

55 MUN VI

PNA



STUDY GUIDE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Chair's Note
2. Ayub Khan's Rise to Power
3. Background of the 1965 War
4. Events Leading up to the War
5. 1965 War
6. Resentment in East Pakistan and the Six Points
7. Ayub's Resignation
8. Yahya Khan's Arrival in Politics
9. 1970 Elections
10. Operation Searchlight
11. Mukti Bahani
12. A new beginning - Formation of Bangladesh
13. Foreign Involvement
14. QARMA



CHAIR'S NOTE

Hello everyone,

For this year's 55MUN we will be situated in 1965, post Indo-Pak war. This crisis committee will revolve around the Defense policy Pakistan adopted during the 1965 war and will be proceeding forward to discuss the later East Pakistan's revolt. We will be discussing all the conspiracies that took place against leaders of East Pakistan and will be looking forward for crisis updates to make the committee more creative! We expect the delegates to have an enjoyable experience in this fast-moving crisis committee. One more crucial element that we are expecting of our delegates is decorum in the committee. We would want each one of our delegates to debate in a courteous manner and be considerate of one another's space.

With this, we welcome you all to the Pakistan National Assembly for 55MUN this year!



AYUB KHAN'S RISE TO POWER

On October 7th of 1958, President Iskander Mirza announced Martial Law and made Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan the Martial Law Administrator. Just 20 days later on 27th of October President Mirza resigned and transferred the presidency to Ayub Khan. It is largely believed that Ayub Khan himself forced President Mirza to resign and then sent him to exile consequently.

Ayub Khan believed that the people of Pakistan at that time were not sufficiently informed to be entrusted with the right to vote. However, in an effort to present himself as a democratic leader, Ayub Khan introduced the "Basic Democracies" system in 1959. This was a three tier system based on indirect elections where a limited number of voters would elect the Union council, whose representatives would then elect the Tehsil Council, and subsequently the District Council. As per critics, this system ensured security and safety for the President but did not strengthen the political structure itself. In its core it was based upon a political system without any politicians. Prior to the Basic Democracies Ayub Khan had passed the Electoral Body Disqualification Order (EBDO) according to which he disqualified an estimated 6,000 political personalities; most of them from East Pakistan.

A national referendum from all the electees (through Basic Democracies) confirmed Ayub Khan as a rightfully elected President in the year of 1960. Gradually he moved towards mapping out a Constitution which came into existence on 1st March 1962, putting an end to a four-year Martial Law. The 250 Articles long constitution gave extraordinary powers to the President. He appointed provincial governors, ministers, and judges. The national executive and the provincial executive were all under the control of the President.



On the 2nd of January 1965, Pakistan witnessed its first-ever Presidential Elections, fought between the Combined Opposition Parties(COP) and the Convention Muslim League(CML). The COP nominated Fatima Jinnah as their Presidential candidate while CML nominated the incumbent President. Fatima Jinnah had mass appeal because of her contribution to Pakistan's independence and her relationship with the Quaid-e-Azam. Notably, influential politicians such as Khwaja Nazimuddin (Former Governor General) and Chaudary Muhammad Ali (Former Prime Minister) from the Awami League rallied behind her. The CML, led by Ayub Khan, recognized her widespread appeal and resorted to using religious propaganda against her candidacy, branding their opposition as unpatriotic and anti-nationalistic through the print media. Despite substantiated claims of rigging, Ayub Khan clinched victory with the support of the bureaucracy and the business community, who funded his entire campaign. Nevertheless, Fatima Jinnah secured a landslide victory in Pakistan's two major cities: Dhaka and Karachi. Ayub's stronghold was primarily in the rural areas, where he garnered support from his Basic Democrats.



BACKGROUND OF THE 1965 WAR

Partition:

The 1965 war between India and Pakistan, also known as the Second Indo-Pakistani War, was primarily rooted in longstanding territorial disputes, particularly over the Kashmir region. The 1947 partition of British India led to the creation of India and Pakistan, with millions of people migrating across borders, often accompanied by violence and communal riots. The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, became a flashpoint. The region had a majority Muslim population but was ruled by a Hindu leader, creating a complex demographic and political situation. Initially, the Maharaja opted for independence, but following a tribal invasion from Pakistan in October 1947, he sought military assistance from India and signed the Instrument of Accession (an agreement which allowed Jammu and Kashmir to join India following an invasion by tribal militias from Pakistan. It covered defense, foreign affairs, and communications, while leaving other matters under the Maharaja's control.) which India accepted, leading to the first war between the newly independent countries.

