

ROLE OF PAKISTAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN, 1947-1958

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Abstract

Opposition is an integral part of parliamentary system of government. After independence since Pakistan opted for parliamentary system, it was necessary to establish parliamentary norms for success of this system. Both ruling and opposition parties are equally responsible to set democratic traditions. Much has been written and scholars have examined the working of the governments but the role of opposition parties has been largely overlooked and not dealt sufficiently. Particularly, the role of Pakistan National Congress has not been exclusively pondered upon. Since the Indian National Congress was ideologically opposed to partition, and the Pakistan National Congress was founded contrary to the Instructions of the INC, therefore, this paper attempts to analyze the role of Pakistan National Congress during the first parliamentary decade. It focuses on the formation, structure and organization and program of the party. In addition, it assesses its contribution in the political development being the part of coalition governments at the center, as well as in the East Pakistan province. A large part of the discussion is about the PNC's contribution in the framing of the first Constitution in 1956.

Keywords: Government, Opposition, Pakistan National Congress, Pakistan Muslim League, Objectives Resolution, Separate Electorates, Joint Electorates

Introduction

Opposition is an integral part of any democratic system. In parliamentary democracy, the second largest party is recognized as the official opposition. Its status is elevated to an institution within the legislative assembly allocating separate seats and recognizing its leader as the “Leader of the Opposition” with certain privileges. The opposition parties are represented in all parliamentary committees according to their strength and consulted on all parliamentary matters. Without the cooperation of the opposition, parliamentary working suffers and the political system cannot function smoothly. Thus, the mutual forbearance of government and opposition strengthens political system and sets traditions for ensuing developments. The present article focuses on the role of Pakistan National Congress during the initial years after independence. It discusses the formation, structure and organization and program of the Pakistan National Congress. It also examines the party’s role in the political development at the central as well as provincial level. It also analyses the horizontal growth of the party. The main focus of the article is to analyze the contribution and stance of the party on the constitutional issues in the framing of the first Constitution of Pakistan. The article concludes with analyzing the overall performance and contribution of the party in the politics of Pakistan during the period under study.

Formation of Pakistan National Congress

After partition the Indian National Congress (INC) was not divided on the pattern of All India Muslim League into two separate parties; one working in India and the other working in Pakistan. In West Pakistan, due to migration, there was no significant Hindu population. In East Pakistan, the situation was different. Caste Hindu population was 4,349,000 out of a total of 41,932,000.ⁱ The provincial branch of INC was well organized in Bengal. With division of the Bengal Assembly, remaining forty Caste Hindus performed the role of parliamentary opposition in the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly. Its ten members belonging to PNC became members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.ⁱⁱ These members under the leadership of Kiran Shankar Roy of East Pakistan, Leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Assembly, attended the All India Congress Committee (AICC) meeting at New Delhi in 17 November 1947.ⁱⁱⁱ The Congress constitution sub-committee recommended the liquidation of Congress organization outside India. Despite the request of the East Bengal Congressmen to postpone the decision till next session, the AICC adopted the new constitution and confined the Indian National Congress within India in April 1948.^{iv}

The Congressmen in Pakistan disagreed with the INC. decision. The majority of them including Basanta Kumar Das (leader of the Congress assembly party), Monoranjan Dhar (assistant secretary of the assembly party) Satin Sen, Monoranjan Gupta, Suresh Chandra Das-Gupta, Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (leader of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly) wanted to reconstitute the party in Pakistan. They organized a convention in Dhaka on 18 August 1948.^v Moving the resolution for the formation of PNC, Suresh Chandra Das Gupta asserted that Gandhi's principles inculcated in the Congress were of universal application, and appreciated INC's freedom struggle.^{vi}

A minority group including Kamini Kumar Dutta (MCA), Dharendra Nath Dutta (MCA, MLA), Pravash Chanera Lahiry (MLA) preferred to launch a new party with a new name. Kamini Kumar Dutta criticised the revival of Congress because before independence the majority of the Hindus and the Muslims of East Pakistan were not its members. Besides, its membership had decreased due to migration.^{vii} Consequently, they formed a new party Pakistan Gana Samiti (PGS) at a convention at Comilla in July 1948 confined only to East Pakistan.^{viii} A founding member and later Chairman of the Party, Kamini Kumar Dutta stated that the new organization was not formed for parliamentary activities and it would work for the rights and privileges of citizens.^{ix}

The PGS nevertheless worked closely with PNC members in the Constituent Assembly^x as Monoranjan Dhar and Bhabesh Chandhra Nanday^{xi} pointed out that Dharendra Nath Dutta the founding member and general secretary of the PGS was also the deputy leader of the Congress Assembly party.^{xii} Najma Chaudhry attributed this confusion to a power struggle between various groups within PNC.^{xiii} Besides, apprehensions that divisions might work against the interests of the minority community compelled them to work together in the Assembly.

Structure, Organization and Program of Pakistan National Congress

The existing structure of the INC organization was opted by recognizing the existing primary, sub-divisional and district committees.^{xiv} Its organizational structure was formed on the patten of a pyramid. There was a committee in each village, union, *thana*, and ward, sub-division, district and province. An executive council directed and coordinated all the activities of the subordinate organizations. An eighteen years old person with a written commitment to its objectives attested by a witness with four *anna* fee could become its member.^{xv} Its membership was 10,000 till 1954.^{xvi} Initially its organizational strength was 250.^{xvii} It had eleven members out of a total of sixty-nine members

(later raised to seventy-nine) in the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.^{xviii} It was the most significant opposition party in the first Constituent Assembly.

