

# The Pakistan Movement and Emergence of Pakistan

## Students' Learning Outcomes

After studying this chapter, students will be able to:

1. Briefly describe the Historical events of the Pakistan Movement:  
1857-1940  
1940-1947
2. Discuss the role of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ in the making of Pakistan with reference to his political and constitutional efforts.
3. Describe the early problems faced after the creation of Pakistan with emphasis on Economic, political, Refugees' and Administrative problems.
4. Discuss Quaid-e-Azam's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ role and achievements as first Governor-General of Pakistan.
5. Identify Liaqat Ali Khan's role and achievements as first Prime Minister of Pakistan with special reference to Objectives Resolution 1949.
6. Identify the main aspects of the 1956 Constitution.
7. Explain the causes of Martial Law promulgated in 1958.
8. Explain the contribution, reforms and achievements of Ayub Khan.
9. Identify the main features of 1962 constitution.
10. Discuss the Presidential Elections of 1965 and their impact on politics.
11. Describe the spirit of Pakistani people and the armed forces during 1965 war.
12. Discuss the key aspects of the LFO promulgated by Yahya Khan.
13. Analyze 1970 elections and their aftermath.
14. Discuss the causes of separation of East-Pakistan.

## Background of Pakistan Movement

The arrival of Muslims in the South Asian subcontinent started in 712 AD with the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad Bin Qasim. After Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir's death (1707 AD), a decline started in Muslim rule, but just after a few years, with the emergence of Shah Wali Ullah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ as a great reformer, a forceful movement started for the restoration of Islam and the Muslim fortitude.

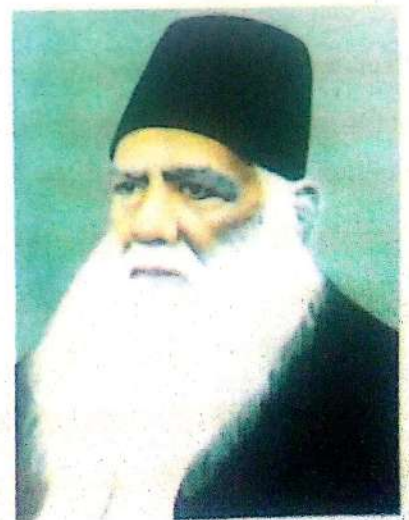


Politically, the British increasingly enhanced their influence under the garb of trading through "East India Company". In 1757, Siraj ud Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, tried to hold them back but he was betrayed by his own people and was martyred in the battle of Plassi. In 1799, Sultan Tipu, the ruler of Mysore, also became a victim of treason and died a martyr's death. On the academic front, Shah Wali Ullah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, his sons, grandsons and subsequently his pupils played an important role. Under their influence, Tehreek-e-Mujahideen was launched, which was headed by Syed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi.

In 1831, Syed Ahmad Shaheed alongwith his principal lieutenant Syed Ismail was martyred in battle with the Sikhs at Balakot. Thus, the last effort to revive Islam militarily also failed. But the effect of the movement continued as a source of inspiration especially in Bengal where Faraizi Movement emerged prominent. The primary objective of Faraizi Movement was to urge the Muslims to perform their obligations. The war of independence 1857 was also an attempt for the restoration of Muslims' political power and fortitude.

### Aligarh Movement and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

- With the failure of the war of independence, the darkest period of the Muslim history of subcontinent started. The Muslims as a nation became a victim of the British hatred and atrocities. In these circumstances, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan took the lead in steering the nation through Aligarh movement. The Aligarh movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had the following objectives:
  1. To build confidence between the government and the Muslims.
  2. To persuade the Muslims to acquire modern education and learn English language.
  3. To keep the Muslims of the subcontinent away from politics.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in 1817 in Delhi. He kept working for the educational, political and religious uplift of the Muslims. He had realized that the Muslims could not progress without education.
- He set up a school at Muradabad in 1859. In 1863 he founded the scientific society at Ghazipur. The school he set up in Aligarh in 1875 was upgraded to a college



Sir Syed Ahmad Khan



in 1877 and to a university in 1920. The educated Muslims of the early twentieth century were the product of this institution.

- His magazine, 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt' was his great political service. In this magazine, he highlighted the real causes of the war of independence for the information of the British. After the war of independence, his position was not less than that of a political reformer for Muslims. To maintain the existence of the Muslims of the subcontinent, he went ahead who tried to remove the misunderstanding of the British.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan considered the Muslims to be politically weak, he therefore, restrained them from joining the Indian National Congress which was founded in 1885. He urged the Muslims to acquire knowledge first and then take part in the politics of the subcontinent.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's achievements were not limited to his lifetime only. He launched a movement that continued the national services even after his death. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan united the Muslims into an orderly nation through the Aligarh Movement, as a result of which the Muslims emerged as a separate entity.

### Partition of Bengal 1905

In British India, the province of Bengal was larger than all other provinces in terms of population and area. The economic system here was completely under the control of Hindus. In 1905, on the recommendation of Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, the British Parliament divided Bengal into two parts to improve its administration. According to the British, it was not possible for a governor to properly manage such a large and vast province. This division of Bengal resulted in two provinces i.e., East Bengal and West Bengal. Division of Bengal had different effects on Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims were very happy with this partition because there was a majority of Muslims in East Bengal, which became a new province. But Hindus were unhappy with this division as they could not afford to lose their economic and political monopoly over Bengal. It was for this reason that the Hindus refused to accept the partition of Bengal and called for a repeal of this partition. They started a non-cooperation movement, announced boycott of English goods, stopped payments of taxes and eventually resorted to violence. Under these circumstances, the British government surrendered at last and annulled the partition of Bengal in 1911. The annulment of Bengal caused severe shock to the Muslims.



## Simla Deputation 1906

In view of the attitude of the Hindus on the partition of Bengal, the Muslims chose a new way to protect their rights. On 1st October 1906, a Muslim political delegation led by Sir Agha Khan, met Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India at Simla to demand a separate electorate for Muslims. The Viceroy gave a positive response. There was no political party of Muslims at that time. After this event, Muslims intensely felt the need for a political party which was formed as Muslim League. In 1909, the Muslims were given the right to separate electorate.



Sir Agha Khan

## Establishment of Muslim League 1906

The Muslim League was established in 1906 in Dhaka. Following factors played an important role in its formation:

1. The partition of Bengal in 1905 and the reaction of Hindus
2. The British attitude
3. Sense of deprivation of the Muslims
4. Ignoring the Muslims politically

Due to these factors, the Muslims who had been oppressed by the British-Hindu cooperation became active and came to the realm of common thinking. The following were the main objectives of the formation of the Muslim League:-

1. To develop the feelings of loyalty towards the British among the Muslims, and to remove all sorts of misunderstandings about the acts of the government.
2. To safeguard the political rights of Muslims and to convey their demands to the government.
3. To develop friendly relations with all the nations of the subcontinent without harming the above mentioned objectives of Muslim League.

## Minto-Morley Reforms 1909

The partition of Bengal in 1905 led to increased political unrest in the country. Hindus and Muslims were getting fed up with each other. Realizing the sensitivity of the situation, Mr. Morley an Indian Minister and Lord Minto the Governor General jointly compiled some reforms for India. The British Parliament passed the reforms bill under the Indian Councils Act, 1909. These reforms are commonly referred to as the "Minto



Morley Reforms. "Under these reforms, the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils were expanded and the number of their members was increased. The separate electoral method was also approved. Muslim League welcomed the introduction of separate electoral method and declared it a success. This demand was made by members of the Simla Deputation during a meeting with Lord Minto, three years ago, in 1906.

### Lucknow Pact 1916

In 1916 Congress and the Muslim League held a joint session at Lucknow to conclude an agreement called the Lucknow Pact. In this pact, separate identity of Muslims and their demand for separate electorate were accepted for the first time. The government had already accepted this demand in the Minto Morley Reforms in 1909. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ came to be known as the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity due to Lucknow pact.

### Khilafat Movement 1919

In First World War, which began in 1914, Turkey had sided with Germany against the British. Germany and her allies were defeated in war. When the war was over, Britain and her allies deprived Turkey of the territories of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Jordan which endangered the existence of Turkey. Therefore, in 1919 the Muslims of the subcontinent launched a countrywide movement to save the khilafat of Turkey, which was called Khilafat Movement. The following were the objectives of this movement:-

1. Turkish Khilafat should remain intact.
2. The Holy places of the Muslims should remain in protection of the Turks.
3. The Turkish boundaries should not be changed.