First Indo-Pakistani War (1947-1948):

The First Indo-Pakistani War occurred from October 1947 to January 1949, primarily over the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The war began with skirmishes in October, escalating into full-scale conflict as both nations deployed regular troops. Major battles took place around strategic locations in Kashmir, with both sides experiencing territorial gains and losses. The fighting continued until a United Nations-brokered ceasefire on January 1, 1949, established the Line of Control (LoC) but left the status of Kashmir unresolved. This arrangement left about one-third of the territory under Pakistani control (now Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan) and two-thirds under Indian control. The UN called for a plebiscite to allow the people of Kashmir to decide their future, but this was never conducted. The conflict resulted in significant military and civilian casualties and laid the groundwork for ongoing tensions and disputes between India and Pakistan over the region.



EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE WAR

1. Kashmir Dispute:

When British India was partitioned in 1947, princely states had the option to join either India or Pakistan. The ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, initially chose to remain independent. However, following an invasion by tribal militias from Pakistan in October 1947, he sought military assistance from India and signed the Instrument of Accession to India. This decision was contested by Pakistan, which claimed Kashmir based on its Muslim majority. The first Indo-Pakistani war (1947-1948) resulted in a UN-brokered ceasefire, creating the Line of Control (LoC) but leaving the status of Kashmir unresolved. The UN resolution called for a plebiscite to allow the people of Kashmir to decide their future, which was never held. The lack of a definitive resolution led to ongoing grievances.

2. Nationalism and Domestic Politics:

Pakistani leaders, particularly President Ayub Khan, used the Kashmir issue to strengthen national unity and divert attention from domestic challenges, such as economic difficulties and political dissent. The call to arms was portrayed as a national duty. In India, the leadership aimed to unify the population against what was portrayed as an existential threat. The government emphasized the need to defend national integrity, thus rallying public support and consolidating political power.

3. Trigger Events:

Throughout August 1965, a series of clashes occurred along the LoC, fueled by heightened military activities and the infiltration of troops. These skirmishes escalated tensions, leading to calls for military action.

4. Diplomatic Failures:

Diplomatic efforts to resolve the Kashmir issue through dialogue were unsuccessful. The inability to address underlying grievances led both countries to resort to military solutions, ultimately culminating in war. The conflict highlighted the fragile nature of peace in South Asia and set the stage for enduring tensions between India and Pakistan, shaping their political and military strategies for decades to come.



1965 WAR

Due to the claims of rigging the Elections of 1965 Ayub Khan became ill-reputed. To get his popularity back Ayub wanted to win Kashmir and establish himself as a competent leader of the muslim nation. Therefore, to test the Indian Military he started Operation Desert Hawk in the Rann of Kutch. Equipped with US-made ammunition Pakistan launched an offensive on the 9th of April 1965 and took over an area of 800 square kilometers. The situation escalated to the point that the British Prime Minister had to order both the countries for a cease-fire. However, this victory boosted Ayub Khan's confidence to the extent that he said 'One Muslim soldier is equal to ten Hindu soldiers'. India had lost the Indo-China War thus the establishment in Pakistan viewed them as weak and feeble.

Consequently in August the Pakistani Army launched Operation Gibraltar. Operation Gibraltar was orchestrated by the then Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmed and Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik. The confidentiality of this Operation was such that neither the Pakistan Navy nor the Pakistan Air Force were informed. Thus the Pakistani Army recruited 6000 Mujahideen and trained them in Guerilla Warfare for around 2 months and planted them in Kashmir to cross the Line of Control to incite an uprising. Despite high hopes this plan failed miserably, since the dialects of the Mujahideen were notably different the Indian Army not only spotted them but made them confess their purpose on the All India Radio. As a result the Indian Army entered Azad Kashmir and started attacking the infiltrators. Instead of diffusing the situation Pakistan launched a major offensive named Operation Grand Slam on the 1st of September.

The war started with Operation Grand Slam. According to this Operation Pakistan Military was supposed to take over the Akhnoor Bridge which connected Kashmir and Jammu for the Indian Army. The latter had most of its ammunition stored in Jammu. The Operation saw some initial success when Pakistan triumphed over India's Defence line but through a turn of events Ayub Khan handed over Operation Grand Slam from Major Akhtar Hussain, who mapped this plan, to Yayha Khan.



