



IGCSE 0448 Pakistan Studies History Resources

Prepared by the Aitchison College Academic Portal

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(Topical Questions of Section III are along with the topics)

PaperPattern

Components	Weighting
Paper 1 The history and culture of Pakistan 1 hour 30 minutes Section A (25 marks) – candidates answer one compulsory question made up of four parts: (a), (b), (c), and (d), which are linked by a common theme. Parts (a) and (b) are source-based questions using historical sources, either text or pictures/graphic. Candidates use and interpret each source in answering the questions. Section B (50 marks) – candidates answer two questions from a choice of four. Each question has three parts: • one part testing knowledge (4 marks) A factual answer of no more than one short paragraph is required. • one part testing knowledge and understanding includes selecting relevant and appropriate information (7 marks) Answers require at least two paragraphs of writing. • one part testing knowledge, understanding and analytical and evaluative ability (14 marks) This includes the ability to synthesise information, the appropriate use of selected relevant examples and the ability to compare and contrast. This question should be answered in an essay, in continuous prose of approximately two pages of writing, not in note form. Total 75 marks. Externally assessed.	50%

Notes

1 All answers must be written in English

2 Timing guidelines

Candidates should spend approximately 30 minutes on each question in each paper. Within that, candidates need to allocate time according to the value of the marks awarded in each part of each question.

5.1 Syllabus aims

The Cambridge IGCSE Pakistan Studies syllabus is divided into two:

The history and culture of Pakistan

This part of the syllabus aims to provide insights into the origins, creation and development of Pakistan, and encourages discussion of issues facing Pakistan. It aims to enable candidates to:

- acquire knowledge and understanding of the human past
- investigate historical events, changes, people and issues
- develop understanding of how the past has been represented and interpreted
- develop an understanding of the nature and use of historical evidence
- organise and communicate knowledge and understanding of history
- develop and stimulate an interest and enthusiasm for history and acquire a basis for further historical study
- develop an understanding of the nature of cause and consequence, continuity and change and similarity and difference.

Paper 1 The history and culture of Pakistan

Note

The syllabus content for Paper 1 is divided into three sections:

- Cultural and historical background to the Pakistan Movement
- The emergence of Pakistan 1906–47
- Nationhood 1947–99.

The material within each section is inter-related. Different parts of individual exam questions may require knowledge of more than one item within a section, and the demonstration of understanding and analysis of these relationships. The importance of and the attention that needs to be given to each item in teaching varies according to its significance and the amount of information available.

Section I

Cultural and Historical Background to the Pakistan Movement(Pre 1906)

Key Questions

- How successful were the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the subcontinent during the 18th and 19th centuries?
- What were the causes and consequences of the decline of the Mughal Empire?
- What were the causes and consequences of the War of Independence 1857–58?
- How important was the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the development of the Pakistan Movement during the 19th century?
- To what extent have Urdu and regional languages contributed to the cultural development of Pakistan since 1947?

Section II

The Emergence of Pakistan (1906-47)

Key Questions

- How far did the Pakistan Movement develop during the early 20th century?
- How successful was the Khilafat Movement in advancing the cause of the Pakistan Movement?
- How successful was the Pakistan Movement in the years 1927 to 1939?
- How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the years 1940 to 1947?
- How important were the contributions of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947?

Section III

Nationhood(1947-99)

Key Questions

- How successful was the establishment of an independent nation between 1947 and 1948?
- How far did Pakistan achieve stability following the death of Jinnah?
- Why did East Pakistan seek and then form the independent state of Bangladesh?
- How successful was Pakistan in the twenty years following the 'Decade of Progress'?
- How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the 20th century?
- How important has Pakistan's role been in world affairs since 1947?

Section I

Cultural and Historical Background to the Pakistan Movement(Pre 1906)

Key Questions

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- What were the causes and consequences of the decline of the Mughal Empire?
- What were the causes and consequences of the War of Independence 1857–58?
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Religious Thinkers

- **How successful were the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the subcontinent during the 18th and 19th centuries?**

1. Cultural and historical background to the Pakistan Movement	
Key Question 1: How successful were the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the subcontinent during the 18th and 19th centuries?	
Focus points: • How important were the religious reforms of Shah Waliullah? • What influence did Syed Ahmad Barelvi exert in the revival of Islam? • How influential was Haji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement?	Specified content: • the religious reforms of Shah Waliullah and his role in the political and religious context of the time • Syed Ahmad Barelvi and the revival of Islam in the subcontinent • the Jihad movement and the Mujahideen • Haji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement.

Contents

1. Reasons for Revival of Islam
2. Shah Waliullah
3. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid Barelvi
4. Haji Shariatullah
5. Titu Mir

→ Reasons for the Revival of Islam in the Subcontinent (18th–19th Century)

- Economic and intellectual breakdown alarmed reformist Muslims.

- Shāh Walī Ullāh emphasized Quranic teachings and translated the Qur’ān into Persian (“Fath ur-Rehmān”).
- Punjab under Sikh rule restricted religious freedom: mosques converted to stables, Āzān and prayers banned.
- Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī launched an armed Jihād to free Muslims from Sikh oppression.
- Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh initiated the Ferāizī movement to revive Islamic duties among East Bengal peasants.

→ **Shah Waliullah**

❖ **Life and Background of Shāh Walī Ullāh**

- Born in 1703 A.D. in Delhi; real name Qutb ud-dīn.
- Studied at Madrasa Rahīmiyyah, founded by his father ‘Abd al-Rahīm.
- Known as Shāh Walī Ullāh for his contributions to Islamic revival.
- Died in 1762; work continued by his sons.

❖ **Achievements of Shāh Walī Ullāh**

- Translated the Qur’ān into Persian (“Fath ur-Rehmān”).
- Authored 51 books (23 Arabic, 28 Persian), including Izālat al-Khafā and Ḥujjatullāh al-Bālighā.
- Promoted Sunni-Shia unity and social harmony.
- Called Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to defeat Marathas at the Third Battle of Panipat (1761).

❖ **Importance of Shāh Walī Ullāh in the Revival of Islam**

- First to identify neglect of Islamic principles as the cause of Muslim decline.
- Emphasized Quranic teachings and made them accessible to common people.
- Wrote books to educate and unite Muslims.
- Sent students to spread harmony; advised Sufis and Ulemas to reconcile differences.
- Encouraged moderation in social spending and fair business practices.
- Supported Ahmad Shāh Abdālī against Marathas to protect Muslims.

→ **Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī**

❖ **Life and Background of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī**

- Born 1786 in Rai Baraili near Lucknow; studied at Madrassa Rahimiyyah.
- Influenced by Shāh Walī Ullāh and Sheikh ‘Abd al-Wahāb during Saudi Arabia visit (1821).
- Founded Jihād Movement against oppressive Sikh rule.
- Killed in 1831 at the Battle of Balakot.

❖ **Jihād Movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī**

- Founded to free Muslims of Punjab from Sikh oppression.
- Raised volunteer army (Mujāhidīn) and fought several battles (1826–1830).
- Encouraged Pashtuns to adopt Sharia; replaced traditional Khans with reformist ulama.
- Collected Islamic taxes to fund the Jihād.

❖ **Reasons for Jihād Against Sikh Rule**

- Punjab Muslims denied religious freedom; mosques turned into stables, Āzān and prayers banned.
- Armed struggle needed to restore Muslim dignity.
- Inspired by Hajj visit in 1821; returned with plan for Jihād.
- Believed un-Islamic forces needed to be defeated for Muslims to regain glory.

★ **Battle of Balakot (1831)**

- Syed Ahmad aimed to liberate Kashmir and Hazara.
- Balakot was considered safe but locals betrayed him.
- Sikhs, led by Ranjit Singh, outnumbered and attacked the forces.
- Syed Ahmad, Shah Ismail, and 600 followers were killed.

➔ **Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh**

❖ **Life and Background of Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh**

- Born 1781 in Farīdpur, East Bengal; spent 19 years in Saudi Arabia.
- Influenced by Sheikh ‘Abd al-Wahāb.
- Started Farāizi movement to restore Islamic obligations among Muslims.
- Work continued by his son Muḥsin ud-dīn (Dādū Miān) after death in 1840.

❖ **Achievements of Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh**

- Declared Bengal as Dār ul-Ḥurb.
- Organized Muslim cultivators; raised awareness of rights.
- Started Farāizi movement to revive Islamic obligations.

- Introduced concept of Jihād; movement continued till 1860 by son Dādū Miān.

❖ **Farāizī Movement**

- Founded in Bengal by Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh (1781–1840) to restore Islamic practices.
- Removed Hindu customs from Muslim worship.
- Emphasized repentance and righteous living.
- Declared areas where Islam could not be practiced as Dār ul-Ḥurb.
- Continued till 1860 by son Dādū Miān.

❖ **Reasons for Starting the Farāizī Movement**

- Muslims in Bengal had distanced themselves from Islamic teachings due to non-Muslim influence.
- Oppression by British and Hindu landlords affected economic, social, and educational rights.
- Encouraged performance of religious duties (Farāiz).
- Declared Bengal as Dār al-Harb where Friday, Eid, and congregational prayers could not be offered.
- Promoted Jihād against non-Islamic oppression.

→ **Titu Mīr**

❖ **Life and Achievements of Titu Mīr**

- Real name: Sayyid Mīr Niṣār; Bengali freedom fighter and disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.
- Advocated rights of Muslim farmers; resisted oppressive British and Hindu landlords.
- Organized rebellion; built bamboo fort at Narkelbariā with 15,000 followers.
- Defeated in second attack by British forces with superior army.
- Fought against exploitative practices like beard tax and forced indigo cultivation.

❖ **Role of Zamindārs**

- Landlords and tax collectors; often wealthy with private armies. Oppressed Muslims post-Aurangzeb’s era (1800s onwards). Example: Krishnā Devā Rāi
- imposed beard tax on Muslims. Titu Mīr led resistance against zamindars;
- advised Muslims not to pay unjust taxes.

Mughal Decline

- What were the causes and consequences of the decline of the Mughal Empire?

Key Question 2: What were the causes and consequences of the decline of the Mughal Empire?

Focus points:

- How far was Aurangzeb responsible for the decline of the Mughal Empire?
- How far did Mughal weaknesses from 1707 make decline inevitable?
- What role did the East India Company play in the decline of the Empire?
- How successful was British expansion in the subcontinent to 1857?

Specified content:

Internal Indian reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire:

- the impact of Aurangzeb's policies on the stability of the Mughal Empire
- the effectiveness of his successors as rulers
- problems of controlling the Empire
- the rise of the Maratha and Sikh empires.

External reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire:

- foreign invasions from Persia and Afghanistan
- the East India Company's involvement in the subcontinent
- British relations with the later Mughal rulers of Delhi
- British expansion from the 1750s to the 1850s in the subcontinent
- a general overview of the course of, and reasons for, British annexation of the territories which now encompass Pakistan (including the Anglo-Sikh wars and the annexations of Lahore, the Punjab and Peshawar)
- the British search for a 'natural' and 'scientific' NW Frontier
- British policy towards Tribal Territory.

Contents

1-Overview of Mughal Rule

Founded by Babur in 1526 at the First Battle of Panipat; Babur reigned for 4 years and died in 1530.

Known for achievements in literature (Tuzuk-e-Babari), architecture (Taj Mahal), and music (Tansen).

After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, weak and corrupt rulers took over.

Decline accelerated after Marathas captured Delhi in 1757; final blow came during 1857 rebellion when Bahadur Shah Zafar was exiled to Rangoon.

2-Aurangzeb's Religious Policies

Staunch Sunni and orthodox Muslim; faced resistance internally and externally.

Re-imposed Jizya tax on non-Muslims.

Banned Satti and tried to regulate Muslim beard length.

Destroyed Hindu temples and converted Sikh Gurdwaras into stables.

Historians note he lacked religious tolerance.

3-Jizya Tax

Introduced in 1679 by Aurangzeb; previously abolished by Akbar.

Tax on non-Muslims in lieu of joining Muslim army; meant for protection and security.

Hindus protested; Aurangzeb ignored objections.

4-Role of Marathas

Lived in southern Deccan; devoted Hindus known for guerrilla warfare.

Under Shivaji, expanded influence in central India.

Aurangzeb spent 25 years fighting them in Deccan, leading to Mughal bankruptcy.

Bajirao captured Delhi in 1737 (1st Battle) and 1757 (2nd Battle).

Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated Marathas in Third Battle of Panipat (1761) at Shah Wali Ullah's request.

5-Ahmad Shah Durrani (Ahmad Shah Abdali)

Afghan military leader; became king after Nadir Shah Afshar's death (1747).

Invited to India by Shah Wali Ullah to fight Marathas.

Victory brought Punjab, Kashmir, and Multan under Afghan control.

Could not consolidate rule in India; returned to Kabul.

6-Aurangzeb's Rise to Power (1658 A.D.)

Father Shah Jahan fell ill; Aurangzeb imprisoned him at Agra Fort until death (1666).

Defeated elder brother Dara Shikoh, who fled and was later captured and executed.

Aurangzeb defeated and killed his other brothers; became emperor through military skill.

7-Reasons for Maratha Defeat After Mughal Decline

Vast territories were difficult to control; local leaders gained autonomy.
Shah Wali Ullah united Muslims to oppose Marathas.
Ahmad Shah Abdali's military expertise led to decisive victory in 1761.
Heavy casualties for Marathas, including Peshwa's heir, ended their ambitions.

8-Divine of Mughal Empire After Aurangzeb

Weak, luxury-oriented, and corrupt successors.
No clear law of succession; internal wars between princes.
Administration neglected; treasury depleted by expensive wars.
Military loyalty shifted to Mansabdars, not emperor.
Provinces like Oudh, Bihar, Orissa, Deccan declared independence.
Foreign invasions (Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali) further weakened the empire.
Inefficient soldiers due to lack of training and irregular pay.

9-Opposition to Jizya Tax

Abolished by Akbar earlier; re-imposed by Aurangzeb in 1679.
Hindus resisted extra financial burden.
Perceived as religious/political tactic to force conversion or control.
Caused discontent and risk of rebellion.

10-Impact of Aurangzeb's Policies on Mughal Rule

Religious Policies: Favored Islam; alienated non-Muslims; widespread unrest.
Deccan Campaigns: Drained treasury; diverted attention from other problems.
Financial Mismanagement: Military spending + poor revenue collection → fiscal crisis.
Rebellion and Regional Fragmentation: Jats, Sikhs, Rajputs, Marathas challenged Mughal authority.
Administrative Centralization: Autocratic rule caused inefficiencies in responding to local issues.
Succession Crisis: Weak and inexperienced rulers after Aurangzeb; led to further instability.

11-Reasons for Mughal Decline

1. Aurangzeb's Policies

Intolerance toward non-Muslims; imposed Jizya.
Destroyed Hindu temples; banned Satti and certain cultural practices.
High taxation to maintain large army.
Wars with Rajputs ended alliances established by Akbar.
Vast empire became hard to control.

2. Infighting Among Aurangzeb's Successors

No succession law; internal wars.
Moazzam (Bahadur Shah I) killed brothers to take throne.
Moral decay: rulers indulged in luxury rather than administration.

3. Arrival of the British

Ambitious, organized, disciplined army.
Superior weapons and naval power.
Controlled coastal presidencies; took over Delhi in 1803.

4. Spread of Maratha Power

Guerrilla tactics; central India influence.
1737: 1st Battle of Delhi; 1757: 2nd Battle of Delhi.
1761: Defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

5. Invasions by Persians and Afghans

Nadir Shah (1738-39) plundered wealth; took Koh-i-Noor.
Ahmad Shah Abdali attacked India multiple times (1747-1769); controlled Punjab, Kashmir, Multan temporarily.

6. Vastness of the Empire

Extended from Afghanistan to Assam; Kashmir to Deccan.
Difficult for one emperor to administer; Mansabdars became powerful.
Far-off provinces declared independence.

7. Mansabdari System

Introduced by Akbar; civil + military duties combined.
Multiple responsibilities: maintain troops, revenue collection, judicial duties.
Soldiers loyal to Mansabdar rather than emperor → weakened central authority.

Questions

Q: Describe the Mughal rule? OR Q: Describe the Mughals? [4]

- It was founded by Babur in 1526 at the 1st battle of Panipat. Though his reign remained very short for 4 years and he died in 1530 by the poison of his own men.
- Mughals fought with each other for throne yet they excelled in literature i.e., Tuzuk-e Babari, architecture i.e., Taj Mahal, music i.e., Tan sen, etc.
- After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, weak ancestors had taken the control who were corrupt, inefficient, and luxury oriented.
- The process of Mughal decline was ended in 1757, when Marathas captured Delhi but the final blow was blown in the mutiny of independence in 1857 where Bahadur Shah Zafar (The last Mughal emperor) was defeated and sent to exile in Rangoon (Now Burma/Myanmar).

Q: Describe Aurangzeb's religious policies? [4]

- He was a staunch Sunni and an orthodox Muslim who faced hostilities within and outside his religion.
- He re-imposed Jizya.

