



CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

Seminar Report

Report of the Seminar

on the

Constitution of Pakistan

NUST Institute of Policy Studies (NIPS) NUST |Islamabad

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Participants

Speakers

- Mr. Hamid Khan, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan.
- Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan.

Moderator

• Mr. Amir Yaqub, Director, Operations & Collaboration, NIPS.

Discussants

- Mr. Owais Ahmed Ghani, Former Governor, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan
- Lieutenant General Naeem Khalid Lodhi (Retd), Former Caretaker Defence Minister of Pakistan & Former Defence Secretary of Pakistan.
- Lieutenant General Muhammad Masood Aslam (Retd), Former Commander 11 Corps.
- Air Marshal Farhat Hussain Khan HI(M), SBt (Retd) President, Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS).
- Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan, Principal, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, NUST & Director General, NIPS.
- Ambassador Syed Hasan Javed (Retd), Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Germany.
- Dr. Muhammad Asif Khan, Head of Department Law, School of Social Sciences and Humanities NUST.

- Dr. Muhammad Adil Iqbal, Assistant Professor, NUST Business School.
- Dr. Farah Naz, Assistant Professor, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, NUST.
- Mr. Syed Tauseef ul Husnain, Advocate.
- Mr. Sufiyan Bin Muneer, Research Associate, Ahmer Bilal Soofi & Company.
- Members of the legal community.
- NIPS Officers.
- NUST Students.



Contents

Participants	3
About the Speakers	7
Introduction	10
Evolutionary Process of the Constitution of Pakistan	12
The Constitution of Pakistan and International Law	18
Discussion Session	26
Conclusion	34

About the Speakers

Mr. Hamid Khan

Mr. Hamid Khan is a Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan. He studied law at the University of Punjab and Illinois and has been practicing for over fifty years. He served as the Vice Chairman of Pakistan Bar Council (1996-97), Vice- Chairman of Punjab Bar Council

(1986-87), President, Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan (2001-3) and President, Lahore High Court Bar Association (1992-93). He is also one of the founding partners of Cornelius, Lane and Mufti, a leading law firm of Pakistan. He has authored several books and lectured on various legal subjects at the University of the Punjab, the Civil Services Academy, the National Institute of Public Administration, and the Pakistan Administrative Staff College.

Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi

Mr. Soofi is an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and is the Managing Partner of a Law firm. During the caretaker setup in 2013, he served as the Federal Minister for Law, Justice, and Parliamentary Affairs. He also served as the Chairman, UN



Advisory Council Human Rights, Geneva. He is the founding President of Research Society of International Law. He has been elected as member ICC International Court of Arbitration (2021-24).



He is also the member of the Board of International Development Law Organization (IDLO), Rome. Mr. Soofi has appeared before international courts including the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), the U.S. District Court, the U.K. Commercial Court, and the War Crimes Tribunal. As Pakistan's Counsel, he won the RMI case before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2016. Mr. Soofi is an Advisor to Centre of International of Excellence for International Law, National Defense University (NDU), Islamabad. He remained a visiting Professor of International Law at the Punjab University for over 10 years. He graduated from Government College Lahore and later did his LLB from Punjab University Law College and his LLM from the University of Cambridge, UK.



1. Introduction



The NUST Institute of Policy Studies (NIPS) organized the seminar on the "Constitution of Pakistan" on Tuesday, February 28, 2023. The seminar was moderated by Mr. Amir Yaqub, Director, NIPS and was attended by veteran statesmen, experts from academia, legal experts, researchers, and students. The seminar was held as part of NIPS Seminar Series – 2023.

Mr. Hamid Khan, renowned constitutional expert and Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of Pakistan, delivered the keynote address on the "Evolutionary Process of the Constitution of Pakistan." During his address, Mr. Khan provided valuable insights into constitutional history of Pakistan. He emphasized the importance of taking lessons from history and stressed that the constitution and politics cannot be studied independently, as they are inseparable from political development.

Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi, well-known legal scholar and Senior Advocate at the Supreme Court of Pakistan, delivered the keynote address on the "Constitution of Pakistan and International Law." During his talk, he focused on salient aspects of the constitution, international law, and the need to balance diverse interests and priorities in the constitution to make it representative of the collective aspirations of the people.

Mr. Soofi discussed that any constitution which deals with social diversity must guarantee fundamental rights. Moreover, he stressed the significance of international law and noted that Quaid-e-Azam himself was a jurisconsult par excellence with mastery of international law. Mr. Soofi highlighted the link between Islam and international law, noting that Islam, a religion of covenant, had played a key historical role in influencing the legal development of the world and that constitutional principles must be considered as covenants to be honored and implemented in letter and spirit.

