

HISTORY IN SHORT

MUGHAL DECLINE:

The Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent in the time of **Aurangzeb Alamgir**, but it collapsed within a few decades after his death. The Mughal Empire owes its decline and ultimate downfall to a combination of factors;

Firstly Aurangzeb's policies are regarded as a cause for the decline of the Mughal Empire as it led to disunity among the INDIAN people. Aurangzeb was largely responsible for the downfall of the empire. His predecessors did a lot to win over the loyalties of their subjects, particularly the Rajputs and the other Hindus. But Aurangzeb was a fanatic and could not tolerate the non-Muslims. He imposed **Jazia** and forbade the celebration of Hindu festivals. He thus lost the friendship and loyalty of the Rajputs. His execution of the **Sikh guru** and his hatred with the Marathas forced them to raise arms against him. Being a fanatic **Sunni Muslim**, he could not tolerate even the **Shias**. They too turned against him. He laid too much stress on simplicity and was against singing, dancing and drinking which were common habits of the Muslim nobles. They did not like a king who was so much against their ways. His excessive obsession with the **Deccan** also destroyed the Mughal army, the treasury and also adversely affected his health. So after Aurangzeb's death the mighty empire disintegrated into smaller states.

Another reason was unworthy **and incompetent successors** of Aurangzeb. The character of Mughal kings had deteriorated over a period of time. The successive rulers after Aurangzeb were weak and lacked the character, motivation and commitment to rule the empire strongly. They had become ease loving and cowardly. They totally disregarded their state duties and were unable to detain the declining empire from its fall. These later Mughal rulers were proven neither **good generals nor good statesmen** who could control or administer the large empire which covered nearly the whole of the subcontinent during Aurangzeb's rule. The later rulers were renowned for **living an extravagant lifestyle** with little thought to the effect it had on the economy of the empire. They also lacked courage, determination and training. Money was spent lavishly on fine buildings, jewellery, fine clothes and food. No infrastructure was created for the improvement of administration, industry or agriculture.

The **absence of any definite law of succession** was another important factor. The war of successions not only led to bitterness, bloodshed, and loss of money and prestige of the empire over a period of time, but to its eventual fall. After the death of a ruler, the princess fought for the throne. This eroded the strength and led to the instability of the Mughal Empire. Jahangir, as prince Salim, revolted against his father Akbar. Shah Jahan revolted against Jahangir. Aurangzeb revolted against Shah Jahn. **Aurangzeb** also fought against his brothers **Dara Shiko and Shuja**, and later got **Kamran** killed. Infighting continued even after Aurangzeb like **Moazzam** who succeeded the throne under the name of **Bahadur Shah** after Aurangzeb, defeated his brothers **Azam and Kam Baksh** and killed them. Bahadur Shah ruled for 5 years and died in 1712. His sons also fought for the throne. The infighting for the throne greatly weakened the Mughal Empire.

Local and foreign Invasions on Delhi also made the Mughals weak. Marathas were the major opponents of Mughals. They were from central and south India. Aurangzeb fought with them but could not control them. Until 1750, they had become a major threat for the Mughals. However, Marathas were defeated in 1761 in the battle of Panipat and powerless Mughals got some more time to rule India, In Punjab, **Sikhs** were also a major threat for the Mughals.

Besides that, two more invasions took place from Afghanistan and Persia. In 1738, Persian General **Nadir shah** invaded Delhi and looted their wealth. Between 1747 and 1769, Afghan General **Ahmed Shah** invaded India ten times. All these invasions and revolts made the Mughals virtually bankrupt and they lost their power completely. Mughal Kingdom was reduced to an area 300 miles long and 100 miles wide near Delhi within 100 years after the death of Aurangzeb.

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The **rise of British** power was the main reason of the decline of the Mughals. The British took full advantage of the weakness of the Mughals and gradually increased their power. The British expanded the territory under their control with the help of their superior administration and organization. A series of battles and annexations, through steps like '**Subsidiary Alliance**' and '**Doctrine of Lapse**' and effective administration the British gradually assumed control over a vast territory in the subcontinent. They also had clear military advantage because of **Industrial development** in England (1750-1850). The British had better weapons, superior war techniques and a well-trained and disciplined army. The British also possessed a strong **naval** force. The result was that by 1803 the British took over Delhi and placed Shah Alam under British protection with a pension.

ARRIVAL OF EIC:

There was enormous wealth in the subcontinent. **Trade** and profit were the real motives that East India Company (EIC) was looking at. Indian goods including **spices, silk, yarn, cloth, cotton** and goods of metalworkers were very demanding in the European markets. British factories needed raw materials while British merchants needed big markets like India to **sell** their industrial products. Cotton was the main **raw** material for the **textile industries** in Britain. EIC made huge profits and the company flourished very rapidly. By 1620, the company operated about 40 ships for trade with India. The company was having a very profitable future in trade with India. Indian soldiers at very cheap wages were available to protect their trade and profits. Therefore it was trade and **high profit** that allowed the EIC to keep on coming India which was later also known as the Golden Sparrow on account of its natural resources and wealth. It was found that 10 % of the income of British government was obtained from taxes on trade with India.

India had strategic position on the globe. It would give regional supremacy to the British and Royal Navy. They would control the **sea routes** and hence trade with the East. The company also wanted to **westernize** the Indians. The British believed that western culture is superior and must be spread in the world. They thought themselves the most civilized nation of the world.

S.M Burk (famous historian) believed that one of the most important reasons for British arrival was the spreading of **Christianity**. Churches and Chapels were established all over India and Christian missionaries also began with their arrival.

The **Portuguese** and the **Dutch** were already in the field. But they turned their attention to East **Indies** and didn't allow EIC to come over there. That also provoked company to come here in India. The French also came but they were eliminated after their defeat by the British in 3 battles. Another reason which provoked Britain to come towards India was the **Russian expansion** in Central Asia. It worried the British so much that they also had to make moves to secure Afghanistan. Although the British first major adventure in Afghanistan failed miserably, but later on the British assumed full and proper control of whole of India.

BRITISH EXPANSION AND UNSUCCESSFUL INDIAN RESISENCE 1750-1850:

The British were almost completely successful in taking control of lands in the S.C between 1750 and 1856. The British had come to India for trade and to increase and ensure their trade they found it necessary to have political control of lands in the sub-continent. The first opportunity came in 1757 when battle of Plassey took place. In this battle the forces of the East India Company under **Robert Clive** met the army of **Siraj-ud-Doula**, the Nawabs of Bengal. Clive had 800 Europeans and 2200 Indians whereas Siraj-ud-doula in his camp at Plassey was said to have about 50,000 men with a train of heavy artillery. Unfortunately **Mir Jafar**, met with Clive, and the greater number of the Nawabs soldiers were bribed to throw away their weapons, surrender prematurely, and even turn their arms against their own army. Siraj-ud-Doula was defeated. Battle of Plassey marked the first major military success for British East India Company.

It was followed by battle of **Buxar**. **Mir Kasim** the Nawab of Bengal took help from **Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah** and the Emperor **Shah Alam II**. But the English under the **General Major Hector Munro** at Buxar defeated the combined army on 22 October, 1764. Mir Kasim fled and died in 1777. After winning the Battle of Buxar, the British had earned the right to collect land revenue in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This development set the foundations of British political rule

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in India. After the victory of the English in Buxar, **Robert Clive** was appointed the governor and commander in chief of the English army in Bengal in 1765. He is claimed as the founder of the British political dominion in India. Robert Clive also brought reforms in the administration of the company and the organization of the army.

The British wanted full control of south India to ensure their spice trade. **Lord Wellesley** became the Governor General of India in 1798. **Tipu Sultan** tried to secure an alliance with the French against the English in India. Wellesley questioned Tipu's relationship with the French and attacked Mysore in 1799. The fourth Anglo-Mysore War was of short duration and decisive and ended with Tipu's death on May 4, 1799 who was killed fighting to save his capital.

Besides that Marathas were also defeated and Maratha power destroyed by British in several wars during 1817- 1818. **Holkar's** forces were moved to Mahidpur December 21, 1817 and **Baji Rao II**, who was trying to consolidate Marathas, finally surrendered in June 1818. British under Hasting abolished the position of Peshwa and Marathas were limited to the small kingdom of Satara. This ended the mighty Maratha power.

British wanted to make sure that Afghanistan didn't fall into Russian hands. British agreed with Ranjit Singh (ruler of Punjab) that Afghanistan should remain independent. A rebellion broke out in Afghanistan in 1841 in which British troops were killed. British felt that their pride had been hurt in Afghanistan and decided to turn in Sindh. Sindh was ruled by collection of **Amirs** who had signed a treaty with British in 1809. British General **Sir Charles Napier** provoked the Amirs of Sindh so much that they attacked British residency in 1843. Amirs were defeated and Sindh was annexed by British.

Punjab was the next target. Ranjit Singh had signed a perpetual friendship in 1809 but after his death in 1839, the rival chiefs argued themselves over who should be a king. This provided an opportunity to British and they provoked Sikhs. Eventually shah singh attacked British possessions south of River Sutlej and the War began. British remained victorious, **Gulab Singh** Dogra, a chief who helped the British were given Kashmir as a reward. In 1849, after a revolt against British, Punjab, NWFP were annexed and became part of British Empire on 30 March 1849. Hyderabad, Deccan, Oudh and the local Nawabs had been forced to sign treaties with EIC; this gave their external affairs to Britain.

COMPARISONS OF RELIGIOUS THINKERS

Islam was widely spread in subcontinent by Shah Wali Ullah Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi and Haji Shariat Ullah. Shah Wali Ullah was a religious scholar. He taught Islamic teachings in the Madrassa Rahimya. This produced a number of scholars in the sub-continent and therefore increased spread of Islam. Shah Wali Ullah also translated the Quran in Persian. Arabic was not very much understood in the sub-continent so translating Quran revived Quranic teachings in the subcontinent because Muslims and also other people could understand Quranic teachings. Shah Wali Ullah also wrote to all Muslim leaders in the subcontinent to unite and defeat the Marathas it was partly due to his persuade that Ahmed Durrani came to subcontinent and defeated the Marathas. Thus by writing letters he decreased the non-Muslim influence of Marathas and united Muslim leaders which revived Islam in subcontinent. Shah Wali Ullah wrote several books about 51. These books were extremely popular. These not only converted many people to Islam and increase understanding of religion for Muslims of Islam but also united the different Muslim sectarian such as the Shias and Sunnis. Although SWU was the great scholar and revivalist but he was not completely successful in bringing Muslim power back to subcontinent and Muslims were still being oppressed by Marathas who prevented them from obeying there religions law.

Besides SWU, Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi also played an important part in reviving Islam. He started the Jihad Movement. The Jihad Movement was a Movement started by Muslims to defeat the non-Muslim oppressors. The Movement united all the different Muslim against one common enemy (Sikhs). This showed the power of the Muslims and united the Muslim community which spread Islam. He was the man of action rather than scholar. He defeated Sikhs in many battles but in his last battle because of the treachery of local tribal lords he met with death in his last battle of balakot in 1831.

Haji Shariat Ullah was another great scholar and decided to start the Faraizi Movement. It indicated that Muslims should return to their religious teaching and perform their religious obligations. This particularly became popular in

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Bengal and Muslims were revived back to their religious teachings. His movement also united the Muslims of Bengal. However Faraizi movement also failed. Haji Shariat Ullah could only bring rejuvenation in Bengal and so could not reach the entire subcontinent.

Analysis:

Although every religious thinker was quite successful in spreading the message amongst the people, Shah Wali Ullah through writings, Syed Ahmed Shaheed Barelvi through his Jihad Movement and Haji Shariat Ullah through his Faraizi movement, yet in my opinion Shah Wali Ullah was most successful as his work was ever lasting and sowed a seed for the later "Pakistan Movement".

REASONS FOR WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1857:

Military Reasons: The East India Company was formed with the help of Indian soldiers. Instead of giving them due credit, the Indian soldiers were made victims of suppression. Disregarding the fact that the Indian soldiers were efficient, the British officials **paid** them poor. Indian soldiers who had formerly held high offices in the times of the native princes found themselves in low ranks. **All the higher ranks were reserved for white men** irrespective of their capacity to perform. The futures of the soldier were doomed and bleak. There was **no hope of receiving any allowance** also. The sepoys were unhappy as they were for the most of the times **sent overseas to fight**, which was not desirable at all. There was **no retirement age**. The bitter feeling and anger reached its highest point with the **emergence of the Enfield Rifles. The cartridges of these rifles were greased with cow and pig fats. The sepoys had to remove the cartridge with their teeth before loading them into the rifles. Both the Hindus and Muslims were discontented.** Hindus consider cow sacred and Muslims considered pigs as impure. Thus, both refused to use this cartridge and they were disharmony everywhere

Social and religious cause:

Indians had a suspicion that they would be **converted to Christianity** under the new regime. The fear was largely due to the activities of some of the Christian missionaries. The English also established **Chapels and Churches** for propagating Christianity at the expense of the government. Even **civil and military officers were asked to propagate the gospel**. The religious sentiments of the people were further hurt when a **tax was imposed on the construction of temples and mosques**.