- He banned Satti.
- He tried to fix the length of the beard Muslims had to keep.
- He also burnt Hindu temples and converted Sikh Gurdwara near Badshahi mosque into stables.
- According to many historians, he had no religious tolerance.

Q: Describe the Jizya tax. [4]

- Introduced in 1679 by Aurangzeb.
- It was a tax on non-Muslims for their protection and security.
- It was an alternative to join the Muslim army.
- Akbar abolished it previously.
- Hindus protested against the tax.
- Aurangzeb ignored the protests and did not abolish it.

Q: Describe what Marathas did? [4]

- They (Marathas) lived in the southern state of Deccan.
- They were devoted Hindus and were popular for their guerrilla fighting.
- Under Shivaji, the ruthless Marathas' influence spread and with both decline of Mughal emperor and rise of Marathas, their control extended over central India.
- Aurangzeb spent 25 years fighting with Marathas in the state of Deccan but failed. This attempt bankrupted the Mughal Empire and historians say that Aurangzeb did not even had the cart to go at Eid gah to offer prayers.
- Bajirao (a famous Maratha general) attacked Delhi in 1737 at the 1st battle of Delhi and then captured it in 1757 in 2nd battle of Delhi by defeating Najib-ud-Dawlah.
- Ahmad Shah Abdali was invited by Shah Wali Ullah to fight with Marathas because Mughal had no powers at that time.
- Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated Marathas in 1761 in the third battle of Panipat.

Q: Who was Ahmad Shah Durrani? [4]

- He was also known as Ahmad Shah Abdali.
- He was an Afghan leader, a military genius who had excellent tactical skills.
- He was enlisted as a young soldier in the Afghan military and rose quickly to the position of commander.
- He proclaimed Kingship after the death of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1747.
- Shah Wali Ullah invited him to come to India to protect the Mughals from Marathas.
- The victory brought Punjab, Kashmir and Multan under Afghan control.
- He could not consolidate the victory in India and went back to Kabul.

Q: How did Aurangzeb come to power in 1658 A.D.? [7]

- Aurangzeb did not let his father Shāh Jahān (real name is Shihāb al-dīn Muḥammad Khurram) continue to reign. His father fell ill, and it was thought that he will not survive. When Shāh Jahān recovered, he was imprisoned in Agra fort where though he was not mistreated and was being looked after by his daughter Jahān Āra until his death in 1666, he was not called upon to govern.
- Shāh Jahān declared Dārā as his successor in 1657 but with Aurangzeb's military genius Dārā was defeated. Dārā fled to Punjab where he was not given entry then he fled to Afghanistan where one of his old friends betrayed him. He was later captured and killed by

Aurangzeb on a pretext of idolatry and apostasy from Islam. His head was sent to Shāh Jahān in Agra fort.

- Four sons of Shāh Jahān were governors of large provinces i.e., Dārā Shikoh- the governor of Multan and Kabul but was resident at Shāh Jahān's court, Murād Baksh- the governor of Gujrat and Malwa, Shāh Shuja'- the governor of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and Aurangzeb- the governor of Deccan, fought with each other and Aurangzeb had ultimately taken control by defeating and killing his brothers.

Q: Why were the Marathas defeated after the decline of the Mughal Empire? [7]

- They (Marathas) lived in the southern state of Deccan.
- They were devoted Hindus and were popular for their guerrilla fighting.
- Aurangzeb spent 25 years fighting with Marathas in the state of Deccan but failed.
- In 1737, they defeated Mughals in 1st battle of Delhi and captured strategic town of Malwa.
- In 1757, Marathas captured Delhi in 2nd battle of Delhi and controlled vast lands which were previously part of Mughal Empire.
- This vast land was not easy to control and administer by the Marathas. So, local rulers came to the picture and Maratha families started showing loyalty to the local leaders than Peshwa (Maratha Leader).
- Shah Wali Ullah organized an opposition to the Marathas. He called all the Muslims to come together to save Mughal Empire.
- Ahmad Shah Abdali was also called upon who came and defeated Marathas in 1761 at the 3rd battle of Pani Pat.
- It was the technical expertise of Ahmad Shah Abdali which made him victorious.
- Thousands of Marathas were dead on that day including the Peshwa's heir.
- So, this defeat ended the Maratha ambitions.

Q: Why the Mughal Empire declined following the death of Aurangzeb? OR [7]

Q: How did the successors of Aurangzeb contribute to the downfall of Mughal Empire?[7]

- The Mughal rulers after the death of Aurangzeb became weak, luxury oriented, corrupt and inefficient and left the administration to their ministers who sought for their own vested interests.
- There was no law of succession for which the ancestors of Aurangzeb fought with each other. Aurangzeb's son Moazzam (Bahadar Shah I) defeated and killed his brothers Azam and Kam Baksh to take control of the throne. He lived for 5 years and died in 1712. His four sons also fought with each other for the throne but Jahandar killed his brothers, though he was also killed a year later.
- They were more interested in drinking, dancing, music and poetry rather than administration.
- Fighting the wars became expensive and resulted in loss of treasury.
- Military was stretched and loyal to Mansabdars and not to the King for which the army became inefficient.
- The vastness of the empire with less interest and efficiency in the administration became a reason for the decline of Mughal Empire.
- The provinces which were far from the center i.e., Oudh, Bihar, Orissa and Deccan declared independence.
- The foreign invasions of Nadir Shah in 1739 and Ahmad Shah Abdali looted the Mughal Empire.

- Soldiers were inefficient for the Empire because 1st of all they lacked training and secondly, they were not being paid regularly.

Q: Why was Jizya tax opposed by Hindus in Aurangzeb's rule? [7]

- Firstly, Jizya tax was abolished by Emperor Akbar more than hundred years prior to its reimposition.
- So, Hindus who were living happily without paying anything to the govt. did not like an extra financial burden for which they were previously relieved by Akbar.
- The tax was reintroduced in 1679 by Aurangzeb.
- Hindus protested the tax because they thought it as Aurangzeb's religious gimmick to convert Hindus to Islam.
- They either have to pay heavy Jizyā tax, or they have to become Muslims to get relief because this was not applied to them.
- Some Hindus thought it as Aurangzeb's political gimmick to control them.
- Hindus either have to come to war against him who had one of the largest armies among all the Mughal rulers or they have to come to terms with Aurangzeb.

Q: How did Aurangzeb's policies impact Mughal rule? [7]

Religious Policies: He implemented measures favoring Islam over other religions, such as imposing Jizya (tax on non-Muslims). This policy alienated non-Muslim subjects leading to widespread discontent and resistance.

Deccan Campaigns: Deccan wars depleted treasury and it also diverted the attention from other pressing issues. It prolonged conflicts in the South and weakened the central authority.

Financial mismanagement: Due to increased military spending, lack of revenue reforms, and inadequate revenue collection, empire faced a persistent fiscal crisis which led to inflation, economic instability, and inability to sustain its vast territorial holdings.

Rebellion and Regional Fragmentation: The Jats, Sikhs, Rajputs, and Marathas among other

challenged Mughal authority and sought to establish their own independent kingdoms.

Administrative centralization: Aurangzeb's strong centralization of power and autocratic rule led to administrative inefficiencies. This approach hindered empire's ability to respond to local challenges.

Succession Crisis: Aurangzeb's long reign and tensions caused by his policies resulted in a succession crisis after his death. Subsequent Mughal rulers were often weak and inexperienced.

Reasons for Downfall

There were many factors contributing to the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Reasons of Mughal Downfall

1. Aurangzeb's policies

- Intolerant attitude towards non-Muslims thus, imposed Jizya on them which was previously abolished by the Akbar.
- He destroyed no. of Hindus temples and harsh treatment was meted out with them and Sikhs. Satti was banned.

- Being a staunch Sunni, he banned many cultural practices, i.e., painters, musicians, and dancers who had become the part of Muslim culture as well.
- High taxation was imposed because he had to bear the expense of large army.
- He had to fight with Rajputs which ended the Mughal friendship with them created by Akbar.
- Vastness of Empire became one of an issue which could not be controlled by his descendants.

2. Infighting between Aurangzeb's greedy successors.

- It was one of the most important causes of decline of the Mughal Empire.
- There was no law of succession for which the ancestors of Aurangzeb fought with each other.
- Aurangzeb himself became emperor by defeating his rivals in the battle.
- In pursuance of not to repeat the same he divided the empire to his three sons but he could not succeed.
- Aurangzeb's son Moazzam (Bahadar Shah I) defeated and killed his brothers Azam and Kam Baksh to take control of the throne. He lived for 5 years and died in 1712. His four sons also fought with each other for the throne but Jahandar killed his brothers, though he was also killed a year later.
- Moral degeneration had set in and rulers, nobles, and officers were used to drinking, dancing, music, and poetry rather than administration and statesmanship.

3. Arrival of the British

- They were ambitious to take the control of whole India which pushed the Mughals into a final decline.
- British extended their territories through superior administration and better organization.
- British had superior weapons with trained and disciplined army.
- British were clearly superior in weaponry because of the industrialization.
- British army had better techniques of fighting.
- They also possessed a strong naval force for which they could control the three coastal presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.
- In 1803, British took over Delhi and placed Shah Alam-II under their protection.

4. Spread of Marathan Power

- Aurangzeb had fought for 25 years in Deccan with Marathas but could not defeat them till his death.
- They were known for their guerrilla fighting skills and their devotion to Hinduism.
- Their influence spread under the brave leadership of Sivaji.
- In the 18th century they organized themselves in central India and in 1737 Bajirao (Maratha general) defeated Mughals outside Delhi in 1st battle of Delhi and captured the strategic town of Malwa in 1738.
- They captured the Red fort in Delhi in 1757 at the 2nd battle of Delhi and placed a puppet Mughal ruler there.
- In 1761, on the request of Shah Abdul Aziz, Ahmad Shah Abdali came and defeated Marathas through his military genius in 3rd battle of Panipat.

5. Invasion by Persians and Afghans

- The decline of Mughal Empire attracted the foreign powers to attack India for plundering.

- The 1st armed invasion came from Persians when Nadir Shah Afshar attacked India in 1738-39 and because of the weak Mughal army, they captured the empire's wealth. It was only a successful plundering expedition.
- Nadir Shah Afshar came at the outskirts of Delhi defeated Muhammad Shah Rangilla's army in no time and cleverly took the crown jewel Koh-i-Noor from the emperor.
- In between 1747 and 1769, Afghans under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Abdali attacked India for ten times. By 1749, he gained control of the Punjab and by 1756 he added Kashmir and Multan to it.
- Mughal Empire was so weak that Shah Abdul Aziz has called Ahmad Shah Abdali to protect from Marathas in 1761.
- Though they were able to attack India for no. of times, they could not consolidate their victories and had to go back to Kabul.

6. Vastness of the Empire

- Mughal Empire reached to climax at the time of Aurangzeb.
- The empire was extended from Afghanistan in West to Assam in the East, and from Kashmir in the North to Assam in the South.
- It was such a vast government that one emperor could not take control of the administration.
- The vastness was the reason that Aurangzeb used Mansabdars to run the government at distant places. But, Mansabdars used the soldiers they recruited for their own vested interests.
- The far-off provinces i.e., Oudh, Bihar, Orissa, Deccan and Bengal declared independence.
- Within 50 years after the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal Empire shrank to 100 miles in width and 300 miles in length.

7. Mansabdari system

- 'Mansab' is an Arabic word which means 'a post', the one who holds it is called as 'Masabdar'. Before Akbar there was no division of civil and military functions. The soldiers had to fight a war as well as to do the duty of police.
- Akbar introduced this system in 1570 A.D.
- They were classified into 66 grades from (10)-lowest to (10,000)-highest and were to be only appointed by a Royal decree though emperor can take advice.
- They had multiple responsibilities, firstly to maintain troops and other equipment such as horses, camels, elephants, mules, crafts, etc.
- Secondly to act as a revenue personnel or judicial officer.
- They were paid a very handsome amount of money according to their ranks. But sometimes they were also paid in Jagirs.
- The problem was that as soldiers were recruited by a mansabdar directly so they regarded him as the real employer and so all loyalties were given to mansabdar instead of emperor. Mansabar was already a powerful person in his territories with respect to manpower and financial power. So he used the loyalties of these soldiers in gaining independence of distant territories and ultimately led to weakness of Mughal empire.

Conclusively, it can be argued that spread of Marathan power was the main reason for the decline of Mughal Empire because had Mughals able to befriend the Marathas, the process of their decline could have been either avoided or slowed down.

War of Independence (1857-58)

- What were the causes and consequences of the War of Independence 1857-58?

Key Question 3: What were the causes and consequences of the War of Independence 1857-58?

Focus points:

- What were the long-term causes of the War?
- What were the immediate causes of the War?
- Why was independence not achieved?
- What were the immediate consequences of the War?

Specified content:

- the immediate and underlying causes of the War
- the attitude of Bahadur Shah Zafar
- the course of the War, with particular reference to the roles played by the Muslim rulers and populations of what is now Pakistan
- reasons for failure
- an assessment of the short-term impact of the War on Muslims in the subcontinent
- British reaction during and immediately after the War (including the major constitutional, educational and administrative reforms which followed).

Contents

- 1.Causes
- 2.Events
- 3.Failure
- 4.Effects

(i) Causes

Political

- Political annexation-based policies of the EIC; various means e.g. the “Doctrine of Lapse” by Lord Dalhousie 1852, capture of Oudh in 1856. This spoiled the impression of the British in front of local rulers who felt insecure and considered the British greedy land grabbers.
- Disrespect of the Mughal rule; shifting the royal family from the Red Fort to the Qutub Saheb by Dalhousie.
- Negligible share of Indians in the civil service + 1834, English replaced Persian as the court’s language; resentment among Indians to such policies.
- English also became the language in which Indians were educated.

Economic

Indian Resources for Brit industry; huge profits from sale of manufactured goods in

- India; local industry declined.
Heavy taxation; unaffordable for poor & small farmers.
- Corrupt tax officers; some would keep taxes for themselves.
- The salary of sepoys was kept low, causing more resentment.
-

Social

Dominating British Culture; The arrogant attitude of the British towards Indians; did

- not seem to consider them equals.
Introduction of roads, railways & telecommunication was unacceptable to many
- Indians; seen as a threat to their culture.
Role of Christian missionaries; preaching & missionary schools; Indians felt their
- religious interests threatened.
The British schooling system was also disliked by many.
-

Military

Grease-cartridge issue.

- The officers were almost exclusively British; Indians were mainly Sepoys and
- Sowars.
Spread of rumours; such as the Muslims, Hindus, Christians would be forced to
- convert to Christianity and would be sent abroad to fight.
The use of Indian troops in Afghanistan proved unpopular.
-

(ii) Events and Failure

New Cartridge

- The British introduced a rifle with grease-covered cartridges that soldiers had to bite open. Rumours said the grease was made from cow and pig fat, offending both Hindus and Muslims. Sepoys refused to use them.
-

Mangal Pandey

- Sepoy Mangal Pandey rebelled and was executed. Two months later, sepoy in Meerut also refused the cartridges, were imprisoned, then freed by their comrades who attacked the city and killed British officers. They captured Delhi, making Bahadur Shah II the symbolic leader.
-

Spread of Rebellion

- The revolt spread rapidly; British control was lost in Mathura, Kanpur, Jhansi, Allahabad, Delhi, and Lucknow—wiping out British authority across much of northern India.

Kanpur (Cawnpore)

- Nana Sahib's forces besieged the British for three weeks. After a false promise of safe passage, hundreds of British soldiers, women, and children were massacred. When the British retook the city, they took brutal revenge.
-

Recovery by British

- The rebellion was disorganized, and the British slowly regained power. Delhi was recaptured in September 1857; Bahadur Shah II surrendered, and his sons were murdered. Lucknow also fell to the British soon after.
-

Final Resistance at Jhansi

- The last major resistance was in Jhansi, led by Rani Lakshmibai and Tatya Topee.
- Lakshmibai was killed in June 1858, and Topee was later executed. The revolt ended officially in August 1858 after all opposition was crushed.

(iii) Causes of Failure

Lack of Unity

- Hindus & Muslims were not united.
- It was a mainly Muslim war as they were the ones who had been directly affected by the overhaul of the Mughal Empire by the British.
- Most princes not willing to restore Mughal rule; some princes wanted restoration of their individual feudal powers e.g. Kashmir; power of its ruler depended on British rule.

Lack of Provincial support

- The revolt was not supported by Punjab & Sindh.
- This was because they had been conquered by troops from Bengal & Central India.

Lack of Planning and Goals

- Hastily organized effort.; no prior planning & no coordinated effort.
- Rebels were not clear about a common goal and so were easily overpowered by the British.
- There was no real sense of national patriotism.

British Strength

- Highly disciplined British army.
- They had a good team of generals with experience in warfare & fighting techniques.
- The British had diplomatic skills & retained control over most territories by keeping various groups divided.
- They used modern European weaponry; For example Enfield rifle-musket.
- They managed to turn various groups against each other.

(iv) Effects

British Supremacy

- Positioned as masters of India.
- The British responded to some of the Indians' concerns, in the **Allahabad Address of 1858**, which had declared the end of the war; decided on no further annexation or interference with religious beliefs.
- In practice, they paid little attention to these concerns.
- Brutal reprisals were carried out against the Indians, by the British, for example at **Kanpur (Cawnpore)**.