PNC's fundamental aim was realization of peace, prosperity and freedom of the individual in the sovereign state of Pakistan. This aim was to be achieved by **a)** keeping firm on the path of truth and non-violence, **b)** the methods of service, education, and persuasion and **c)** securing justice and social, economic and political rights for all citizens regardless of their caste, creed or sex.^{xix} Its objective was to establish a Democratic Socialist Republic in Pakistan. Its doctrinal philosophy was a combination of Socialist principles and Gandhi's ideology. Till the attainment of *Kisan-Mazdoor Raj*, it advocated a mixed economy in which both state ownership and state management would exist side by side with private capital as a transitional measure.^{xx} Some other items in its program were joint electorates, adequate minority safeguards, and secular state for Pakistan. Besides, it promoted the spread of *Khadi* (handloom) encouraging cottage industries, improving condition of untouchables and decentralizing the industries.^{xxi}

It demanded allocation of quota in services and facilities for business and trade. Its leaders asserted that minorities did not seek protection, but recognition of their rights.^{xxii} It also demanded full provincial autonomy for East Bengal and also took active part in the movement for recognition of Bengali as a national language.^{xxiii} PNC supported land reforms through the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act 1950, but it demanded increase in compensation.

Role of Pakistan National Congress at Central and Provincial Politics

After independence, PNC occupied the opposition benches when Pakistan Muslim League being the dominant party governed till 1954. When PML was compelled to form a coalition government in 1955, PNC joined the coalition government of Chaudhury Muhammad Ali. It left the coalition on the Islamic provisions and electorate issue. When the Awami League formed a coalition government with the Republican Party at the centre in 1956, PNC was part of it. During the third coalition government of PML and Republican Party, PNC moved to opposition benches. It joined the fourth coalition government of Republican Party in 1957 on the condition that the coalition would be committed to joint electorates.^{xxiv}

Coalitions	Parties in Government	Parties in Opposition
First Coalition Government 11 August 1955- 12 September 1956	Pakistan Muslim League (33) United Front (16) Pakistan National Congress (4) Scheduled Caste Federation (3) United Progressive Party (2)	Awami League (13)
Second Coalition Government 12 September 1956- 17 October 1957	Awami League (13) Pakistan National Congress (4) Scheduled Caste Federation (3) United Progressive Party (2) Republican Party (27)	Pakistan Muslim League (12) Nizam-i-Islam Party (3) Krishak Saramik Party (7) National Awami Party (4) Tehrik-i-Istehkam-i-Pakistan (5)
Third Coalition Government 18 October 1957-16 December 1957	Pakistan Muslim League (12) Republican Party (21) Krishak Saramik Party (4+1) Nizam-i-Islam Pakistan (3)	Awami League (13) Pakistan National Congress (4) Scheduled Caste Federation (3) United Progressive Party (2) Krishak Saramik Party (Hamidul Huq)(2)

		Tehrik-i-Istehkam-i-Pakistan (5)
Fourth Coalition Government 16 December 1957- 7 October 1958	Republican Party (21) National Awami Party (4) Krishak saramik Party (Hamidul Huq)(3) Pakistan National Congress (4) Scheduled Caste Federation (3) United Progressive Party (2) Awami League (14) (supporting without ministerial positions)	Pakistan Muslim League (15) Tehrik-i-Istehkam-i-Pakistan (5) Nizam-i-Islam Party (3) Krishak Saramik Party (Sarkar group)(4)

Strength of Government-Opposition Parties in Pakistan (1955-58)

Source: Shamsul Huda Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour in a Multi-National State, 1947-58: Bangladesh Experience* (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1984), 189-190.

In East Pakistan Assembly, minorities had forty-seven (47) seats. In addition, there were six Hindu members elected from special constituencies. PNC had thirty-eight (38) members according to Monoranjon Dhar.^{xxv} Thus, PNC being the official opposition in the provincial assembly only represented the caste Hindu minority as SCF cooperated with the government. PNC though a parliamentary opposition yet it could not offer an alternative government. It focused on other functions as criticizing the government's administrative, financial and legislative policies and advocated minority rights and interests.^{xxvi}

PNC contested 1954 elections competing for the Caste Hindu seats mainly with the Minorities United Front (MUF).^{xxvii} There was an attempt of PNC and MUF to agree on a common list of candidates which did not succeed. PNC won twenty-four (24) minority seats, later expanded to twenty-nine (29) when one Christian and one Buddhist representative joined the party after the elections.^{xxviii} Soon after the elections, the MUF and a section of the Scheduled Caste Federation formed a parliamentary party with the name of United Progressive Party (UPP) led by leaders of the PGS.^{xxix} The party strength in the newly elected legislature was as follows:

Parties	Seats
Pakistan National Conference	24
Minorities United Front	10
Schedule Caste Federation	27
Communists	4
Ganatantri Dal	3
Buddhists	2
Christian	1
Independent	1

Results of the Elections on Minority seats of East Pakistan Assembly 1954

Source: M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958*, Vol. I, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976), 118.

The PNC was part of the coalition government of Abu Husain Sarkar. A statement of Basanta Kumar Das was issued on 5 September, 1955 that “we had to decide to choose between two alternative allies with their own characteristic leaders. For reasons better imagined than explicitly stated, we decided to work with the United Front, but we kept our minds open”.^{xxx} Afterwards, PNC minister for economic affairs, Basanta Kumar Das^{xxxi} resigned in February 1956.^{xxxii} The other minister S.C. Majumdar resigned from the cabinet on 12 March 1956 protesting against some provisions of the Draft Constitution^{xxxiii} and the Chief Minister’s failure to comply with a seven point ultimatum incorporating his party’s demands.^{xxxiv} Afterwards, in August-September 1956, PNC supported AL’s access to power and Aaur Rahman Khan formed the ministry. PNC split on the question of representation in the coalition cabinet. One group supported Basanta Kumar Das leader of the assembly party and vice-president of the organization. Being a senior member of the Congress, he headed the parliamentary party with little control on the

organization. The other group supported Monoranjan Dhar secretary of the assembly party and the organization. He had control over the organization except in Sylhet the district of Basanta Kumar Das and the Khadi group in Dhaka.^{xxxv}

The Dhar group argued that young people should represent PNC in the cabinet as Basanta Kumar Das had already worked in the UF government. The matter was resolved that Basanta Kumar Das would represent the party in coalition government at centre, but he resigned from the leadership of the party in April 1957.^{xxxvi} There were also dissensions in the party on government's policy to use army against smuggling across the border.^{xxxvii}