An ACT was also passed known as the "**General Services Enlistment Act**", which imposed on the Indian sepoys the obligation to serve wherever required. This **forced Hindus for overseas travelling which was against their religious customs**.

The introduction of western innovations had unsettled the minds of the ignorant people. **The spread of English education, the construction of railways and telegraph lines, legislation for the suppression of sati and the remarriage of the widows stimulated Indians belief that the British were determined to convert the people to Christianity.** The introduction of railways was resented on the ground that people of all castes would have to travel in the same compartments. The common people did not appreciate these changes. They looked upon them as foreign innovations designed to break down the social order to which they were accustomed and which they considered sacred.

The **educated Indians were also denied high posts**. The highest office open to an Indian in Civil Services was that of a *sadar or an Amin* with an annual salary of Rs. 500 only. In the military service the highest office that an Indian could secure is that of a *Subedar*. Humiliation and **torture were inflicted upon Indians** in their own country. This racial discrimination hurt Indian sentiments tremendously.

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POLITICAL CAUSES:

Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation caused uproar among the people of India. The last Peshwa, Baji Rao's adopted son Nana Sahib was deprived of the pension his father was receiving. Rani Laxmi Bai's adopted son was not given the throne after the death of his father. The annexation of Oudh without a reason led to a huge uprising. The annexation of Jhansi, Satara and Nagpur shocked the Hindus as they were predominantly Hindu states. The remaining Hindus and Muslims who were unaffected became insecure, lest they meet the same fate.

To make matters worse Lord Dalhousie announced **in 1849 that Bahadur Shah Zafar will not be allowed to stay in the Red Fort** anymore and they were compelled to move to a place near Qutab Minar. To further worsen the situation **Lord Canning announced in 1856 that with the demise of Bahadur Shah Zafar, his successor will not be allowed to use the title "king"**.

The **myth** about the superiority of the British was shattered when they were badly beaten in the first Afghan War. Besides that there was a **rumor** floated around that with the end of the Revolt of 1857 the British Raj would come to an end. This rumor created from the fact that the battle of Plassey in 1757 brought about British power and with 1857 a century would be completed which will mark the end of British rule.

Economic cause:

The first two hundred years (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) the East India Company confined its activities to trade and commerce and had no political intention. The production of the Indian goods became so popular that the **British government had to pass a law in 1720 forbidding the use of Indian textiles.**

During the 18th century, the pattern of trade went through a drastic change. **With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, England developed its own textile industry and with that the dependence on Indian textiles came to an end. Demand for Indian textiles having reduced, the local handloom industry faced heavy losses and suffered badly.** Gradually, the Indian handicraft and Cottage industries died out. There was major **unemployment** problem and that resulted in resentment among workers against the British rule.

The little patronage that they received from the native princes also was gone because of the annexations of those dominions. The miserable condition of the working class led to this rebellion against the British Rule.

The **trade and commerce of the country was monopolized by the by the East Indian Company.** No efforts were made to improve the living conditions of the people. Cruel exploitation of the economic resources made people miserable leading to periodic famines.

The **British confiscated the lands and properties of many landlords.** These landlords became leaders of the Revolt.

Events of WOI:

Meerut

On 6th May, 1857 A.D. 85 out of 90 Indian soldiers at Meerut refused to bite the greased cartridges with their teeth. These 85 soldiers were court-martialled and imprisoned for 10 years. They were stripped off their uniforms in the presence of the entire Indian crowd. It was too much of a disgrace and this incident sent a wave of anger. On 10th May 1857, the Indian soldiers at Meerut broke into open revolt. They released their companions and murdered a few European officers. On the night of 10th May the mutineers marched to Delhi and reached there on 11th May.

Delhi

The revolutionaries reached from Meerut to Delhi on 11th May, 1857 and the small British garrison at Delhi was not able to resist and consequently fell into their hands within 2 days. The **Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar**, was

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proclaimed Emperor of India. In order to regain Delhi, Sir John Lawrence sent a strong British force commanded by John Nicholson. After a long siege of four months, the British recovered Delhi in September 1857 A.D. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was captured, his two sons and a grandson were shot dead before his eyes and he was sent to Rangoon where he died in the year 1862 A. D.

Kanpur

At Kanpur the struggle for Independence was led by Nana Sahib (The adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II). A number of British fell into his hands and he showed great kindness to them. But when he heard about inhuman attitude of Gen. O'Neil towards Indians, he became very furious and killed all the British. General Havelock captured Kanpur after defeating Nana Sahib in a hotly contested battle on June 17, 1857. Later on Nana Sahib, with the help of Tantya Topi, recaptured Kanpur in November, 1857 but not for a long time and British defeated them once again in a fierce war from December 1 to 6, 1857. Nana Sahib fled towards Nepal, where he probably died, while Tantya Tope migrated to Kalpi.

Reasons for the Failure of WOI:

Lack of unity amongst Indians was one of the important reasons for the failure of WOI. The war spread over a few places. Starting from Meerut it spread to Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Gwalior and Jhansi. Each area had its own leader. In Delhi the Mughal emperor bahadur shah II was made the commander. Hazrat mahal led the rebel forces in lucknow .Nana sahib and Tatia Topi rose up in Kanpur. Rani lakshmibai fought in Gwalior and Jhansi but there was no link and coordination between them.

The reason for lack of unity was that there was **no common cause** and no common planning. Muslims wanted to bring back Muslim rule, while Hindus wanted that the power should be in hands of Hindu rulers such as Marathas.

Another aspect of lack of unity was that there was **no common leader** and concept of nationalism was absent among Indian people. Most of the local fighters were interested in their personal security and wellbeing.

Many Indian states rulers sided and **helped the British**. Rulers of Gwalior, Kashmir, Hyderabad and Nepal were loyal and offered help to British. The **Sikh** from Punjab assisted the British to regain Delhi and the ruler of Kashmir sent 2000 troops to support the British. The leaders of Indian forces did not come to support one another.

There was also no planning, **no arrangement** for training of soldiers and no supply of weapons and funds on a regular basis which was essential to conduct a successful war. Therefore the local forces were too weak to face the British.

But besides all that the main reason for the failure of the WOI was that the British were too strong and had superiority in weapon and fighting methods. The British army was disciplined and trained. There was regular supply of weapons and funds from England. Therefore the Indian rebel forces were suppressed one by one at all the places by the British.

SIR SYED AND ALI GARH MOVEMENT:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's political beliefs had a great impact on Muslims. This service of Sir Syed aimed at restoring the prestige, social position, political importance & economic well-being of Muslims. In the beginning Sir Syed believed that all people living in India (Hindus & Muslims) were one nation. But the Hindi – Urdu controversy convinced him that the two communities would not pull on together under one government peacefully. Thus he changed his political belief to Two Nation Theory .This theory later became the basis of creation of Pakistan. Sir Syed's other important political services include his advice to Muslim not to join the congress. He realized that Muslim minority will always be dominated by Hindu majority under the modern democratic system which the congress was demanding at that time & the British were trying to introduce in India. Therefore he suggested to the British government that some arrangement should be made to ensure Muslim representation in all assemblies. This later resulted in the rule of separate electorate for Muslims which was introduced in 1909 reforms.

Congress also suggested that appointment in the government services should be made through competitive examinations. In this Muslims had no chance because they lagged behind the Hindus in education. Sir Syed suggested to the government that Muslims should be given jobs according to their ratio in population till they reach the same educational standard as the Hindus. Thus Sir Syed's political beliefs had a profound impact on Muslims.

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But Sir Syed's services in other sectors were not less important. In fact Sir Syed gave so much importance to modern education that his efforts & contribution to Muslim education is considered to be the most important service for the betterment of Muslims of India. He established Scientific Society & published Aligarh Institute Gazette in order to introduce modern scientific developments to the Muslims. He visited England in 1869 on his own expenses to study the British educational system and to observe the working of British universities. His most important contribution in education sector was the founding of MAO College at Aligarh in 1877. Later he founded the Mohammedan Educational Conference. Its objective was to discuss and solve the educational problems of Muslims in the Sub-Continent. His effort for the cause of Muslim education served double purpose. It helped the Muslims in their economic well-being & raised status in society. It also helped in removing the mistrust between the British & the Muslims. In this way education was the most important aspect of all of Sir Syed's services for the Muslims of India.

Another service of Sir Syed after 1857 was the removal of misunderstanding between the British and the Muslims. He came to the conclusion that Muslims were being handicapped because of the misunderstanding & lack of trust between them (Muslim) & the British. The Muslims thought that the British had taken over the rule of India from Muslim rulers. Therefore the Muslims opposed & hated everything associated with the British. The Muslims kept away from English & modern education which the British were introducing in India on the other hand the British held the Muslims responsible for the uprising of 1857 & considered them (Muslims) to be their enemies. The result of this misunderstanding was that Muslims were being crushed in every way.

Therefore Sir Syed's foremost task was to remove the misunderstanding by addressing both the British and the Muslims. Sir Syed wrote books and explained to the British that the real cause of the events of 1857 was the wrong policies & attitude of the British themselves. To Muslims Sir Syed explained that Christianity & Christians should not be hated. He specially stressed that Islam does not stop them from learning modern sciences & English language. He clearly emphasized that Muslims should come towards modern education, the lack of which was causing continual set back to the Muslims of India.

Therefore it can be said that Sir Syed's political beliefs had a great impact on Muslims, but his other services especially in the field of education were more important.

URDU AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE:

- Urdu was decided to be the **national language of Pakistan** as it was the **symbol of unity** between the different regions of the new country.
- Urdu was chosen because of **rich literally & poetry** background which helped to promote its use.
- The language received a boost when Emperor Muhammad Shah & Bahdur Shah Zafar took an interest in promoting it. Famous poets are Mir, Sauda, Dard & Ghalib.
- **Ali Garh Muslim University** also became a center for the study of Urdu & produced talented writers like Hasrat Mohani, Majaz & Jazbi.
- In the early 20th century Dr. *Allama Iqbal*, *Dr. Nazir Ahmed*, *Mohammad Husain Azad*, *Maulana Altaf Husain Hali* & *Allama Shibli* greatly enriched Urdu prose.
- Its link to the Islamic religion has also been very important, most notably with the **translation of the Holy Quran** by Shah Abdul Qadir.
- In the 20th century Urdu **played a major role in struggle for independence**.
- British made English the official language but some of its educational institutes like **Fort William College** took interest in Urdu & promoted it.
- Quaide-e-Azam was keen to promote Urdu as he saw it as a **unifying force in the country & linking language for all the provinces of the country**.

DEVELOPMENT OF URDU AFTER 1947:

- Urdu set as the medium of radio & television besides medium of instruction in many schools of Pakistan.
- Urdu Plays & films were prepared & became popular soon. Urdu novels, poetry, magazines & newspapers were written which were liked by the people & widely read.
- The government of Pakistan took different steps for the promotion of Urdu.

- (i) **Anjuman-e-Taraqia urdu & Akadmy Adbiatt Pakistan**
- (ii) As national language in the constitution of 1956, 1962, 1973.

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- (iii) Urdu teaching & research at M.A, M.Phil & PhD levels.
- (iv) NIC in Urdu.
- (v) Promotion through Electronic & Print Media.

DEVELOPMENT OF SINDHI AFTER 1947:

during the somrroo period among 1050-1300& from 1685-1783. The poetry of Sachal Sarmast & Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai is particularly famous for spread of Islam, Humanity & peace. In 1948, Sindhi Literary Board was set up & authors like Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Faqir Nabi Bux & G.Allana wrote many books to promote the language. In 1954, Bazm-e-Talib-ul-Maula was set up to promote its literature. A 'Sarmast' academy was established in the memory of sachal Sarmast. A Sindhiology department was established at Sindh University Jamshoru. It is been declared the compulsory language in all schools and colleges in Sindh province. It is also included as an optional subject in CSS and PCS examination. Sindhi ID card is also printed in Sindhi language.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUNJABI AFTER 1947:

Punjabi is another developed languages of Pakistan because it has been influenced by many other languages such as Sindhi, Pashto, Persian, Arabic, Hindi, and Turkish & English. The early Punjabi literature consists of folk tales among them are Heer Ranjha, Sassi-Pannu, Sohni Mahiwal are widely known. Sufi poets such as Baba Farid Ganjshakar, Sultan Baho wrote their famous works in Punjabi. Bulhe Shah composed mystical & melodious Kafis which are commonly sung these days. At the beginning of 20th century novels, short stories & dramas were published in Punjabi but later books on academic subjects like Law, Medicine, and History & Philosophy have also been published in the language. Punjabi poetry is famous & it brought new mediums, ghazal & nazam. Quran has also been translated in this language by Mohammad Ali Faiz. Ustad Damman, Sharif Kunjahi, Ahmed Rahi & Munir Niazi are the major exponents of the new wave of Punjabi. Punjabi literature is now taught up to MA level at the University of Punjab. The radio, television & the film have provided immense impetus to the recent Punjabi writing. Punjabi films have gained unprecedented popularity. Punjabi theatre is also very famous.