End of Mughal Rule

- Bahadur Shah Zafar's sons were killed and their heads were sent to him, as punishment.
- The Mughal empire no longer held any real power in India.
-

Punishment of Muslims

- Considered main culprits behind war.
- Publicly hanged.
- Dead bodies were stitched into the skin of pigs.
- Denied all respectable posts.
-

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98)

- How important was the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the development of the Pakistan Movement during the 19th century?

Key Question 4: How important was the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the development of the Pakistan Movement during the 19th century?

Focus points:

- What was his contribution to education, politics and religion?
- How important was his 'Two-Nation' Theory?
- What was the Hindi-Urdu Controversy?
- How successful was the Aligarh Movement?

Specified content:

- his contribution to the education of Muslims and the revitalisation of their national consciousness: an overview of his main educational works and their importance
- an understanding of his social and political theory, and of its origins
- the impact of his work on Muslims and the western world
- his relations with the British and the ulama
- the reasons for the foundation of Aligarh College
- his role in the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League
- the meaning and origin of his 'Two-Nation' Theory and the Hindi-Urdu Controversy.

Contents

1. Contribution (Education, Politics, Religion)
2. Two-Nation Theory & Hindi-Urdu Controversy
3. Aligarh Movement
4. General Information

(i) Contributions

→ Education

- **1846** - Wrote **book on Archeology** titled **Athas-al-Sanadeed**
- **1859** - Established **Gulshan School** at **Moradabad**
- **1863** - Established **Victoria School** at **Ghazipur**
- **1864** - Started a **Scientific Society**
- **1867** - Established **Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School** in **Aligarh**
- **1877** - Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental School given title of **College**
- **1886** - Started the **Muhammadan Educational Conference**

→ Politics

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan **advised Muslims to avoid politics until they gained modern education.**
- He believed **Muslims could not succeed in Western politics without understanding its system.**
- He **refused the invitation** to join the Indian National Congress.
- Sir Syed warned that the **Congress would become a Hindu-dominated party.**
- He established the **Muhammadan Educational Conference** as a platform for **Muslims to discuss political and educational issues.**

- From this platform, he advised Muslims to **stay away from the Congress**.
- He supported the **demand for reserved seats** for Muslims.
- He promoted the idea that **Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations**.
- This belief laid the foundation of the **Two-Nation Theory**.

→ **Religion/Reconciliation Policy**

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan believed Muslims should **befriend the British** to secure their rights.
- He worked to convince the British that Muslims were **loyal** and not against them.
- He also urged Muslims to **cooperate** with the British to achieve their goals.
- Sir Syed wrote books and journals to remove misunderstandings between Muslims and the British.
- His notable works include *Loyal Muhammadans of India* and *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*.
- He wrote a commentary on the Bible to show **similarities** between Islam and Christianity.
- His works *Tabyin-ul-Kalam* and *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad* helped improve relations between the British and Indian Muslims.
- These writings also **removed misconceptions** about Islam and Christianity.

(ii) Two Nation Theory & Hindi-Urdu Controversy (1867)

The Hindi-Urdu controversy was a 19th-century colonial Indian debate over which language should be official, reflecting and exacerbating Hindu-Muslim cultural and religious tensions, as Hindi and Urdu are different scripts (Devanagari vs.

Perso-Arabic) of the same underlying language, Hindustani. Initiated by a Hindu movement in 1867 demanding Hindi replace Urdu, this led to Muslim opposition, with leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan defending Urdu as part of their cultural identity. The controversy contributed to the "Two-Nation Theory" and the eventual partition of India.

The Two Nation Theory emerged largely as a response to the Hindi-Urdu controversy of 1867, when the demand for Hindi to replace Urdu as the official language prompted Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to realize the deep cultural divide between the communities, ultimately leading to the call for a separate Muslim homeland and the partition of British India.

- During the decline of Muslim rule, **Urdu** became the **most common language** in the **northwestern provinces of India** and was declared the **official language**.

- In **1867**, some **Hindus in Banaras** started a movement demanding that **Urdu be replaced with Hindi** and the **Persian script with the Devanagari script**.
- Hindus opposed Urdu because it used the Persian script, which **resembled Arabic — the language of the Quran**.
- The movement **quickly spread among Hindus** across the northwestern provinces, with its **headquarters in Allahabad**.
- Muslims **reacted strongly** to protect the importance and status of Urdu.
- The Hindu opposition to Urdu revealed to Muslims that **Hindus were intolerant of Muslim culture and traditions**.
- The Urdu-Hindi controversy deeply affected Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's views.
- Before this, he had supported Hindu-Muslim unity, calling them "two eyes of the beautiful bride, India."
- The movement changed his thinking and led him to present the **Two-Nation Theory**.
- Sir Syed became the first to use the terms "**My Nation**" for Muslims and "**Two Nations**" in the subcontinent.
- His main aim was to protect and safeguard the rights of Muslims in India.

(iii) Aligarh Movement

The Aligarh Movement was a 19th-century socio-religious reform movement, founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1875, that aimed to revive Muslim society in British India by promoting modern, Western-style education alongside traditional Islamic teachings.

- The **Aligarh Movement** aimed to **establish a modern system of education** for Muslims in British India.
- It emerged during the **later decades of the 19th century** when Muslims were socially, politically, and educationally backward after the 1857 War of Independence.
- The movement was **founded and led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan**, who recognized the importance of modern, Western-style education for Muslim progress.
- The movement's **center was the city of Aligarh**, located in northern India.
- Its main institution was the **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) Collegiate School**, founded in **1875**.
- The school was later upgraded to the **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877**, which eventually became the **Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920**.
- The college combined **modern Western education** with **Islamic values**, creating a balanced system of learning.

- The Aligarh Movement also encouraged Muslims to **learn English**, study modern sciences, and understand Western culture to compete with other communities.
- Sir Syed founded the **Scientific Society** to translate Western books into Urdu and promote scientific knowledge among Muslims.
- Through journals such as “**Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq**,” Sir Syed spread awareness about modern education and social reform.
- The movement helped Muslims regain confidence and played a crucial role in the **intellectual and political awakening** of Indian Muslims.
- It laid the foundation for **Muslim political identity** and later contributed to the **Two-Nation Theory** and the **creation of Pakistan**.

(iv) **General Information**

→ ***Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental School***

- The **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental School (MAOS)** was established by **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1875**.
- Its main goal was to **promote both Islamic and scientific education** among Indian Muslims.
- The institution also **served as a platform** for Muslims to discuss their **social and political issues**.
- The **Pakistan Movement** traces some of its origins to the ideas and leadership that developed at MAO.
- The school was **upgraded to a college in 1877** and later became the **Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920**.
- Many **prominent Pakistani leaders**, including **Liaquat Ali Khan** and **Ayub Khan**, received their education from Aligarh College.

→ ***The Loyal Mohammedans of India***

- “**The Loyal Muhammadans of India**” was a pamphlet written by **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan shortly after 1857**.
- In it, he **proved that most Muslims were not against the British** during the 1857 War of Independence.
- The pamphlet **listed Muslims who had remained loyal** to the British government.
- Sir Syed aimed to **discourage the British from discriminating against Muslims**.
- This work was an **important step in his efforts to improve relations** between Muslims and the British.

The Languages of Pakistan

- To what extent have Urdu and regional languages contributed to the cultural development of Pakistan since 1947?

Key Question 5: To what extent have Urdu and regional languages contributed to the cultural development of Pakistan since 1947?

Focus points:

- Why did Urdu become the national language?
- How successful has the promotion of regional languages been since 1947?

Specified content:

- the importance of Urdu and the reasons for its choice as the national language of Pakistan
- the advantages and disadvantages of Urdu as the national language
- the promotion of provincial languages (Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi).

Contents

1. Background – Diversity & Importance of Languages
2. Urdu – The National Language
3. Punjabi – Language of Punjab
4. Sindhi – Language of Sindh
5. Pashto – Language of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)
6. Balochi – Language of Balochistan
7. Other Languages
 - Saraiki – Language of Southern Punjab
 - Brahui – Language of Central Balochistan
8. Role of Languages in National Integration
9. Conclusion – Significance of Linguistic Diversity

→ **Background – Diversity & Importance of Languages**

- Overview:
 - Pakistan has many regional languages, reflecting its rich cultural and ethnic diversity.
 - Each province has its own main language, with several dialects within.
 - Language plays a vital role in identity, culture, unity, and communication.

❖ **Importance of Languages:**

- **Cultural Identity:** Each language expresses the history, traditions, and values of its people.
- **National Unity:** Urdu links all regions as a national language.
- **Education & Communication:** Regional languages help in primary education and local administration.
- **Literature & Heritage:** Languages preserve poetry, folklore, and classical literature of Pakistan's regions.

→ **Urdu – The National Language**

❖ **Origins & Background:**

- Developed in northern India from a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and local dialects.
- Promoted by Muslim scholars and reformers such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
- Associated with Muslim identity before 1947.

❖ **Role after Independence:**

- Declared the National Language by Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1948).
- Used in education, media, and government communication.
- Symbol of Islamic unity and national identity.

- Advantages:
 - Serves as a link language between provinces.
 - Promotes national integration.
- Limitations:
 - Only 8–10% of the population speak Urdu natively.
 - Led to resentment in East Pakistan (Language Movement 1952) and other provinces.

→ **Punjabi – Language of Punjab**

- Background:
 - Spoken by about 48% of the population (largest group).
 - Belongs to the Indo-Aryan family; main dialect Majhi (standard Punjabi).
- Cultural Importance:
 - Famous Sufi poets: Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah, Sultan Bahu.
 - Rich folk traditions – Bhangra, Tappay, and Heer Ranjha.
 - Symbol of Punjab's culture, hospitality, and courage.
- Modern Role:
 - Widely spoken in daily life, music, and media.
 - Still not the medium of instruction or official work in Punjab.

→ **Sindhi – Language of Sindh**

- Background:
 - Spoken by about 12–14% of the population.
 - One of the oldest languages of the region; influenced by Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit.
 - Written in Arabic script.
- Cultural Significance:
 - Rich literary history – Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai's "Shah Jo Risalo".
 - Represents Sindhi identity and tolerance.
 - Sindhi introduced as a medium of education in Sindh schools.
- Political Importance:
 - Sindhis proud of their linguistic heritage → symbol of provincial pride and unity.

- Language played a role in maintaining Sindhi nationalism within the federation.

→ **Pashto – Language of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)**

- Background:
 - Spoken by about 15–18% of the population.
 - Belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family.
 - Also spoken in Afghanistan.
- Cultural Role:
 - Reflects tribal values — bravery, honor, hospitality (Pashtunwali).
 - Famous poets: Khushal Khan Khattak, Rehman Baba.
 - Strong oral tradition — tappay, charbeta (folk songs).
- Modern Use:
 - Used in local education and media in KPK.
 - Promotes Pashtun identity and solidarity across borders.

→ **Balochi – Language of Balochistan**

- Background:
 - Spoken by about 3–4% of the population.
 - Belongs to an Iranian group of languages.
 - Major dialects: Eastern, Western, Southern Balochi.
- Cultural Role:
 - Oral poetry and songs reflect tribal loyalty, bravery, and honor.
 - Important poets: Gul Khan Naseer, Mast Tawakali.
 - Symbol of Baloch unity and tribal pride.
- Modern Role:
 - Balochi is used in radio broadcasts and literature, but limited in education.
 - Increasing movement for greater linguistic recognition.

→ **Other Languages**

❖ **Saraiki – Southern Punjab Language**

● Background:

- Spoken by about 10% of the population, mainly in Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan.
- Intermediate between Punjabi and Sindhi.

● Cultural Significance:

- Rich Sufi poetry and folk music.
- Represents Southern Punjab identity.
- Growing demand for Saraiki province and cultural autonomy.

❖ **Brahui – Language of Central Balochistan**

● Background:

- Spoken by about 1–2% of the population.
- Unique: belongs to Dravidian family (same as Tamil), not Indo-Aryan.
- Shows ancient cultural links before Indo-Aryan migrations.

● Cultural Role:

- Maintained through oral traditions and songs.
- Often mixed with Balochi and Pashto in speech.
- Preserves local identity of central Balochistan tribes.

➔ **Role of Languages in National Integration**

❖ **Positive Role:**

- Urdu unites diverse groups as a national language.
- Regional languages preserve local traditions and pride.
- Promoting all languages builds mutual respect and harmony.

❖ **Challenges:**

- Overemphasis on Urdu sometimes caused resentment in provinces.
- Language-based politics occasionally led to tension and separatism.
- Need for balanced language policy respecting all cultures.

➔ **Conclusion – Significance of Linguistic Diversity**

● Achievements:

- Enriched Pakistan's culture and literature.

- Promoted regional pride and identity.
- Urdu helped build national unity.
- **Problems:**
 - Linguistic differences sometimes caused political tensions (e.g. East Pakistan).
 - Need for inclusive policies to ensure all languages are respected.

Past Paper (Topical) Questions (Section I)

Religious Thinkers/Reformers

Background

Q: Why were there attempts to revive Islām in the sub-continent during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century? [7]

- The economic and intellectual breakdown of the society alarmed the reformist Muslims to revive Islām.
- Shāh Walī Ullāh was one of the Muslim reformers, who thought Muslims were ignorant about the Islam and teachings of the Holy Qur'ān.
 - So, he emphasized on the Quranic teachings.
 - He translated the Qur'ān into Persian- a contemporary court language, under the title 'Fat'h ur-Rehmān'.
- During the early 19th century, Punjab was under the Sikh rule and it was difficult for the Muslims to freely practice their religion.
 - Sikhs converted mosques to stables, Āzān and prayers were banned.
- Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī wanted to liberate Muslims of Punjab from Sikhs' oppression.
 - He thought that Muslims cannot regain glory if un-islamic forces would not be beaten, that's why he launched an armed Jihād movement against the Sikh rule.
- Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh wanted to spread Islam through Ferāizī movement because Muslim peasants of East Bengal were indulged in Hindu superstitions.
 - The movement was started in East Bengal and it insisted the Muslims to perform their religious obligations (Ferāiz).
 - Hindu landlords were alarmed by this movement.

Shāh Walī Ullāh (1703-1762 A.D.)

Q: Who was Shāh Walī Ullāh? [4]

- Shāh Walī Ullāh was a Muslim reformer, born on 1703 A.D., in Delhi.
- His real name was Qutb ud-dīn who was popularized with the name of Shāh Walī Ullāh because of his services rendered to the people of Indian subcontinent.
- His father's name was 'Abd al-Rahīm who was the founder of Madrasa Rahīmiyyah where Shāh Walī Ullāh studied.
- He died in 1762, but his mission was continued by his sons.

Q: Describe the achievements of Shāh Walī Ullāh? [4]

- Shāh Walī Ullāh translated Qur'ān into Persian- contemporary court language 'Fat'h ur-Rehman' so that most people may know and act upon the teachings of Qur'ān.
- He wrote fifty-one books (23 in Arabic and 28 in Persian) to explain the true teachings of Islam.
 - o Among the most famous were Izālat al-Khafā and Hujjatullāh al-Bālighā. Izālat al-Khafā was an account on first four caliphs, written in a way that was acceptable to both Shias and Sunnis.
- To counter the growing Maratha power, Shāh Walī Ullāh called upon Ahmad Shāh Abdālī from Afghanistan, who defeated Marathas in the third battle of Pānīpat (1761).

Q: Why did Shāh Walī Ullāh have such important influence on the revival of Islam in the sub-continent? OR [7]

Q: Why did Shāh Walī Ullāh wish to revive Islam in the sub-continent? [7]

- Shāh Walī Ullāh- born in 1703 in Delhi, was the pioneer figure to work for the resurgence of Islam in the sub-continent.
- He was the first one to state that Muslims' downfall was due to neglecting the principles of Islam.
- He was one of the Muslim reformers who thought Muslims were ignorant about Islam and teachings of the Holy Qur'ān.
 - o So, he emphasized on the Quranic teachings. Hence, he translated the Qur'ān into Persian- contemporary court language under the title Fat'h ur-Rehman'.
- He wrote fifty-one books in Arabic (23) and Persian (28) to explain the true teachings of Islam among Muslims of the sub-continent.
 - o Among the most famous of his works are Izālat al-Khafā- a biography of four caliphs which tried to eliminate the sectarian i.e., Shiite and Sunni differences among the Muslims.
 - o Hujjatullāh al-Bālighā determined the problems of the Muslim community.
- He also advised Sufis and Ulemas to sort their differences and sent out his students to different places to spread the message of harmony and unity.
- He advised the Muslims not to waste extravagant amount of money on marriages, births, deaths, and other ceremonies.
- He urged the traders and the businessmen to adopt fairer system of making money.

- To counter the Maratha power Shāh Walīullāh called upon Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī from Afghanistan, who defeated Marathas in the third battle of Pānīpat (1761).

Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī (1786-1831 A.D.)