At the start of the June session 1958 PNC (Das group) had thirteen members, but it dissociated from the AL coalition and joined the opposition ranks.^{xxxviii} Consequently, the government was defeated receiving 126 against 138 votes of the opposition on 18 June 1958.^{xxxix} From June to September 1958 both Das and Dhar group were in opposite camps in the East Pakistan Assembly. R. N. Sarkar a member of Das-Mohitra group with support of five members joined AL coalition government in September 1958 maintaining separate identity from Dhar group in the coalition.^{xl} In another development, Suresh Chandra Das Gupta, the president of the PNC aligned with the Dhar group. He resigned from the presidency in September 1958, on the decision of the PNC Executive Council to terminate dissident groups from primary membership of the party.^{xli}

Period	April-May 1954	June 1955- August 1956	September 1956- March 1958	31 March- 1 April 1958	April-June 1958	19-24 June 1958	August-7 October 1958
Chief Minister	Fazlul Haq	A.H.Sarkar	Ataur Rahman	A.H.Sarkar	Ataur Rahman	A.H.Sarkar	Ataur Rahman
Government	UF (KSP,NIP)	UF, PNC, SCF	AL, UF (splinter group), GD, PNC, UPP (Datta group)	KSP, NIP, UPP (Lahari group), SCF	AL, PNC, UPP (Dutta group), SCF (Bala group)	KSP, NIP, UPP (Lahari group), SCF	AL, PNC (Dhar group), PNC (Sarkar group) UPP (Dutta group), KSP Splinter group, SCF (Bala group), NAP
Parties supporting Government	AL, GD	GD, UPP	SCF (Mandal Bala)				
Opposition	ML	AL	KSP, NIP, UPP (Lahari group), SCF, ML, NAP		KSP, NIP, UPP (Lahari group), SCF(Mandal group), ML	AL, PNC (Dhar group), Upp (Dutta group), NAP	KSP, NIP, UPP (Lahari group), SCF(Mandal group), PNC (Das Mohitra), ML
Neutral Parties		ML			NAP		NAP

Political Parties in the East Pakistan Assembly 1954-58

Source: Najma Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh: Politics and Functioning of the East Bengal Legislature 1947-58* (Dhaka: The University of Dhaka 1980)

Role of Pakistan National Congress in Constitution-Making

Pakistan's early years of parliamentary working set certain traditions that weakened parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. During the first decade, Pakistan Muslim League had to face many challenges. One challenge was the growing opposition. The opposition had difference of opinion on many issues. The PML government instead of accommodating opposition's demands and addressing their concerns adopted exclusionary approach and cornered opposition on major policy decisions.

The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was a sovereign body.^{xlii} There were two major parties in the first Constituent Assembly. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) was the official party with sixty out of seventy-nine members. The Pakistan National Congress (PNC) had eleven Hindu members from East Pakistan. Later, the Azad Pakistan Party (APP) of Mian Iftikharuddin, was formed with three members. In the Second Constituent Assembly, the party positions changed, and PNC had four members. The PNC was very active and debated all the constitutional issues in the assemblies as once Liaquat Ali Khan complimented it for "the sobriety and the dignity of their criticism as responsible opposition".^{xliii} It had divergent position on the following issues debated in and outside the assemblies.

Response on the Objectives Resolution

The PNC argued for secular politics in Pakistan. Prof. Chakravarty moved a resolution in the Constituent Assembly to discourage communal organizations engaged in political activities. It was withdrawn when official benches opposed it.^{xliiv} Religion had played an ambiguous role in the Pakistan movement.^{xliv} Majority of Ulama sided with Congress and supported Indian Nationalism that Indians are a nation and division on religious lines in the Indian society are due to British policy of divide and rule.^{xlvi} Maulana Madani had forwarded the argument that composite nationalism was compatible with Islam referring to the Covenant of Medina by Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him, his Progeny and Companions) when the three communities; the Muslims, the Jews and the pagans agreed to live as a community in Medina.^{xlvii} Besides, ulama considered the independent state detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community as it would weaken the numerical strength of the Muslims in India.^{xlviii}

After independence, the PML government used religious slogans to build up the national morale to face gigantic problems such as Kashmir war, refugee rehabilitation, and provincialism.^{xlix} The adoption of the

‘Objectives Resolution’ pointing to the ‘Aims and Objects’ of the future Constitution of Pakistan moved by the first PM Liaquat Ali Khan on 7 March 1949 was an attempt to satisfy everyone, as in West Pakistan Jama’at-i-Islami and other Islamic parties had the street power.¹

The PNC members proposed to circulate the Resolution for eliciting public opinion as it represented fundamental values on which the future constitution would be based but the PML rejected it.^{li} The PNC was apprehensive that religious groups would interpret the Islamic provisions detrimental to the interests of the minorities. Its members asserted that the Resolution did not reflect the views of the Quaid and the Prime Minister but the ambitions of the ‘ulama of the Land’.^{lii} Maulana Syed Abul Aala Maudoodi’s statement in front of the Law College, Lahore that “the sovereignty of Pakistan belongs to Allah alone and the Government of Pakistan have no right other than to enforce the will of Allah. The basic law in Pakistan is the Shar’iah. All those laws repugnant to Islam are to be revoked, and in future, no such laws can be passed. The government of Pakistan shall exercise its authority within the limits prescribed by Islamic Shariah”^{liii} provides the context to understand the debate on Objectives Resolution. PNC speeches exhibited apprehension about the implications of these clauses in future. Consequently, they proposed eighteen amendments in the Resolution.^{liv}

Referring to the first Paragraph “Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;” Bhupendra Kumar Dutta^{lv} proposed to delete this paragraph^{lvi} as politics is the relations between a State and its citizens in the sphere of reason, whereas religion addresses the relations between man and God connected with faith. Thus, if religion and politics are blended, religion would be subjected to criticism and it would also restrain reason and criticism on the state policies affecting the growth of modern democratic institutions.^{lvii} Dutta also anticipated that any political adventurer could misuse the authority by declaring ‘himself as Ruler of Pakistan appointed by his Maker’^{lviii} Liberals and conservatives might also disagree on the interpretation of ‘The limits’.^{lix}

