal assent on July 18. The British government wanted to give independence to India in July 1948, but due to the prevailing condition in India in the form of the ethnic riot, they immediately gave it independence in August 1947. The important thing about this act was that it was one of the fastest bills in the history of England that was passed in a short time by both houses and later went to King George, who assent to it.

This act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two dominoes, India and Pakistan, at midnight on August 14–15, 1947. The Government of India Act of 1947 divided India into two parts: independent India and independent Pakistan, both of which will remain in British dominion till they make their constitutions, and, in this way, they came into British dominion. Dominion means they are independent in doing government, but the Governor Generals of both countries will be appointed by the British government until they make their own constitution. The independence that was given to both countries was not complete independence; sovereignty was given to them both as nation-states, but a few powers were present in the hands of the British government, and both parties accepted it.

The act also provided:

- The legislative supremacy of the two dominions
- Full powers to make laws were given to the legislators.
- The British government had no control over the affairs of the dominions.
- The act terminated British authority over India

Separate provisional governments were set up for India and Pakistan on July 20th. On August 7th, Mr. Jinnah, also known as Quaid-i-Azam, left India for the last time and flew to Karachi,

the capital of the new Pakistani dominion. All the law-making authorities were given to both countries, and they were given the freedom to govern their country by making laws according to their norms and values. In this way, Pakistan came into being according to the Government of India Act 1947, and Quaid-e-Azam left India on the 7th of August and landed in Karachi on the 11th of August. He was nominated as the Governor General by the constituent assembly, and he took the oath as Governor General on the 14th of August. In this way, Pakistan came into being.

Conclusion

Our next step is the study of Pakistan after its creation. We have studied Pakistan from the start by studying ancient, mediaeval, and modern history and by studying the economic, cultural, and social ideological conditions of the Muslims. Then we studied different leaders, studied their performance and highlighted their contributions. After collecting all these things, we came to know Pakistan, which we got in 1947. Its study is very important for youngsters. No doubt, we have studied it in books and heard it in the lectures of different teachers. If you go into the depths of it, you will see so many important things, e.g., Millat-e-Islamia. Muslims community and part of Muslim population, how it came into being this Millat-e-Islamia is a group and personality. In personality, we get different things like dress, sound, and educational background, among a lot of other things and then it's come out in the form of charisma like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam's personalities. Pakistan is not a country. The study we have is to identify Pakistan as a personality. There is a mixture of many cultures; we are a mixture of pluralistic cultures. We are calling it pluralistic culture because these are the Muslims of Millat-e-Islamia who were united in one part and made Pakistan from different parts of Millat-e-Islamia. In the same way, we have different cultures, different ages, and different ideas in this country, which is personality. By identifying it we can understand and will understand it and it will be easy to understand. Don’t think this is the only study of a country or the study of the history of a country; this is the study of the personality that is known in the form of Pakistan. We have studied Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's personality, Shah Waliullah, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Agha Muhammad Khan, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's personalities and we see charisma in these personalities and we will see which charismatic thing is the reason behind the participation of Pakistan in the list of famous countries. We are very important in the eyes of the Western world. We will study our

politics, economics, history, foreign policy, internal policy, crises, and resources, and then we will understand them in better condition.

Lecture 16

Foundation of National State of Pakistan

This lecture will enlighten the students about the foundation of Pakistan. It will discuss Pakistan's history, society, economy, politics, and ideology.

The current lecturer has been divided into four parts, which are:

1. **The concept begins with the fall of the Mughals after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707**
2. **The Decline of the Muslim Community**
3. **Rise of the East India Company**
4. **Bases of Muslim Nationalism in the Indo-Pak Sub-continent**

Decline of the Mughal Empire and the Status of Muslims

It is a remarkable journey about how the idea of Pakistan came into existence? After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, things were not clear for the Muslims as to whether it would start again or end. In the time of Aurangzeb's rule, Muslims had been facing difficulties maintaining a good relationship. According to many historians, there were a number of reasons behind the difficulties and unrest at that time, and one of them was Aurangzeb himself. He was equally responsible for the unrest during his time. Dara Shako (Aurangzeb's brother) and Shah Jahan (Aurangzeb's father) were also responsible for this disturbance, respectively. It was the time when Shah Jahan was alive and was the ruler of the subcontinent. Before Shah Jahan's death, Aurangzeb started killing his brothers and toppling the government. After having control of the government, he employed despotism in the subcontinent in different ways as he belonged to the Sunni cult. Secondly, he somehow remained reluctant to develop well with the Hindu community. Thirdly, he himself is an arrogant person. Aurangzeb, during his father's rule, maintained a strong administrative government in Deccan as governor over there. That is why he wanted to build the same government throughout the subcontinent. After the imprisonment of Shah Jahan and the death of Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb failed to win the confidence of the Hindu and Muslim communities at that time. In other words, we can say that a political opposition began against Aurangzeb.

So, the Mughal Empire got further weakened after the death of Aurangzeb. When Aurangzeb replaced Shah Jahan, he was a strong emperor. But after his demise, two things became clear. First, Mughal strength did not remain the same after Aurangzeb and his sons failed to continue his legacy. Which ultimately weakens the Mughal dynasty. Second, what was boiling inside the Mughal government in Aurangzeb's life had boiled after it. Meanwhile, the East India Company, which was in its early phase before the death of Aurangzeb, has now established its stronghold in Bengal after his death. It did not take time to establish its roots in Bengal after 1707. They launched a battle against Siraj-ud-Daulah in Bengal in 1757, known as the Battle of Plassey in the history of the Subcontinent.

Rise of East India Company after Battle of Plassey, 1757, and Fall of Siraj-ud-Daulah

The battle ended with the death of Siraj-ud-Daulah in Bengal, which ultimately established the British government in Bengal. Mir Jafar played a vital role in it. He was Siraj-ud-Daulah's uncle but supported the British government in the Battle of Plassey. Later on, he was appointed Governor of Bengal with limited powers. After a few years, the Mughal Emperor granted permission to the British Government to collect revenue in Bengal. So, after this permission, the British Government had both powers, as they already had administrative power that came after the war in 1757, and second, they had been given powers to collect the revenue of Bengal through the order of the Grant of Diwani by the Mughal King. This helped the British Government settle its strong roots, which ultimately developed with the passage of time. It created an impact on the Muslim community and weakened their economy, culture, and tradition, which they had established through centuries in the subcontinent. Meanwhile, the Hindu community had realised the political situation in the Subcontinent, and they were already waiting for the moment. It was the political boil-up in Aurangzeb's life that was finally boiled now. They realised the Mughal decline and the British as an emerging power in the Subcontinent. Eventually, Hindus began to support the British government over the Mughal government. It created such an atmosphere in which Hindus got opportunities to get close to the British in terms of administrative jobs, and the Muslim community got isolated. It took 100 years for the British to control the Subcontinent. Now we will see what happened next to Muslims on the Subcontinent after this.

Decline of the Muslim Community

Furthermore, it has been divided into four distinct parts:

1. Socio-Cultural
2. Political
3. Economic
4. Administrative

To understand the decline of the Muslim community, first we will discuss what happened to the Muslim community in the 100 years from 1757 to 1857. Every year after the Battle of Plassey, the British government in India strengthens. Finally, the British East India Company got control over India in 1857. It is surprising how East India Company came into India for the purpose of business and later established its government. We do not have such examples across the world.

As far as Muslims' economic and socio-cultural conditions are concerned, we have seen how the Muslim community is getting weaker in economic and socio-cultural aspects day by day. Muslims limited themselves to worldly affairs, even though their focus was only religious education, and remained reluctant to explore other concepts of education that were also important. It was time to raise awareness or give awareness to the Muslim community. The first person who took that responsibility was Shah Waliullah, the second was Shah Abdul-Aziz, and then Syed Ahmed Shaheed. Through this background, maybe some events trigger the War of Independence in 1857 in Muslims. Furthermore, it is worth noting that a Muslim soldier in Marat Cantonment fired the first shot. The British called this incident a mutiny as a Muslim soldier fired on a British soldier. But this incident later took the shape of a war, which is known as the War of Independence of 1857. Although the blaze that started in 1857 in the shape of war had political insight, this is also cited by many historians of the Subcontinent. So, through this, Muslims connected themselves to the political development in India. Even though Sir Syed Ahmed Khan categorically denied the fact while giving many reasons that it was neither a war of independence nor a political event, But it would be enough to say here that Muslims had developed political awareness until 1857, which forced them to fight for their survival in the subcontinent. So, having all this in mind, we will analyze the Muslim economic condition. Which got pitiable after the War of 1857.

If we study the historical events from Akbar to Shah Jahan, the economic condition of Muslims, particularly Muslim Lords, Kings, and Mansubdars, did not remain the same. Economically, they had to face difficulties and complications in their lives after the emergence of the British Government in the Subcontinent. Muslim's status and glory could be seen through their architecture in India, for example, the Taj Mahal, Badshahi-Masjid, Delhi-Jamia Masjid, Lahore and Delhi Forts, Humayun Tomb, etc. These buildings depicted the Mughal era and its glory. The British government demolished that glory. Hindus and the British Government together took revenge on the Muslims and turned them into pitiable conditions. Landlords did not remain landlords, and Nawabs did not remain the same Nawabs once they were. Even after the War of 1857, the condition of Muslims cannot be explained in words. The Muslim economy faced a decline, and they had not remained in touch with other arts and professions. That is why they faced hardship and problems.

As far as the administrative part is concerned, Muslims have almost lost their presence in the administrative part of India. After the loss of the War of Independence in 1857, Muslims lost their government. The last king of the Mughal dynasty, Bahadur Shah Zafar, had been shifted to Burma by the British government. He spent the rest of his life there and was buried there. So, it was the end of the Mughal Empire and also the end of Muslims' contribution to the administrative part of India. Now Hindus have a good position in the subcontinent after the Mughal decline. Hindus also constructed a narrative against Muslims, blaming them solely for the War of Independence in order to gain favor with the British. So, we can conclude in these words that Muslims had completely declined in 1858 by all means. As we were discussing the National Foundation of Pakistan, First, we see how circumstances got worse after the arrival of Aurangzeb. In the second part, we discussed Muslims' social-cultural, economic, political, and administrative decline in India and finally reached the stage of 1858.

Rise of East India Company

We had already discussed earlier the decline of Muslims after 1757 with reference to the Battle of Plassey. The British government had adopted a different approach towards Hindustani. First, they planned to win their support while maintaining a friendship with everyone, and later on, they planned to ouster them accordingly. It is important to note that while people wanted to overthrow the Mughals, they were not willing to serve the British in terms of political and administrative services. In a nutshell, 1757–1857 was a period of political struggle that remained ongoing between the British government and the Indians. During this period, the

British government also strengthened its position in India and gathered enough weapons as well. Now they were in a position to fight any battle in India. Many battles took place; a few were known as the Anglo-Sikh War, the Anglo-Bemire War, the Anglo-Sindh War, and the War between the British and Tipu Sultan. These wars helped the British government build a strong colony in India. The British government fought these wars with different states in different places to snap them. They easily defeated them, one by one. There were a few reasons behind it. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, these states gained independence from the Mughals and claimed to be sole rulers. They did not have modern weapons, skills, or men's power to defect to the British government, which was equipped with modern weapons and was an emerging power at the time. Even the British never allowed them to unite against them. Finally, the British government became a politically strong administrative government in 1858 and claimed to enforce British Raja in India. So, the foundation of Pakistan had passed through different phases and witnessed difficult circumstances. There was not only one power behind it; rather, many factors were involved in it. For example, the British East India Company was one of them that conquered India within 100 years. Second, Hindus, who were not openly opposing Mughal supremacy but many times responded to get rid of them, the third was the Muslims' decline, and they were themselves responsible for it. As they denounced their socio-cultural and religious practices. Mujaddid Alif Sani had already warned them about this, but the Mughals did take pains of it. Even Aurangzeb tried it, but Dara Shako opposed it. So, if we try to connect all these reasons, it helps to understand the eve of 1857 in India. Hindus and Muslims both lost the War of Independence against the British Government. But the price of this war was heavily paid by the Muslim community rather than by Hindus. So, after all this, the Muslim community faced different situations after 1857, which helped them emerge as a new nation.

Bases of Muslim Nationalism in the Indo-Pak Sub-continent

This part has been divided into five further points, which are:

1. Ideological
2. Historical
3. Socio-Cultural
4. Political
5. Constitutional

First, we will discuss ideological bases, which are further divided into five sections:

1. Differences between Dar Shikouh and Aurangzeb
2. Shah Waliullah
3. Shah Abdul Aziz
4. Syed Ahmed Shaheed
5. Allama Iqbal

Now, we will discuss these points one by one and try to understand how the foundation of Pakistan has developed through ideological bases.

Akbar believed that the best way to rule India was to create unity between Hindus and Muslims. In other words, he considered religion an important factor in the success of any government. So, religious harmony and co-existence were more important to him. Due to this, he married Hindu Rani and eventually turned his realm into Hindu religious. Akbar had been mentioned as a Hindu king except for his name, which was Muslim, as he had a strong inclination towards Hindus. It is true, as all important departments under Akbar's rule in the Subcontinent were under Hindu influence. Raja Tudal Mal, Raja Birbal and Raja Man-Sigh were considered intellectuals in the Akbar period. They were the advisors to Akbar and handled all important matters of the state. Even Akbar's wife, Jodha Bai, was also his chief advisor. So, Akbar was ruling in India, but actually, all decision-making was under Hindu control. Diwali and other Hindu religious norms were being celebrated in the Akbar realm. That period was historically important to note in which Muslims' Islamic ideological bases got weakened. After the death of Akbar, Jahangir took his command as king, although his mother was Hindu and he had been brought up with his Hindu mother. Jahangir had to say these lines for his father after his death: "Akbar was born a Muslim; he was a Muslim, and he was buried as a Muslim." That means Jahangir himself felt the Akbar government was primarily an Islamic government and had an impact on Muslim rule in India.

Jahangir also continued his father's tradition after his death in state matters. His liberalism took the Muslim community away from Islamic norms and culture in India. After Jahangir's death, Shah Jahan became king. He was also from a Hindu family. He is comparatively better than his father and grandfather in religious matters. He neither got those years back and that hammer on Islamic thoughts and practices nor restored its damages in Muslim society. But his partial approach somehow influences his son (Dara Shikoh). Dara Shikoh was taught by different

liberal Islamic scholars. The teachings of liberal Islamic scholars convinced him that the Akbar and Jahangir governments were the best Mughal rule in India. But as compared to Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb was brought up under the influence of Mujaddid Alf Sani's grandson. Which resulted in Aurangzeb becoming an extremist Muslim. So, in a nutshell, both brothers had ideological differences in their lives and perspectives with each other. These ideological differences later became the reason for wars in the Mughal Empire, as Aurangzeb wanted to establish a pure Islamic rule in India. The death of Dara Shikoh was also the result of Aurangzeb's extremist ideology. These were the earlier phases of ideological bases. Now let's discuss Shah Waliullah.

Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah was a true Islamic scholar, a saint, and a real intellectual. He believed that Muslims must be taught the Quran thoroughly, which helped them develop their intellect. It is important to mention here that Shah Waliullah was the first person to translate the Quran into Persian in the Subcontinent. So that common people could easily understand the Quran's message and follow it in their lives accordingly, Shah Waliullah not only wanted Muslims to get close to Islam, but he also understood the social and economic lives of Muslims. He talked about poor people and their pathetic conditions. He wished to end this class structure between the rich and the poor in society to build a Muslim community. He was also against religious extremism, as he believed in a balanced approach to every sphere of life for Muslims. He was the first Muslim to lay the foundation of true ideology that Muslims much needed. Which later on became a reason for the Muslim struggle in India.

Shah Abdul Aziz

After Shah Waliullah, his son Shah Abdul Aziz continued his teachings and his message after his father. Shah Abdul Aziz further changed the concept of Dar-ul-Islam to Dar-ul-Harab, which means Muslims are living under non-Muslim rule. So, Hindustan is now a Dar-ul-Harab, and Muslims should also try to turn this Dar-ul-Harab into a Dar-ul-Islam. This means getting back their Muslim rule in India. For this purpose, he issued a Fatwa in favor of Jihad in India. Shah Abdul Aziz also asked his brother to translate the Quran into Urdu for the Muslims of India, as Urdu had become the language of Muslims at that time in the Subcontinent.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed

Syed Ahmed Shaheed was Shah Abdul Aziz's student. He picked Syed Ahmed Shaheed for the mission of Dar ul-Islam in India. Syed Ahmed Shaheed practically implements his mission to launch a war against Sikhs. While fighting against Sikhs in Balakot, he embraced martyrs over there. The teachings and ideological bases of Shah Abdul Aziz did not end there; rather, they were continued with the students of Syed Ahmed Shaheed till 1890 after him.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal

This time, Allama Iqbal emerged as a Muslim leader. Although there was a long gap from Syed Ahmed Shaheed to Iqbal, Iqbal did not focus on the Muslim economic, religious, and cultural bases; rather, he inspired the Muslim soul. To change Muslims, he blazed Muslims' minds. Iqbal had his own thoughts and ideals, which were really different from all the above-mentioned scholars and Syed Ahmed Shaheed. For example, Iqbal considered the rise of Western philosophy based on Muslim scholars and their contributions (Turabi, Ghazali, Ibn-Khaldun, Nazam Tusi, etc.). So, Iqbal made Muslims realize and shake their minds that all these are worldly things. Only Allah and the Quran are divine, which Muslims needed to understand. He even introduced the new term 'Khudi' which means awareness. By defining Khudi, Iqbal gave a new definition to a nation in the world, which means moral conscience. That came from Khudi, and Khudi came from the concept of God and the teaching of the Quran. So, the concept of Khudi created awareness among Muslims in India. Ultimately, the awareness among Muslims continued even after the death of Iqbal and finally turned into the demand for a separate homeland. Only nine years after his death, Pakistan came into being in 1947.

So, historically, Muslims made progress step by step. Socially and economically, we had to talk ideologically about it and the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in it. We also discussed the role of Sir Agah Khan for Muslim progress, and politically, it was Moulana Muhammad Ali who gave awareness to Muslims and turned them into mass movements. As far as constitutional efforts are concerned, we had Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who played an important role from 1935 to 1947 with his charismatic leadership in a worse constitutional crisis. It is agreed by all hands that Pakistan really wants a lawyer like him who could fight for it, and he showed the world that Muslims are a nation that has its own importance.

Conclusion

So, after going through all aspects of the Muslim foundation in the subcontinent, we can say that Pakistan's creation had long historical roots in socio-cultural, ideological, and constitutional consciences. So, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the right person with charismatic leadership to lead Muslims to their homeland. So, after discussing all aspects, we can conclude that the creation of Pakistan is a historical fact, not merely a miracle. It has a long root and as a long root, it has a combination of all foundations, beginning with historical, socio-cultural, political, economic, ideological, and constitutional. We witnessed that all Muslim leaders contributed with their expertise, and all their contributions later on could be seen in one person called Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Due to his efforts, Pakistan finally came into being in 1947 as a national state.

Lecture17

Infant Nation (Crisis and Survival)

Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947. Pakistan emerged on the map of the world as a separate independent state on the bases of Islamic Ideology. The achievement of independence signified the conclusion of a particular phase of the struggle and signaled the commencement of a new era dedicated to establishing and sustaining a viable, stable, and prosperous state. Pakistan embarked on its journey towards independence under challenging and unfavorable conditions, encountering significant problems in its initial stages. The timeline of first phase was from 1947 to 1956. It took many years to leaders with a lot of problems and difficulty to have Pakistan.

The initial years of Pakistan have been discussed under these following five conditions;

a. **Geographical Set up**
b. **Environmental Condition**
c. **Social-cultural Condition**
d. **Political Condition**
e. **Economic Condition**

Geographical Set up

1. East (East Bengal)
2. West (North-West Former India)
3. Seas, Mountains, Deserts and Plains
4. Agrarian Society

In Sub-continent, Bengal had remained a serious issue for the British government in the first decade of the 20th century. When Pakistan came into being, East Bengal was given to Pakistan after partition as it had Muslim-majority areas. Keeping in view the geographical condition of East Pakistan, a few problems were identified related to it. First, the areas of East Pakistan that came into Pakistan were rainy areas. Floods used to hit those areas frequently. The East Pakistan areas had agricultural lands that produced rice and wheat. Unfortunately, floods and rains deplete the area's productive strength. Secondly, the most important natural source of productivity in Bengal was jute. In which East Bengal was rich as compared to Indo-Pakistan.

As East Bengal had rainy areas that were suitable for tea cultivation, East Bengal also produces tea.

After the partition of Bengal, East Bengal came into Pakistan. It was connected with West Bengal and Bihar. The partition of Bengal pushed Muslims from West Bengal towards East Bengal. So, a number of refugees entered East Bengal after 1947. Muslims faced many riots during migration towards East Bengal from Bihar and West Bengal. Many of them lost their lives during migration to East Bengal. A bulk of Muslims' refugees entered East Bengal, which twisted East Bengal into a poor province of Pakistan.

On the other side, West Pakistan, which consisted of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and NWFP, had a Muslim community. It had also faced difficulties as compared to East Bengal. These areas had not witnessed Hindu-Muslim riots. As Hindus were a minority earlier, they moved towards India. But a mass movement of Muslim refugees was heading towards West Punjab. They also faced Hindu-Muslim riots while migrating to Pakistan. West Pakistan witnessed Muslim migration from the whole of India; even people from Bihar, Hyderabad, Dhaka, and Bombay were also migrating towards the West part of Pakistan. This Muslim exodus faced serious riots in East Punjab. Many awful riots occurred in East Punjab, India, and Muslims lost their lives.

Lahore was one of those cities with the largest refugee population. So, both the East and West provinces of Pakistan experienced Hindu-Muslim riots that further created complications for people living in both parts. People did not know how this phase would come to an end. Muslims were going through pitiable conditions. This partition brought a new tide of challenges to Pakistan in both parts. Muslims in India were facing serious challenges relative to its geography, Muslims' exodus, and economic condition. No doubt, a real difficulty was the refugees' rehabilitation in their newly-born country, Pakistan.