Q: Who was Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvī? [4]

- A Muslim reformer, born in 1786 in Rai Barailī near Lucknow.
- He studied in Madrassa Rahīmiyyah and was influenced by the teachings of Shāh Walī Ullāh.
- His father died when he was quite young so he had to get into practical life and thus joined the army of Āmir khān.
- He went to Saudi Arabia in 1821 and was greatly influenced by the teachings of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Wahāb.
- He founded the Jihād Movement on his return in Punjab because it was under oppressive Sikh rule.
- He fought with the army of Ranjīt Singh from 1826 to 1830.
- He was finally betrayed and killed in the battle of Bālākot in 1831.

Q: Describe what happened at the battle of Balakot. [4]

- It took place in May, 1831.
- Syed Ahmad had hoped to liberate Kashmir and Hazara.
- Balakot was thought to be safe as it was protected on three sides by mountains.
- Syed Ahmad was betrayed by local leaders (mainly Yar Muhammad Khan and Sultan Muhammad Khan) who told the Sikhs a way through the mountains to Balakot.
- Sikhs led by Ranjit Singh launched a surprise attack who outnumbered Syed Ahmad’s forces.
- Syed Ahmad Barelvī was killed along with Shah Ismail, his commander.
- 600 of Syed Ahmad’s forces were killed.

Q: Describe Jihād Movement? [4]

- It was founded by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī to free Muslims of Punjab from oppressive Sikh rule of Rājah Ranjīt Singh.
 - o Ranjīt Singh’s rule denied any kind of religious liberty.
 - o Āzān and prayers were banned for Muslims.
 - o Mosques were turned into stables.
- He raised an army of volunteers Mujāhidīn and defeated Sikhs in number of battles from 1826 to 1830.
- Jihad was mainly dependent upon local Pashtuns where Barelvī wanted them to renounce their customs and accept the Sharia.
- The traditional Khans were replaced by Wahabi-style reformist ulama (Islamic scholars) and a system of Islamic taxes was established to finance the Jihād.
- He was killed in battle of Bālākot by the betrayal of his fellow man Yār Muḥammad Khān.

Q: Why did Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvī call for Jihād to overthrow Sikh rule in the early 19th century? [7]

- It was the time when East India Company had already annexed Bengal and North-eastern territories of India. It was then time to come for North-western Muslim territory.
- o Punjab at that time was under the oppressive Sikh rule and Sikhs were under the friendship treaty with East India Company.
- Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvī went to Hajj in 1821 and returned to Delhi in 1823 with a clear view on Jihād.
- o Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvī believed to end the difficulties for Muslims and for that he identified that Sikh rule was one of the major difficulties for Muslims.
- o He was the man of action and thus sought an armed struggle against Sikhs.
- He thought that Muslims cannot regain glory if un-Islamic forces would not be beaten that's why he launched an armed Jihād movement against Sikh rule.
- o During the early 19th century, Punjab was under Sikh rule (Ranjit Singh was the ruler) and it was difficult for the Muslims to practice their religion.
- Sikhs converted the mosques to stables.
- Azan and prayers were banned.
- Bādshāhī mosque was turned into a stable and its access was denied to Muslims.
- o Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī wanted to liberate the Muslims of Punjab from Sikhs' oppression.

Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh (1781-1840 A.D.)

Q: Who was Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh? [4]

- Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh was a Muslim reformer born in 1781 in Farīdpur district in East Bengal.
- He remained in Saudi Arabia for 19 years.
- He was also influenced by the teachings of Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahāb like Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.
- When he came back to East Bengal, he saw Muslims being indulged in Hindu superstitions and were not performing their religious obligations.
- o So, he started Farāizī movement to involve Muslims to attend their religious obligations.
- o and to improve the socio-economic conditions of Muslims.
- He died in 1840 but his mission was continued by his son Muḥsin ud-dīn who was also called Dādū Miān.

Q: Describe the achievements of Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh in reviving Islam? [4]

- Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh worked for revival of Islam in East Bengal.
- He declared the area as Dār ul-Ḥarb and in such areas Friday and Eid prayers are not offered.

- He organized the Muslim cultivators, made them aware of their rights and united them against harsh treatment meted out by Hindu Landlords.
- He started Farāizī movement to involve Muslims to attend their religious obligations.
- Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh died in Dhākah in 1840, his reform movement was continued by his son Moḥsin ud-dīn (Dādū Miān).
 - o He introduced the idea of Jihād in the movement. The movement confined to Bengal and ended soon.
 - o The movement continued till 1860 by his son Dādū Miān.

Q: What was the Farāizī Movement? [4]

- It was founded by Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh in Bengal (1781-1840) to revive Islam and to restore Muslims’ pride.
- Hindu practices had crept into Muslims’ worship.
- He emphasized on praying for past sins and promising to live a righteous life ahead in the future and to perform religious obligations.
- He declared the area as Dār ul-Ḥurb and in such areas Friday and Eid prayers are not offered.
- The movement continued till 1860 by his son Dādū Miān.

Q: Why did Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh start his Farāizī movement? [7]

- Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh believed that Muslims had distanced themselves from Islamic teachings due to growing non-Muslim influence in various parts of India, especially Bengal.
 - o Thus, he wanted Muslims to observe religious obligations which is called Farāiz in Arabic.
- Muslims of Bengal had suffered a lot of hardships from both British and rich landlords (Zamindārs)- beneficiaries of British.
 - o So, he declared Bengal as Dār al-Ḥurb. The literal meaning of which is the “house of war”. It refers to any place where Islam cannot be practiced. It also refers to a place which is under the rule of non-Muslims where Friday, Eid, and congregational prayers cannot be offered till it is liberated and becomes Dār al-Islām.
- The idea of Jihād against non-Muslims was supported by Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh.
- Bengali Muslims were facing coercive policies from Hindus and British.
 - o These policies include the oppression in which Muslims were restricted to ordinary jobs.
 - o The access to education and employment was also limited to them.

Q: Who was Tītū Mīr? [4]

- Tītū Mīr’s real name was Sayyid Mīr Niṣār.
- He was Bengali Freedom fighter and was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.
- He too was a man of action just like his teacher and mentor Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.
- He was horrified by the sufferings of the West Bengal Muslim farmers.
- They were being humiliated in various ways i.e., Beard tax on Muslims.

- He organized the farmers to stand against oppressive Hindu landlords who were being supported by the British.
- He proclaimed himself as King and raised an army of 15,000 followers.
- He built a bamboo fort at Narkelbariā in October 1831 and defeated British forces which were sent to destroy it.
- Mīr's forces could not withstand the second attack of the British in which they had better army including cavalry and cannons.
- He was defeated and killed after five days of fierce battle with British.

Q: How Titu Mīr protected the interests of Muslim farmers in the subcontinent in the early nineteenth century? [7]

- > Titu Mīr advocated jihad against 'non-Islamic actions'.
- > He raised awareness of the sufferings of Muslim farmers in West Bengal during 1830s.
- > Titu Mīr gave Muslim farmers a cause to fight back the sufferings they encountered.
- > He organised a rebellion against zamindars.
- > Titu Mīr advised Muslim farmers to not pay the tax on beards.
- > Krishnā Devā Rāi, was a zamindār who imposed beard tax on Muslims.
- > He set up his own Bamboo fort/commune near Calcutta at Narkelberia with a small army of 15000 followers.

Sample Answer formed from the above given points:

Titu Mir advocated for the rights of Muslim farmers to own and cultivate their land. He fought against the oppressive land policies imposed by the British colonial administration, which often resulted in the dispossession of farmers from their lands. Titu Mir encouraged farmers to resist these policies and to assert their ownership and control over their agricultural land.

Indigo cultivation was a major source of revenue for the British, but it involved exploitative practices that adversely affected Muslim farmers. Titu Mir organized protests and resistance movements against the indigo planters, who were forced to grow indigo instead of food crops. He encouraged the farmers to prioritize their own food security and economic well-being over the demands of the indigo planters.

Titu Mir played a crucial role in mobilizing the Muslim farming community to collectively address their grievances. He organized meetings, rallies, and public gatherings to raise awareness about the issues faced by the farmers and to unite them in their struggle for their rights. By mobilizing the community, he created

a platform for their voices to be heard and their concerns to be addressed. In response to the oppression faced by the Muslim farmers, Titu Mir organized armed resistance against the British and the local landlords who supported their exploitative policies. Through this armed resistance, Titu Mir aimed to protect the interests and rights of the Muslim farming community.

Q: Who were Zamindār? [4]

- Zamindārs were landlords and tax collectors.
- They were wealthy and some of them had their own private armies.
- After the death of Aurangzeb, they were resisting to accept rule of any new emperor.
- Muslims were oppressed by Zamindār from 1800's onwards.
- Krishnā Devā Rāi, was a zamindār who imposed beard tax on Muslims.
- Titu Mir was a great Bengali freedom fighter who led the farmers against the oppressions of zamindars.
- He advised Muslims not to pay any of such taxes.

Long Questions

Q: How important was Shāh Walī Ullāh in the spread of Islam in the sub-continent before 1850? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: Was the work of Shāh Walī Ullāh the most important factor in the revival of Islam in the sub-continent during the 17th and 18th centuries? Give reasons to your answers. [14]

Q: Did Shāh Walī Ullāh contribute more to the spread of Islam than anyone else in the sub-continent before 1850? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: Was the work of Sayyid Aḥmad Barelvī the most important factor in the revival of Islam in the sub-continent during the 17th and 18th centuries? Give reasons to your answers. OR [14]

Q: Did Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh contribute more to the spread of Islam than anyone else in the sub-continent before 1850? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: Who of the following was the most important in the spread of Islam during the 17th and 18th centuries?

i- Shāh Walī Ullāh; ii- Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd; iii- Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above [14]

Shāh Walī Ullāh was one of the first Muslim thinkers to state the reasons of Muslims' downfall and the later movements were the off shoots of Shāh Walī Ullāh's work.

Shāh Walī Ullāh was the pioneer figure to work for the resurgence of Islam and was the first one to state that Muslims downfall was due to neglecting the principles of Islam. Shāh Walī Ullāh was one of the Muslim reformers who thought Muslims were ignorant about Islam and the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān. So, he emphasized on the

Quranic teachings. He translated Qur'ān into Persian- a contemporary court language so that most people may know and act upon the teachings of Qur'ān. He wrote fifty one books in Arabic and Persian to explain the true teachings of Islam. Among the most famous are Izālat al-Khafā and Ḥujjatullāh al-Bālighā. Izālat al-Khafā was an account on first four caliphs, written in a way that was acceptable to both Shias and Sunnis. Ḥujjatullāh al-Bālighā determined the problems of the Muslim community. It explains as to how Islam is suitable to all races, cultures, and people of the world.

Muslim society was divided into many factions i.e. Shi'ah, Sunnī which was one of the reasons of the decline of the Muslims. He tried to bring both the factions together and also advised Sufis and Ulemas to sort their differences. He also sent out his students to different places to spread the message of harmony and unity. He advised the Muslims not to waste extravagant amount of money on marriages, births, deaths, and other ceremonies. To counter the Marathan power Shāh Walī Ullāh called upon Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī from Afghanistan, the later defeated the former in the third battle of Panipat (1761).

Not only Shāh Walī Ullāh but Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī was also an important figure who revived Islam in Indian subcontinent. He believed to end the difficulties for Muslims and for that he identified that Sikh rule was one of the major difficulties for Muslims. During the early 19th century, Punjab was under Sikh rule and it was difficult for the Muslims to practice their religion. Sikhs converted the mosques to stables, Azan and prayers were banned. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd Barelvī was a man of actions and wanted to liberate the Muslims of Punjab from Sikhs' oppression. He went to Hajj in 1821 and returned back to Delhi in 1823 with a clear view on Jihād. He thought that Muslims cannot regain glory if un-islamic forces would not be beaten that's why he launched an armed Jihad movement against Sikh rule.

Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh was also an important figure who wanted to spread Islam through Farāizī movement (1781-1840). The movement was started in Bengal and it insisted the Muslims to perform their religious obligations (Farāiz). At that time Muslims of Bengal were peasants and were working together with local Hindu landlords (Zamindār). He wanted that the Muslims should not indulge themselves into superstitions based on Hindu traditions. He emphasized on praying for past sins and promising to live a righteous life ahead in the future. He declared the area as Dār ul Ḥurb and in such areas Friday and Eid prayers should not be offered. He organized the Muslim cultivators, made them aware of their rights and united them against harsh treatment meted out by Hindu Landlords. Ḥājī Shari'at Ullāh died in Dhaka in 1840, his reform movement was continued by his son Moḥsin ud-dīn (Dādū Miān), he

introduced the idea of Jihād in the movement. The movement confined to Bengal and ended soon.

Titu Mir had also advocated for the rights of Muslim farmers so that they could own and cultivate their land. He fought against the oppressive land policies imposed by the British colonial administration, which often resulted in the dispossession of farmers from their lands. Titu Mir encouraged farmers to resist these policies and to assert their ownership and control over their agricultural land. Indigo cultivation was a major source of revenue for the British, but it involved exploitative practices that adversely affected Muslim farmers. Titu Mir organized protests and resistance movements against the indigo planters, who forced the farmers to grow indigo instead of food crops. He encouraged the farmers to prioritize their own food security and economic well-being over the demands of the indigo planters. In response to the oppression faced by the Muslim farmers, Titu Mir organized armed resistance against the British and the local landlords who supported their exploitative policies. Through this armed resistance, Titu Mir aimed to protect the interests and rights of the Muslim farming community. Conclusively, it can be said that Shāh

Walī Ullāh was the most important Muslim reformer among all because his efforts were not confined to a particular place i.e. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd was confined to Punjab and Ḥājī Shari‘at Ullāh to East Bengal.

→ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

4 Marks

Q. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan admired many British ways of doing things. At the same time he had a great faith in the Muslim religion. He was convinced that if the British ever left India the Muslims would be dominated by the overwhelming Hindu majority. He decided to do something about this. He published a pamphlet called ‘The Loyal Mohammedans of India.’

(a) What was ‘The Loyal Mohammedans of India’? (4)

Q. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was determined to improve the status of Muslims. He had a desire to re-establish good relations with the British which, he hoped, would lead to greater opportunities for Muslims. He also believed that Muslims should have good relations with Hindus. However, he was concerned about the ‘Hindu-Urdu Controversy.’ (a) Describe the ‘Hindu-Urdu Controversy.’

(4)

Q. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan decided to change Muslim attitudes towards receiving British education. He travelled to England to study the university system there. He believed in setting up a university for Muslims in the sub-continent and was impressed by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. However, on his return home he found that his plans were met with suspicion from some people. Nevertheless he wanted to pursue the idea of providing better education for Muslims.

(a) What was the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental School? (4)

Q. Describe "The Loyal Mohammedans of India". (4)

Q. Describe the purpose of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. (4)

7 Marks

Q. Why did Sir Syed Ahmed Khan try to improve relations between the Muslims and the British?

Why did Sir Syed wish to develop a better understanding with the British following the War of Independence (1857-58)?

Explain why Sir Syed Ahmad Khan tried to improve relations between the Muslim community and the British.

Explain why Sir Syed Ahmad Khan wanted to improve relations between the Muslim community and the British after the War of Independence. (7)

Q. Why did Sir Syed Ahmed Khan develop his Two Nation Theory? (7)

Q. Why did Sir Syed found the Aligarh Movement? (7)

14 Marks

Q. Were the educational developments the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his attempt to improve the relations between the Muslims and the British? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Was the attempt to achieve a better understanding with the British the most important contribution that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made to the Muslim cause during the 19th century? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's political beliefs had a greater impact on the Muslims than any of his other beliefs. Do you agree or disagree? Give reason for your answer. (14)

Q. Was the development of a western education system the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in developing the cause of Muslims during the 19th century? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Was the religious view of Sir Syed his most important contribution in developing the cause of Muslims during the 19th century? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Was the Two Nation Theory the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan? Explain your answer.

The “Two-Nation” Theory was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s main contribution to the development of the Pakistan Movement during the nineteenth century.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Introducing a new approach to education was the main contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to improving the lives of Muslim people during the nineteenth century.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. (14)

→ Languages

1. Why is Urdu an important language in Pakistan?
(June 2006 Q1(b), Nov 2010 Q1(b))

2. Describe the main regional languages spoken in Pakistan.
(June 2004 Q1(a), Nov 2013 Q1(a))

3. How important are regional languages in promoting provincial identity?
(Nov 2015 Q1(b))

4. To what extent has Urdu been successful in promoting national unity?
(June 2012 Q1(c), Nov 2018 Q1(c))

5. Why has the promotion of Urdu caused tension in some parts of Pakistan?
(June 2011 Q1(b))

Decline of Mughal Empire

Q: ‘The policies of Aurangzeb was the main reason for the decline of Mughal empire.’ Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. OR [14]

Q: Were invasions by the Persians and Afghans the main reason for the decline of Mughal empire. Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: 'Was the British expansion in India the most important reason for the decline of Mughal empire? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: Was the in-fighting between Aurangzeb's successors the most important reason for the break-up of the Mughal empire? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: 'The spread of Marathan power was the main reason of decline of the Mughal empire.' Do you agree or disagree? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: Were the weak and greedy characteristics of Aurangzeb's successors the most important reason for the collapse of the Mughal empire? Explain your answer. [14]

Section II

The Emergence of Pakistan (1906-47)

Key Questions

- How far did the Pakistan Movement develop during the early 20th century?