Siris Chandra Chattopadyaya, supported Dutta that ‘All powers rest with the people who exercise it through the state which is merely their spokesman’ and if ‘the State [had] the sole authority received from God Almighty through the people then the People had no power and were ‘merely post boxes’.^{lx} He asserted that state must be neutral and respect

all religions as 'People of different religions live in a State'. He warned that having a state religion is a dangerous principle, as people were burnt alive in the name of religion. Therefore, sovereignty must reside in the people and not with the state.^{lxi} Raj Kumar Chakravarty proposed to substitute 'State of Pakistan through its people' with 'people of Pakistan' because 'a state is formed by the people, guided by the people and controlled by the people'; therefore, it 'should be responsive to public opinion.'^{lxii} Prem Hari Barma, also proposed to delete the phrase 'within the limits prescribed by Him' as the limits were not clearly stated.^{lxiii}

In the Second Paragraph, "This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent state of Pakistan;" Raj Kumar Chakravarty proposed to replace 'independent' with 'democratic' to clearly highlight the character of the Constitution and form of government.^{lxiv} Kamini Kumar Dutta^{lxv} proposed to insert 'wherein the national sovereignty belongs to the people of Pakistan; wherein the principle of the State is government of the people, for the people, and by the people' after 'this Constituent Assembly...' He asserted that constitution would be 'for the people of Pakistan, Muslims and non-Muslims. The authority had been delegated to the State through its people. Thus, it must not be "limited to the followers of one faith but to every ... citizen of Pakistan' citing other 'constitutions of the leading Muslim states of Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and Iran where the sovereignty resides in people [who] are equal before God.'^{lxvi}

Raj Kumar Chakravarty suggested to substitute the third Paragraph "Wherein the state shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;" with, "Wherein the elected representatives of the people--in whom shall be centred and to whom shall belong legislative as well as executive authority, shall exercise their powers through such persons as they are by law authorized to do so. The elected representatives shall control acts of Government and may at any time divest it of all authority."^{lxvii}

In the fourth paragraph "Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;" Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, proposed to delete 'as enunciated by Islam' because it demonstrated the inferior status of the minorities. If the people would be divided on communal basis, then Pakistan could not grow into a homogeneous nation. Without a legitimate share of power, mere principles could not benefit minorities.^{lxviii} Prem Hari Barma recommended universally accepted principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice so that all people could

observe them.^{lxi} He also proposed an alternative to insert ‘and other religions’ after ‘enunciated by Islam’,^{lxx} In addition, he proposed to add “but not inconsistent with the Charter of the Fundamental Human Rights of the United Nations Organization”, at the end of the Paragraph.^{lxxi} Raj Kumar Chakravarty also pointed out that these principles are abstract and need elaboration to remove misapprehensions.^{lxxii} Kamini Kumar Dutta also proposed to insert ‘and as based upon eternal principles’ at the end of the clause.^{lxxiii}

In the fifth Paragraph, “Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah,” Prem Hari Barma proposed to insert “Muslims and non-Muslims shall equally” in place of “Muslims shall” and insert ‘their respective religions’ in place of “Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah”^{lxxiv} Bhupendra Kumar Dutta also proposed to add “in perfect accord with non-Muslims residing in the State and in complete toleration of their culture and social and religious customs” after the “Holy Quran and the Sunnah”.^{lxxv}

In the Sixth Paragraph, “Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;” Kamini Kumar Dutta proposed to rephrase it as “wherein shall be secured to the minorities the freedom to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures and adequate provision shall be made for it.”^{lxxvi}

In the Eighth Paragraph, “Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;” Kamini Kumar Dutta proposed to insert “and secured to all the people of Pakistan”, after “guaranteed” to remove any misinterpretation.^{lxxvii}

In the Ninth Paragraph, “Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;” Prem Hari Barma proposed to substitute ‘and depressed classes’ with “classes and Scheduled Castes” as ‘depressed’ reflects social degradation and ‘Scheduled Castes’ stated in the Government of India Act 1935 referred to a list of Castes with special safeguards for their educational, political, and economic

development.^{lxxviii} Raj Kumar Chakravarty suggested to include “and labouring”, between ‘backward’ and ‘depressed classes’.^{lxxix}

Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the mover of the Resolution, assured PNC members that their rights and interests would be fully protected.^{lxxx} Pakistan was created to protect the Human Rights of a minority in British India; naturally Pakistan and its leadership could not be unmindful of its own minorities. The opposition leader, Siris Chandra Chattopadyaya asserted that the Quaid-i-Azam clearly indicated that Pakistan would be based on ‘eternal principles of equality and democracy’ in the Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1947 and minorities considered it a guarantee against the imposition of an Islamic state on them.^{lxxxii} Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar responded that the criticism emanated from a misunderstanding of the relevant provisions. He asserted that Divine Sovereignty did not limit the political sovereignty of the people as ‘the authority of the people’ was emphasised in the Resolution.^{lxxxii} He explained that inclusion of ‘non-Muslim’ in the ‘enabling clause’ would be interference in the religious and cultural affairs of minorities. He further contended that Pakistan was based on a particular ideology and the Resolution was in accordance with the pledges of both the Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam to minority as well as majority.^{lxxxiii}

The House rejected the proposed amendments and adopted the Resolution by twenty-one to ten votes. All Hindu members including Prem Hari Barma, Raj Kumar Chakravarty, Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Akshay Kumar Dass, Jnanendra Chandra Majumdar, Birat Chandra Mandal, Bhabesh Chandra Nanday, Dhananjoy Roy, Harrendra Kumar Sur voted for the amendments.^{lxxxiv} A division on the communal lines was not a good tradition. It generated ‘suspicion, alienation and distrust among the minorities.’^{lxxxv} The government could have accommodated some proposals of drafting nature to pass the Resolution through consensus.^{lxxxvi}

PNC Representation in the Basic Principles Committee

A Basic Principles Committee (BPC) of twenty-five members^{lxxxvii} under the chairmanship of Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, was formed to recommend the basic principles for the future Constitution of Pakistan. Three PNC members Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Kamini Kumar Dutta and Prem Hari Barma were included in the Committee. The BPC appointed a Steering Committee to report on the scope, functions, and procedure of the Committee itself. The three Sub-Committees: (i)

federal and provincial constitutions and the distribution of powers; (ii) the Franchise; (iii) the Judiciary were assigned to recommend the main Committee on the assigned subjects.^{lxxxviii} Besides, the BPC appointed a Board^{lxxxix} of *Ta'limat-i-Islamiyya* (Islamic Teachings) on the demand of Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani, president of the JUI, in February 1949, to advise on constitutional matters.