The seminar was followed by a stimulating interactive discussion with the attendees that included a large number of students from NUST's Department of Law.

The report that follows faithfully reflects the essence, themes, viewpoints, and insights of the proceedings, but it is not based on their word-for-word rendition.

2. Keynote Address

Evolutionary Process of the Constitution of Pakistan Mr. Hamid Khan



The process of constitutional evolution does not take place in isolation from the evolution of the political process. It is true for Pakistan as it will be true for any other country regardless of time and place. The Constitution of Pakistan is, therefore, a highly complex document, as it is both a legal and a political text at the same time. Read in isolation from both the historical and the contemporary contexts, it is liable to be misunderstood and misconstrued. What then may be the reason for the universal perception that the constitution is sacrosanct, but politics is profane? The high general regard in which the constitution is held, together with the textual stability, definitiveness, and solemnity which it achieves in the course of its existence, while the politicalconstitutional process out of which the text itself was born moves on and continues to evolve ceaselessly with all its elemental force and intensity in and through time somehow creates the impression that the document is timeless in contrast to the process that birthed it. It only stands to reason to hold the political process in high esteem as well, which gives birth to the constitution in the first place.

The evolution of the constitutional process in Pakistan has been shaped by a variety of factors, including geographical, social, economic, political, ideological, demographic, and, even, geostrategic aspects. It is noteworthy that the conditions of different nations in these respects tend to be unique. Hasty generalizations as well as careless comparisons with the conditions of other nations carry the risk of misreading our national situation as well as the national conditions of other countries. This caveat is important to keep in mind when we reflect on the fact that the first twenty-five years of Pakistan's constitutional and political development were distinct from the next fifty years. The tragic and sanguinary secession of East Pakistan sharply divides these two phases of our constitutional-political evolution.

The Presidential Address of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on August 11, 1947, to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan provided the foundational guidance and principles for the framing of the constitution. The speech also proffered a powerful vision for the establishment of a democratic, just, fair, law-abiding, peaceful, and prosperous polity. The speech encapsulated the fundamentals of dynamic and functional statehood. In that respect, its standing relevance should hopefully continue to enlighten generations of national leadership and policymakers.

Quaid-e-Azam put great emphasis on cooperation as an indispensable asset for nation-building. Aware of the potential for polarization among the people because of the long history of colonization, Quaid-e-Azam exhorted Pakistanis to set aside their differences and work together to succeed and thrive as a nation. Same freedoms and equal rights, benefits, and obligations were stressed by the Founding Father to cement the bonds of association, solidarity, and compassion among the citizens of Pakistan and reduce the tensions that surface naturally when individuals or nations are faced with meagre resources and formative challenges.

Key issues like differential populations of the eastern and western wings of the country, linguistic differences, and the question of proportionate or equal representation confronted the process of the drafting of the first constitution of Pakistan. Quick succession of different governments also affected the smooth progression of constitutional deliberations and drafting. After a particularly prolonged progress that was characterized by political shifts as well as constitutional roadblocks and compromises, the nation received its first Constitution on March 23, 1956.

The 1956 Constitution marked an important milestone in Pakistan's constitutional history. The Objectives Resolution (1949) formed a key part of the 1956 Constitution. This constitution provided for the federal system. Parity principle was maintained between the two wings of the country under the 1956 Constitution. It was based on the parliamentary form of government with executive powers

vested in the office of the Prime Minister. Guided by Quaid-e-Azam's vision, the constitution aimed to create a balance between various organs of the state and establish an Islamic nation-state, underwritten by democratic principles and fundamental principles.

1956 Constitution was later supplanted by the 1962 Constitution; Maintaining the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan, the latter, however, envisioned a federal state with the presidential form of government. 1962 Constitution introduced indirect election for the office of the President as well as the legislative assemblies, owing to the so-called inchoate political maturity of the masses.

The separation of East Pakistan from Pakistan traumatically inaugurated the second phase of constitutional-political evolution of the country. Some of the critical factors that led to this tragedy were linguistic, economic, political, demographic, cultural, and distributive in nature.