- How successful was the Khilafat Movement in advancing the cause of the Pakistan Movement?
- How successful was the Pakistan Movement in the years 1927 to 1939?
- How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the years 1940 to 1947?
- How important were the contributions of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947?

Pakistan Movement Early Development (1905-1932)

- How far did the Pakistan Movement develop during the early 20th century?

2. The emergence of Pakistan 1906–47

Key Question 6: How far did the Pakistan Movement develop during the early 20th century?

Focus points:

- What were the aims and origins of the Muslim League?
- How successful was British rule and attempts at constitutional reform during the years 1909–19?
- How and why did relationships between Muslims and Hindus change between 1916 and 1927?

Specified content:

The main features of:

- the Partition of Bengal controversy, 1905–11
- the Simla Deputation, 1906
- reasons for the establishment of the Muslim League – its creation in 1906 and its aims
- co-operation of the Muslim League with Congress and reasons for its breakdown
- the Morley–Minto reforms, 1909
- the impact of the First World War on the subcontinent
- Congress and the Lucknow Pact, 1916
- the Rowlatt Act, 1918, and the Amritsar Massacre, 1919
- the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms (The Government of India Act), 1919
- the Non-Cooperation Movement
- the growth of Communalism
- growing divisions in the Congress Party
- the Delhi Proposals, 1927.

Contents

1. Partition of Bengal (**1905**) & Reversal (**1911**)
2. The Simla Deputation & Establishment of Muslim League (**1906**)
3. Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Councils Act, **1909**)
4. Impacts of WW I
5. Lucknow Pact (**1916**)
6. Montague-Chelmsford Reform (**1919**)
7. Non-Cooperation Movement
8. Delhi Proposal (**1927**)

→ Partition of Bengal & Reversal

❖ Background:

- The Partition of Bengal was introduced by **Lord Curzon in 1905** mainly for administrative convenience.
- Bengal was the largest province in British India, covering **189,000 sq. miles** with a population of **84 million**, including Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.
- It was too vast to be **efficiently governed by one Lieutenant Governor** due to limited communication, difficult terrain, and population density.

❖ **Reasons for Partition:**

1. **Administrative Efficiency:** The province was too large to manage effectively.
2. **Poor Communication:** Forests and rivers hindered travel and law enforcement.
3. **Linguistic and Cultural Differences:** West Bengal and East Bengal had different languages and cultures.
4. **Promotion of Trade:** Division was expected to promote commerce and development, especially around **Chittagong Port**.
5. **Appeasement of Muslims:** The British sought to uplift underprivileged Muslims by giving them a majority province.
6. **“Divide and Rule” Policy:** Hindus believed the partition was designed to weaken Bengal’s unity by dividing Hindus and Muslims.

❖ **Details of the Partition:**

- Bengal was divided into **East Bengal and Assam** (Muslim-majority, capital Dacca) and **West Bengal** (Hindu-majority, capital Calcutta).
- East Bengal had **18 million Muslims** and **2 million Hindus**, while West Bengal had **42 million Hindus** out of **54 million** people.

❖ **Muslim Response:**

- Muslims **welcomed the partition**, believing it would:
 - Free them from **Hindu economic domination**.
 - Promote their **social, cultural, and political** development.
 - Create opportunities for **employment and education**.
 - Allow them to **progress** under Muslim-majority governance.

❖ **Hindu Response:**

- Hindus **strongly opposed** the partition because:
 - It threatened their economic and political dominance.
 - Hindu lawyers feared loss of clients due to new courts in East Bengal.
 - Hindu press feared new Muslim-owned newspapers.
 - They launched the **Swadeshi Movement** to boycott British goods.
 - Extremist groups carried out **violent protests and assassination attempts** against British officials.

❖ **Reversal of the Partition (1911):**

- Hindu protests and violence continued despite British repression and the **Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)**.

- The **Swadeshi Movement** hurt British trade; imports from Britain fell sharply.
- When **King George V** visited India in 1911, the partition was **officially reversed**.
- Bengal was reunited under one Governor, and **Assam was separated** under a Chief Commissioner.
- Muslims felt **betrayed and disillusioned**, seeing the reversal as a major setback.

❖ **Consequences and Impact:**

- The partition created **lasting communal divisions** between Hindus and Muslims.
- It **strengthened Muslim political consciousness** and unity.
- The reversal **alienated Muslims** and deepened distrust toward both Hindus and the British.
- It laid the foundation for the **growth of Muslim nationalism**, eventually leading to the demand for a separate homeland.

The Swadeshi Movement

The Swadeshi Movement (1905–1911) began in response to the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. The term *Swadeshi* means “of one’s own country.” It urged Indians to boycott British goods and promote indigenous industries, schools, and products. People burned foreign cloth, promoted hand-spun khadi, and supported local crafts and enterprises. The movement spread across India, becoming both an economic and political protest against British rule. Leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Chandra Pal inspired mass participation. Although later suppressed by the British, the movement ignited national pride and laid the foundation for India’s independence struggle.

→ **The Simla Deputation & Establishment of Muslim League (1906)**

- First organized effort by Muslims to present their political demands to the British Government.
- 35 prominent Muslim leaders from all over India.
- Led by **Sir Agha Khan**; **Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk** served as secretary.
- The delegation met the **Viceroy at Simla**, hence called the *Simla Deputation*.

- Muslims asked to be recognized as a **distinct political community**, not just a numerical minority.
- Representation based on historical and political importance of Muslims, not mere population numbers.
- **Key Demands:**
 1. **Representation** greater than population ratio.
 2. **Separate electorates** for Muslims.
 3. **Reserved seats** in government jobs.
 4. **Special share** in university senates and syndicates.
 5. **Muslim representation** in the Viceroy's Executive Council.
 6. Establishment of a **Muslim University at Aligarh**.
- **Outcome:** The Viceroy was sympathetic, encouraging Muslims to organize politically → **led to formation of the All India Muslim League**.

❖ **Indian National Congress (INC) Overview**

- Founded in **1885**, by **Allan Octavian Hume** with approval of **Lord Dufferin**.
- The first President was **W. C. Bonerjee**.
- First Session session was held on **28–31 December 1885** in **Bombay**, attended by **72 delegates**.
- The early aim was to obtain greater participation of educated Indians in government.
- Later, became more **radical and anti-British**, leading India's **freedom struggle**.
- **Early Leaders:**
 - **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**
 - **Bipin Chandra Pal**
 - **Lala Lajpat Rai**
 - **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**
 - **Mohammad Ali Jinnah** (later led the Muslim League)

❖ **Reasons for the Formation of the All India Muslim League (1906)**

1. **Success of the Simla Deputation:**
 - Gave Muslims confidence and unity.

- Showed the need for a permanent platform to represent Muslim interests.

2. **Indifferent Attitude of Congress:**

- The INC was **dominated by Hindus** and often ignored Muslim interests.
- Muslims felt the need for their **own political voice**.

3. **Hindu Agitation Against Partition of Bengal:**

- Revealed Hindu opposition to Muslim progress.
- Muslims wanted to **defend the Partition** and secure **separate electorates**.

4. **To Preserve Muslim Identity:**

- Inspired by **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's Two-Nation Concept**.
- Muslims and Hindus differed in **religion, history, language, and culture**.

5. **Urdu–Hindi Controversy:**

- Hindus demanded replacement of **Urdu with Hindi**.
- **Congress supported Hindi**, leaving Muslims unprotected.
- Strengthened the call for a **Muslim political party**.

6. **Educational and Economic Backwardness:**

- Muslims were far behind Hindus educationally and economically.
- Needed an organization to **promote Muslim education and welfare**.

❖ **Formation of the All India Muslim League**

- Proposed by **Nawab Salimullah Khan**.
- Seconded by, **Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali, and Maulana Zafar Ali**.
- Proposed on **All India Educational Conference, 30th December 1906, Dhaka**.
- Resolution passed; committee formed to draft the constitution.
- Muslim League became the **sole political representative of Indian Muslims**.

→ **Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Councils Act 1909)**

- Introduced by **Lord Minto** – Viceroy of India & **John Morley** – Secretary of State for India
- The main purpose of introduction was to give Indians a **greater share in government** and **reduce growing political unrest**.

❖ Main Provisions

• Expansion of Councils:

- Central Legislative Council: increased from **16 to 60 members**.
- Provincial Legislative Councils:
 - **50 members** in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.
 - **30 members** in other provinces.

• Legislative Powers Expanded:

- Members could **discuss budgets, propose amendments**, and **vote** on them.
- Allowed to **debate legislation** and **introduce new laws**.

• Limitations:

- **Viceroy and Governors** still had **veto power** over all legislation.
- Final authority remained with the British.

❖ Indian Representation

- **Two Indians were nominated** to the **Council of the Secretary of State for India** (in London).
- **One Indian was nominated** to the **Viceroy's Executive Council**.
- **Educated taxpayers** were granted **voting rights** for the first time.

❖ Muslim Representation

- **Separate electorates** introduced for Muslims.
- **Reserved seats** created specifically for Muslim candidates.
- About **one-third of seats were allocated** to Muslims.

❖ Significance

-
- Marked the **first step toward representative government** in India.
- Gave Muslims **political recognition and protection** as a separate community.

- Helped **restore calm** and reduce political agitation temporarily.

Lord Minto

Lord Minto (1845–1914) was the Viceroy of India from 1905 to 1910. A British statesman and soldier, he had earlier served as Governor-General of Canada (1898–1904). As Viceroy, he worked to strengthen British control while addressing rising Indian political demands. He introduced the Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Councils Act of 1909), which expanded legislative councils and granted Muslims separate electorates, giving them political recognition. His period saw growing political awareness and the formation of the All India Muslim League (1906). Lord Minto's policies aimed to balance reform with maintaining British authority in India.

Lord John Morely

Lord John Morley (1838–1923), was the Secretary of State for India from 1905 to 1910. A British Liberal politician and writer, he worked with Viceroy Lord Minto to introduce constitutional reforms in response to growing Indian political demands. Together, they passed the Indian Councils Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms), which expanded legislative councils and introduced separate electorates for Muslims, marking a major step in Indian political representation. Morley supported gradual self-government but opposed full independence, believing British rule was still essential. His policies sought to combine liberal reform with imperial control.

→ Impacts of World War I

- India sent **1.3 million soldiers** and large amounts of money, food, and materials to support Britain.
- The war caused **heavy taxation, price rises, and economic hardship** for ordinary Indians.
- **Indian industries expanded** due to reduced imports from Britain.
- Britain promised **self-government** (Montagu Declaration, 1917), raising political expectations.
- **Nationalist feelings grew** as Indians felt betrayed after the war.
- The **Indian National Congress** and **Muslim League** became more active.
- Returning soldiers spread **anti-British sentiment**.
- The war set the stage for **mass movements** and the **demand for independence**.

Montagu Declaration (1917)

The "Montagu Declaration" is the term for the August 20, 1917, statement by British Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, outlining the British policy of gradually developing self-governing institutions in India, with the goal of responsible government. This announcement became the basis for the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, which were detailed in the Montagu–Chelmsford Report of 1918 and enacted through the Government of India Act of 1919.

→ Lucknow Pact (1916)

- The **Lucknow Pact** was an agreement between the **Indian National Congress** and the **All India Muslim League** to present **joint political demands** to the British government for greater Indian participation in governance.
- **Basic Details:**
 - **At Lucknow in December 1916.**
 - **Leaders:** *Muhammad Ali Jinnah* (Muslim League) and *Bal Gangadhar Tilak* (Congress).
 - Jinnah was called the “**Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity**” by Sarojini Naidu.

❖ Background and Reasons

- The **reversal of Bengal’s partition (1911)** disillusioned Muslims, who lost trust in British loyalty.
- Muslims realized they must **work with Congress** to demand **self-rule** while safeguarding their rights.
- Congress wanted League support to strengthen its demand for **Home Rule**.
- **Jinnah**, then a liberal, believed **Hindus and Muslims could unite** to pressure Britain.

❖ Main Clauses

1. **Self-Government:** India should have self-government.
2. **Muslim Representation:** Muslims to have **one-third representation** in the Central Legislature.
3. **Separate Electorates:** Separate electorates for **all communities**, unless a community requests joint electorates.
4. **Weightage System:** Minority communities to be given weightage (extra representation) in provinces where they were in minority.

5. **Expansion of Councils:**

- Members of the **Central Legislative Council** to be increased to 150.
- The term of councils is to be five years.

6. **Provincial Councils:** Size of provincial legislatures not to be extended.

7. **Voting Rights:** All Indians have the right to vote (based on qualifications).

8. **Community Protection:** No bill affecting a community to pass if **three-fourths** of that community's members in the council oppose it.

9. **Indian Participation:** Half the members of the **Imperial Legislative Council** to be Indians.

10. **Separation of Powers:** Executive and Judiciary to be kept separate.

❖ **Significance and Impact**

- Marked the **first political cooperation** between Hindus and Muslims.
- Congress **recognized the Muslim League** as the **representative body of Muslims**.
- Gave a major **boost to the Home Rule movement (1917)**.
- Represented the **peak of Hindu-Muslim unity**, though it lasted only a few years.
- Laid the groundwork for **constitutional reforms** and **future nationalist movements**.

Q: What were Montague reforms? [4]

In November 1917, John Montague- secretary of state of India and Lord Chelmsford viceroy of India carried a fact finding tour of India. After the talks with the local leaders they come up with a constitutional solution of India's problems. Report suggested a bicameral legislature at center with upper house as the council of state and lower house as the Legislative Assembly. The major shift of British political maneuvering was the inclusion of more elected members so Legislative assembly would have 145 members with 103 elected members. At provincial level, Diarchy was introduced which distributed the powers into reserved (British Governors) and transferred (Indian Ministers) subjects through which British retained the power. The right of the separate electorate which was previously given only to Muslims was now extended to Sikhs too. The number of voters was increased to 5.5 million. These reforms were opposed by both Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League.

Q: What is the System of Diarchy? [4]

It was launched by the British for the first time in Montague-Chelmsford reforms or Indian Council Act 1919 at provincial level. This act divided the powers into two subjects transferred and reserved subjects. The powers of transferred (unimportant) subjects or portfolios were given to Indian ministers. They administered the portfolios of agriculture, local govt., education, health, forests, public works, etc. The reserved (important) subjects or portfolios were to be administered by British governors. Subjects

under them include, police, justice, revenue, power resources, press and publication, etc. So, British controlled the Indians by retaining important portfolios.

Q: What is Rowlatt Act? [4]

Rowlatt Act was an extension of Defense of India Act 1915. It gave the powers to the police to arrest anyone without warrant and detain him without the right to bail. People could not hold meetings. They could be tried privately by three high court judges and had no right to appeal. It had tragic results as it caused uproar in India. Strikes and demonstrations took place. The protests were so violent that British thought it could prove to be another war of 1857.

Q: What is Jallianwala Bagh massacre? [4]

The protests against Rowlatt act were going on in whole Punjab. Another version is that Sikhs were celebrating their Vaisakhi event in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. 20,000 People gathered there. General Dyer was appointed to control the law and order situation. Army shut the door and opened fire, resultantly 400 people were killed and 1200 injured by the attack. Hunter Committee was setup to investigate General Dyer's actions and he was reprimanded by the British, but his cadre (rank) was enhanced which aggravated the Indian rage towards the British. He was murdered by an Indian freedom fighter Udham Singh in retaliation of Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

Q: Why were the Montague-Chelmsford reforms opposed by Indians in 1919? OR [7]

Q: What was the response of Hindus and Muslims towards Mont-ford Reforms? [7]

Points:

- > Minimal powers given to Indians.
- > Greater concessions were expected after WWI.
- > Moderates supported it.
- > Separate electorate was not accepted in true letter and spirit.
- > Diarchy provided actual powers to British governors.

Answer: The reforms kept power in the hands of British, Indians were given minimal powers. Viceroy could veto any decision and can introduce any law. Indians who fought with British in

World War-I expected greater concessions. Indians thought that even though they have provided thousands of men to fight against British aggression in First World War, British have ignored them in these reforms.

Congress and Muslim League who had recently come closer to each other and were striving for self-rule did not accept the proposals. The reforms were condemned in the joint session of congress in 1918, only the moderates supported it, who were soon excluded from the party. The British had not accepted the separate electorate in true letter and spirit.

Though British had extended the members of legislative assemblies and more members would now be added in the assemblies through elections i.e., 103 out of 145 members, they retained the powers through diarchy in which powers through important subjects were vested to British governors.

Q: Why was India not granted self-rule in 1919? [7]

Points:

- > Britain economically weakened.
- > All colonial nations were demanding independence.
- > Important for British navy.
- > Control of strategic ports to control the trade in India.
- > Indians meted out with harsh treatment.

Answer:

Britain was economically weakened after the 1st world war. All colonial nations were demanding independence from their colonizers i.e., Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia from France.

British thought that its political position in the world would be weakened if it would submit to India's demand of independence.