Issue of Mode of Electorate

During the entire constitution-making process in Pakistan, PNC focused the electorate issue. The Muslim population of both East and West Pakistan was equal but East Pakistan had a majority because of its Hindu population. The issue was further complicated due to the fact that scheduled caste Hindus were in majority in East Pakistan. PNC was consistent in its ideological stance even being a minority in Pakistan.^{xc} Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya reiterated PNC stance on one-nation theory that all the people of Pakistan, Muslims and non-Muslims were one nation.^{xcⁱ} In united India, Communal Award granted separate electorates to Scheduled Caste Hindus,^{xcⁱⁱ} but B.R. Ambedkar withdrew this provision under Gandhi's threat to fast unto death. Due to Poona Pact,^{xcⁱⁱⁱ} the Communal Award was amended and joint electorates for Scheduled Caste Hindus included in the Government of India Act 1935.

PNC members supported joint electorate so that there should be no distinctions in matters of state and separate electorates would make permanent minorities.^{xc^{iv}} Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF) representing the Scheduled Caste Hindus challenged PNC's stance and demanded Separate Electorates through a resolution demanding for higher Scheduled Caste representation in relation to its population in 1948. The government favoured them and took its president D. N. Barori in the East Pakistan government as minister in June 1950.

The Scheduled Castes were in a slight majority in East Pakistan. According to the 1951 Census, they constituted 12% of the population and the Caste Hindus only 10%. The Scheduled Castes were in majority in nine out of sixteen districts in East Pakistan, while in other four they were almost equal to the Caste Hindus,^{xc^v} yet they were under the influence of the Caste Hindus. Later on, both SCF and PNC demanded joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Caste community for ten years in a memorandum to PM Liaquat Ali Khan in March 1951. The Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Nurul Amin, informed the Provincial Assembly that he had received a signed memorandum for Separate Electorates of seven members of the Assembly including some

members of the Working Committee of the Schedule Caste Federation, the general secretary and joint secretary of the Schedule Caste Federation,^{xcvi} and the Vice-Chairman of a District Board.^{xcvii} The Congress member, Bhabesh Chandhra Nandy, also admitted, ‘there was a section of the Scheduled Caste community in East Pakistan which was for Separate Electorates’, though ‘a larger section was opposed to it.’^{xcviii}

The PML government wanted to grant separate electorates to the Scheduled Castes through the *Government of India (Third Amendment) Bill* in 1952.^{xcix} PNC members of the Assembly opposed this Bill as it would divide the Hindu community. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya said, “Do not divide us....By dividing you cannot remove untouchability or remove the caste system.”^c Bhabesh Chandhra Nandy asserted that separate electorates would create divisions and undermine social solidarity. He warned “if you separate them into separate political units they will think about their political interests separately and in course of time in all spheres of life a separatism will develop and this will make the community...split up.”^{ci}

PNC members blamed PML exclusively appealing to the Muslims highlighting their communal interests versus those of the Hindus, and extending separate electorates to the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes.^{cii} Bhubesh Chandhra Nandy hinted that PML leadership being insecure of the numerical majority of East Pakistan was dividing it through separate electorates. He observed that Bengalis “in their political outlook believe in the integrity of the nation... and in the political compactness of the province.”^{ciii} The PML leaders responded that social solidarity could not be promoted through voting together only on the Election Day in every five years. Since there was no inter-dining and inter-marriage between the Scheduled Castes and the Caste Hindus, therefore, separate electorates could not promote separation between the two groups of Hindus.^{civ}

The PNC members contended that even under joint electorates, the Scheduled Castes would have a larger representation as due to property and educational qualifications; they could not obtain adequate representation in the assemblies before independence. Being a majority among the non-Muslims in East Pakistan could effectively safeguard their interests in Pakistan.^{cv} The PNC leader Dharendra Nath Dutta asserted that “Separate Electorates was granted to the Muslims because being a minority, they demanded it, but Hindus though a minority demand joint electorates.”^{cv}

All the non-Muslim members of the Assembly, including Seth Sukhdev from West Pakistan excluding Bhandara, a Parsee, voted against the Amendment Bill. By 1952, one of the five Scheduled Castes representatives, J.N. Mandal, left for permanent residence in India. Among the four remaining members, Birat Chandra Mandal and Prem Hari Barman opposed the Amendment, while A. K. Das and Dhananjay Roy, remained absent.^{cvii}

Report of Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Matters relating to Minorities

The BPC Committee on Fundamental Rights^{cviii} of citizens and matters relating to Minorities recommended separate electorates for Caste Hindus, Scheduled Caste Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians in December 1952.^{cxix} All the Hindu members Birat Chandra Mandal, Prem Hari Barma, and Raj Kumar Chakravarty^{cx} of the committee dissented on this particular recommendation. In a joint 'note of dissent', they asserted:

This is good neither for any sections of the public nor for the state. While, during the British rule, there were two divisions, now there will be at least five divisions. Members elected by such separate electorates are likely to have sectional and communal outlooks, which will impair the unity among the different communities and the solidarity of the state. Such electorates will cause a perpetual communal majority and communal minority, most unsuitable for a democratic country as also for the freedom, growth and self-expression of its component parts...under separate electorates, the minority will live under a permanent sense of insecurity and inferiority. We are in favour of a joint and common electorate for all sections of the people with reservation of seats for a limited period for the backward classes like the schedule castes, Buddhists and others. All separate electorates whether for a limited period or otherwise should be given up.^{cx}