### Non-Cooperation Movement 1920

The following were the objectives of this Movement:-

1. Non-Cooperation with the Government
2. To quit Government services
3. Muslims not to join the Armed Forces
4. Boycott of British goods
5. Boycott of courts of law
6. Not to send children to schools and colleges.
7. To renounce the titles given by the British



## Hijrat Movement 1920

In 1920, Some Ulema issued fatwa that the subcontinent was a Darul Harab and it was not permissible for Muslims to remain under the British rule. Hence the Muslims should migrate to Darul salaam. Therefore, thousands of Muslim families sold their properties and migrated to Afghanistan. Afghanistan did not allow them entry and forced them to return to their country. When these ruined Muslims came back they had nothing except the tales of their woe. Mustafa Kamal Ataturk (founder of modern Turkey) abolished the caliphate in Turkey and this movement ended.

## Nehru Report 1928

The Nehru Report undid the Lucknow pact reached with Muslims in the past and rejecting the principle of separate electorate, refused to accept all the reservations that the Muslims considered necessary for their development and survival. The Nehru Report deteriorated relations between the two nations.

## Fourteen Points of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ 1929

Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ refused to accept the Nehru Report. In 1929 he presented the following guiding principles based on fourteen points:-

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with greater autonomy to the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all provinces.
3. Adequate and effective representation should be given to the minorities in the provinces.
4. In the central Legislature, Muslim representation should not be less than one third.
5. The principle of separate election should apply to each community. However, if any community wants, it can choose the method of mixed election on its free will.
6. No changes should be carried out in the territorial limits of the provinces, which may affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and NWF Province (Presently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).
7. Equal religious liberty should be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution should be passed in any legislature if three fourth of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill.
9. Sindh should be separated from Bombay to make it a province.



10. Reforms should be introduced in the NWF Province (Presently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan on the same lines as in other provinces.
11. Muslims should get an adequate share in all the government services with due regard to their eligibility and proportion.
12. Muslims should get adequate safeguards for the protection of their religion and culture.
13. Muslims should have at least one third representation in all provincial and central ministries.
14. No changes should be made in the constitution without the concurrence of the provinces.

After an analysis of the Fourteen Points of the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ it would not be out of place to say that Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ not only protected the political rights of the Muslims but also provided the structure of the constitutional reforms in India.

### Allama Muhammad Iqbal's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ Allahabad Address, 1930

It was the desire of the Muslims of the subcontinent that they should be acknowledged as a separate identity. Allama Muhammad Iqbal's Allahabad Address (1930) was a step towards the same end. The Muslims could not tolerate that their religious, political and social rights should be usurped. Therefore, they demanded a separate homeland for themselves which was put up by Allama Muhammad Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ in his Allahabad Address as under:-



Allama Muhammad Iqbal  
رحمۃ اللہ علیہ

*"I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Whether India gets independence within the British empire or outside it, the formation of a consolidated North-West Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims of at least North-West India."*

Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ had desired to see the Muslims of the subcontinent emerging as an effective force. Allama Muhammad Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ advanced this concept of a separate homeland in his Allahabad Address. In 1933 Chaudhry Rehmat Ali named this dream of Allama

#### Do you know?

The first Round Table Conference was held in London in 1930, the second in 1931 and the third in 1932.



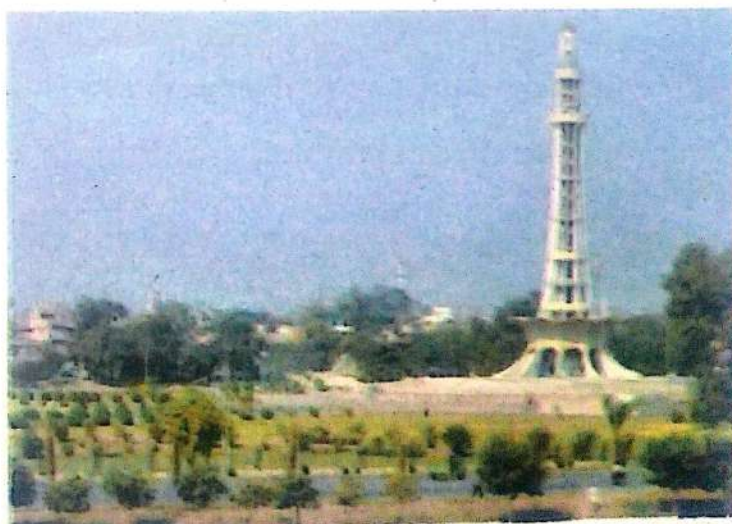
Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ for a separate homeland as "Pakistan". The Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ took over the reins of Muslim League in 1934 and organized it into a strong and effective party for political stability of the Muslims.

### Act of 1935 and the Provincial Autonomy

In 1935, the British Government introduced a new constitution for the subcontinent in which the provincial autonomy was given a priority. Under this constitution, elections were held in 1937 in which the Congress got the absolute majority. After getting majority, the congress planned to crush the separate identity of the Muslims. In this connection, Hindus tried to impose religious restrictions on the Muslims. They started making noise outside the Masjids (mosques) at the time of prayers. The Muslims were denied Government jobs. Attempts were made to replace Urdu with Hindi in schools. The students were forced to salute the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, The Muslim children were asked to put "Tilak" on their foreheads. The Muslims were forced to sing Bande Mataram which was based on hatred towards the Muslims. This attitude further aroused the Muslims in their demand for a separate state. In 1938, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was given the title of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ during annual meeting of Muslim League at Patna. When the Congress ministries resigned in 1939, the Muslims observed 'Day of Deliverance' on 22nd December 1939, on the approval from Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ and Muslim League.

### Lahore Resolution 1940

This resolution was presented on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 in the 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of Muslim League, presided over by Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ. The resolution was presented by Sher-e-Bengal Maulvi Fazal-e-Haq. In his presidential address, Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ threw light on the political problems of the Muslims and the Two-Nation Theory.



Minar-e-Pakistan where the Lahore Resolution was passed

### Text of the Resolution

It was unanimously resolved by All India Muslim League that, "No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is prepared in the light of



the following basic principles i.e., geographically contiguous states should be demarcated into regions, with necessary territorial readjustments, where the Muslims are numerically in majority, for instance, the North-Western and Eastern zones of India. These should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign". It further resolved, "That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided for minorities. Arrangements should also be made for the security of Muslims where they are in minority."

Gandhi and the Hindus opposed the Resolution. The British Press called this Resolution as "Pakistan of Jinnah". It was only seven years after this resolution that the Muslims of the subcontinent succeeded in getting Pakistan as a result of their struggle.

### Cripps Mission 1942

During Second World War (1939-45), the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to the subcontinent who tried to have a consensus of all the political parties on some proposals, but he failed.

#### Proposals of Cripps Mission

Cripps Mission offered the following proposals:-

1. After the war, the subcontinent will be under the British Crown but the British Government would avoid interfering in its internal as well as external affairs.
2. All institutions including Defense, Foreign Affairs, Communications etc. will be handed over to the Indians.
3. The members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies will elect a Central Assembly for framing constitution. After the constitution is finalized, it will be sent to all the provinces for confirmation. The provinces which do not approve the constitution would have the authority to establish their independent status after separation from the centre.
4. Appropriate steps will be taken to safeguard minorities' rights.

Sir Stafford Cripps's proposals were rejected by Muslim League, All Indian National Congress and other Parties. The attainment of a separate homeland remained the major demand of the Muslims, which was unacceptable to the Congress. For this, the Muslims had to step up their struggle. In 1945, the Wavell Plan was presented which was strongly opposed by Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ tried to prove Muslim League as the only representative party of the Muslims but the Congress refused to



accept it.

## Simla Conference and Elections

In 1945, when Britain was sure to win the war, Viceroy Lord Wavel announced that the Viceroy's Executive Council will include all Indian members and the political parties would be represented in it on the basis of population. To analyse these proposals, Simla Conference was held in 1945. Five Muslim members were to be included in the Council but the Congress demanded that only one Muslim representative be nominated. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ did not accept it and said that Muslim League being the representatives of Muslims would nominate all the five Muslim representatives. The Simla conference failed to resolve this issue.

While the Simla Conference could not decide that the Muslim League was the only representative party of the Muslims, this issue was decided in 1945-46 elections. The Muslim League achieved great success and emerged as the sole representative party of Muslims by winning all reserved seats for the Muslims.

### Do you know?

Simla is a recreational resort in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh.

## Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

The Labour Party came into power in England in 1945. The British Government sent a Cabinet Mission to India due to the rising political restlessness in the subcontinent. The Mission consisted of three members. This mission had two fundamental objectives. First to determine the constitutional position and the form of Government and secondly to reduce the hatred between the Hindus and the Muslims and keep them together in the united India. But the elections proved that this could not be done.