It was important for the British navy as well. Britain had already established strategic ports to control the trade in the region. Thousands of British i.e., Businessmen, Missionaries, and civil servants lived in India and had now formed a separate Anglo-Indian community which could not be left behind. Indians were meted out with harsh treatment i.e. Jallianwala Bagh incident, Rowlatt Act, etc. That's why Britain did not give in to India's demand for independence.

Q: The Montague-Chelmsford reforms were the most important one than any other political development between 1909 and 1919? Do you agree or disagree? Explain your

answer. [14]

In November 1917, John Montague, secretary of state of India and Lord Chelmsford, viceroy carried a fact finding tour of India. After the talks with the local leaders they come up with a constitutional solution of India's problems. Report suggested the following;

- i. Bicameral legislature (system of two houses) was proposed by the central legislature i.e., council of state (Upper House) and Legislative Assembly (Lower House).
- ii. Number of members in assemblies were increased i.e. council of state would have 60 members with 33 elected members; Legislative assembly would have 145 members with 103 elected members.
- iii. Number of voters was increased to 5.5. million.
- iv. Three Indian ministers were included in Viceroy's Executive Council.
- v. Separate electorate was granted to Muslims and Sikhs.
- vi. It was decided that after ten years the constitutional reforms were to be reviewed again.
- vii. System of diarchy was introduced by Govt. of India Act 1919.

The transferred (unimportant) subjects or portfolios i.e. agriculture, local govt., education, health, forests, public works, etc were given to Indian ministers. The

reserved (important) subjects or portfolios i.e. police, justice, revenue, power resources, press and publication, etc were under the control of Governors who were British.

These reforms were not acceptable to both Muslim League and Congress because both hoped for greater concessions. The Viceroy and Governors were given more executive powers than Indian ministers through system of diarchy. They could even appoint Indian ministers and dissolve assemblies so the administrative control was in the hands of British. Consequently, the Govt. of India Act 1919 did not resolve the constitutional problem within India.

Important developments occurred during the first and second decade of the 20th century like Minto-Morley reforms which increased the number of members in legislative assemblies and have given a separate platform for the Muslims to contest elections.

Hostility of Muslims towards British grew firstly through the annulment of the Partition of Bengal and secondly by Western aggression towards Muslim countries, Balkan wars, Demolition of the mosque in Kanpur (1913), etc. This weakened Muslim faith in the British and ultimately led to a major drift in the Muslim League's policy. This change of policy brought the AIML and INC closer.

Hindus had their own reasons for antagonism such as partition of Bengal which according to them was a political gimmick of British to let the Indians away from the self-rule. They had a view that British was pursuing their 'divide and rule policy' through division of two major Indian communities i.e., Muslims and Hindus. Muslim had then known that if they seriously want to pursue their demands and to protect their political rights, they had to take the majority (Hindus) in confidence. That's how Muslims and Hindus came closer and agreed to sign Lucknow Pact from where Hindu-Muslim unity had started. It was a great success for Muslims that Hindus had accepted the Muslim demand of separate electorate and a greater number of seats in Imperial Legislative Council for Muslims was agreed upon, but the spirit of Lucknow Pact did not last long. The friendly atmosphere created by the pact soon waned out and an extremist Hindu element soon took over Congress.

British also extended the Defense Act of 1915 through Rowlatt Act in 1919. It gave the powers to the police to arrest anyone without warrant and detain without the right to bail. People could not hold meetings. They could be tried privately by three high court judges and had no right to appeal. It had tragic results as it caused uproar in India, strikes and demonstrations took place. The protests were so violent that British thought it could prove to be another war of 1857.

Consequently, it can be implied that Lucknow Pact is the most important political development from 1909 to 1919 because firstly for the very first time in the history of subcontinent Muslims demand of separate electorate was accepted by the Hindus and secondly it was right for the first time Hindus were united with Muslims.

Q: Were the Montague-Chelmsford reforms the main reason for the outbreak of violence across India in 1919? Explain your answer. [14]

In November 1917, John Montague, secretary of state of India and Lord Chelmsford, viceroy carried a fact finding tour of India. After the talks with the local leaders they come up with a constitutional solution of India's problems.

Report suggested a bicameral legislature at center with upper house as the council of state and lower house as the Legislative Assembly. The major shift of British political maneuvering was the inclusion of more elected members so Legislative assembly would have 145 members with 103 elected members. At provincial level, Diarchy was introduced which distributed the powers into reserved (British Governors) and transferred (Indian Ministers) subjects through which British retained the power. The right of the separate electorate which was previously given only to Muslims was now extended to Sikhs too. The number of voters was increased to 5.5 million.

The reforms kept power in the hands of British, Indians were given minimal powers. Viceroy could veto any decision and make and introduce any law. Indians who fought with British in World War-I expected greater concessions. Congress and Muslim League who had recently come closer to each other then and were striving for self-rule did not accept the proposals. The reforms were condemned in the joint session of congress in 1918, only the moderates supported it, who were soon excluded from the party. The British had not accepted the separate electorate in true letter and spirit.

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The protests against Rowlatt act were going on in whole Punjab. Another version is that Sikhs were celebrating their Vaisakhi event in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. 20,000 People were gathered there. General Dyer was appointed to control the law and order situation. The army closed the door and opened fire, resultantly 400 people were killed and 1200 injured by the attack. General Dyer's act was reprimanded by the British but his cadre was enhanced which aggravated the Indian rage towards the British. He was murdered by Indian freedom fighter Udham Singh in retaliation of Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1927.

Consequently, it can be said that Montague-Chelmsford give rise to the oppressive feelings towards Indians which also caused the opposition of Rowlatt Act and ultimately killings in Jallianwala massacre.

Events from 1923 to 1929

Q: What was Swaraj party? [4]

Swaraj party was setup on 1st January 1923 by Indian politicians and members of Indian National Congress. Inspiration was taken by the concept of swaraj which means selfgovernment. Most important leaders of this party were Chittaranjan Dās (President) and Motilāl Nehru (Secretary)-Father of Jawāharlāl Nehru. Jinnāh also joined this party after

winning the elections of 1923 unopposed from the Bombay seat. The aim of this party was to use Legislative Assemblies setup through Montague-Chelmsford Reforms to work for India's freedom.

Delhi Muslim Proposals-1927

Q:WhatwereDelhiMuslimProposals?[4]

Considering separate electorates to be the main hindrance in improving Hindu- Muslim relations, Quā'id i-Āzam proposed that if the Hindus had agreed to provide certain safeguards, the Muslims would give up this demand. Consequently, the proposals were formally approved at a conference held by Muslims in 1927 at Delhi, and are now called "The Delhi-Muslim Proposals". Following are the safeguards that were proposed:

- i.The formation of a separate province of Sindh.
- ii.Introduction of reforms in the NWFP and in Baluchistan.
- iii.Fixed seats in proportion to the population of different communities in Punjab and Bengal.
- iv.One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
- v.For communal matters, no bill or resolution would be passed if three-fourth of the members of the community would accede to it.

Q: What was the response of Delhi Muslim Proposals by AIML and INC? [4]

These proposals were to be accepted or rejected in toto. So, in effect, Muslims largely agreed to give up the separate electorates in form of the reservation of seats. All India Muslim League was divided into two groups i.e., Shafī League and Jinnāh League mainly from Punjab. Unfortunately, the Congress first accepted but later rejected the proposals.

The Simon Commission-1927

Q:WhatwastheSimonreport? [4]

The conservative Govt. set up an early commission of seven British members under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. Lord Birkenhead- Secretary of the State for India was worried that if Labor party (supporter of nationalism in India) would win the future elections, they would give away too many powers to Indians. The commission reported in 1930 which stipulated;

- Federal system
- Diarchy was abolished in provinces and all the portfolios will then be handed over to provincial ministers.
- Powers of central govt. and provincial governors i.e., British to be reduced. Yet, emergency powers of British governors were retained.
- Right to vote should be extended to more people.
- Separate electorate for Muslim was granted.
- 1/3rd representation in central legislature not granted.
- Sindh would be the part of Bombay presidency.
- Special status of NWFP remained the same.
- Round Table conferences were announced to setup a new constitution in India.

Report was unacceptable for Both Congress and Muslim League. Yet, Shafī League accepted the commission's report on a plea that British should not be left alone at center.

Q: Why was the Simon Commission sent to India? [7]

->A constitutional commission had to setup w.r.t Mont-Ford reforms after 10 years.

- > Indians were not happy with Mont-Ford reforms.
- > Fear of defeat of conservative party in coming elections.

Answer: The Govt. of India Act 1919 stated that a commission would be set up after ten years to look into the constitutional reforms setup in the act. Hindu-Muslim cooperation was just a dream at that time because after the failure of Khilafat movement, where Muslims blamed Gandhi for its failure because he suddenly withdrew from his non-cooperation movement and therefore from Khilafat movement. Major parties in India have already rejected the Govt. of India Act 1919 so it was decided to review this act before its due time.

Lord Birkenhead- the Secretary of the State of India feared a defeat of Conservative party in upcoming elections. If it gets defeated, then Labor party will succeed who will investigate Indian matters more leniently and sympathetically as they were pro-nationalist.

Thus, a commission of seven men was sent to India under Sir John Simon in 1927. John Simon and the members of commission were carefully selected in a way that these members should not be in any way lenient towards Indian nationalism. The commission proposed for the future constitution of India.

Q: Why was the Simon Commission Report rejected? [7]

- > There was no Indian member in the commission.
- > Clauses were not accepted in toto by any party.
- > Muslims' demand of 1/3rd representation in central legislature was not accepted.
- > No separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency.
- > No reform work in NWFP and Baluchistan.
- > Emergency powers were retained by British governors.

Answer: The report was rejected in toto by all the major Indian parties. There was no inclusion of Indian member in this commission so both INC and AIML called it "all white body". Lord Birkenhead did not include Indians in the commission because he considered the disunity among the Indians main impediment towards the constitutional efforts of commission. This was looked upon as an insult and majority parties rejected the reports.

The clauses of the report were partially accepted by political parties. For example, INC wanted a federation with a strong center, but AIML wanted a federation with weak center where more powers are vested in provinces (provincial autonomy).

Disappointments for Muslim League were manifold. Commission did not recommend one-third Muslim seats in central legislature. It rejected the Muslim demand of separating Sindh from Bombay Presidency. It had also not favored to have reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan. Lastly British Governors had also retained the emergency powers.

Nehru Report-1928

Q: Describe the Nehru Report? [4]

After the boycott of Simon Commission, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, challenged the Indians, "If they have any political capability and competence then they should form a unanimous constitution and present it to us and we will implement it." It was presented by Motilal Nehru in All Parties Conference in 1928. It called for immediate dominion status¹ for India. The proposals were as under;

- India would be a federation with residuary powers vested in Center.
- There would be a bicameral legislature i.e., Upper House-Senate and Lower House House of Representatives.
- Adult suffrage for the lower house of central and provincial legislatures.
- No separate electorate or weightage for any community as it awakens communal sentiments. So, joint electorate should be introduced.
- Protection of minorities by reserved seats in central legislature.
- No reserved seats of Muslims in Punjab and Bengal. However, reserved seats will be given to Muslims in provinces where their population is at least 10%.
- Muslims should have 1/4th representation at the centre.
- Sindh to be separated from Bombay presidency if it is financially viable.
- Reforms should be introduced in NWFP.

The report was not acceptable to Muslims. Thus, Muslim members of the Committee did not sign it

Important Meanings:

1. Dominion status means that India would be independent and political equal of British and would be the part of the commonwealth and British Monarch would be the head of the state.
2. Residuary powers are the powers which are retained by any government authority after certain powers have been delegated to other authorities.
3. Adult suffrage is the right of sane citizens under a set age limit to vote in elections.

Q: What were Jinnah's amendments to Nehru report? [4]

Jinnah represented Muslim League in the fourth session of All Parties Conference which was convened to review the Nehru report. Jinnah presented following amendments.

- Muslim representation in Central Legislature should be no less than 1/3rd.
- If adult suffrage will not be established, Punjab and Bengal should have seats reserved for Muslims based on population.
- There would be a federal constitution where residuary powers are to be vested in provinces.
- Sindh to be immediately separated from Bombay Presidency.
- There should be reform work in NWFP and Baluchistan.

The committee rejected these amendments and thus it was considered as parting of ways between Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League.

Jinnah's 14 points-1929**Q: Why did Jinnah produce his 14 points? OR [7]****Q: Why was the Nehru report rejected? [7]**

The report ignored political interests of Indian Muslims because important leadership to speak for Muslims was not there. Jinnah was in England to look after his terminally ill wife. Sir Ali Imam could not attend the meeting due to bad health. So Muslims were being represented by Shoaib Qureshi and others who were not important leaders of Muslims. INC was ignoring what they have previously accepted i.e., separate electorate and one-third seats in the central legislature. Jinnah tried to advocate the Hindi-Muslim unity once again by proposing amendments in January 1929. The amendments were;

- i- One-third Muslim seats in both houses of central legislature i.e., Council of state and central legislative assembly.
- ii- If adult suffrage will not be established, Punjab and Bengal should have seats reserved for Muslims based on population.
- iii- Residuary powers to be vested in provinces.
- iv- Making NWFP and Sindh as separate provinces.

Q: What were Jinnah's 14 points? [4]

Jinnah's proposals were rejected when put to vote in All Parties Conference. The Congress managed to get the majority vote in favour of the Report. They asked the Government to make a constitution till December 31 according to the recommendations of Nehru Report and threatened that otherwise the party would start a mass movement for the attainment of Swaraj. It was also decided that January 26 would be celebrated as the Independence Day. Jinnah considered it as the "parting of the ways" and once the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" was now convinced that the Hindu mindset in India was bent upon pushing the Muslim minority to the wall.

The fourteen points were;

- i. Federal constitution with the residuary powers rested in the provinces.
- ii. Provincial Autonomy to all the provinces.
- iii. One-third representation of Muslims in central legislature.
- iv. No cabinet, either central or provincial shall be formed. Without being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.
- v. Separate electorates for all communal groups.
- vi. No bill shall be passed if opposed by three-fourth of any community.
- vii. Sindh should be separated from Bombay presidency.
- viii. Reforms should be introduced in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
- ix. Territorial re-distribution shall not in any way, affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal, and N.W.F.P.
- x. Religious Liberty
- xi. Adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province.
- xii. Muslims should be given adequate share in the services of State.
- xiii. Protection of Muslim's culture and Language.
- xiv. No change shall be made in the constitution of state except with the concurrence (agreement) of state constituting the Indian Federation.

Long Questions

Q: Which of the following was the most important of the Pakistan Movement? [14]

- i. The Simon Commission**
- ii. The Nehru Report**
- iii. Jinnah's 14 points**

Explain your answer.

The conservative Govt. set up a commission of seven men under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. All the members were British, so there were protests in whole India. The commission reported its report in 1930 which stipulated a Federal system of govt. Diarchy was abolished in provinces. There will be a provision of Separate electorate for Muslims. Muslims were not granted 1/3rd representation in central legislature. They were also not guaranteed jobs in civil services according to their weightage. Sindh was not separated from the Bombay presidency. Special status of NWFP remained the same. Round Table conferences were announced to setup a new constitution in India.

Report was unacceptable for Both Congress and Muslims. There was no inclusion of Indian member in this commission so both INC and AIML called it "all white body". Lord Birkenhead did not include Indians in the commission because he considered the disunity among the Indians main impediment towards the constitutional efforts of commission. This was looked upon as an insult and majority parties rejected the reports. The clauses of the report were either not accepted to one party or the other party. For example, INC wanted a federation with a strong center, but AIML wanted a federation with weak center where more powers are vested in provinces (provincial autonomy). Another disappointment for Muslim League was that report did not recommend one-third Muslim seats in central legislature.

After the boycott of Simon commission, Lord Birkend head, Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, challenged the Indians, "If they have any political capability and competence then they should form a unanimous constitution and present it to us and we will implement it." It was presented by Motilal Nehru in All Parties Conference in 1928. It called for immediate dominion status for India. The proposals stated that India would be a federation with a bicameral legislature. It did not guarantee a separate electorate or weightage for any community as it awakened communal sentiments. Protection to minorities was given by reserved seats in central legislature. Muslims should have 1/4th representation at the centre instead of 1/3rd representation.

The report was not acceptable to Muslims and the Muslim members of the Committee did not sign it. The report ignored political interests of Indian Muslims because important leadership to speak for Muslims was not there. Jinnah was in England to look after his terminally ill wife. Sir Ali Imam could not attend the meeting due to bad health. So, Muslims were being represented by Shoaib Qureshi and others who were not important leaders of Muslims.

Jinnah tried to advocate the Hindi-Muslim unity once again by proposing four amendments in January 1929. The amendments of Jinnah were that there should be one-third Muslim seats in both houses of central legislature i.e., council of state and central legislative assembly. Muslim seats in Punjab and Bengal should be according to the size of their population. Residuary powers are to be vested in provinces. NWFP and Sindh are to be declared as separate provinces.

Conclusively, it can be implied that fourteen points of Jinnah were more important as they were accepted in the long run, and they gave a platform to the Muslim League for the future struggle for the independence.

