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Course: Political and Constitutional Development in Pakistan-II (4668)

Level: M.Sc. Semester: Spring, 2023

Total Marks: 100 Pass Marks: 40

ASSIGNMENT No. 1

(Unit 1–4)

Q.1 Make a critical analysis of the circumstance which led to launch of military operation in East Pakistan in 1971. (20)

The military operation in East Pakistan in 1971, which ultimately led to the creation of Bangladesh, was a complex and highly controversial event in the history of the Indian subcontinent. To analyze the circumstances that led to the launch of the military operation, it is crucial to examine the political, economic, and social dynamics of the time.

1. Political Factors:

- a. Political Alienation: The people of East Pakistan felt politically marginalized and economically exploited by the dominant West Pakistan. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won a clear majority in the 1970 general elections, but the ruling elite in West Pakistan refused to transfer power, further fueling the sense of political alienation in the East.
- b. Language Issue: The Bengali language movement in 1952 had already highlighted the linguistic and cultural differences between East and West Pakistan. The West Pakistani ruling class's attempts to impose Urdu as the sole national language led to widespread protests and deepened the divide between the two regions.

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2. Economic Factors:

a. Economic Disparities: East Pakistan, despite having a larger population, received an unfair share of resources and investment from the central government in West Pakistan. The economic

- policies favored West Pakistan, leading to economic disparities and growing discontent among the people of East Pakistan.
- b. Cyclone and Relief Efforts: The devastating cyclone of 1970 resulted in extensive damage and loss of life in East Pakistan. The inadequate response of the West Pakistani government in providing relief and rehabilitation further exacerbated the sense of neglect among the East Pakistani population.

3. Social Factors:

- a. Cultural Identity: The people of East Pakistan had a distinct cultural identity and a strong sense of Bengali nationalism. They felt their language, culture, and heritage were being suppressed by the ruling elite in West Pakistan.
- b. Repression and Discrimination: The West Pakistani government's oppressive policies, such as the banning of the Bengali cultural expression, media censorship, and discrimination in employment opportunities, contributed to growing discontent and a desire for greater autonomy.

4. Military Intervention:

- a. Reluctance to Transfer Power: The refusal of the West Pakistani ruling elite to recognize the electoral mandate of the Awami League and transfer power to East Pakistan through peaceful means created a political impasse.
- b. Brutal Crackdown: In response to widespread protests and civil disobedience in East Pakistan, the Pakistani military launched a brutal crackdown known as "Operation Searchlight" in March 1971. The military's actions, including targeted killings, rape, and mass killings, further alienated the Bengali population and fueled demands for independence.
- c. Indian Intervention: The military crackdown and the influx of millions of refugees into India created a humanitarian crisis and strained the relationship between Pakistan and India. India,

feeling compelled to protect its own interests and support the Bengali cause, intervened militarily, leading to a full-scale war between India and Pakistan.

In conclusion, the circumstances leading to the military operation in East Pakistan in 1971 were the culmination of political, economic, and social factors. The political alienation, economic disparities, cultural identity issues, and the brutal military crackdown by the Pakistani government all contributed to the demand for greater autonomy and eventual independence. The military intervention and subsequent Indian involvement further escalated the conflict, resulting in the creation of Bangladesh as a separate nation. The events of 1971 have left a lasting impact on the political and social dynamics of the Indian subcontinent.

Q.2 Discuss in detail the after effects of war of 1971. How had Pakistan managed to come out of that precarious situation? Elaborate. (20)

The aftermath of the 1971 war between India and Pakistan had significant and far-reaching effects on both countries, particularly on Pakistan. The war resulted in the secession of East Pakistan, which emerged as an independent nation called Bangladesh. Pakistan faced numerous challenges in the post-war period, including political, economic, and social repercussions. Let's explore how Pakistan managed to navigate this precarious situation.