The members of the Cabinet Mission met with the leaders of all the political parties but failed to achieve the desirable results. So, these members announced a plan on 16th May 1946, with following salient features:-

1. A union would be established in the subcontinent which would be responsible for the foreign affairs, defense, communications and transportation.
2. All powers except central affairs would be given to the provinces.
3. The provinces would have the mandate to form mutual groups and every group could frame its own constitution.
4. The provinces would have the authority to demand amendments in the constitution, through majority opinion, after every 10 years.



## Direct Action Day

On 16th August 1946, Muslim League decided to observe Yaum-e-Rast Iqdam (Direct Action Day) at the national level, because the Hindus were dreaming of ruling the subcontinent after the departure of the British. On that day, the processions were held everywhere in which the evil designs of the Congress were exposed.

## Interim Government

In September 1946 the Viceroy asked the Congress to form Interim Government. Under those circumstances, the Muslim League decided to join the Interim Government rather than leaving the field open and nominated five League members, which included Liaquat Ali Khan, I. I. Chundrigar, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and minority member Jogandar Nath Mandal. But the interim Government could not perform effectively due to differences between the Congress and the Muslim League. Under these circumstances, the demand of the Muslims for a separate homeland under two-nation theory further strengthened. Therefore, the British Prime Minister announced on 20th February 1947 that the Government would hand over the power to the elected representatives by June 1948. Thus, the establishment of Pakistan drew closer.



Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Liaquat Ali Khan

## 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 Plan

On 3rd June 1947, the plan for the partition of the subcontinent was announced whereby the power was to be handed over to the representatives of India by 14th August 1947. The 3rd June 1947 plan also had a clause that separate sessions of the Muslim and the Hindu members of the assemblies of Punjab and Bengal would be held. It was also decided that the provinces would be partitioned and a Commission would decide the new boundaries of provinces.

It was also decided that Sindh Assembly would decide the future status of the province through the majority vote; the people of NWFP and Sylhet would decide through plebiscite whether to join Pakistan or India and the Shahi Jirgah would decide the future of Balochistan. The Sindh Assembly voted for Pakistan.



## The Indian Independence Bill, 1947

To execute the 3rd June plan, the British Government passed the Indian Independence Bill on 16th July 1947 whereby India was divided into two states Pakistan and India.

### Radcliffe Award

For the demarcation of the boundaries of Punjab and Bengal, two Boundary Commissions were constituted under the joint Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe. For the demarcation of Punjab Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir and Mr. Justice Din Muhammad represented Pakistan, while Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Mr. Justice Teja Singh represented India. All those gentlemen were judges of the high court.

For the demarcation of Bengal, Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram and Mr. Justice S. A. Rehman represented Pakistan while Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas and Mr. Justice B. K. Mukerjee represented India. At the time of partition, the Viceroy and his staff connived with the Congress and demarcated the boundary according to their wishes and used Radcliffe as a rubber stamp. Radcliffe award included many Muslim majority areas in India and deprived Pakistan from the waters of Sutlej, Bias and Ravi. Furthermore, the frontiers of India were extended up to Kashmir. India captured Kashmir through Gurdaspur and created the Kashmir problem which is still unresolved. The defective planning by Radcliffe created many problems for Pakistan.

### Dawn of Independence

The concept of independence has a great significance for the nations. Pakistan came into being as independent state on 14th August 1947 (27<sup>th</sup> Ramadan). Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was the first Governor General of Pakistan.

### Role of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ in the making of Pakistan with reference to his political and constitutional efforts

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was born on 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1876 in Karachi. He began to take part in politics, during his stay in England. He joined the Congress at first. At that time, he was a staunch supporter of the Hindu Muslim Unity. He was also called the Ambassador of the Hindu Muslim Unity.

- In 1909, the "Minto Morley Reforms" were implemented in India. The number of members of the Viceroy's Council was also increased from sixteen to twenty-eight. The Muslims of Mumbai elected Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali





Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ as their representative.

- In 1913, he joined the Muslim League. The Muslim League, on his request, amended its constitution and made the self-government as the purpose of life. His statesmanly politics shook the roots of British rule. He left the Congress in 1920 due to its anti Muslim policies.
- In December 1916, the Muslim League and the Congress agreed to hold simultaneous public meetings in Lucknow. The meeting of the Muslim League was chaired by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. He said in his address, "We do not want any rewards or concessions, nor are we desirous of any discriminatory political treatment". At this place, the two political parties signed a landmark agreement called "Lucknow Pact". At the same place, he was awarded the title of "Ambassador of the Hindu Muslim Unity".
- In 1919, the British government passed the Rowlatt Act under which the government was granted the authority to arrest without warrant and trial. Under this law, any accused could be tried in camera without Judicial Review. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ opposed the Act and declared it unconstitutional. He resigned from the Viceroy's Council in protest. On this occasion, he said: "I feel the government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called



a civilized Government. "Nevertheless, I hope that Secretary of State for India will persuade the British government to reject this black law."

- In 1929, Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه presented his famous fourteen points.
- Three Round Table Conferences were held in London from 1930 to 1932. Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه attended the first two conferences. These conferences ended without any result.
- The British Government passed the Government of India Act, 1935, but it was disliked by both the Congress and the Muslim League. However, its provincial part was accepted on Quaid-e-Azam's رحمه الله عليه resolution. Both parties participated in the general elections of 1936-37.
- In 1934, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمه الله عليه returned home from England on the request of Allama Muhammad Iqbal رحمه الله عليه and other prominent Muslim League leaders. He was given the presidentship of the Muslim League. He gathered the Muslims under its flag by working day and night. In 1940, the Muslim League's annual session was held in Lahore, in which the Muslims of India unanimously passed a resolution that, "the Muslims of India needed a separate territory in which they could spend their lives according to the principles of Islam, on the basis of their majority." The session was chaired by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمه الله عليه.
- The Muslim League met glorious success in the elections of 1945-46, and made it clear to the British and Hindus that the Muslim League was the only representative of Muslims of whole of India. Under his leadership, in these elections, the Muslim League got 100% success in the federal assembly and 90% in the provincial assemblies under the leadership of of Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه.
- He strongly opposed the Cabinet Mission's proposals, under which the British wanted to hand over rule to Congress. He made all the conspiracies of the Hindus and the British unsuccessful. The Cabinet Mission eventually had to admit that the Muslim League could not be ignored in any way.
- On 14 August 1947, Pakistan came into being. On August 15, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه took oath as the first Governor General of this newly born Islamic sovereign state.
- Shortly before the establishment of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam's رحمه الله عليه health had



deteriorated but he continued to work day and night. He never had a chance to rest. This further deteriorated his health. The disease intensified in July 1948 and finally he died on 11<sup>th</sup> September, 1948.

**Do you know?**

The first Arab Israel war took place in 1948, and in 1948, Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist.

## Consolidation of the State and making of Constitution 1947-56

From the very beginning, Pakistan had to face many difficulties in making the constitution. At the time of the emergence of Pakistan, there was no constitution to run the government affairs, therefore, the Government of India Act 1935 was adopted with some amendments. As this constitution was not in accordance with the requirements and aspirations of the new state, so, it was replaced by a constitution in line with national sentiments, under which the federal system was introduced. On August 10, 1947, a session of the Constituent Assembly was convened under the Interim Constitution. In addition to the legislation, this Assembly was also playing the role of the Central Parliament.

## Early Problems of Pakistan

Pakistan had to face many problems soon after its establishment. Some of them were:-

### 1. Radcliffe Award

After the declaration of establishment of Pakistan, the Viceroy appointed the Boundary Commissions for Punjab and Bengal on June 30, 1947 to determine the boundaries of both the countries. Mr. Radcliffe, an English lawyer, was appointed chairman of both the commissions. He was also given the power of arbitration in case of disagreements. The decision that this commission made was called the Radcliffe Award. But the announcement made about the borders in the Radcliffe Award did not meet the requirements of justice. Mountbatten and Radcliffe took full care of congressionalist and Hindu friendship. The Muslim majority areas adjoining Pakistan were handed over to India. She was granted access to the state of Jammu and Kashmir through inclusion of Muslim majority area of Gurdaspur in India. Thus, the Kashmir issue was created, which remains unresolved till today.

### 2. Settlement of Migrants

At the time of Independence of India and inception of Pakistan, it was not



decided that the Hindus of Pakistan would go to India and the Muslims of India would go to Pakistan. It was understood that Muslim majority areas would be handed over to Pakistan where minorities would live under the shadow of the green flag with all the freedom.

