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Process of Democracy in Pakistan.

Hameed A. K. Rai

&

Nabila Anees

I

Democracy is such a political system in which people exercise power to change their governors. Literally democracy means " the power belongs to the people " and its is a source of legitimacy of power. In Democracy power is legitimate only if it is an emanation of popular will and is granted freely. A free society is not exposed to arbitrary and uncontrolled political powers, or dominated by a closed, inaccessible oligarchy. The state is at the service of citizens and not the citizens of the state, the government exists for the people and not vice versa.

We are living in the age of democratic confusion. It shows that it is not a static but a dynamic phenomenon. The word democracy give more trouble than any other current political term. There is no standard definition of democracy applicable to all ages and all times. In every age and period it has changed its meaning according to the environment and circumstances.

However a definition of an " Absolute Democracy " or a " Standard Democracy " can be formulated which would be applicable to all times and ages from Greek periods till now. Absolute or Standard Democracy may be defined as " a process in which the demands, wishes and interests of the common people are put into practice and chanellized through the government policy ". If the demands and interests of the masses are fulfilled and they are satisfied with the government policy, it means that the common

people have the power to articulate their interests and demands into the government policy and achieve them practically. The process would be called democratic irrespective of the fact that government is by one, few or many. The demands may be social, religious, political and economic. Equality, liberty and interests may be in any one or all of these sphere of an individual's life. Thus the common people (demos) rule (cracy) in the form of government policy and the masses show their power through the government policy. Absolute or Standard Democracy is bifurcated into social, political and economic democracy depending upon the demands, wishes and interests of the Demos for equality and liberty in social, political, and economic fields respectively.

Democracy has been accepted universally and has become so sacred that nobody dares to say, this is anti-democratic. As George Orvell has said, " In the case of a word like democracy not only is there no agreed definition but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides.....The defenders of any kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning ".¹

A peaceful change of government is a salient feature of democracy which could be done through constitution. Democracy also give the people the right to change the government, to which they give their consent. Government by consent carries with it the right of dissent.

II

The right of consent was provided in theory, in the 1956 and 1973 constitutions of Pakistan yet, it was not put into practice. In the 1962 constitution it was completely ignored, making the regime absolutist. There were provisions for the smooth functioning of

democratic institutions but it was not provided an opportunity. The constitution was not to be blamed for it.

Politicians and government do not see constitution as a document embodying the aspirations and right of the people, but see it as a document for curing the political ailment of the country. Constitution provides guide lines to run the government, it can be amended. In fact constitution does not play such a major part for democracy. The real role is that of politicians, thus, political instability is not due to constitutional instability but vice versa. Constitutional issues, even after four decades, are still with us. Whether Eighth Amendment is a temporary relief or a permanent cure to our Constitutional malady, is still an open question to which answer lies not only with the government, but also with its opponent, both outside and inside the Parliament, is yet to be seen. If we succeed in resolving the problems, there is no guaranty that it would not appear again in future. But to think of temporary solution is also dangerous when the fortunes of the state are involved.

From 1947 to 1954, different strikes were made on the democratic and parliamentary traditions. The respect for parliamentary government and principle of neutrality showed by Quaid-i-Azam as Governor General, was not followed by his successor. The dismissal of Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, the appointment of Muhammad Ali Bogra as Prime Minister and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad lacked parliamentary spirit. It shows that Governor General had no respect for democratic parliamentary government and wanted to perpetuate his rule. According to the constitution, Prime Minister can change the Governor General by recommending the Queen and not Vice Versa. But democratic spirit was flouted by the Governor General. Also the appointment of Muhammad Ali Bogra was against the principle of impartiality. First a person was nominated as Prime Minister and afterwards the Constituent Assembly accepted him. Such a person is nothing more than a nominee of the Governor General.

Ministers also did not show respect for cabinet conventions and lacked party solidarity. According to parliamentary convention the ministers should have resigned from their posts with the dismissal of Prime Minister and asked for new elections. But their lust for power prevented them from doing so and they were ready to join any new cabinet. When the Consamble passed an amendment to curtail the powers of the Governor General, he dismissed the Consamble making the 1954 election in East Pakistan as an excuse. All his acts showed his greed and lust for power only.

The military take over in Pakistan in 1958, known as the "October Revolution" removed the political leaders and so called democratic institution from the country's politics and gave a free hand to the Civil Service and the Army to run the country. Ayub blamed the political parties and floor crossing for the failure of democratic parliamentary government. So he introduced PODO and EBDO to save himself from political elements and hostile criticism. By adopting repressive measures, Ayub Khan suppressed the growth of democratic institution.²

Ayub Khan promised to introduce democracy "suited to the genius" of the people. He presented Basic Democracy System. It was more basic than Democracy. Under this system a limited number of Basic democrats (80,000) elected the Assemblies. So they decided the fate of the Nation and it was easy to "bribe and buy" the voters. The government could easily get the simple majority by fair or foul means. A competition started between the government and opposition parties to influence the Basic Democrats. They were given the impression that they could continue as members so long as there was Ayub Government. So this made Basic Democrats corrupt and they did not support the opposition. Ruling out direct democracy, Ayub sponsored indirect elections through basic democracy. To guide the inexperienced members of rural areas or non-articulate urban members, 50% members were to be nominees of the government. People disliked the idea of nomination in a democratic system.

Basic Democrats were influenced by bureaucracy and they took decisions against the representative of the people. This created frustration among the B.D' s and the people because spirit of initiative and self-respect was crushed. S.R. Ghauri writing in the Moring News of Dacca, expressed his impression on a session of the National Assembly, "every one was waxing eloquent about ' democracy '.....For what was clearly an act of ' democracy ' to the Tréasery Benches, to the opposition Benches it was an act of dictatorship..... For politicians, democracy is an affair of the heart.... and belly ".³ Lous D. Hayes says that the Basic Democrats could be influential at the level of the village or town..... a Universe with which they were familiar.⁴ The political parties and leaders were having no contact with the masses and the gap between the government and the people was widened. All the power were concentrated in the hands of the President, indirectly elected for a period of 5 years. Ayub adopted parliamentary tradition in the Presidential system to make executive more powerful and autocratic. The President' s Ministers could attend the session of National Assembly and influenced the Law-making process. But the National Assembly could not dismiss these Ministers, as they were not its members. The Proclamation of Emergency could not be challenged in any court of law. The National Assembly had no power to disapprove any ordinance issued and it was effective as long as the proclamation of emergency was not withdrawn. Thus the President ran the country on a Semi-dictatorial pattern. Under the new political system that Ayub created, there was a constitution that gave the President all the essential power that he needed to keep the country firmly under his control and to persue his developmental policies with a Legislature constitutionaly incapable of challenging the President's authority or suggesting alternatives.⁵

For democratic process opposition is also essential but Ayub regarded it as subversive and anti-state. He decribed the five Opposition Parties of the C.O.P as " Five cats tied by their tails ".⁶

It shows how much respect he was having for the opposition. He dealt strictly with his political adversaries when they attempted to challenge the foundations of his political system.

During Ayub regime, economic development caused economic inequality between the upper class on one hand and a small middle class and enormous lower class on the other hand. In 1968, Dr. Mahboob ul Haq Chief Economist of the Planning Commission, reported that 22 families controlled 66% of the entire industries, 80% of Banking and 97% insurance. Z.A. Bhutto admitted after Ayub's retirement that " President Ayub might not have been rejected politically if he had given real benefit to the people of Pakistan in the economic field ".⁷ From 1968-1969, there had been constant rioting, blood-shed and numerous strikes, and Ayub's image was gravely discredited. His Basic Democracy System had proved to be a mockery of democracy.⁸ Fundamental Rights were denied to the people and his constitution was never put to referendum. And final un-democratic step taken by Ayub was that he handed over the government to an army officer General A. M. Yahya Khan, providing the army an other opportunity to enter in politics and debase the democratic parliamentary government. Thus no constructive and sincere efforts were made for the establishment of democracy in Pakistan.

The transfer of power from Ayub Khan to General Yahya Khan did not shift the political power and the powerful combination of civil and military elite, which led to the down-fall of Ayub Khan, still shared power with Yahya Khan . Yahya Khan declared at the time of take-over that he had no political ambition and the main objective of his assumption of power was to " Save constructive political life and for smooth transfer of powers to the representatives of the People".⁹ But lack of political skill, imbalance between political, economic, social and regional forces and use of force to settle political problems caused a civil war in the country instead of

democracy. Yahya Khan presided over the desintegration of Pakistan instead of restoring democratic institutions.

III

The Bhutto era lasted for five and half year. It was a period of remarkable dynamism. The economy was restructered, the public sector was given a great deal of prominence, and a new consensus was developed on constitutional issue among different political players. Therefor, it was a period during which a great deal was accomplished. In fact his implicit policy was to control every major class or interest by weakening its power base and by making it subservient to his will and policies. His revolutionary refoms were not for the people but for himself with implicit objectives. He nationalized a number of major industries with th purpose of setting up not Socialism but a kind of state capitalism and he thought that he had weakened the power base of the industrialists. Through labour reforms he granted certain benefits to labour yet virtually took away their right to strike or any form of industrial action by setting up a police force i.e., Federal Security Force. Under land reform, land holdings limits were fixed in terms of the individual and not family holding, with the result that many land lords transfered their land to relatives. According to one of the charges framed by the martial law authorities against Bhutto was that he and his family owned 2200 acres of agriculture land because Bhutto transfered parts of his land to some trusted and dependable persons, making sure that transaction.¹⁰ It shows that he had no intention to alienate the landowners to which class he himself belonged.

He had tried to make the landowners, the small peasants, the landless lahourers to look up to him as the source of all benefits. Bhutto's political strategy was that all effective levers of political power should remain in his hands. He used the landlord as his

political agent but at the same time he made it very clear to the small peasant and the tenants that he, as the Prime Minister, was the source of all benefits and rights that had accrued to them under the new reforms.

A mere exemption from land revenue or the allotment of residential plots or lands made available to some thousand of farmers under the land reforms, had not made any major dent in the poverty that existed in the rural areas. But his great contribution was that he had aroused both a new hope and political consciousness among these classes that their lot could improve through the policies of the government.

Bhutto was the first national leader to have given Pakistan a parliamentary constitution, with the consensus of all the political parties. No political leader before had dominated so completely the political scene of Pakistan. On Bhutto's election as the Prime Minister, the leader of the opposition hoped that now the country could be put on the road to democracy but democracy was converted in to absolute majority. He had a stable majority in the Assembly which could not be shaken by a few dissidents. But, in spite of his solid support, the Prime Minister proved extremely intolerant to any criticism. During a National Assembly session in Nov., 1975, F.S.F was brought in and several protesting opposition members were ejected from the Assembly. Power has the tendency to corrupt the most talented of politicians and Bhutto allowed himself to be easily corrupted by it. "The temptation for self-glorification distorted his leadership image in the Assembly, and robbed him of the powerful edge he had over his political opponents".

On Bhutto's election it was hoped that now the country could be put on the road to democracy.

But, Bhutto was not satisfied with the powers of the Prime Minister under the constitution of 1973. So a vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister was made impossible at least for ten

years. Bhutto was chiefly concerned with a constitution which might insure for him a semi-authoritarian system with a facade of democracy. For example, the constitution claimed to provide a federal system, but in practice, it had transformed it into a highly centralized one, directly controlling all provincial matters like Ayub. In Frontier and Baluchistan, he resorted to the use of force and abandoned all asserted claims of democratic methods. He was intolerant of press criticism of his policies, he did not allow the parliament to function freely. He banned the political parties through an amendment establishing his one party rule in the country, being intolerant of any opposition. The First and Fifth Amendments had seriously affected the independence of the Judiciary and the fundamental rights of the citizens.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had a popular mandate to govern the people and an opportunity to establish democracy in the country. He had passed six years with Ayub Khan and had an insight into the working of the administration. It was hoped that he had a political career and experience. But his association with Ayub than was an association with dictatorship, and its reflection can be seen during his tenure. He was the only political leader to have devised for Pakistan a democratic political process. But, alas, to the misfortunes of Pakistan, it did not happen.