The Round Table Conferences (1930-32)

Short Questions

Q: What was Salt March by Gandhi? [4]

- Britain's Salt Act of 1882 prohibited Indians from collecting or selling salt—a staple in their diet.
- Indian citizens were forced to buy it from their British rulers, who, in addition to exercising a monopoly over the manufacture and sale of salt, also charged a heavy salt tax.
- The Salt March took place from March to April 1930 in India.
- It was an act of civil disobedience led by Gandhi to protest British rule in India.
- During this march, thousands of Indians followed Gandhi from his religious retreat (hermitage) near Ahmedabad to the Arabian sea coast, some 240 miles apart.
- The nonviolent march and other similar marches resulted in the arrest of nearly 60,000 people including Gandhi himself.

Q: What was the First Round Table Conference? [4]

- The conference was held from November 1930 to January 1931 in London.
- 90 delegates attended the meeting. 16 from three main British political parties, 58 from British India, and 16 from Indian princely states.
- The conference was attended by all i.e., Muslim League, liberals, and representatives of the Muslim states except Indian National Congress.
- Gandhi continued with his civil disobedience movement and landed in prison.
- Without Congress, which was the representative of majority people in India, the conference could not make any progress.

Q: What were the clauses accepted by delegates in 1st RTC? [4]

British decided to discuss the recommendations of Simon Report by inviting all the political parties and minority groups at a Round Table Conference to discuss the future constitution of the country. The delegates acceded to the following points;

- o Federal Govt. with proper division of power between centre and provinces.
- o Sindh was to be made a separate entity.
- o Reforms to be introduced in NWFP.
- o Princely states acceded to join a federation provided their rights were recognized.
- o British accepted that a responsible govt. must be setup in provinces.

Q: What was Gandhi-Irwin pact? [4] The Gandhi–Irwin Pact was a political agreement signed by Gandhi and Lord Irwin Viceroy of India, on 5 March 1931 before the Second Round Table Conference in London. Both leaders agreed on the following terms.

- Discontinuation of the Salt March by the Indian National Congress.
- Participation by the Indian National Congress in the Second Round Table Conference.
- Withdrawal of all ordinances issued by the Government of India imposing curbs on the activities of the Indian National Congress.
- Withdrawal of all prosecutions relating to several types of political offenses i.e., Rowlatt Act.
- Release of prisoners arrested for participating in the Salt March except those involved in violence; and
- Removal of the tax on salt, which allowed the Indians to produce, trade, and sell salt legally and for their own private use.

Q: What was 2nd Round Table Conference? [4]

- It took place in London between Sep and Dec 1931.
- By this time labor govt. had collapsed and was replaced by conservative party.
- Conservative party was never in a mood to get out of India.
- Gandhi took a strong stance in which he claimed that he being the sole spokesman and Congress to be the only representative party, will speak for all Indians including Muslims.
- Muslim leadership led by Iqbal and Jinnah was infuriated by this stance.
- It also did not recognize the minority problems in which Gandhi claimed that untouchables are Hindus who cannot be treated as 'minority' and that there should be no separate electorate as it would lead to a communal problem in India.
- It also did not accept that Jinnah's 14 points should be included in the future constitution of India.
- It failed for two important reasons which were;
 - o Labor party which was in favor of Indian Nationalism in the past, lost power and secondly a coalition govt. was not willing to reach a compromise.
- Thus nothing was achieved in this conference except NWFP and Sindh were to be made provinces with separate governors.

Q: What was the Communal Award? [4]

- After the failure of 2nd Round Table Conference, it was announced on 16th Aug 1932 by the British P. M. Ramsay MacDonald.
- It gave the right of separate electorate to all the minority groups of India.
- Muslims were given weightage in Hindu dominated provinces.
- Muslims were not happy as it had reduced their majority in Punjab and Bengal. There was 57% population of Muslims in Punjab but reduced to only 49% seats in legislature. There was 55% population of Muslims in Bengal but reduced to only 48% seats in legislature.
- The consolation for the Muslims was that British separated Sindh from Bombay presidency.
- Muslim League passed a resolution in its favor in the larger interest of the country.
- Congress launched a campaign against it. Gandhi protested as the Award declared untouchables as a minority. He undertook fast unto death.

Q: What was 3rd Round Table Conference? [4]

- Third Round Table Conference was again called upon in December 1932 which was not attended by Congress.
- Surprisingly Jinnah was not invited even though he was living in London. British considered him a troublemaker.
- Muslim delegates were led by Sir Agha Khan III and Allama Iqbal.
- Only 46 delegates attended in which most of the main political figures of India were not present.
- The only importance of this conference was that a white paper was submitted to the British govt. which carried recommendations from all three conferences.
- Govt. of India Act 1935 was enforced on the basis of this white paper, which became the future constitution of India and Pakistan till 1950 and 1956 respectively.

Q: Why was it necessary to hold three Round Table Conferences? [7]

- > Failure of Nehru Report.
- > Failure of Jinnah's 14 points.

- > Gulf between Hindus and Muslims widened.
- > Clause of Simon Commission.
- > Labor party was in favor of Indian Nationalism.

Answer: After the disagreement on Simon Commission, Lord Birkenhead invited Indians to reform the constitutional problems by themselves. Both the communities tried to reform through Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 points but could not be agreed upon. The gulf between Muslim League and Congress widened and Jinnah decided to keep it that way because Hindus' biased mentality towards Muslims was evident after Nehru Report. This lack of unity between two communities made it worse for the British to move forward and that's why there was a threat of widespread violence.

Secondly, it was a clause of Simon report that if a consensus between two major communities of India i.e., Muslims and Hindus cannot be made then we should let all the communities sit together in Round Table Conference to reform constitutional communal issues of India. New labor govt. (Led by Ramsay MacDonald) installed in 1929 gave a new hope to Indians because they were in a favor of Indian nationalism. Indians wanted full independence but British wanted to have a hold on India.

Q: Why were Round Table Conferences unsuccessful? [7]

- > INC didn't attend 1st RTC.
- > Gandhi was imprisoned.
- > Gandhi and INC claimed to speak for whole India in 2nd RTC, never accepted by Jinnah and AIML.
- > 3rd RTC was neither attended by INC nor by AIML.
- > 3rd RTC was attended by only 46 delegates.

Answer: Indian National Congress did not attend the 1st Round Table Conference because British were still not interested in promising the immediate dominion status to India. Gandhi continued its civil disobedience movement and ended up in prison. So First Round Table Conference was inconclusive because majority party was not present.

Viceroy Lord Irwin met Gandhi and motivated him to go for another Round Table conference. Gandhi took a strong stance which was based on the Nehru report; he claimed INC to speak for the whole India and refused to recognize the problems of minorities. Muslims representatives led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal were infuriated by Gandhi's stance. Thus, this conference i.e., 2nd Round Table Conference was also a failure.

Third Round Table Conference was again called upon in December 1932 which was neither attended by Congress nor by Jinnah. Only 46 delegates attended the conference. The only importance of this conference was that a white paper was submitted to the British govt. which carried recommendations from all three conferences. Govt. of India Act 1935 was

enforced on the basis of this white paper, which became the future constitution of India and Pakistan till 1950 and 1956 respectively.

Q: Why was 2nd Round Table Conference of 1931 unsuccessful? [7]

- > INC pressurized British by not attending 1st RTC.
- > Lord Irwin through Irwin Pact involved Gandhi in 2nd RTC.
- > Gandhi claimed to be the sole spokesman of India, Jinnah did not approve it.
- > A coalition Govt. was not willing to reach a compromise for Indian nationalism.
- > Jinnah's 14 points were not considered.
- > Gandhi stayed on their claim of Nehru report.

Answer: Firstly, Muslims did not like Gandhi's stance over communal matters i.e., he rejected the notion of separate electorate which was the most important Muslim demand on the plea that it would lead to greater communal issues. Secondly, Gandhi called himself and his party the sole spokesman of Indian people which was not acceptable at all by the Muslims. Jinnah and Iqbal both were infuriated by this stance of Gandhi.

Some politicians i.e., Winston Churchill objected Irwin to talk to someone who has been imprisoned for opposing British rule. Gandhi-Irwin talks were successful in which Irwin acceded to release most of the prisoners and Gandhi accepted to call off the non-cooperation movement and to attend the 2nd RTC. Gandhi also accepted to withdraw from his demand of complete independence in return to a promise that there will be a federal India in which major say would be of Indians.

Another reason of its failure was; Labor party which was in favor of Indian Nationalism in the past, lost power and a coalition govt. was not willing to reach a compromise. Gandhi also took a strong stance in which he did not recognize the minority problems and also did not accept that Jinnah's 14 points should be included in future constitution of India. Thus, nothing was achieved in this conference except NWFP and Sindh should have separate governors.

Khilafat Movement (1918-1924)

- **How successful was the Khilafat Movement in advancing the cause of the Pakistan Movement?**

Key Question 7: How successful was the Khilafat Movement in advancing the cause of the Pakistan Movement?

Focus points:

- What were the origins, aims and main features of the Khilafat Movement?
- Why did the Khilafat Movement fail?

Specified content:

- reasons for the rise of the Movement
- the objectives of the Khilafat Conference, 1918
- the Khilafat Conferences and delegations to England, 1919–21, and reasons for failure
- the causes, course and reasons for failure of the Hijrat Movement
- Gandhi and the Non-Cooperation Movement
- reasons for the failure of the Khilafat Movement
- the impact of the Khilafat and Hijrat Movements on Muslims in the subcontinent.

Background & Causes

- **The Ottoman Empire (Turkey)** held the *Caliphate* — the spiritual leadership of Muslims worldwide.
- During **World War I (1914–1918)**, Turkey sided with **Germany** and **Austria-Hungary**.
- The **Allied Powers (Britain, France, Greece, etc.)** won the war and decided to **divide Ottoman territories** among themselves.
- The **Treaty of Sèvres (1920)** imposed harsh terms on Turkey — loss of territories and control over holy places (Makkah, Madinah, Jerusalem).
- **Indian Muslims** were deeply hurt, as they revered the Caliph (Khalifa) and saw the move as an attack on Islam.
- Britain had earlier promised to safeguard **holy places** and **territorial integrity of Turkey**, but failed to do so — causing Muslim anger.
- This led to the **Khilafat Movement**, aiming to protect the Caliph and the Ottoman Empire.

The Treaty of Sèvres

Was signed on **10 August 1920** between the **Allied Powers** and the **Ottoman Empire** after World War I. It was extremely harsh — it **dismembered the Ottoman Empire**, placing many of its territories like **Syria, Palestine, Iraq,**

and Arabia under British and French control. Greece received parts of Western Turkey, and the Turkish Straits were internationalized. This treaty **humiliated the Ottoman Empire** and effectively ended its sovereignty.

Main Objectives of the Movement

1. **To protect and restore the Holy Places** of Islam (Makkah, Madinah, Jerusalem/Palestine).
2. **To protect the Caliph** of Turkey.
3. **To restore the Ottoman Empire** and its territorial integrity.

Main Leaders

- **Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar**
- **Maulana Shaukat Ali**
- **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad**
- **Maulana Abdul Bari**
- **Maulana Hasrat Mohani**
- **Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi** (Congress leader who supported the cause)

Major Events & Activities

1. First Khilafat Conference – Delhi, November 1919

- Attended by Maulana Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, and Gandhi.
- Decided to persuade Britain to honor its promises regarding Turkey.
- Resolution passed to send a **delegation to England** to present the Muslim viewpoint.
- Adopted a **boycott of British goods** and **non-cooperation policy**.
- Gandhi introduced his idea of “**Satyagraha**” – peaceful resistance against injustice.
- Muslims were urged to join **Congress’s movement for “Swaraj” (self-rule)**.

2. Second Khilafat Conference – Amritsar, December 1919

- Attended jointly by **Muslim League, Congress, and Khilafat leaders**.
- Decided to work together to oppose the division of the Turkish Empire.
- A **delegation led by Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar** went to **Britain (1920)** to meet PM **Lloyd George**.

- Spent 8 months in England, made speeches, but **demands were rejected**.
- Returned unsuccessful in **October 1920**.

Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–1922)

- After the failed mission, leaders decided to start a **Non-Cooperation Movement**.
- Congress under **Gandhi** supported it — Muslims and Hindus united against British rule.
- Actions included:
 - Boycott of British goods, schools, and courts.
 - Resignation from government jobs.
 - Promotion of Indian goods and education.
- **Unity between Hindus and Muslims** reached its peak during this time.

Key Supporting Movements

The Hijrat Movement (1921)

- Some ulema declared **India as Dar-ul-Harb (land of war)** under British rule.
- Around **18,000 Muslims**, mainly from **NWFP**, migrated to **Afghanistan**.
- Initially welcomed, later the Afghan **government refused entry**.
- Many died or returned **penniless** — the movement failed disastrously.

The Moplah Uprising (1921)

- Took place in **Malabar (Kerala)** among **Moplah (Mappila) Muslims**.

- Revolted against **Hindu landlords** and **British oppression**.
- The revolt turned violent — thousands killed, including British officers.
- The British brutally suppressed it — **4,000 Moplahs killed**, many injured.
- **Moplah Train Tragedy**: 66 prisoners suffocated to death in a sealed train carriage.
- The event **damaged Hindu–Muslim unity** and the Khilafat Movement’s reputation.

Chauri Chaura Incident (1922)

- A violent mob in **Chauri Chaura (U.P.)** set a police station on fire, **killing 22 policemen**.
- **Gandhi**, who advocated non-violence, **suspended the Non-Cooperation Movement** immediately — without consulting Muslim leaders.
- **Muslims felt betrayed**, morale dropped, and unity collapsed.
- **Jinnah**, who had earlier warned that the movement would lead to violence, **resigned from Congress (1920)**.

British Repression

- The British arrested almost **all major Khilafat leaders** (Muslim and Hindu).
- Around **30,000 activists were imprisoned** across India.
- Movement weakened due to **loss of leadership**.

End of the Movement (1924)

- **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** took control of Turkey.
- Introduced **modern, secular reforms** — abolished the **Caliphate (1924)**.
- The **Caliph was exiled**, and Turkey became a **secular republic**.
- With the Caliphate gone, **the main purpose of the Khilafat Movement ended**.

- The movement **collapsed completely by 1924**.

Reasons for Failure

1. **Abolition of the Caliphate (1924)** by Turks themselves – the main cause.
2. **Withdrawal of Congress support (1922)** after the Chauri Chaura incident.
3. **Failure of Hijrat Movement** – huge loss and disillusionment.
4. **Moplah Uprising** – violence damaged Hindu-Muslim unity.
5. **Arrest of leaders** – loss of direction and leadership.
6. **Lack of coordination** – no clear long-term strategy.
7. **Turkey's disinterest in Indian politics** – made Indian protests meaningless.
8. **Realization of futility** – far-sighted leaders like **Jinnah** and **Iqbal** avoided it.

Results / Impacts

- **Hindu-Muslim unity** reached its peak temporarily but ended in mistrust.
- **Political awakening among Muslims** – prepared the ground for the **Pakistan Movement** later.
- Muslims realized that **their religious and political interests differed from Hindus**.
- **Failure of combined struggle** convinced Muslims to **seek a separate political identity**.
- Marked the **rise of new Muslim leadership** and **decline of Congress–Muslim cooperation**.

Mehmed VI (1861–1926)

- **Last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1918–1922)** and son of **Sultan Abdulmecid I**.
- His reign followed **World War I**, during which the empire lost **Baghdad, Damascus, and Jerusalem**.
- On **10 August 1920**, his representatives signed the **Treaty of Sèvres**, dividing Ottoman lands and recognizing **Hejaz's independence**.
- **Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)** and Turkish nationalists **rejected the treaty** and formed the **Grand National Assembly in Ankara (1920)**.
- The **Sultanate was abolished on 1 November 1922**, and Mehmed VI was **exiled to Malta**.
- He **died in Italy (1926)** and was **buried in Damascus**.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938)

- **Founder and first President of the Republic of Turkey.**
- **Military leader** in World War I and the **Turkish War of Independence.**
- Granted the title “**Atatürk**” (“Father of the Turks”) in **1934.**
- Transformed the Ottoman Empire into a **modern, secular nation-state.**
- Introduced reforms:
 - **Free and compulsory education**, new schools.
 - **Women’s civil and political rights.**
 - **Reduced taxes** for peasants.
 - **Turkification** to build national unity.
- His principles, known as **Kemalism**, became the foundation of **modern Turkey.**

Simon Commission – Day of Deliverance (1927-1939)

➤ How successful was the Pakistan Movement in the years 1927 to 1939?

Key Question 8: How successful was the Pakistan Movement in the years 1927 to 1939?

Focus points:

- Why did Jinnah produce his 14 Points of 1929?
- How successful were the three Round Table Conferences of 1930–32?
- How important was the Government of India Act, 1935?
- Why was Congress Rule (1937–39) unpopular with many Muslims?

Specified content:

- the Simon Commission, 1927–1930
- the Nehru Report, 1928
- Jinnah's 14 Points, 1929
- Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address, 1930
- the Round Table Conferences, 1930–32
- the Communal Award of 1932
- Rahmat Ali and the Pakistan National Movement, 1933
- the Government of India Act, 1935
- the 1937 elections and their significance to the Muslim League and Congress
- Congress rule, 1937–39, its significance to the Pakistan Movement and the 'Day of Deliverance', 1939.