Hindu Muslim riots further added to the problems in the newly established state. In India, the settlements of peaceful Muslims were burnt to ashes. Bloodshed was caused and the Muslims were forcibly pushed into Pakistan. Pakistan had to face significant difficulties in rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees coming from India. Millions of ruined people came to Pakistan after suffering enormous difficulties. The refugees also included the injured and the ill. They were kept in migrant camps where cholera broke out. Many people died due to inadequate medical facilities. Although it was an enormous test for the newly born state, the Muslims generously supported their migrant brothers. They provided them food and clothing. Eventually, this difficult period passed.



A scene of migration

### 3. Administrative Problems

Karachi was declared the capital of Pakistan at the time of its establishment. Governor House and Secretariat buildings were evacuated for the central offices but their capacity was low, so temporary offices were established in different parts of the city. Even the Ministers were deprived of basic office facilities. The administrative structure was in a dismal state because there was no expert and experienced staff. A total of 81 Muslim officers from the civil service came to Pakistan as its share but most of them had no experience of senior posts.

The central government's records and equipment could not reach Karachi because Hindus and Sikh rioters had destroyed the railway tracks on which the trains were supposed to reach Pakistan. Indian airlines refused to provide aeroplanes to Muslims on rent. There was no accommodation for the government employees who had managed to reach Pakistan. But they did not lose heart. They devoted their entire management skills to the nation and made Pakistan strong and stable.



#### 4. Economic Problems

At the time of its creation, Pakistan had to face many economic problems too. Most of the areas of Pakistan were backward at the time of independence. Transportation and communication facilities were insufficient. The British and Hindus had deliberately kept the Muslim population areas backward. From here, the British used to recruit young men for army service, but did not feel the need to set up factories and mills there. This maladministration can be gauged from the fact that 75% of the world's jute was produced in East Bengal but all the jute factories were in West Bengal and the Hindus had full control over them. At the time of partition, there were 394 textile mills in the United India but only 14 mills came to Pakistan's share. The total number of branches of the banks was 487 but Pakistan's share was only 69 and the Hindus took all the bank capital with them to India. In fact, it was the conspiracy of the Congress to economically strangle Pakistan so that it may not survive. The Indian rulers were also unjust in the proper distribution of assets between Pakistan and India. They continued to avoid giving Pakistan its due share. They used every possible tactics to destroy the economy of Pakistan and withheld the agreed share of Pakistan's assets.

#### 5. Distribution of Military Assets

After the partition of the subcontinent, justice was not done in the distribution of military assets too. The British Government had decided that according to the plan of June 3, 1947, all military assets would be divided with 64% proportion to India and 36% to Pakistan. There were 16 ordnance factories operating in the United India, but not a single one was there in the areas included in Pakistan. What to mention of shifting an ordnance factory into Pakistan, the Indian government was not willing even to shift a small part of machinery to Pakistan. After a long discussion, it was decided that Pakistan would be given Rs. 60 million to set up an ordnance factory of its own. Indian government also rejected the formula for the distribution of ordinary military assets, which made the conditions even more complex. In this way, Pakistan was deprived of its due share.

#### 6. Agricultural Problems

Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country, where agriculture is not possible without canal irrigation. At the time of partition of the subcontinent, important headworks on rivers and canals were also given to India, thus, giving her the control of our canals. In order to destabilize Pakistan, India stopped water supply to Pakistan from Ferozepur (River Sutlej) and Madhupur (River Ravi) headworks in April 1948. The motive behind this move was to make agricultural areas of Pakistan barren and destabilize it



economically. Ultimately, the issue of water sharing between the two countries was resolved under the "Indus Water Treaty" 1960, The rights to the three eastern rivers, namely Ravi, Sutlej and Beas were given to India while exclusive rights to three western rivers, namely Indus, Jhelum and Chenab were given to Pakistan.

## 7. Political Problems

At its creation, Pakistan had to face many political problems as well. At the time of independence, several independent princely states declared their affiliation with Pakistan which included Manawadar, Dir, Swat and Junagarh etc. India did not like the annexation of these states and occupied Junagarh on 9th November 1947. The same way, India occupied Kashmir at the end of 1947. Then on the death of the Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, when the Pakistani nation was in grief, India occupied Hyderabad Deccan on 17 September 1948. In this way, India continued working against Pakistan's stability. The people of Kashmir wanted to affiliate with Pakistan. In this state of uncertainty, freedom movement started there resulting in the affiliation of of Azad Kashmir with Pakistan.

### Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ Role and achievements as First Governor General

- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ took oath as the first Governor General of Pakistan on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as the Prime Minister. As the constitution of the newly born state was not ready, the Act of 1935 was amended and enforced. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ remained the Governor General of Pakistan for thirteen months. During this period, he solved many important national issues with his insight and leadership qualities, which enabled Pakistan to stand on its feet.
- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ with his towering personality, overcame many problems created after independence. The Hindus tried to create all kinds of difficulties for Pakistan which included the unfair division of assets, the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees and the ill-treatment of the Muslims by the Hindus besides timely transfer of the administrative records to Pakistan.
- Realizing the sensitivity of the situation, Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ declared Karachi as the capital of Pakistan.
- Pakistan Secretariat was established and the Government officials were advised to serve the nation honestly.
- Special trains were arranged to bring the government officials from India, who



had opted for Pakistan.

- An agreement was concluded with an air company which started the movement of government employees from India.
- For administrative reformation, a committee was set-up under the supervision of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali.
- Civil Services were reorganized and Civil Service Academy was constituted.
- Accounts and Foreign Services were also started.
- Headquarters of Army, Navy and Air Force were established to improve their efficiency.
- An ordnance factory was also set-up in his reign.
- Besides other issues, Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ paid special attention to the Foreign Policy. He developed healthy relations with the neighbouring and developed countries, which was the main objective of the Foreign Policy.
- Pakistan became the member of UN under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ.
- In addition to other issues, education also needed attention at the time of independence. Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ did a lot to improve it. He held the first Educational Conference in 1947. To him the objective of education was to shape the code of morality. He wished that every citizen of Pakistan should serve the nation with honesty and national spirit. The acquisition of science and technology education was made compulsory for the youth.
- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ rendered all possible service to Pakistan so long as he lived. Despite his bad health, he kept on going through the important files.
- Illness had weakened the Quaid-e-Azam considerably, yet he did not lose heart. He did not let his illness come in the way of his duties. Thus we can say that Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ put in his heart and soul for the betterment of Pakistan.

### **Liaquat Ali Khan's Role and achievements as First Prime Minister**

- Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan remained the right hand man of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. To handle the tsunami of refugees entering Punjab was a difficult task. On the advice of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, he as chairman of the Punjab Refugee Council supervised the work of rehabilitation of the refugees and providing them with the



necessities of life. After the establishment of Pakistan, Hindu-Muslim riots had become common due to the hatred of Hindus towards the Muslims in India. He visited the border areas with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to stop the massacre of the Muslims in Punjab and appealed to abstain from the malicious activity of human bloodshed. While guidance to the nation and the government in all issues, including the formation of administrative structure, restoration of economic life, budget preparation, Kashmir war, control of internal chaos and defense against India's conspiracies was provided by Quaid-e-Azam, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was responsible for implementing his decisions.



Liaquat Ali Khan

- After the death of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, when the morale of the nation was going down and the Indian leadership was constantly plotting against Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was the leader and spokesman of the nation. During his rule, a great struggle for economic development was started. The people were encouraged to promote Pakistani products.
- He got Objectives Resolution passed from Assembly in 1949 and constituted a "Basic Principles Committee" to draw the new constitution. He visited the United States in 1950 and through his speeches, he informed the people and leaders of the United States about the background of establishment of Pakistan. He tried to persuade the American leadership to meet Pakistan's defense needs.
- Liaquat Ali Khan's foreign policy played a key role in establishing cordial relations with Islamic countries. When Shah of Iran visited Pakistan, the two leaders held talks to adopt a joint policy. In the middle of 1951, uncertainty arose in the country when Indian troops gathered on the border of Pakistan. He traveled around the country to raise the morale of the nation and make them aware of this threat.

On October 16, 1951, he was shot dead in the Company Bagh of Rawalpindi while he was about to start his address. The last words on his tongue were: "Allah! Protect Pakistan."

The nation awarded Liaquat Ali Khan the title of "Quaid-e-Millat" for his great services and named Company Bagh as Liaquat Bagh as all time recognition of his national services. He was buried at Mazar-e-Quaid's compound in Karachi.