IV

The Coup of July 5, 1977 led by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was the re-assertion of the military's dominant role in the polity after an interval of five and half years. Once again all political activity was banned and all democratic institutions were abolished. A government diverted of politics could not indefinitely govern the country with confidence. During the period from November 1979 to August 1983, the promise to hold election was often repeated. The

military advanced several reasons to delay election and transfer of power. Zia made the announcement of August Plan in 1983. The political frame work was designed to transfer power to a civilian government after taking appropriate steps for its induction. A referendum was to be held for his own election as Head of the State for a term of five years and on his so-called Islamization Programme.

The August 1983 plan was to introduce a qualified democracy not a controlled democracy of Ayub, type. However it was subjected to other kinds of controls. The elections were to be direct but partyless i.e., ban on political parties was to be continued. On many occasions he expressed his view that he would not transfer power to government which did not agree with the continuance of his policies, for which he got the people's approval through a referendum. The Political Parties were prevented from participating in the polls, only individual candidates were permitted to contest the seats for Assemblies. February 1985 elections were parliamentary in a narrow and restricted sense. There was no contest and the electors only had a choice to choose candidates. People did not have the vaguest notion about the government they were voting for. Even the candidates did not know where they stood in the political 'no man's land' in the National Assembly.

The improvisation of Parliamentary Parties can't fill the communication gap between the Parliament and the people until the parties are organized outside the parliament to mobilise public support. Therefore, the Zia parliament had two defects, one inherent in the composition and the other imposed on it by the Revival of Constitution Order. Power is not always given, to take it back, the National Assembly has to have conviction and courage.

The Revival of Constitution Order of March 2, 1985 revived the constitutional government. The Order was promulgated after the elections and the elections were not held under the old constitution. Elected on non-party basis, member of the Parliament did not know,

who among them would be called upon to form the government. It was a leaderless National Assembly. Revival of Constitution Order of 1985 embodied the political philosophy of General Zia-ul-Haq. The system he proposed had strong elements of a presidential system that has affected both the power of the Prime Minister and the privileges of the parliament. The RCO was a part of the constitution under which Civilian Government was restored side by side with the Martial law Government, whose withdrawal was conditional upon the passage of the controversial Eighth Amendment by the parliament. In parliamentary history, it is an unprecedented situation that a parliament elected on non-party basis was now engaged in organizing itself on party lines.

The Eighth Amendment was an ominous piece of legislation and included all ordinances, orders and regulation, proclamation of regulation, proclamation of July 5 1977, the RCO 1985 in which all action of Martial Law, security as well as reforms were given legal protection. To these the Assembly has given vote in the hope of paving the way to the restoration of democracy which was blocked by the continuance of Martial Law.

After exercising undisputed power for so long Zia could not agree to become a powerless Head of the State. Since power is charm, he redistributed power between the President and Prime Minister in the discretion of the President to elect the Prime Minister and his cabinet and to dissolve the Parliament. These power of the President brings in question the Sovereignty of the Parliament not of the civil government, comprised of the president, the Prime Minister and the Parliament. Thus, General Zia, replaced his military regime with a civil Government, though the power structure was not totally transformed, and the introduction of the democratic process depended upon the willingness of the President to let the process work itself out to its logical conclusion.

Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Jonejo in his speeches always boasted for bringing back the democratic process in Pakistan

without realising that the passing of 8th Amendment by his parliament would have far-reaching consequences on the future of democracy in Pakistan. He himself became the first victim when Gen Zia dismissed his Government in May, 1988. This dismissal and the announcement of holding non-party election on 16th November, 1988 were matters of deep concern to those who wanted to see democracy prosper in Pakistan. The air crash near Bahawalpur changed the whole political scenario. Ghulam Ishaq Khan after taking over as President announced to conduct, fair, free and impartial elections on party basis, raised hopes for a bright future for democracy in Pakistan.

7

After the general election Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was installed as Prime Minister on 2nd of December, 1988. She showed a conciliatory stance and exhibited political maturity. She tried to establish the image of a moderate politician willing to go along with the need of the time and had alliance with MQM.

On August 6, 1990 after being in power for about twenty months, The Government of Mrs. Benazir Bhutto was dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on charges of disregarding of constitutional obligations, encroaching upon provincial autonomy large scale corruption and failure of maintaining law and order.¹² With the dissolution of the elected assemblies and reliance on Caretakers to resolve political problems the vision of a democratic Pakistan and the ideals of responsible popular rule suffered a severe set back, though for a temporary period.

The outcome of the General Elections in October, 1990 to the National Assembly brought Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif to power. To assess his Government's political stature over such a short period would be unrealistic because policies take time to mature

and their effects are not always immediately felt. In the field of foreign policy his Government could not perform any miracles, as U.S. policy towards Pakistan remained unsympathetic. The F.16 supply was withheld. On Nuclear issue the U.S. continued to suspect Pakistan. On the Kashmir issue it did not help Pakistan. On domestic policies, his announcement of self-reliance was widely appreciated but his pronouncement that he was not a fundamentalist, did not endear him with the West.¹³ The religious parties became angry and since then he has lost his credibility with them. The Cooperative Scandal created difficulties for his Government. Even the process of privatization was bitterly criticized, as not being transparent. Nawaz Sharif's other daring initiatives like the Public Transport Scheme, the distribution of land to the Haris and the Grand Plan for the construction of a Motor Way failed to provide a favourable climate to the regime.¹⁴ The differences with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and pressure by Mrs. Benazir against the Government finally became responsible for the dismissal of his Government on 17 April, 1993 by the President. Mian Nawaz Sharif's Government was restored by the Supreme Court of Pakistan which provided much needed support to the smooth functioning of democracy but because of undemocratic attitude of the opposition, and clash between the President and the Prime Minister, the Military Elite asked Nawaz Sharif to hold another General Election. This led to the exit of Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif. Moeen Qureshi's Caretaker Government conducted elections under the supervision of the Army as fair and impartial. As a result, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto formed the Government on 19 October, 1993 and put the democratic institutions back on track. Mian Nawaz Sharif has claimed that conspiracies were hatched against his Government therefore, he launched the Nijat Movement against the Government of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto in September, 1994, hence creating an atmosphere of political uncertainty. However, the future of Pakistan

is tied up with a strong democratic system, where in the people are ultimate decision makers.

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Election Ambivalence In Pakistan

Ahmed Husain

The end of world war II paved the way for emphasis on democratic value in a state and regular election became an acknowledged process for it. To get positive result of an election at least three requirements are needed: Minimum standard of education, tolerance and national political parties. The standard of the three norms may vary from country to country but they must exist as ingredients of social and political order of a society. The elections are most important not only for what happens at them but for what happens because of them.¹

By election a number of African and Asian countries became independent. For the purpose of this research Nigeria and Ghana from West Africa and India and Pakistan from South Asia have been selected. All the four were the part of British Empire and the peoples of these countries voted for independence in different ways.

The first Federal General Election was held in 1954 in Nigeria. The results were unforeseen and made the relations between the Federal government and regions difficult.² However, the election process had started and in 1959 a General Election took place which was forerunner of independence of Nigeria, in Oct 1960.³ Under the auspices of United Nations a plebiscite took place in the northern Cameroons which opted to join the Federation of Nigeria with the name Sarawak province. Thus the elections worked for independence and unification of the federation of Nigeria. The example of Nigeria showed that by the process of election the country was first unified and finally independence to Nigeria was

granted on the demand of the electorate. Similarly, in the neighbouring Ghana election was held on the issue of independence.

The CPP under the popular leadership of Dr. Nkruma won an overwhelming victory which enabled the elected Assembly to pass a unanimous resolution for independence. The 1956 general election gave the approval for demand of independence from the united Kingdom and emerged on the world map in 1957.⁴

The history of the reemergence of non-European areas and states to positions of independence by and large started after world war II. About this the cases of Nigeria and Ghana have been briefly discussed. In both the countries of West Africa election was forerunner of independence. The elections not only galvanised the process of independence in British India but was also instrumental in dividing it into two sovereign states, India and Pakistan against the wishes of two decision making powers. In British India, the Congress and the Muslim League demanded independence in two diametrically opposite ways. The Congress campaigned for independence as one united country, emphasising modern nationalism. On the other hand the Muslims League under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah demanded Pakistan: formed by the muslim majority provinces based on separatism

In 1945 the Simla conference failed to reach unanimous conclusion because Viceroy Lord Wavell and hindu dominated Congress did not accept the demand of the Quaid, the president of the Muslim League to acknowledge the League as the genuine representative body of the Indian muslims. The failure of the conference was a victory of the Muslim League and disappointment for the Congress, which claimed to represent the entire India nationalities. The success of the Quaid, as president of Muslim League was further established during the forthcoming election in 1945-46. At the conclusion of the conference the Quaid said : "It suited the Congress to come into the scheme for they stood for a united India, and once they come in they would strangle Pakistan. In

the circumstances it would not be in the interest of the Muslim League to accept the offer.⁵

The Quaid was mindful of the importance of the election results. The Muslim League as an organisation had to establish by the support of the Muslim electorate that the Congress did not represent the Muslim community. It represented only a small size of Muslims who called themselves as national Muslims under the leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Secondly the Quaid did not want the Muslim League to have despondent result like the provincial election of 1937. Consequently, he travelled all over India on the eve of election and appealed to the Muslim voters to vote for the Muslim League candidates because it stood for the Muslim majority provinces in the shape of Pakistan.

The election results were a success for the Muslim League and indication of the claim of the Quaid that it was the representative of the larger part of the Muslim community of India. On the eve of the elections, he predicted a Muslim League sweep at the polls.⁶ Quaid-i- Azam firmly believed in elections and it was partly due to them that Pakistan came into existence. He believed "that in fighting elections League's object was not to capture ministries but to establish Pakistan".⁷ The League won all the thirty seats reserved for the Muslim minority. It was a remarkable display of the leadership of Quaid and his confidence in the Muslim election.

The creation of Pakistan was the direct result of the elections in 1945-46. In a way the result of the election was a negation of the manifesto of the Congress to represent the entire Muslim community along-with the Hindu majority. The British government could not ignore the verdict against united India and in favour of Pakistan by the majority of Muslim voters. After partition the political elites, bureaucracy and military could not ignore the election process in Pakistan despite their deep rooted aversion to it. Because the electorate did not forget the significance of the election result of 1945-46 and its importance for partition of India. Hence the

development of the concept of "Election Ambivalence" among the decision makers in Pakistan .

The Quaid had fought the political battle for the creation of a new muslim state in South Asia, through a constitutional process, in which the political parties and periodical election dominated. He himself opposed the views of the Congress as president of the Muslim League. But unfortunately he died within one year of the emergence of the new state on the global map. His successors lacked his vision and confidence; the two cardinal points to contest election and confront the opposition. Hence, an effort by the ruling Muslim League to delay elections as far as possible. On the other hand in India the ruling Congress under the leadership of Pandit Nehru adopted a new Constitution in January 1950 and conducted first election under it in the winter of 1951-2. On other hand the constitution in Pakistan was approved in 1956 and could not be properly enforced till the imposition of Martial Law in 1958. Because the elections to the National Assembly could not take place due to dilatory tactics of Acting president Iskander Mirza.