DEVELOPMENT OF BALUCHI AFTER 1947:

Balochi is another one of the developed languages of Pakistan. Balochi language was first time known outside the region when British traveler W. Leech reported in the 'Journal of Asiatic Society' about it. Before partition Balochi literature was beginning to decline but after partition steps were taken to promote it. Radio Pakistan Karachi began broadcasts in Balochi. Famous Balochi poets are Atta Shad & Ishaq Shamin. Famous writers are Gul Khan Nazir & Azad Jamal Din. Quetta University offers Master's degree in Balochi. Balochi is also taught as a compulsory subject in all government schools. It is introduced as an optional subject in competitive examinations of Pakistan.

DEVELOPMENT OF PASHTU AFTER 1947:

Pashtu was also developed after 1947. Sahibzada Abdul Qayum worked tirelessly to increase the political awareness in the people of NWFP & because of his efforts Islamia College was set up in Peshawar where Pashtu was taught & soon it became the centre of freedom. Within three years of independence, Peshawar University was established where Pashtu is taught up to Post Graduate level. An academy for the promotion of Pashtu was set up in 1954 & it was initially headed by Maulana Abdul Qadir. This academy prepared a dictionary of Pashtu language which is widely accepted.

SECTION II

PARTITION OF BENGAL 1905

1. Vastness/huge population of Province: The Province was spread over the area of 1, 89, 000 square miles. It was the biggest province and it was very hard to keep an eye on the dense jungles, deep marshy areas and extremely populated regions of Bengal. Its population expanded to 84 million which was ten times greater than the population of Britain at that time. so it was too hard to be managed by one lieutenant Governor. He could not make a tour for the whole province due to its vastness once in his tenure.

2. Limited Sources of Communication: The sources of communication in the provinces were limited due to rivers and forests. The law and order condition of the provinces was also worst due to insufficient police and in-efficient management. Therefore the need of partition of province was felt severally.

3. Difference of Language: There was also the difference of Languages and civilization of the natives of West Bengal and East Bengal. The natives of West Bengal considered themselves superior in civilization to the resident of East Bengal. The Condition demanded for the division of Provinces.

4. Promotion of Trade: The division of Bengal was the need of the time to develop trade in East Bengal and to promote the Port of Chittagong, which could be done only by division of the Provinces.

5: Appeasement policy: It is also believed that the British wanted to **appease Muslims** and certainly the partition went in favour of the Muslims. Before the partition only Western Bengal was developed and industrialized. It was a striking contrast to the eastern part where the Muslim peasantry was crushed under the Hindu landlords, the river system was infested with pirates, and very few funds were allocated for education. The partition helped boost Bengali literature and language; efforts were also made towards the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslims.

6: Divide and rule policy: Bengali Hindus also alleged that Lord Curzon had deliberately tried to **divide the Hindus** and the Muslims by drawing a line between the Hindu and the Muslim halves of Bengal. And by favouring the Muslims by giving them a new province in which they were in a clear majority, had struck a deadly blow to Bengali nationality. They branded him as the upholder of the devilish policy of '**divide and rule**'.

Partition: The Partition of Bengal was thus calculated to restore efficiency in the Government and administration on one hand and encouraged local initiatives for progress and development on the other. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and formed two new provinces of manageable size – East and West Bengal. East Bengal consisted of Dacca, Mamansingh, Assam, Kaula, Rangpur, and Bogra district, the Dacca was capital of East Bengal constituted a majority Muslim Province, while the Bihar and Orissa constituted a separate province to be called as West Bengal with the capital of Calcutta and become the Hindu Majority provinces.

REASONS FOR REVERSAL 1911:

The Hindus did not accept the partition of Bengal, as it dealt a telling blow to their monopolies and exclusive hold on economic, social, Political life of the whole of Bengal. They called it as a deliberate attempt by British Government

1. The Partition of Bengal had brightened the possibility of betterment of Muslims; while the Hindu landlords, capitalists and traders wanted status quo and to continue the exploitation of the Muslims.

2. Hindu lawyers also reacted to the partition of Bengal because they thought that the new province would have its separate courts and thus their practice would be affected.

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3. Hindu press was not different from that of Hindu advocates. Hindus had their monopoly over almost whole of the province press. They were afraid that new newspapers would be established which would decrease their income naturally.
4. The Hindus launched **Swadeshi** Movement whose sole purpose was to boycott of British goods.
5. Murder attempts also began. Not only Lord Minto but many other British officials and Muslim leaders were attacked by Hindu extremist

FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE 1906:

1. The Success of Simla Deputation: The Simla Deputation of 1906 was the first systematic attempt on the part of the Muslims to present their demands, to the British government and to seek their acceptance. The Simla deputation comprised **35 Muslims** from all over India. It was a galaxy of Muslims leaders from all the provinces, from one end of India to the other and it had Muslims of all background. Therefore, when in 1906, this deputation called on the Viceroy, it was the most representative Muslim delegation. This delegation was led by **Sir Agha Khan** and **Nawab Mohsin ul Malik** served as a secretary and this delegation met the Viceroy in Simla that was why it was called as Simla Deputation. These Muslim leaders presented their demands. Representation should be given to Muslims more than their population because of their importance. Right of Separate electorate for Muslims. Reservations of Muslims seats in government jobs. Special share in University senates (councils) and syndicates. Muslim representation in Viceroy Executive Council. Muslim University at Aligarh. The Viceroy was sympathetic towards the demands. It encouraged the Muslims to launch struggle for their rights parallel to the Indian National Congress but it required an organized platform. **(This led to the formation of All India Muslim League.)**

2. Indifferent Attitude of the Congress towards Muslims: All India National Congress was a pre-dominantly Hindu body. Its interests were always at odds ends to those of the Muslims. By 1906, Muslim leaders were convinced that they must have their own party which may speak for the community on all important occasions.

3. The agitation against the partition of Bengal conveyed to the Muslims the Hindu designs of domination over the whole of India. Muslims wanted to use the new party as a forum to confront the movement of the Hindus against the partition of Bengal. And finally the Muslim desire to have their exclusive electorate for all representative institution. Muslim intelligentsia believed that it was impossible to acquire the right of separate electorate & due share in government services without political plate form.

4. To Save Muslim Entity: The belief uttered by sir Syed Ahmed Khan that the Muslims were somehow a separate entity. The Muslims did not believe that Hindus and Muslims formed one nation. They were different by religion, history, languages and civilization. It became essential for Muslims to establish a political party of their own.

5. Urdu-Hindi Controversy: The Urdu-Hindi controversy began with the demand of Hindus to replace Urdu by Hindi as official language in Deva Nagari Script. Sir Anthony Macdonal, the then Governor of UP banished Urdu from public offices. Congress clearly sided with Hindi and supported the movement against Urdu and there was no other political party to support Urdu. Thus, the need of formation of a Muslim political party was felt severely.

6. Educational and Economic Backwardness: Muslims had lagged far behind from the Hindus in education and economic progress. Educational and economic conditions could only be up graded by establishing a separate Muslims organization that could represent the wishes of the Muslims.

A resolution to form the All India Muslim League was passed by **Nawab Salimullah Khan** and was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Moulana Zafar Ali. The resolution was passed by **All India Educational Conference on 30th December 1906**. A committee was formed to prepare its draft constitution. In this way Muslim league was established and become the sole representative of Muslims.

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COMPARATIVE QUESTION 1909 TO 1919:

Morley Minto Reforms 1909 were a definite improvement & advance on the act of 1892. It was a definite step in the direction of representation & responsible government. But Minto Morley reforms didn't solve the problems in the sub-continent. Therefore it is not possible to agree with the statement, because the demand of the self-rule was not granted. From the British government point of view it can be said that these reforms increased the members of the central legislative assembly from 16 to 60 & first time an Indian was included in Viceroy's Executive Council. But the reforms didn't introduce democracy in the country. It only allowed some opportunity to a limited number of Indians to participate in law making & administration with limited powers. The legislative had no control over Executive. The assemblies could pass resolutions in the form of recommendations which viceroy or Governors (in province) could accept or could not accept. The number of voters was very small & system of voting was discriminatory. The Congress was not satisfied because the aim of self-rule was still very far. One Indian member was added to viceroy's Executive Council & one to each of provincial Councils. The Congress condemned the reforms but agreed to work with them. Muslims were satisfied over the grant of separate electorate in the 1909 reforms because it protected Muslim rights to some extent.

In 1913 Muslim League added self-rule to its demands. It brought the Congress & ML closer. Mr. Jinnah joined the ML in 1913 & since then he made very strong efforts to bring the two parties closer so that achieving of self-rule may be easier. The annual meetings of Congress & ML were held at Lucknow in 1916 & leaders of both parties came to some agreements. The Congress accepted the right of separate electorate for Muslims & the one-third seats in the central assembly were to be given to Muslims. Both parties demanded that elected members in both Central & Provincial assemblies would be in majority. They also agreed upon autonomy for provinces & on the principle of weightage.

In 1909 the Minto Morley reforms had promised that more powers will be given to Indians after 10 years. Therefore in 1919 Reforms more concessions were given. A system of two houses was proposed for the Central Legislature. Number of members was greatly increased & elected members were to be in majority. The 1919 reforms also introduced the system of **Diarchy** in provinces. According to this system the unimportant or transferred subjects (agriculture, education, and health) were given to Indian ministers. Important or reserved subjects (police, Justice, Revenue) were under the control of the Governors & Executive Councillors who were British. Three Indian members were introduced in Viceroy's Executive Council. Although the number of voters was increased, yet the right to vote was still discriminatory. These reforms disappointed both the ML & the Congress because both had hoped for more substantial powers. The Viceroy and Governors had vast powers to appoint ministers & to dismiss the assemblies. In short the Act of 1919 didn't do much to solve the constitutional problem of India.

We come to the conclusion that the Lucknow Pact 1916 was the most important political development between 1909 & 1919. Under the Lucknow Pact both the Congress & ML were moving in the right direction with cooperation &

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understanding. If both the parties maintained their cooperation & concession to each other the goal of self-rule or independence would have been achieved much earlier.

Lucknow pact of 1916:

Lucknow pact was not a result of an accident but rather it was expression of sentiments of unity & cooperation which were developing since 1912 between Hindus & Muslims.

With the beginning of the 2nd decade of the 20th century, Muslims politics altered & this was outcome of various factors. Such as annulment of partition of Bengal, Kanpur Mosque tragedy, delay in elevating of Aligarh College to university standard, pathetic & deplorable conditions of Muslims in Balkan etc. these factors caused Muslims to be disillusioned from British & they realized that they have to leave the policy of creed loyalty towards British.

The other factors included

- The passion for the self-governance paved the way for lucknow pact.
- Another factor was the emergence of Liberal Leadership in the Indian politics. These included Gokhale, S.P Sinha, Mazhar-ul-haq, Jinnah, Mojamdar, Anne Basant, and Hakim Ajmal Khan Etc.

Jinnah inclusion in ML cemented the Hindu Muslim unity.

- In 1914, the war increased the realization that it was right time to put their joint demands because British badly needed India support.

ROWLAT ACT 1919:

1: arrest without warrant

2: detention without bail

3: house arrest

4: ban on public gathering

Khilafat movement 1919-1924:

After World War I, the **Ottoman Empire** faced dismemberment. Under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, **Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali**, the Muslims of South Asia launched the historic Khilafat Movement to try and save it. Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi linked the issue of Swaraj with the Khilafat issue to associate Hindus with the movement. The ensuing movement was the first countrywide popular movement. The general impression among the Muslims of India was that the western powers were waging a war against Islam throughout the world in order to rob it of all its power and influence. The **Ottoman Empire** was the only Muslim power that had maintained a semblance of authority and the Muslims of India wanted to save the Islamic political power from extinction.

The Turkish Sultans had claimed to be the caliphs of the Muslim world. At this critical juncture, when the Muslims of the Sub-continent had no sovereign ruler of their own, they began to see the necessity of recognizing the Sultan of Turkey as their caliph. The European powers had played a leading role in reducing the might of Turkey in Europe. To seek revenge, the Turks decided to side with the Germans against the Allied Forces. The Indian Muslims supported this decision. Thus the Muslims of India launched the Tehrik-i-Khilafat.

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The abolition of the institution of Caliphate by the Turks themselves remained the most important reason for the failure of Khilafat Movement. **Mustafa Kamal Atatürk**, the Turkish leader established a modern democratic government in Turkey with a properly elected parliament. In this set up the caliph & the seat of Caliphate had no place. The caliph was deposed & exiled in 1924. Muslims in India were perplexed & found their movement cut at its base. Muslims in India had nothing to fight for & the khilafat Movement ended in failure in 1924.

Besides that the movement got many other set backs on account of many reasons. In 1920 the congress also started **non-cooperation movement**. The congress joined hands with the khilafat movement because both were against the British. Khilafat movement got much strength from the support of the congress. Joint protest meetings & processions of Muslims & Hindus together became a common feature throughout the sub-continent. In 1922 a procession at **Chauri Chura** (a small town in eastern U.P) was in progress. The mob became violent & set a police station on fire in which 22 policemen were burnt alive. Mr. Gandhi suddenly called off the non-cooperation movement without consulting anyone & without taking the Muslims into confidence. The Muslims were greatly discouraged at the loss of Congress support. Khilafat Movement was weakened. Mr. Jinnah had opposed the non-cooperation movement saying that it would lead to violence, and the same happened. Mr. Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920.