## Objectives Resolution 1949

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan presented a historic resolution on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1949 in the assembly which laid down the basic principles for making of the future constitution of Pakistan. Federal legislature approved it with majority vote. It is generally called "Objectives Resolution".

The main points of the Objectives Resolution are as under:

### 1. Sovereignty of Allah Almighty

Objectives Resolution categorically states that sovereignty all over the universe belongs to Almighty Allah. Power is a trust with the people and it is to be exercised within the prescribed limits by the elected representatives of the people.

### 2. Follow the Islamic Values

Objectives Resolution has laid down that in Pakistan, Islamic values like democracy, equality, fraternity, freedom of expression, tolerance and social justice would be exercised.

### 3. Islamic Way of Life

It was affirmed that an adequate environment would be provided to enable the Muslims to lead their individual and collective lives according to the basic principles of Islam.

### 4. Protection of Minorities

All the minorities living in Pakistan shall be fully free to lead their lives according to the basic principles of their religions and beliefs.

### 5. Provision of Fundamental Rights

All citizens of Pakistan shall be guaranteed fundamental rights without making any discrimination on the basis of racial, political, economic or religious prejudices.

### 6. Federal Form of Government

It was specifically mentioned in Objectives Resolution that Pakistan shall have a federal democratic structure and its system shall be administered through the elected representatives of the people.

### 7. Development of Backward Areas

It was stressed in the Objectives Resolution that requisite efforts shall be made for the development of backward and remote areas to bring them at par with developed areas.



## 8. Independence of Judiciary

It was affirmed in the Objectives Resolution that judiciary shall be free from all pressures and would work independently.

## 9. Urdu, as National Language

It was made clear that Urdu shall be the national language of Pakistan.

## Importance of the Objectives Resolution

People felt happy and relieved on the passing of the Objectives Resolution, and felt that the formation of constitution would be according to their desires and wishes.

Importance of Objectives Resolution can be summarized as under:-

- i. After the approval of Objectives Resolution, the process of the formation of constitution started. A committee to draft the constitution was formed which was named Basic Principles Committee.
- ii. The Objectives Resolution outlined the basic principles for making the constitution.
- iii. Objectives Resolution was incorporated as a preamble in all the constitutions of Pakistan. It was made a part of the constitution of 1973 through an amendment in 1985.

## Process of Constitution Making in Pakistan

After the approval of Objectives Resolution it became certain on what lines the constitution would be made. For this purpose a committee comprising the members of federal legislature was also constituted, but unfortunately Pakistan was engulfed in various problems and no attention could be paid to the constitution. Due to political instability and incompetence of leadership the governments continued to change rapidly. In such a state of affairs Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the Federal Assembly on 24 October, 1954 and announced the formation of new constituent assembly. Another major hurdle in the way of making the constitution was that the Western wing of Pakistan consisted of four provinces while the Eastern wing comprised of one province only. In order to overcome this hurdle all the four provinces of the Western wing were merged into one unit namely West Pakistan. After the formation of one unit and the elections of new Federal Assembly, the process of constitution making became easier.

Newly appointed Prime Minister Ch. Muhammad Ali, paid full attention to



making of the new constitution which was approved by the Federal Assembly.

### **Salient features of the constitution of 1956**

The first constitution of Pakistan was promulgated on 23 March, 1956. Salient features of this constitution were as under:

- i. Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic.
- ii. Federal parliamentary system was introduced in the country.
- iii. It was affirmed that sovereignty belongs to Almighty Allah, exercise of power would be through the elected representatives of people, necessary environment would be created to enable the people to lead their lives according to the basic principles of Islam, and full religious freedom will be granted to minorities.
- iv. Citizens were given full civic rights to lead a prosperous life and utilize their faculties.
- v. It was guaranteed that the judiciary would work independently, and security of service would be ensured for judges.
- vi. Under the constitution of 1956 Urdu and Bengali were declared the national languages.
- vii. Constitution of 1956, was prepared in written form.

### **Abrogation of the Constitution**

Constitution of 1956 was approved after untiring efforts of nine years but it could not run for a long period due to peculiar circumstances, mutual confrontation of politicians, unnecessary interference of bureaucracy and military in democratic institutions, lack of leadership and the dictatorial role of Governor General. The constitution of 1956 remained promulgated for two years and seven months. In October 1958 the Constitution was abrogated and General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army imposed Martial Law by dissolving the Federal and Provincial Assemblies and assumed the office of President and Martial Law Administrator.

### **Accession of States and Tribal Areas to Pakistan**

There were about 600 semi-autonomous princely states in the subcontinent. After the announcement of the plan of June 3, 1947, these states were to join either Pakistan or India, depending on their geographical situation, population and religion. The description of some of these states is as under:-



## 1. State of Jammu and Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is situated in the extreme north of the subcontinent which is considered to be the centre of the continent of Asia. At the time of the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the rulers of the states were given the right to affiliate with India or Pakistan. Muslims in Kashmir who were in a large majority wanted accession with Pakistan but Raja Hari Singh, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, fled to India and announced accession to India against the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

In 1948, India sent its troops to Kashmir and tried to capture it illegally, but the Kashmiri Mujahideen, liberated the area of Azad Jammu and Kashmir from India. India took the issue to the United Nations. The UN arranged ceasefire between India and Pakistan. The UN approved in its resolutions with majority vote that the issue of Kashmir would be decided according to the aspirations of the people of Kashmir by a plebiscite. The Kashmir issue is a central issue between India and Pakistan and without resolving it, the security and peace of this region is at risk. Although Pakistan invited India on numerous occasions to resolve the issue through dialogue yet India avoided it every time on one pretext or the other. Both Pakistan and India are now nuclear powers. If the war starts again on this issue, it can turn into a nuclear war.

## 2. Hyderabad Deccan State

Hyderabad Deccan is the common capital of present day southern states of India namely Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. At the time of partition, the ruler of the state was called the Nizam. The majority of population was Hindus. It was a separate state in British India and had an area of 86 thousand square miles. The Nizam wanted to keep his state autonomous but in 1948, Indian forces removed his government and occupied the state. Hyderabad Deccan is famous for its rich history and culture.

## 3. Junagarh State

At the time of partition of India, the ruler of Junagarh state, Nawab Muhammad Mahabat Khan announced its accession to Pakistan. This accession was also approved by the government of Pakistan but Indian forces invaded the state of Junagarh in 1947 and occupied it.

## 4. Manavadar State

The ruler of this state was Muslim at the time of partition of India. He declared its accession to Pakistan. This state had borders with Junagarh and the Indian forces which



had already occupied Junagarh took advantage of it and occupied the state of Manawadar.

## 5. Swat State, Khairpur State and Bahawalpur State

Swat State, Khairpur State and Bahawalpur State affiliated with Pakistan.

## 6. Tribal Areas

The Tribal Areas were spread over an area of 27,220 sq km. After the creation of Pakistan, these areas enjoyed a different status from the four provinces and were governed by the federal government. In 2018, these areas merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (KPK).

### 1. Ayub Khan Era, 1958-1969

The main causes of General Ayub Khan's martial law (27 October, 1958) were as follows:-

#### (i) Lack of Political Leadership

The establishment of Pakistan on August 14, 1947 was the result of the historic struggle of millions of Muslims and their flawless leadership in the subcontinent. But unfortunately after one year of establishment of Pakistan, the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ died and in 1951, Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan was martyred. Thus, soon after independence, the newborn country lost its patriotic, intellectual and visionary leaders like Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Liaquat Ali Khan رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. After the departure of these leaders, there was a crisis of competent political leadership in Pakistan. Thus, rein of the country fell into the hands of such leaders who could neither create the desired national unity nor overcome the provincial, linguistic and economic crises.



General Ayub Khan

#### (ii) Delay in Elections

One of the reasons for development of political crisis in Pakistan was the delay of the elections. Initially, General elections were not held in the country and the elections were held only in the provinces turn by turn. After the Constitution of 1956 was passed, it was expected that elections would be held within a year but in 1957, the expected elections were postponed till 1959.

#### (iii) Role of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy also played a role in the failure of democracy in the country after the



establishment of Pakistan. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad, Sikander Mirza and Chaudhry Muhammad Ali were also associated with the civil service. On the whole, the bureaucracy acted irresponsibly and did not take issues seriously. The fact was that those who were influential in civil service, fell victims to the lust for power in their hearts. This situation paved the way for martial law.