Pakistan is among those states that have everything. It is a blessing for Pakistan that it has a sea, mountains, deserts, and plains. But unfortunately, inhabitants could not get benefits out of it earlier, as we had millions of Muslim refugees for resettlement in both parts. Moreover, India stopped providing water to Pakistan, which ultimately damaged Pakistan's agricultural lands and created hurdles in economic activities. Hindu-Muslim riots also took millions of lives on both sides; even the agricultural land of West Pakistan was full of their dead bodies. Unavoidable circumstances Pakistan faced at the time of its birth.

Pakistan is basically an agricultural society. 3/4 of the total population of Pakistan lives in villages and has agriculture as its main source of income. The agricultural sector also witnessed partition aftershocks, which affected its productivity levels predominantly in Punjab. Punjab was basically an agricultural zone; it has plains with a rich amount of water and pleasant weather. Punjab was the richest province in undivided India. Unfortunately, due to the riots, Punjab could not focus on its natural resources. In fact, in the early phase (1947–1956), challenges and problems limited Pakistan's ability to build a strong agricultural setup.

Environmental Condition

a. Communal riots in Punjab
b. Mass migration
c. Socio-cultural, political and economic insecurity

Communal Riots in Punjab

These three aspects are very important. First, Muslims in Punjab faced catastrophe due to mass migration from India to Pakistan. After the birth of Pakistan, their struggle did not end but rather turned into a more difficult situation. Pakistan has received dead bodies and injured people without any equipment. The condition of Pakistan was very devastated at an early stage. India experienced this, especially riots, killings, and looting. Rather, Muslims experienced a lot across the Subcontinent. Muslim families got scattered in riots; half of them remained in India, and the rest joined Pakistan. So, these communal riots badly affected Pakistan by all means.

Mass Immigration from India

This mass immigration put Pakistan in hot water. Uncertainty was prevailing after the partition. Muslims were attacked by Sikhs and brutally killed in trains. Those who were lucky enough to save their lives did not know where to go. After reaching Lahore station, people did not have any idea about Lahore city. People did not even know the names of cities in West Pakistan. The Muslim who is living in India did not know the names of big cities like Multan, Lyallpur (Faisalabad), and Hyderabad. How did they know about the small cities of West Pakistan? But it was important to say that local people helped those scattered families. They gave them food, shelter, clothes, and blankets and guided refugees through cities to reach their destinies. It is

really hard to define their conditions, which they could not explain in words. At that time, Pakistan did not have the money, administrative powers, or experience to settle a number of refugees. This mass exodus movement had a great impact on Pakistan at its early stage.

Sociocultural, Political and Economic Insecurity

The early days of Pakistan were so challenging from its inception that people faced every kind of insecurity and uncertainty. Landlords in Punjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan took advantage of this uncertainty and started strengthening their positions. Political and economic instability caused the rise of feudalism in Pakistan. It is important to note here that the Indian government succeeded in nipping the bud of feudalism in India very soon after its independence. One of the reasons was that India did not face the challenges that Pakistan had to face after its birth. This is why feudalism in Pakistan still has unfathomable roots, which affect Pakistan socially, economically, and politically. This feudalism may continue in the future as well. So, this instability and uncertainty caused a delay in constitution-making in Pakistan, and it took Pakistan nine years to constitute its first constitution in 1956.

Political Conditions

It is further discussed in four parts:

a. Role of All India Muslims League ended as its goal was achieved in the creation of Pakistan.
b. It was probably not aware of what next
c. Leadership crisis in first phase (1947-56)
    - Illness and death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (First Governor General of Pakistan) in 1948
    - Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan (First Prime Minister of Pakistan) in 1951

It is important to mention here that the creation of the All-India Muslim League in 1906 and the creation of Pakistan are visa-a-visa. The Pakistan movement started early through the platform of the All-India Muslim League. To strengthen its political role and value in India, the All-India Muslim League needed political leadership. Quaid-e-Azam was the top leader of the All-India Muslim League.

But it was really astonishing that, after the creation of Pakistan, the role of the Muslim League vanished. If we do a comparative analysis of the roles of the two political parties, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, after the creation of India and Pakistan, the role of the Indian National Congress in India has gradually advanced, whereas the role of the All-India Muslim League in Pakistan has gradually become weaker. There are multiple reasons for this. The first is the absence of leadership (Jinnah's illness and death). The creation of nation-building depends on the leadership. There is no doubt about it that Muslims have a long list of leadership positions in the United States. This is factual, from Shah Waliullah to Quaid-e-Azam, who had charismatic personalities like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Allama Iqbal.

After the creation of Pakistan, only two leaders had that charisma; the first was Jinnah, and the second was Liaquat Ali Khan. On the other hand, the Indian National Congress had even Gandhi, who claimed to not be a representative of Congress. He did not need this association, as Hindus considered him a Hindu goddess. Which is haram in Islam, as Islam does not consider its leadership like Hindus. On the other hand, Hindu leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajindar, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were experienced persons in Congress, whereas only two strong personalities were in Pakistan; one was Jinnah and the second was Liaquat Ali Khan. So, Gandhi's death did not cost India, as Jinnah's illness smashed Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam's illness allowed opportunists to strengthen their role in the politics of Pakistan. Those opportunists had only their political concerns rather than national interests. Jinnah's illness did not limit his interaction with other leaders, but the early death of Jinnah created a leadership vacuum in Pakistan. After his death, there was no one in the Pakistan Muslim League who could replace Jinnah. One more thing is very important: Jinnah had Liaquat Ali Khan, but Liaquat Ali Khan did not have anyone to lead the nation in the right way. Khawaja Nazimuddin as well as Liaquat Ali Khan were not such popular leaders as Jinnah. Liaquat Ali Khan was also assassinated after three years of Quaid's death. With the assassination of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, political leadership in Pakistan got ended. This is because the political situation in Pakistan was gradually worsen.

When Quaid-e-Azam reconstructed the All-India Muslim League, most of its members were youngers or feudal-lords. They contributed with money in Muslim League and Jinnah praised them for this act. These youngers believed that their efforts would be recognized in newspapers and in local community as well. They did not have any other concerns rather a political fame, they wanted only. Whereas, in East Bengal, Muslim League had been sidelined and other

political parties got emerged. The election of 1937 which was held under the constitution of 1935. Muslim league had Coalition government in Punjab and did not have strong position in Punjab. So, the week Muslim league itself was a great tragedy for Pakistan as a strong Congress was a blessing for India too. In nutshell, Muslims League role ended as its goal-achievement was creating of Pakistan. It was probably not aware of what would be the next.

Socio-cultural Condition

It has divided into four following parts;

a. Problem of social adjustment after the settlement of inhabitants
b. Interrelation between subcultures
c. Problems regarding residential settlements
d. Chaotic condition regarding education, health and local service

The adjustment of those Muslims who were coming to Pakistan after the separation of the Subcontinent was an immediate problem Pakistan had to face. They reached Pakistan after covering a long distance on trains, carts, and on foot. Most of them entered Pakistan through the Punjab border, Rajasthan, and Sindh sides. They were coming to Pakistan in bulk. here were probably two main reasons: one was that Hindus started killing Muslims, and secondly, Jinnah made them realize that their socio-cultural and religious identity could be saved in Pakistan. Pakistan is an independent state in which Muslims could continue their tradition, culture, and religious practices without any problem. So, these were the things that attracted them to Pakistan. Moreover, the adjustment of these refugees was a serious matter. At an early stage, Pakistan was running out of basic administrative material, for example, government offices, stationary, furniture, and staff to keep records to settle them on an urgent basis.

After this, the next stage was their interrelationships with each other, which was also a crucial issue. Before the partition of India, the values of different regions were different. Bihar Muslims were Bihari; the Muslims who were living in Punjab called themselves Punjabis. As those who belonged to Sindh were called themselves Sindhi and those who lived in Bengal were Bengali, so on. This intermingle was started when Muslims from different districts and provinces joined West Pakistan. Bihari joined East Bengal, and a few of them were from UP. So, Pakistan became a place of multiple cultures. This diversifying socio-cultural interaction became a serious issue among the inhabitants of West Pakistan. To intermingle them was a hard task for the government. Later on, a few refugees stayed in Sindh, Baluchistan, and the

NWFP. That built a multi-cultural society within the society of Pakistan. That was a new crisis that Pakistan had to face.

Economic Condition

It is divided into further points.

Economic Chaos:

1. Agriculture
2. Industry
3. Transport and Road
4. Absence of Utilities Services
5. Employment

The early economic situation in Pakistan was awful. The economic condition was chaotic; for example, our agriculture collapsed, and there was no industry in Pakistan at the time of its inception. The areas that came under Pakistani territory were unindustrialized. These two important sources are very valuable in any state, but Pakistan lacked these resources at its birth.

The infrastructure condition and transport system in Pakistan. The British had only interest in the north-east and south areas of India, and they did not take interest in the north-west, excluding Punjab. Due to this, no proper roads or transportation system existed on the premises of the newly formed state of Pakistan.

The absence of utilities like roads, transportation, electricity, and communication means created hurdles in the way of development in Pakistan. Pakistan did not have its own Reserve Bank and currency, which later developed after the creation of its own State Bank of Pakistan. Apart from all, Pakistan had not been given its due share after its partition, which resulted in a weak economy that could not sustain the development in Pakistan.

Conclusion

After going through all aspects of the early phase, Pakistan faced a long list of crises. So, the first phase of Pakistan from 1947 to 1956 was probably based on a weak foundation and faced countless crises.

Lecture 18

The First Republic, 1956

The constitutional development process was the immediate demand of newly formed Pakistan. The Constitution of 1956 was the first constitution of Pakistan, promulgated on March 23, 1956. It has made Pakistan an Islamic democratic country for the first time. The Constitution of Pakistan was based on Islamic ideology. At that time, a newly formed state faced the challenge of survival rather than reform and progress. Moreover, she was struck with different challenges due to the stakes of survival. Therefore, it has taken nine years to frame a constitution. Politicians of that era were selfish and self-centered. Hence, the feudal lords had taken over the political system. It has delayed the framing of the first constitution. The demise of Quaid-e Azam and Quaid-e Millat Liaquat Ali Khan was a huge loss for the nation. It had caused a severe leadership crisis at that time. Consequently, the newly emerged leaders lacked national interest and representation. All of these things contributed to throwing the country into a huge crisis.

Initially, in the absence of a constitution, the Govt. of India Act 1935 was adopted to rule the nascent state. In the 1935 Act, there was the introduction of a parliamentary system, and representation for the people was given through a democratic process. There was a federal structure, and three lists were given: the central list, the provincial list, and the concurrent list. Provincial autonomy was given, and power was distributed between the Centre and provinces with respect to these three lists. Hence, the state was run through the 1935 Act until 1956. Karachi was the federal capital, and the Supreme Court was also established in Karachi.

Objectives Resolution 1949

The first constitutional committee, the ‘Basic Principles Committee', passed the Objectives Resolution. The Objectives Resolution was passed, in which the Islamic ideology was adopted as a framework to frame the constitution. It was passed in 1949, which entails that sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone. The powers He has delegated to the state of Pakistan through his people are exercised within the limits prescribed by him as a sacred trust. Thus, the Objectives Resolution established the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice within the Islamic framework. This leads to a compromise between traditionalist and modernist groups, which emerged on constitutional issues in the

early days of Pakistan's political history. So, Objectives Resolution dealt with it. It emphasized that the whole universe belongs to Allah Almighty. It means that Allah has bestowed human beings with a few principles of living, and now it's our responsibility to follow them and choose those people who are best among us in following those rules. Hence, all these things, such as democracy, fundamental rights, and the social justice system, are extracted from the Quran and adopted in the Objectives Resolution. Therefore, the Objectives Resolution has sanctioned the adoption of a parliamentary system according to Islamic ideology. Thus, the Objectives Resolution has been added to the preamble of the Constitution of Pakistan.

Constitutional Crisis and Working of 1st Constituent Assembly

In order to discuss the constitutional crisis, two events are very crucial, i.e., the first Constituent Assembly and the second Constituent Assembly. These two developments are important to study. The major crisis in developing the constitution was the conflict between the participants responsible for framing it. They were divided into three groups, i.e., the liberals, the moderates, and the conservatives. Due to the differences in ideologies of all these participants, it was difficult to frame the constitution. Therefore, an objective resolution was passed to overcome this issue. The second crisis for developing the constitution was the issue of language. The population of Bengalis was higher than in West Pakistan. They objected to adopting Urdu as the national language, as they have opined that we are in the majority, so Bengali should be the national language. Although Urdu was also not the language of the people of West Pakistan, Hence, this issue was resolved by adopting both languages as national languages.

During the beginning of constitution committee, the Liaquat Ali khan was assassinated. In previous discussion we have studied that after the death of Quaid-e-Azam and his lieutenant Quaid Millat, there was huge leadership crisis. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam, Khawaja Nazimuddin was selected as second Governor General of Pakistan. And after the death of Liaquat Ali khan Khawaja Nazimuddin realized that due to parliamentary system the importance of Prime Minister is more than Governor General. Thus, he decided to be Prime Minister as well. With respect to leadership crisis if we observe in India, Rajinder Prasath, Raj Gopal Achariya, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel all were important leaders but leadership crisis was not there, there was a huge tussle between Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel but it did not affect the system. The death of Vallabhbhai Patel was fortunate for India.

In Pakistan, it was not the case; the leaders of magnanimous stature who cared for the sanctity of the country, i.e., Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, and the rest of the leaders, took national issues for granted. However, after Khawaja Nazimuddin took charge as Prime Minister, the seat of Governor General was filled by civil servant Malik Ghulam Muhammad. He was not interested in politics at all. However, on the other side, Pakistan was facing many other crises, such as economic stagnation and social ones such as multiculturalism, diversity, and political chaos. However, we were moving towards the development of the constitution. There was a tussle between Nazimuddin and Ghulam Muhammad, and Ghulam Muhammad removed Nazimuddin and invited Muhammad Ali Bogra to replace him. The first challenge to Muhammad Ali Bogra was to frame a constitution. Therefore, Muhammad Ali Bogra presented a report to frame the second important part of the constitution. The Bogra report was known as the Bogra formula, and it was a compromised federal legislature structure. Let's overview the Bogra report:

- **Basic Principles Committee was severely criticized in 1952.**
- **Muhammad Ali Bogra was appointed as Prime Minister, and his principal task was to break the constitutional deadlock.**
- **He was successful with his well-known Bogra Formula, adopted in 1954. He suggested that:**

- ✓ **Federal legislature to have two houses.**
- ✓ **The house of people will have 300 members, representing each unit on a population basis.**
- ✓ **Equal powers are to be extended to both houses.**
- ✓ **In cases of a difference of opinion between two houses, there will be a joint session to pass a resolution by majority vote.**

However, this proposal was not accepted because West Pakistan was smaller in population, but importance was given to it. Instead of East Pakistan, which had more population. But West Pakistan was better in literacy and political experience, and it consisted of many different cultures, i.e., Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., and a huge number of people migrated from India. However, the Bogra formula was not accepted, and the first effort of the first constitutional committee ended with a failure to frame the constitution. The second important issue was the legislature and provincial autonomy. The issue of provincial autonomy was also due to the three provinces of West Pakistan and one huge province of East Pakistan.

Controversy between Strong Centre and Provincial Autonomy

Pakistan was a pluralistic society, and there was a need for a solution for national integration to unite them on one idea. There was a strong demand for a strong Centre, particularly in West Pakistan. Hence, the major three issues were the language issue, the legislature issue, and the political culture issue in Pakistan. Ultimately, the solution was found on the pattern of the British government, and three lists were given under the 1935 Constitution: the provincial list, the concurrent list, and the federal list. Hence, there was no fixed decision by Pakistan's assembly. Hence, the Act of 1935 was adopted again; this was the same time when we were facing language issues with full zeal in East Pakistan.

Issue of National Language

There was a huge issue of national language in Bengal. At that time, the National Front party was famous and succeeded in the 1952 elections. The one task of the Muslim League's creation of Pakistan was finished, but the Muslim League has not decided how to rule it. In India, there was a different situation, as they had a plan before partition for how to rule. The Indian National Congress was a famous party in India and was almost unchallenged by other parties. But, in Pakistan, the Muslim League was confronted with other political parties as the national front party of East Pakistan. There was a confrontation between Muslim Leaguers and the National Front Party. The first issue raised by the party was the opposition to Urdu being adopted as a national language. And even riots and protests occurred. Therefore, Urdu and Bengali, both languages, were selected as national languages. However, the same issue of language was carried over to 1971, and as a result, Bengal was separated from Bangladesh. Once I was reading about the political parties in Pakistan, I came to know that there were 110 political parties in Pakistan in 1967–1968. Therefore, we were divided into multiple parties; there was no one large party, which is why Pakistan never had a national leader. Furthermore, the multiple parties were never successful in Pakistan. However, Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the first Constituent Assembly. He said that the first Constituent Assembly could not complete its work because of a constitutional issue and was adjourned on January 1, 1955. There was not much difference between the first and second constituent assemblies. There was an agitation for it, and the issue was brought into court. Ghulam Muhammad also succeeded. At the end, Ghulam Muhammad died, and a military bureaucrat, Iskandar Mirza, took over the rule as governor general. He had a military background and lacked political know-how. He has brought the

system of centralization of power. He brought a bureaucrat, Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali. There was a lack of political sense, political leaders, and a crisis of political culture because there was a lack of political leaders who can bring national integration. The political system, at that time, went to the bureaucrats who were responsible to administrate and thus the responsibility of developing constitution went to Iskandar Mirza and Ch Muhammad Ali. Hence, Ch. Muhammad Ali framed the constitution in six months. The second constituent assembly was summoned by Ghulam Muhammad.

"There was no difference from the first one except that it had representation of East and West Pakistan on the party base, unlike the first. The second constitution assembly in harsh gave the first constitution to the country only in six months and declared Pakistan an Islamic republic in 1956".

Parliamentary System

The Constitution of 1956 was enforced on March 23rd in 1956. The first important feature of the 1956 Constitution was enforcing a parliamentary system and a parliament considered to be supreme, and the members of parliament will be chosen by the adult franchise of the people of Pakistan. It was very similar to the British Constitution. The major difference was that the queen (monarch) was head of state, and in the 1956 Constitution, the president was head of state. It was very similar to the Indian Constitution of 1950 as well.

Federal System

Another feature of the 1956 Constitution was that it had a federal structure. It was adopted from the 1935 Act as it was promulgated in Pakistan in the absence of a constitution (1947–1956). Under the federal structure of Pakistan, four provinces were created: Punjab, Sindh, East Bengal, and Frontier Province. Parliament was a unicameral legislature with one house instead of a bicameral legislature. Mostly in federalism, there are two houses. The first house represents the people of a state, and the second house is that which represents provinces. But in Pakistan, the federal structure remained on one side. Which entails that representative will be chosen by adult franchise. Nevertheless, provincial autonomy was not given. The judiciary was independent. The president was also made powerful. The president will appoint the PM. The Prime Minister is most powerful in the parliamentary system. However, in Pakistan, the president was given the discretionary power to choose and appoint a prime minister. Therefore,

he can also dismiss him. Therefore, the president remained more powerful in the 1956 Constitution. It was a major weakness of the 1956 Constitution that the president was more powerful. It was a complicated issue. The judiciary was also weak. The judges were appointed by the president, but with the consultation of the PM. In the 1956 Constitution, PM was of no importance in the parliamentary system. It was the basis for the failure of the constitution.

There was a provision of Islamic republic of Pakistan. The president of Pakistan will be a Muslim. No law will be made by parliament which was repugnant to rules of Islam. These all were important and according to objective resolution. Directive principal of state policy of 1956 constitution was:

- **Muslims should order their lives according to the Quran and Sunnah.**
- **Provision of food, clothing, housing, education, and medical relief**
- **Improvement of living standards**
- **Abolition of illiteracy**
- **Discouragement of parochialism and racialism**
- **Unity between Muslim countries**
- **Good will with the world**
- **Separation of the judiciary from the executive**
- **Protection of the rights of minorities**
- **Protection of women and children**
- **Parity in East and West Pakistan in representation and administration**

There was a need to remove parochialism from our culture as we see the language issue between East and West Pakistan. The issue of parity was between East and West Pakistan. The explanation of parity is difficult to define. Therefore, the parity issues are still there between provinces. It is difficult to end parochialism. It would have been good for the development of the country if directive principles had been adopted. They had adopted the country and would have progressed at that point in time, and then the 1956 Constitution would be a complete constitution. In the 1956 Constitution, there were many historical explanations, many good things, and many weaknesses as well. There was also a power of emergency, according to which there was a suggestion of making a centralized state. Its pragmatic implementation was seen in the form of a revolution in which Iskandar Mirza made Ayub Khan from C-N-C to Defence Secretary, then Defence minister, and then prime minister of Pakistan. When held the office of Defense Minister, he removed Iskandar Mirza

from the seat and became President of Pakistan. He also imposed martial law and dismissed the Constitution of 1956. Therefore, Pakistan became a military regime in 1958. His rule was extended for the next ten years.

Conclusion

In short, infant state Pakistan faced constitutional and political crises up until the development of the Constitution of 1956, along with administrative, economic, and refugees' problems. The state has been confronted at different points, such as economic struggle, language issues, a lack of leadership, parochialism, and the federal structure. Hence, the struggle for Pakistan was democratic, and steps were taken to make it democratic, but it was high jacked by undemocratic forces in the early decades of its inception. Therefore, democracy leads to an undemocratic process and the failure of the first Constitution of Pakistan.

Lecture 19

The First Military Regime and the Second Republic

1958-69

Ayub Khan Era: First Military Regime

The Ayub Khan era (1958–1969) marked a significant period in Pakistan's history, encompassing Ayub Khan's social, political, and economic contributions to the country's development. This era, also known as the Second Republic, introduced a new chapter for Pakistan in various aspects. Following the passing of Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, Ayub Khan became the first leader to successfully establish himself as a national figure in the eyes of the public. One pivotal aspect of his rule was the implementation of the 1962 Constitution, which had both notable features and drawbacks that eventually led to its abrogation in 1969. Moreover, this lecture is shedding light on Ayub Constitutional reforms, the challenges faced by Pakistan during that time, and the impact of his governance on the country's social, political, economic landscape, the collapse of the 1956 Constitution, and the introduction of Ayub's martial law:

Failure of the 1956 Constitution and the advent of Ayub's Martial Law

1956 Constitution created a parliamentary democracy but failed because of many defects which are as follows:

1. PM was to be appointed by President in his own discretion.
2. President could dismiss the PM.
3. Pakistan became prey to the legitimacy crisis.
4. Absence of leadership
5. Inexperienced politicians without support of majority
6. Unpopularity of the Muslim league
7. Emergence of many political parties
8. Emergence of many political party system on personal and parochial lines
9. There was no political conviction

The important point that Pakistan has become prey to the legitimacy crisis. It means the problem was related to law/legislation. It was mentioned n 1956 Constitution that the members of national assembly would be chosen through adult franchise but could not. In accordance with the Constitution, the President had right to choose the Prime Minister of Pakistan while keeping in view he had a majority in the Parliament. Unfortunately, there was no political party that had majority at that time. As a result, numerous Prime Ministers who were not legitimate were replaced one after the other. The legitimacy crisis was persisted, and the nation had long suffered as a result. Although it was vehemently determined by the politicians to end parochialism through the 1956 Constitution but failed eventually. The issue of parochialism was graver in West Pakistan than East Pakistan. This is what, Ayub Khan observed it and responded in form of the Constitution of 1962.