A general feeling of neglect, marginalization, and discrimination among the people of East Pakistan further exacerbated the political deadlock in the wake of the 1970 general elections, at the same time that the deadlock further aggravated the aggrieved feelings of East Pakistanis. The above-mentioned factors ultimately created a situation in which the policymakers and statesmen from both wings of the country could not work cohesively as one any longer.

The Constitution of 1973 was the result of a major multipartisan political consensus after the secession of East Pakistan. The fact that the country continues to be ruled by the 1973 Constitution, despite a series of serious political and constitutional crises since then, attests to the dynamism and maturity of the political process and forces of the country.

The constitutional evolution in Pakistan, as stated in the beginning, has accompanied the political evolution. The process has been inevitably complex because it has involved negotiation, and compromises of diverse interests and forces.

The process has been dynamic and challenging owing to the diversity of factors and stakeholders.



Like a host of processes in other domains, the constitutional process has been iterative in nature, consisting of both radical and incremental changes, depending upon the nature of the challenge that drove the changes in question.

The process has been checkered without doubt, consisting of both successes and failures, but the constitutional architecture provided

by the constitution has been relatively robust, having succeeded in keeping together the body politic.

This concentrated constitutional-political experience is an invaluable lesson for the future development of Pakistan and should be pondered by both the citizens and the policymakers.



3. Keynote Address

Constitution of Pakistan and International Law Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi



The process of the framing of the constitution is a representative and multi-stage enterprise. Popular consent confers legitimacy on the constitution because the former is the token of the will, commitment, and trust of the peoples of the country in the constitutional process and document.

The constitution of a state contains provisions related to the territorial boundaries of a state. Under international law, a state is generally recognized as a sovereign entity with a defined territory, a permanent population, a government, and the capacity to establish relations with other states. A state's territory is typically

defined by geographical features such as borders, coastlines, and natural resources, and is established through various means, such as historical precedent, treaty agreements, or international law. The constitution plays an important role in identifying the state and its territorial boundaries by setting out the structure of the government, the distribution of power, and the rights and duties of citizens.

The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) provides for a democratic system of government, with elected representatives and separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It provides fundamental freedoms to the people of Pakistan vouchsafed by the eternal principles of Islam of equality and freedom of human beings and keeps the room open for consultation in accordance with the Quranic jurisdiction to deal with the diverse and changing challenges of a complex modern polity and society.

The concept of consultation or mutual deliberation (shura) is an important Islamic principle and is mentioned several times in the Noble Quran. It refers to the practice of seeking the opinions and advice of others before making important decisions. This could include both public opinion and expert opinion. Seen as a way of promoting unity and consensus among members of the community, consultation helps good governance and mature decision-making. The concept of consultation is not just limited to the realm of politics or governance but is also applicable in personal, social, and economic matters.

Regional and cultural diversity of Pakistan demands that full participation and representation of all its diverse communities in the constitutional process should be ensured. One of the major challenges in this regard has been the tension between the desire to create a cohesive and organic national identity and proper recognition of the country's regional, linguistic, and ethnic diversity. Therefore, the questions of the accommodation of the varying demands of a diverse society and the determination of the nature and the structure of the state have challenged the framers of the constitution in every phase of the constitutional process. As a result, the constitutional process that culminated in the 1973 Constitution was marked by extensive rounds of deliberations and consultations with a wide range of stakeholders from across the country.

This is a standing tribute to the essential maturity and dynamism of the political forces of Pakistan as vital element of our comprehensive national power. Negotiatory prowess, the flair to think from another's viewpoint without compromising the integrity of one's own beliefs, and the power to reconcile conflicting positions in the larger interest equips statesmen and political stakeholders with the ability to build bridges and resolve problems.

As a result, representative, participatory, and consultative political systems and structures tend to evolve faster in response to social, economic, and cultural pressures and changes. These systems and structures are great at absorbing the impact of emerging technologies and new social movements. They are good at revising their decisions and priorities to reflect new social and political constituencies so that the political process remains participatory and representative with the passage of time. Regular contact with the public makes politicians realistic and aware of common as well as

conflicting demands, needs, new problems, and emerging challenges.

In any political system, balance and stability are crucial for effective governance. Our Constitution (1973) reflects this priority in terms of the distribution of the seats in the Senate and National Assembly among provinces as well as various governing bodies to address specific problems.

International Law and State Constitutions

From the perspective of international law, a state is not identified by a single person or a group of people, but rather by a complex set of legal and political institutions that represent and govern the state. A state is defined as a sovereign entity that exercises exclusive control over a defined territory, with a government that is recognized by other states, and that is capable of making and enforcing laws within its borders.