#### (iv) Failure of Parliamentary System

From August 14, 1947 to October 7, 1958, there was parliamentary system in Pakistan. This system had failed completely over these eleven years. The failure of the parliamentary system can be judged from the fact, that in these eleven years, seven ministries were formed under four governor generals. Among them, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar's ministry was the shortest which lasted only two months. The political instability resulted in economic and political crisis in the country. These circumstances encouraged the imposition of martial law.

#### (v) Constant Hurdles in Making of Constitution

Both Pakistan and India got their freedom at the same time. India developed its constitution within 2 ½ Years but Pakistani politicians kept delaying this issue. Eventually, the situation arose when martial law was imposed.

### 2. Basic Democracies System 1959

General Ayub Khan took charge of the country by imposing martial law. He had been watching politics closely for a long time. As he had been taking part in politics as Minister for Defense Affairs, therefore, he was aware of the political situation in the country. He himself was a supporter of the presidential system, in which the president wields huge powers. In view of this sentiment, General Ayub Khan decided to bring about a four tiers Basic Democracies System in 1959. The four tiers system consisted of the Union Council, Tehsil Council, District Council and Division Council.

#### (i) Union Council / Town Committee

Union Councils in large rural towns and Town Committees in small towns were the first tier of the Basic Democracies System. Every Union Council consisted of several villages and represented a population of five to ten thousand. One thousand people were represented by one member. Union Council representatives elected their chairman. In small towns, members of the Town Committee were elected. Each Union Council and Town Committee performed the tasks of collective development in its area.



## (ii) Tehsil Council / Thana Council

The second tier of the Basic Democracies System was the Tehsil Council and Thana Council. The chairman of the Tehsil Council in West Pakistan used to be Tehsildar. The chairmen of all Union Councils in the tehsil were the members of the Tehsil Council. Similarly, in East Pakistan, every Thana Council consisted of the chairmen of all the Union Councils and Town Committees of the towns and its chairman was the sub-divisional officer. Every Thana Council and Tehsil Council used to organize and coordinate the activities within their boundaries.

## (iii) District Council

The District Council was the third major tier of the Basic Democracies System. It consisted of elected chairmen of Union Councils, Town Committees and Union Committees throughout the district and chairmen of Municipal Committees and vice presidents and government officials of the Cantonment Boards. Half of the members of every District Council were nominated. The Deputy Commissioner or Collector of the District was the Chairman of the District Council.

## (iv) Divisional Council

The Divisional Council was the last tier of the Basic Democracies System. Every Divisional Council consisted of nominated officials and elected members. The Chairmen of the District Councils were members of the Divisional Council. The Divisional Commissioner was the Chairman of the Divisional Council. The Divisional Council used to coordinate the activities of its subsidiary cantonment boards and local bodies. It formulated development schemes for the division and implemented government directives.

## Importance of the System

The purpose of this system was to solve the problems of the people at the local level. In this system, public representatives were elected at the village and local level. These public representatives were well aware of the problems in their area and were also accountable to people. With the establishment of this system, the basic issues of the people were taken into consideration and their social and welfare schemes were initiated. General Ayub Khan issued the order of Basic Democracies System on October 26, 1959. As a result, elections were held in the country in December 1959 and January 1960 in which 80,000 representatives were elected. In February 1960, these representatives expressed their confidence in General Ayub Khan. Thus, on February 17,



1960, General Ayub Khan took oath as the President of Pakistan.

### 3. Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961

General Ayub Khan promulgated Muslim Family Laws ordinance in 1961. According to these laws, marriage registration was made compulsory for the first time in Pakistan. In addition, the second marriage without the permission of the first wife was declared illegal. The minimum age limit for marriage was fixed at 18 years for boy and 16 years for girl. In case of divorce, a period of 90 days was fixed as Iddat Period. Under family laws right of orphaned grand-children to receive share from the property of their grand-parents was also introduced.

Muslim Family Laws Ordinance was the first legislation of its kind in Pakistan, which was being demanded by women and human rights organizations since long. Thus, the introduction of Muslim Family Laws met the old demand of these people and generally met essential legal requirements of an Islamic society.

### Salient Feature of the Constitution of 1962

In order to draft a new constitution President General Muhammad Ayub Khan constituted a new Commission. The Commission presented its proposals to the President in 1961. He made amendments according to his desire and enforced the new constitution on 8 June, 1962.

The salient features of 1962 Constitution were as under:-

- i. The constitution of 1962 was in written form. It consisted of 250 articles and 5 schedules.
- ii. The constitution of 1962 was federal in nature. The two wings of the country were given equal status.
- iii. Presidential form of Government was established. President held extreme powers in the constitution of 1962.
- iv. Various Islamic provisions were incorporated in the constitution i.e. sovereignty of Almighty Allah and exercise of power through the elected representatives of people. Pakistan was named an Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and it was made compulsory for head of the state to be a Muslim.
- v. People were given some rights to lead peaceful, prosperous life and utilization of their faculties. These were known as fundamental rights of the citizens.
- vi. Urdu and Bangali were declared as the national languages of Pakistan.



## Failure of the 1962 Constitution:

President Ayub Khan ruled the country for about ten years. In this period a number of reforms were introduced and country made a great progress in industrial field. But the people started agitation against dictatorial rule of president General Muhammad Ayub Khan and the situation started getting out of control. Under 1962 constitution, all powers were with the president. Under these circumstances martial law was again imposed in the country. On 25 March 1969, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan took over the rein of the country and abrogated the constitution of 1962.

## 4. Presidential Elections 1965

Under the Constitution of 1962, the Presidential election was held in January 1965, in which the number of candidates was four but the actual contest was between General Ayub Khan and Mader-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. Mader-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah was actually against the dictatorial system established by General Ayub Khan. She was not tempted by any position or power but to save the country from dictatorship and to restore parliamentary democratic institutions, she took part in this election despite old age and poor health.

After Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, Mader-e-Millat was the only personality who had popularity in the country. When she entered the field, she was welcomed by people with enthusiasm from Dhaka to Karachi. The enthusiasm with which public had welcomed the Martial Law in 1958 and had attached hopes with it had cooled down. Peoples' enthusiasm for Fatima Jinnah was so pronounced that a large number of people used to assemble at the public meetings even before the arrival of Mader-e-Millat.

In 1965, the number of BD members was increased from 80 thousand to one hundred twenty thousand. President Ayub Khan elected 80,000 members under the Basic Democracies System in 1960 to run the government and during the martial law, these members confirmed his presidentship. The tenure of these members was to expire in 1965, hence fresh election was held in November 1964. According to the Constitution of 1962, these members had the status of electoral body for the election of the President, Provincial and Central Assemblies. The members of the Basic Democracies System elected Muhammad Ayub Khan as the president and Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah was defeated.

## Impact of Elections on Politics

The Basic Democracies System was an important cause of Ayub Khan's downfall.



All the political parties of opposition blamed Ayub Khan of manipulation in these so called Elections and launched a public coordination campaign for the restoration of democracy in the country. In East Pakistan, sense of deprivation and insecurity arose. The people of East Pakistan demanded a new constitution in their six points. Political parties and regional groups began a joint movement. The people also raised a rebellion against General Ayub Khan and shook his government.

## 5. Pakistan and India War 1965

India had been trying all kinds of tricks to weaken Pakistan right from the inception of Pakistan. Sometimes it created the border disputes and sometimes the issue of water distribution. Sometimes, it disrupted the distribution of assets and sometimes it strained relations with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir. All these events led to the outbreak of the Pakistan-India War in September 1965.

In the Rann of Kutch, Pak-India border conflicts began in the spring of 1965 and occasional firing on each other continued from both sides. Similarly, in Kashmir, the situation was worsening day by day. Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri termed the Kashmir as a secondary issue for relations between Pakistan and India. In 1965, India imposed a presidential rule in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which meant that the disputed Jammu and Kashmir had become a part of India completely. On this, the people of Kashmir started protesting against the Indian domination. All of these incidents escalated tensions between the two countries.

### Main Events of 1965 War

On September 6, at 3 am, India started an unannounced war and attacked West Pakistan by crossing the international border. Main fronts opened by India were Lahore Sector, Rann of Kutch, Sialkot (Chawinda) and Kashmir etc.

On this occasion, the President of Pakistan General Ayub Khan while addressing the nation on radio and TV said, "our brave soldiers have moved forward to repel the enemy and Pakistan Armed Forces will demonstrate bravery. Our Armed Forces will defeat the enemy with invincible spirit. The Indian rulers do not know which nation they have challenged." Pakistan's Army bravely faced an enemy, many times bigger



President of Pakistan General Ayub Khan addressing to the nation



than itself, and the brave people of Pakistan fully supported their army. Milli songs further enhanced the spirit of the people and the Armed Forces. On Lahore-Wagha front, Major Raja Aziz Bhatti and his comrades fought the enemy bravely and prevented the enemy from entering their territory. He offered his life but did not let the enemy cross the Bambawali Ravi Bedian (B.R.B) canal. In recognition of this bravery, he was awarded "Nishan-e-Haider".