The president and his ruling politicians lacked confidence to face the electorate and did not forget the fate of the Muslim League in the provincial election of East Pakistan in 1954. The humiliating defeat in March 1954 of the Muslim League destabilised the Government at the centre. The electorate in East Pakistan censured the central government for its policies at the centre as well as in East Pakistan. To save the interests of the Bengali national political leaders the popularly elected ministry of A.k. Fazlul Haq was dismissed on May 29, 1954. Prime minister Bogra criticised the provincial leadership for working against the centre and inclined towards disintegration of the country. At the same time an authoritative bureaucrat Iskander Mirza was appointed Governor of East Pakistan. The 1954 elections permanently changed the organisation of political parties with the emphasis on regionalism.⁸

As Governor of East Pakistan, he questioned the democratic institutions based on elections and proposed to change the system with limited powers to be given to the electorate. He tried to follow guided Democracy being practised by president Soekarno in Indonesia. Later on, he was elevated to the exalted post of president of Pakistan. It gave him an opportunity to propose a surrogate for representative government and propounded the theory of "controlled democracy".

It had to be enforced by following formula "Power in both wings of the country would vest in the hands of a centrally appointed governor. Who would select a prime minister and a team of ministers, not necessarily from among the members of the assembly".¹⁰ The 1956 constitution was parliamentary and had no room for guided democracy. Therefore, there was difference of opinion between the leading political parties, particularly the Muslim League and President. Its president forced Iskander Mirza to announce elections in February 1959.¹¹ But he stuck to his old belief that the politicians could not run the government. Hence, to thwart the electorate to exercise their constitutional political right he imposed martial law on October 7, 1958 with connivance of Gen. Mohamed Ayub Khan.¹² The Muslim League which had represented muslim cause successfully in pre-partition days failed to organise itself at the grass root level. Its leaders were having regional support and failed to overcome the dominance of senior bureaucrats.¹³ Moreover, bureaucracy also obstructed the development of political parties.

President Ayub Khan introduced 1962 constitution envisaging first presidential form of government in the British Commonwealth countries. In practice this was one man rule and its success and failure depended on the political strength of the President. His political device known as Basic Democracies which, he claimed to be suited to the genius of the people of Pakistan came under real test during the presidential election in 1965. The electoral college of 80,000 basic democrats had to elect legislatures and the president. There had been

limited franchise based on property and income during pre-partition days. But after independence it did not have approval of the masses. The election process introduced by president Ayub Khan was like a pyramid resisting the right to elect members of the legislature and President on the principle of one man one vote. The political philosophy behind this was that the electorate were incompetent to understand the national political issues. Politically speaking it was just a method to perpetuate his rule. But this device proved to be a boomerang for him. The presidential candidate Motharma Fatima Jinnah openly criticised him as a dictator during the confrontation meetings arranged by the Election Commission from Dec 8 to 24, 1964.¹⁴

Her criticism of autocratic Ayub regime made people feel that they had been deprived of the inalienable political right to participate in the government through ballot paper. Motharma Fatima Jinnah did never let the campaign degenerate into parochial and petty issues; in that way, her candidacy helped national integration.¹⁵ She paved the way for woman leadership in the muslim countries. Though president Ayub Khan won the election by having control over the 80,000 Basic Democrats through the bureaucracy.¹⁶ Nevertheless, his political plan failed and he admitted defeat by accepting two fundamental demands i-e, party system and direct elections. Hence, the artificial political edifice which he had built collapsed and with it there was exit of president F.M. Ayub Khan. It was indeed the victory of the electorate of Pakistan. The presidential election, of 1965 may be termed as deviating election because it negated the principle of direct election. The acceptance of the principle one man one vote laid emphasis on the political sovereignty of the citizens of Pakistan which was applied in the legal Framework order (LFO) issued by President Yahya Khan on March 28, 1970.¹⁷ It had seven points and the most important part of it was about the relations between the Federal government and the provinces: "All powers, including legislative, administrative and

financial to discharge its responsibilities in relation to external and internal affairs and to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of the country"¹⁸

To create an atmosphere of fair elections on the basis of universal adult franchise, President Yahya announced two major concessions to the voters of East Pakistan. The dissolution of One Unit in West Pakistan and representation in the National Assembly apportioned on the basis of population rather than parity, gave the Bengalis a majority in the Assembly. No concession was given to the demand of autonomy demanded by Awami League on the basis of six point programme.¹⁹ This indicated the military regime's apprehension about the viability of the programme.

Two things were very important about the the General Election of 1970, which was actually first in Pakistan based on the principle of right to vote for all having attained the age of 21 year, though the umbrella of martial law was there.²⁰ Firstly, the integrity and unity of the country had to be maintained, as mentioned in the LFO. Secondly, the final authority for transfer of power was the President and not the elected National Assembly unfortunately, very little publicity was given to the above mentioned points, both by the government controlled media and all the contesting political parties. The government was complacent that none of the political parties would get a clear majority. There would be a hung assembly and the Yahya regime would exploit the situation. The political parties did not open the controversial issue lest the elections were postponed. As was done by president Iskander Mirza in 1957. Hence both the government and the contesting political parties were equally responsible for the after-math of the election of 1970.

Nine political parties contested the election. The three factions of the Muslim League and the Jamaat-i-Islami, the national parties had a little support either in East or West Pakistan. The Awami League and the People's party had strong support but were mainly

regional.²¹ Mujibur Rehman campaigned as a Bengali Nationalist and described the six points as a Magna Carta for the Bengalis. The People's party wanted change of leadership and promised Islamic Socialism. In 1967 Bhutto had criticised the six points and believed in strong centre. However, during the election campaign his party did not reject the six points publicly.

The election results brought Awami League and People's Party as majority parties in East and West Pakistan respectively. The Awami League won an absolute majority in the National Assembly by securing 160 out of 300 seats. The People's party was the second largest party with 81 seats in the National Assembly. In 1970 election voting percentage was 61.45. All the national parties including religious parties fared badly. Mujib and Bhutto were not farsighted enough to forestall the intentions of military regime to delay transfer of power. Mujib insisted on the six points as the base of future constitution and Bhutto insisted on the dialogue on the six points before the authentication of the constitution.

The intention of the Awami League was to assert its right to govern by virtue of majority and to create a decentralized political order in Pakistan. This gained strength because of the indifference shown by West Pakistan in 1970, when severe cyclones caused the death of half a million people in floods in East Pakistan.²² The military regime felt that if the demand of the Awami League were accepted without imposing some limits on the concept of Bengali autonomy, the central government would become very weak and ineffective. Hence, the delay in transfer of power and final military action on March 25, 1971 to postpone indefinitely the meeting of the National Assembly.²³ However, as far as the election was concerned it was conducted impartially and in the free atmosphere.

But the aftermath of the Elections created a new state of Bangladesh in South Asia. In a broadcast on Dec 16, 1971, President Yahya Khan admitted defeat in East Pakistan. Thus ended the unfortunate civil war. The creation of Bangladesh can be traced back

to 1954. In that year the newly formed ministry of United Front in East Pakistan was dismissed arbitrarily by the Central government with the allegation of secessionist inclinations and hatred shown towards non-Bengali management during the Adamjee Jute Mills riots in Narayanganj. The riots took East Bengal pitted against West Pakistan.²⁴ The destabilising process was thus started and could not be controlled due to geographical distance of about one thousand miles between two wings of the country. Emphasis on negative side of cultural pluralism by regional political leaders and a political party became the vehicle of politicians' personal political ambition.²⁵ The People's Party government under Prime Minister late Z.A. Bhutto decided to hold the second general election in March 1977 under the 1973 constitution. It was the first general election being conducted by the elected government. However, they were held under the umbrella of Emergency Law, which had been in force since the 1971 Indo-Pak War.²⁶ The constitution was passed with the consensus of the members of the National Assembly. The most significant part of the 1973 constitution is about the elections to be conducted by Election Commission. The constitution has discussed elaborately the powers and functions of the Election Commission and given more power to it than the 1956 constitution. The Representation of the People Act 1976 was unanimously passed by the parliament laying down basic rules for campaigners and contestants. Thus, the stage was set for the second general elections to be held in the country on March 7 and 10, 1977 for the National and Provincial assemblies respectively. This election was significant from two angles; it was the first election to be conducted under the civilian administration and the ruling party itself called for the polls before the completion of term which was to expire on August 14, 1977. The Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) consisting of nine political parties. Maulana Mufti Mahmud of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam was its president and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed of Jamat-i-Islami as secretary general. Pir Sahib of Pagra, Muslims League headed central parliamentary board and the

chief of the nine parties were its members. The PNA promised the establishment of an Islamic social order but its specifics were not outlined. Because each of the Ulema dominated parties in the alliance had their own concept of what constitutes an Islamic system of government.

Nevertheless, it made some constructive contributions. The combination of the nine parties made it clear that the ruling party could be challenged at the election. By opting for one election symbol, it laid emphasis on bi-party system. Previously, the COP which had been supporting Motharma Fatima Jinnah during the presidential election in 1965 under 1962 constitution was falling apart and could not be called a united political force. The PNA controlled its component parts and party tickets were issued by its parliamentary board. A step forward by an election alliance. Bhutto won a majority in the election by securing 155 seats against 36 by the opposition. The voting percentage was 61.88, total seats were 200 and number of contesting candidates was 715. Prime Minister and his four Chief Minister were elected unopposed, with complaints by opposition rejection of their papers.²⁷ The result of this was that opposition refused to accept the election result as true and alleged rigging of the elections with government connivance and decided to boycott the ensuing provincial elections. There also started street agitation with a demand for fresh elections. It turned into a mass political agitation and demanded Nazim-i-Mustafa. There was serious law and order problem. There were anti-government and pro-government processions. It was in this precarious and insecure condition that the army chief of staff, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq deposed the elected Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto and seized power in a bloodless coup in July 1977. Martial law was imposed and Bhutto imprisoned for alleged political murder. He was hanged in April 1979.²⁸ The 1977 election was not all that farce as was coloured by the PNA leadership. Like all other developing countries some influential politicians did try to pressurise the voters and in some

constituencies succeeded in partisan electioneering. To appease the opposition the Chief Election Cominisioner had promised to hold fresh elections on all the seats where irrgrularity took place. Had the Military remained aloof the re-election would have taken place to which the Prime Minister finally seemed to agree. In this way there would have been an important political land mark towards reconciliation and tolerance.

The military take over was necessitated as a last resort to save the country from destruction. Since there had been taking place a dialogue between the Government and the opposition and an agreement was almost complete to hold General Election afresh the action of General M. Ziaul Haq seemed hasty. Perhaps, it was due to this background that he announced to hold election within 90 days. This promise he could not keep due to his ambivalence towards general election. He ruled out October 1980 general election as a risk to national unity and solidarity. He declared ; as long as I am at the helm of affairs and there is with me the overwhelming force of Islam loving people we will not let the country go into the hands of anti-Islam and secular elements.

The Military maintains international standards in defence and technical planning. To some extent its approach to civil rule is also universal. the statement of General Zia echoed the concept of "Authoritarian Depoliticization" introduced by the Military in Brazil. By which the citizens were not allowed to have clear ideas about politics. The result was the attitude of apathy and indifference. In such an environment the regime can do what it wants. Nevertheless,³⁰ authoritarian depoliticization is not permanent.

Politically the authoritarian Zia was challenged by major political parties in 1983 with the formation of an alliance: Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The president skillfully tackled the opposition with the support of some landlords and commercial industrial classes who were willing to share political power with the military He called for partyless elections in February

1985. The 11 party MRD boycotted the elections as a farce.³¹ He pronounced the system of political parties un-Islamic before announcing the general election of 1985. The elections were held on the basis of separate electorate for minorities. All the previous elections after 1947 were held on joint electorate principle. Therefore, the 1985 partyless election may be called deviating election.

The president did not allow the elected National Assembly to become a sovereign body. He lifted Martial law only after the Assembly passed the eighth amendment to the constitution. It amended eighteen articles and two schedules. It also gave extraordinary powers to the President to dissolve the Assembly and dismiss the Prime Minister under amended article 58B-2 of the 1973 constitution. Although General Zia ul Haq did not abrogate the 1973 constitution, but he amended it at will.