States are bound to adhere to international law. As members of the international community, states are subject to a body of rules and principles that govern their conduct in relation to other states and international norms. These rules and principles are set out in international treaties, customary international law, and other sources of international law.

International law imposes obligations on states to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states, to refrain from the use of force except in self-defence or with the authorization of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to comply with international humanitarian law in times of armed conflict. This is why India, despite being the aggressor, did not take over East Pakistan in 1971 due to the restriction imposed by international law. Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations states: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."¹

When a state becomes a party to any international treaty or agreement, it assumes legal obligations to comply with the provisions of that treaty or agreement. Along with the domestic set of laws, states are bound to implement international treaties ratified by them. Pakistan, in this context, is also bound to implement treaties to which it is a party throughout its territories. The implementation of the constitution requires implementation of all the laws of the constitution along with the treaties ratified by the state.

There are more than 200,000 international treaties and Pakistan has ratified numerous international treaties and agreements, covering a wide range of issues such as human rights, trade, environmental protection, and international security. For the implementation of a treaty, a state is required to amend her constitution to bring it in accordance with the international treaty as well as to better meet its foreign policy objectives.

Islam, International Law, and Pakistan

International law is an international discipline. Pakistan operates under both international law and religious law. Islam is a religion of

¹ <u>https://legal.un.org/repertory/art2.shtml</u> (accessed March 12, 2023).

covenant that commands the fulfilment of agreements whether in personal life, within the state, or at the international level in the form of treaties and agreements. Legislative instruments are also covenants in this framework that must be honored.

Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) can be viewed as the supreme international law practitioner who set the laws for the sales of goods or trade, principal-agent law, contract law, transit law/agreements, treaties with other tribes, communities, or nations, the law of war, the law of diplomatic immunity, the law on the legitimate use of force (Jihad), and others. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was also an international law practitioner.

It needs to be mentioned that Pakistan's current borders were established through a series of agreements and negotiations, i.e., accession instruments and arbitration awards like the Radcliffe Award leading up to the country's independence in 1947.

The Sources of International Law

The framework of public and private international law is the source of the development of international law.

Public International Law

Public international law is a set of legal rules and principles that govern the relations between states, international organizations, and other subjects of international law. It covers a wide range of issues, such as the use of force, human rights, international trade, environmental protection, and the settlement of disputes. The Law of Nations is one of the oldest branches of international law and has developed over centuries through the practice and customs of states. Its primary purpose is to promote stability, order, and cooperation in the international system.²

Private International Law

Private International Law, also known as "Conflict of Laws" or "Choice of Laws," is a branch of law that deals with legal disputes that involve foreign elements. These foreign elements may include parties from different countries, transactions or events that occur in multiple countries, or foreign laws that are applicable to the dispute.

The main objective of Private International Law is to determine which legal system should apply to the dispute and to resolve conflicts between different legal systems. This can include determining which court has jurisdiction to hear the case, which law should govern the dispute, and how foreign judgments should be recognized and enforced.

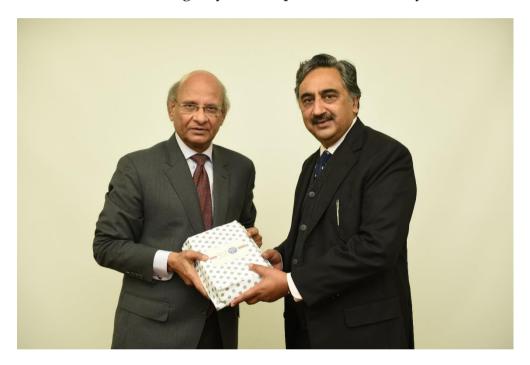
Private International Law covers a wide range of legal issues, including contract disputes, torts, property rights, family law matters, and commercial transactions. It is particularly important in the globalized world of today, where cross-border transactions are increasingly common and legal disputes often involve parties from different countries.³

It has also become critical for states to balance their international counterterrorism and human rights obligations. This presents a

² Louis Myers, "Public International Law: A Beginner's Guide", Library of Congress, March 31, 2021. <u>https://guides.loc.gov/public-international-law</u> (accessed March 12, 2023).

³ "Private International Law", US Department of State, <u>https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/1/c3452.htm</u> (accessed March 12, 2023).

sizeable legal and constitutional challenge. Also, the concept of lawfare has become very important to understand how national interests and foreign policy objectives of states are being increasingly met by means of the weaponization of law. Overall, while lawfare can be a legitimate means of advancing political or social goals, it can also be a controversial tactic that raises concerns about the role of the legal system in politics and society.