C.E. Gibbon^{cxii} representing the Anglo-Pakistanis, and Phani Bhushan Barua, representing the Buddhists and P. D. Bhandara dissociated from the 'note of dissent'^{cxiii} and supported Separate Electorates.^{cxiv}

The BPC Report 1953

When Basic Principles Committee presented its report in the Constituent Assembly in 1953, PNC members objected to the Islamic

provisions. They strongly opposed the provision that no law would be enacted repugnant to the Quran and the Sunnah. They wanted the personal laws of Hindus free from the purview of this provision, and further resented the establishing of a government organization to propagate Islamic teaching. They also criticized the nomenclature of the state and religious qualification of the head of the state.^{cxv}

PNC leader S.C. Chattopadhyaya said that the Muslim League party's decisions were brought hastily before the Assembly without prior information and were voted upon without adequate discussion. He cited seven causes of Hindu dissatisfaction. First, Two-Nation theory perpetually divided Pakistan into superior and inferior communities. Second, the proposed clause relating to the invalidation of laws repugnant to the Quran and the Sunnah would affect the personal laws of non-Muslims. Third, the state agencies would teach doctrines of Islam. Fourth, the name of the country was to be an Islamic Republic. Fifth, office of the head of the state was not extended to a non-Muslim. Sixth, minorities were isolated through Separate Electorates. Seventh decision making in the assembly was "undemocratic and definitely prejudicial to the interests of the minority."^{cxvi} PNC members of the Constituent Assembly walked out and remained absent during further deliberations.^{cxvii} Leader of the PNC, S.C. Chattopadhyaya stated:

We the Hindus form about 14 percent of the population. We are the citizens of the state of Pakistan and always anxious to make Pakistan a prosperous democratic and modern state. We in our humble way have been working in the Assembly and its Committees to make a suitable Constitution, but the recent trend and proceedings of this House have been a disappointment to all of us... From the trends of the proceedings hitherto, we feel that any further participation by us, the representatives of the Hindu minority, in the constitution making, will be of no efficacy. So the members of my party have resolved not to take part in the discussion of the Report of the Basic Principles Committee in the present state of affairs.^{cxviii}

Muhammad Ali Bogra, PM of PML, revised the BPC report. Islamic provisions were "diluted to make the Islamization gradual".^{cxix} PNC members returned to the Constituent Assembly at the final stage of the adoption of the Report in September 1954 to record their protest 'more strongly and critically' and to pronounce that they were not a party to the Constitution.^{cxx}

Draft Constitution of 1956

Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar, Law Minister of Chaudhry Mohammad Ali's cabinet, presented the Draft Constitution to the Constituent Assembly on 9 January 1956. B.K. Das asserted that Pakistan was the homeland of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, and other non-Muslims so it should not be named as the 'Islamic Republic' that would hurt the feelings of other religious groups. PNC along with the AL, and the GD members voted against the nomenclature of state as the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'.^{cxxi}

PNC leaders also opposed reservation of the office of the President of the state for the 80% Muslims population of Pakistan through Article 32(2)^{cxxii} Two Hindu ministers in the central government, K.K. Dutta and A. K. Das^{cxxiii} along with B.K. Das, the provincial minister of East Pakistan, voted with the opposition.^{cxxiv} The House adopted the motion with forty-three (43) votes against twenty (20) opposition votes.^{cxxv}

The PML-UF coalition government accommodated the demands of the PNC. The House accepted two important amendments of Dutta and Mandal without any opposition. K.K. Dutta proposed 'Every religious community or denomination shall have the right to establish and maintain educational institutions of its own choice and the State shall not deny any recognition to any such institution on the ground only that the management of such institution vests in that community or denomination.'^{cxxvi} Rasa Raj Mandal^{cxxvii} proposed 'the State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial Services.'^{cxxviii}

Electorate Issue in the Provincial Assemblies

The Constitution of 1956 did not mention the mode of electorate. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali's regime referred the issue to the provincial assemblies to avoid any rift in the coalition government.^{cxxix} In East Pakistan, the AL replaced the UF ministry in January 1956 with the support of Hindu parties and the secularist GD. The motion of joint electorates was carried by 159 to 1 with 59 Hindu members, while 84 abstentions on 1 October 1956.^{cxxx} The Scheduled Caste members wanted joint electorates with reservation of seats for their community, but the Speaker refused to allow any amendment and they walked out.^{cxxxi} In West Pakistan Assembly, the resolution of separate electorates passed with 122 to 10 votes. Four Hindu members of the Sindh Awami Mahaz (SAM) and an independent member, Syed Amir Hussain, voted against

the resolution.^{cxxxii} The PML members and the Republicans voted for separate electorates.

Electorate Issue in the National Assembly

The PNC was part of the AL-Republican coalition government. The National Assembly held its session at Dhaka on 10 October 1956.^{cxxxiii} The Prime Minister Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy made a passionate statement in the National Assembly in favour of joint electorates asserting that Hindus wanted joint electorates because that would give them an identity of interest with the Muslims vital for the safety of a minority community. Besides, Separate Electorates would entitle the Hindu majority to hold balance of power between contending Muslim groups whereas joint electorates would politically integrate them. Moreover, Separate Electorates would create divisive tendencies whereas joint electorates would lead to national unification.^{cxxxiv} He responded to the criticism that “the Two-Nation theory was a justification for the partition of India and the creation of a state geographically contiguous units where the Muslims were numerically in majority, once that state was created, the Two-Nation theory lost its force even for the Muslims.”^{cxxxv}