Mr. Mohamed Khan Jonejo the nominated Prime Minister declared that the function of a political party was necessary for running a parliamentary government. Therefore, he decided to reorganise the Muslim League and was elected its president. He also started asserting as a prime minister in a true parliamentary system. In this way he challenged authoritarian stance of the President. General Zia struck suddenly. On May 29, 1988, after three years of elections he dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed his nominated Prime Minister.

The 1985 had its own significance. It raised election expenses much higher than the official ceiling. The candidates had no political party to support them. A candidate had to depend entirely on his resources. Without the party organisation there were no polling agents, the voters were confused and in many cases found difficult to find their names in the voting list. Many voters failed to locate their polling stations. This experiment of partyless elections proved that there was the need of political parties to conduct elections smoothly. But President Zia again proved his ambivalence to elections and announced that November 1988 elections would again be partyless.

However, the supreme court decided on June 20, 1988 in *Motharma Benazir Bhutto versis Federation of Pakistan* that the political parties were eligible to participate in the elections scheduled to be held on Nov. 16, 1988.³²

Thus the way was cleared for participation of Political Parties in the forthcoming elections. President General Zia died in an air crash in August 1988. He had ruled with the support of like minded groups for over a decade. Therefore, after his death his followers formed an alliance of eight factions. Landlords, and the new industrial and commercial classes. Pakistan Muslim League and Jamaat-i-Islami being its principal components.³³ These were the political forces opposed to the PPP and had identified with the Zia regime particularly after the partyless elections of 1985.

In the 1988 elections, in all, 30 parties and alliances took part. The election results like the election of 1970 had many surprises. An important leader of Pakistan Muslim League Pir of Pagara was defeated. A number of other prominent political figures lost in election, including Mohamed Khan Junejo and General Tikka Khan. Four woman candidates were elected against general seats of the National Assembly. In all 37 candidates retired from the Armed forces of Pakistan contested the elections. But of them only 8 won, including Major Aftab Ahmed Sherpao and Lt. General Majid Malik.

In 1988 election polling percentage was 43.07. Total number of seats open for election were 207 and total number of candidates were 1167. The PPP captured 92 seats and voting percentage was 39% of the total votes cast. The IJI got 55 seats and 32% of the total votes cast.³⁴ The 1988 may be called realigning election. because the political parties had to rearrange their support.

The election results enabled the PPP leader Motharma Benazir Bhutto to become tenth Prime Minister of Pakistan on Dec. 2, 1988. She was the first Muslim lady Prime Minister in the world. In a very short span she did her best to bring the nation in nuclear

age inspite of the growth and massing of vested interests. The President was not satisfied with her work. Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved National Assembly on August 6, 1990 by invoking the discretionary power given to the President in article 58 by the eighth amendment to the constitution. the President strongly censured the PPP Government and references were filed against her cabinet members and herself. But the succeeding government failed to prove anything against her. Finally she was exonerated of the charges levelled against her by a tribunal headed by a high court judge.

When there is a provision for elections in a political system, it also implies that the elections have to be fair and impartial. Then there is criticism of the election results and it becomes a 'critical election' The 1990 election may be analysed as a critical election. In the electioneering history of Pakistan, for the first time the main contest was between party alliances. The IJI and PDA. previously an alliance was formed by the opposition. The official results of the National Assembly elections of Oct. 24, 1990 awarded the IJI an absolute majority of 105 out of 207 seats. PDA secured only 45 seats. The performance of PDA was considered by many observers as below expectation. The polling percentage was 45.46 and number of contesting candidates were 1332.³⁶ The IJI got 37.37% and PDA secured 36.83 of the total votes cast.

The success of the IJI in 1990 elections was claimed to be based on the strategy of "one to one" contest. It was mentioned by the leader of IJI and Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif that the PPP had managed to capture a majority of seats in the 1988 election on account of the splitting of the anti PPP vote and that the "one to one" strategy employed in 1990 had deprived the PPP of its majority.³⁷ He within ten years of his political career achieved the highest political office in the country. He became a provincial minister in 1981 in Zia regime and thrice became provincial Chief Minister.

Motharma Bhutto leader of the opposition in the National Assembly did not agree with it. She alleged that rigging was masterminded by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. She said that bags containing ballot boxes were not shown to the PDA candidates as thousands of ballot papers did not carry any serial number. The PDA polling agents were not allowed to perform their duties properly.³⁸ Broadly speaking the general observation was that the IJI victory was a dissatisfaction with the PPP when it was in office and it was perceived as the personal failing of the former prime Minister.³⁹ The device of one to one and tapping of new voters did help the IJI in the election.⁴⁰ But the facts remains that in a number of polling stations in several constituencies the polling agents of PDA candidates were prevented from observing the count of votes and were not given official results by the presiding officers, which was unlawful according to the Election commission procedure. This created doubts about the authenticity of results from those constituencies.

The IJI formed government at the centre and in all four provinces. The situation was similar to Muslim League forming government at the centre and all the provinces after 1947. The alliance could not work smoothly due to emergence of differences between President Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif. A number of members of the cabinet resigned and a couple of chief ministers openly criticised the policies of the Central Government. There was a unique nature of political impasse, the larger party, the Muslim League forming the alliance was divided into two factions: Nawaz and Junejo leagues. It was by an agreed formula presented by the military that both the President and the Prime Minister leave office and the election commission called for General Election on October 6, 1993. Previously, in 1958 and 1977, there was similar political crisis. The need was that the military should act as a referee to conduct the election. But unfortunately, both times the military intervened and took over administration, which proved to be a blow

to political development. The action taken by the military in 1993 is an important landmark in the constitutional history of Pakistan.

The main purpose of an election is to maintain permanent rapport between the electorate and the elected representatives. From this aspect of democratic values a term "maintaining elections" is applied and the elections of 1993 fall under this category. This election had three significant aspects. The two major political parties, the Muslim League (N) and the People's Party discarded their former political allies, there was a sharp division between urban and rural voters, particularly in the Punjab, the majority province, this was a reminder of rural urban difference between Sir Fazali Husain and Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal about muslim politics. Lastly, an appeal by the religious political parties to vote for them was rejected, as happened in the election of 1970.

On the eve of the election, the leader of Jamaat-i-Islami, released the manifesto of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF). with emphasis on true Islamic and democratic state. To amend the constitution to strike a balance in the power of the president and the prime minister. The system of proportional representation to be introduced in the country and elections to be conducted in tribal areas on the basis of adult franchise.

The leaders of the two major political parties Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Peoples Party are Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto respectively. The manifestoes of the two parties covered social and development aspects of the society. In some fields their approach was identical But in a few aspects they had different ideas. The League wanted for accountability permanent judicial tribunals to try the corrupt, for which there had to be simple, audit and administrative measures. The people's party wanted to have a new social contract for basic structural changes.

It wanted to abolish separate electorate introduced in 1985 election and reserve existing number of seats for each minority.

Reduce the voting age to 18 and amend the law of contempt to enable the parliament to discuss the judicial conduct of judges. Both believed in to prohibit floor crossing and restoration of special seats for women in the Assemblies.⁴³

Mohammad Nawaz Sharif addressed a record number of public meetings during his election campaign covering a distance of 32506 kilometers. Motharma Benazir Bhutto covered a distance of 21650 Km. during her election campaign and addressed at 121 public meetings. Qazi Hussain Ahmed addressed 103 public meetings and covered a distance of 18920 km. during his election campaign. The turn out on Octobers 6, 1993 for 202 coustituencies was 40.54 % of the total registered voters. Fifty two political parties had applied for election symboles in the Oct. 1993 election. Pakistan Muslim League fielded the maximum number of candidates 173 got 73 seats and received 39.9 of the total votes cast. PPP fielded 166 candidates, got 86 seats and had 37.9 of the total votes cast. Another party fielding more then 100 candidates was Pakistan Islamic Front with 104 candidates. Its share of votes was only 3.2 of the total votes cast. The PIF attained only 3 seats. 12 female candidates participated in the elections. Four female candidates succeeded on general seats one of them became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

The purpose of an election is to elect members of the National Assembly and they have to elect from among themselves leader of the House who heads the government of the country as Prime minister. After the election of Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto as prime Minister by 121 to 72 votes for the second time out of 205 votes, She eulogised the role of the armed forces and the Election Commission of Pakistan.⁴⁵ She praised the way the political crisis of confortation between the President and the Prime Minister was resolved and free fair and transparnet election was conducted. The Prime minister elect promised era of political tolerance and prosperity, corruption, horse trading to be eliminated and greater understanding between provinces and centre to be ensured. The Leader of the opposition in the

National Assembly Muhammad Nawaz Sharif conceded defeat. He ruled out the possibility of foul play in the general elections.⁴⁶

Motharma Bhutto achieved the rare honour of being the first ever Prime Minister in the Muslim world to be elected second time to the august office in five years. Born on June 21, 1953, the charismatic daughter of late Z.A. Bhutto, who himself was elected twice Prime Minister of Pakistan, was first elected Prime Minister in December, 1988. She had her education at some of the world's most prestigious institutions including Harvard University (1969-73) and Oxford University from where she got degree in Political Science, Philosophy and Economics. She had the distinction of being the first Asian Woman to be elected as the President of the Oxford students union. She also holds a diploma in Foreign Affairs.⁴⁷ Late Prime Minister formed coalition government with Muslim League (Oaiyum). Similarly she formed a coalition government in collaboration of Muslim League (Junejo). Apparently, there is some similarity in their political approach. But at the sametime there is difference of approach due to changed circumstances. Late Bhutto quit the Commonwealth of Nations. His daughter rejoined the organisation. Late Bhutto believed in nationalisation of industries. She is following the policy of denationalisation.

The 1973 constitution provides for an indirectly elected President by an electoral college formed by all the legislatures of Pakistan. The total number of electoral college is 476, to date only two presidents had been previously elected by the electoral college. First was late Fazal Elahi Chaudhry. He took office on August 14, 1973 and completed the five year term. Second was Ghulam Ishaq Khan elected on Dec. 12, 1988. He did not complete his term of five years and proceeded on leave before its completion. The president was elected after completion of the 1993 elections on Nov. 14, 1993, as eighth President of Pakistan. He received 274 votes and his opponent Mr. Waseem Sijad got 168 votes.

The Oxford trained president declared that the time has come for stability, for political unity and economic development.⁴⁸ The 1993 election could be compared with the elections of 1970 and 1988. When both the two highest political offices were filled by an electoral process of legislatures for President and for premiership respectively.

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The Dilemma Of Islamic Constitution In Pakistan

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Pakistan had passed different phases of Islamic endeavours constitutionally and politically since 1947. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the early attempts to frame an Islamic Constitution in the first phase of constitutional growth 1947 to 1956. We have to point out the early discussion for the enactment of the Constitution which contributed to further developments for infusing the spirit of Islam in polity and law. As such the early debates in the first Constituent Assembly gave hopes particularly to the common man that Islamization had been initiated in Pakistan's polity and was so perceivable in its ideal form.

The issues raised here are, that right from the beginning, Pakistani society represented at least two major ideological thoughts, Islamic liberalism vs Islamic Conservatism. The elites representing those two thoughts were politicians vs ulemas respectively. Secondly, the debates on Islam could not be initiated soon after independence because of many problems including economic disorder and administrative difficulties. Thirdly the relevant debate commenced by the liberal view about the enforcement of Islamic principles in Pakistan. Fourthly, this aspect indicated a conflict within the ideological thoughts in Pakistan. The ulema being dissatisfied by the liberal interpretation, consistently demanded total implementation of classical Islam. Finally, the enactment of first constitution in 1956 appeared for many reasons synthesis of liberal modernism and Orthodox Conservatism, suggesting an eventual realisation of Islamization though by compromising with modern westernism.