The movement got other threats as well. The **Hijrat Movement** (1921), an off shoot of Khilafat Movement failed badly. Some ulemas had declared that India was Dar-al-Harb & it was better for Muslims to live in an independent Muslim country. Therefore some 18000 Muslims mostly from NWFP sold their belongings & sought asylum in Afghanistan. In the beginning the migrants were welcomed but soon later Afghan government refused to admit them. Many perished & others returned penniless & homeless.

Another tragic event was the **Moplah Uprising** which remained *responsible for the failure of Khilafat Movement. It also affected Hindu Muslim relationship.* In mid of August 1921, agrarian riots broke out in Nilambur. The Moplah peasants revolted against the Hindu landlord's oppressive policies, which are in alliance with the British. The Hindu landlords redistributed their lands and the Moplahs, who had been suffering, rose in revolt. A pitched battle between the British regiment and the Moplahs killed several Europeans. Four thousand Moplahs were killed in action and tens of thousands were injured. Then there was the notorious **Moplah Train Tragedy**. Around a hundred prisoners, confined in a closed and almost airtight goods van, were transported by rail. When the door was opened, 66 Moplahs were found suffocated to death and the remaining 34 were on the verge of collapse.

The British government also arrested the **leaders** of the Khilafat Movement on account of their anti-government speeches & the movement was deprived of their effective & strong leadership, both Hindu and Muslim leaders were imprisoned for several years. About 30000 workers all over India were put in jails. The movement slows down. The movement was **unrealistic** & was bound to fail. The caliphate & the people of Turkey had no interest in the politics of India. Therefore agitations & protests in India were to affect the events in turkey. Far sighted people like Mr. Jinnah & Allama Iqbal didn't support the movement.

DEHLI PROPOSALS 1927:

- 1: Sind should be separated from Bombay and should be constituted into an independent province.
- 2: Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province of India.
- 3: Reservation of seats according to the population for different communities in the Punjab and Bengal.
- 4: Muslims should be given 1/3rd representation in the Central Legislature.

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SIMON commission 1927:

- The government of India act 1919 stated that a commission was going to be set up after 10 years to enquire the working of the Montague Chelmsford Reforms.
- **Conservative Government** feared to lose power to the Labor part so it decided to bring date of Simon Commission forward.
- In 1927 a seven men committee was formed under the supervision of John Simon to consider India's situation. All of them were British. Composition of committee was considered insult in India. And for that reason immediate protest was raised from all the important political parties. When the Simon Commission arrived, the local masses welcomed it by with slogans of "Go back Simon!"
- All the major political parties of Sub-continent, except the Shafi League of Punjab, boycotted the Simon Commission.

- All parties decided to settle their differences & work in opposition to the Simon commission.
- In May 1928, Congress, ML, Liberals, Hindu Mahasaba & Sikh league met in all part conference to draft constitution which Indian people thought to govern their country and finally Nehru report was introduced.
- Motilal Nehru headed this committee. There were nine other members in this committee including two Muslims, **Syed Ali Imam and Shoaib Qureshi**.

NUHRU REPORT 1928:

The following were the recommendations advanced by the Nehru Report:

1. India should be given the status of a **dominion**.
2. There should be **federal form of government** in India.
3. India should have a parliamentary form of government.
4. There should be bi-cameral legislature.
5. There should be **no separate electorate** for any community.
6. System of weightage for minorities should be rejected.
7. Reservation of Muslim seats should not be maintained.
8. Muslims should enjoy **one-fourth** representation in the Central Legislature.
9. Sindh should be separated from Bombay.
10. The N. W. F. P. should be given full provincial status.
11. **Hindi** should be made the official language of India.

14 POINTS OF JINNAH 1929:

Quaid-i-Azam presented his famous Fourteen Points in 1929 to counter Nehru report. These points were as follows:

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the powers vested in the provinces.

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2. Autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. Adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province.
4. In the Central Legislative, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Right of separate electorate for Muslims.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty.
8. No bill or any resolution shall be passed in any legislature if three-fourth of the members of that community opposes such a bill.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Muslims should be given an adequate share, in all the services of the state.
12. Adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature without the approval of Indian Federation.

First Round Table Conference 1930:

The first session of the conference opened in London on **November 12, 1930**. The Round Table Conference was opened officially by **King George V** and chaired by the British Prime Minister, **Ramsay MacDonald**. The three British political parties were represented by sixteen delegates. All parties from India were present except for the Congress, whose leaders were in jail due to the Civil Disobedience Movement. Congress leaders stated that they would have nothing to do with further constitutional discussion unless the Nehru Report was enforced in its entirety as the constitution of India. Almost **89** members attended the conference, out of which 58 were chosen from various communities and interests in British India, and the rest from princely states and other political parties. The prominent among the Muslim delegates invited by the British government were Sir Aga Khan, Quaid-i-Azam, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq. Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jaikar and Dr. Moonje were outstanding amongst the Hindu leaders.

It was agreed that **federal system** of government shall be adopted in India, & responsible & representative governments will be set up in provinces. This was a great achievement because the congress had suggested 'Unitary Form' of government in Nehru report. Full responsible & representative government in provinces was a good step forward for self-rule. (Secondly) the princely states also agreed to join the federation, several committees would be formed to discuss different issues. The Muslims also demanded maintenance of weightage and **separate electorates**, the Hindus their elimination.

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The conference broke up on **January 19, 1931**, and what emerged from it was a general agreement to write safeguards for minorities into the constitution and a desire to devise a **federal system** for the country. **B. R. Ambedkar** also demanded a separate electorate for the Untouchables.

Second Round Table Conference

The second RTC was held from **September to December 1931**. Mr. Gandhi attended as the only representative of the congress (after signing Gandhi Irwin Pact). Mr. Gandhi claimed that the Congress represented the whole of India & that there was no minority problem in the country. Muslim & other minority leaders didn't agree. Therefore, on account of Mr. Gandhi's stubborn & unfair attitude the conference couldn't achieve much but its success was that it was declared that Orissa, Sind & NWFP will be given full provincial status with governors. The minorities issue remained unresolved.

Gandhi also demanded the enforcement of **Nehru Report**, but all the minorities rejected it. During the Conference, Gandhi could not reach agreement with the Muslims on Muslim representation and safeguards. At the end of the conference Ramsay MacDonald undertook to produce a **Communal Award** for minority representation,.

Gandhi was not ready to give right of separate electorates to untouchables. He clashed with the Untouchable leader, B. R. Ambedkar, over this issue: the two eventually resolved the situation with the **Poona Pact of 1932**.

Third Round Table Conference

The third session began on November 17, 1932. It was short and unimportant. Only forty-six delegates attended since most of the main political figures of India were not present (included Jinnah). The Congress was once again absent, so was the Labor opposition in the British Parliament. Reports of the various committees were scrutinized. The conference ended on December 25, 1932.

The recommendations of the Round Table Conferences were included in a **White Paper**. It was published in March 1933, and debated in parliament directly afterwards, after the final reading and assent, the bill reached the Statute(Law) Book on July 24, 1935.

In this conference, **Chaudhary Rahmat Ali**, a college student, coined the name "**Pakistan**" (which means "land of pureness") as the name for the Muslim part of partitioned India. He took the "P" from Punjab, the "A" from the Afghan, the "K" from Kashmir, the "S" from Sindh and the "TAN" from Balochistan.

SALT MARCH:

The Salt March, which took place from March to April 1930 in India, was an act of civil disobedience led by Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948) to protest British rule in India. During the march, thousands of Indians followed Gandhi from his religious departure near Ahmedabad to the Arabian Sea coast, a distance of some 240 miles. The march resulted in the arrest of nearly 60,000 people, including Gandhi himself.

COMMUNAL AWARD:

As a result of the Second Round Table Conference, in August 1932, the then Prime Minister of Britain Ramsay Macdonald gave his 'award' known as the Communal Award. According to it, **separate representation** was to be provided for the Lower Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. The Untouchables were assigned a number of seats to be filled by election from special constituencies in which voters belonging to the Untouchables only could vote.

The Award was highly controversial and opposed by Mahatma Gandhi, and fasted in protest against it. Communal Award was supported by many among the minority communities, most notably the Untouchable leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. After lengthy negotiations, Gandhi reached an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar to have a single Hindu electorate, with Untouchables having seats reserved within it. This is called the **Poona Pact**. Electorates for other religions like Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans remained separate.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935:

Main provisions of Government of India Act 1935 were as follows.

- (i) Federal system of government will be followed with 11 provinces & all states which agreed to join it.
- (ii) Principle of provincial autonomy will be followed.
- (iii) Three lists of subjects were chalked out. **Central subjects** were Defense, Foreign affairs, Currency & Communication. **Provincial subjects** were education, Health, Public works & Agriculture. **Concurrent subjects** were those on which both could legislate, but central had the priority.
- (iv) Central Legislature had two houses. The Upper house had 260 members & the Lower house had 375 members.
- (v) Autonomy was given to all provinces. All provincial subjects were given to Indian minister who were responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the province.
- (vi) **Women** for the first time were given the right to vote.
- (vii) Right of separate electorate was maintained for Muslims & other communal groups.
- (viii) System of Diarchy ended in the provinces & was taken to the centre.
- (ix) New provinces of Orissa, Sindh & NWFP were formed & were given full provincial status.
- (x) provision for the establishment of a "Federation of India", to be made up of both British India and some or all of the "princely states"
- (xi) the introduction of direct elections, thus increasing the franchise from seven million to thirty-five million people
- (xii) Sind was separated from Bombay
- (xiii) Bihar and Orissa was split into the separate provinces
- (xiv) Burma was completely separated from India.

1937 ELECTION RESULTS AND OUTCOME:

The result of elections came as a huge shock to both the parties. Congress, who claimed to be representing 95% of the total Indian population, could not even secure **40%** of the seats. It won almost **750 seats out of 1,771 in 8 out of 11 provinces**. Its success was restricted to Hindu-majority provinces only. As for the results for the Muslim League, they were greatly disappointing. Out of **491 Muslim seats, it could only capture 104 and 26** of them were taken by Congress. Hence, the final success of the elections was named in the favour of Congress, which gained majority in Bihar, Orissa, Madras and U.P and other regions.

The Congress didn't set up ministries for about four months demanding British government to not interfere in its legislative affairs. Discussions between them took place, and at last, the British agreed without making any formal amendment to the Government of India Act 1935. As a result of which, Congress ministries were formed in July 1937 but with bitter policy against Muslims

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Congress Tyranny 1937-1939:

The Congress proved to be a pure Hindu party and worked during its reign only for the betterment of the Hindus. Twenty-seven months of the Congress rule were like a **nightmare** for the Muslims of India. Some of the Congress leaders even stated that they would take revenge from the Muslims for the last **700 years** of their slavery.

After taking charge in July 1937, Congress declared **Hindi** as the national language and Deva Nagri as the official script. The **Congress flag** was given the status of national flag, **slaughtering of cows** was prohibited and it was made compulsory for the children to worship the picture of Gandhi at school. **Band-i-Mataram**, an anti-Muslim song taken from Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel Ananda Math, was made the national anthem of the country. Religious intolerance was the order of the day. Muslims were not allowed to construct new **mosques**. Hindus would play **drums** in front of mosques when Muslims were praying.

The Congress government introduced a **new educational policy** in the provinces under their rule known as the **Warda Taleemi** Scheme. The main plan was to sway Muslim children against their ideology and to tell them that all the people living in India were Indian and thus belonged to one nation. In Bihar and C. P. the **Vidya Mandar** Scheme was introduced according to which Mandar education was made compulsory at elementary level. The purpose of the scheme was to obliterate the cultural traditions of the Muslims and to inculcate into the minds of Muslim children the superiority of the Hindu culture.

The Congress ministries did their best to weaken the economy of Muslims. They closed the **doors** of government offices for them, which was one of the main sources of income for the Muslims in the region. They also harmed Muslim trade and agriculture. When Hindu-Muslim riots broke out due to these biased policies of the Congress ministries, the government pressured the judges; decisions were made in favor of Hindus and Muslims were sent behind bars.

When World War II started in 1939, the British were fighting against the Axis Powers. The Viceroy of India announced India's involvement without consulting its representative political leaders. Congress asked for transfer of power in repayment of their cooperation in war, which the British government denied. As a result, Congress ministries resigned. Thus came to an end the nightmarish rule which had terrorized Muslim community beyond imagination. Quaid-i-Azam asked the Muslims to observe it as a '**Day of Deliverance**' with peace and without any harmful intent towards any other nation. Prayers of thanksgiving and gratitude were offered and Muslims took a sigh of relief from the atrocities committed against them in the two-year Congress rule.

COMPARITIVE QUESTION OF ALLAHBAD/SCHEME OF PAKISTAN AND LAHORE RESOLUTION:

Allama iqbal gave his presidential address at the annual meeting of Muslim league held at Allahbad on **30 December 1930**. In his address he discussed the political problem of the country. He advocated the TWO NATION theory & said that Muslims in India must keep their identity. He said that the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in India was in the best interest of the Muslim of India. His address is important because it was the first occasion that the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims was given from the side of ML.