Another issue was a lack of political conviction among Pakistanis and political leaders. Political conviction does not imply that everyone should become a politician, but rather that one should build a community that contributes through it. If people do not mobilize and participate in politics, it indicates that they are uninterested in politics due to corruption among politicians. It is a completely false assertion among the people that every leader is corrupted. Quaid-e-Azam was also a politician. There are no leaders like him know who are above such political assaults. However, Pakistani politicians did not learn from the politics of Jinnah, Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and M. Ali Johar. It could be defined a failure of political leadership in Pakistan till 1962.

Advent of Ayub Khan and the Constitution of 1962

The Constitution of 1962 refers to the Constitution of Pakistan that was adopted on March 1, 1962. This Constitution marked a significant development in the Constitutional history of Pakistan as it established a presidential system and introduced several key features. Here are some of the notable features of the Constitution of 1962:

- A Presidential Constitution.
- A Federal form but One Unit.
- Unicameral Legislature.
- Independent Judiciary.
- Ideological Council.
- Directive Principal of State Policy
- Fundamental rights

- BD (Basic Democracy) System

The primary distinction between the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 could be seen as the 1956 Constitution was based in parliamentary, whereas the 1962 Constitution was based on Presidential form of government. In other words, the 1962 Constitution was a dictatorial Constitution. France's Constitution has some similar likewise 1962 Constitution, as it has yet to be defined whether it will be a presidential or parliamentary system of government. Moreover, Charles de Gaulle (Former PM of France) was also General of Army as Ayub khan was also a General in Pakistan. Owing to this, Ayub Khan was frequently called the Charles de Gaulle of the East.

As far as Ayub Khan's education is concerned, Ayub Khan received his primary and secondary education at Aligarh Muslim University in Aligarh, India. He then attended the Royal Military College in Sandhurst, England. He joined the Pakistan Army when India was partitioned. He fought and won the 1965 war with India. Unfortunately, Pakistan won the combat but lost the political battles at home.

Another phase of Ayub's life was associated with the formulation of the 1962 Constitution. As a result, One Unit was implemented in Pakistan, and Pakistan was divided into two parts: East Pakistan and West Pakistan. West Pakistan was made up of Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab, and the NWFP, all of which had lived together since ancient times. Despite their diversity, Ayub Khan made them West Pakistan in order to end provincial parochialism in West Pakistan. West Pakistan had a large area, but East Pakistan had a large population. Ayub Khan, on the other hand, granted both units equal weight in terms of representation in the National Assembly. However, the 1962 Constitution was incredibly complex, making it challenging to comprehend and explain to others. It could be one important reason for the failure of the 1962 Constitution. Yahiya Khan abrogated it after Ayub Khan, as he believed that force cannot bring a community together; a society with social diversity and multi-culturalism cannot be brought together through force. Only love, affection, and mutual harmony can bring them together. Mutual harmony could be the result of two factors. One factor may be the leader of the country, and the other may be a political party. Ayub khan neither had political leadership nor had a popular political party (Convention Muslim League) at national level. That ultimately caused a failure at national level.

To maintain inter-country cooperation. Ayub used many strategies in Pakistan. For example, news was transmitted both languages. East Pakistan was formerly referred to as Purb Pakistan

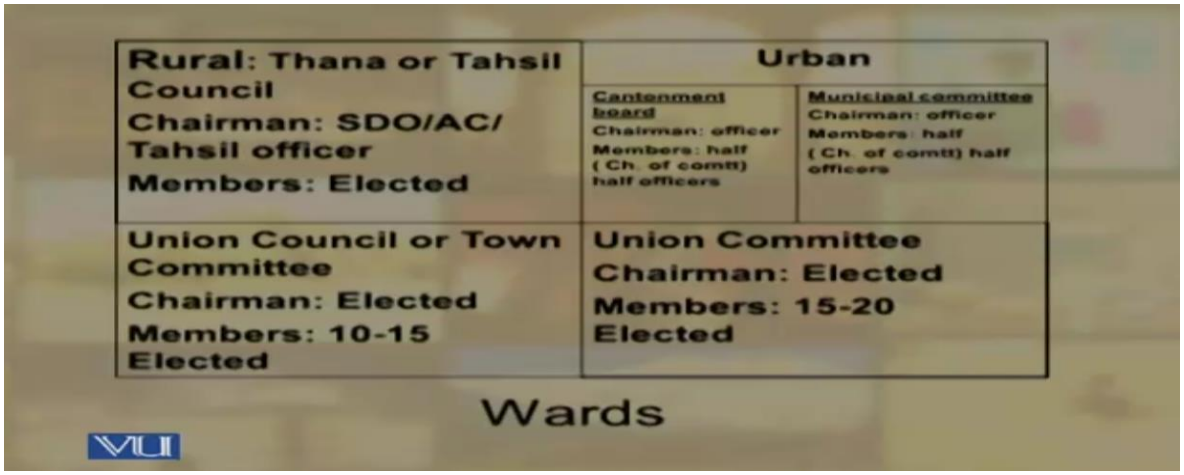
and the West of Pakistan was traditionally referred to as West Pakistan. However, Ayub Khan failed to achieve his desire goal. Another important step of Ayub khan was the establishment of Islamic council. This body was founded in 1962 under the government of Ayub Khan to provide legal advice on Islamic issues to the government and the Parliament. It was created with the intention of assessing Pakistan's government's compliance with Islamic principles. However, Ayub khan Constitution was self-made Constitution and it all began with his name "General Muhammad Ayub Khan presented this Constitution to the populace of Pakistan" It was his own Constitution rather than a republican Constitution. He was successful in his vision somehow but parochialism remained there. However, his government was autocratic but he has put claws of fundamental rights in 1962 Constitution as similar to 1956 Constitution or any republican Constitution in the world.

Later on, Ayub Khan introduced the Basic Democracies System, also known as the Basic Democracies Order, was established in 1959. It aimed to decentralize power and provide a grassroots level of representation. Under this system, the country was divided into electoral units called Basic Democracies. Local councils were created at the district, tehsil (sub-district), and village levels. A numerous wards waere created and each ward have thousands of people. These wards were made in villages and cities as well. The information shown in the image on the left side relates to villages, while the information shown on the right side relates to cities. The information shown on below is related to Town Committee/ Union Council in village and Union Committee are found in cities. The chairman of Town Committee/ Union Council of village was elected. There were between 10 and 15 people in it. In Urban areas, the chairman of the Union Committee was also elected. There were ten to fifteen people in it. These elected representatives were chosen from each ward. The other important part of this was the Thana Council/Tehsil council. In rural area, the Chairman of above-mentioned Councils were AC or Sub Divisional Officer. However, it's all members were elected but Chairman was Official. As far as the urban area is concerned, it was divided into municipal committee and cantonment boards. It is clear that both boards' chairmen were officials. Officers made up half of the members and half were elected. Different union committees have elected members serving as their chairmen. The members joined the cantonment board and were given membership in both that committee and the municipal committee, but the chairman retained his position on both boards. Officers and the chairman's nominee made up half of the members.

The district council was a third level of administration as well. It had 78 district councils and the Deputy Commissioner was the Chairman of district council. The half members of district

council were elected and others were official, the last tier was divisional council. Its chairman was commissioner (government officer) and its half of the members were elected and other were officials.

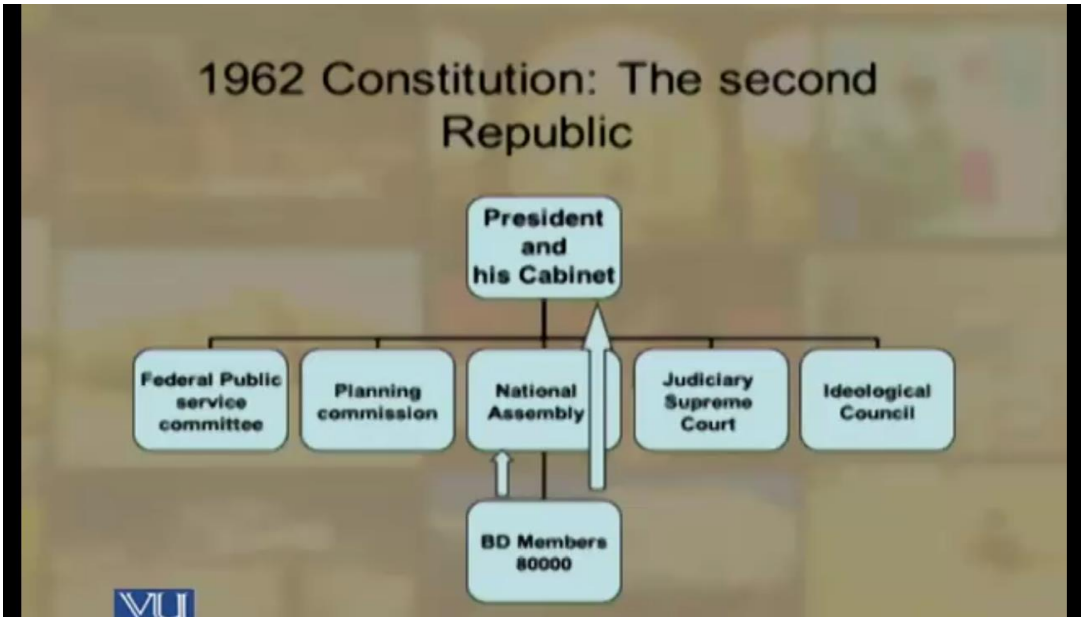
Table: 19.1



After thoroughly examining this map, it is prominent that elections for chairman and officers were placed at lower levels in both rural and urban areas, but that higher level officials would out face. The district became a strong organisation under Ayub Khan's administration, making it the most important level. The district commissioner who presided over the district at the time was a significant figure. In other words, Ayub Kha's BD system was a bureaucratic one. The district was important since it was the origin of all changes. As an example, consider political, social, or industrial development. These three significant initiatives were led by the deputy commissioner and began in the district. The elected members were irritated by the government's grant of final authority to the deputy commissioner. When a deputy commissioner was needed for personal matters like requesting school admittance for his children, waiving of school fees or when someone wanted approval for a new factory or business, elected officials were required to support him. Someone requested assistance in finding a job for his family, including his children. They must therefore interact with the deputy commissioner in some way. Thus, Ayub Khan's BD system served as a bureaucratic reporting mechanism to the president.On the other hand, the president previously had the power to designate and subsequently remove the governor as needed. In a similar manner, the Governor used to name commissioners, but he had to pick them from the service. He largely catered to his interests and tastes, though. The BD system is inherently democratic in that lower-level

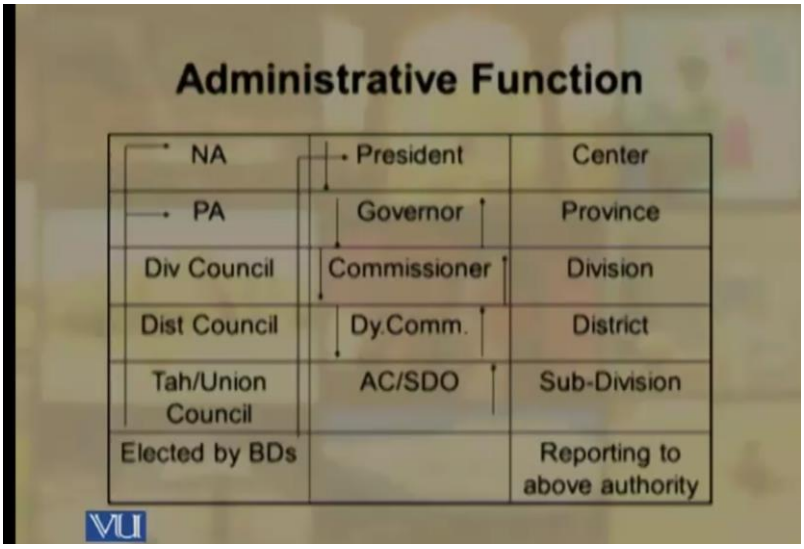
individuals are elected, according to one claim. However, it had remained a victim of bureaucracy on all fronts. Pakistan had undergone this transformation from a political state to a bureaucratic state.

Figure: 19.1



There was a President and his cabinet at a higher level. The existence of the National Assembly, Judiciary, Supreme Court, planning commission, and ideological council is then demonstrated. The larger arrow represents the 80 thousand BD members who elect the president, while the smaller arrow denotes the BD members who elect the members of the national assembly. East Pakistan produced 42,000 of the BD members, while West Pakistan also produced another 42,000. Both of these establish the Electoral College and elect the president and members of the national assembly.

Table: 19.2



The administrative system of Pakistan was structured. At left side of the image is national assembly. President is in the center. First column shows the institution and the second column shows the person chairing those institutes. And their column shows the hierarchy of power from center to lower hierarchy. It also shows the reporting authorities as AC report to DC, DC report to commissioner, Commissioner Reports to Governors and Governor Reports to President. And BDs elect NA and PA and President. The cabinet of Ayub khan was appointed by himself. His cabinet member was not member of National Assembly. Therefore, when he made ZA Bhutto member of cabinet; he was also member of NA. Thus, ZA Bhutto resigned from the seat of NA. As we have discussed that Pakistani presidential system was dictatorial in contrast to American presidential system. However, American president also appoint his own cabinet but after getting approval from senate. And senate of America represent its 50 states but in Pakistan it was not so. In Pakistan Ayub Khans cabinet was his own selected and they used to suggest him on any issue. Another important point is that, the Governor of both of the provinces was of his own choice. It was his Constitutional right to make anyone as Governor of province. The president also appointed the judges and ideological council. The chairman of the planning committee used to be appointed by the president. The President also appointed the chairman of the FPSC. The BD system of Ayub Khan's administration was initially built on eighty thousand people from both East and East Pakistan and later rose to 120,000. The main goal of the BD system was to educate people about politics, and it was believed that as democracy matured, the number of BD system members would grow. And eventually, the entire population of Pakistan will cast their votes for the president. It was his idea, known as the BD system.

The other side of the coin is that Ayub Khan once adopted a democratic system in which members of the BD would vote for the Provincial Assembly, National Assembly, and the electoral process for the President. However, there existed a hierarchical administrative system that moved upward from upper to lower case. The lower hierarchy, which will be selected, will report to the assistant commissioner, much as the governor would report to the president, the commissioner to the governor, the deputy commissioner to the commissioner, and the assistant commissioner to the deputy commissioner.

So, all the members of BD would select Ayub khan as president as well as they will select provincial assembly and national assembly. Therefore, all the process will benefit one person who will be president. As President, he will select the Governor and Governor will selects commissioner and deputy commissioner through the consent of president. In such a way Ayub khan has adopted democratic centralism similar to communist States seemed like bureaucratic system. Therefore, it was possible only in such a way when President will be of strong stature. Whenever, He gets weak a bit, the system will be vanished. Ayub Khan has made an effort to stabilize Pakistan in this way. Without a doubt, Pakistan developed into a highly solid, stable society. Pakistan's economic graph increased significantly as a result. For example, every article of clothing offered at Anarkali Lahore was produced in Pakistan. Pakistan's industrial development is to be commended. Due of Karachi's industrialization at the time, Ayub Khan brought industry outside of the city. However, Ayub Khan boosted the economy in Punjab and KPK. He increased industrialization throughout Pakistan, which led to a relatively stable economy. A strong country, as everyone knows, has a relatively stable economy. However, Pakistan was unable to become a politically mature state since Ayub Khan did not prioritize people's political growth. He believed that the people of Pakistan were not prepared for politics. As a result, they should not participate in such a system. Initially, he banned a political party and detained a politician. That is how Ayub Khan entered politics, handing over the country to General Yahiya Khan in 1969 and abrogating the 1962 Constitution.

Lecture 20

The Second Military Regime and After (1969 to 1971)

Ayub Khan's autocratic rule, known as a dictatorship, ended unexpectedly after ten years. Referred to as martial law and administrative state, his regime lacked political and administrative heirs. Ayub's departure paved the way for the emergence of new leaders like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mujeeb ur Rahman. Yahya Khan succeeded Ayub and made significant decisions, dissolving the "One Unit" concept and granting Baluchistan Provincial status. Finally, the 1970 elections deepened the East-West divide, leading to the separation of East Pakistan. Moreover, this Lecture will discuss Role of Awami League, Role of Pakistan People's Party and secession of East Pakistan.

Advent of Yahya Khan

Ayub's autocracy ended after ten years. It was dictatorship rule that could be entitled with various names as martial law, autocratic rule and a bureaucratic rule. It was not expected that Ayub's period would come to an end in 1969. Ayub's celebrated decades of progress at the end of his reign. It was time when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mujeeb ur Rahman emerged as political leaders in East and West Pakistan. However, conditions were not favorable enough for Ayub Khan to remain in power and finally, he chose Yahya Khan as his successor. Yahya Khan served as the C-in-C of the army when he seized power. He was convinced that a representative government would be a solution. He has expressed his emotions in its favor many times. Yahya was different from Ayub khan being a despotic leader. When Ayub left the government, he decided not to prolong his government. Ayub's constitution was his self-created constitution as it stated that 'I general M Ayub khan give constitution to people of Pakistan' instead of writing as we people of Pakistan give constitution to people of Pakistan. Ayub Khan is criticized due to his long rule from 1958 to 1969 and he never tried to develop national leadership. He never appointed Vice President and didn't leave any political or administrative heir. Apart from all this,

Mujeeb and Bhutto emerged as a charismatic leader in Pakistan. However, General Yahya never wanted power but he always believed there would be a democratic government who would overtake it as soon as possible. That was a major difference between Yahya khan and

Ayub khan. Ayub Khan was despotic whereas Yahya did not want to come into power. He took two decisions as the advancement of the constitution making process.

a. On November 28, 1969 he announced the dissolution of One-unit with restoration of West Pakistan Provinces and creation of Baluchistan Province.
b. He revoked the parity between two wings and announced one man one vote. This meant that East Pakistan would have majority seats based on population.

Yahya these two decisions were very important for the politics in Pakistan. That ended somehow federal disparity which was established with the creation of Pakistan after adopting 1935 Act as interim Constitution for Pakistan till 1956. But the constitution of 1956 had also same federal structured based in 1935 Act. Ayub khan divided Pakistan into two parts and established One-Unit scheme on the basis on parity. He also introduced BD (Basic Democracy) consist of 80,000 Basic Democrats equally divided in both wings.

Yahya took this matter seriously. He considered One-Unit scheme useless as Pakistani community had multi-cultural diversity. Which could not handle through One-Unit scheme at all. Even today, in Pakistan people demand to have more provinces in Pakistan. Which is the testimony of Pakistani multi-cultural society. So, it was really hard to bond the people in two units on the name of national unity in Pakistan. So, Yahya felt the pulse timely, he not only ended One Unit scheme rather he uplifted the status of Baluchistan as a province in Pakistan. Secondly, He revoke the parity between two wings and announced one man one vote. This meant that East Pakistan would have majority seats based on populations. Which ensured East Pakistan true representation in upcoming election after the One-Unite.

Moreover, it was decided in LFO that a simple majority is required for constitution making. The LFO (30March 1970) prescribed the limits in which the election was to be held and constitution was to be framed. Moreover, here are the comprehensive provision of LFO.

Pakistan shall be a federal republic to be known as Islamic federal republic of Pakistan in which provinces and units which were its part now or join hereafter shall remain so independence, territorial integrity and national solidarity of Pakistan are ensured that the unity of federation is not in any way involved.

Legal Framework of Pakistan

Therefore, it was clear from the legal framework order that Pakistan will be a federal state. The national integrity and solidarity will be ensured in democratic norms. Legal framework order

also stated that the assembly will make a constitution in 120 days otherwise abrogated. However, after that Mujeeb gave his six points formulae in East Pakistan which entailed and indicated that it is a challenge to solidarity to Pakistan. Therefore, he was named as a traitor as he challenged the integrity of Pakistan.

General Elections of 1970

The general elections ever held in Pakistan in 1970 which resulted in division of the country. Therefore, the dream of a united federal state vanished.

The election held in December 1970 was on the basis of universal adult franchise and the elections were free and fair. Through 1970 election the Awami League won 167 out of 169 and In West Pakistan, Bhutto PPP won 81 seats out of 144 and 7 independents members also joined PPP and later it became 88. So, this election shown a difference between East and West Pakistan as PPP failed to get a single seat in East and Awami League failed to get a single seat in West Pakistan. It shown a difference and distant among people who were leaving in both wings. The general election results were based on regional foundation as PPP got majority in Punjab and Sindh whereas, NAP (National Awami Party) in NWFP and Awami League in East Pakistan.

Six Points of Mujeeb

On the other hand, it was Mujibur Rahman who was determined to seek his six points formula. His determination to seek six points formula brought many sanctions on him. For the better understanding we need to know the role of Awami League in this perspective. Awami League leader categorically said that, he would rather be a father of new nation than a Prime Minister of Pakistan. This statement of Mujibur Rahman emphatically declared what he wished to be in future. It also means that he is not interested to become Prime Minister rather interested to become a father of new nation. But this message was a clear message to divide the sovereignty of Pakistan. So, it was Mujibur Rahman who disintegrated Pakistani sovereignty. As far as, the constitutional crisis was concerned, the role of Pakistan People Party (PPP) was also important. The leader of PPP has cordial relations with Yahaya khan. Yahya visited Bhutto in Larkana to talk about the constitutional crisis He also went to Dhaka to and called Mujibur Rahman in Governor House to meet whom he had declared the next Prime Minister of Pakistan. As Mujibur Rahman had majority in elections, which also needed for the formulation of new constitution in Pakistan.