AL wanted joint electorates while the Republican Party favoured separate electorates. On President Iskander Mirza’s prompting, Dr Khan Sahib devised a compromise formula of joint electorates for East Pakistan and separate electorates for West Pakistan.^{cxxxvi} The Electorate Bill providing separate electorates for West Pakistan and joint electorates for East Pakistan was carried by 48 to 19 votes on 11 October 1956.^{cxxxvii} Awami League, Republican Party, PNC and other minority parties voted for the Bill, but PML and UF opposed it.^{cxxxviii} Subsequently, the Parliament passed the Electorate (Amendment) Bill of joint electorates for the whole country on 22 April 1957.^{cxxxix} Two minority members Gibbon and Siroomal Kirpaldas^{cxl} opposed the Bill. Gibbon asserted^{cxli} that minorities in West Pakistan were only 2% of the population widely dispersed with minimum chance of getting elected to the Provincial Assembly in joint electorates.^{cxlii} Siroomal Kirpaldas^{cxliii} demanded that due representation of the minorities should be ensured in the Constitution through reservation of seats or through presidential nominations on the recommendations of minority communities,^{cxliv} but no amendments were allowed in the Assembly.^{cxlv}

The opposition’s proposal to circulate the Bill to elicit public opinion was rejected by 36 to 14 votes while UF abstained. The Christian

member from East Pakistan, P.P. Gomez of PNC voted with AL-Republican coalition.^{cxlvi} AL-Republican Coalition replaced with the Republican-PML coalition government on a compromise that separate electorates would substitute joint electorates, and West Pakistan would not be dissolved until after the general elections.

I. I Chundrigar, the next Prime Minister, revived the electorate issue. The Republican Party delayed discussion on the pretext of a fact-finding committee sent to East Pakistan on 2 December 1957 to ascertain the public opinion on this issue. The AL responded with a demonstration in support of joint electorates in Dhaka and then a huge public meeting at the Paltan Maidan on 5 December 1957.^{cxlvii} Besides, Shamsuddin Ahmad presided a joint meeting of NAP, KSP and PNC, in the central office of the National Assembly and formed an All-Party Joint Electorate Committee of Action (APJECA) with Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Abu Hussain Sarkar, Hamidul Huq Chaudhry, Shamsuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Ali, Ali Ahad Salam, Zahur Hussain Chaudhry, Kazi Muhammad Idris, and others. When the Chundrigar government was ready to present the Separate Electorate Bill in the National Assembly, the APJECA observed a 'Joint Electorate day' in East Pakistan. Consequently, the Republican Party abstained and the PML government collapsed on 16 December 1957.^{cxlviii}

The Republican Party formed a coalition government with NAP, PNC, and SCF at the centre on 16 December 1957. AL supported the coalition on the condition that the government would stick to the system of joint electorates but refused to accept any portfolios in the cabinet.

Conclusion

The Pakistan National Congress strived for secular politics, equality before law, joint electorates for all sections of society. It was active inside the Constituent Assembly and contributed in the debates on the Islamic provisions, mode of electorates and fundamental rights. It was mainly confined to East Pakistan. In the initial years till 1954, PNC occupied opposition benches. Afterwards, it joined coalition governments at the centre as well as in East Pakistan. Though, it joined the governments to influence policy making yet it could not avert the negative influence of power on party unity. It split on the representation of the party in the cabinets. The polarization of politics on electorate issue also contributed to its horizontal growth. It is usually blamed for political instability in the East Pakistan through constantly oscillating between government and opposition benches. When Martial law was imposed on

7 October, 1958, and political parties were banned, PNC was banned along with other political parties.

References

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- ⁱⁱ Cesar P. Pobre, "History of the Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-58." PhD dissertation, University of Karachi, 1976, 300.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Dawn, 18 November 1947, 2; Najma Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh: Politics and Functioning of the East Bengal Legislature, 1947-58* (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1980), 118.
- ^{iv} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 119.
- ^v Dawn, 20 August 1948; Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 119-120.
- ^{vi} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 120.
- ^{vii} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 121.
- ^{viii} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 119.
- ^{ix} Members of Socialist party, the Revolutionary Socialist party, Forward Block and other minor parties also attended the convention. Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 121-122.
- ^x Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 121.
- ^{xi} He was a PNC member of first and second Constituent Assembly.
- ^{xii} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 121.
- ^{xiii} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 122.
- ^{xiv} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 120.
- ^{xv} K.K.Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan, 1947-1958* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), 132.
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- ^{xvii} Dawn, 20 August 1948.
- ^{xviii} M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-1958*, Vol. I, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976), 79-80.
- ^{xix} Dawn, 20 August 1948.
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- ^{xxi} Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan*, 131.
- ^{xxii} Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan*, 131.
- ^{xxiii} Vyacheslav Y. Belokrenitsky and Vladimir N. Moskalenko, *A Political History of Pakistan, 1947-2007* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 71.
- ^{xxiv} Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. I, 206.
- ^{xxv} Najma Chaudhry rejected this claim because the SCF had ten (10) members. Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 122.
- ^{xxvi} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 122-23.
- ^{xxvii} It was formed of the PGS, the Socialist party and the Abboy Ashram.
- ^{xxviii} Monoranjan Dhar's claim cited in Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 171.

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- xxxi He was an educationist and entered in Bengal legislature in 1946. Shamsul Huda Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour in a Multi-National State, 1947-58: Bangladesh Experience* (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1984), 287.
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- xl Dawn, June 17, September 23, 1958.
- xli Dawn, September 25-October 4, 1958.
- xlii Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, 86.
- xliii *Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, Debates*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (March 4, 1949), 372.
- xliv *Constituent Assembly (Legislature) of Pakistan, Debates*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (February 22, 1949), 109-123.
- xlv Callard, *A Political Study*, 208.
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- ¹ *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates, Official Report*. vol. V, 5th Session (March 7- 12, 1949), 7.
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- ^{lii} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. V (March 12, 1949), 93.
- ^{liii} Allen McGrath, *The Destruction of Democracy in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 68.
- ^{liv} Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study* , 254.
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- lxiv *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates, Official Report*. vol. V, 5th Session (March 7- 12, 1949), 19.
- lxv He was a lawyer entered Bengal Provincial Assembly in 1937. He was member of the First Constituent Assembly during 1947-1954. Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour*, 287.
- lxvi *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. V. (March 12, 1949), 20-23.
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- lxxiii *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. V. (March 12, 1949), 30
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- lxxxv Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 65.
- lxxxvi Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 65.
- lxxxvii The committee consisted of the President and the following members, namely i) Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, ii) Mr Ghulam Muhammad iii) Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, iv) Khawaja Shahabuddin, v) Pirzada Abdus Sattar, vi) Mr Fazul Rahman, vii) Mr Jogendra Nath Mandal, viii) Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, ix) Dr Omar Hayat Malik, x) Dr Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, xi) Mr Kamini Kumar Dutta, xii) Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, xiii) Malik