4. Discussion Session



The keynotes were followed by an extensive discussion session consisting of insightful comments and questions.

One of the participants remarked that one key lesson from the political and constitutional evolution of Pakistan was the great need for cooperation and harmony between different spheres and the need to forge mature and principled collaborations between them. The participant remarked that, while the leadership focus of political and constitutional history was well-developed, there was also a greater need to include the viewpoints, preferences, aspirations, and struggles of the common citizens and masses in the history of the constitutional and political processes before and after the creation of Pakistan, which would make the history of these processes democratic itself.

One of the speakers responded to this comment by saying that British India was divided into Pakistan (East and West) and India. Developments in India and East Pakistan followed the mass line. India carried out land reforms as well as terminated the titles and rights of Princely States shortly after her independence. The speaker shared that the East Pakistan Estate Acquisition Act 1950 broke the hold of big landholding families, mainly Hindu, in the former eastern wing of Pakistan in favor of the small farmers, mainly Muslim, but the situation was, however, different in West Pakistan, where landed elites, a sociopolitical force to be reckoned with, resisted land reforms. The speaker identified different groups of landed elites, namely, the tribal chiefs of Balochistan, lower Punjab, and Sindh, and the feudal pirs and big landholding families of Punjab and Sindh that played a key role in resisting popular pressures. This legacy of interest preservation and protection in one form or the other continues to this day, which has distorted the evolution of democratic participation.

Responding to a question on the preferability of the parliamentary or the presidential form of government, one of the speakers clarified that the change of constitutional dispensation presupposed the acceptance of the existing or the prevailing form of government till the people are in a position constitutionally and legislatively to change the existing dispensation.

The speaker shared that the periodic demand for the presidential form of government is not new. In fact, governments under Presidents Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq, and Pervez Musharaff were presidential. The speaker opined that any system would work as long as it is democratically elected and democratically run in accordance with the will of the people. The speaker highlighted that the Constitution (1973) is clear in its provisions in this regard.

Responding to a question about the changing constituencies of power and varying regional concentration of influence over the course of the country's political history, one of the speakers highlighted that the process is natural and historical, underpinned by the varying distribution of power between different sectors of the state at any one time as well as shaped by the changes over time in the levels of power across these sectors. The speaker added that the regional concentration of power and influence was a phenomenon associated with the changes in the distribution of power among different sectors of the state.



Responding to a question on the Objective Resolutions (1949), one of the speakers stated that it was a worthy achievement and that the objectives are both lofty and pragmatic at the same time, since they guarantee the fundamental rights of the people. The speaker considered that most of the problems in Pakistan would be overcome quickly if the state, government, and people were to adhere to the provisions of the Resolution sedulously and steadfastly.

On a question bearing on the state's international obligations, one of the speakers stated that whenever a country ratifies an international treaty, the first step is to evaluate if there are any domestic policies or laws that are not in agreement with the said treaty. The speaker shared that in most cases, there is a need to change local laws rather than the constitution of the country. The speaker further explained that when any given treaty reaches the cabinet, the cabinet consults relevant ministries to give their feedback and if the ministries feel that the country should be part of the treaty or refuse to do do, the cabinet decides accordingly.

On the question of comparative constitutionalism, one of the speakers stated that many common principles can be found to be operative across the constitutions of many countries. The speaker added that Pakistan's Constitution is no exception in this respect and common features like the rule of law, fundamental rights, etc., will be found in other constitutions like the American, British, or even the Indian constitution. The speaker remarked that the concepts of the due process of law and equality before law have been derived from Islamic jurisprudence and have gone on to historically influence the traditions of jurisprudence in the West and the East alike. The speaker opined that it is, therefore, not surprising if Pakistani jurisprudence shares similarities with, say, Law of the United States or the British common law.

Responding to a question on the issue of raising reservations on international treaties, one of the speakers stated that the element of reservation is only for ancillary issues not for core issues. The speaker stated that it is wise not to join a treaty if it contradicts any of the core positions of a country, but if policymakers decide to join a treaty, they should do so wholeheartedly instead of raising continuous reservations.