It took one day for Yayha to get acquainted with the intricacies of this Operation and that one day was enough for the Indian Army to get back. Albeit the Indian Army was weaker in Kashmir compared to Pak Army. Thus, as a masterstroke they attacked Pakistan where their defenses were significantly lesser i.e. Sialkot and Lahore on the 6th of September.

India had anticipated minimal resistance, as a significant portion of Pakistan's Army was stationed in Kashmir, leading to the expectation of a swift capture of Lahore within a day. India failed with this plan primarily because of the exceptional strategic brilliance of Pakistan's Air Force who incessantly attacked Indian Air Bases weakening them. Later, Pakistan also took over the area of KhemKaran near Kasur. Two days later, the US announced suspension of the provision of weapons to both the countries. This did not have much impact on India but it paralyzed Pakistan since Pak army was functioning on US-made ammunition. Neither did India stop the war nor did Pakistan since now it was getting help secretly from China. Inevitably the resources of both the countries were exhausted and severe economic damage had been done thus on the 15th of September Ayub Khan asked for international interference to stop the war.

On 20th September, the United Nations Security Council ordered a ceasefire within 48 hours. Both the countries accepted it and consequently the Tashkent Agreement took place. Russia invited both the countries to Tashkent for table-talks. India accepted the invitation and so did Pakistan but at the expense of its relationship with the US. On 11th January 1966, at Tashkent it was decided that all the occupied regions would be returned to their respective countries before the 26th of February 1966, India and Pakistan will not intervene in each other's internal matters however the matter of Kashmir was never brought up. As a result of the war Pakistan won 540 square kilometers compared to India's 1,920 square kilometers. Pak Army lost 5800 soldiers and India lost 2800 soldiers. All of the economic progress that had been made during Ayub's epoch was lost due to the war. This war, as opposed to his expectation, ruined his reputation.



RESENTMENT IN PAKISTAN AND THE SIX POINTS

East Pakistan, despite being home to over half of Pakistan's population, had limited representation in the central government. In 1962 there were only 119 Bangalees among 954 high ranking officials in the Ministries. In the central government offices there were 42,000 employees, among them only 2,900 were Bengalis. Most political power was concentrated in West Pakistan, which led to inequality. The political elite in West Pakistan often made decisions without consulting or considering the interests of East Pakistan, leading to further alienation.

East Pakistan contributed significantly to Pakistan's economy, particularly through the Jute industry. However despite its economic importance it received a disproportionately small share of national resources and investment. From 1947-1970 East Pakistan received 29.9% of the foreign aid sent to Pakistan. Infrastructure and development projects in East Pakistan lagged behind those in the West due to the lack of importance it was given which eventually resulted in poorer living conditions, inadequate education, and limited healthcare.

Bengalis were in majority, they made up 55% of the population thus the imposition of Urdu as the sole national language ignited widespread protests led by a young Mujib-ur-Rehman in East Pakistan. The Language Movement of 1952 marked a significant cultural assertion, leading to a deep-seated desire for recognition of Bengali identity. The Urdu-Bengali issue remained a sensitive one even though in the 1962 Constitution Ayub Khan made Bengali and Urdu both national languages.

During the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War, most military resources were deployed in the West, which East Pakistanis perceived as a disregard for their security and interests. This was especially alarming given the region's geopolitical vulnerabilities. The central government's focus on the conflict with India led to further neglect of East Pakistan's pressing issues, including economic development and social welfare. Despite the sacrifices made during the war, East Pakistanis saw little improvement in their political or economic situation afterward. The war did not yield the anticipated benefits or recognition, deepening feelings of discontent.

Inevitably many East Pakistanis began to see themselves as distinct from West Pakistanis, advocating for self-determination and autonomy. In 1966, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented the Six-Point Movement which later became the foundation of the Bangladesh Liberation War.



The Six Points were:

1. The Government shall be federal and parliamentary in which elections to the Federal Legislature and to the Legislature of the Federating Units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the Federal Legislature shall be on the basis of population.
2. The Federal Government shall be responsible only for Defence and Foreign Affairs and, subject to conditions provided in (3) below, currency.
3. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each Wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a Federal Reserve System in which there will be regional Federal Reserve Banks which shall devise measures to prevent transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to the other.
4. Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the Federating Units. The Federal Government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources, which would be automatically appropriatable by the Federal Government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such Constitutional provisions would ensure that the Federal Government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the object of ensuring control over the fiscal policy of the Governments of the federating units.
5. The constitution will allow each of the Federating Units to keep separate accounts of their foreign exchange earnings. These accounts will be controlled by the respective Government of the Federating Units. The Governments of the Federating Units will meet the foreign exchange requirements of the Federal Government based on a ratio determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. This is to negotiate foreign trade and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the Federal Government.
6. The Governments of each of the Federating Units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or paramilitary force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

The six points became the manifesto of the Awami League on which they contested the elections of 1970 and won them. The six points were very popular amongst the East Pakistanis since it promised a better tomorrow but for the Politicians and establishment of West Pakistan it was unacceptable.