Ch. Rehmat Ali was a scholar at the Cambridge university .In **1933** he wrote a pamphlet entitled NOW OR NEVER in which he demanded that the Muslim majority provinces of NWFP , Baluchistan, Punjab, & Sindh should be grouped together to form a free Muslim state which should be named as '**Pakistan**'. But no effort was made to propagate & popularize his idea at that time. (Because it was given by a student)

The **Lahore resolution** of **March 1940** came after a bitter experience of the congress rule of 1937-39. The Muslim realized that as a policy the congress wants to abolish Muslim religion, culture & civilization. The annual meeting of ML was held in Lahore on 23 March 1940, under the president ship of Quaid-e-Azam & the Lahore resolution was passed at this meeting. In this resolution it was clearly demanded that Muslim majority provinces in the North West & eastern part of India should be grouped together to form an independent Muslim state. It was said that this would be the only workable & acceptable solution for the political problem of India. The Lahore resolution therefore marks the real beginning of the struggle of independence of the Muslims of India.

After 1940 the demand for Pakistan became the goal & ambition of the Muslims of India. Therefore we can easily say that the Lahore Resolution contributed the most to the Pakistan National Movement.

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Contents of Cripps Mission 1942:

- (i) An **Indian Union** would be set up with ***Dominion status***.
- (ii) A ***Constituent Assembly*** should frame a new constitution.
- (iii) Elections for the Constituent Assembly would be held immediately after the war.
- (iv) Under the new constitution any province or state will be free to stay out of the Indian Union.
- (v) Government of India act 1935 will remain in force in the meantime.
- (vi) The C-in-C of Indian army & the finance minister will be British till the end of the war.
- (vii) These proposals will be rejected or accepted as a whole. Also these proposals will be implemented if both the congress & Muslim League accept it.
- (viii) These proposals would be applicable after the 2nd WW.

INDIAN REACTION:

1) **Congress wanted immediate self-rule:** The Congress stopped talks with Cripps and, guided by Gandhi, the national leadership demanded immediate self-government in return for war support. Gandhi said that Cripps' offer of Dominion Status after the war was a "post-dated cheque", while Nehru added that it was a "post-dated cheque drawn on a crashing bank".

2.) **Congress didn't want India's disintegration:** According to Cripps proposals, provinces could opt out of the Indian Union, which was definitely not acceptable to Congress Nationalists.

3.) **Muslim League:** M.L also rejected it and felt that the proposals denied to the Muslims the right to self-determination and the creation of Pakistan.

What in quit India campaign 1942?

- May 1942 Gandhi spoke at a congress meeting in Allahabad.
- He argued that if the British left India, there would no longer be a threat of a Japanese invasion, so they should be persuaded to go by a non-violent protest.
- On 8 August 1942, the all India Congress Committee passed its Quit India Resolution, calling for an immediate withdrawal of the British.
- To support the campaign a mass struggle on nonviolent lines on the widest possible scale.
- 60,000 people arrested included Gandhi, Nehru.
- Congress party was banned.
- ML didn't approve Quit India campaign.
- Jinnah criticized the Quit India campaign as Blackmail, saying that Congress was trying to exploit British problems to win advantages for it.

THE GANDHI – JINNAH TALKS 1944:

Gandhi was released from prison on medical grounds by the new viceroy; Lord Wavell in May 1944. Gandhi wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah and said,

My heart was asking me to write you a letter. I can meet you when you wish. Don't think me the enemy of Islam or the Muslims. I am not only the friend or servant of you but of the whole world. Don't disappoint me."

In the reply to this letter, Quaid-e-Azam proposed a meeting in Bombay in the mid of August. However, the meeting started in September. It was decided in the meeting that instead of the verbal discussion, it is better to exchange letters so that the records of the viewpoints of both of the points may be preserved

- Throughout 1944 Gandhi & Jinnah meetings were held.

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- The meeting took place between the two leaders at Bombay from 9th September to 27th September. They met almost daily, and sometimes even twice in a day. On 27th September, Jinnah announced the termination of talks after the failure of the two leaders to reach an agreement.
- Gandhi considered himself to be speaking for all India while Jinnah reminded him that in fact he was just the spokesman of Congress.
- Gandhi gave the impression that he didn't support the Two Nation Theory, whereas this had now become official League policy.
- Gandhi wanted the central government to have control over key issues such as defense & foreign policy, while Jinnah wanted these matters to be in the hands in the provinces.
- Gandhi wanted the League to support Congress in its struggle to remove the British while Jinnah knew that he had to secure partition before British left. Quaid-e-Azam judged that the style adopted by Gandhi is nothing but cheating and hypocrisy and cunningness. He emphasized that the British must settle the issue of Pakistan before the freedom of India because Congress and Hindus could not be relied upon.

WAVELL PLAN AND SIMLA CONFERENCE 1945:

- *Wavell proposed that an **Executive Council** should be set up to govern India.*
- *Wavell proposed that it would contain equal number of Muslims & Hindus & be entirely Indians.*
- *Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs could be given representation in the Council.*
- *All the members of the Council, except the **Viceroy** and the **Commander-in-Chief** would be Indians.*
- *An **Indian** would be appointed as the member of **Foreign Affairs** in the Council.*
- *Defence of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands.*
- *Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.*
- *If this plan is approved for the Central Government then same type of government would be introduced in all the provinces.*
- Wavell called a conference to discuss the proposals in Simla in June 1945.
- The conference had the leaders of Congress, the Muslim League, the Scheduled castes, Sikhs & other important groups.
- Jinnah, Iqbal Ali Khan & Khwaja Nazimuddin led the League delegation, Gandhi led the Congress group but president was Abul Kalam, to prove that Congress was also representing Muslims.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF SIMLA CONFERENCE:

- The Congress party supported the idea of equal number of Hindus & Muslims in the Executive Council and desired that at least one Muslim seat should be given to Congress because there were many Muslims in the Congress party.
- Quaid-e-Azam took a firm stand & explained that Muslim League being the sole representative party of Muslims of India had the right to nominate all Muslim members. Jinnah said that League had won every by – election for the last two years & was the undisputed voice of the Muslims.
- Jinnah also pointed that as Sikhs & scheduled castes on the council are bound to vote with Hindu, which would mean a permanent Muslim minority in council.
- The conference failed on that crucial point of method of selection.
- Besides that Pakistan was not on the agenda.

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- Lord Wavell could see no solution so closed the conference on 14 July. Congress leaders blamed Jinnah for the lost opportunity and said that the Viceroy should have gone ahead without the League. But in fact the entire plan had been based on the idea that the Executive Council would be an all-party body.

Proposals of the cabinet mission plan 1946:

- It rejected the idea of establishing Pakistan.
- Three different parts/groups suggested to a post British India.
(a) The Hindu majority territories.
(b) The western Muslim population
(c) Bengal & Assam
- Each part/group would have its local autonomy.
- Each part/group would be able to draw up its new constitution.
- Foreign affairs, defense & communication would be managed by a central Indian union.
- League stated that it was ready to nominate members to an interim cabinet to oversee the move to independence by this plan.
- But In July 1946, Nehru stated that the Congress party would not feel bound by the terms of Cabinet Mission Plan once the British had left and that any future independent Indian government would not be bound by it. This statement destroyed any chance of cooperation between congress and Muslims League. Even Azad, a senior Muslim Congress leader felt that Nehru's statement was 'one of those unfortunate events that change the course of history'.

DIRECT ACTION DAY 1946:

Direct Action Day, also known as the **Great Calcutta Riot**, was on 16 August 1946—a day of widespread riot and manslaughter in the city of Calcutta (now known as Kolkata) in the Bengal province of British India. The day also marked the start of what is known as "**The Week of the Long Knives**".

The protest triggered massive riots in Calcutta, instigated by the Muslim League and its Volunteer Corps against Hindus and Sikhs, followed by retaliatory attacks on Muslims by Congress followers and supporters. In Calcutta, within 72 hours, more than **4,000 people** lost their lives and 100,000 residents in the city of Calcutta were left homeless. Violence in Calcutta sparked off further religious riots in the surrounding regions of Noakhali, Bihar, United Province (modern Uttar Pradesh), Punjab, and the North Western Frontier Province. These events sowed the seeds for the eventual Partition of India.

THE 3RD JUNE PLAN 1947:

The British government finally decided to divide the country into two separate states after all the efforts of keeping Hindus and Muslims together in a single state went in vain. Lord Ismay, the Chief of Staff of Lord Mountbatten, was asked to frame the partition plan of India. Though the plan was deliberately kept secret from the Indians yet Nehru grabbed the chance of seeing the plan before it was put before the Indians. The British Government approved the Plan and sent it to India in May 1947.

The plan announced on 3 June 1947 suggested these points:

1. The British Government would divide India into two separate states.
2. Dominion status would be given to the successor governments of the two states.
3. A Boundary Commission would be appointed to demarcate the boundaries if any of the communal group decides in favor of dividing the province of Punjab and Bengal.
4. The Sindh Legislative Assembly would be authorized to opt out whether it desires to join Pakistan or Not.
5. A Referendum would be conducted in the North West Frontier Province to know the public opinion on the question of joining the new state of Pakistan. Baluchistan would also be granted freedom of choice.
6. A referendum would be conducted in Sylhet to take the decision whether it wants to join East Bengal or stay as a part of Asam.

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3rd June Plan materialized the dream of Iqbal of a separate state for the Muslim of the Sub-Continent and granted them with Muslim state of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. The Muslim League, therefore, welcomed the Plan.

According to the Plan, the British Government transferred the Power to the governments of the two New States of Pakistan and India

- (a) Day after a 3rd June plan, Mountbatten said that final transfer of Power might be brought forward from June 1948 to 15 August 1947.
- (b) On 15 July 1947 the independence Act was passed.
- (c) From 15 August British India would be partitioned into two Dominion states.

THE RADCLIFFE BOUNDARY AWARD 1947:

- SIR Cyril Radcliff was appointed to head a Boundary Commission to establish new borders.
- Radcliff had four assistants, two nominated by the league & two by the congress.
- The decision of the Boundary Commission known as "the Boundary Award or Radcliff Award" was announced on 16 August 1947.
- Calcutta, Gurdaspur, Ferozpur were awarded to India though they were Muslim majority areas.
- Jinnah told people of Pakistan that the awards were wrong, unjust & perverse.

SECTION III

INITIAL PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN 1947-48:

Refugees and the accommodation crises:

In the years immediately before partition there was widespread violence between Muslims and the non-Muslims communities across India. The summer of 1947 saw rioting which led to numerous deaths. When the **boundary Award** was announced in August 1947 things became worse. Millions of people found themselves living in the wrong country and became victims of **communal attacks**. That year witnessed the **largest migration** of mankind and also some of the worst scenes of communal violence. Over 20 million people had moved from India to Pakistan or in other direction by Jan. 1948. Many Muslim historians believe that Hindus and Sikhs had an organized programme for the massacre of Muslim refugees. A million men, women and children died as a result of the violence or the rigors of the long journey. Nearly 10 million people were made homeless. Karachi alone received nearly 2 million refugees in 1947. That was impossible for Pakistan to provide accommodations to that mass number of people. In September 1947 the authorities in Delhi had to declare martial law as non-Muslim refugees had begun a slaughter of local Muslims. India and Pakistan were so concerned about the communal violence that they began to cooperate in trying to control it.

Geographical problems:

Pakistan was **split** into two separate parts almost a **thousand miles** apart. East Pakistan comprised of most of Bengal and the Sylhet which voted in a referendum to join Pakistan. West Pakistan comprised of West Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the NWFP. The princely states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb, Hunza, Gilgit and Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan. These two wings of Pakistan were **separated by about a 1000 miles of land** that belonged to India. There was nothing common between these two wings
except
religion.

Political problems:

India inherited government buildings, furnishings even officials from the British. Pakistan had none of these. India had officials, members of the Indian national congress, with political experience to take over the government. In Pakistan, the constituent Assembly members were mostly wealthy landlords with little political experience. Pakistan lacked both the administrative and the government machinery to run the affairs of a new country. Quaid-e-Azam would need to find a capital, a government and officials to ensure the efficient government of the new state. Perhaps the major problem was that the Quaid-e-Azam had suffered from **tuberculosis**.

Economic problems:

Pakistan was underdeveloped with very little industry. Only **Karachi** had the modern port but much of Pakistan had no link to the industrialization that had taken place in central India. Around 90% of people lived in the countryside and only 8 towns had a population of 100,000. Pakistan's agriculture didn't produce enough of a surplus to create the wealth needed for industrialization. **Only jute** export produced the major source of foreign exchange earnings for Pakistan but the problems created by partition are exemplified by the fact that in 1947 Pakistan didn't have a single jute mill. All the jute mills were in the new
India.

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The percentage of economic assets in Pakistan after partition:

- Industrial enterprises: 10 %
- Industrial workers : 6.5 %
- Electrical capacity : 5%
- Mineral deposits : 10 %

Social problems:

Pakistan was mainly made up of 5 different regions. Some historians have gone as far as suggesting that really it was 5 different nations. Certainly there were five different population groupings.