But it is also important to note that Yahya went to Bhutto house for meeting but asked Mujibur Rahman in Governor House for meeting shown that he had trust barrier. Mujibur Rahman after his six point was emerging as a traitor in Pakistan and his later statements and role further strength his imaged as traitor. That's is why he had been called in Governor House for Meeting. So, the role of Mujibur Rahman and Awami League as compared to Bhutto and PPP had a huge difference in approaches. Bhutto wanted to unite Pakistan whereas Mujibur Rahman wanted to divide Pakistan.

To keep in views the all-constitutional crisis, the next point is secession of Pakistan Separation of East Pakistan. The constitutional crisis in Pakistan got worse when Mujibur Rahman told New York Times that there should be two Prime Minister in one Pakistan. This statement of Mujibur Rahman was against the democratic norms in the world in which one State has two Prime Minister in its two parts. If he used the word Deputy Minister that could be acceptable rather than two Prime Ministers. The statements shown that constitutional developments is getting worse day by day. It seemed that Mujibur Rahman had urged to build a separate State.it is not possible to make new constitution in the country. Later on, ethnic violence took place and general Tikka Khan launched operation in East Pakistan. Mujibur Rahman had also built Mukti Bahini force in East Pakistan which resulted a civil war in East Pakistan Province.

This civil war resulted in the creation of Bangladesh and India's involvement led to the success of the Mukti Bahni movement. Which ultimately resulted into recession of East Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh. The Russia helped India in war of 1971 against Pakistan whereas America, China, France and England just provided the lip services to Pakistan only. The role of Russia was very crucial in it.

Therefore, it turned out to lose the war by the Pakistan army due to distance as it was not possible to send troops to West Pakistan, India kept supporting Mukti Bahini and at last in Dec, 1971 Pakistani army surrendered to India and Bangladesh came into being. Mujeeb

In nutshell, it was great catastrophe and would remain as a great tragedy in the history of Pakistan. On 17 December 1972, Pakistan surrender to Indian Forces and Mujibur Rahman declare East Pakistan an independence state with the name of Bangladesh. Finally, the Fall of East Pakistan led to departure Yahya Khan who handed over powers to Z. A. Bhutto as CMLA. Now, the constitutional crisis got ended with the separation of East Pakistan apparently. So, the period of these two years had a long story to cut in these words

Conclusion

First, the autocracy of Ayub Khan got ended and Yahya did not have this kind of autocracy at all. Second, the arrogance of civil bureaucracy came to end when second Martial law was imposed in Pakistan. Ayub made Pakistan as a bureaucratic State that Yahya somehow restricted bureaucracy role in Pakistan. Yahya believed that it was necessary to take control from the civil bureaucracy, if he wanted to create a representative government in Pakistan. Third, credit goes to Yahya Khan to hold a first general elections in Pakistan in 1970. It took 23 years Pakistan to hold its first general elections. Yahya would be remembered for his service to hold honest and free and fair election in Pakistan. Fourth, it was really awful to accept the separation of East Pakistan.

Yahya honestly wanted to give a real representative's government to Pakistan. Z. A. Bhutto established his government in West Pakistan and within two years Pakistan got its Constitution of 1973. The credit goes to other political parties which helped majority party to pass this constitution. So, it can be concluded in these words. The period from 1969 to 1971 had a great significance in history of Pakistan. It gave us many lessons and even paid a way towards the democratic norms in Pakistan.

Lecture 21

Secession of East Pakistan, Formation of Bangladesh

Background

The history of East Pakistan is intertwined with various factors. Initially, the arrival of the Aryans in India brought the Sanskrit language, which later became known as Hindi and Nagric. Discrimination among different regions in India was evident from the beginning. The Aryans settled in the northern part of India, bringing their rural setup, while local people, known as Dravidians, inhabited the southern part with their own distinct culture. These regional differences and conflicts contributed to the diverse cultures within India. Bengal, with its unique culture heavily influenced by Sanskrit, had a significant Hindu presence, which shaped their cultural practices. When Islam entered the region, its impact on the social setup and language of Bengalis was relatively limited. Islam entered the Indian subcontinent primarily through trade relations with Arab countries, particularly in Bengal and the eastern part of India. However, in the western regions of ancient India, Islam arrived through conquest, resulting in a different form and influence of the religion. The social impact of Islam was more significant in areas like Sindh.

Islam, being not just a religion but a complete way of life, consists of two parts: faith and a comprehensive code of life. Against this backdrop, the social setup in Bengal remained rooted in Hinduism. While Bengalis embraced Islam as their faith, it did not substantially alter their social structure.

Bengali language holds great significance for its people, who are deeply attached to it emotionally. Rabindranath Tagore, a renowned Hindu poet and Nobel Prize winner, is highly revered by Bengalis, who give him more importance than Allama Iqbal, a religious poet. Another influential figure for Bengalis was Subhash Chandra Bose, who was a member of the Indian National Congress but resigned because he advocated for a united Bengal rather than its division during the independence of Pakistan in 1947. This emphasis on cultural figures over religious ones illustrates the influence of culture in shaping their identity. The struggle for the separation of East Bengal started in 1905 due to administrative issues, but it was canceled in 1911. After 1935, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, who later became the Prime Minister of Pakistan, played a crucial role in founding the Awami League. He presented the idea of a

greater Bengal, which was accepted by major political leaders, except Nehru. Suhrawardy, despite being a Muslim leader participating in elections under the Muslim League platform, started talking about a separate country named Islam. However, Bengal was eventually divided into two parts. Subhash Chandra Bose also desired a united Bengal as a separate state, reflecting his affection for Bengal rather than Hinduism. These events highlight the early desire for a separate identity or country.

Reasons behind Secession of East Pakistan, Formation of Bangladesh

After the formation of Pakistan, there was mass migration from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar towards Bangladesh. The interaction of different cultures, especially in terms of clothing and food, occurred but did not blend seamlessly. Bengalis preferred fish, rice, and nuts, while people from Bihar were accustomed to rice, bread, vegetables, and meat. The impact of Muslim culture from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh significantly differed from that of Bengal, leading to conflicts between the two groups. There was a rising influence of Bihar's culture, which Bengalis did not fully adopt. This resulted in a complex relationship, with Bengalis feeling inferior and having an agricultural economy prone to disasters. Bengal's population increased due to migration, further impacting their economy and exacerbating the complex relationship between different groups.

Language became a significant issue in the aftermath of the creation of Pakistan, leading to the declaration of Bengali as a national language alongside Urdu. This integration of society in Bangladesh led to the emergence of the United Front party, which gained influence in both East and West Pakistan, diminishing the power of the Muslim League. Economic disparities between the two wings of Pakistan, with development primarily focused in West Pakistan, fueled resentment among the people of East Pakistan. Mujibur Rahman presented his 6-point formula during Ayub Khan's time, and subsequent elections showed the majority support for Bengalis. Agitations and conflicts erupted, resulting in civil war and India's intervention. Pakistan was weakened, and eventually East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan, leading to the formation of Bangladesh.

In conclusion, the separation of East Pakistan was influenced by various political decisions, but its history reveals a deep-rooted desire for a separate identity that existed from the early days. Hinduism played a significant role in shaping the lives of the people, and their attachment to their culture fueled the formation of Bangladesh.

Lecture 22

Advent of Z. A. Bhutto

The current lecture discusses the Z. A. Bhutto and his government policies during his rule.

Introduction

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a prominent figure in Pakistani politics, received his education abroad and hailed from a wealthy family in Sindh. His father, Shahnawaz, served as the Prime Minister of the Junagarh state, earning the title of Sir from the British government due to his intelligence. Z. A. Bhutto, known for his intellect, was a landlord in the Sindh province with extensive land holdings. Despite spending a significant amount of time in Britain, he retained a sense of simplicity upon his return to Pakistan. Bhutto, a highly patriotic individual, even expressed his dedication to the nation in a letter to Quaid during his student days, pledging to sacrifice his life when the country needed it. Bhutto started participating in government during Sikandar Mirza's era. Despite Mirza's personal disapproval of Bhutto, Ayub Khan held a favorable opinion of him. Initially serving as the Minister of Natural Resources, Bhutto later assumed various cabinet positions. Following the death of Foreign Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra in 1962, Bhutto was appointed as the Foreign Minister.

During this period, Bhutto worked towards enhancing Pakistan's independence and developed a close association with Ayub Khan. However, his opposition to Ayub Khan began to surface after the 1965 war over Kashmir. The geopolitical context was marked by the Cold War, where Pakistan found support from the USA, while India was backed by Russia. Notably, China aligned with Pakistan, as it was the first Muslim country to recognize China. Amidst this global scenario, Russia convened both India and Pakistan to Tashkent, leading to the signing of a pact known as the Tashkent Declaration. The Tashkent Declaration proved to be a diplomatic setback for Pakistan. Following this event, Bhutto distanced himself from Ayub Khan and went on to establish his own political party named the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's emergence as a Public Leader

Bhutto's ascent as a leader marked a significant turning point in the political landscape. He possessed the dual qualities of being both an event-making and an eventful man. An event-making individual has the ability to disrupt a society, plunging it into chaos, while an eventful person introduces changes in a tranquil environment. Bhutto demonstrated both traits, standing apart from bureaucratic norms as a visionary thinker. Bhutto and Ayub Khan held differing philosophies, and Bhutto's political acumen came to the forefront after the Tashkent Declaration. Recognizing the impact of this event, Bhutto strategically leveraged it against Ayub Khan, leading to the founding of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). This move intensified the opposition against Ayub Khan, prompting protests from various professional groups, including professors, lawyers, students, and media personnel. The collective agitation played a pivotal role in the decline of Ayub Khan's government. Eventually, Ayub Khan relinquished power to Yahya Khan, accompanied by the abrogation of the 1962 constitution. Bhutto's charisma and astute political understanding emerged as decisive factors behind Ayub Khan's departure from the political scene.

General Elections 1970 and PPP Victory in West Pakistan

Following Ayub Khan's tenure, Yahya Khan assumed control of the Pakistani government. In response to the nation's turbulent circumstances, Yahya swiftly initiated elections to address the escalating crisis, placing his faith in the idea that a representative government held the key to a resolution. In December 1970, general elections took place, resulting in the Awami League securing a majority in East Pakistan, the PPP dominating in Sindh and Punjab, and the ANP leading in the NWFP (KPK) and Baluchistan provinces of West Pakistan. Rather than reflecting a unified national aspiration, the outcomes of the 1970 elections highlighted regional sentiments. Bhutto emerged as the predominant leader in the western wing, while his counterpart, Mujib ur Rehman, commanded an overwhelming majority in the eastern wing. The inaugural general elections for a united Pakistan ultimately concluded in the division of the nation. Subsequently, a constitutional crisis unfolded, leading to the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh. The transfer of power became a contentious issue, eventually sparking a civil war and causing separation in East Pakistan.

Indo-Pakistan War and Fall of East Pakistan

Once again, in 1971, a war erupted between India and Pakistan, differing from the 1965 conflict as it was not centered on Kashmir but rather focused on the independence of Bangladesh. Indira Gandhi took a personal role in the war, highlighting India's significant involvement. The India-Pakistan conflict stemmed from the invasion of East Pakistan, eventually leading to its secession. Following the separation of East Pakistan, Yahya Khan relinquished power to Bhutto. However, Bhutto was reluctant to accept the transfer of power from Yahya and sought the approval of the General Headquarters (GHQ), which was not granted. Bhutto assumed the role of civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), and due to Yahya holding the presidency, Bhutto was also designated as president.

Bhutto's Reforms

Bhutto implemented a series of reforms during his tenure, including restrictions on prominent industrialists from exiting the country and the incarceration of those who opposed his regime. He initiated the retirement of numerous army generals while also facilitating the release of Mujib ur Rehman. Economic reforms involved the nationalization of industries, while land reforms incorporated socialist principles. In the educational sector, Bhutto nationalized schools and colleges. Additionally, he conducted a screening process resulting in the removal of a substantial number of civil servants. Moreover, an interim constitution, 1972 came in force on 21st April 1972 with the withdrawal of Martial law. Interim constitution was introduced for the short span of time till that a full fledge constitution is introduced. It was adopted by National assembly which was elected in 1970 on all Pakistan basis. Legally new elections should have been held for a new assembly after succession of West Pakistan. But neither PPP nor opposition asked for it. Thus, this assembly acted constituent assembly for both 1972 and 1973 constitution.

Key Features of the 1972 Constitution

1. **Presidential System**
    - The constitution adopted a presidential system of governance in Pakistan.
2. **Muslim President**
    - The President was required to be a Muslim and elected for a five-year term.
3. **Presidential Elections**
    - The mode of the presidential election was not explicitly addressed in the constitution.

4. **Succession in Case of Vacancy**
    - In the event of a presidential vacancy, the successor would be elected by the National Assembly.
5. **Vice President**
    - A Vice President was to be elected by the National Assembly for a five-year term.
6. **Unicameral Legislature**
    - The constitution established a unicameral legislature where the National Assembly served as the federal legislature.
7. **Federal and Concurrent List**
    - The National Assembly had legislative authority over subjects listed in both the federal and concurrent legislative lists.
8. **President's Powers**
    - The President could withhold assent from any bill passed by the National Assembly, sending it back for reconsideration with recommendations for amendment.
    - The President served as the Head of the government, providing advice to the council of ministers appointed by the President from among the National Assembly members. Ministers could lose their National Assembly seats after 12 consecutive months in the council.
9. **Provincial Government**
    - At the provincial level, a parliamentary system was in place.
    - Governors were appointed by the President at his discretion.
    - Provincial legislatures were unicameral.
    - Administrative relations between the center and provinces were akin to those outlined in the 1962 constitution.
10. **National Economic Council**
    - The constitution established a National Economic Council.
11. **Judiciary**
    - The judiciary structure remained consistent with the 1962 constitution.

In summary, the 1972 constitution, although interim, featured democratic elements. Bhutto's introduction of street politics during this period portrayed him as a leader connected with the people, contributing to his heroic image among the populace.

Lecture 23

The Third Republic: The Constitution of 1973

The first republic of Pakistan is 1956 and the second republic of Pakistan is 1962. 1972 republic is called an interim republic. The introductory portion discusses the background and the 1972 constitution, the role of the PPP and the opposition, the adoption of the constitution without any vote of dissent, and the constitution. Let's see, a little bit of the 1972 constitution. In the previous lecture, the silent features of the 1972 constitution were explained. It was presidential. The opposition wanted a parliamentary system. There was a conflict between the leadership of majority and minority parties. Finally, a new constitution of 1973 was formed which was adopted without any vote of dissent. Ultimately, the constitution became a very lengthy constitution. The permanency of the third republic makes it further strong because the constitution of 1956 and 1962 could not survive for a longer period. Now, we will discuss the silent features of the 1973 constitution. It includes 1. Fundamental rights 2. Directive principles of state policy 3. Parliamentary form of Government 4. Federalism 5. The role of president 6. Cabinet 7. Federal Legislature 8. Provincial government and legislature 9. Judiciary 10. Islamic provisions. 11. Emergency 12. Amendments in the Constitution. It also reports that the Constitution of 1973 is a detailed constitution that elaborates on almost everything. The founders of the Constitution envisioned no further inclusion into it. But unfortunately, amendments are made to it.

Silent Features of Constitution of Pakistan 1973

Fundamental Rights

Fundamental rights include the security of a person, safeguard against unlawful arrest and detention, prohibition of slavery and forced labor, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of business, freedom of speech, freedom of professing religion, right to hold property, equality before the law, right to preserve language, scripts, and culture, and safeguard against discrimination in services. The long list of fundamental rights clearly explains the democratic spirit of the country. The safeguard against discrimination expresses that every citizen has his entity in the society and the autonomy of the citizen is expected to maintain.

Directive Principles of State Policy

It includes that Muslims should live according to *the Quran* and *Sunnah* and security to the well-being of people. Income, food, clothing, housing, education, and health are part and parcel of the directive policy. Promotion of social justice and removal of illiteracy, discouragement of parochialism, tribalism, and racialism, strengthening of unity between Pakistan and other Muslim countries, and protection of legitimate rights and interests of non-Muslim minorities. Protection of marriage, family, mother, and child, protection of women in all spheres of law, promotion of local government institutions, elimination of the interest system as early as possible, and participation in the armed forces of Pakistan is open for all. The directive that Muslims should live according to Quran and Sunnah demonstrates the insight of Objective Resolution in the constitution. The security of public well-being is mentioned as a state responsibility. The promotion of social justice and the removal of illiteracy will strengthen the democratic spirit in Pakistan. Parochialism, tribalism, and racialism remained an important part of our culture. The elimination of these elements is obvious in the policy directives of the state for the formation of national unity based on the single culture in the country. Parochialism can set the direction of the country away from democracy in the pluralistic culture of Pakistan. Therefore, it is important in the state policy of a country. Keeping in view the Quran and Sunnah as a guide, the close relationship of Pakistan with other Muslim countries is part of our policy to observe unity among Muslim *Ummah*. The protection of minority rights is mentioned in Islam. Therefore, it is part of our state policy to protect the legitimate rights of minorities. Islam gives women equal rights vis-a-vis men.

Therefore, protection of women's rights is mentioned in the constitution of Pakistan as state policy. Immediate elimination of interest (*Sood or Riba*) was observed as part of the constitution. The right of participation of every individual in the armed forces was given to every citizen of Pakistan. He can serve in the Armed forces on his willingness to fulfill his duty as a citizen.

Parliamentary Form of Government (National Assembly and Senate)

Before the discussion of the parliamentary form of government since the 1973 constitution, it is essential to mention that the inhabitants of the Sub-continent lived under a parliamentary form of government. In other words, the British ruled over India through a parliamentary system during the colonial period. Initially, they establish autocratic rule in Sub-continent. When the struggle for national freedom started in Subcontinent and reached the phase of 1935,

the British government announced provincial autonomy and established a parliamentary system in the eleven provinces of the subcontinent. Since then, the people of the sub-continent developed parliamentary consciousness and gained experience with this system. The provincial assembly and the seat of the chief minister and his cabinet were established through the constitution of 1935. The parliamentary system in England including the executive (cabinet), prime minister, and head of state (monarch) was laid down in the constitution of 1935 in the Pakistan Subcontinent. Hence, a representative assembly was made under provincial autonomy with Chief Minister and his cabinet. The provincial governor was its head who was appointed by the Viceroys. Such a type of parliamentary system was set up in the constitution of India and Pakistan in 1950 and 1956 respectively.

Unfortunately, the constitution of 1956 could not survive for a longer period due to various previously mentioned reasons. The presidential system appeared through the 1962 republic. Although it included parliament yet, it was a tool for the President which has been mentioned in the Basic democratic system of Ayub Khan. The parliamentary system gained greater importance in the constitution of 1973. Though it was a parliamentary system, therefore, parliament was given greater importance. Parliament would be the most important part of the Pakistani system. This long story started in England and all the powers remained with the parliament in a parliamentary system. Parliament is established by the public based on an adult franchise (one man, one vote). People elect their representatives from their constituency. These electable have their seats in the parliament and formulate laws. They elect a prime minister from themselves for the implementation of the law. The prime minister selects a cabinet from those electable and formulates policies. Furthermore, the cabinet implements its policies with the help of the executive. The system of government works in this way. There are two houses in the parliamentary system of Pakistan. It is called a bicameral system in the language of political science known as 1. National Assembly and 2. Senate. The members of the national assembly are elected based on population. Constituencies are formed in the country and representation is maintained according to population with one-to-one process of voting. Members are elected in the assembly for five years. Later on, elections are called for further selection of the members of the national assembly. The member of the Senate is elected indirectly. They represent all the provinces of Pakistan on an equal basis. The allocation of seats in the Senate of Pakistan is laid by keeping in view the constitution of America.

There is a bicameral system in the parliament of India. One house represents the public of India based on population while the other house represents the provinces of India. But, the representation of the province is also based on the population in India. Like Pakistan, India

does not follow the American system of representation on an equal basis (Two senators are appointed in the Senate of the USA from each state). India elects its senators based on its population from each state. The senators in Pakistan are elected on a state basis. It shows the strength of the parliament which represents overall Pakistan in the national assembly and provinces in the senate on an equal basis. The powers of both houses are almost the same. Both houses formulate laws while the financial bills are initiated in the national assembly. All the other bills can be initiated from both houses. There is no other difference between the houses. First of all, a bill moves in the national assembly or senate and then moves to another assembly. Later on, it goes to President. Hence, both houses participate in the legislature. It demonstrates that the parliamentary system in Pakistan is relatively more democratic, obvious, and strong than Britain and India.

Federalism

Federalism is an important part of the constitution of Pakistan. We need to see it deliberately because it emerged in the sub-continent. If one looks into the basis of federalism, it started in ancient times. Historically analysis shows that Aryans entered into Indian Territory through mountainous areas from central Asia and settled in Northern India. Indian inhabitants were living in Southern India. It was a second race which is known as "Dravidians". The Aryans and Dravidians had divided India into two parts. The geographical division in the Subcontinent appeared since that time. During the Muslim (period), the rules of King Akbar and particularly Prince Shah Jahan, the subcontinent had divided into many regions. Shah Jahan appointed his four sons in four regions. The elder son sat in the capital with his father and other throne themselves in Punjab, Bengal, and Deccan. These four regions had established in India during the period of Prince Shah Jahan. The study of history witnessed that after the death of Aurangzeb, the geographical division of India started with the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The rule of the last Mughal king (Bahadar Shah Zafar) was limited to Delhi at the time of the War of Independence in 1857. India was divided into both larger and smaller areas. Bengal, Madras, Bangalore, and Mahrattas were enumerated as large areas. But, smaller Rajas, Nawabs, and the feudal lord had occupied some territories of their parts such as the Nawab of Bahawalpur, Nawab of Kalat, Nawab of Swat etc. When an act of 1935 passed, India was divided into eleven provinces, more than six hundred and fifty princely states, and one thousand miner states in British India. Language and culture played a vital role in the debate about federalism in the 1935 Act. Pakistan subcontinent was a multicultural and multi-lingual society. Thousands of languages and cultures exist in the subcontinent. When Pakistan appeared on the

map of the world, it was divided into various regions in the shape of provinces. For instance, Bengal was divided into two regions West Bengal and East Bengal. Later on, East Bengal was converted into East Bengal. North Western provinces of India became part of Western Pakistan including, Sind, Punjab, NWFP, and Baluchistan. Thus, the creation was based on the federal system. The act of 1935 was adopted in the political system of Pakistan in 1947. It recognized and identify the provincial autonomy by keeping in view the 1935 act. The working of the political system in Pakistan start according to the 1935 act which continued till 1956. A new shape of federalism was established according to the Constitution of 1956. Similarly, a new setup of the federation was adopted according to the constitution of 1962. From a historical point of view, the concept of federalism changed with time. Therefore, it was considered important in the third republic. Even, federalism became the cause of the separation of East Pakistan. The founder of the Constitution of 1973 wanted to shape it in a way to create permanency in federalism. In the same way, they wanted to remove ambiguity related to provinces. Therefore, parliament was founded on two houses of national assembly and the senate. The Senate was carved out to give equal representation to four provinces. The end of parochialism has been discussed in the directive of state policy. Pakistan is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual country. Hence, the federation was designed by keeping in view these realities. Pakistani culture can be divided into tripartite approaches. One is broader among all which is based on the Islamic standard of living. The second approach toward cultural manifestation is based on Pakistani nationalism which distinguishes it from other countries of the world. The third approach is based on multiculturalism or pluralistic culture within the country. People observe particular culture in a specific region. For example, people are different based on dress, language, taste in food, rituals of marriages, the standard of living, etc. The federal system has been designed in the third republic by keeping in view three types of cultural manifestation in Pakistan. It shows that federalism has greater importance in the constitution of 1973 Pakistan. This importance can be judged through equal representation of all provinces in the senate through the parliamentary system of Pakistan. It explains that the constitution respects the equality of all provinces and takes steps toward democracy with the protection of provincial autonomy.