AYUBS RESIGNATION

Ayub Khan's government was heavily dependent on loans, the improvements that had taken place in Pakistan were because of the foreign aid granted to Pakistan from the US. So when relations with the US became tumultuous after his visit to Russia for the Tashkent Agreement the country's economy went downhill. 22 families controlled around 80% of national wealth. The economic development was qualitative, not quantitative and it couldn't stop the rise in prices so that the general public could take advantage.

In 1968 Ayub Khan planned to celebrate his "decade of development" this incurred the anger of students both in East and West Pakistan who could not see any development when it came to the common man. Thus widespread protests erupted ranging from Karachi to Rawalpindi to Peshawar and to Dhaka. The opposition from students was so strong that an assassination attempt was made on Ayub Khan while he was giving a speech in Peshawar. General Ayub's years preferred treatment of West Pakistan didn't go unnoticed by East Pakistanis, who couldn't ignore the sustained rebukes when General Ayub placed three of the largest legacy projects, i.e., the construction of the new capital and the construction of the two dams Tarbela and Mangla in West Pakistan.

After 1965, Bhutto had resigned as foreign minister and had created his own political party the Pakistan People's Party. He used the failure of the 1965 war to exploit the sentiments of the public against Ayub Khan's capitalistic approach to economy; consequently 25,000 rail workers protested in Lahore against capitalism.

Gradually, his health was also deteriorating. In January of 1968 he suffered a heart attack that intensified the protests which were now involving a population of around 10-15 million people. Ultimately in March of 1969 he resigned making Commander-in-Chief Yahya Khan the President.



YAHYA KHANS

ARRIVAL IN POLITICS

Yahya Khan's military regime began in 1969 and came to an end in 1971. The new Chief martial law administrator imposed martial law, dissolved parliament and abrogated the 1962 constitution. The Pakistan military and Yahya Khan refused to transfer power to Awami League which resulted in mass protests. To deal with these protests, he introduced the operation searchlight. His other military strategies included operation Barisal and Chengiz Khan where Bengali intellectuals, politicians and military personnel were targeted. During his tenure, Pakistan held its first general elections based on adult franchise in 1970. Khan tried to bring policies that would address the country's economic and social issues however his tenure was one with a lot of controversy. He introduced economic reforms which proposed policies to stimulate growth and for the reduction of poverty. It is said that he stepped down due to political unrest and health reasons.



1970 ELECTIONS

The 1970 elections took place in the most turbulent conditions. When Yayha Khan took over he announced the Legal Framework Order(LFO) in March OF 1970. The LFO announced that free and fair elections would take place on the 7th of December 1970 which would elect Pakistan's first civilian government. The most prominent candidates were Mujib-ur-Rehman of the Awami League contesting on the bases of his Six Points and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the Pakistan's People Party. Mujib-ur-Rehman had massive popularity in East Pakistan while Bhutto had his popularity in West Pakistan. Before the country went ahead with the elections Yayha Khan had dismantled the One Unit Scheme and given provincial status to all the provinces of Pakistan.

Right before the elections East Pakistan was hit with the most deadliest natural disaster the world had ever witnessed: the Bhola Cyclone. Due to the inefficiency and slow response of the government in West Pakistan around 500,000 Bengalis lost their lives. This depicted how indifferent the government was towards East Pakistan. Mujib-ur-Rehman used this insensitivity of West Pakistani politicians in his election campaign and the results ultimately were in his favor. Out of the 313 seats the Awami League locked an absolute majority of 167 seats securing a triumphant victory. Mujib-ur-Rehman won all the seats in East Pakistan while Bhutto won the majority in West Pakistan, 86 seats.

Mujib's party was all set to form a rightful civilian government. However, the problem that struck Yayha Khan were the Six Points on which he had contested the elections. Yayha claimed that the six points would weaken the central government making Pakistan prone to external attack and that the Six Points carried an element of separatist state. Yayha called for the first session of the General Assembly on 1st February 1971 but the PPP boycotted this session. This unraveled a series of events that took place in East Pakistan which ultimately led to the Fall of Dhaka on 16th December 1971.