1. Political Consequences:

a. Loss of East Pakistan: The secession of East Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh severely weakened Pakistan's political and territorial integrity. It was a blow to Pakistan's national identity and prompted a reevaluation of its political structure.

b. Political Instability: The military defeat and the loss of East Pakistan led to a power vacuum in Pakistan. The military government of President General Yahya Khan was replaced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who became the first civilian President of Pakistan. However, political instability persisted throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

2. Economic Challenges:

- a. Disrupted Economy: The war caused immense damage to Pakistan's economy. The loss of the resource-rich East Pakistan created a significant dent in Pakistan's industrial and agricultural production, leading to a decline in GDP.
- b. Financial Burden: The cost of war, combined with the need for post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation, imposed a substantial financial burden on Pakistan. The country faced a severe balance of payments crisis and had to seek assistance from international organizations and foreign countries to stabilize its economy.
- c. Refugees and Displaced Persons: The war also resulted in a large influx of refugees from East Pakistan into West Pakistan, creating a humanitarian crisis and straining the already limited resources of the country.

3. Socio-Cultural Impact:

- a. Trauma and Healing: The war caused immense human suffering, including loss of life, displacement, and widespread violence. The scars of the conflict continued to impact individuals and communities for years, requiring a long and arduous process of healing and reconciliation.
- b. National Identity Crisis: The loss of East Pakistan prompted a reevaluation of Pakistan's national identity. The dominance of West Pakistan had marginalized the Bengali population, and the war exposed deep-seated divisions based on language, culture, and ethnicity within the country.

4. Rebuilding and Reconciliation:

a. Constitutional Reforms: Pakistan underwent significant constitutional reforms in the aftermath of the war. The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan aimed to address the concerns of various provinces, granting them greater autonomy and protection of their rights.

- b. Economic Reforms: Pakistan embarked on economic reforms to revitalize its economy. It implemented measures to attract foreign investment, encourage industrialization, and diversify its export base. However, progress was gradual and faced challenges due to political instability and corruption.
- c. Diplomatic Engagement: Pakistan engaged in diplomatic efforts to rebuild relations with other countries, seeking economic assistance and foreign investments. It also sought to improve relations with Bangladesh and eventually recognized its independence in 1974, paving the way for diplomatic normalization.

Despite the significant challenges, Pakistan managed to gradually recover from the precarious situation following the 1971 war. Over time, the country stabilized politically, implemented economic reforms, and focused on rebuilding its infrastructure and institutions. However, the effects of the war, including the loss of East Pakistan and the internal divisions it exposed, continue to shape Pakistan's political and social landscape to this day.

- Q.3 What types of reforms were introduced by Z.A. Bhutto government in industrial sector of Pakistan? Make a critical analysis of repercussions of these reforms for industrialization in the country.

 (20)
- During Z.A. Bhutto's tenure as the Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1971 to 1977, his government introduced several reforms in the industrial sector. These reforms aimed to promote nationalization and increase the role of the state in economic affairs. However, the repercussions of these reforms for industrialization in the country were mixed, and they continue to be subjects of debate and criticism. Let's examine the key reforms and their effects:
- 1. Nationalization of Industries:

- a. Policy Objective: Bhutto's government implemented a policy of nationalization, aiming to transfer ownership and control of major industries, including banking, heavy industries, and key utilities, from private hands to the state.
- b. Repercussions: While nationalization was intended to reduce income inequality, promote social justice, and increase government control over key sectors, it had significant negative effects. The sudden takeover of industries led to a decline in investor confidence, capital flight, and a decrease in industrial productivity.
- c. Inefficiency and Mismanagement: The state's control over industries often resulted in bureaucratic red tape, inefficiency, and mismanagement. The lack of entrepreneurial skills and profit incentives led to a decline in productivity and competitiveness.

2. Labor Reforms:

- a. Workers' Rights: Bhutto's government introduced labor reforms to enhance workers' rights, including the right to form trade unions, collective bargaining, and improved working conditions.
- b. Repercussions: While these reforms aimed to protect workers' rights, they also created an environment where labor unions gained significant power and influence. This sometimes led to labor disputes, strikes, and an overall increase in labor costs, which affected industrial productivity and competitiveness.

3. Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI):

- a. Policy Objective: Bhutto's government emphasized import substitution industrialization as a means to reduce reliance on imports and promote domestic industries. Protective tariffs and trade barriers were imposed to encourage local production.
- b. Repercussions: While ISI initially led to the growth of certain industries, it also resulted in inefficiency, low-quality production, and limited competitiveness in the international market.

The lack of exposure to global competition hindered innovation, technological advancements, and export-oriented growth.

4. Consequences of Political Instability:

- a. Bhutto's government faced significant political instability, including opposition from various factions and clashes with the judiciary and military. This instability created an uncertain business environment and discouraged investment and industrial growth.
- b. The nationalization policy and other controversial measures contributed to polarization within society and led to political dissent, further affecting industrial development and stability.

In critical analysis, the reforms introduced by Bhutto's government in the industrial sector had mixed repercussions for industrialization in Pakistan. While some positive outcomes such as workers' rights and initial growth in certain industries were achieved, the negative consequences were significant. The nationalization of industries resulted in inefficiency, mismanagement, and a decline in productivity. The labor reforms, while important for workers' rights, also led to labor disputes and increased costs. The ISI policy, though aiming to promote self-reliance, limited competitiveness and hindered innovation.

Furthermore, the political instability during Bhutto's tenure, along with the controversial policies, created an unfavorable business environment and hindered industrial growth. The lack of continuity in policies and subsequent changes in governments further affected the industrial sector's stability and long-term planning.

In conclusion, while Bhutto's reforms had some positive intentions, the repercussions for industrialization in Pakistan were predominantly negative. The nationalization policy, labor reforms, and import substitution industrialization had unintended consequences that hampered industrial productivity, competitiveness, and economic growth. The long-term effects of these

reforms highlight the importance of carefully balancing state intervention and private sector participation for sustainable industrial development.

- Q.4 Critically analyze the provision regarding the powers of prime minister in the Constitution of 1973. Why these provisions had failed to check Z.A. Bhutto? What was the practical relevance of Islamic socialism with Pakistan? Elaborate in detail. (20)
- The Constitution of 1973 in Pakistan outlined the powers and responsibilities of the Prime Minister, providing a framework for the functioning of the executive branch. However, during Z.A. Bhutto's tenure as the Prime Minister, these provisions failed to effectively check his power. Additionally, Bhutto's implementation of the concept of Islamic socialism raises questions about its practical relevance in Pakistan. Let's analyze these aspects in detail:

1. Powers of the Prime Minister:

- a. Appointment: According to the Constitution, the President appoints the Prime Minister, who should be a member of the National Assembly (lower house of Parliament). The President appoints the Prime Minister based on their ability to command the confidence of the majority in the National Assembly.
- b. Executive Authority: The Prime Minister holds significant executive authority, including the power to form and lead the Cabinet, make policy decisions, and oversee the functioning of the government.

2. Failures in Checking Z.A. Bhutto's Power:

a. Popularity and Majority: Z.A. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won a clear majority in the 1970 general elections, allowing him to command a strong position in Parliament. This popularity and majority support diminished the effectiveness of checks and balances that could be exercised by other institutions, such as the judiciary or opposition parties.

b. Centralization of Power: Bhutto's leadership style tended to centralize power, concentrating decision-making authority in his own hands and marginalizing dissenting voices within his party and government. This centralization weakened the role of other institutions meant to provide checks and balances, allowing Bhutto to exercise power without significant hindrance.

3. Practical Relevance of Islamic Socialism:

- a. Bhutto's Ideology: Z.A. Bhutto introduced the concept of Islamic socialism as the guiding principle of his government. It aimed to combine elements of socialism with Islamic principles to achieve social justice, redistribution of wealth, and welfare for the masses.
- b. Implementation Challenges: The practical relevance of Islamic socialism in Pakistan has been a subject of debate. While the ideology appealed to the aspirations of the masses and addressed issues of income inequality, its implementation faced challenges. Economic policies influenced by Islamic socialism, such as nationalization, state control, and central planning, often resulted in inefficiency, bureaucracy, and a lack of economic competitiveness.
- c. Impact on Governance: The emphasis on Islamic socialism under Bhutto's regime had an impact on governance and policy-making. Some argue that it led to the Islamization of state institutions, including the legal system, while others criticize the politicization of religion and its adverse effects on minority rights and democratic principles.
- In critical analysis, the provisions regarding the powers of the Prime Minister in the Constitution of 1973, while providing a framework for governance, failed to effectively check Z.A. Bhutto's power due to his popularity, majority support, and centralization tendencies. The practical relevance of Islamic socialism in Pakistan remains a subject of debate, with challenges in implementation and potential impacts on governance and economic competitiveness.
- It is important to note that political systems and ideologies evolve over time, and the successes and failures of specific leaders or policies should not be attributed solely to the constitutional provisions. The Constitution can provide a framework for governance, but its effectiveness ultimately depends on the commitment to democratic principles, the functioning of institutions, and the checks and balances within the political system.