- (i) the Pakhtuns in the north
- (ii) the Balochs in the west
- (iii) the Sindhis in the south
- (iv) the Punjabis in the north east
- (v) the Bengalis in the east

These people had different traditions, cultures, languages and lifestyles. Baluchistan and Bengal in 1947 were not completely sure that they now wanted to transfer allegiance to a new Pakistan, where once again the official language Urdu would not be the one they spoke.

The Accession of the princely states:

Lord Mountbatten gave the right to 462 princely states to choose between India and Pakistan. Their location and their religion made the choice a straightforward one. In 1947 the northern areas of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb and Hunza joined Pakistan. Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan; Sylhet in East also joined Pakistan through referendum.

Hyderabad was the largest of the princely states with a population of 160 million. It was wealthy with revenue of 160 million rupees. Nizam wanted to join Pakistan but he was pressurized to join India due to non-Muslim population there. In August he filed a complaint before UNO. But before it could be heard Indian troops captured Hyderabad.

Junagarh was a small state on the coast, 300 miles south of Karachi. Its prince was Muslim but population was non-Muslim. Prince announced to join Pakistan in 1947. But Lord Mountbatten informed Pakistan that the accession of *Junagarh was an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory*. Ultimately Indian troops surrounded the state and took the control. Pakistan protested to the UNO about the illegal occupation but the matter remains unresolved.

The Kashmir Issue:

The most serious disagreement between India and Pakistan concerned the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Its boundaries with Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia gave it great strategic importance. Most of the 4 million inhabitants of Kashmir were Muslims but the maharaja was Hindu. In September 1947 he started a campaign to drive many Muslims out of Kashmir. Over 200,000 fled to Pakistan and finally the Muslims rose in rebellion. The Maharaja was forced to turn to India for help to crush the Muslims. Indian help came and the Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to accede to India. Pakistan also sent troops to help Kashmir (Muslims). Neither side was strong enough for a long war.

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So in January 1948 the matter referred to the UNO. A ceasefire was arranged on Jan. 1949 and Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan. India retained the largest area of Kashmir including the capital Srinagar. Indian Prime Minister Nehru agreed that a referendum would be held in Kashmir to determine the wishes of the people, *once the situation has normalized*. This referendum has not been held yet...

The Division of financial and military assets:

It was agreed that the assets were to be divided on the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. This reflected the relative size and populations of the country. In June 1947 it was agreed that Pakistan would be paid **750 million** rupees of the **4 billion** rupees in the reserve bank. First 200 million rupees were paid but later on India refused to pay the rest saying Pakistan would only use it to buy arms to fight against India. Gandhi was determined that the division of assets should be fair and took steps to persuade India to pay the due money. He used the threat of a hunger strike and successfully persuaded the Indian government to pay a further 500 million rupees. Armed forces and the military equipment were split 36 % to 64% between Pakistan and India.

The armed forces personnel were given freedom to opt for whichever country they wanted. Muslim regiments went to Pakistan and non- Muslim to India. Pakistan's army comprising on **150,000 men** and had only 2500 trained Muslim officers. It required 4000 officers; ultimately Jinnah had to hire 500 British officers temporarily. All **16 ordnance** factories were in India, and it refused to hand over any. Pakistan had no factory for making military goods. Eventually India agreed to pay 60 million rupees in lieu of handing over ordnance factories. The military supplies which India agreed to hand over were often old, worn, damaged and obsolete.

The canal water dispute:

The canal water dispute had its origin in the *partition of Punjab in 1947*. West Pakistan relies upon *irrigation* from a series of canals which draw water from the 3 main rivers in the area, the Indus, the Jhelum, and the Chenab. The problem for Pakistan was that the flow of water was controlled at a series of 'headwork's' lay in the part of east Punjab (India). Soon India and Pakistan indulge into a canal water dispute. Pakistan called for the matter to be settled by international court of justice but **India refused**. In May 1948 a temporary agreement was reached and India agreed to allow water from east Punjab to flow into west Punjab.

LIAQAT ALI KHAN 1947 – 1951:

Liaquat Ali Khan made the first move towards constitutional development with his Objectives Resolution in 1949. This focussed on the principles of Islam and human rights. It was designed to deflect criticism from religious leaders who said the new state was not Islamic enough. This was then followed by the drafting of a constitution, which attracted much criticism as it was seen by many as being insufficiently Islamic. He also managed to keep the economy going and produced surplus budgets for the new state.

Khwaja Nazimuddin 1951-1953:

- In 1948 he was made 2nd Governor General, appointed by Liaquat Ali Khan Prime
- Made Objectives Resolution in 1949. It focussed on the principles of Islam and human rights. Designed to deflect criticism from religious leaders who wanted the new state to be more Islamic.
- Drafted a constitution, which attracted much criticism as it was seen by many as being insufficiently Islamic. Kept the economy going and produced surplus budgets for the new state.

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Malik Ghulam Muhammad 1951-1955:

- As 3rd Governor General responsible for the Six Year Plan for agriculture, power, industry and transport. It was important to the economic development of Pakistan.
- Severe problems hampered development such as food shortages and drought. Rioting followed and the government found it challenging to overcome these issues, leading to many personnel changes. Little constitutional development could take place because of these challenges.
- He resigned in 1955 due to ill health.

Iskander Mirza 1955-1958:

- Became acting Governor General in 1955.
- Introduced the One Unit policy in 1955, which he claimed would bring about greater efficiency and development in West Pakistan. The policy meant that East Pakistan could not gain a majority in the Assembly.
- Introduced the new Constitution in 1956, under which he was able to become President.
- He suspended the Constitution in 1958 and declared Martial Law.
- His rule became unpopular and lost the support of many leading politicians. He declared Martial Law but was forced to resign by Ayub Khan in 1958.

REASONS FOR 1958 Martial Law :

Martial Law was declared in oct.1958 by General Iskander Mirza and he asked General Ayub Khan to act as chief Martial law Administrator. The reason was that political condition in the country was very unstable during 1956-58. Four (4) PMs were changed one after another during this period. There were coalition ministers in provinces and it was difficult to reach a consensus on most matters of state. Muslim league had lost its importance. New political parties created more confusion than coherence. Merger of 4 provinces and creation of West Pakistan under one unit was disliked by people of Sind and East Pakistan.

Pakistan was having a bad name on international scene. There were political crises in the ruling party and prime ministers and President Iskander Mirza could not work in cooperation. Therefore Martial Law was imposed and all provincial assemblies and the central assembly were dissolved. Ayub Khan eventually became the chief Martial law Administrator and president.

REFORMS OF AYUB KHAN 1958 TO 1969:

Social and Educational reforms:

- New curriculum for schools and new textbooks were published.
- Government began an extensive literacy programme, building new schools and colleges.
- Ayub Khan appointed **General Azam Khan** the *Rehabilitation Minister* to settle 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings near Karachi.
- Laws were passed that factory owners had to provide accommodations for their workers at a reasonable rent.
- Family Planning Programmes were also launched (funded by America).
- Medical facilities were also improved.

Agricultural reforms / the Green Revolution:

- An experiment of small subsistence holdings had never been efficient.
- A law was passed saying that no farm could be smaller than **12.5** acres or larger than **500** acres (irrigated) or **1000** acres (unirrigated).

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- This meant that many smaller farmers found their land was redistributed.
- However the resulting larger farms did produce a steady rise in food output.
- Big landlords were forced to find tenants for parts of their land and this too raised productivity as the tenants and smaller farms were often more efficient than the larger, poorly run farms.
- Four dams were built to help irrigation.
- Loans were also given to farmers to build wells.
- Productivity was further increased due to mechanization.

Industrial reforms:

- Industrial development was also considered.
- This was carried out with the help of loans from more industrialized western countries.(USA, Germany, UK)
- In 1962 an *oil refinery* was established in Karachi and a Mineral development Corporation set up for the exploration of mineral deposits.
- In **1964** an Economic union was formed with Iran and Turkey, the Regional cooperation development (**RCD**) (to develop ties in Trade, Commerce and industry).
- An *Export Bonus Scheme* was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.
- The average annual rate by which the economy grew in the 1960 was **7 %**, three times that of India.
- **But** the new wealth created, did little to benefit the large numbers of Pakistanis living near the poverty line.
- It was revealed that just **22** families controlled 66 % of Pakistan's industrial assets.
- The same families also controlled 80 % of Pakistan's banking and insurance companies.
- A small elite group of wealthy Pakistanis had almost complete control of Pakistan's wealth.
- All these families belong to West Pakistan.
- Industry was improving rapidly but Pakistan was increasingly dependent on foreign aid.

Political /constitutional reforms:

- The first step in Ayub Khan's constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies order on **26 Oct. 1959**.
- That was 4 tier systems in which ordinary people elected **union council** members, who in turn elected **district** and **divisional** members.
- Later it was stated in the 1962 constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the Electoral College for the election of the **president** and members of the central and provincial legislatures.
- At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the basic democrats for a vote of confidence in him and **on 17 Feb. 1960** he was confirmed as president.

- He then announced the creation of a constitution commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.

- The new constitution was announced on **1 March 1962**.
- Ayub described it as combining "*democracy with discipline*".
- In reality it set up a presidential form of government.

- In **Jan 1965** elections were held for the presidency.
- Ayub Khan was nominated by a new party, the *Convention Muslim League*
- He believed that the opposition parties were too divided to put up a credible opponent in the elections.
- He was however wrong, the opposition parties all agreed to support the sister and advisor of the Quaid, *Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah*.
- In the election Ayub Khan won **64 %** of the votes, compared to Miss Jinnah's **36 %**.

- Since partition the capital had been Karachi.
- In 1959 the site of Islamabad was chosen to replace Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan.
- In **1967** Islamabad was officially made the capital.

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FOREIGN POLICY OF AYUB KHAN:

In foreign policy, Ayub continued the pro west and pro American policy. Pakistan received formidable military and economic aid from USA. Relations with china improved after the India china war of 1962. Ayub visited china where he was given warm welcome. Relations with India remained cool and war with India over Kashmir in 1965 culminated in Tashkent agreement. Relations with USSR didn't improve specially on account of the American spy plane which took off from a base near Peshawar. Relations with Muslim countries remained cordial .Ayub initiated cooperation with turkey and Iran and RCD was founded in 1964.

Reasons FOR CREATION OF Bangladesh 1971:

Political grievances of the people of east Pakistan was one of the most important reasons The province had a larger population (56%) but their political power was in the hands of west wing politicians. They had the grievances of underrepresentation. They demanded more seats in the central assembly and the greater share in the cabinets because of the larger population. They were always more ministers from the west wing than from east Wing in all cabinets. The long presidential rule of Ayub khan increased their sense of deprivation. After the election of 1970 when Awami League won majority of seats in the national assembly Mujib was not allowed to become the PM of Pakistan and to form his cabinet.

The other important reason was economic. The export of raw jute from EP was the main source of foreign exchange earnings and revenue to central government. This earning was spent more on the development of the west wing. And the east wing received a small share of development funds. Greater and faster industrial development took place in west wing. The industrial units opened in EP mostly belonged to the industrialist of West Pakistan. The result was that there was the continual transfer of capital from east wing to west wing. Most of the banks insurance companies and big commercial firms had their head offices at Karachi. There was greater prosperity in west wing and more poverty in east wing.

The behaviors of west pak. Administrative officers who were posted in East Pakistan were hateful and humiliating with the Bengalis. Hatred developed between the people of east Pakistani people and west Pakistani people. India's hostile propaganda also poisoned the minds of the people of EP. In the armed forces Bengalis share was only 10 percent. People of EP felt deprived .East Pakistan's share in central government services was only 15 percent The language problem was also an important reason. It was a big hurdle in creating solidarity and unity in the Pakistani nation. Indian military intervention became the immediate reason. Indian army attacked and entered in EP from many sides in Nov. 1971. This resulted in surrendered of Pakistani army in 16 Dec 1971 when Bangladesh created.

REASONS FOR LOSING 1965 and 1971 wars against India:

On 6th September India launched an attack on Lahore which was forcefully repulsed by Pakistan. This full scale war lasted for 17 days and ended on 23rd sept 1965 when both countries accepted a ceasefire resolution of the security council.it was followed by Tashkent agreement in January 1966. The 1965 war was by no means a total defeat for Pakistan but Pakistan gained little in the end and the Kashmir issue remained unsolved.

In 1971, when the talks between Mujeeb, Yahiya and Bhutto failed, Yahiya khan ordered military action in EP on 25th march 1971 which was a big mistake. As a result some people crossed into India as refugees. This gave India an excuse to intervene. In Nov. 1971 Indian troops crossed into EP and helped Mukhti Bahini to launch attacks on Pakistan army. Mukhti bahini was a Bengali militant group which was equipped, trained and financed by India. They started guerrilla

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war fare and inflicted heavy casualties on Pakistan army. In West Pakistan full scale war broke out on 3rd Dec. 1971. Pakistan forces could not face the Indian strength and surrendered in Dhaka on 16th Dec. 1971.