Role of the President

President is considered the nominal head of the parliamentary system. The constitution of 1973 gives the president the position of nominal head. Unfortunately, the constitution operated strangely after the Bhutto period in the reign of Zia ul Haq and Musharraf period regarding the

8th and 18th amendments. It will be discussed in the coming discussion about Zia ul Haq and Musharraf. As nominal head, President gives his assent to the laws passed in the parliaments. He has no authority to give his opinion but affixes his signs on the bill like in Britain where parliament makes laws and Queen gives her signatures on them. The president gives his signature in India as well. Being a nominal head, the president enjoys some personal prerogatives as chief commander of a commanding force of Pakistan. He also received ambassadors and represent Pakistan in foreign countries. These are some protocols of the president. Otherwise, he is not the chief executive of Pakistan rather he fulfills his duties as nominal head of state.

Cabinet of Pakistan

As mentioned earlier, the role of parliament is essential in the parliamentary system. Parliament is a very big house. The Members of Parliament meet daily in various sessions. These members take a break at the off of sessions. They go into their stations and facilitate the public in their stations. The cabinet plays the role of a limited parliament in the presence or absence of members of the parliament. The cabinet serves as the chief executive body and implements the formulated policy. The members of the cabinet are taken from the parliament and elected Prime Minister to serve as the head of that cabinet. He takes all the responsibilities of the cabinet. It generates the concept of corrective responsibility. If any member of the cabinet does not responsibly perform his assigned task, the cabinet is considered responsible for it. Corrective is an important element of the cabinet. The members of the cabinet perform dual tasks. On the one hand, they represent the parliament and implement the laws of parliament as head of the executive. On the other hand, the mistakes of the minister are considered mistakes of the cabinet, not the mistake of the cabinet. In the democratic system of Pakistan, the cabinet exercises all powers of parliament with the confidence of parliament. The parliament can move a vote of non-confidence against the Prime Minister. In other words, the Prime minister plays an important role in the political system of Pakistan like the Indian, Australian, and Canadian prime ministers.

Federal Legislature

Two houses of parliament (National Assembly and Senate) have already been mentioned. The functions, importance, and legitimacy of both houses have already been discussed in the discussion of the parliamentary form of government.

Provincial Government and Legislature

The concept of provincial government started in India in ancient times. It came in its proper or actual form in the Government of India Act 1935 in which the conception of provincial autonomy had been laid down. One must remember as a student of history, political science, or social science that discussion and understanding of the political system especially democracy is very difficult. One can lose himself and becomes ambiguous in the measurement of democratic and undemocratic steps in the democratic system of governance. Which steps would be considered democratic and which step would be considered undemocratic? The vacuum between democratic and un-democratic steps is very difficult to fill. Political scientists are developing distinctions between the both. “Maximum autonomy will bring the greatest democracy” is the best way to understand democracy. Maximum autonomy of the public at individual and collective levels will lead to the climax of democracy. Autonomy plays the greatest role in the strength of the democratic system. The concept of provincial autonomy in the Government of India Act 1935 became the base of a democratic form of governance in Pakistan. It took a long time for us to understand it in 1973. It no denying the fact that the founder of the constitution of Pakistan had a great vision to give significance to the provincial autonomy. Therefore, autonomy is a way towards democracy. “There will be no autonomy, there will be no democracy”. Provincial autonomy had brought back in the 18th Amendment. There is one house in the provincial legislature which represents the whole province. Like the nominal head (president), parliament, and (PM as chief executive in) cabinet in the center, the provinces also have a provincial assembly (public representative), the governor appointed by the president as (the nominal head) and a provincial cabinet (with Chief Minister as executive head). It is a case for deliberation that has its connection with the parliamentary system, parliamentary democratic system, federal system of Pakistan, and provincial autonomy. Recognizing the multiculturalism and creation of a system of provincial autonomy was one of the greatest contributions of the founder of the third republic. Like the federal government in the federation, there is a provincial government in the provincial autonomy. The federal government is strong in the federation while the provincial government is strong in the provinces. The Senate creates balance among provinces while the provincial government creates balance with the federal government.

Judiciary

The independence of the judiciary is the first point in democracy. In older times, the prince exercises his power as judge, lawmaker, and chief executive. With the study of political science, there came the idea of separation of power. The independence of the judiciary was considered important. Independence of democracy is impossible without an independent judiciary. Therefore, the judiciary is important in any democratic system. No doubt, parliament is important in the parliamentary system. The acts of public welfare and human rights are mentioned in the directive of state policies. But these can only be protected through independent judicial set-up. Therefore, the judicial system of Pakistan is an independent body according to the constitution of Pakistan. There is a supreme court in the center and a high court in the provinces and session courts and civil court at a local level. The constitution of 1973 gives full independence to the judiciary of Pakistan and it reflects the true democratic spirit in its nature.

Islamic Provisions

There are three important points in the Islamic provisions.

• No law in Pakistan will be made which is repugnant to the injunctions of the Holy Quran. It is mentioned in the objective resolution and preamble of the constitution.

• President and Prime Minister will be Muslim.

• A strong bond would be the principle of the policy for relations with Muslim countries.

• For the formation of a council of Islamic ideology which will recommend the NA and the Pas regarding the injunctions of Islam.

Emergency Provisions

When the emergency is declared in the country by the President with the consent of the parliament then: The president took all parliamentary power into his own hands and the power of national and provincial assemblies ended. Many fundamental rights are abolished as well.

Amendments in the Constitution

Amendments can be made in the constitution by the two third of the total members of the national assembly's vote and by the votes of a majority of the total members of the Senate. Amendments are made in almost every constitution. With time, things changed which required changes in the laws. Therefore, amendments are a continuous part of the Constitution.

Keeping in view all the features of the constitution of Pakistan, it becomes obvious that it is a perfect, vast, and democratic constitution including Fundamental rights, Directive principles of state policy, a Parliamentary form of Government, a Federation, defining role of the president and Cabinet, Federal Legislature, Provincial legislature, Independent Judiciary, Islamic provisions, Emergency provisions, and amendments in the constitution. While keeping in mind all these things the constitution of 1973 is providing full provincial autonomy to all citizens of Pakistan and it is a completely democratic constitution.

Lecture 24

Socio-Political and Economic Change under Z. A. Bhutto

Introduction

The reign of Z. A. Bhutto began in 1971 and nearly lasted seven or eight years. It is a significant historical, political, and economic period. As a result, it is imperative that we examine this time period. In this lecture, a few topics will be covered.

Bhutto's personality, Bhutto's ideology, Bhutto's charismatic leadership, and Bhutto's constitution of 1973 will be discussed in the introduction. Bhutto is considered very important because of his personality in Pakistan. Many books have been written on Bhutto. Every book emphasized that there were many distinguished qualities in his personality which attract the public towards him. It explains the image of Z. A. Bhutto which would be discussed in his role as a charismatic leader. He participated in politics in his youth. He came back to Pakistan and started his career as a lecturer in the field of law in Karachi. Though he spent his maximum time in England and USA during his education, therefore, he was not very familiar with the Urdu language and political culture of Pakistan. He learned both politics and the Urdu language very soon. He was a very intelligent person who successfully understood the political culture of Pakistan. He belonged to a feudal and rich family in Pakistan. He also belonged to an educated family and his father Shah Nawaz Bhutto was a minister in the State of Junagarh. His intelligence, higher education, western learning, belonging to Western culture, feudal background, and political background reflect his personality. Therefore, he appeared as an image in the politics of Pakistan. It takes him to the charismatic personality.

Bhutto's Ideology

Bhutto entered into the politics of Pakistan with an ideology. No politician entered into the politics of Pakistan with ideology before Z.A. Bhutto. Only the ideology of Pakistan remained at the heart of politics from 1947 to 1962. In the beginning, Ayub Khan name the Pakistan Republic of Pakistan". Later on, he amended it and named the country "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". It shows that either Ayub Khan had no idea of the Islamic Republic or he ignored it consciously. Bhutto appeared in politics with an ideology that is visible in his ideological statement. He stated, "Islam is our faith, democracy is polity and socialism is our economy". This combination of three elements is not visible in any country of the world. "Islam is our

faith" was the narrative of Pakistan which has been explained in objective resolution. "Democracy is our polity" is visible in the slogans of America and the French Revolution. "Socialism is our economy "is based on the theory of Karl Marx which appeared in the politics of China and the USSR. Bhutto laid this unique ideological foundation of Pakistan with his study of the politics of the world with deliberation along with his educational background. He established his political party with this motive.

Bhutto's Charismatic Leadership

The word Charisma came into Political science from the subject of Sociology. Its use started in Political science in the 20th century. At the assassination of President Kennedy people said that his personality was charismatic. There was no use of charisma in the language of political science. After this, they considered their previous leaders like Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson as charismatic personalities. The famous leaders of the 20th century like Mao Zedong, Lenin, Stalin, Churchill, and Wilson etc. were called charismatic by the Americans. The word charisma was also used in the Muslim world for Jinnah, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and Allama Iqbal who attracted the public towards them. This political image also appeared in Bhutto after Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the history of Pakistan from 1947-71. No personality attracted the public like Jinnah and after him Z.A Bhutto. Therefore, the image of a Charismatic leader was present in the personality of Bhutto. Following of leader is another sign of charismatic leadership. Everyone wanted to have a look at the personality of Quaid e Azam which shows his charisma. Bhutto's magnetic power attracted the public toward him because he communicated with the public in the language of the public. He spoke those words which people liked to listen. He used national dress to attract the public. It was the quality of Z.A. Bhutto that he followed the dictations the of time. He used to follow the events and tried to create his event. Later on, his charismatic power transferred into his daughter Benazir's politics and PPP is still witnessing the charismatic power of Z.A Bhutto for its popularity.

Bhutto's Constitution 1973

The constitution of 1973 has already been discussed in detail in our previous lectures. It was the first constitution of Pakistan which is democratic in its spirit. It explains that Bhutto had a strong desire to give the public their due power and autonomy. There came many cracks in the 1973 constitution which will be part of our debate in the next lectures about military regimes. It is worthy of our attention that this constitution gained positive support from the opposition. Therefore, it is democratic.

Bhutto's Concept of Modernization and Change

Notion of Modernization

Generally, People considered modernization to be like Westernization which is not true and right. Modernization is linked with change. Societies are defined as traditional and modern societies in two broad categories in terms of change. When a society moves from traditional to modern society, it is called a transitional, progressive, or developmental society. Traditional society is static, passive, and continuous. Modern society is dynamic flexible and active and changes its nature over time. Traditional society continues the traditions of its forefathers. Modernity demands changes, dynamism, and activeness with changes. This is the major difference between traditional and modern societies. Developing nations are following the path of modernity and changing their nature from traditional society to modernity. The measure of changes would explain the level of modernity in developing nations. If it crosses its full limits of change, it is called modern society. Modern societies also continue the tradition of change. Therefore, the expression "what is modern today will be tradition tomorrow" is used in political science. If modern society becomes static at a particular level, it will be called a traditional society. Modernity is a process of continuous change. Bhutto also wants to bring change in Pakistan which is visible from his statement. Believing in the possibility of bringing change in Pakistan he said, "If countries like Iran and Egypt can introduce free education and medical care, why should a great Islamic country like Pakistan not be able to do that?" He quoted two developing nations (Iran and Egypt) for change to provide medical facilities then why not Pakistan a great Islamic country? Keeping in view this vision he included it in the manifesto "The Pakistan People Party is a party of masses and it has promised that we shall end the system of exploitation and eradicate poverty, hunger and misery from the country". It is an important part of the people and it promised to remove poverty, hunger, and corruption. It will eradicate traditionalism and follow the dictation of modernity. He did not mention the following of westernization but, modernism. Bhutto offered his politics with a new style through this vision of modernity.

There are certain elements that need to elaborate here.

Introduction of Street Politic

It reflects the charismatic personality of Z.A. Bhutto as he gave the public a motive and vision. He urged the public that Pakistan belongs to you and that the country's progress, development,

and modernization are linked with you. You must be active, progressive, and energetic for your progress and the progress of your country. Hence, the politics of Pakistan came on the roads for the first time. Every person thought him a part of Pakistan. Therefore, his participation is essential in Pakistan.

Introduced Democracy based on Social and Economic Justice

Bhutto, a Pakistani nationalist and socialist, held distinctive views on the democracy required in Pakistan. In this way, Bhutto introduced many reforms to attain equality and economic justice for the poor class of the society.

Bhutto's Administrative Reforms

Bhutto brought administrative reforms to materialize these realities. These reforms were meaningful. Though it could not bring desirable results which would be discussed later. He tried to combine hundreds of divisions into twenty-two grades. Therefore, he introduced the professional status of government servants and their salaries from grade one to grade twenty through his administrative reforms. It is a very important change still present in Pakistan's administrative setup.

Bhutto's Socio-economic Policies and its implications

The socio-economic policies of Z.A. Bhutto can be summarized in four points.

a) Nationalization of education
b) Nationalization of economic resources such as industries, banks, insurance companies
c) Elimination of multiculturalism leading to national integration
d) Labor reforms

Nationalization of Education

Education is a primary need for the progress of any country. Literacy teaches human beings about their values. First of all, an educated man identifies himself. Self-identification is essential for democracy. This identification takes a society towards its basic point of literacy. The literacy rate in Pakistan always remained low because education did not gain public attention. The education policy remained unsuccessful or without implication in its true spirit in Pakistan. Resultantly, the educational institution of Pakistan started to become weak day by day. Bhutto realized that education is necessary for social justice, development, and

modernization. It was only possible through the nationalization of education. Therefore, he nationalized the educational institutions of Pakistan. All the institutions of education came under a governmental domain. In this way, Bhutto tried to create uniformity between the children of the poor and the rich. Hence, everyone could get an education of the same style. Nationalization of education was an important step of Bhutto which he included in his developmental program.

Nationalization of Economic Resources such as Industries, Banks, Insurance Companies

Bhutto nationalized banks, industries, and insurance companies. He imagined that nationalization is essential for the promotion of economic justice. Bhutto also mentioned in his manifesto that socialism is our economy. He idealized nationalism as a process of socialism. Therefore, he considered the nationalization of financial organizations essential for a socialist economy. Therefore, he nationalized financial organizations.

Elimination of Multiculturalism Leading to National Integration

Bhutto tried to eliminate the multicultural attitude toward national integration in Pakistan. It is mentioned earlier that Pakistan is a multicultural and diverse society. The elimination of parochialism, tribalism, and racialism was included in his developmental program. On the side, the culture of Pakistan is a collection of diversity. It needs unity from other aspects. It requires a charismatic personality which was witnessed in the personality of Quaid e Azam who united the Muslims and created a separate homeland. Bhutto desired to identify Pakistan as a single nation through his charismatic personality to eliminate multiculturalism. In other words, PPP integrate itself to attract public attention to integrate people as a single united nation automatically through the political framework of his party.

Labor Reforms

Labor reform included l**abor**-management relations, minimum low wages fixed, working hours fixed, housing and education for children, security of employment, and workers' share in annual output. **Labor** reforms reflect the process of socialism where Bhutto tilted himself. These reforms explained the heart of Bhutto for the uplift **Labor** class who were at the lower tier in social stratification for modernization and change in Pakistan.

After the Effects of Bhutto's Reforms

Impacts of Bhutto's process of modernization and its changes in Pakistan. The autocratic attitude of Bhutto, the corruption, dishonesty, and malpractice of his associates, officer's victimization, and financial bribes will be discussed in this part. All these brought misery, agony, and suffering instead of modernization and development.

The political attitude of Bhutto became autocratic in a political environment. The charismatic personality of Bhutto changed public opinion and support in favor of his party. It also brought a change in the personality of Bhutto. He was a man with a dual personality. On the one hand, he was educated, intelligent, and well-versed in the economy, society, and politics of the world. He was well aware of global politics. No doubt, he was a genius mind of the twentieth century. Other aspects of his dual personality belonging to his feudalism, landlordism, political heritage and elitism began to appear after he assumed power. His speeches reflect his personality when he appeared as a public figure among the public who was ready to sacrifice their lives on behalf of Bhutto. People loved him and he presented himself as a public figure. He was known as Quaid e Awam. But when he met with a foreign ambassador or any foreign dignitary, he used to wear a very expensive dress, smoke a good cigarette, and spoke the English language. He was literate in the English language and demonstrate himself as a member of an elite class. It enhanced the image of Pakistan. It created autocratic feelings in Bhutto due to his dual personality. Resultantly, he could not tolerate "no" from anyone. Those who joined him in making the Pakistan People's Party alienated themselves from Z. A. Bhutto. Bhutto also sidelined and separated his famous and experienced advisors from himself. Bhutto was surrounded by young, inexperienced, and less intelligent people without educational and ideological foundations. The advisory of these inexperienced advisors led him to the journey of unsuccessfulness. Hence, the malpractice, corruption, and dishonesty of these people pushed the desired idea of Bhutto's development toward the backwardness of the country. Bhutto started to victimize a large number of officers. One of his ministers read the name of almost fourteen hundred people who were terminated from their services. Many people submitted their applications against this purgation with the arguments that they were terminated from their offices without proper inquiry or charge. Many people returned to their offices during Zia periods. Why did Bhutto take this step? How did he take this decision? Is still a debatable topic." It created a negative impression on the bureaucracy and administration of Pakistan. A financial bribe is another blame on the team of Bhutto. The team had started dishonest practices against the public. Hence, it developed an image in the mind of the public that financial bribes

became common practice in Pakistan. Bhutto was not a dishonest, corrupt follower of malpractices but his decision to alienate the founding father of PPP and his choice of immature team led to the corrupt practices. The opposition condemned these practices which became a cause of disrepute for PPP. All these brought misery, agony, and sufferings instead of modernization and development.

Elections 1977

All these stories about the impact of the implementation of his reforms agenda included everything. For example; when the nationalization of education was implemented all the big colleges of Karachi began to transfer on political grounds. Many teachers of interior Sind were brought to Adamjee Science College, DJ Science College, PHS College, and Saint Jesoph College on political grounds. These teachers were not literate as those whom they replaced. It led to the decline of education. The process of recruitment was installed on political grounds. It impacted the education of Pakistan badly. Similarly, economic development was impacted negatively due to political recruitment in the industrial sectors. Resultantly, due to poor training and lack of education, all the big industries like the Chemical and Pharmaceutical industry and all other big industries suffered badly. In other words, Pakistan became a typical political state with a shadow of PPP which negatively surrounded the society. PPP was still a popular party in the 1977 election. It won the election of national and the opposition blamed PPP for rigging the election. The opposition parties boycotted the election of provincial assemblies. It is said that members of the PPP wanted to become ministers. Bhutto replied that those who will come with the maximum vote will become ministers. Therefore, they rigged elections in their constituencies. Resultantly, they won with nine percent of the votes. The opposition blamed it for rigging and boycotted the election of provincial assemblies. It created political crises in the country. All the nine opposition political parties formed a group in the name of "PNA" (Pakistan National Alliances). It emerged as PNA and got public support. Bhutto try to negotiate with these parties and asked to share power with them. In the politics of democracy, a politician becomes a dictator when he found a decline in his fame among the public. Bhutto started to grab maximum power when his public reputation declined. Finally, he became a dictator. On one side, he was alone with his party. On the other side, PNA was an alliance of nine political parties which called itself nine stars. Both sides came into a clash with each other and it produced demonstrations, violence, and fighting. It dethroned the government of Z.A. Bhutto and General Zia Ul Haq arrested him and controlled the state mechanism. It took time for the decline of Bhutto. On the one hand, Bhutto's reforms failed to produce results. On the

other hand, his educated class which founded and strengthened the political party along with Bhutto was sidelined by him. Those who were inexperienced, incapable, and corrupt politicians came close to Bhutto. It led to the destruction of Bhutto. The civilian government was replaced by Martial after a period of seven years by Zia ul Haq who arrested Bhutto and Said, "I would follow your order as a servant after some time when the peace would return. Take some rest". Zia ul Haq promised an election but did not call for an election and gradually, Pakistan came into the paws of the military. After some time, Bhutto had to face an FIR of murder. Still, the debate over an FIR is continued whether it was right or wrong. Within one year, Bhutto was taken to the gallows and put to death. Although Bhutto could not succeed in his process of modernizing Pakistan, his charisma is still alive. It is expected that his charisma would lead Pakistan to the march of modernization.

Lecture 25

The Third Military Regime, 1977-1988

Introduction

Zia ul Haq ascended to the throne after his overthrow of the Bhutto regime in 1977. The newspapers of the time described him as a reserved, religious and isolated individual. Bhutto selected him as commander in Chief of Pakistan Army considering that Zia would not interfere in the country's political affairs. Therefore, Bhutto appointed him as C- in- C of Pakistan's Army even though he had crossed many senior generals in his selection. Bhutto wanted alienation of Army from politics as he had full experience of working with army because he served under Ayub khan's regime. A revolution came in Pakistan due to the efforts of Bhutto which led to the decline of Ayub's regime. Finally, a military coup became cause of the departure of Bhutto's rule.