Muhammad Feroze Khan Noon, xiv) Sris Chandra Charropadhyaya, xv) Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana, xvi) Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan, xvii) Mian Mohammad Iftikharuddin, xviii) Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, xix) Dr Mahmud Husain, xx) Begum Shaista Suharwardy Ikramullah, xxi) Mr Prem Hari Barma, xxii) Chaudhury Nazir Ahmad Khan, xxiii) Sheikh Karamat Ali, and xxiv) Liaquat Ali Khan, be appointed, with powers to co-opt not more than ten Members, who need not be Members of the Constituent Assembly...The presence of at least seven Members shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of its Committee. *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. V (March 12, 1949), 101-102.

^{lxxxviii} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XII, no. 2 (December, 1952), 81.

^{lxxxix} Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi was nominated as the Board's chairman, and was invited to come to Pakistan from Lucknow, India, for this purpose. Its other members were Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Prof. Abdul Khaliq, Mufti Ja'far Husain, Dr Muhammad Hamid Allah, and Maulana Zafar Ahmad Uthmani.

^{xc} Muhammad Ghulam Kabir. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980), 31.

^{xcii} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. V (March 12, 1949), 93.

^{xciii} In 1932, the British Government announced the Communal Award, fixing the representation of various communities in the provincial legislatures. Separate electorates were retained. Weightage was given to the Muslims in the Muslim-minority provinces, to Europeans in Bengal and Assam, to the Sikhs in the Punjab and the NWFP, and to the Hindus in Sind and the NWFP. I H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan*, Book 4 (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1984), 204.

^{xciv} Under Gandhi's pressure that separate electorates for untouchables will divide the Hindu community, Dr B.R. Ambedkar entered into an agreement with Gandhi and renounced separate electorates for Untouchables.

^{xcv} Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 130.

^{xci} *Census of Pakistan*, 1951, Table 6, Bulletin no. 2 (Karachi, 1951), 1

^{xci} The electorate issue split the SCF. A Conference held at Comilla in March 1952, demanded joint electorate and expressed no-confidence in D. N. Barori and requested the government to replace him with a representative enjoying confidence of minorities. The dissidents expelled Barori and his supporters from the party in a conference in December 1953. Thereafter, Barori group had support among assembly members and the dissident group of Rasaraj Mondal had a firm grip on the party organization. Chowdhury, *The Legislative Process in Bangladesh*, 137.

^{xvii} *Dawn*, 17 April 1952.

^{xviii} *Dawn*, 17 April 1952.

^{xcix} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XI, no. 7 (April 15, 1952), 65.

^c *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XI, no. 7 (April 18, 1952), 168.

^{ci} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XI, no. 8 (April 19, 1952), 207.

^{cii} M. Mahfuzul Huq, *Electoral Problems in Pakistan* (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1966), 79.

- ^{ciii} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XI, no. 8 (April 19, 1952), 208-209.
- ^{civ} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, no. 6 (April 17, 1952), 149-155.
- ^{cv} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XI, no. 7 (April 18, 1952), 171.
- ^{cvi} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XV, no. 8 (April 19, 1952), 198.
- ^{cvi} M. Mahfuzul Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 80.
- ^{cviii} Liaquat Ali Khan elaborated these fundamental rights in his speech as equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, security of person, and security of property. *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. VIII, no. 2 (October 4, 1950), 62.
- ^{cix} Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and Matters relating to Minorities, Appendix II, vol. XII, no. 2, (December 22, 1952), 164.
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- ^{cxii} He was a businessman and entered the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1951. He was PML associate in the Constituent Assembly. Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour*, 290.
- ^{cxiii} Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour*, 290.
- ^{cxiv} Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 79.
- ^{cxv} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XV, nos. 3-20 (October 8-November 2), 1953.
- ^{cxvi} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XV, 658. K.Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, 255.
- ^{cxvii} Two minority members Akshay Kumar Das and Sri Dhananjoy Roy staged a separate walk out after PNC members' walk out. Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, 255.
- ^{cxviii} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XV, no. 20 (October 8-November 2), 1953, 658-659.
- ^{cxix} Hasan Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism* (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1994), 33.
- ^{cxx} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. XV, no. 31 (September 8-21), 1954, 504-505
- ^{cxxi} *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. I, no. 76 (February 21, 1956), 3411.
- ^{cxxii} *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1956*, Article 32(2) (Lahore: Milli Printers, n.d.), 08.
- ^{cxxiii} He was an educationist and entered in the Bengal legislature in 1946. He represented Scheduled Castes. Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour*, 287.
- ^{cxxiv} Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 79.
- ^{cxxv} Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 92.

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- cxxvi *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. I, no. 75 (February 20, 1956), 3269.
- cxxvii He represented the Scheduled Castes.
- cxxviii *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. I, no. 65 (February 6, 1956), 2543.
- cxxix Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 81.
- cxx Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, 44.
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- xxxiv Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 132-133.
- xxxv Kamruddin Ahmad, *The Social History of East Pakistan* (Dhaka: Pioneer Press, n.d.), 134.
- xxxvi Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 130.
- xxxvii Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, 44.
- xxxviii Zarina Salamat, *Pakistan, 1947-1958: An Historical Review* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1992), 61.
- xxxix Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, 44.
- cxli He was a PML Associate.
- cxli *National Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. II, no. 12 (April 22, 1957), 854.
- cxlii Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 136-137.
- cxliii He was a businessman and entered Sindh legislature in 1946. Harun, *Parliamentary Behaviour*, 291.
- cxliv *National Assembly of Pakistan, Debates*, vol. II, no.13 (April 23, 1957), 968.
- cxlv Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 137.
- cxlvi Huq, *Electoral Problems*, 139.
- cxlvii Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class struggle in East Pakistan 1947-58* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 329
- cxlviii Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh*, 330.