**Maj. Raja Aziz Bhatti Shaheed**  
**Nishan-e-Haider**

A major battle of tanks was fought at Chawinda. Our young men loaded their bodies with bombs and blocked the enemy tanks. Our air force also fought against the enemy beyond its capacity. In the first three days, Pakistan Air Force inflicted serious blows on the enemy and broke the backbone of Indian Air Force. Squadron Leader Muhammad Mahmood Alam (M.M. Alam) set a new world record by shooting down five Indian planes at Lahore in just one battle. Our soldiers were martyred while performing memorable actions of war history, and the spirit of the people was also worth seeing.



**A scene of War 1965**



**Pakistani tanks countering the enemy in the war**

## Impact of War

In view of public excitement, three cities of Pakistan, namely Lahore, Sargodha and Sialkot were awarded Hilal-i-Istaqlal. The war created a spirit of national solidarity and unity among the people of Pakistan. The whole nation got united by forgetting its internal differences and fought against the invading enemy with complete discipline. On the appeal of the President of Pakistan, the entire nation made liberal donations. The youth rushed to the hospitals to donate blood to their wounded soldiers. In this war, the



brethren Islamic countries supported Pakistan. Due to this war, Pakistan's defense was strengthened and Kashmir issue was highlighted.

Every year, on September 6, the Defense of Pakistan Day is celebrated with great enthusiasm and zeal to once again remind the enemy that all true passions for our homeland exist even today. On the morning of September 6, 1965, India attacked Pakistan and in response to this attack, the way our armed forces defended the country has no parallel in history. Everyone was ready to offer sacrifice for the beloved country in his own way. In Indo-Pak War of 1965, Pakistan emerged victorious due to prayers and the passions of people. Pakistan got international fame due to national solidarity, patriotism and unity. In this war, the brave forces of Pakistan frustrated Indian designs. We should salute the brave soldiers who did not care about their lives and embraced the highest position of martyrdom.

## 6. Economic Development

During the era of General Muhammad Ayub Khan, average GDP growth rate remained about 7%. He took following steps for economic development:-

### Focus on Agriculture Sector

Pakistan's economy is largely dependent on agriculture, so Ayub Khan introduced various reforms in the field of agriculture. He set a land ownership limit for big landlords, distributed land amongst farmers and peasants and provided high yielding seeds to agriculturists. The use of chemical fertilizers was enhanced. Tractors, harvesters and threshers were introduced in the agriculture sector. Agricultural loans were provided on easy terms so that poor farmers could buy new machinery, fertilizers and seeds. Many canals, dams and barrages were constructed for the improvement of irrigation system. In addition, tube wells were installed so that water could be made available for cultivation.

### Focus on Industrial Sector

In 1958, after the imposition of martial law, President Muhammad Ayub Khan announced a new industrial policy. New industries were set up in the country which created employment for the people. Exports of Industrial manufactured goods were increased, small industries were developed, manufacturers were given concessions in taxes and raw material imports and technical training was arranged. Investment Promotion Bureau (IPB) was established in 1959. To help industrial sector, Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) was established. In 1961, the



Pakistan Industrial Development Bank was established to provide long and short-term loans for the development of industries. The Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC) was established which financed the industries with the help of the State Bank of Pakistan. Export bonus scheme was also introduced.

### **Improvement in Education and Social Sector**

Under General Ayub Khan's government, Reforms were also introduced in the educational and social sectors. New curricula were developed for schools and new textbooks were printed. Textbook Boards were established in different provinces. New schools, colleges and universities were established in the country. Family planning program was introduced to control the population growth for development of social sector. Under General Ayub Khan's government, there was a boost in the development of the country and even today, in terms of economic development, Ayub Khan's era is considered as the ideal era.

## **7. Five year Development Plans of General Ayub Khan' Era**

The second and third five year development plans were introduced during General Ayub Khan era.

### **(i) Second Five Year Development Plan (1960-1965)**

An estimated Rs 23 billion were allocated to meet the goals and objectives of the second five-year plan. The major goals and objectives of this five year development plan were to increase national income, per capita income, provide job opportunities to people, increase agricultural production and productivity of large and medium scale industries, increase production of cottage and small scale industry and increase the exports etc.

The second five year development plan was not only successful but also exceeded the growth objectives in many sectors. The second five year plan had special significance in Pakistan's economic planning. The success of the plan led to further encouragement that was helpful in future planning.

### **(ii) Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970)**

After the success of the second five year plan, the third five-year plan was prepared. Its main goals were to increase national income, provide employment to all the labour force by 1985, eliminate dependence on foreign aid and eliminate the disparity of per capita income in different parts of the country. A total of Rs 52 billion was allocated to achieve these goals. The third five year plan did not fully succeed and did not



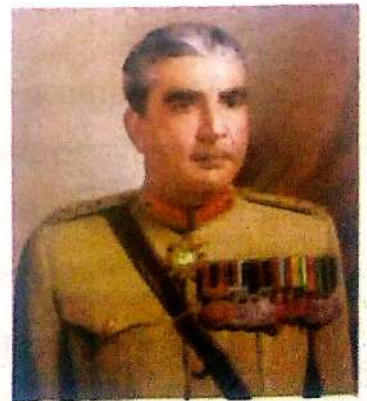
meet the targets set for most of the fields. In fact, the third plan faced the unfavourable conditions from the very beginning. In the first two years, drought affected the production of different crops badly. Pakistan and India War of 1965 increased defense spending, which reduced the resources for development expenditures. Agricultural development also declined. In short, the third five year plan did not really get the requisite resources and the conducive environment needed for the economic development programme.

### Do you know?

On March 25, 1969, due to unfavourable circumstances, General Ayub Khan resigned.

## 1. Yahya Khan Regime 1969-71

The people of Pakistan did not accept the defeat of Mader-e-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah in Presidential elections of 1965 and the Tashkent agreement signed between President Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent. As a result, hatred developed among the people against President Ayub Khan. Students started protests against President Ayub in colleges and universities. Benefits of Ayub Khan's economic reforms could not reach to general public and wealth got accumulated in a few hands. Meanwhile, a close ally of President Ayub Khan and the then Foreign Minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, resigned from the Foreign Ministry due to differences over the Tashkent agreement and formed a new party, namely Pakistan Peoples Party. People began to join the new political party in large numbers. To control the situation, President Ayub convened a round table conference of all political leaders in March 1969 so as to find a solution to the country's political problems but this attempt also failed. Finally, under public pressure, President Ayub Khan resigned from his office. After this, the army chief, General Yahya Khan, imposed Martial Law and took control of the government on March 25, 1969. General Yahya Khan was fully aware of the political situation in the country. He, therefore, announced the general elections on October 5, 1970 to hand over the country's rule to the political leaders. The Constitution of 1962 was abolished with the imposition of Martial Law by General Yahya Khan. Until the formation of the new government, General Yahya Khan formed an interim constitution with the consultation of all political leaders, which was called the Legal Framework Order 1970.



General Yahya Khan

## 2. Legal Framework Order (LFO) 1970

In November 1969, a commission was set up by General Yahya Khan to prepare



the interim constitution, which was finalized on March 30, 1970. Following were the key points of the Legal Framework order:-

1. One unit was eliminated from West Pakistan and all four provinces were restored.
2. The people were given the right to vote directly for the elections. 21 years of age was fixed for voting.
3. The equal distribution of seats of National Assembly between provinces was eliminated, and all provinces were given seats according to their population. The total number of seats of the National Assembly was 313. Among these, 13 seats were reserved for women, while women were also given the right to contest on general seats.
4. The minimum age of the candidate was fixed at 25 years to contest the election.
5. If the new National Assembly failed to draft a new constitution within 120 days, the Assembly would be dissolved.

In addition to all these points, a policy was introduced in the Legal Framework Order 1970 for the making of future constitution. The country's future constitution was to be federal. The name of the country was to be the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Islamic ideology and democratic values were to be included in the constitution. Citizens were to exercise their basic rights freely. The judiciary had to be independent from administration. Provinces were given autonomy. The President was given the power not to pass the Constitution unless the points set forth above were part of the Constitution. The President was given the power to amend the Constitution which could not be challenged in any court.