Advent of General Zia ul Haq

The arrival of Zia Ul Haq into power was not quite as he came to power with the help of the Pakistan national alliance. The alliance opposed Bhutto and staged countrywide protests and demonstration against him. Over time, these protests turned into violence which created anarchy and instability in the country. The crisis allowed Army to take control of Pakistan. Zia ul Haq sent his troops to Bhutto's residence and the squad commander requested Bhutto about Zia's orders. Bhutto refused to cooperate with him and asked, "Let me speak with Zia". However, Bhutto was forced to comply with the orders. They brought Bhutto at Murree and Zia Ul Haq assured him about his return to power. Finally, Bhutto was executed through a trail. Zia maximized his power over time and army controlled everything.

His stay in power unveiled many things before him and he concluded that Pakistan was not ready for democratic rule. It is obvious that literacy, modernization and autonomy of public are essential for the progress of democracy. Unfortunately, these elements could not prevail in the country. Consequently, Bhutto's democratic vision turned into authoritarianism. Zia also realized the progressive feelings among public due to socialism of Bhutto. The process of modernization turned into westernization. It opened the ground for Zia to believe that Pakistan had strayed from its Islamic ideology. Zia demonstrated himself a devoted Muslim in his vision and outlook. He understood that Pakistan is turning away from Islamic vision of life and its

society is moving toward western ways of living. As Bhutto planned to open the casino which is reflected in his speech, “I drink but, not the sweat of the poor”. Bars were opened in Bhutto regimes. It gives the impression that Muslims are attached with wine. Though, it is forbidden in Islam. Zia Ul Haq wanted to change this impression with Islamic outlook in Pakistan. He considered that Bhutto regime took Pakistan away from Islam.

The youth of PPP was more inclined to socialism than Islam. The establishment of Pakistan National Alliance has explained this distinction in its flag. It included nine stars with green color on it’s the flag. Contrariwise, the black, green and red flag of PPP represented the signs of sorrow, progress and bloodshed according to its respective color. It demonstrated that socialism was gaining strength as compared to Islam. PNA raised the slogan of Islam which was later on, used by General Zia. A strong contradiction has been created between Islamic Ideology and Bhutto’s socialism. Zia Ul Haq realized that Pakistan needed a philosophy based on de-politicization and Islamization.

Zia's Philosophy of Governance

This part would explain the following topics.

A. De-politicization
B. Local Government Institutions
C. Islamization

De-politicization

Previously, Ayub Khan turned the political state in the administrative state of Pakistan. He had removed politics in the country and empowered the bureaucracy. Bhutto brought politics back with great enthusiasm. He empowered the average guy by giving every Pakistani citizen a voice. Zia Ul Haq realized the importance of military bureaucracy and use of politics in a nonpolitical way. He used his genius mind to make politics nonpolitical and strengthened military role invisibly. Local system of governance was introduced to implement the relative vision of Zia Ul Haq.

Local Government Institutions

Zia introduced local government system in Pakistan. It is an old system which continued during Zia’s period after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. No doubt, Ayub Khan used it politically on administrative ground for the first time in Basic democratic system. Bhutto pushed this system back because of political instability and his interest in the national

government. Bhutto made politics (on roads) public and Zia wanted to decrease the intensity of public involvement in politics. Zia also wanted to reduce the progressive attitude in favor of Islamization. He was also interested to subside the storm of the popularity of PPP. Therefore, he used local government to materialize his agenda. Local government ordinance had been passed separately in every province and administrative unit of the country. Zia ul Haq delegated powers to local councils and all the members of the district and divisional councils would be elected representatives under elected chairman (election became the criterion for representation of local people). Thus, he stipulated those only representatives with a sound, honest, cultured, and well-conducted moral character, regardless of party membership, should contest the election considering it a true spirit of public representation in Islamic democracy. It is basically considered as start of the process of De politicization. He minimized the power of civil bureaucracy and transferred more powers to local governments. The importance of political parties also reduced through elections without any political party. It contributed in the success of Zia vision of DE politicization of politics in the country.

Islamization of Zia in Pakistan

Pakistan is based on the ideology of Islam. It is clear in the objective resolution that the system of Pakistan would be based on Quran and Sunnah. But Pakistan could not become an Islamic state in its true sense. No serious effort has been made by any previous leadership to make Pakistan an actual Islamic state. Pakistan has deviated from its ideology in the Bhutto era. There was no ban on alcohol in all the major cities of Pakistan and vine was available on the shops. Interests was functional without any hesitation. Both alcohol and interest are prohibited in the Quran but it was allowed in Pakistan. Islam is the first religion that created culture and a way of living but, Pakistan was far away from Islamic culture on practical ground. Therefore, General Zia started the processes of Islamization in Pakistan.

i. Formation of Majlis-i- Shora to promote the effective contract between people and government. (National assembly like Iranian legislative council would establish. Because Iranian revolution and Islamization in Pakistan have a close resemblance.)
ii. The local councils of the local government were constituted for spreading the process of Islamization
iii. Introduction of Sharia Courts (For the first in Pakistan, the system of Islamic punishments has been introduced for the crimes)

iv. Formation of the institution of Zakat. It is a pillar of Islam. It was a general belief that people avoid to pay Zakat. Although it was criticized by many sects yet, Zia was the first ruler who established the institution of Zakat. Therefore, government deducted zakat from the Savings accounts on 1st Ramadan.

v. Introduction of Nazim Salat. General Zia introduced the post of Nazim-a- Salat. His prime responsibility to urge people for salat and inspect them whether they were offering Salat or not. He had to report General Zia Directly about his performance. Due to this act, people perceived that Zia had appointed his agents to monitor the masses and extension of his rule.

vi. Zakat, Hudood, and Ushr ordinance were passed to strengthen the process of Islamization during Zia's periods.

Zia's Legacy

Zia was an intelligent man who also happened to be a capable general. He had fought in two wars was also involved in the Afghan Jihad during his time in power. When we compare General Zia to General Ayub Khan, we can see that he is significantly superior to General Ayub. Ayub was an excellent administrator, even though he was not a good politician. On the other hand, Zia was a brilliant politician and army general. Since he was an administrator rather than a politician, Ayub lacks skills necessary for a successful politician as political wisdom, empathy, charisma, and power to influence the masses.

Due to protests by the Pakistan National Alliance, he was elevated to Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMA). Because of this, the PNA had to be invited in by General Zia. But he omitted the PNA in the government; instead, he put the PNA on the sidelines and acted following his political acumen (Depoliticization and Islamization). General Zia relied on the military to carry out his depoliticization and Islamization philosophy. In the name of Islamization, he did everything in the best interest of Pakistan with pure intentions.

Eighth Amendment of 1973 Constitution

Eighth amendment of 1973 established Presidential authority to dissolve the national assembly in his own discretion and his power over judiciary. It proved very dangerous against the democracy of Pakistan. It converted Pakistan into presidential Pakistan with maximum power in the hand of president. Zia damaged the parliament of Pakistan and got authoritative power over judiciary. As non-elected military leader, he gained control of legislature and judiciary

which converted Pakistan into dictatorship of Zia. It was the first setback to constitution of Pakistan.

Process of Islamization in Pakistan

Process of Islamization sowed the seeds for affluent elites to dominate politics. It laid the groundwork for affluent elites to take control of politics. The democratic process was carried out by the Nizam-i-Mustafa movement, which the Pakistan National Alliance led. Nizam-i-Mustafa is the foundation upon which Zia has built his political philosophy (of depoliticization). His intentions were pure and he wished to see Pakistan become a whole, pure, and true Islamic nation. Zia misused the Nizam-i-Mustafa, claiming to be promoting the democratic process while he was promoting elitism in Pakistan. However, by taking this step, elitism in Pakistani politics was encouraged, and elite was encouraged to become involved in politics. Dictatorship and elitism have established roots. As a result, democracy has fallen behind the times.

Legacy of Depoliticization and Afghan War

"Introduction of depoliticization environment with non-party basis election of local body election." Zia Introduce a depoliticization environment by holding a local body election without regard to political party affiliation. The establishment of local governments served as the foundation for his philosophy of depoliticization. It was intended to ensure that leaders would participate in the electoral process and who possessed pious, honest, religious devout Muslim characteristics. It was not possible to find his ideal Muslim leadership. As a result, this was a complete failure.

This approach was additionally hampered by a centralized government and non-party elected officials (Nazim-i-Salat). Despite Zia's massive assertion that he had decentralized the governments, this process could not occur. Nazim-i-Salat has been identified as General Zia's agent, with the primary responsibility of directly reporting to Zia. They begin to work for their self-interest. There was a widespread misconception that corruption had been eradicated, which was false.

One of Zia's major strategic failures was allowing the Afghan immigrants, with this stream of Afghan immigrants, to enter Pakistan without checking. As a result, Pakistanis have suffered greatly. Immigrants have expanded throughout Pakistan. With this, the Kalashnikova culture and narcotics have been brought up. Pakistan has been weaponized, and everyone owns an Rs.

70000 Kalashnikov. Pakistan's economy suffered greatly as well. The number of street crimes, murders, thefts, riots, kidnappings, and terrorist attacks has increased. The social fabric of Pakistan has been shattered.

Ethnocentrism has been encouraged and pushed for the first time. Extremely violent occurrences occurred in Karachi based on ethnicity. So, ethnic politics was established by General Zia Ul Haq, and it is currently practiced in Karachi and throughout Pakistan. Drug use has been observed in schools, colleges, and universities. Drugs could be purchased for a low cost.

The general desired to destroy the progressive mindset among Pakistan's youth. Thus, he encouraged and promoted the elite commercial class. He purposefully instigated a battle between progressive and liberal elite classes based on political, social, and economic issues in this approach. There was no class war before Zia; he created and pushed it. He formed and patronized the rightist class in opposition to the leftist class.

Lecture 26

Islamization in Pakistan

Introduction

General Zia Ul Haq took power after deposing Pakistan's first democratically elected Prime Minister Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. General elections were held in 1975 under the government of Z.A Bhutto and opposition refused to accept the election results. Mufti Mehmood Ur Rehman founded the Pakistan National Alliance movement in collaboration with various religious and political parties. They demanded Bhutto's resignation and wanted Pakistan to become an Islamic state. The PNA organized nationwide protests against the Bhutto regime and violent riots erupted across the country. It jeopardized Pakistan's internal stability and General Zia Ul Haq took over to ensure stability and peace. He remained in power for more than ten years.

Zia Ul Haq's pattern of governance was significantly different as compare to the governance of Ayub Khan. With the assistance of bureaucrats, Ayub khan ruled over Pakistan and his government appeared to be an administrative government because of his experience and professional bureaucrats. On the other hand, Zia Ul Haq did not have intelligent, skilled, and experienced civil servants and he required a solid policy to establish and sustain his long rule. He failed to fulfill his promise of upholding the constitution and legislative branch.

Unlike Ayub Khan, Zia did not ban political parties but he kept Mr. Bhutto in house arrest with the pretext of providing him security. Zia did not claim to join politics or make any political party. Similarly, he never aspires to become the ruler of Pakistan. He neither encouraged the Pakistan National Alliance nor discouraged the Peoples Party. He made the public realize that the Bhutto regime deviated from the progress of Pakistan. Therefore, he would work on the social upbringing of the Pakistani nation. He gave the idea of development as a non-political concept which paved the way for the process of depoliticization.

Zia's Policy of Governance

De politicization

Zia Ul Haq introduced this unique political philosophy of de politization.

Local Government Institutions

He gave local government top priority and established a better system of local government. Zia relied on morality and prioritized moral values over administrative measures. He used religion to win the hearts and minds of the nation to gain public support and declared Quran and Sunnah as sources of moral values and accepted the responsibity for implementation of Shariat as claimed in the populist narrative of PNA like Nizam-i-Mustafa etc.

Pakistan was founded on the basis of Islamic ideology. It was declared as Islamic state in objective resolution 1949. It was also mentioned in the first constitution Pakistan. It became republic of Pakistan in the second constitution. After strong reaction of public and religious community, the word “Islamic” was added and Pakistan was declared the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was continued in the 1973 constitution and the objective resolution was also included in its constitutions' preamble. Because of Bhutto's social and political freedom, Pakistani society had been ultimately diverted from the path to Islam. Instead of becoming an Islamic society, it had turned to more Western style of living. These unIslamic practices were entirely unacceptable for Muslims and Islam in Pakistan.

Nationalism

Zia desired to establish his reign and ensured that his rule would last for an extended period. He carried his politics on non-political ground rather than through electoral methods. For this reason, he instituted de-politicization as a policy of the government. He wanted to see Pakistan free from unIslamic customs and practices. Because of the country's multiculturalism and social diversity, there had been an increase in parochialism, regionalism, and localism among the general public. As a result of societal diversity, there had also been an increase in ethnic and sectarian violence. An individual Muslim was being separated from another Muslim. An overwhelming sense of disillusionment shattered the Islamic concept nationhood in the country. Pakistanis had been separated from their homeland due to ongoing conflict in the east. In the light of these considerations, formation of Muslim identity was required on immediate basis. What exactly are the Islamic teachings? What activities did Prophet Muhammad engage in throughout his life? These factors could bring Muslims closer to Islam and Islamic society.

Pakistani society was transformed into a progressive community during Bhutto's seven-year reign. Citizens were under the illusion that socialism was a requirement for the development and prosperity of Pakistan. Because of Bhutto's policy of nationalization, the economic system of Pakistan had undergone significant structural changes. Bhutto's measures for the poor and the ordinary person proved beneficial. The philosophy of governance promoted by Bhutto spread like an epidemic throughout Pakistan. There used to be a widespread assumption that socialism is anti-religious which harms Islam and the Islamic way of life.

Zia took the initiative to Islamize Pakistan because he believed that it was necessary to adopt an Islamic way of life and a political system to transform Pakistan into a truly Islamic state. Zia drew a connection between de-politicization and Islam. Islam is a complete code of life and politics is considered to be a component of it. Both Islam and politics are parallel to each other. Both a religion and a political system, Islam paved the ground for Islamization in Pakistan.

Global Aspirations

Russia was expanding aggressively and it took over west Asia. She wanted to take access to the hot waters. Pakistan was the next target of Russia. She has excellent friendships with the arch-rival of Pakistan. India as arch-rival of Pakistan was happy to see Pakistan as a sandwich between Russia and India. China as adjacent to Pakistan had developed a rivalry against Russia. It was basically a period of long cold war between two major ideologies of socialism and communism which started in 1945. Two giant ideologies were competing in this long period of cold war.

Islam is entirely different from socialism and capitalism. Socialism was considered as an existential threat to the ideology of Pakistan because of its atheistic nature. Protection of ideology and physical borders from threat atheistic socialism was considered as protection of Pakistan's national interest. Therefore, Zia decided to stop Russia in Afghanistan. Taliban has been created and Pakistan supported it for its foreign policy objectives. The U.S.A. supported Pakistan to contain Russia in Afghanistan. A flux of immigrants fled to Pakistan as a consequence of Afghan jihad. Pakistan opened its border for migrants with the idea of Muslim brotherhood because the socialist backed regime had victimized them. Zia officially announced the jihad and considered it as Islamic war against Russia. Resultantly, internal and external factors force Zia to establish and imposed Islamization in Pakistan.

Process of Islamization

1) Formation of Majlis-i-Shoora to promote the effective contract between people and government.
2) The local councils of the local governments were constituted for spreading the process of Islamization.
3) Introduction of sharia courts
4) Formation of zakat institution
5) Introduction of Nazim-i-salat
6) Introduction of Zakat Hudud and Ushr ordinances
7) Establishment of Ombudsman
8) Merits and demerits of the process of Islamization.

Formation of Majlis-i-Shoora to promote the effective contract between people and government

The general public will share their concerns with the government with relative ease and government personnel will always be ready for collaboration with them. It was imagined that this would be the same governing system that has been used by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

The local councils of the local governments were constituted to spread the process of Islamization

Zia emphasized on Islamization and de-politicization to adopt the Islamic paradigm of political leadership with the image that Islam does not recognize the concept of any political party. As a result, Zia justified his actions by electing legislators on non-party bases. This system of local governance was similar to Ayub Khan's essential democracy because it was based on consensus. Zia selected morally sound persons who were not affiliated with any political party. LIKE local councils, village and city levels government were established and delegates would represent the people based on good moral character. These representatives would be tasked with the responsibility of influencing the general public. This form of leadership could not be generated because politicians, society, political system and mentality of people were same in rural and urban places, regardless of their geographical location. The concept of de-politicization turned out to be a complete failure in practice.

Introduction of Sharia Courts

Formal set up Sharia courts was decided and Islamic teachings would guide all of the decisions of the

Organization. Following Islamic sharia, criminals would be hunted down and punished. Strict adherence to Islamic sharia laws would ensure that criminals received just punishment.

Formation of the Institution of Zakat

Socialism and a progressive outlook were strongly associated with Bhutto's political philosophy. Many Muslims either ignored or refused to pay the Zakat. Zia's order to deduct 2.50 percent from the bank accounts as Zakat fund.

Nazim-i-Salat

Zia's new local government system gave rise to the creation of this position. Nazim Salat had a moral compass that allowed him to rule masses as a religious leader and Nazim were viewed as Zia's spies.

Introduction of Zakat Hudud and Ushr Ordinances

He passed legislation to Introduction of Zakat Huddot and Ushr ordinances to support the Islamization of the country.

Establishment of Ombudsman

For the first time Zia Ul Haq established this institution in Pakistan. The word Ombudsman is of Swedish origin and it was formed in Sweden in 1809. An appointed person would examine complaints against organizations such as businesses and government bodies often on behalf of individuals such as consumers or taxpayers who would complain. The Ombudsman can also perform a background check on the executive. It was his responsibility to ensure that civil workers were held accountable. The Federal Ombudsman office had been established to combat nepotism, favoritism, bribery and corruption.

Civil servants benefited from reforms introduced by Bhutto. He has fundamentally transformed the institutions of the civil service. As opposite to Waber model of bureaucracy which emphasized intellectual, legal, and professional authority, Bhutto appointed civil servants on a political basis and through lateral admission into the government. As a result, untrained, incompetent, and non-professional bureaucrats have been appointed to positions of authority. The Civil Service Institution has been completely transformed due to Bhutto's administrative reforms. For Zia, dealing with such a circumstance was difficult. He wished to see corruption,

nepotism, and bribery eliminated from society. The Office of the Federal Ombudsman would be free of mistakes. Corruption, nepotism and bribery are not characteristics that he possesses.

Office of the Ombudsman Representatives in the Regions would be formed in each region (Provinces). The Ombudsman will be appointed for four years. He would not be reappointed, and his tenure would not be extended at this time. After his retirement, he would not run for public office again. He had no intention of getting involved in politics. As a result, Zia established the Office of the Ombudsman to hold civil workers accountable. The performance of this institution was outstanding. For the first time, Zia established an agency to serve as an ombudsman in the Muslim world.

Merits and Demerits of the Process of Islamization

Zia had ruled Pakistan for almost eleven years. From political point of view, His rule has been considered as one of the darkest eras of Pakistan. Whereas, his era had been conceptualized as golden period from the point of view of Islamization.

Merits

1. People became more open to Islam in Pakistan. It is undeniable that Muslim identity come first before the identification of oneself with Pakistan. However, Pakistanis had been drifted further away from the true essence of Islam since the establishment of Pakistan and it continued until the death of Zia. Identification of Muslims became obscure in their appearance. Muslims had forgotten entirely about Islam due to Bhutto's socialist and progressive regime in power. Adultery, bribery, corruption, and usury are among the moral vices that gained ground. These actions violated the Islamic code of conduct. Zia's Islamization has compelled Muslims to rethink, reassess, and re-examine their religious and philosophical perspectives. These actions violated the Islamic code of conduct. Zia's Islamization has compelled Muslims to rethink, reassess, and re-examine their religious and philosophical perspectives.
2. Fear of religious devotions increased and Muslims started to perform their Salats. They also started offering Jumma prayers on regular basis.
3. Unity among Muslim Ummat realized that Pakistan played its role in bringing the Muslim ummah closer and Pakistan sought a significant place in the Muslim world.

Demerits

The rise of Terrorism

Pakistani society had become militarized as a result of the Afghan Jihad. Unobserved Immigrants brought drugs, brown sugar (opium), and the Kalashnikov culture to Pakistan which is still prevalent today. Illegal immigrants had also crossed the border from Pakistan's western side. Prostitution had increased significantly in Karachi, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi, to name a few cities. Adultery became the most common type of relationship. Islamization of the financial system was a total failure and Zia's policy of interest-free banking could not bring financial success. Zia's process of Islamization failed to bring positive change in Pakistan.

Lecture 27

Advent of Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif for two Years each from 1989-99

Introduction

Zia's rule was predicated on the depoliticization, centralization, and Islamization of the country's politics. Zia was murdered in a plane disaster that occurred in August of 1988. The military's eleven-year dictatorship came to an end with General Zia's death in April of this year. Interim civilian government had set up and general elections were held under the supervision of the interim government. There was absence of political liberty in Pakistan and citizens did not have the right to exercise their political freedom. Zia's de-politicization doctrine had a considerable impact on Pakistani politics throughout the years. No political parties existed as a result of the political crisis.

The Unexpected Death of Zia ul Haq created a political vacuum and Benazir Bhutto took the burden of reviving the political process in Pakistan. She was inexperienced but a promising politician at the same time. Following the death of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, she had been tasked with overseeing the activities of the party. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto urged the youth (Mustafa Khar, Mumtaz Bhutto, and Hafeez Pirzada) to join politics during the PPP's first term of office. During the PPP's second term in office, the youth (Mustafa Khar, Mumtaz Bhutto, and Hafeez Pirzada) joined politics. They were inexperienced politicians with little political background. That is one of the reasons why PPP failed. As a result of the departure of Zulfiqar Ali's allies from the PPP during its third term, Benazir has appointed a new leadership team (Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Jehangir Badar, Amin Fahim, and Aftab Mirani) during its third term.