The struggle for Pakistan in the sub-continent for about one century was fundamentally religious. The hindus in majority were

jealously aware of the muslim capabilities and wanted to over power by subjugating the muslim minority. Such a situation not only jeopardized the muslim interests but also damaged muslim identity. The need of the time was, therefore, awakening of the muslim masses. The muslim school of thought emerged and worked for this purpose in the sub-continent was the political elite represented by Quaid-e-Azam and influenced by Allama Iqbal.¹ The first elite group of politicians represented Islamic thought combined with western modernism, whereas, the second elite group of ulema depended heavily on Islamic idealism alone.²

Infact Pakistan was founded by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah after long struggle. For that reason his political expression and thoughts provides us with guide-lines in the process of evolving a political system. The main issue before the nation in 1947 was, Pakistan should be modern democratic and progressive Islamic State or theocracy as conceived by many ulema. Quaid-e-Azam's thoughts supported the first preposition by rejecting the theocratic approach. For instance he once stated that "the foundations of Pakistan was laid down on the very day when the first hindu had embraced Islam in the sub-continent"³ Islam was the first base from where political movement for the creation of Pakistan was started. The Quaid was also aware of the struggling personalities against the muslim interest. The "Hindus neither supported Pakistan nor would they let it survive as an independent state. Therefore, he assumed that the real deliverance from the hindus and their prejudices was possible if muslims had a separate home-land based on Islam. "Pakistan not only mean freedom and independence" he stated, " but the Muslim ideology which has to be preserved, which has come to us as precious gift and treasure".⁴ The Quaid had to face the Indian National Congress. This Hindu Liberal Party, though claiming to be secular supported the orthodox hindus who were in favour of "Hindu Raj".⁵ As such the Congress Party in guise of secularism posed a serious challenge to the Quaid and a mounting threat to the proposed

state of Pakistan.

This approach especially required the Quaid-e-Azam after Lahore Resolution 1940 later known as Pakistan Resolution.⁶ For instance he said in 1945 that Muslim League wanted to contest elections to demonstrate its representative character and show to the world that the proposed state of Pakistan was the only solution for the problems confronted by British India.⁷

After the creation of Pakistan, in February 1948 Quaid-e-Azam presented his policy guidelines in favour of Islam and democracy. Although he did elaborated a constitution for Pakistani nation by following Islamic and democratic way. He expressed his views, "I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam ... But in any way Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by the priests with a divine mission".⁸

From this standard Quaid-e-Azam believed in the propagation of Islam through democratic and constitutional methods. He did not relegated the non muslims from Islamic views. As evident from Lahore Resolution as well as from the national flag of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam wanted the non-muslims minorities to be treated equal with Muslim. He also assured that his Muslim League party and its government would not interfere with freedom and sanctity of various sects among the muslims as well as non muslim minorities.⁹

Another aspect of Quaid's view about Pakistan was that he rejected altogether communism, " I want to tell the communists to keep their hands off the muslim "....he proclaimed " Islam was their guide and complete code of life. They did not want any "ism".¹⁰ To this comprehension economy of pakistan based on Islamic system. In this regard Pakistanis should work out their destiny in their own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic

concept of equality and social justice.¹¹

Although Quaid-e-Azam's perception of social justice was essentially Islamic not distinguishing between individuals. It was misinterpreted by some supporters of socialistic pattern of government for this country. This is not true. For instance at various occasion Quaid-e-Azam had upheld the glory of Islam. As we noted earlier he did not support any sort of "isms".

What we can infer from the above is that Quaid-e-Azam being the chief liberal political elite of Pakistan did support Islam and democracy. His Islamic view demanded modern interpretation suitable for the contemporary requirements. And his democratic sentiments required political institution in western fashion and implementation of Islamic principles through public representations. Since he was against theocracy he neither left Islamic issues a monopoly of any particular theological group or to his own discretion; but he left it to be decided by the popularly elected legislature.

However the Islamic issues were raised in Pakistan's politics for the first time when the Constituent Assembly started the framing of the constitution. The Assembly mainly comprised of liberal politicians, the modernists who campaigned for Pakistan. The conservative ulema who believed in Islamization in letter and spirit; being the sole opponent group to Islamic endeavour yet insignificant because of their pre-independence links with their Indian counterpart.¹²

The ideological political group in the country at that time was Muslim League which had steered through the freedom movement and got Pakistan. The other segments included Jamiat-ulma-Islam and Jamiat-Ulma-Pakistan. The two groups of ulma proposed in their political thought their institutional recognition for framing Islamic Laws. The most outstanding group was Jamat-e-Islami created in 1941, headed by Maulana Abu Ala Maududi. The party was

sufficiently organised and vocal in politics.¹³

The national politics in 1949 did favour Islamization and was primarily comprised of Muslim League vs Ulema in opposition. Although the above mentioned ulema segments did not agree on Islamic tradition and were divided between traditionalists in JUI and JUP vs fundamentalists in Jamat Islami yet they were indeed unanimous on incorporating some basic Islamic values in the constitution.

The national political frame work in the wake of commencing constitutional debates in 1949, indicated as such that both the Muslim League and its rival Ulema parties agreed on Islam but differed on its intensity in the politics because of their being liberal or conservatives respectively. The secular opposition to all such ideological elites groups were presented by Pakistan National Congress party despite its insignificant status.

With this background, prime minister Liaquat Ali Khan initiated Islamic debates in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan bringing forth his famous Objectives Resolution on March 7, 1949.¹⁴ That proclaimed.... Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty and the Authority which he delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust----.¹⁵

Apparently, the Objectives Resolution was debated by both sides. Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Osmani remarked " All Muslim sects and countries are realising the urgency of adopting an Islamic Constitution and it is my conviction that my non-muslim friend give the constitution a fair trial ".¹⁶ It is criticised that the world ' People of Pakistan ' by saying that an Islamic polity it is the Muslim Ummah and not the people including non believers. Whereas the opposition represented in the body of Pakistan. National Congress disapproved this Resolution. M. Birat Chandra Mandel said at the floor of the Constituent Assembly , " I say my state will be guilty of

framing a constitution while posterity will condemn. I believe from the core of my heart that most progressive people will be born after our death".¹⁷ But the leaders of Muslim League party satisfied the opposition as well as the other muslim members who were reluctant from the word Islam. Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, said " Our belief is that we have a system that will succeed and prove a pancea for the ills from which the world is suffering. If you are not ashamed of borrowing phrases from Abraham Lincoln, If you are not ashamed to quote Marx, Lenin, Rousseau and others why should you be ashamed of borrowing something from Islam".¹⁸

However when this Resolution debated upon it was approved though with criticism by the majority in the assembly. The opposition staged a protest and walked out. Having passed the Objectives Resolution it was referred by the assembly to its Basic Principles Committee for preparing the fundamentals of the constitution.¹⁹

Later the Basic Principles Committee worked and when its report came to light it was criticized. Inspite of the fact that the fate of BPC report was disappointing the ulema did not lose hope. They continuously worked vigorously for evolving an Islamic System. For this purpose a convention of ulema was called at Karachi and within four days they reached at an agreement and presented to the government their famous twentytwo points by thirtyone ulema of various sects. The ulema supported these points with the conviction that a consitution for Pakistan could not be Islamic unless these points were incorporated fully.²⁰

Unfortunately the politics of Pakistan took a newturn and Constitutional process was adversely effected. In October, 1951 Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated at Rawalpindi and a political vacuum was created. After Liaqat Ali Khan, the Governor General Khawaja Nazim-uddin took over as Prime Minister. He was sufficiently religious and proved out to be a weak politician.²¹ With the result the ruling elite in the country having the strong hold in

national affairs was bureaucracy in the person of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad,²² General Muhammad Ayub Khan then Commander-in-Chief and Major-General Iskander Mirza, the bureaucrats with westernised orientation supported the Army Generals with similar trades of thought. These bureaucrats, military elites were however muslims and did not stand against the idea of making Pakistan Islamic but like many politicians they opposed ulema's ascendancy through a theocracy and supported a democratic Pakistan run on the Islamic principles.

Other noteworthy point was the Unilateral dismissal of Nazim-ud-Din by Ghulam Muhammad. We should recall that in 1953 Nazim-ud-Din had got the national budget passed by the Assembly unanimously, getting his popularity established. In spite of that he was accused by the Governor of being alligned with the ulema and thus having failed in maintaing law and order especially in the Punjab during Khatam-i-Nabuat Movement.

In 1954 the first Constituent Assembly was dissolved by Governor General Ghulam Muhammed on the assumption that several years have passed the Assembly had failed to give a consitution.

At this juncture, we should note a number of specific relevant developments. Initially the first Consitutuent Assembly, in its seven years tenure had made at least one outstanding achievement. It had formulated the basic guideline for the consitutional delebrations in the form of Objectives Resolution of 1949. Secondly many ulema expressed dissatisfaction by blaming the government for being not sincere with the real Islamization.²³ Thirdly the Basic Principles Committee constituted in the assembly by the government to formulate constitutional details was not essentially meant for establihsing basic Islamic principles. Fourthly, in response, the orthodox ulema appeared to be disillussioned and despite government,s effort to ascertain public opinion, they demanded total Islamization. This was evidenced in the form of ulema's twenty two

points. Finally the liberal Muslim League rulers in the centre did not appear to be in favour of classical Islamization as described by ulema, assuming it a theocracy ascendancy in the realm of national politics. So the government postponed indefinitely the consideration of the BPC report in the Assembly.

However the Second Constituent Assembly came into existence indirectly through the Provincial Assemblies in April 1955. The Assembly was also to take in hand Islamic provisions for incorporation in the constitution on January 8, 1956.²⁴

The Constitution of 1956 was thus at least apparently in the direction of Islamization. It provided the foundation from where the cherished national goals of democracy and Islam seemed to be achieved.²⁵ It was for this reason that the ulema in general approved it, though conditionally by stating it was neither truly Islamic nor truly democratic. Yet through the process of election it could be made both Islamic and democratic. Unfortunately the elections could not be held and the constitution was abrogated by General Mohammad Ayub Khan.²⁶

It was equally unfortunate that liberal leaders at the helm of affairs under President Iskander Mirza were mostly western educated and were less oriented in Islamic way of life. To many of them, therefore an emphasis on Islamic laws in the affairs of state would be a new experiment setting national clock backwards in the term of retardation.

To sum up the above observation initially lead us to believe that as evident from the Pakistan Resolution 1940 and Objectives Resolution of 1949, the main purpose of creating Pakistan was separate muslim homeland where Islam could be practised individually and collectively. Secondly the objectives Resolution laid down specific guideline for Islamic celebration in the process of constitution making. Thirdly the ulema endorsed the Objectives Resolution, though with insistence on their orthodox demand.

Fourthly the Basic Principles Committee in the Constituent Assembly and the Board of Talimat-e-Islamiya outside were designed for constitutional deliberation. The BPC was government committee and did not touch Islamic issues; whereas the Board of Talimat-e-Islamiya had on it ulema nominated by government. Fifthly to discourage ulema's deliberations debate on BPC report was postponed indefinitely. Sixthly the Second Constituent Assembly indeed made some head way for Islamization. Seventhly the Constitution of 1956, came out to be a compromise between the ulema and the politicians. Thus, a synthesis of liberalism vs conservatism of Islamic thought prevailed in Pakistan.

Finally this constitutional synthesis was in the form of parliamentary system of western fashion alongwith some Islamic precedents. The symbolic Islamic precedents included, Pakistan being an Islamic Republic, muslim head of the state, legislative limitation according to divine command and provision for making Pakistan an Islamic state in the next ten years. But the situation after fifty years is the same and dilemma of Islamic Constitution could not bear fruit because of two groups in the parliament.