### 3. General Elections of 1970

The general elections for the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies were held according to the Legal Framework Order 1970. As these were the first elections in the history of Pakistan based on adult voting, therefore, there was great enthusiasm in the public for these elections. All political parties participated in these elections.

The Awami League and the Pakistan Peoples Party were very popular among the major political parties. The Peoples Party chanted the slogan of "Bread, Clothing and Shelter", which became very popular among the people.

As a result of election results, the Awami League emerged as the only majority party which had won 167 of the 300 general seats of the National Assembly. The Pakistan



Peoples Party won 81 seats. All the other parties were able to win only 37 seats of the National Assembly. The results of the Provincial Assemblies were not different. Awami League won 288 of the 300 general seats in East Pakistan. Pakistan Peoples Party won majority in Punjab and Sindh, while National Awami Party (NAP) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) got majority in NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan.

The results of these elections made it clear that the Awami League would form a government in the centre. West Pakistan's political leadership and bureaucracy were concerned because the manifesto on which the Awami League had won was unacceptable to the political leadership of West Pakistan. Therefore, the transfer of powers to the new government was delayed, resulting in a wave of concern in East Pakistan. General Yahya Khan held talks with the head of Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, but these did not succeed. Thereafter, a civil war situation developed in East Pakistan. Bengalis chanted slogan of independent state with the help of pro-Indian organization Mukti Bahini. Pakistan's Armed Forces had to intervene to crush the revolt. Thus, bloody riots began in East Pakistan.

#### 4. Separation of East Pakistan and Emergence of Bangladesh

As a result of the 1970 general elections when the Awami League had won the majority in East Pakistan and the reins of the country were not handed over to the Awami League, the law and order situation developed in East Pakistan. To control this situation, Chief Martial Law Administrator General Yahya Khan declared emergency there. The Pakistan army tried to improve law and order situation but the situation kept on deteriorating day by day as the organization called Mukti Bahini was busy spreading riots there. Under these circumstances, on March 15, 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, General Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman met in Dhaka to restore peace. The negotiations ended without any results. Due to the tense situation, millions of Bengalis began migrating to India. India officially announced to help the



Leader of PPP Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of Awami League Sheikh Mujeeb and Chaudhry Fazal Elahi



Bengalis. The Indian army provided weapons to the rebels and started training them which worsened the situation between Pakistan and India. General Yahya Khan sent more troops to East Pakistan, with the result that Pakistan army gained control of the most of the areas. Given the situation, India attacked East Pakistan with its armed forces. The Pakistan army in East Pakistan contained the Indian forces for two weeks. When they ran out of supplies and no more aid could reach from West Pakistan, India succeeded in its nefarious designs. Thus, on December 16, 1971, East Pakistan got separated and became an independent country by the name of Bangladesh.

### Do you know?

The incident of the Army Public School Peshawar took place on December 16, 2014.

## 5. Causes of Separation of East Pakistan

A brief overview of the secession of East Pakistan can be taken from the following facts:-

### (i) Geographical Distance

There was a distance of one thousand miles between East and West Pakistan. Between these two wings, there was India, which had been engaged in its efforts to undermine Pakistan's integrity ever since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Maintaining political and cultural ties between the two wings a thousand miles apart, was a challenging task. The cultures of the two parts were also very different from each other. East Pakistan was economically backward as compared to other provinces. This created a sense of deprivation in the local population, which led to the separation of East Pakistan.

### (ii) Impact of Hindus on Trade and Services

In East Pakistan trade and government jobs were dominated by Hindus in large numbers and they were stirring up separation sentiments under hidden motives.

### (iii) Economic Backwardness

East Pakistan was economically backward and no government took adequate measures to remove economic disparities of this region.

### (iv) Role of Hindu Teachers

Education sector in East Pakistan was totally under the control of the Hindus. They poisoned the Bengalis against Pakistan and aroused their sentiments.



### (v) Language Issue

Although language issue was resolved under the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 yet it had created a sense of deprivation with respect to the language among the people of East Pakistan. This sense of deprivation could not be removed despite the best efforts of the Governments.

### (vi) Problem of Representation Ratio

Population of East Pakistan was 56% and they wanted the right of representation on the basis of majority of their population. Although they accepted representation on the basis of equality in the constitution of 1956 and 1962, yet they did not get their legitimate rights which led to frustration in them.

### (vii) Indian Interference

India's undue interference in the affairs of East Pakistan also worsened the situation. India provided training and support to the Mukti Bahini workers and encouraged separatists.

### (viii) Six points of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

Six points of the president of Awami League Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also promoted secession.

### (ix) Elections of 1970

The 1970 general elections gave a new twist to the situation and after the complete victory of Awami League in East Pakistan, people started thinking in a new perspective.

After the emergence of Bangladesh General Yehya Khan handed over the power to the leader of Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who had got majority of seats in West Pakistan. In this way Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took oath as a first civil Martial Law Administrator in Pakistan. To run the affairs of the country, an interim constitution was made in 1972 and to form the future constitution of the country, a committee of 25 members of legislature was constituted. All the political parties at National Assembly were given representation.



## QUESTIONS

1. Four possible options are given for each statement. Mark (✓) on the correct option.

- Aurangzeb Alamgir died in:
 

(a) 1707	(b) 1708
(c) 1717	(d) 1718
- Established in 1906:
 

(a) Congress	(b) Muslim League
(c) Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam	(d) Majlis-e-Ahrar
- Turkey stood in the First World War with:
 

(a) Russia	(b) America
(c) Germany	(d) Japan
- Ulemas declared the subcontinent:
 

(a) Dar-ul-Harab	(b) Dar-us-Salaam
(c) Dar-ul-Amaan	(d) Dar-ul-Saltanat
- Nehru Report was presented in:
 

(a) 1938	(b) 1928
(c) 1918	(d) 1908
- Cripps Mission arrived in India in:
 

(a) 1940	(b) 1942
(c) 1944	(d) 1946
- Realizing the sensitivity of the nation, the city which was declared the capital of Pakistan by Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was:
 

(a) Islamabad	(b) Karachi
(c) Lahore	(d) Faisalabad
- General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law on:
 

(a) 10 October, 1956	(b) 7 October, 1957
(c) 1 October, 1958	(d) 27 October, 1958



- During 1971 elections, the National Assembly seats won by Pakistan Peoples Party were:
 

(a) 37	(b) 81
(c) 112	(d) 60
- Bangladesh was established in:
 

(a) 1970	(b) 1971
(c) 1972	(d) 1973

## 2. Fill in the blanks.

- In 1757, the Nawab of Bengal, \_\_\_\_\_, tried to hold The British.
- The publishing of Risala (pamphlet) \_\_\_\_\_ was an important political service of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
- On 1st October 1906, a Muslim delegation led by \_\_\_\_\_ met the Viceroy Lord Minto.
- On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969, Pakistan Army Chief, \_\_\_\_\_ imposed Martial Law in the country.
- For the betterment of social system, General Ayub Khan promulgated \_\_\_\_\_ ordinance 1961.

## 3. Match Column A with Column B and write correct answer in Column C.

Column "A"	Column "B"	Column "C"
An important cause of the downfall of General Ayub Khan	12 March, 1949	
Objectives Resolution was passed on	First Governor General	
The British Government approved "Rowlatt Act"	Basic Democracies System	
On 15 August, 1947, Quaid-e-Azam <small>رحمۃ اللہ علیہ</small> took the oath as	24 March, 1954	
Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Federal Assembly on	in 1919	

## 4. Write short answers.

- The basic objective of Aligarh Movement.
- What factors played an important role in the formation of Muslim



League?

- What was the cause of Hijrat Movement?
- What was the important decision of Radcliffe Award?
- Indicate any three problems faced by the Muslims, after the creation of Pakistan.
- Whom does sovereignty belong to with reference to the Objectives Resolution?
- Write any three salient features of the Constitution of 1956.
- Write short note on the introduction of the Basic Democracies System 1959.

### 5. Write detailed answers.

- Describe the political, social and Educational services of the Aligarh Movement.
- Write down the fourteen points of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ.
- Describe the role of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ in the making of Pakistan with reference to his political and constitutional efforts.
- Discuss the early problems, after the establishment of Pakistan.
- Elaborate important points of Objectives Resolution.
- What were the main causes of General Ayub Khan's Martial Law? Explain.
- Describe the salient features of Basic Democracies System.
- Describe the salient features of the Constitution of 1962.
- Examine the Legal Framework Order 1970.
- Describe the causes and impact of the separation of East Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh.

### Activity

- Organize a dialogue between students on the causes of the separation of East Pakistan.

### Instructions for Teachers

- Inform the students about the important events of President Ayub Khan's era.