The main cause of Pakistan being unsuccessful was Indian superiority in men and material. After the Indian china war of 1962, India had collected enormous arms supply from the western powers as well as from Russia. Pakistan didn't get any help from the west in spite of the fact that Pakistan was a member of CENTO and SEATO pacts. On the other hand, India had signed a military pact with Russia in Aug. 1971. India received full support and backing from Russia. Pakistan had no such alliance.

REFORMS OF ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO 1971 TO 1977:

Social Reforms:

- Pakistan had the highest infant mortality rate and life expectancy was very low.
 - In august 1972 Bhutto launched a health scheme designed to correct these anomalies.
- (i) He introduced Rural Health Centre (RHCs) and Basic Health Units (BHUs) in urban areas to provide more widespread healthcare. The plan was to set up 1 RHC for every 60,000 people and 1 BHU for every 20,000 people.
 - (ii) Training colleges for doctors and nurses were expected to admit students on merits. Once qualified, doctors had to work the first year wherever the government placed them.
 - (iii) The sale of medicines under brand names was also banned which reduced the costs of medicines. Medicines were made available without prescription.

Problems for health policies:

- There were always a shortage of doctors and nurses.
- The removal of brand names from medicines also saw a fall in the income of chemists and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan as they could not make profits.

Education:

- The standard of education was very deplorable.
 - Only 50 % children attending the school and literary rate were 25 %.
 - Bhutto's government outlined 8 ambitious goals.
- (i) to eradicate ignorance
 - (ii) Education for all including women, mentally impaired and illiterate adults.
 - (iii) To ensure that the curriculum meets Pakistan's social, economic and political needs.
 - (iv) To ensure uniformity of education
 - (v) To raise the self-confidence of the common man.
 - (vi) To raise aspiration for higher education.
 - (vii) To develop each person's personality and potential.
 - (viii) To develop Pakistani culture and identity.
- Government nationalized all private schools and colleges to remove discrepancies.
 - More schools were built to provide free primary education for all.

Problems for new education policies:

- In remote areas these policies were not implemented effectively.
- Only 13 % budget was allocated for education which was not sufficient.
- Education was free even then rural people couldn't afford the loss of earnings they faced if they sent a child to school instead of sending it out to work.
- Standard of education was not maintained due to high strength of students.
- Non availability of trained teachers.

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- Instead of all the government efforts the literacy rate was not increased more than 1 %.

POLITICAL REFORMS:

Controlling Army:

- 20 December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and chief martial law administrator.
- The 1970 election however had given the PPP an overwhelming majority in the NA.
- He was determined to **limit the powers of the army** so that it would not intervene to thwart his policies.
- He removed the most important army leaders (29 in Bhutto's first four months in power). amongst these were the head of the Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and the C-in-C of the army, General Gul Hasan.
- Appointing his own leaders for example, *General Tikka Khan* was placed in charge of the army in a new post named "Chief of Army Staff".
- Setting up the **FSF** from October 1972, a government controlled military force set up "assist the police force".

The Simla Agreement:

- On **2 July 1972** Bhutto signed the Simla agreement with the Prime minister of India, *Indira Gandhi*.
- India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not in international forums such as UN.
- Bhutto's popularity increased by bringing home the prisoners of war.

Establishing a new constitution:

- In April 1972 martial law was lifted and a new assembly was called.
- A committee was set up with representatives from different parties in the assembly to draw up a new constitution.
- The committee reported in April 1973 and its recommendations received almost unanimous support in the Assembly.
- On **14 August 1973** the new constitution became law.

Industrial Reforms:

- (i) Bhutto wanted to Control industrial output and channel investment into industrialization.
- (ii) He wanted to raise the workers living and working standards including the provision of cheap housing. And also allow the workers to set up unions.
- (iii) He wanted to erase the inequalities that had collected most of the industrial wealth into a few hands. 20 industrial houses owned 80 % of Pakistan's large scale industry.
- (iv) He wanted to create the wealth to help fund other government reforms.
- (v) He wanted to raise the popularity of the PPP.
- (vi) Bhutto also wanted to bring down inflation from 25 %.
 - For that he introduced the programme of **nationalization**.
 - The sugar, cotton, vegetable oil and rice industries together with the banking and insurance sectors were taken under the government control.
 - 70 major industrial units were placed under the control of a Federal Ministry of production.

Problems for nationalization policy:

- (i) Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production.
- (ii) Capable factory owner were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce.
- (iii) The changes took place at a time when the world was going through a recession .the nationalized industries faced a declining demand for their goods across the world and private companies were forced to close.
 - Despite these problems Bhutto's industrial reforms did have some success and inflation fell to just **6 %** in 1976.

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- Economic growth also began to increase.

Agricultural reforms:

- Bhutto believed that improved technology and better farming methods had raised production.
- So landowners could maintain their income on smaller, more productive, areas of land.
- He therefore ***cut the ceiling (top limit) to 250 acres from 500 acres irrigated and 500 from 1000 acres un-irrigated.***
- The surplus land could be sold to the smaller peasant/farmers to make better profits.
- Bhutto also wanted to give tenants security of tenure of the land they farmed.
- The tenants can purchase their farmed land from landlord but cannot sell to a third party who might then evict the tenants.
- Such a measure encouraged tenants to make improvements on their lands as they knew they would not be evicted.

- The cunning big landlords started transferring their holding to their members or to their trusted tenants.
- Bribery and corruption emerged among patwaris.

EXECUTION OF ZAB 1979:

ZAB remained in power from 1972 to 1977. Towards the later part of this period he lost the support of the labour class, the students and the press. He greatly antagonised the army by his remarks and steps. Bhutto also annoyed the west because of his leanings towards Russia. The defence forces were heavily banking upon the west for military supplies. Bhutto tries to form an Islamic block and suggested the oil producing countries to use oil weapon against the west. His nuclear programme greatly irritated the west and America. Henry Kissinger, the US foreign secretary clearly threatened Bhutto that US would make a horrible example of him if he didn't give up the nuclear programme.

Bhutto was arrested when ZIA imposed martial Law on July 5th 1977. He was soon released but was re-arrested in a murder case of Nawab Ahmed Khan. The trial started and continued during the following year. The Lahore high court announced its decision on March 18, 1978 and found him guilty of participating in a conspiracy to murder a political opponent. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of Lahore High Court and Bhutto was executed in Rawalpindi jail on April 4th 1979.

How successful was Pakistan in establishing a new constitution between 1947 and 1973?

Successes:

The first attempt to set up a constitution came in 1949 with the Objectives Resolution which tried to pave the way towards a new constitution. It attempted to set out a plan to enshrine Islamic principles in an eventual constitution.

In 1952 a revised Basic Principles Committee presented a report which made firm steps towards an Islamic constitution by stating that the Head of State should be Muslim and that he would appoint a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic law

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In 1956 the long awaited constitution emerged with the important declaration that Pakistan was to be an Islamic Republic and that Urdu and Bengali would be the official languages, which was an attempt to placate the people of East Pakistan.

In 1959 Basic Democracies were introduced by Ayub Khan which was a 4 tier structure of government, allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils which were set up was such that martial law was lifted in 1962 after a new constitution was introduced.

The 1973 Constitution revived the power of the National Assembly and as a result political parties became more important.

Failures:

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was criticised especially by East Pakistan who resented the fact that Urdu, not Bengali was to be the official language despite the much larger population. It also resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly, again due to the size of its population.

The death of Liaquat Ali Khan meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader could be found and had time to settle in The Basic Principles Committee's report which was criticised because the official language issue was still not settled and East Pakistan was determined to oppose the selection of Urdu. Political uncertainties and change meant that further discussions towards establishing a new constitution were put on hold for a few years until 1956.

The 1956 constitution was heavily criticised since it didn't solve the political problems of Pakistan. The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but whilst the President held the power to intervene or even suspend the Assembly. East Pakistan was very unhappy at not having a majority in the Assembly that it believed its vast population deserved. The 1962 constitution increased the powers of the ruling elite which happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used force or bribery to influence the results. The constitution also upset the people of East Pakistan as they felt they were going to have little part in the governing of Pakistan and that the power was held by the military and civil officials of West Pakistan.

As far as 1973 constitution is concerned there are several amendments included in it which make it a fragile and incompetent constitution.

REFORMS OF ZIA UL HAQ 1977 TO 1988:

Zia remained in power from 1977 to 1988. Soon after assuming power he embarked upon a process of Islamisation in all sincerity. In 1979 the Haddood Ordinance was enforced which meant the application of Islamic punishment for several crimes. Like the preparation, transportation and use of liquor were prohibited and were punishable by lashes and imprisonment. Besides that the crime of theft was to be punished by amputation of hand. The punishment of stoning to death was also to be given for the act of adultery. Act of false allegation or Qazaf was punishable by fine or imprisonment.

Zakat and usher Ordinance, interest free banking ordinance, establishment of shariat courts, ordinance for the sanctity of Ramzan and compulsory teaching of Pak studies and Islamiat were enforced. But unfortunately the measures to islamise the society proved unrealistic and were not successful. None of the Islamic punishments could be awarded. Only zakat system is continuing but the Shia sect has been exempted. In interest free banking the word interest is now called profit, otherwise there has been no change in the banking system.

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In economic affairs Zia announced the policy of denationalization of industries. Some nationalized industries were returned to the owner. Incentives were given in the form of fiscal and monetary concessions, and in import of machinery and raw material. Foreign investment was welcomed and full protection was granted. Industrialization gradually started and Zia's policy was successful. Steel mill was completed and Karakorum highway was built. Industrial and agricultural production showed an increase. Therefore it can be said that Zia had most success in economic affairs.

Pakistan got the membership of NAM in 1979. Zia attended Havana conference and clarified Pakistan's nuclear policy and other issues. Zia attended the OIC meetings and gave full support to the Arab cause in Palestine. Zia supported the afghan mujahidin against the Russian forces in Afghanistan. With American military and financial help Russian forces were pushed out in 1988. Zia's Afghanistan policy was a success. Besides that Zia promised election within 90 days. He established a nominated Assembly called Majlis-e – shoora which had limited powers and worked from 1981 to 1985. In 1985 elections were held on non-party basis and re-elected assembly was formed. M. Khan Junejo became the PM and martial law was lifted. But Junejo govt. was dismissed and assembly was dissolved in May 1988. Zia promised fresh elections in Oct. 1988.

PROBLRMS FOR BENAZIR 1988-1990:

She was criticized by many for the alleged corruption of her husband Asif Ali Zardari and PPP leaders were suspected of being involved; this tainted her own reputation. She came into confrontation with provincial governments especially as she had to work in a coalition with the MQM which was a party that represented Muslims who had migrated from India to Pakistan and settled in Sindh. This angered many PPP members in Sindh. Violent protests throughout Pakistan led to the MQM leaving the coalition and joining with the opposition which meant that her majority was gone. Further violence and deaths led to her dismissal because she and her government were blamed for the breakdown of law and order.

PROBLEMS FOR BENAZIR 1993-1996:

She was opposed by all sides, her own party the PPP and especially from her mother and brother who was eventually killed by police in Karachi. This was the last straw for the president as rumours blamed opposition and government involvement in the killing. Nawaz

Sharif mounted a personal attack on Bhutto focussing on her business interests and political methods and also held rallies and demonstrations in several cities. There was much violence and killing as a result which reflected badly on her government. Her husband Zardari was rumoured to be involved in shady business dealings that undermined her position. Pakistan's economic problems led to a request for a loan from the IMF which led to strict financial controls that were blamed on the government. Finally the government refused to carry out the Supreme Court's decision to dismiss 20 judges appointed by the government which caused a political crisis. The dismissal of the Chief Minister in the Punjab after he had upset the PPP also attracted much criticism of Bhutto's handling of the matter.

PROBLEMS FOR NAWAZ SHARIF 1990-1993:

He attempted to solve Pakistan's unemployment problem by providing cheap loans to men to buy taxis that he had imported. Few of the loans were repaid which put a strain on the economy. This was made worse when he tried to finance major investment projects that depended upon foreign aid especially from the USA. This aid was in decline and placed a severe strain on Pakistan's finances. The closure of a major bank also made matters worse.

As a result of these policies Sharif and his government were blamed. The mismanagement of the Cooperative societies led to millions of Pakistanis losing their money and again the government was blamed. In particular his family's association with loans that were made led to his image being harmed. Violence in Pakistan that related to drugs and the use of guns led to a strong response from Sharif but his actions were criticised by the opposition parties

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for being too repressive. Sharif came into conflict with the President over the appointment of an army chief of staff and also with the Eighth Amendment. Sharif was dismissed on charges of corruption.

Why did General Mushraff come to power in 1999?

Sharif was giving support for the Taliban in Afghanistan and this damaged relations with USA, as they refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, suspected of bombing the US embassy in Kenya. Pakistan also tested nuclear weapons, which angered a number of countries who then halted aid to Pakistan and brought Sharif much criticism.

He also blamed Musharraf for the embarrassing retreat from the fighting in Kashmir. The army refused to accept this criticism. Sharif tried to sack Musharraf whilst he was visiting Sri Lanka and, as a result, the army decided to intervene in the government and overthrew Sharif.