- Q.5 What was Islamic socialism as pronounced by Z.A. Bhutto? What was the practical relevance of Islamic socialism with Pakistan? Elaborate in detail. (20)
- Islamic socialism, as pronounced by Z.A. Bhutto, was a socio-political ideology that sought to combine elements of socialism with Islamic principles in order to achieve social justice, economic equality, and welfare for the masses. Bhutto introduced this concept as the guiding principle of his government in Pakistan during his tenure as the Prime Minister from 1971 to 1977. The practical relevance of Islamic socialism in Pakistan has been a subject of debate and analysis. Let's delve into the key aspects and implications of Islamic socialism in Pakistan:
 - Synthesis of Socialism and Islamic Principles:
 - o Redistribution of Wealth: Islamic socialism aimed to address income inequality by advocating for the redistribution of wealth and resources. It sought to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor through progressive taxation, land reforms, and social welfare programs.
 - Social Justice: Bhutto's ideology emphasized the importance of social justice and
 the welfare state, with an objective to provide basic necessities, such as education,
 healthcare, and housing, to all citizens. It aimed to uplift the marginalized and
 economically disadvantaged sections of society.
 - Islamic Values: Islamic socialism sought to draw on the principles of justice, equality, and compassion as espoused in Islamic teachings. It aimed to align economic policies with Islamic ethics, discouraging usury, exploitation, and excessive wealth accumulation.

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- Economic Policies:
 - Nationalization: Bhutto's government implemented a policy of nationalization,
 whereby major industries, including banking, heavy industries, and utilities, were

- transferred from private ownership to state control. This was done to ensure public ownership and control over key sectors of the economy.
- Planned Economy: The concept of Islamic socialism in Pakistan also included elements of central planning and state intervention in the economy. The government aimed to direct economic resources and set priorities through fiveyear plans and state-controlled institutions.
- State Welfare Programs: The government introduced various social welfare programs, such as food subsidies, land reforms, and housing schemes, to alleviate poverty and improve the standard of living of the masses.

• Practical Relevance and Criticism:

- o Implementation Challenges: The practical relevance of Islamic socialism in Pakistan faced challenges in implementation. The nationalization of industries often led to inefficiency, bureaucracy, and mismanagement. The state-controlled economy and central planning hindered entrepreneurship, innovation, and private sector growth.
- Economic Consequences: Critics argue that the emphasis on Islamic socialism had adverse effects on Pakistan's economy. The policies discouraged foreign investment, led to capital flight, and resulted in a decline in industrial productivity and competitiveness. The state's control over the economy stifled market forces and limited economic growth.
- O Political and Social Implications: The concept of Islamic socialism also had political and social implications. Some argue that it led to the Islamization of state institutions, including the legal system. However, others criticize the politicization of religion and its potential impact on minority rights and democratic principles.

In conclusion, Islamic socialism, as pronounced by Z.A. Bhutto, aimed to combine elements of socialism with Islamic principles to achieve social justice, economic equality, and welfare for the masses in Pakistan. While the concept appealed to the aspirations of the masses and

addressed issues of income inequality, its practical relevance faced challenges in implementation. The nationalization of industries, state-controlled economy, and central planning hindered economic growth and competitiveness. The political and social implications of Islamic socialism in Pakistan have been subjects of debate, highlighting the complexities of integrating religious and socio-economic ideologies within a diverse society.