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'Islamic Movement During The 19th & 20th Centuries In Indo-Pak Sub-Continent

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and

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Muslims all over the world are impatient with their present, economic, political & social condition. The Muslims, it seem are determined to reverse the process of continuous economic, social political and cultural, stagnation and humiliation they have been facing for the last 300 years. In short, they are in search of a new destiny. In the words of an eminent Muslim scholar "the Muslim caravan has been blown off and dispersed by the ravages of history"

The remnants of the old caravan that, the Prophet of Islam and then his pious Caliphs, sent out into the world are still intact. When the dispersed remnants of an old caravan meet again it is but natural that we should argue over what went wrong, Where we got lost and Where do we go from here. Do we have a paradigm to look forward? To answer this question let us look back into the pages of history. We might get an answer to our query. When we look back we cannot ignore the contribution of men like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Amir Ali, Shibli Nomani, Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam. There seems to be remarkable consistency in the approach and attitude, guideline and prescription of these great men, which they provided to the Muslims of their time.

It seem as if they were a group of scientists, working in the same laboratory. They defined the problems and furnished the methods to solve them.

So far as the Muslim thought and Islamic Movement in the Sub-continent is concerned, no doubt attention must be paid to the

thought of our Muslim philosophers, scholars, thinkers, reformers and leaders who presented the Islamic cause before the world. The struggle of those Muslim intellectuals and thinkers cannot be ignored who devoted the major part of their lives to the cause of Islam. Their aim, and objective was to preserve the Islamic values and present Islam as an ideal system. The defenders of Islam have made their unlimited contribution to defend Islam and "Mussalmans" in the sub-continent whenever Islam and Mussalmans were in danger.

The services rendered by Muslim scholars, intellectuals and thinkers, reformers like Jamaluddin Afghani, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Amir ali, Shibli Nomi, Iqbal, Quid-e-Azam, the founder and architect of Pakistan, should be duly emphasized and projected if we want to preserve our identity. These great men provided us with a paradigm. Let us have a look at their common paradigm. It cannot be denied that in Muslim renaissance, the intellectual movement has played a vital role.

It was in the 19th century that in the person of Jamaluddin Afghani¹ (1838-1897) there arose a great pioneer and fore-runner of the reformist movement among the muslims of the Sub-continent.² Syed Jamaluddin Afghani was the first to float the idea of Pan-Islamism in the 70' s of the 19th century.³

It was Jamaluddin Afghani who categorically pointed out that a large part of the Muslim world was under the domain of the Western Colonialism and that the Muslim were being subjugated by the Britishers. Afghani under-took the mission to emancipate the Muslims from the Western colonial power. It is to be noted that due to the impact of his Islamic movement, the constitutional movement in Iran and Turkey, Arabi's revolt in Egypt and Mehdi's Movement in Sudan, got momentum.

Afghani's mission aimed at the unification of Muslim world against the Imperialist West.⁶ For this purpose, he vehemently emphasised the necessity of reconciliation of the historic theological

attainments of modern scientific thought through interpretation and reformation of Islamic doctrine.⁷

Afghani, with a missionary zeal, launched a crusade to awaken the subjugated Muslims and create a new spirit of revivalism in order to save their culture from vandalism. Afghani is also known as the pioneer of Pan Islamic Movement. This Movement engulfed within its sway the solidarity of the whole of the Muslim Millat.

The Pan Islamism Movement, as a definite move including in its lap even beyond what was merely religion, grew during the 19th century. This movement embraced not only centralization of the Muslims irrespective of their nationality but also reformism and revivalism of Islam as a great moral force.

The idea of Pan-Islamism fired the imagination of the Muslims of the sub-continent. The message of Pan-Islamism inspired Muslims with a new hope and a rare faith in their future.⁸

Afghani was also branded as a born revolutionary; he was a man of enormous force of character, prodigious learning, untiring activity, dauntless courage, extraordinary eloquence both in speech and writing and an appearance equally striking and majestic.⁹

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was another eminent Muslim thinker and reformer who endeavoured to defend Islam and liberate Muslims in the Indian Sub-continent from the domination of the Hindus and that of the Britishers. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898)¹⁰ who fully realized the importance and immensity of this task and who had deep insight into the inner meanings of the History of Muslim thought. He had to his credit broad vision engendered by his wide experience of men and manners that had made his personality a dynamic linkage between the past and the future destiny of the Millat. He made a call for readjustment of Muslim's way of life to new political, intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, and trends of modernization.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan came on the forefront to guide the Muslims at a time when they had to face not only the hostility of the Hindus but also the vengeance of the Britishers.

The anti-Urdu agitation of the Hindus of Banaras, had sown the seed of suspicion in the minds of the Muslims particularly that of Sir Syed.¹¹ After his retirement from government service in 1876, he devoted himself to Aligarh College and also to the general welfare of the Indian Muslims. From 1878-83, he was member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and it was in a meeting of the Council in 1883 when Lord Rippon moved his Resolution on local Self-government incorporating a provision relating to the introduction of joint electorate system in India. Sir Syed Ahmad opposed this Resolution and told the Council that "Muslims were religiously, socially and culturally two different communities."¹² It was in the state of despair when the Muslims were threatened with total extinction in this sub-continent, that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan appeared in the channels of history as a God sent saviour and a man of destiny. He urged the Muslims to learn English Language not only because it was in their worldly interest, but also because it was the best way of defending their religion against Western onslaught.¹³ It must also be said to the credit of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that he tried to understand the spirit and philosophy that underlies the system of English education. It was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who first realized that Hindu and Muslims could not pull together for a very long time. Hence would not develop a common nationhood. Thus he presented the concept of Two-Nation Theory. This was the starting point of the Freedom Movement that gave it ideological basis. It was he who realized that within a democratic setup in India, Muslims would remain a minority despite their substantial numerical strength. Infact, the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims in the sub-continent was lurking in the mind of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan acquainted the Muslims with new social, political and educational standards, portrayed approach to

solve their individual and national problems and ignited a zeal to achieve highest perfection in all ways of life. Dr. Spear, an English historian, observes very rightly in his book " India, Pakistan and West " : " In his whole attitude was implicit the concept of Pakistan.¹⁴ Altaf Hussain Hali,¹⁵ an admirer of Sir Syed, infused a new spirit of Islamic glory by his remarkable work " Mussadas "¹⁶ Dr. Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912),¹⁷ an other Muslim scholar, sought to eradicate social evils inherent in a decadent society, particularly those caused by ignorance, illiteracy and frustration. Dr. Haleem Sharar (1806-1920) produced ¹⁸ literary work of far reaching importance that reshaped the thinking of younger generation. The magnificence of Islam was brought to life with candour by the eminent Muslim scholar Syed Amir Ali ¹⁹ through his work, " Spirit of Islam " and the " History of Saracens ".

Shibli Nomami ²⁰ contributed immensely by his monumental works on " Sirat al Nabi ", " Al Mamum ", " Al Ghazzali " etc.

The towering personality of Allama Iqbal appeared on the Indian scene as an intellectual giant who synthesized the modern and orthodox trends of Muslim intellectual movement with superb felicity of diction and magnanimity of thought. Allama Iqbal's contribution to Islamic thought and his services rendered to the cause of Muslims are unparalleled. His followers later worked with missionary zeal to spread his teachings. All Muslims of the world are indebted to our great thinker and pay tribute for his relentless fight for a separate homeland which changed the political attitudes of other Muslim societies as well. Allama Iqbal made all possible efforts to defend Islam from heinous vandalism, and endeavoured to smash the traits of Europeanism penetrating in our system, a task in which he succeeded to a greater extent. Iqbal was invited to deliver lectures in Madras on the " Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam ". About Islam Dr. Iqbal said, " It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transforms them into a well-defined people, possessing a

moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world, where Islam as a people building force, has worked its best ". Dr. Iqbal' s lecture on Islam are a piece of high thinking. Allama Iqbal kept himself in close touch with the Quaid-i-Azam and in his letters urged him to lead the Muslims in their struggle for a separate homeland.²¹

Iqbal's perception of a seperate Muslim polity was based on both geographical and ideological factors." I would like to see ", he said, "the Punjab, North-West Frontier province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state". ²² Dr. Iqbal thus rendered meritorious services to the cause of Pakistan. There are three distinct contributions of Iqbal to the establishment of Pakistan.

- I- He developed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's conception of separate electorate to that of a separate state for the Muslims of India.
- II- He gave ideological framework of the future separate Muslim state.
- III- Of all persons he exercised the greatest influence not only in convincing Quaid-i-Azam in favour of Muslim State in India, but also in shaping some of his important policies. Thus from the above argument we know that he was the first Muslim to advocate the ideal of a separate Muslim homeland which came to be known as Pakistan.

Allama Iqbal was indeed a great man. He was a philosopher and a teacher. As an educationist, he was once invited by the King of Afghanistan to advise him on educational reforms. He was a profound scholar having far-sightedness. He could speak several languages with ease and perfection. His fame as a poet has spread all over the World. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had praised Dr. Iqbal very much for his sincere efforts made in the establishment of Pakistan.²³

The most important Muslim personality of the twentieth century in the Indian Sub-continent was Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad

Ali Jinnah, the chief architect of Pakistan whose contribution and devotion to the cause of Islam and Pakistan is highly commendable. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the greatest Muslim leader and thinker whose thought changed the map of the Indian Sub-continent. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as a physical entity, is dead but his thought and line of action will be remembered for ever. It is not possible for us to portray adequately within few passages, the totality of the struggle and achievements of Quaid-i-Azam as a man, as a statesman, as a champion of the cause of freedom, as a believer in sovereignty of the people, as an advocate of equality and social justice, as a liberator of Muslims, and as the founder of Pakistan.

When Mohammad Ali Jinnah appeared on the political scene, he found the Muslims of the Sub-continent divided, disarrayed and demoralized. They were sunk in political stupor and mired in economic deprivation. At first the Quaid-i-Azam felt that unless the sub-continent as a whole was rid of foreign domination and its people made united effort to wrest their freedom, Muslims by themselves, would not be able to achieve their legitimate rights. So he channelised his abilities towards waging a political struggle against the British rule and devoted his energy forging unity between the Hindus and the Muslims.²⁴

At the initial stages, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had also adopted the same course. In the beginning of his political life he was a great advocate of Hindu Muslim unity. But very soon he realized that Hindu-Muslim unity was not possible.

"On the great occasion of Lucknow Pact, the Quaid said "India's real progress depends mainly on true and harmonious relations between two great sister communities..... With regards between to own affairs, we can depend upon nobody but ourselves".²⁵ Sir Syed also made a similar kind of statement when he said that "India is like a bride whose two eyes are the Muslims and the Hindus".²⁶

But very soon Jinnah got disillusioned and realized that Hindu Muslim Unity was impossible.

When Congress ministries resigned in 1939 as a protest to the Viceroy's declaration of war without consulting the Assemblies, Jinnah declared it " A Day of Deliverance and Thanks " as a mark of relief from the oppression of congress regime.²⁷

While addressing a famous gathering in Lahore on the occasion of Pakistan Resolution, Quaid-i-Azam said: the Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social custom and culture....²⁸ They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine and indeed they belong to two different civilizations, which are based on conflicting ideas, and conceptions. To yoke together such nations under a single state'. one as a numerical minority, the other a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state "²⁹

" No power on earth " he said in 1940 " can prevent Pakistan from coming into existence".³⁰ His prediction proved correct as the British government ultimately decided to leave India. On August 14, 1947 the Indian Sub-continent was partitioned and a new state of Pakistan created.

Creation of Pakistan and subsequent liberation of the Indian Muslims owe a lot to the efforts made by the Quaid-i-Azam.