Benazir's First Term 1988

1. Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan after a self-imposed exile. Her party reclaimed power and Bhutto's regime appeared to have a second chance at life. Pakistan People party won the election as largest political party in 1988. She became not only Pakistan's first female prime minister but also the first female prime minister in the history of the Muslim world.
2. Nawaz Sharif got a majority in Punjab and became chief minister. PPP did not get a majority in Punjab, it could be able to make government in the center only.

3. General Zia Ul Haq was the first military dictator who laid the foundation of ethnic politics and provided patronage to the MQM. As a student organization led by Altaf Hussain, the primary objective of MQM was to protect the rights of immigrants in Karachi. MQM established its majority in the urban cities of Sindh like Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkur. Politically, it had vast majority and vote banks in 1988. MQM has won seats in the Sindh assembly and national assembly. Ultimately, Benazir made a coalition with MQM to make a central government, which fell apart soon.
4. PPP and its coalition partner MQM were both inexperienced in international affairs. Both were relatively new on the political scene and their respective teams lack competency and administrative expertise in governance and administration. They were unable to maintain control over the political environment. The bureaucracy always worked to support the elected government, but there were no strong and capable bureaucrats available to save the PPP administration during its tenure. The reason for this is that ZIA had pushed bureaucracy to the sidelines. He manages the state according to a non-bureaucratic approach of governance. As a result, Benazir had to confront with a slew of difficulties owing to the incompetence and inexperience of her team. In a similar vein, the bureaucracy was insufficiently powerful to operate, manage and help the Benazir government.
5. Nawaz Sharif, who had a stronghold in Punjab, presented a significant challenge to the political establishment in the country. He was able to administer the province government in a strong manner despite the fact that it was competing with the federal government. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had a poor showing in the KPK, Baluchistan, and Sindh assemblies. MQM has decided to withdraw support from the Coalition. When Nawaz Sharif permitted the private sector to operate, the public-private partnership (PPP) was thrust into a major federal crisis. Benazir was unable to deal with the issue in the federation. On the surface, it appeared as though the Punjab government was performing better than the central government.
6. Benazir's persistent fear of the 8th amendment has resulted in the president having the authority to fire the prime minister and dissolve the legislative assemblies. During Benazir's first term in office, she was unable to have sufficient time to manage domestic issues (Federal issues, stabilization of central government and federation, economic and political development, governance, and administration, local government, social wellbeing of common,)
7. Foreign policy(specifically, dealing with India and USA)

8. No major political party emerge to challenge the PPP.

All of these considerations could lead public to believe that the Pakistan People's Party's first term will be unable to make significant contributions to the growth of the country.

Dismissal of Benazir's First Government (2 December 1988 – 6 August 1990)

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a knowledgeable, capable, and experienced bureaucrat who served in the Civil Services of Pakistan. He has a great deal of management expertise. Benazir made a number of serious mistakes during her first term in office. For example, she has given enough authority to MPs, cabinet members and PPP workers. They began to abuse their positions. As a result, nepotism, bribery, and corruption had flourished. Ghulam Ishaq Khan ousted her government on August 1990.

Nawaz Sharif's First Term 1991

Zia Ul Haq is credited for introducing Nawaz Sharif to the world of politics and government. Nawaz Sharif evolved himself from becoming an extremist with a conservative thinking to appearing to be more moderate in thought and actions. On the other hand, Benazir was a progressive woman. It was clear that both leaders were driven apart between ideological differences. Nawaz Sharif had been loyal to Zia and remained Benazir Bhutto's relentless adversary throughout his political career. He was a successful industrialist from Punjab. He made significant contributions to the development and administration in the province of Punjab. His staff of bureaucrats and politicians was equally well-versed in their own fields of expertise. As a result, the people of Pakistan hoped that Nawaz Sharif would be able to govern the country more effectively than Benazir. However, this was ruled out.

Elections of 1991 and Nawaz sharif's Prime Ministership

Due to the regionalism, parochialism, and subcultural values PPP got a majority in Sindh and PML (N) got the majority initially throughout Pakistan but it needs support from MQM in Sindh to make the government in the center. MQM had made a strong foothold in Sindh, especially in urban areas on the basis of ethnicity. Without MQM's support, Nawaz sharif cannot make government in the center. Nawaz Sharif had to face the opposition of PPP in the National assembly as well as Sindh assembly like PPP faced in its first tenure. Nawaz Sharif had to face the same political crisis which Benazir has already faced in her first tenure.

Nawaz Sharif inclined with PPP for negotiation to scarp the 8th amendment to curtail the powers of the president. Nawaz Sharif had decided to negotiate with PPP to remove the 8th amendment. He moved the resolution in the national assembly which was passed with the consent of majority.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was a keen observer. As an ex-bureaucrat with great experience in management and administration, he turned out to be dangerous for inexperienced and inefficient politicians. He dismissed Nawaz sharif and dissolved the National assembly. Nawaz Sharif approached the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Court declared the president's decision unconstitutional and restored the government of Nawaz Sharif.

Conflict arose and it converted into a strong debacle between the prime minister and president. Both were not willing to cooperate with each other in political and administrative affairs. A political crisis had begun which brought Pakistan's politics at the deteriorating point. It led to the resignation of both president and prime minister from their offices by the army chief on July 1993.

Nawaz Sharif served as Punjab's chief minister during Benazir Bhutto's tenure as prime minister. He was powerful enough to influence her to transfer the chief secretary of Punjab (a government official) to another province. She, on the other hand, was unable to do so. Rather of serving the provincial government, the Chief Secretary was a distinguished civil servant and a loyal servant of Pakistan (federation). He had a close relationship with Nawaz Sharif and was in charge of all administrative activities in his province. In a nutshell, he was the driving force behind the success and development of Punjab. The chief secretary was not released by Nawaz Sharif, according to reports. In his capacity as Punjab chief minister, he was so formidable that the federal administration was forced to back down. Unfortunately, in his capacity as prime minister of Pakistan, he was forced to suffer from his own government at the hands of President Ghulam Ishaq. Their political disputes resulted in both of them stepping down. In reality, Nawaz Sharif did not find time to work on Industrialization, Agriculture Development, Trade and Commerce and Foreign Policy during his tenure as Prime Minister.

4. Benazir returns to power, 1993

Following the resignations of Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Ishaq Khan, a general election was held under the supervision of the interim government in Pakistan. Having won the majority of votes, Benazir had been appointed as prime minister of Pakistan. She blamed Ghulam Ishaq

Khan for her failures during her first term in office. She accused the president for dismissing her government solely on the basis of bogus claims. The people demonstrated that she was correct, as evidenced by the fact that she had been re-elected. As a result, she intended to strive for the benefit of the country. She returned to power with a renewed sense of self-assurance and passion to serve the nation.

She gained a great deal of knowledge and expertise from prior administrations. She was nominated and elected as the president of her political party. Farooq Haider Laghari was elected President of Pakistan in her second cabinet. President Farooq Haider Khan Laghari was a bright, highly educated, and well-mannered public servant who served the country with distinction. He was a graduate of the University of Oxford and best of the best in his class. Benazir believed that she had made a wise choice in selecting the president due of his administrative and management abilities. She was under the impression that she had resurrected the PPP of the 1970s.

She wished to appoint a team of highly experienced, educated, and intelligent individuals to serve as her governance team. The Aftab Mirani, the Defence Minister, was chosen by her as a member of her team. In the following years, Mirani proved to be an excellent minister, and her reorganization of the civil bureaucracy proved to be a point of conflict for her government. Benazir successfully rejected all claims of nepotism, bribery, and corruption by providing political justifications for her actions.

There emerged political disagreements between Benazir and Farooq Laghari which became a source of contention. The constitution of Pakistan assigned greater authority and power to president than prime minister. Owing to her relatively youthful age at the time, Benazir grew increasingly hostile toward President Lahari in the final days of her administration. Farooq Laghari was able to depose of her with a single stroke of his pen within two years after taking office due to his immense power. According to the reports, he fired Benazir on the grounds of nepotism, bribery, corruption, and inefficiency, among other things. Though, he himself was involved in these corrupt practices.

Benazir's first era was dark in the political history of Pakistan but this era became darker than previous one. There was a great rise in violence in her second term. Her brother had been killed in front of his home and she was helpless to find the culprits. It was such a dark age that she being prime minister could not save her brother from being killed and such cold-blooded murder made her weak. There was no contribution toward any development of Pakistan. PPP

failed to contribute in the fields of political, social, and economic development. It failed to make good interprovincial relations. It did not work for the strength of the federation and contributed only in the violent politics. This created a huge political crisis in Pakistan. No one knew the exact future of Pakistan and its direction.

Nawaz Sharif's Second Term in Power 1997

He returned for a second term with full of enthusiasm and conviction. He blamed the president for his failure of previous regime. Elected with a landslide victory he possessed the same arrogance as Benazir because he formed the government on his own without the assistance of a coalition. His advisor began referring to him as Ameer-ul-Momineen because of his conservative leanings. Pakistanis were frightened by his plans to turn the country into a Muslim-majority state. Because of the hardships which Pakistanis had to endure as a result of the country's process of Islamization.

It had wreaked havoc on Pakistan in a number of ways. Process of Islamization had wreaked havoc on Pakistan in a number of ways. ZIA (Centralization, depoliticization, and centralization) had also been viewed as introducing a similar political, social, and economic culture.

Since 1974, India has been developing a nuclear arsenal and she unleashed a nuclear detonation in 1998. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the former Prime Minister Pakistan's, had overseen the country's nuclear program. Bhutto has suffered as a result of his actions. Pakistan, led by Nawaz Sharif, replied appropriately to Indian nuclear blasts within three days. Nawaz Sharif continued to carry out bombings despite international and American pressure. He received a personal phone call from President Clinton who warned him to put an end to nuclear arsenal. Nawaz Sharif bravely carried out nuclear tests in Pakistan's best interest despite the dangers. It was an excellent contribution to Pakistan's national security. Nawaz Sharif made Pakistan a nuclear power but, he accomplished nothing else to improve Pakistan's social, political, or economic conditions.

General Pervaiz Musharraf, the man he chosen to lead the armed forces of Pakistan, brought an end to his regime. Nawaz Sharif made the same mistake as Mr. Zulfiqar Ali. Nawaz Sharif had a conservative worldview, but he chose Liberal Musharraf in violation of the standard operating norms for the choosing commander-in-chief of Pakistan army.

Lecture 28

The Fourth Military Regime, 1999 and after

Introduction

It is the most significant era in Pakistan. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, and Zia-ul-Haq are military dictators; all have contributed to the political development of Pakistan. Musharraf adopted the same principles as other military dictators in taking over the government. He justified that he had taken control of Pakistan only because of Pakistan's more significant interests. Musharraf would get rid of the people of Pakistan from a selfish and corrupt regime. He would change the system with an iron rod. Like his ancestors, he also justified and promised that I had no interest in politics at all. I will conduct the election as per the constitution and hand over the government to the elected representatives. I will return to the barracks.

Musharraf was the first military dictator to leave the government and flee the country. He leaves the government due to political pressure from political parties. Nawaz Sharif appointed Pervez Musharraf as Commander in Chief of the Pakistan Army, following Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He made the same mistake as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He appointed Musharraf by ignoring the standard operating procedures for the selection of an army chief. Nawaz Sharif has a conservative mindset, while Musharraf has a liberal one. There was a clear difference between the two in their thinking. Bhutto justified that he had been appointing Zia due to his religious inclination and that he would remain busy with holy offerings. He would take an interest in the political affairs of the country. Similarly, Nawaz thought that his appointment of Musharraf was good, as he would remain busy in his liberal activities and would not topple his regime, but he forgot the institutional legacy.

Trail of Nawaz Sharif for Hijacking

Due to the Kargil conflict, a political rift developed between Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf. When it came to conflict with India, Nawaz was adamantly opposed, whereas Musharraf has stated that he intended to go to war. It was past the point of no return for both Pakistan and India. There is a possibility of nuclear war if both countries have nuclear weapons. America has intervened in the dispute between the two countries, urging them to return to their pre-war stances. Nawaz Sharif expressed his displeasure with Musharraf's action, and Musharraf responded by stating that he had already briefed Nawaz on the situation in Kargil before declaring war on India.

Nawaz was patiently waiting for the right time to oust Musharraf. At the time, Musharraf was aware of Nawaz's plans. Musharraf was on an official trip to Sri Lanka at the time. Upon returning to Pakistan, as previously decided, he will be dismissed. After refusing to allow the plane to land, Musharraf and his allies imposed martial law as Commander in Chief of the Pakistani Army. He dismisses Nawaz Sharif and his administration. The removal of the democratically elected prime minister and his government remains a mystery. Nawaz Sharif did not speak about what had happened to him. It has yet to be revealed.

Similarly, Musharraf did not inform the public exactly how he obtained his dismissal before seizing power and dismissing the Prime Minister. Both sides presented their version of the truth. The Prime Minister has been arrested on suspicion of hijacking the jet. Nawaz, like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, has been trailed. Nawaz Sharif's aides have encouraged him to avoid conflict, while the military has also learned a lesson from Mr. Bhutto's killing. They cannot execute Nawaz in the same manner as Bhutto. Saudi Arabia was instrumental in mediating a settlement between Nawaz Sharif and Musharraf. Musharraf exiled the Nawaz to Saudi Arabia, where Saudi Arabia assured that Nawaz Sharif would not return to Pakistan and engage in politics.

Supreme Court upheld Military Take Over

Musharraf took charge of the country as the martial law administrator. He promised to conduct an election within 120 days. Politicians approached the government about Musharraf's undemocratic move and sacking the prime minister. It has been established that whenever a military intervention happened and martial law was imposed in Pakistan, the judiciary was the first institution that was manipulated and controlled by the military. This has been witnessed during the Ayub, Zia, and Yahya Khan impositions of martial laws in Pakistan.

Similarly, the practice has been followed by General Pervez Musharraf as well. The Supreme Court rejected the decision and justified it by saying that Musharraf’s move is in the greater interest of Pakistan. Musharraf was recognized as the chief martial law administrator under the law.

Removal of President Rafiq Tarar

Rafiq Tarar has been selected as the President of Pakistan by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. He was a dignified and relatively unknown figure among Pakistanis. He was a simple and humble individual. He never had any sort of political career. Because of the continuing concern for the Eighth Amendment, Nawaz appointed Rafiq Tarar as his replacement. The army is a highly disciplined institution. In every case, the military came to power with meticulous planning and preparation. Musharraf gained control in a systematic manner. First and foremost, he overthrew

the Nawaz regime and imprisoned him. Second, he expelled him from the country and barred him from participating in politics for a period of ten years. He was capable of defending his actions in court, and the Supreme Court upheld this. He announced himself to be the chief executive as well as the administrator of martial law. President Tarar was forced to step down and resign. Because he is the chief executive, he does not require the services of a president. President Tarar walked out of the president's office peacefully.

Musharraf and National Power

Musharraf assumes control of the country, just as his predecessors did. Ayub Khan declared himself a field marshal, and according to the rules book of the army, that field marshal never retired. He remained in that position throughout his military career. Zia-ul-Haq was elected through a referendum, which he conducted himself. His referendum question was, "Do you like Islam?" He received a positive response from the majority of voters. Now, the question is, who would be the Muslim, and would they resist or deny the question? As a result, Zia was elected president. The same was done by Musharraf, who also held a referendum and wielded enormous power. He managed to have himself elected President of Pakistan in the Pakistani parliament's uniform. He did not remove his uniform because he needed it to ensure and establish his power.

Ayub Khan was not required to wear a uniform since he had declared himself a field marshal prior to the event. Zia, on the other hand, did not require a uniform since he engaged the public in Islamization, and people did not speak about it at the time. When it came to dealing with crises, Musharraf was well prepared, as was his predecessor. The military did not take any action without first doing extensive research. Every step taken by the military is calculated. Every move that it makes is calculated and accurate. Musharraf proceeded with extreme caution throughout the process. He progressively consolidated control of the administration and developed a compelling narrative that was perceived as essential at the time. Without him, Pakistan would not be able to live. He is known as the "Saviour of Pakistan." He positioned himself as the main figure. In his capacity as Pakistan's leader, he travelled the world in army uniform.

He did not want to be identified as himself but rather as the democratically chosen leader, and he wanted the world to know that. He wished to be renowned around the world, and he was concerned about this prospect. Despite the fact that he is aware of his fault lines, he purposefully conceals them by employing his powers.

Musharraf and 9/11

On September 11, 2001, the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City were attacked by terrorists. The United States has blamed Arabs (Al-Qaida), and the Afghan government for the attacks. Pakistan was the only country that gave a direct path to Afghanistan. The United States of America requested Pakistan's cooperation. In Pakistan, there was a military dictatorship. Pakistan has been requested to collaborate, and the United States has declared in loaded statement that either you are with us or you are not. Pakistan has no choice but to accept it if it was in the best interests of Pakistan. Pakistan has received billions of dollars in aid, which has not been audited yet there is no documentation indicating where such help has been spent. Because there was a tutelary prime minister and a tutelary parliament, Musharraf was never held accountable. That is why Musharraf was not asked with any questions. Shaukat Aziz, the prime minister of Pakistan, served as a tutelary prime minister, assisting Musharraf in all of his actions. Shaukat Aziz worked as a professional banker and had no ambitions to pursue a political career. He was responsible for the collapse of the Pakistani economy.

Referendum

Due to the fact that he was a self-proclaimed president who did not have legitimacy from the parliament, there was a great deal of outcry among the people. As a result, Musharraf held a referendum, just as his predecessors did. He believed himself to be the democratically elected leader of Pakistan as an outcome of this referendum. Musharraf engages the politicians and incorporates them into the political process. He declared that democracy is the only way forward for Pakistan's development and success. He employs democracy as a mechanism for governance and development in his organisation.

Local Government Reform

He aspired to gain acceptance from the general public. The local government structure was reoriented by him in order to get attention from the general public. He divided the municipal government into three tiers, each with its own set of rules. He was the one who coined the term "Nazim" This mechanism has resulted in the election of numerous Nazims. Nazims had been endowed with great authority and unlimited control; due to this, there had been a significant increase in corruption.

If basic democracies were formed in their fullness, they would have been able to install the local government during the reign of Ayub Khan. It failed under Zia because of Islamization

and politicization, and it failed under Musharraf because of the massive corruption perpetrated by Nazims. As a result, the local government has not been able to establish itself in Pakistan.

War on Terrorism

Musharraf's regime was strengthened as the war progressed, and he gained greater control over the state's political, social, and economic concerns. The people of Pakistan suffered as democracy degraded, and the country's economy suffered as well. Overall, the war on terror has bolstered Musharraf's position as the country's leader.

National Reconciliation Ordinance

Musharraf signed an ordinance promoting national reconciliation. This NRO has been issued to officials and politicians who have been accused of corruption in their positions. They had fled from Pakistan and had been living in exile. Between January 1, 1986, and October 12, 1999, it offered amnesty to politicians, political workers, and bureaucrats who had been accused of corruption, money laundering, murder, or terrorism at the time of their arrest. Due to the NRO, all allegations against specific individuals were removed. It had benefited 8,041 allegedly corrupt individuals, including 34 legislators and three ambassadors, according to the reports. It is reasonable to assert that claims against politicians are political in nature, while allegations against officials who happen to be corrupt were proven to be factual. They robbed Pakistan before fleeing the country. Amnesty should not be granted to them. They are still serving in Pakistan at higher levels of government.

De-Uniform

Musharraf desired to maintain control over the judiciary. He caused a rift between himself and the Chief Justice of Pakistan. He fired Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, for his actions. Aitzaz Ahsan was the leader of the movement for the restoration of justice. For the restoration of the chief justice of Pakistan, movements have begun countrywide. Musharraf granted permission for the politicians to visit Pakistan. Apparently, Musharraf sought to engage with the politicians in accordance with his National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), and he wanted to give the world the idea that Pakistan has democracy. However, his decision to grant NRO and to enable the media to operate autonomously fuelled the opposition, which grew in strength. Nawaz Sharif was in Pakistan, and Benazir Bhutto was also in Pakistan at the same time. She begins to work for the long-term stability of Pakistan.

Nawaz Sharif has also begun to advocate for the restoration of the justice system. Musharraf was under a tremendous amount of pressure. Musharraf attempted to assert his authority in a

more violent manner, but he was unsuccessful. In response to intense pressure from lawmakers, politicians, and members of the legal profession, he reinstated Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary.

Assassination of Benazir Bhutto (2007)

Benazir has begun to participate openly in political activities. Despite the numerous threats that she would be killed if she maintained her political activities, she bravely began her processions. She has been attacked numerous times. She, on the other hand, never stopped. On December 27, 2007, a suicide bomber exploded in the Liaqat Bagh neighborhood of Rawalpindi, killing her all of a sudden.

Elections February 2008

The assassination of Benazir Bhutto changed the political scene in Pakistan. In February 2008, a general election was conducted, and the PPP was elected to power. Because Benazir Bhutto had been brutally murdered, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won the majority of votes in this election. The political environment was favorable for PPP.

Yousaf Raza Gillani as Prime Minister 2008

Pakistan elected Yousaf Raza Gillani as prime minister. It was the beginning of a new era in Pakistani politics. The newly elected administration, based on democratic principles, got to work right away.

Musharraf resigned as President

Because of Benazir's assassination, the deal reached between Benazir Bhutto and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf would no longer be relevant. Under the terms of the deal, Musharraf was to be appointed President of Pakistan, and Benazir would be appointed Prime Minister of Pakistan. Musharraf stepped down as president after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto.

Conclusion

Freedom of the press and education has been given a top priority, especially since universities have gained more autonomy. Public-private partnerships in academia were pioneered by him. There was no consideration given to the manufacturing or agricultural sectors. Unemployment and economic stagnation are on the rise.

Lecture 29

Foreign Policy Challenges

Introduction

The map of Pakistan illustrates its geographical location and its border with important countries in the region. Pakistan shares its border with China, Afghanistan, Iran, and India. These four countries have greater importance in the international world. If we spread it further, the Middle East, including the Arabian Peninsula, appears to be Pakistan's immediate neighbor near the Arabian Sea. African continent is located on the upper side of the Middle East, where northern Africa is very important. The Mediterranean Sea appears on the upper side of Africa, along with Turkey. The continent of Europe is visible on the upper side of the Mediterranean Sea. Eastern Europe, particularly Russia, is located on the eastern side of Europe. Central Asia is located in Russia. Magnolia appears in central Asia along the China border. On the eastern side, in the south of China, India is located alongside Bangladesh. Sri Lanka is located under India, and Nepal is visible above India on the map of the world. So, Pakistan is located on the map of the world with its important geopolitical position. The geopolitical condition of Pakistan makes it further important due to its central position in the famous war on terror in the contemporary world. A part of terrorism appears in Afghanistan. First, Afghanistan remained surrounded by the Soviet Union, and now by the Western world. Hence, the foreign policy of Pakistan has become very significant not only for Pakistan but also for the whole world. The foreign policy of Pakistan will be discussed from the start, keeping in view these geographical realities. How Pakistan’s foreign relations passed through various phases and where they stand today. It is important because all the world is looking towards Pakistan, and Pakistan is looking towards the whole world. This mutual interest attracts our attention as we try to understand the position of Pakistan.