SEATO:

America saw it as only applying to Communist aggression and Pakistan realised that it would not apply to their protection against India.

Further uncertainties were caused when the Pakistan government delayed its ratification despite the Treaty being signed by its Foreign Minister. Therefore weaknesses were apparent. Pakistan tried to secure further aid as a result of its membership and a permanent military force to protect member states. Both of these were refused which further weakened Pakistan's resolve. When the organisation failed to support Pakistan in its wars with India withdrawal seemed to edge closer. Pakistan firmly believed SEATO should have supported it and became disenchanted with it.

UNO:

Pakistan was a newly born independent state, which emerged on the world map on 14 August 1947 as the largest Muslim country in the world. Pakistan was eager to be recognized as a sovereign state by all nations of the world.

Therefore Pakistan wished to join the UNO as soon as possible.

From the very beginning Pakistan got involved in arguments for the rights of Kashmiris. It also raised the question of Hyderabad and Junagarh in the Security Council. Therefore Pakistan's membership of UNO was essential.

Pakistan also wanted to play its role in peace keeping in the world under the charter of the UNO, and was against any act of territorial aggression, colonialism, nuclear arms race and racial discrimination all over the world. With these purposes and ideals, Pakistan joined the United Nations in September 1947.

PAKISTAN AND WORLD ORGANIZATION:

Successes

As a member of the UN Pakistan has raised the question of Kashmir on several occasions and also became the spokesperson for many Asian states who had not gained independence during the 1950s. It has supported the Palestinian cause and has also contributed to a number of UN peacekeeping forces throughout the world. Its membership of CENTO was treated enthusiastically because many of its fellow members were Muslim countries. Membership of OIC has reinforced the image of Pakistan as one of the world's leading Muslim nations and has provided it with much needed interest free loans and grants.

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This has also been the case through its membership of RCD. Has received financial and technical support from the World Bank through the Indus Water Treaty in 1959 as well as finance to help establish hydro-electric and soil reclamation programmes which has been vital for the stimulation of Pakistan's economy and industries.

Failures

The downside of Pakistan's membership of the UN is its failure to gain a solution to the Kashmir problem. Membership of SEATO failed to secure any protection for its problems with India or during the Bangladesh crisis and was mainly designed to prevent communist aggression in South East Asia. Pakistan also failed to secure aid through the organisation as well as a permanent military force to protect its members. As a result Pakistan left in 1972. Membership of CENTO lapsed in 1979 mainly as a result of the failure of the USA to join the organisation.

Pakistan's relationship with the USSR:

Successes:

Soviet oil exploration in Pakistan in 1961
India accepted Western arms in Indo-Chinese War 1962
£11 million loan to Pakistan in 1963
Ayub Khan visits USSR in 1965 – improves understanding
Soviets hold Peace Conference between Pakistan and India 1966
Soviet arms supplied to Pakistan from 1968
Bhutto visits USSR in 1972
USSR support for building a steel mill

Failures:

Liaquat Khan visits USA rather than USSR in 1949
Soviet pro-Indian stance on Kashmir
Pakistan joins USA sponsored military pacts in 1954 and 1955
USSR gives economic and technical assistance to India
Pakistan refuses USSR aid in 1956
USA spy plane scandal 1960 – plane took off from Pakistan
Pakistan involvement in USA-Chinese diplomatic ties in 1971 leads to greater pro-Indian support by USSR
Pakistan support for Afghanistan in war with USSR in 1979
Growth of economic and cultural ties slow due to Afghanistan effect
USSR unhappy with Pakistan's nuclear programme

Pakistan in its relationship with India:

Successes:

Agreement regarding border between east Bengal and Assam 1948
Minorities Agreement 1950
1960 IWT
1965 simla agreement
Simla Accord 1972.
Cricket diplomacy
CBMs

Failures:

Kashmir
Canalwater dispute
1965 and 1971 Wars
Nuclear arms race
Aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination
Kargil conflict 1999

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India and Pakistan... in finding a solution to the Kashmir issue:

Successes:

A cease-fire was arranged in January 1948 leaving Kashmir divided between India and Pakistan. From 1949 an official cease-fire line was agreed between India and Pakistan and was to be patrolled by UN troops. Pakistan kept up pressure on India by appealing to the UN whenever Indian moves tried to integrate Indian-occupied Kashmir into India. In 1957 the UN reconfirmed that Kashmir was a disputed territory and that a final solution should be settled by a UN supervised plebiscite. India promised to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine its future.

Failures:

War has broken out on at least 2 occasions between the 2 countries. Plebiscite still not been held. In 1987 elections were rigged by India in an attempt to show popular support for its occupation. 1999 Kargil crisis brings threat of nuclear war between the 2 sides. Continues to be a source of conflict between the two nations.

Pakistan and Bangladesh:

Successes:

In 1974 the Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib was invited to meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Countries in Lahore. Pakistan agreed to officially recognise Bangladesh. The countries agreed to view each other as Muslim friends and to resolve their differences. In 1975/6 there was an exchange of ambassadors and an agreement was reached to cooperate on trade, tourism and the media. In 1986 trade between the two countries reached a value of \$40 million. In 1985 and 1988 Pakistan was the first country to provide aid to Bangladesh due to severe weather.

Failures:

Pakistan withdrew from Commonwealth and SEATO. Some non-Bengalis reported facing persecution and deprivation in Bangladesh. In 1974 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Bangladesh to discuss the redistribution of shared assets but nothing was agreed. There was disagreement over the role of non-Bengalis in Bangladesh.

Pakistan in its relationship with the U.S.A:

Successes

1950 Liaquat Ali Khan visits United States Willing to join US in anti-communism pact in return for military aid Joins SEATO and CENTO

1980s sees substantial military and economic aid for Pakistan (\$4.2 billion) which sees Pakistan as third highest recipient of US aid

1989 Bhutto visits US

1993 Clinton restores sales of aircraft in return for Pakistan stopping production of weapon-grade uranium

1996 Bhutto visits US and gains \$388 million in military equipment

First Lady Hillary Clinton visits Pakistan

Failures

US provides military aid to India during its war with China in 1962 – places strain on relations Pakistan turns to China for friendship in 1962

US places arms embargo on India and Pakistan during 1965 war which badly affects Pakistan Bhutto leaves SEATO

American aid suspended in 1977 and again in 1979

1988 US aid falls dramatically and creates problems for Benazir Bhutto

US President George Bush blocks aid to Pakistan due to nuclear weapons in 1989

1992 US comes close to declaring Pakistan as a state sponsor of terrorism and places economic sanctions on the country

1998 US condemns Pakistan's nuclear weapons tests.

Pakistan's relationship with the UK and the Commonwealth

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Success

- British personnel remained in Pakistan post 1947
- Britain helped to broker a peace deal in 1965
- Margaret Thatcher visited in 1981
- £46m aid for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, an important trading partner
- Commonwealth member until 1971, aid given to Pakistan by other Commonwealth countries
- Britain supported Pakistan's support of Afghanistan during conflict with Russia and gave £30m aid in support of Afghan refugees in Pakistan
- By 1986, there was some £376m worth of trade between Pakistan and the UK Pakistan re-joined the Commonwealth in 1989.

Less success

- Britain refused to interfere in Kashmir problem
- Pakistan criticism over Suez crisis
- Britain abstained at United Nations over Bangladesh issues
- Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1971
- Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth in 1999 due to the military coup.

Pakistan and Afghanistan:

Successful

- During Zahir Shah's time in office relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan were friendly and during the 1965 War remained neutral despite pressure from other powers.
- There were good relations when an Islamic foreign policy was introduced, leading to visits between both countries by Bhutto and later Zia-ul-Haq and Daud in 1970's.
- There was humane treatment in Pakistan of Afghan refugees following outbreak of Afghan-Russian War.

Less successful

- Afghanistan had territorial claims to part of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) following establishment of Pakistan in 1947.
- Afghanistan voted against Pakistan joining UN in 1947.
- Afghanistan did not always adhere to a trade agreement with Pakistan;
- Diplomatic relations between the two countries were withdrawn in 1955 but later renewed.
- During the Afghan-Russian War, planes entered Pakistani airspace and some of the Pakistani frontier areas were bombed.
- After the war, law and order was hard to restore in Afghanistan; problems spread into the border region relating to drugs, armed robberies, kidnappings and gun battles between rival gangs.
- There was an increase in Islamic militancy following support given to the Taliban in Afghanistan.

PAKISTAN AND IRAN:

Iran is our neighboring country on the western side sharing a long boundary with Baluchistan. Rail, road and air links existed between the two countries from the very beginning. Iran was the first country to recognize Pakistan when it came into existence. Liaquat Ali Khan and King Raza Shah exchanged visits in 1950.

Very strong cultural ties existed between the two countries since medieval times. Persian was the court and official language for many centuries in India before the British brought the English language in 1835. Urdu language is deeply influenced by the Persian language.

Both Iran and Pakistan had leaning towards USA and the West and both joined the CENTO pact in 1954.

Several trade agreements for trade and exchange of media information have taken place. In 1965, RCD was

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established and cultural and economic relations were strengthened. Now ECO has replaced RCD. Iran helped Pakistan during 1965 and 1971 crises. Iran always supported Pakistan on Kashmir issue.

During the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, relations became cool because Iran became very hostile towards USA. An Iranian diplomat was killed in Lahore which poisoned the relations between the two countries for some time. But relations improved greatly after a democratic government was set up in Iran. Both Iran and Pakistan decided to withdraw from the CENTO pact in 1979. Iran supported Pakistan during the Russian invasion of Afghanistan during 1979 - 1988 periods.

However, Iran remains our trusted ally and very cordial relations exist between the two countries.

Why did being a nuclear power create difficulties for Pakistan:

- US diplomats expressed concern that Pakistan may have nuclear weapons, and would not give aid to Pakistan, stating Pakistan was in contravention of the 1985 Pressler Amendment. The USA had promised \$4 million in an economic package to help Pakistan to refurbish their military forces.
- The reduction in aid seriously affected Pakistan. In particular, the delivery of 28 F-16 fighter jets in which weakened Pakistan's relationship with USA.
- The Pakistan government expressed concerns about the status of India as a nuclear power.

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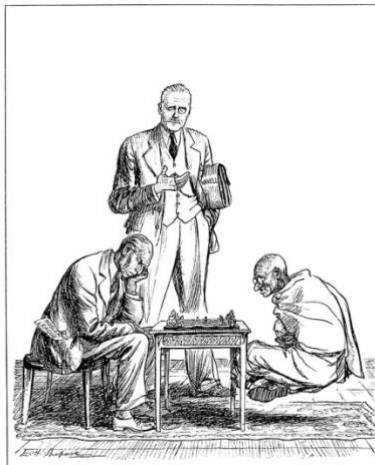
The painter has made the British officer the largest figure to demonstrate the importance that they held in India. Similarly the Indians are shown as small people to reflect their lowly status. Local rulers are on horseback behind the British official. They are shown as smaller, reflecting their lower status to the British. The horses are shown as large animals, graceful in appearance and movement, again showing superiority and power. This is reinforced by soldiers on horses who were carrying weapons.

The East India Company is shown as being a wealthy organisation as seen in the uniforms and the decorations on the horses. The Company were able to achieve this wealth through trading as can be seen by the boat shown in the picture and through the gaining of lands through conquest and agreements with local rulers. This is shown by the weapons displayed and the wealthy appearance of the Indians that the British were also able to exploit.



A QUESTION OF CONTROL.
INDIA. "WHAT ABOUT CHANGING PLACES?"
JOHN BULL. "WELL, YOU'RE WELCOME TO SEE WHAT YOU CAN DO AT THE WHEEL; BUT I THINK I'D BETTER SET BESIDE YOU—WITHIN REACH OF THE BRAKE."

- The driver of the car is John Bull who represents British interests at the negotiations.
- The car is travelling over bumpy ground which represents the way that negotiations went during these years – difficult negotiations.
- The Indian in the car who represents their negotiators wants to take control from the British who are reluctant to give up control.
- It suggests that the British feared that progress towards change might happen too quickly, hence the reference to the brake on the car.
- The source explains why the political leaders in India were reluctant to attend the Round Table Conferences because it shows that the decisions had already been made by the British, in the way that John Bull wants to keep control of the car.



TIME FOR A MOVE

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This source is representing the negotiations at Simla in 1945. The negotiators don't appear to be cooperating with each other. One (Jinnah) is looking bored and the other (Gandhi) appears to be floating above the ground suggesting that he is in another place rather than sat round the table. The observer (Lord Wavell the Viceroy from Britain) is watching. His face suggests that he is impatient and he is looking at his watch. They are perhaps thoughtful. Their faces show they are thinking about their next move/waiting to see what move the other makes. Using a game of chess in the source suggests the negotiations were complex and took time which clearly the British didn't want to waste.



It suggests that the ending of the conflict was an important event because there are military men of high rank witnessing the signing of a peace treaty. The source shows that the Indian army had become involved in the conflict. The end of the conflict led to the formation of Bangladesh. The source suggests that this news was important so would be broadcast around the subcontinent and probably the world.