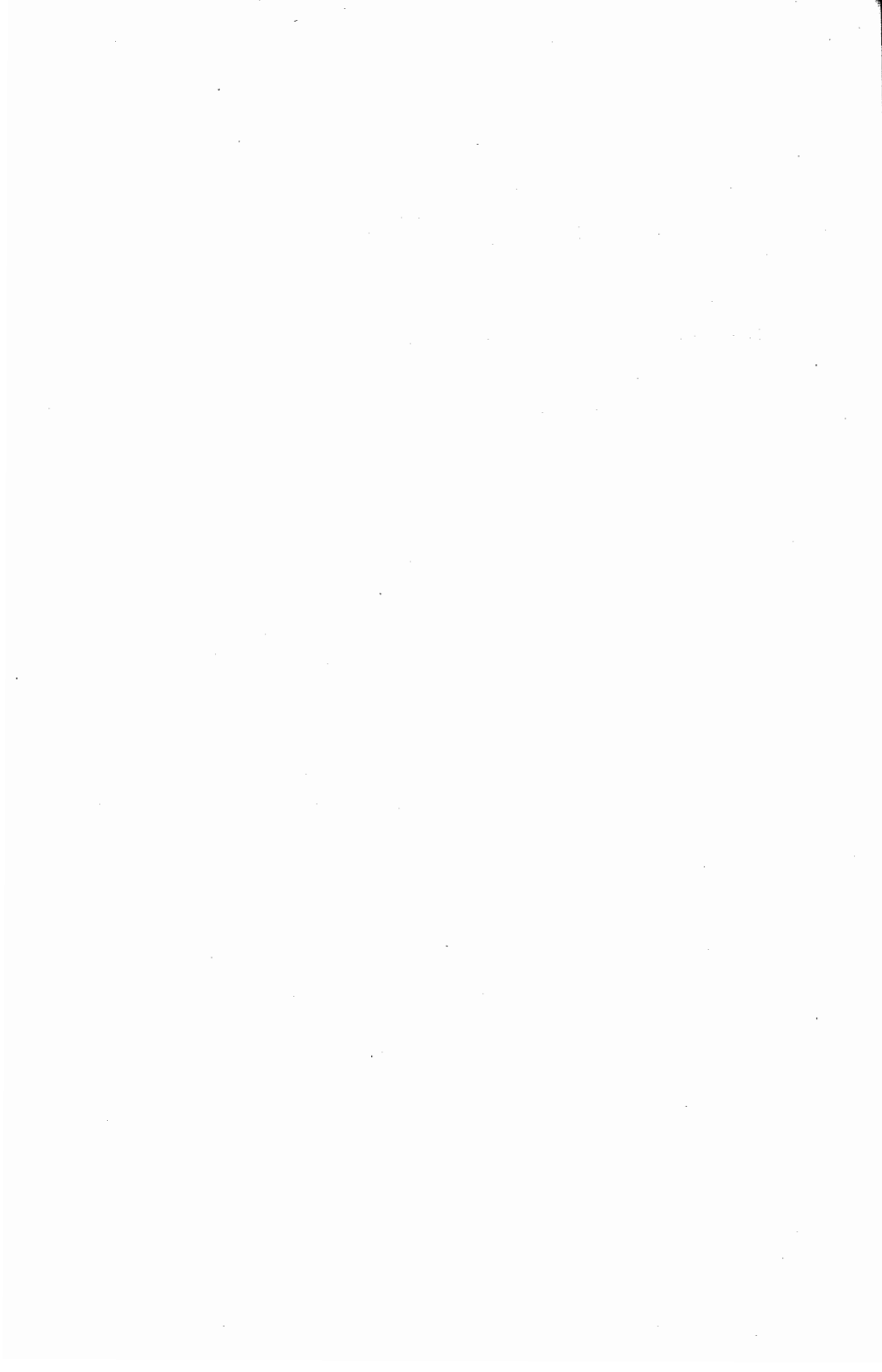
The purpose of this short paper is to emphasise the fact that our leaders provided us with a paradigm which is an Islamic paradigm. The panacea to all our ills lies in following the paradigm.

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The Foreign Policy Of Iran - An Appraisal

Dr. S. Ahmad-ud-Din Hussain

The Islamic Republic of Iran aims at very dainty and an uneasy foreign policy, the basic of which is the principle of 'Neither East nor West'. This attitude on the part of foreign policy, was originally looked down upon by some countries, especially the Western World looked suspected on it and it led Iran into political solitary in the early years of the Islamic Revolution. Yet, as a result of various ups and down in the global political scenario, Iran has very appreciably made its way out of isolation without compromising on the fundamental principles of its foreign policy.

The changes that took place in the last few years in the international arena have incidently affected Iran's foreign policy. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the principle of 'Neither East nor West' had to be reviewed. Responding to the arising situation created by this unexpected development, the Framers of the Iranian foreign policy insist on maintaining the country's non-alignment by setting up more closer relations with the Islamic World and other countries of the Third World.¹

The disintegration of the Soviet Union has entailed with it the establishment and creation of several new Republics in the region. A number of these states have historical, religious, linguistic and ethnic affiliations with Iran. In addition to these factors, Iran's geopolitical situation, which offers the fastest access to open waters, has put Iran in a situation needing more vigilant policy towards these countries.

Iran has friendly relations with most of the countries of the world. But with a few nations its relations are yet to achieve due normality. For instance, following the eight years long war with Iraq, some fundamental disputes still remain unresolved between the two neighbouring countries.

The Arab Isreal negotiations that took place in Washington in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, and the recent agreement between the PLO and Israel , have been vehemently criticised by Iran. Relations with Egypt have been normalized to a great extent and the two countries have shown their interest in opening up the interest sections in their respective Capitals. Due to unchanged hostile attitude of the USA, the relations between the two countries are not still normal. However, the relations of Islamic Republic of Iran, with other Western countries are improving to a greater extent. Despite some long-standing disputes with Great Britain, the mutual relations between the two countries have shown improvement. Iran and Germany have friendly relations as ever. At the same time France, Italy and other European countries have no major problems with Iran and enjoy cordial relations with this country.

In this post cold war era when the conflict of the Super-Powers has ended after the demise of the Soviet Union, the Third World countries should also resolve their disputes through mutual negotiations. They need to follow the example of Iran, which, while having a firm belief in the principles of peaceful co-existence, self-determination and self-reliance, has found a way towards development.

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the performance of the Iranian government clearly shows that Islam can provide us an alternaitive to the Western democracy which believes in the complete isolation of religion from the affairs of the state. After abolishing the old parochial system and an autocratic rule, the new system has produced unity, harmony and rationality among the Muslims. The Government of Iran has set an example in foreign affairs that the countries can enjoy a respectful position in the community of nations by keeping them away from international conflicts.² By adhering to the principle, ' Neither East nor West ', Iran has given a lesson to the Islamic countries that only by applying the principle of self-

determination and un-yoking themselves from the Super powers, they can solve their problems.

During the last few years after the success of the Islamic Revolution, Iran has been facing potential external challenges. Although these challenges have created many hurdles yet the Iranian peoples have vehemently over-come these. It can be taken as another great precedence for the people of other nations.

In order to counter the charge of a ' Fundamentalist State ' the Iranian foreign policy has successfully adopted means to counterfiet this allegation. It has established trade relations with India and China and newly emerging Tehran-Delhi-Peking axis provides another example of Tehran' s quest for finding mutually respectable fields of interest with non-Islamic and Secular states.

The influence of Imam Khummini's thoughts is clearly manifested in the struggle of the Muslims of Afghanistan, Kashmir and Bosnia. The revolutionary ideas and philosophy of Imam Khummini have influenced the Central Asian people as well. The Muslims of these newly emerged states are struggling for revivification search for national identity that was lost in the wake of communist occupation since 1917. Iran can serve them as a Beacon Light.³

In the places like Bosnia, Palestine, Kashmir, the Islamic Movements are getting strengthened day by day. Despite the fact that the Western Nations possess vast resources, they failed to tame down the Iranian struggle and its quest for self-identity. It is a common belief that once the Muslims are united, no power can stop them from making progress. In order to prove this dictum Soviet attitude towards Muslim community can be cited as an example. Although it possessed almost 30,000 atomic bombs yet it had to pick the dust in Afganistan quandary and ultimately disappeared from the map of the world as a nation state.

MIDDLE EAST AND THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT.

There are two issues implicating Iran's foreign policy in this region.

a) The Islamic forces in Iran have drawn the world attention after empowering themselves in the State. The Islamic Republic of Iran has become a model to be followed by other Islamic Movements. It is serving as a guiding star for these Movements. In order to counteract the spread of the Islamic Revolution, the Western World has unleashed all kinds of intrigues and propaganda against the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Secondly, the state of Iran is believed to be the cynosure of the world and the region in which it is located is sensitive and strategically important. Iranian model of revolution provided impetus to other revolutionary Movements of the region.

b) Another major problem that Iran has to confront relates to oil and gas reserves. The Capitalist World wants to utilise Iranian resources on the one hand and consume its exports in the Iranian Market, on the other. This fact has increased the responsibilities of the Muslim World.

With the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and after an Islamic regime has been set up in Iran, these two changes are of vital importance. This reality has made the world sensitive towards Iran as it is feared that if the other Muslim States and countries from the Middle East or the Subcontinent join hands, it can pose potential challenge to the supremacy of the Western World.

PAKISTAN-IRAN RELATIONS.

The two countries are in an earnest quest to strengthen bilateral relations. This fact is of great importance as regards to Pakistan's role that she played during Iran-Iraq war. Pakistan's role has been appreciated by the Iranian Government.

After the disintegration of USSR, both the countries have felt their importance in the region. In order to enhance their role in this region, a series of official visits by the high dignitaries from both sides have been continuing. The former President of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan visited Iran from 12-15 September 1991 and he was received by the Iranian President. As an outcome of this visit, five Committees namely Economic Committee, Oil and Energy Committee, Political Committee, Communication Committee and Narcotics Committee were established. This further cemented the relations between the two brotherly states in these important fields. The existing Quetta-Zahidan Railways was decided to be extended up to Kirman and then to link it with the railway system connecting Europe. At the same time Iran in principle has agreed to supply gas to Pakistan and to develop import-export relations.⁴ The relations between the two states have already shown harmony relating to many regional disputes. The most prominent of these are that of Kashmir and Afghanistan. On Kashmir issue, Pakistan has been enjoying a firm moral and diplomatic support from Iran. The recent example in this regard is the Iranian role that she played in Geneva, when Pakistan tabled its Resolution on Human Rights violations in Kashmir. Iran, time and again, has reiterated its firm support to Pakistan and assured Pakistan to get India round and compelling her to discuss the Kashmir Issue.

With regard to Afgan problem, Iran is extending all possible support for its settlement. She is bearing, like Pakistan, the burden of the Afghan refugees residing inside the Iranian border. After Ms.

Bhutto was elected Prime Minister of Pakistan in November 1993, she has reiterated time and again her stance to further strengthen the relations with Iran. She made a four day official visit to Iran in early 1994. She discussed matters of mutual interest with the Iranian President and Prime Minister. She was assured by the Iranian government of moral and diplomatic support on all international forums.

The Speaker of the Iranian Majlis, Mr. Natic Noori, arrived in Islamabad in April 1994. He met with the President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan. In his address to the Parliament, he urged the need to further strengthen the relations between the two brotherly Islamic States. While addressing a press conference at Islamabad he said " Only those pacts and treaties would be acceptable to us (Pakistan and Iran) which have originated among the Muslims of the region".⁵

To sum up, we may expect healthy and prosperous development in furthering bilateralism between the two brotherly countries.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Religion And Political Activism In Modern Islam:

by Dr. Shaukat Ali, Aziz Publishers 1993, Lahore; pages 350
with index, price Rs. \$ 35

Islam does not recognise any difference between theory and practice. In the philosophical framework of the Quran life is a field of continuous activity, and Muslims are expected to constitute a compact community of believers whose bonds are cemented by the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah.

There is no separation of Church and the State in Islam. Religion exists for the State, and the State is an instrument with a primary responsibility to defend religion, spread its message and implement its dictation in the social, economic and political life of the Muslims. This has been the pivotal and governing principle of Islamic Political Thought.