OPERATION SEARCHLIGHT

A military crackdown was launched on East Pakistan on 25th March, 1971, led by General Tikka, who was also called “Butcher of Bengal”. Major General Rao Farman Ali also played an important role in planning and executing the operation. This operation aimed at crushing Bengali nationalist movement and to suppress the Awami League after they had won the 1970 election. Their military strategy included troop deployment of 20,000-30,000 soldiers, and used the Pakistan Air Force and naval blockade against the said rebellions. This operation is said to be one of the consequential features of the future establishment of Bangladesh. This operation led to the massacre at Dhaka University where hundreds of students and faculty members were killed on 25 March, 1971. Dhaka Medical College Hospital was also targeted and many patients and medical staff members were also killed. Some of the most prominent victims were the philosopher and professor, Dr. Govinda Chandra, Professor Abdul Muktedir and journalist Sirajuddin Hossain. Operation Searchlight also gained some international response from India, United States and United Nations. India supported Mukti Bahini and provided military aid to Bengali separatists. Though the US officials criticized Pakistan's action, military aid was still provided to them. Mass displacement took place and 10 million Bengalis fled to India.



MUKTI BAHANI

Mukti Bahani- which literally translates to liberation force was a revolutionary guerrilla force formed in East Pakistan during the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971. This revolutionary force was led by Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman. They had employed hit and run tactics, sabotage and ambushes. Other tactics included blockage of roads, bridges and communication networks. This movement aimed to resist Pakistan's military atrocities and represent the Bengalis- which ultimately led to the formation of Bangladesh. Many battles were fought by the Mukti Bahani which includes the Battle of Dhalai and Sunamganj. Soviet Union- now Russia, also provided arms and ammunition and while some US officials sympathized with Mukti Bahani, many of the military arms were provided to Pakistan's army.



FORMATION OF BANGLADESH

On 26 March 1971, Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman declared Bangladesh's independence and a day after Pakistan's Army began a crackdown on Bengali nationalist. Pakistan then launched air attacks on India and later on Indian forces entered war on Bangladesh's side. On 16 December 1971, Pakistani forces surrendered and Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman became the first president of Bangladesh.



FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT

United States of America: Prior to the War, Pakistan and US relations were the strongest they had ever been. The US utilized Pakistan to counter Russia and often Ayub Khan is regarded as the person who allowed the US to intervene in Asian affairs. The US gave Pakistan striking amounts of Aid for it to develop its industry and military in exchange for Pakistan's loyalty. Most of the weapons that the Pakistan Army had were US-made. In the war of 1965, the only reason Pakistan had an upper hand for some time was because they had more complex and intricate war machinery and tanks. This is why when on the 8th of September the US stopped its trade of weapons to Pakistan the country suffered a lot. The U.S. government, under President Lyndon B. Johnson, was initially reluctant to intervene directly. The administration was concerned about the regional implications of a prolonged conflict and its potential to escalate. The U.S. sought to mediate between the two nations. Johnson communicated with both Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan, urging a ceasefire and the initiation of peace talks. They applied diplomatic pressure on Pakistan, urging it to withdraw its forces from Indian territory and to cease hostilities.

China: During the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War, China refrained from direct military intervention but played a significant role through its support for Pakistan and criticism of India. The conflict arose against the backdrop of deteriorating Sino-Indian relations following India's decisive defeat in the 1962 Sino-Indian War, which resulted in strained bilateral ties and mutual distrust. Consequently, China and Pakistan forged a close strategic partnership, with China viewing Pakistan as a counterbalance to Indian influence in the region and as a key ally in its broader anti-India strategy. Throughout the 1965 war, China extended diplomatic and rhetorical support to Pakistan, portraying it as a victim of Indian aggression. Although China did not engage in direct military involvement during the conflict, it had been providing military assistance to Pakistan since the early 1960s, including the supply of arms and equipment, thereby bolstering Pakistan's military capabilities. Chinese leaders, including Mao Zedong, made statements condemning India's actions and emphasizing their solidarity with Pakistan. This rhetoric served to strengthen the Sino-Pakistan alliance and demonstrate China's opposition to India. The conflict reinforced the strategic alliance between China and Pakistan.



QARMA

1. How can Pakistan revert back to economic stability after the 1965 war?
2. How can Pakistan maintain political stability and return back to its democratic norms?
3. How to resolve the Kashmir dispute with regards to peace agreements?
4. How to bring about impartiality with regards to East Pakistan's role in political scenario of Pakistan?