Notion of Foreign Policy

“Foreign Policy is that policy of the nation or states which relates the international affairs or which relates a nation with other nation”. It is made to establish relation with other country.

How and why, it is made and designed?

Foreign policy is formulated on the basis of coordination and consultation between two countries. For example, a country may set its terms of relations with another country on a

mutual basis. The ambassadors of both countries go to other countries. They live there, engage themselves with the government on a continuous basis, and establish relationships so that they can exchange messages about their relationships. Why is it formulated? It is explained for three reasons.

1. Every nation wants to protect its national security.
2. Every nation is interested in its national economic development.
3. Every nation wants to establish its prestige in the world.

In other words, every nation develops its foreign relations with other countries for the protection of national interests, economic development, and prestige. Foreign policy is considered important because of these three elements. The importance of foreign policy is equal to the importance of a nation. For example, if we want to establish a factory of fans for the facilitation of the public, later on we can sell them in the market, earn money, and create employment opportunities for people. But we need machinery for the establishment of a factory. Therefore, we import it from another country. For this import, we need to establish relations with foreign countries. It means the economic development of any country is attached to its relations with other countries. Hence, national security, economic development, and prestige are three basic factors in the development of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Initial Stages: Infant Pakistan

When Pakistan appeared on the map of the world, it was in its infancy. It has nothing that is necessary to run the state mechanism. It is difficult to place the period of infancy in a historical framework. But generally, it started in 1947 and continued until 1962–64, during the Ayub periods. The initial years of Pakistan passed with great difficulty. It was a period of anarchy at the social, political, economic, and cultural levels. In this period of anarchy, including the first constitution of 1956 and martial law, Pakistan remained under constant social, political, and economic crises. Under this phase of anarchy, Pakistan required national security, economic development, and prestige in the eyes of the world. National security was important because India appeared to be Pakistan's greatest enemy. India was not ready to accept Pakistan until today. Therefore, India has not accepted Pakistan's existence from the heart. It considered Pakistan its enemy. Pakistan shares a long border with India. The security of the border was important for Pakistan. There was a distance of 1000 miles between Pakistan and its other wing, with the territory of India between them. Pakistan was a weak country from a geographical point of view because its western wing shares a border of hundreds of miles with India without any natural barriers of rivers or mountains, while its eastern wing is far away because of the

Indian territorial presence between them. Pakistan needed support for the protection of its security. Pakistan was also passing through an economic crisis. It needed economic support for economic development. Pakistan did not receive anything, and there was no industry in Pakistan. It needs external friendships and relationships for its economic development. We have no industry for making clothes, pottery, electronics, fans, etc. Pakistan was the first country to be established on the ideological basis of Islam. It needed prestige in the eyes of the world. It was the first country to raise the slogan "*Millat e Islamia"*. Jinnah gave practical reality to the vision of Iqbal. The protection of this prestige was possible when the world looked at Pakistan with respect. Therefore, it was a great challenge. The initial phase of Pakistan was itself a challenge for our country. Pakistan was passing through a number of crises. It had to develop its foreign policy and foreign relations in the face of those crises and great challenges. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan, realized this challenge very clearly. He realized that Pakistan should follow a path that seeks prestige, national security, and economic development in the eyes of the world. Pakistan took its first step towards developing friendship with the USA. The war had started between the USA (the western world) and the communist world. Firstly, Pakistan's support for the communist world was against the ideological foundation of Pakistan. Secondly, Pakistan was interested in western democracy. Liaqat Ali Khan received invitations from both Russia and the USA. He prioritized the USA over the USSR. It was a question in the foreign policy framework about why Liaqat Ali Khan chose to become part of the Western Block. First of all, the ideological foundation did not suit Pakistan's decision to become part of the communist bloc. Being a part of an aristocratic family and a trainee at Oxford University, Liaqat Ali Khan was well aware of the western democratic paradigm of the USA. The communist democracy was centered on authoritarianism and dictatorship. There is no concept of religion in communism. While there is a concept of religion and liberal democracy in the west, he tilted towards the western democratic system and joined the western block. Hence, Pakistan became a member of SEATO and CENT and signed the Baghdad Pact. It signed pacts with Iran and Turkey and established good relations with Muslim world. It was a conscious foreign policy, keeping in view the above-mentioned rationale for the formulation of foreign relations.

Ayub Khan's Era

Pakistan passed through crises in the initial years after its establishment. It does not mean that this crisis has ended and that the stability of foreign policy has become permanent. It is an established fact that foreign policy never becomes permanent. Economic planning is based on

short- and long-term gains. But it is not permanent either. Changes also occur in the planning process. Changes are always there in management, and it is always feasible to continue with change. Stability in changes produces a static condition. This condition prevents progress. Therefore, change is essential for progress. As change is essential for progress, similarly, change in national policy is vital for national progress. Foreign policy is a part of national policy. Therefore, foreign policy brings change and progress. In order for Pakistan to progress, its foreign policy also went through various phases of change. Now, the foreign policy of Pakistan has entered the Ayub Era. It took on a new shape in the Ayub period. This period witnessed the rule of a military government. In order to gain democratic legitimacy, Ayub Khan launched a system of basic democracy during his military rule. He gave the Constitution of 1962. Giving it the name of basic democracy, he made the country an administrative state. He pressed all the political tendencies. The system of governance fell prey to administration. The Legislature became a titular organization. Foreign policy came into the hands of the administration. It changed and improved the economic situation during the Ayub periods. He spread his friendship with the USA and the western world to establish economic progress. It enhanced relationships of Pakistan with France, England and USA. The Cold War was the obvious reason for these relations. India came closer to Russia, and Pakistan chose to join the West. Pakistan had a formal pact with the USA, and India established a pact with Russia. The waves of the Cold War came in the relationship between Pakistan and India. It broke on the issue of Kashmir. English left India with the Kashmir issue, and it is interesting to note that English left two unsolved issues in the same period of time in India and Palestine. They did nothing about Kashmir upon their departure. It is still a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. It started with the emergence of Pakistan. It was mentioned in the Independence Act that the issue of Kashmir would be solved through a plebiscite. The people of Kashmir will decide about the merger with Pakistan or with India. It was accepted by both countries. India backed out, and Pakistan sent it to the United Nations (UN). Russia vetoed this resolution at the UN. It is still a vote, and there is no debate over it. The UN neither accepted it nor rejected it. No plebiscite has ever happened in Kashmir. Pakistan and India fought against each other immediately after independence. Azad Kashmir came into Pakistan, while 2/3 of the territory is still under the illegal occupation of India. It continued until the Ayub period, and it further progressed under the stable administrative rule of the military in Pakistan. It opened again at the UN. Bhutto raised his voice over Kashmir as foreign minister. A formal political war started between India and Pakistan over this issue at the UN. At that time, the world was divided into two poles, which are strongly recognized as the "cold war. It was not limited to Kashmir; the

Panama Canal in Latin America, South Korea and North Korean states in the Far East, and the Suez Canal in the Middle East were part of the Cold War tussles between the western and eastern blocs. Russia and America stand opposite each other on four sides of the globe at these focused points, which were creating international political force. Both states tried to establish friendship with the region. Pakistan had joined the western camp in the beginning. But it realized that it should establish relations with other countries in the world. Pakistan developed friendly relations with China because it was an emerging power at the time under the leadership of Mao Zedong. China can exert influence in South Asia because it shares its border with India. The state of India had a fear of China; therefore, it established relations with Russia to balance China. The Soviet Union required access to sea routes because it had no sea routes due to its geographical location. She could not get access to sea routes through India because China is in the middle of both countries. It could reach sea routes through central Asia via Afghanistan to Pakistan and the Arabian Sea to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, Russia wanted to reach the Indian Ocean through these routes. The USA was far away from this region. She observed that Soviet influence in India would create its hegemony in South Asia. It would become the cause for the spread of communism into the Middle East after its hegemony in central Asia, East Asia, South East Asia, South West Asia, and the Far East. Keeping in view the international scenario, the foreign policy of Pakistan gained vital importance. On the other hand, Pakistan realized the importance of China along with the Kashmir issue. Pakistan was the first Muslim country to recognize China despite its tilt towards the west. China also established friendly relations with Pakistan. The state of Pakistan had already joined SEATO, CENTO, and the Baghdad Pact. Like NATO in Europe, the USA created the South East Asia Treaty Organization for the defense of its members from the attack of communism. Both Pakistan and the USA were members of SEATO. Administrative stability was established in Pakistan during the military Ayub period. Pakistan developed economically in this era, and it enhanced Pakistan's prestige. It needed security on the international front, and Z.A. Bhutto played an important role as foreign minister of Pakistan.

1965 Indo-Pakistan War and Foreign Policy of Pakistan

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, raised the issue of Kashmir at the international level. A political war started between India and Pakistan in 1965, which turned into a conventional war. The war of 1965 was a test for Pakistan and its foreign policy. The USA gave military support, and China supported Pakistan financially. The USA did not send its military to the battle field because it was not an offence on the communist side. Though

India used Russian weapons against Pakistan, SEATO members did not defend Pakistan against Indian aggression. Pakistan won the war militarily. China and the USA remained silent. Russia appeared on the scene and urged both Pakistan and India to cease fire and maintain friendship. Ayub Khan visited Tashkent against the will of Z.A. Bhutto. Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Declaration at the insistence of the Soviet Union. The Tashkant Declaration was signed on January 10th, and the PM of India, LaL Bahadar Sashtari, died on the same day. (It is said that Shashtari died because of happiness.) Pakistan won the war at the level of the military but lost it on the political front. All the performances of the armed person fell prey to political bargains. It showed signs of failure in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Bhutto came from Tashkent in regret over this political failure. He separated himself from Ayub Khan and formed his own political party. He raised the slogans of democracy and Islamic socialism. Finally, he remained successful in the downfall of Ayub. Yahya Khan arrived after the departure of Ayub Khan. The 1965 Indo-Pak War demonstrated that the condition of Pakistan has changed now. Ayub Khan's departure was very important because he was the one who gave the 1962 Constitution. It was written in the first sentence of his constitution, "I, Field Marshall Muhammad Ayub Khan, give this constitution to the people of Pakistan". He himself threw this constitution in the trash.

1971 Indo-Pakistan War and Foreign Policy of Pakistan

After the fall of Ayub, the power was transferred to Yahya Khan, who became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. He showed his personal will about his arrival and departure. Once again, Pakistan's foreign policy entered a difficult period. The demand for elections increased in the country. The crises in East Pakistan had started, which are called "civil war" or "internal crises." It created discontent in East Pakistan for maximum autonomy. Political restlessness spread in West Pakistan. In the beginning, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started with autonomy. Later on, he demanded the separation of everything, like currency and international trade. These demands created crises in the country. Yahya Khan called for a general election in the middle of such crises. The Awami League, under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, gained popularity in the eastern wing of the country and won the election there. Contrariwise, the Pakistan People Party was popular under the leadership of Bhutto. It won the election in the western wing of Pakistan. The Awami League gained maximum seats and a total majority because the population of East Pakistan was greater than that of West Pakistan. The elections were held on the basis of one person, one vote. The allocation of seats in both wings was set on the basis of

population. The majority of seats were allocated to East Pakistan, and the Awami League won all the seats except one. Therefore, the Awami League gained the majority of seats in the national assembly. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was reluctant on his six-point formula, which created an internal political crisis and an anarchic condition in the country. CMLA did not know the nature of the crisis. He was in West Pakistan with Bhutto. Both were working together, advising, agreeing, and disagreeing with each other in the absence of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This internal political crisis naturally affects Pakistan's foreign policy. The friendship with America during Ayub's period was low. It also created distance with China. Pakistan was almost alone in this scenario on the international front. India took full advantage of this loneliness and brought its army to the border with Pakistan which resulted in the eruption of crisis in East Pakistan.

Mujib's army started fighting against Pakistan's forces. It created a civil war in East Pakistan. It was difficult for Pakistan's military to transport troops and weapons to East Pakistan because of the Indian Territory between both wings. India took advantage of the situation to target the concept of the "two nation theory." In order to remove this concept, India brought its army to the border to attack Pakistan. It was difficult for Pakistan to control both the west border and the civil war in East Pakistan. China and America supported Pakistan through lip service and declared it an internal war of Pakistan. In August 1971, Russia signed a defence pact with India, and fighting started in December. It was obvious that the Soviet Union was going to participate with India. Russia supported India directly and indirectly. Pakistan's army was unable to respond on two fronts. It was a dangerous war for Pakistan in 1971. It was a planned war against Pakistan. It was unthinkable for Yahya Khan to imagine the internal war in East Pakistan and on both the eastern and western borders. Consequently, East Pakistan separated itself from West Pakistan. The army of Pakistan had to surrender to the Indian army in East Pakistan. Indira Gandhi took credit for this entire situation. India tried to prove that the two-nation theory had ended. But the concept of two nation theory was not regionalism. It is based on the unity of the Islamic world. Bangladesh used Bengali culture to prove its national demands, and the culture of Bengal is not defined as Islamic culture. Unfortunately, Pakistan lost East Pakistan and left only with its eastern wing. In short, the foreign policy of Pakistan changed with the changing conditions. Pakistan's foreign policy reached its climax during the period of Ayub, but it declined during the rule of Yahya Khan. Resultantly, Pakistan lost its eastern wing due to its failures on the military and political fronts. A new period started in Pakistan after 1971.

Conclusion

Returning to the point of foreign policy about national security, economic development, and prestige in the eyes of the world, Pakistan remained successful during the middle period. Pakistan could not achieve success in economic development in its infancy. But it secured prestige and national security in the eyes of the world because Pakistan did not lose the war of 1948. Pakistan remained successful in national security, economic development, and prestige during Ayub's period. It maintained national security because Pakistan had won the military war in 1965. It also maintained economic development because Pakistan participated in economic partnerships with Europe, the USA, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union. Our country gained good growth during Ayub's periods, along with foreign policy. Pakistan also secured prestige in the eyes of the world. Ayub Khan was a well-known personality in the eyes of the world. He had high prestige to be recognized as a good leader in Pakistan. He was considered the Charles de Gaulle of Pakistan. Like Charles De Gaulle, Ayub Khan became the president of Pakistan. Similarly, De Gaulle departed from his office, and Ayub Khan also departed as president of Pakistan. Based on similar policies with De Gaulle, Ayub Khan is called the "De Gaulle of East". The country enjoyed prestige in the eyes of the world during Ayub's period. Pakistan's internal crises, like the civil war and war with India in 1971, lowered its prestige during Yahya Khan's period.

Lecture 30

Futuristic Outlook

Introduction

The current lecture covers Pakistan's foreign strategy as well as its optimistic perspective for the future.

Foreign Policy of Pakistan

In the preceding lecture, the discussion concluded on the events of 1971, highlighting the war and the factors leading to the separation of East Pakistan. Subsequently, the focus shifted to the aftermath, marked by the establishment of Bangladesh. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto took on the role of Prime Minister after the 1971 war. When examining the era of Z. A. Bhutto, it is crucial to recall the three fundamental reasons influencing the formulation of foreign policy.

1. National security
2. Economic prosperity
3. Highest prestige in the eye of the world

Regarding Z. A. Bhutto's foreign policy, he introduced a novel ideological foundation in Pakistan known as Islamic socialism. Bhutto aspired to instill democracy in the country and ensure equality for the underprivileged. Z.A. Bhutto pioneered socialism as a state policy in Pakistan during a period coinciding with the peak of the Cold War. India, aligned with socialism, had a close association with Russia. The global political landscape was shaped by the influences of three major forces: the United States, Russia, and Mao Zedong-led socialist China.

Given Pakistan's strategic geographical position, Bhutto believed major powers were keen on establishing favorable relations, particularly with the U.S., Russia, and China. However, Bhutto's socialist approach struggled to strike a balance among these nations. The U.S., advocating democracy worldwide, contributed to global polarization as it engaged in various conflicts with Russia, including issues like the Panama Canal, Suez Canal, Cuba, Palestine, and the Kashmir conflict, all of which were discussed in the United Nations.

China, emerging as a UN member during the Cold War, wielded significant influence in international politics. Bhutto's socialist policy complicated matters for the U.S., prompting them to explore alternatives within Pakistan's political arena. Bhutto, acknowledging pressure from the U.S. in his speeches, saw this come to fruition as he faced a tragic downfall after a few years, leading to the establishment of a new government under Zia ul Haq.

General Zia ul Haq's era began with martial law in Pakistan, reshaping the global political landscape, especially in South Asia. The Afghan conflict, sparked by Russia's invasion, evolved into an ideological war or Jihad against the communist bloc. Both the U.S. and Pakistan supported Afghan Mujahideen, leading to a clash between communist and democratic forces. The Afghan war, lasting 9-10 years, presented unique challenges in mountainous terrain and strategic positions. Russia's defeat resulted in the Soviet Union's disintegration. Post-war, Pakistan faced severe repercussions from Zia ul Haq's Islamization policy, opening borders for Afghan refugees. The influx caused social and security issues, fostering a "Kalashnikov culture," drug proliferation, and persistent terrorism, leaving lasting negative impacts on Pakistani society.

Zia ul Haq's Islamization policy aimed to transform Pakistan into an Islamic ideological state, achieving success domestically. However, the negative repercussions arose from the Afghan War and Pakistan's role in it, impacting society and politics. Zia ul Haq's regime concluded abruptly with an air crash, leading to his death and creating a complex political and social situation in Pakistan. Subsequently, new elections were conducted, and Benazir Bhutto emerged as the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Benazir Bhutto, akin to her father, aimed at introducing changes and addressing political instability in Pakistan, but faced challenges in achieving lasting success. Her successor, Mian Nawaz Sharif, also struggled with political stability, resulting in a weak foreign policy during their combined ten years of democratic rule. Both leaders lacked expertise in foreign policy – Benazir Bhutto, despite her foreign exposure and education, had limited experience in domestic politics, having never served as an MPA or MNA before. On the other hand, Nawaz Sharif lacked foreign exposure and national political expertise. As a result, both leaders encountered difficulties in effectively managing state affairs.

Over the course of these ten years, global politics transitioned into a unipolar world, marked by America's issuance of a new world order. Simultaneously, the Taliban established a government in Afghanistan, exerting pressure on Pakistan. India's growing influence in

Afghanistan posed challenges for Pakistan, necessitating a robust foreign policy response. Unfortunately, the Pakistani government struggled to effectively contend with these dynamics. Tensions heightened during Nawaz Sharif's government in 1998 when India declared its nuclear weapons, prompting Pakistan to reciprocate. Pakistan's geopolitical significance increased with its nuclear ownership. Both before and after Pakistan's nuclear explosion, the U.S. pressured the government to refrain from advancing nuclear technology. However, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif persisted with the program. In 1999, the Kargil War erupted, and though both India and Pakistan avoided launching a conventional war, U.S. intervention was instrumental in bringing about its conclusion. Following the war, General Musharraf assumed power, leading to improved relations with the USA. Subsequently, the global landscape underwent a transformative event – the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in America, initiating a new era with the commencement of the War on Terrorism.

Following the 9/11 attacks, America attributed responsibility to Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden, prompting a U.S. military intervention. In response, Pakistan aligned itself with the USA in the War on Terrorism, rekindling close ties. While Pakistan's foreign policy reoriented towards the U.S., it maintained consistent relations with China, Russia, European nations, and Muslim countries, upholding key principles like national security, economic prosperity, and global prestige. Despite overall success, Pakistan's foreign policy is challenged by its challenging neighbors – Iran, Afghanistan, and India. Dealing strategically with these states, especially during weak governance periods, poses difficulties. The trajectory of Pakistan's foreign policy remains uncertain, given its continuous evolution in response to the ever-changing international landscape.

Overview of Lectures

Some factors need to be discussed concerning the search for good Governance in Pakistan such as:

1. **Constitutional Evolution:** Highlighting the constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973.
2. **Leadership Deficiency:** Discussing the historical absence of strong political leadership in Pakistan.
3. **Bureaucratic Ascendance:** Noting the rise of bureaucracy, particularly during Ayub Khan's era.

4. **Democracy's Struggles:** Examining the challenges and failures of democracy in Pakistan.
5. **Military Interventions:** Addressing the recurring issue of military intervention in political affairs.
6. **Federalism Challenges:** Discussing challenges related to the federal structure.
7. **Population Dynamics:** Considering the impact of population growth and internal migration.
8. **Socioeconomic Factors:** Highlighting issues of poverty, unemployment, and literacy.
9. **Media and Public Awareness:** Recognizing the role of media and public awareness in governance.

The lecture underscores the importance of autonomy for good governance and emphasizes the need for democracy, rationalized authorities, political mobilization, and participation to achieve it. It also touches upon specific historical instances, like Z. A. Bhutto's attempts at societal change and challenges posed by military interventions, bureaucracy, and federal issues in the quest for effective governance in Pakistan.

Leaders like Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Zia ul Haq, and General Pervez Musharraf ruled illegitimately, attempting to enforce personalized laws that undermined rationalized authority and hindered the establishment of democratic norms in Pakistan.

Since 1947, Pakistan has grappled with federalism challenges, marked by societal divisions such as regional groups, sectarianism, ethnic disparities, and linguistic differences. The lack of a cohesive federal policy resulted in the loss of East Pakistan in 1971, and these issues persist without resolution.

Conclusion

The increasing population in Pakistan brings about challenges like unemployment, poverty, and declining literacy rates due to inadequate educational facilities, turning essential needs into distant dreams for the impoverished masses. Additionally, the media exacerbates these issues by engaging in negative practices, including the dissemination of fake news, illogical analyses, and weak social mobilization. In essence, Pakistan's central challenge lies in governance; improvement in this area is seen as the key to steering the entire country towards development.

The handouts of PAK302 are transcribed by Pakistan Studies team.