In the early Islamic period political frictions arose among various Muslim factions on the question of ruler's irreligious life or their incompetence to put into practice the Ideology of Quran. A section of the Muslim population always questioned the legitimacy of the rule of their political masters and used every possible method of protest to demonstrate their anger and anguish.

Involvement of religion with politics has been a feature of many religio-political cultures, but the uniqueness of Islam lies in its continuity and intensity. In other cultures, particularly in the West, since the time of Machiavelli (1464-1527) separation of church and state, made presence of religious sentiment in practical politics sacrilegious and declared it against the canons of political prudence. In recent years, cultures like Christianity and Buddhism, have shown

increasing interest in rejuvenating religious trends in politics but the movement in this direction is still vague and foggy. In Islam, on the other hand, regardless of form of Government in a Muslim State, religion has always remained a critical dimension of peoples political thinking.

After the II world war, Islamic revivalism has become prominent and religious activists have become very important element of the politics of Muslim countries. Except in Iran, the Islamic activists have not yet been able to capture power in any other muslim country but their presence and overt and covert activities constitute a pulsating and demonstratively active current of the political process.

Dr. Shaukat Ali's book gives a brief account of the factors and forces which led to the rise of religious activism in modern Islam. The author makes an analysis of the opinion and views of modern muslim thinkers i.e. Hassan Al-Banna, Sayyid Qutlb, Abu al Ala Maudoodi, Ali Shariate. The main focus of the writer is on Egypt and Iran the two muslim countries where religious activism has shown global ramifications. But he fails to mention Algeria, Sudan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan where muslim activist are equally working hard for the revival of Islam.

The book is a good attempt by the author to make a survey of religion and politics in the contemporary world.

Hameed A. K. Rai

Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times

by Stanley Wolpert, Oxford university Press 1993

price Rs. 395.00

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928-79) belonged to a notable family of Rajputs from Rajputana whose head Sheto Khan embraced Islam and moved to Larkana in Sind about two centuries before birth of Zulfi Bhutto. Mir Ghulam Murtaza Bhutto (1869-99) Zulfi's grandfather was a brave and proud man. Somehow, he annoyed Larkana's British collector colonel Mayhew, consequently Bhutto family's property was confiscated. Mir Murtaza made an appeal to commissioner Sir Avan James. It was accepted, the property was restored to him in 1899. The same year he was poisoned by a rival zamindar.

Zulfi Bhutto's father Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1920. By the convincing ability of Sir Shah Nawaz at the Round Table conferences in London, Sind got separate provincial status from Bombay. In 1925, he married for the second time Lakhi Bai, with changed Muslim name Khurshid. Three children were born out of this wedlock. Two daughters Manna and Benazir and his youngest son, Zulfikar Ali. Zulfi Bhutto loved his younger sister Benazir. She died due to influenza at the tender age of fourteen. Zulfi's second marriage took place on Sept. 8, 1951, with Nusrat. Earlier at the age of thirteen he was married to his cousin Sheerin. He named his first daughter born on June 21, 1953, Benazir.

He was educated in Bombay and University of California, Berkely. He completed his degree with honours in political science in June 1950. He evinced keen interest in work on Napoleon Bonaparte and Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto As he was a great admirer of Quaid-i-Azam and wrote him a letter in 1945, in support of his demand for Pakistan. He studied law at the University of Oxford. upon his return to Pakistan he set up a law practice in Karachi.

Zulfi Bhutto criticised the one unit scheme in 1954 being against the small units. His criticism of the scheme may be considered as his debut in politics of Pakistan. Another step for his introduction to politics was his induction in the Pakistan delegation to the United Nations in 1957. The same year sixty-nine years Shah Nawaz died in Larkana. President Mirza appointed him to lead the Pakistan delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the sea in March 1958. In this way he made his mark in politics of the country. He praised the services rendered by President Mirza by saying. " I feel that your services to Pakistan are indispensable" . He remained sincere with Mirza till his death in exile on Nov. 13, 1969.

Zulfi Bhutto was appointed minister of Commerce by President Ayub Khan. His eight year political apprenticeship under Ayub Khan gave him his first real taste of power and experience in handling public affairs. He proposed to Ayub Khan to become a Field Marshal to be above the Commander-in-Chief General Musa. He also urged President Ayub Khan to reintroduce political parties. " If democracy is to flourish you must have respect for the other man's point of view". His brilliant eloquence was a great asset to Ayub. He liked company of women. Incidentally he met a woman in 1961 in Dacca, Husna Sheikh. She was an exceptional woman to show keen interest in politics and he enjoyed her company.

In 1963 he was appointed Foreign Minister. Thus he got a change to put into practice what he was taught by Professor Hans Kelsen on international Law. He began working for greater independence from Western powers and for closer ties with China. He was a great admirer of Mao. On Sept 9, 1976, when Mao died. He thought that he lost one of his strongest supporter in the Third World. On January 10, 1966 Shastri and Ayub signed a declaration stating their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries. He refused to allow it to be called an agreement. This caused him to resign from the government. President Ayub was so much annoyed with his former Foreign Minister that he

did not mention Zulfi Bhutto's name in his autobiography published in 1967.

He founded the Pakistan People's Party in Dec 1967, which he believed to be a progressive party, yet purely Pakistani in inspiration and direction. On the other side Mujib's Awami League in East Pakistan and Wali Khan's National Awami Party were more attuned to Indian political philosophy. Zulfi Bhutto denounced the Ayub regime as a dictatorship and was subsequently imprisoned (1968-69).

The National Elections were held in 1970. Pakistan People's Party captured 81 seats, just over half the total won by Awami League, which won 160 seats all from East Pakistan. After the election results were declared Zulfi Bhutto thanked his supporters and also made a significant announcement. "We respect the majority but both Punjab and Sind are centre of power". To this, on Dec. 19, 1970 Mujib talked about Bangla Desh. In a way he rejected the proposal to have a deal with Zulfi Bhutto before taking up the reins. But he proposed a diplomatic solution. "Idhar hum, udhar tum". Us here, you there. He proposed postponement of the National Assembly session or removal of the 120 day time limit for the Assembly to frame a constitution. To solve the constitutional problem. Mujib did not agree to it and proposed to President Yahya Khan, to withdraw Martial Law and to continue as head of the central government. The National Assembly to be divided into the committee for West Pakistan and the other for Bangla Desh. At the same time Mujib assured Zulfi Bhutto that People's Party was the only force in West Pakistan others were wasting his time. President Yahya thought differently and decided that "a show of force" should suffice to bring Mujib and his followers to their senses. President Yahya announced that the starting of non-cooperation movement by Mujib was an act of treason and he would be punished for it. Zulfi Bhutto in his "The Great Tragedy" supported the military action of March. After banning the Awami

League, President Yahya proposed to form a coalition government with Nurul Amin as Prime Minister and Zulfikar Bhutto his deputy. However, due to humiliating defeat in East Pakistan Yahya Khan stepped down and handed over power to Bhutto on Dec. 20, 1971.

He coaxed lieutenant General Gul Hasan to become commander-in-Chief. He agreed on a condition that he would work in the same rank. However, to his surprise. President Bhutto in the broadcast announced that he would not get promotion because the government cannot afford to burden people unnecessarily. On resentment to this by Gul Hasan he replied. " This is politics ".

The agreement signed on July 2, 1972 stated that India and Pakistan had resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations. By this diplomatic agreement Pakistan got back the tracts of Sind and Punjab lost to India.

Another diplomatic success was to hold the Islamic Conference on Feb. 22, 1974 in Lahore. It paid handsome immediate dividends. Mujib ur Rehman agreed to release 195 prisoner of war without trial.

Tenure of Gen. Tikka Khan as chief of army staff ended in Feb. 1976. He recommended six senior Lieutenant Generals for the vacancy. But Bhutto picked the junior most officer of that rank. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, then 52, and destined to outline his patron by almost a decade. His pen picture in the end mentioned " doubtful reliability ". Zulfikar Bhutto's choice of Zia proved his most fatal error of personal judgment.

Prime Minister Bhutto announced General Election on March 7, 1977. The election results were rejected by the opposition alliance as a fraud and immediately announced that it had no intention of contesting any provincial assembly seats on March 10, for those too would be rigged and stolen by PPP " elections thieves ". The demand to hold fresh election and power sharing in a new super council were accepted and for this a formula was devised. On the

evening of July 4, 1977 his most trusted cabinet members and General Zia were told that he would break the deadlock next day. Meanwhile, by a surprise move General Zia imposed Martial Law and assured Zulfi Bhutto to hold elections within ninety days. It was called operation "Fair Play ". Benazir the 24 year old Oxford graduate did not believe it because General Zia had two days earlier pledged personal loyalty to her father. In some respects, Zia proved to be a much shrewder politician for Pakistan than Zulfi Bhutto.

The Supreme Court declared that the coup was justified on the Roman doctrine of state necessity. Maulvi Mushtaq and his full panel, found Zulfi Bhutto guilty of " murder " as charged and sentenced him to death in 1978. The Chief Justice Anwar ul Haq on Feb 6, 1979 dismissed the appeal and confirmed the Lahore High Court's verdict and death sentence by the narrowest of margin 4-3. On april 3, 1979 Begum Nusrat and Benazir were surprisingly taken out of the prison and taken to Rawalpindi' s black prison for final meeting with the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party. At 2.00 a. m. on April 4, 1979 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged by the neck until pronounced dead. At 26 Benazir took up the mantle of her father's leadership first of his party, and later of his nation.

Prof. Ahmed Husain

The Handbook of Country and Political Risk Analysis

Published By Political Risk Services,
East Syracuse, New York, August 30, 1994, Price 45\$.

The editors, Drs. William D. Coplin and Michael K. O'Leary, describe this new publication as an effort to "bridge the gap between the academic world and the real world of politics, government and economics." The Handbook of Country and Political Risk Analysis identifies and assembles, for the first time ever, complete and authentic descriptions of the methods used by the leading commercial suppliers in the field of country and political risk forecasting.

The Handbook provides the perfect introduction for anyone unfamiliar with the alternative ways of forecasting country or political risk. The Handbook can also be a valuable resource for any business person contemplating new or expanded international business relationships.

Forecasting firm contributing to The Handbook, located in North America and Europe, are world leaders in this field:

- * Bank of America World Information Services
- * Business Environment Risk Intelligence (BERI) S.A.
- * Control Risks Information Services
- * Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)
- * Euromoney
- * Institutional Investor
- * Moody's Investor Services
- * Political Risk Services
- * S.J. Rundt & Associates
- * Standard & Poor's Ratings Group

The Book provides enough detail to enable readers to compare and assess the available commercial systems, in order to select those that suit their need or to conduct their own, customized country comparisons.

The study about Pakistan and India is also useful and interesting.

The introduction to The Handbook is written by Dr. Llewellyn Howell, a well-known and highly respected business analyst and author who is a professor at Thunderbird -- The American Graduate School of International Business in Arizona. Howell recommends the book to anyone "seeking to determine how unfamiliar political systems and societies should be approached."

Hameed A. K. Rai.

Historical Dictionary of The Republic of Korea,

by Andrew C. Nahm, The scarecrow Press Inc.

Metuchen, New York, 1993, pp. 270

Andrew C. Nahm is professor of History Emerites Western Michigan University is by birth a Korean and is an expert on Korea.

The Dictionary covers the history of South Korea which emerged in 1948. The book covers domestic, political and social events, foreign affairs, economic and cultural developments, together with the men and women who have influenced the multi-farious events that make up a country,s history.

The dictionary is intended as a reference companion for those who are interested in the history of the Republic of Korea.

The writer has given the biographies of most major political and historical figures but has left those of the poets, artists, musicians, scientists and business persons who have made major changes in the cultural and social life of the people.

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