On the question of educating the masses on the constitution, one of the speakers stated that the first step is to educate the masses in general, to enable them to read and write, as the question of constitutional awareness follows basic literacy and education. This speaker remarked that the crisis of education is one of the major failures of the state. The speaker highlighted the fact that Pakistan has the second-highest number of out-of-school children between 5 and 16 years of age. The speaker regretted the fact that the delivery of state on the provision of education had remained miserable, subpar, and asymmetrical.

Responding to the question on dynastic politics, one of the speakers stated that dynastic politics has been a huge stumbling block toward the achievement of a mature democratic political culture. The speaker observed that generational turnover has not been accompanied by the change in the style of politics, which has been largely influenced and controlled by political dynasties. The speaker considered that proportional representation might have helped rid the country of dynastic politics. The speaker added that the marriage between feudalism and electoral politics has also kept the dynastic style of politics alive. The speaker highlighted that the subcontinent has been shaped by dynastic politics throughout its modern history. The speaker expressed the hope that time and awareness may help transform this anachronistic pattern.

Responding to the question about the need for a new constitutional setup, one of the speakers said that the current constitution is adequate, unless a new and different consensus comes into being politically and democratically. The speaker further added that law and order is essential for political progress. Talking about dynastic politics, the speaker remarked that this style of politics has been utilized as a special political or population management technique, but the current extraordinary youth bulge may usher in better, newer, and more participatory modes of politics.

The speaker stated that in future only a dispensation that aligns with the popular aspirations and demands would enjoy longevity. Referring to constitutional awareness, the speaker considered that diverse modes of outreach like seminars, teach-ins, lecture series, digital literacy, townhall meeting, and other mass-based forums will enable the development of awareness on the issue among people. The speaker further shared that the country's constitution potentially carries solutions to all the popular and political grievances, provided strict adherence to this fundamental document is observed.



The speaker highlighted that constitutional amendments properly made increase the dynamism of the federation and the political process, as evinced by the 18th amendment. The speaker also considered that the Ministry of Inter-Provincial Coordination (IPC) is fundamental to the constitutional process. For this reason, its capacity needs to be enhanced. The speaker further opined that disputes and conflicts demonstrate the health of the polity, but all major stakeholders have the supreme responsibility to ensure that these disputes and conflicts should remain functional conflicts and should not become dysfunctional conflicts.

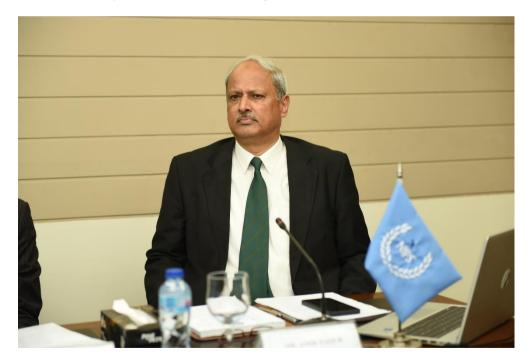
One of the seasoned attendees commented that the national capacity of cooperation is currently at an all-time low right. The senior participant cautioned that moments of low cooperativeness are moments of grave danger and serious risk.

Responding to the question about the continuing tendency of sociopolitical instability, one of the speakers said that all stakeholders need to display seriousness, patience, maturity, and a regard for the popular will to overcome political challenges. In so far as social stability was concerned, the speaker considered that it required consistent economic growth together with fair and equal opportunity for social mobility.

Responding to the question played by radical elements in the political culture, one of the speakers said that extremism should not be entertained in any form. The speaker said that extremism and radicalism by their very nature are unstable and therefore cannot play any positive role in social or political stability now or in future.

5. Conclusion

There was a consensus among the audience that the constitutional and political evolution were linked, since the constitution provides the legal framework that establishes the basic principles of governance and politics. It was also agreed that the timeless Islamic principles of fairness, justice, and the dignity of human life coupled with the vision of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah for Pakistan's prosperity, growth, stability, and peace should continue to be the permanent beacon of guidance for leaders and people alike. The audience also considered past successes and reverses as an extremely important source of learning and guidance for tackling contemporary and future challenges.



It was considered unanimously that Pakistan's political culture was diverse and dynamic and had the strong potential to deliver viable, popular, and durable solutions to the national crises and challenges. The audience believed that a sense of shared identity, unity of purpose, an indomitable capacity for cooperation, and unerring adherence to the constitution were vital resources for national development, regardless of time and situation. The audience considered that this cooperation needed to be inclusive, multidimensional, multisectoral, and pluralist.

> "I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world."

Address of the Founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on August 11, 1947 to the First Constituent Assembly



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