(1932-1942)

(i) Communal Award (1932)

Background

- ➔ Introduced by Ramsay MacDonald to resolve issues in India.
- ➔ Announced after the 2nd RTC failed.
- ➔ Ramsay was British PM at the time.

Details

Right of separate electorates given to minorities.

- ➔ The principle of weightage was introduced.
- ➔ Reduced Muslims; majority in Punjab and Bengal; In Punjab they were given 86/175
- ➔ seats.
- Congress rejected it and launched a campaign against it; Gandhi resolved to a Fast
- ➔ until death due to declaration of "Untouchables" as a minority.

(ii) Third Round Table Conference (1932)

Details

- Lord Irwin was replaced by Lord Willington who wasn't very open to concessions.
- Had Gandhi and Nehru arrested due to restart of non cooperation movement in places.
- Congress and all major princes boycotted it.
- Jinnah was in voluntary exile.
- 46 Muslim delegates went, under Agha Khan.
- Meeting was unsuccessful
-

(iii) Chaudhry Rehmat Ali

Background

- Born – 1897, Punjab; Educated at Islamia College, Lhr.
- Developed idea of a separate Muslim state in NW Indian provinces, in 1930's.
- Attended RTC's 1930-32, tried to convince Muslim leaders to accept his idea.
- Jinnah & other leaders didn't agree, thought such a scheme as too premature.
- 1933, Pakistan National Movement & his pamphlet, "Now or Never", introduced the word "Pakistan".
- Wrote a collection of articles, "Pakistan – the fatherland of the Pak nation".
-

Importance of Work

- Issued first direct call for a separate Muslim state in the NW Muslim majority provinces of India; surpassed Sir Syed & Allama Iqbal in making his demand.
- Gave a name to the proposed state – Pakistan, a meaningful term – literal meaning "land of the pure people (Muslims) & each letter for a Muslim majority area. P: Punjab; A for Afghanistan (NWFP); K for Kashmir; S for Sindh & "tan" for Balochistan.
- According to his explanation, the acronym "Pakistan" included the Indian & Asian homelands of Muslims.
- ML adopted his idea & the name "Pakistan", March 1940 & worked to achieve the goal of a Muslim state of NW & NE Muslim majority provinces.

(iv) Govt. of India Act (1935)

Background

- Despite the failure of the Round Table conferences, in March 1933 the British government announced its proposals for how India should be governed. After discussions by British politicians, and consultation with 'safe' Indian delegates, nominated by the government to take part in the talks, a Bill was introduced before the British parliament in December 1934. In
- August 1935 the Government of India Act became law. This was the last major legislation that the British government passed before independence was granted.

Details

- India was to be a federation including both the provinces of British India and any Princely States which chose to join.
- There were to be two houses of parliament at central government level. The upper house (Council of State) was to have 156 members from British India and 104 from the Princely States. The members from British India were to be elected and those from the Princely States were to be nominated. The lower house (Assembly) was to have 250 members from British India (elected by the provincial legislatures) and 125 members from the Princely States (nominated).
- Diarchy was dropped at provincial level, but introduced at central government level. Certain 'reserved' subjects (defence, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and the administration of the tribal areas) were to be administered exclusively by the Governor-General assisted by up to three appointed Councillors. At provincial level diarchy was replaced with a system in which provinces were given a large degree of autonomy. The ministers of provinces were, in effect, heads of provincial administration and
- Provincial Governors were instructed to act on their advice except in areas where they had special responsibilities (the peace of the province and the rights of minorities). The number of provinces was increased to eleven by giving the NWFP the status of a fully-fledged province and creating two new provinces, Orissa and Sindh.
- The composition of the provincial legislatures varied, though most had a bi-cameral system similar to that of the central government. The Governor-General was head of the Federation and could exert special powers in the reserved subjects. • Provincial Governors also had special powers in the two
- reserved areas. They had the authority to dismiss ministers and even the right to dismiss the whole administration and rule by proclamation during a period of emergency.

Effects

- The property qualification for voting meant that only 25% of India's population was allowed to vote in the provincial elections; Negative effect.
- Opposed on all sides in India.
- The princes resented the loss of power it would entail,

(v) 1937 Elections

- Despite the failure of the Round Table conferences, in March 1933 the British government announced its proposals for how India should be governed.
- ML & INC didn't approve the 1935 Act; accepted it due to elections, Jan-Feb 1937, for provincial assemblies only Jinnah's return, 1934; permanent president of ML; still hoped some Hindu-Muslim unity after the elections but Nehru unwilling. Results: INC won absolute majority in 5 provinces; formed govt in 8 provinces (including NWFP) ML: 109/482 seats reserved for Muslims; performed a little better in the Muslim minority provinces. Importance of the Elections First major elections; various factions of ML got united ML learned a lot about election campaign organization & planning; how to approach the voters It realized: (1) its support lay in Muslim minority areas; no threat of Hindu domination in Muslim majority provinces; it would eventually make inroads in these provinces (2) it had an 'image problem' – a party dominated by the elite Muslims e.g., princes, Nawabs etc, whereas INC was popular among all socio-economic segments of society.

(vi) The INC Rule 1937-39

- INC victory in the 1937 elections INC ministries in 8 out of 11 provinces
- Nehru got assurance from Viceroy Lord Linlithgow about governors not using special powers to interfere with the provincial matters.
- In areas of ML victory, INC's condition of ML members to leave ML. A series of anti-Muslim policies under the INC rule:
- Bande Matram: Hindu nationalist song with anti-Muslim expressions; compulsory singing in morning in provincial assemblies; Muslims felt offended & worried about their future.
- The Wardha Scheme: Gandhi's educational scheme; spinning cotton by hand, part of teaching in schools; no religious education; Hindi, medium of education; compulsory bowing before Gandhi's portrait in schools for all students; for Muslims, it was anti-Islamic; fear of imposition of Hinduism.
- INC tyranny: Ban on beef in some places; ban on & disturbance of Azaan; attacks on mosques during congregational prayer; pushing pigs into mosques during prayers; local authorities were biased against Muslims; no complaints of Muslims were entertained; attacks on Muslim houses & anti-Muslim riots; hoisting INC flag with the Union Jack to show there were only 2 political powers in India; Muslims felt threatened about their cultural & political identity & importance.
- Linlithgow himself received reports of anti-Muslim measures from some places.
- Start of WW2, Sept 1939; INC ministers resigned;
- Muslims celebrated "Day of Deliverance" on Jinnah's call, 22 Dec 1939, to mark the end of INC rule. ML under INC rule rejected Jinnah's offer of INC-ML coalition, by

INC Jinnah's massive campaign to awaken Muslims & warn them of the Hindu aim of establishing 'Hindustan'. Chief Ministers of Punjab, Bengal & Assam joined ML by 1938; membership of ML grew dramatically. INC began to recognize Jinnah but didn't accept ML as the only party representing Indian Muslims.

→ On the whole, v. poor Hindu-Muslim relations by 1939.

Lahore Resolution – Indian Independence Act **(1940-47)**

- How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the years 1940 to 1947?

Key Question 9: How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the years 1940 to 1947?	
Focus points: • How successful were the meetings held during World War II to agree the future of the subcontinent? • How did the success of the Muslim League in the 1945–46 elections lead to changes in British attempts to solve the problems of the subcontinent?	Specified content: • the Second World War (1939–45) in relation to India and the 'Quit India' Movement • the Pakistan Resolution, 1940 • the Cripps Mission, 1942 • the Gandhi–Jinnah talks, 1944 • Lord Wavell and the Simla Conference, 1945 • the elections of 1945–46 in India, reasons for Muslim League success and the consequences thereof • the Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946 • Direct Action Day, 1946 • the June 3 Plan, 1947 • the Radcliffe Commission and Award, 1947 • the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

Contents

1. The Lahore/Pakistan Resolution (1940)
2. The Cripps Mission (1942)
3. Quit India Movement (1945)

The Lahore / Pakistan Resolution

- ➔ Jinnah opposed a separate state for Muslims, all through 1930's → believed in Hindu-Muslim unity or any sort of Indian federation where Muslims had political autonomy & protection of their political rights.
- ➔ Gradual evolution of the idea of a separate, independent Muslim homeland in 1930's → Iqbal's 1930 address in Allahabad & Ch. Rehmat Ali's scheme of 'Pakistan', began to influence the Muslims as well as Jinnah.
- ➔ Two Nation Theory began to become more relevant.
- ➔ 1937-39 INC rule unified most of the ML leaders under Jinnah to make a demand for a separate Muslim country.
- ➔ 22 March 1940, ML session in Lahore, under Jinnah → all ML leaders from India Maulvi Fazal UI Haq forwarded the famous Lahore Resolution → unanimously

adopted → formal demand for Pakistan, comprising the Muslim majority provinces in NW & NE India.

- Marked start of struggle for Pakistan.
- The Hindu press sarcastically called it the “Pakistan Resolution” → ML adopted this. ML would take another seven years to achieve its goal

The Cripps Mission, 1942

- ML demanded Pakistan, March 1940 INC → fully opposed partition of India.
- Britain was not ready to withdraw from India.
- INC ministers resigned to pressurize the British as it could support the British war efforts on condition of full independence March 1942 → British sent the Cripps Mission to try some compromise.
- The Mission proposed: An Indian Union with dominion status after the war non-accession clause → any province(s) could opt out of the Union except for defence & Viceroy, all Indian ministers a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution after the war elections for the Constituent Assembly after the war.
- Indian reactions: ML & INC rejected the plan ML → the plan didn't mention Pakistan → Jinnah not satisfied with the non-accession clause INC → Gandhi termed it “a post-dated cheque on a failing bank” → equated British rule with a “failing Bank”, & the plan with a ‘post-dated cheque’.

The Quit India Movement

- Gandhi's address, May 1942 → no threat of Japanese attack if British left India → so, British should be pressurized.
- Aug 1942 → INC passed the Quit India Resolution → asked the British to leave India immediately
- → Gandhi, Nehru & others were arrested; INC was banned → large scale violence → e.g. aerial bombing.
- ML didn't support → considered it INC attempt to drive British out to establish their own, anti-Muslim rule → Jinnah termed it “political blackmailing”.

Jinnah's Leadership and Reorganization of the Muslim League (1943 – 1945)

Jinnah focused on uniting Muslims across provinces and reorganizing the League. He emphasized discipline, loyalty, and a clear demand for Pakistan. The League began setting up branches throughout India, strengthening its mass support. By 1945, the Muslim League had become the most powerful Muslim political organization, presenting itself as the sole voice of Indian Muslims

Q1: How successful was Jinnah in reorganizing the Muslim League between 1943 and 1945? (14 marks)

Jinnah's reorganization of the Muslim League was highly successful. He toured the provinces to mobilize support and bring unity among different Muslim groups. The League's membership increased rapidly, and provincial branches were formed even in rural areas. Jinnah's speeches clarified that Pakistan was not merely a slogan but a political goal based on Muslim identity and self-determination. The League also began training candidates for elections and forming student and women's wings. By the end of 1945, the League had transformed from an elite group into a mass political movement commanding widespread loyalty from Indian Muslims.

The Simla Conference & Wavell Plan (1945)

- The Simla Conference was held in June 1945 under the Viceroy Lord Wavell. Its aim was to form an Executive Council with Indian leaders sharing power with the British.

Wavell Plan

- Equal representation of Hindus and Muslims in the Executive Council.
- All members (except the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief) to be Indians.
- Separate electorates to continue until independence.
- Outcome
 - The Congress insisted that it alone represented all Indians, including Muslims, while the Muslim League claimed to be the only representative of Muslims. The deadlock between the two parties led to the conference's failure.

Q2: Why did the Simla Conference of 1945 fail? (7 marks)

The Simla Conference failed mainly because of the dispute over Muslim representation. The Congress refused to accept the Muslim League's demand that all Muslim seats be filled by League nominees. It wanted to include Muslims from within its own ranks, which Jinnah rejected as interference in Muslim representation. Both sides refused to compromise, and Lord Wavell's plan collapsed. The failure showed that no future settlement could succeed unless the Muslim League was recognized as the sole spokesman of the Muslims of India.

The 1945–46 General Elections

- After the war, Britain decided to test the popularity of Indian political parties through elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures.
- Results
 - Muslim League: Won all 30 Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and 446 out of 495 Muslim seats in the provinces.
 - Congress: Secured almost all non-Muslim seats.
- Significance
 - The election proved that the Muslim League alone represented Muslim India, strengthening its claim for Pakistan.

Q3: Why were the 1945–46 elections important for the Muslim League? (7 marks)

The 1945–46 elections were a turning point for the Pakistan Movement. The League's sweeping victory demonstrated the complete political unity of Indian Muslims under Jinnah's leadership. It gave the demand for Pakistan democratic legitimacy and proved that no constitutional plan could be implemented without the League's consent. The results also forced the British and the Congress to recognize the League as the only authentic representative of Muslims in India.

Q4: How successful was the Muslim League in the 1945–46 elections? (14 marks)

The Muslim League achieved remarkable success. It won all Muslim seats in the Central Legislature and gained overwhelming majorities in almost every province

with Muslim populations, including Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, and the NWFP. Even in rural areas, Muslim voters supported the League's Pakistan demand. This victory transformed the League from a regional to a national party and gave Jinnah a powerful mandate in negotiations with the British and the Congress. The success also convinced Muslims that Pakistan was achievable, greatly increasing the momentum of the independence movement.

The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

In March 1946, the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission—Sir Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, and A. V. Alexander—to India to propose a constitutional framework for independence.

- India to remain united but divided into three groups:
 - Group A: Hindu-majority provinces.
 - Group B: Muslim-majority provinces in the northwest.
 - Group C: Muslim-majority provinces in the east.
- A Union Government would control defense, foreign affairs, and communications.
- Provinces could later decide whether to stay in the Union or separate.
- Reactions
 - The Muslim League accepted the plan initially, viewing it as a step toward Pakistan.
 - The Congress accepted only parts of the plan and rejected the grouping scheme.
 - The League later withdrew its acceptance and called for Direct Action to achieve Pakistan.

Q5: Why did the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 fail? (7 marks)

The Cabinet Mission Plan failed because of fundamental disagreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress opposed the grouping of provinces, as it feared it would strengthen Muslim autonomy. The League, on the other hand, insisted that the grouping was essential to safeguard Muslim interests. When the Viceroy allowed Congress-ruled provinces to opt out of groups, the League saw it as a betrayal and withdrew its support. The collapse of the plan ended hopes for a united India and made partition inevitable.

Q6: How important was the Cabinet Mission Plan in the creation of Pakistan? (14 marks)

The Cabinet Mission Plan was extremely important because it marked the final stage of constitutional negotiations. It was the first official recognition of Muslim-majority areas as distinct political entities. Its failure convinced Jinnah that Hindus and Muslims could not work together in a single federation. The League's rejection led to the call for Direct Action, which deepened communal divisions and pushed the British toward considering partition. Therefore, although the plan failed, it played a decisive role in showing that only the division of India could bring peace.

Direct Action and Communal Riots (1946)

On 16 August 1946, the Muslim League observed Direct Action Day to press for Pakistan after losing faith in constitutional methods. Massive demonstrations were held across India, especially in Calcutta.

- Riots broke out between Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta and later spread to Bihar, Noakhali, and Punjab, causing thousands of deaths. The violence destroyed any remaining trust between the two communities and convinced both the British and the Congress that partition was the only solution.

Q7: Why did Jinnah call for Direct Action in 1946? (7 marks)

Jinnah called for Direct Action because the failure of the Cabinet Mission Plan showed that constitutional negotiations could not secure Muslim rights. The Congress had refused to accept equal power-sharing, and the British had sided with them on key issues. Jinnah therefore decided to demonstrate Muslim unity and determination through peaceful protest. However, communal tensions turned the demonstrations into widespread riots, further proving that coexistence in a single state was impossible.

The Interim Government (1946 – 1947)

In September 1946, an Interim Government was formed with Congress and Muslim League representatives under Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President.

- The aim was to prepare India for independence.
- Problems
 - Constant quarrels took place between Congress and League ministers. The League accused Congress of monopolizing power and ignoring Muslim interests. The government was paralyzed by mistrust and failed to function effectively.

Q8: Why did the Interim Government fail? (7 marks)

The Interim Government failed due to the complete lack of cooperation between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress dominated major departments and often bypassed League ministers in decision-making. Jinnah accused the Congress of trying to weaken the League's influence before independence. The mutual hostility led to administrative paralysis and deepened communal divisions, convincing the British that joint rule was impossible.

The Mountbatten Plan (1947)

In February 1947, Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced that Britain would leave India by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten arrived as the new Viceroy to arrange a peaceful transfer of power.

- Partition of India into two independent dominions, India and Pakistan.
- Provinces of Punjab and Bengal to be divided based on Muslim and non-Muslim majorities.
- Referendums to be held in NWFP and Sylhet to decide whether to join Pakistan or India.
- Independence to be granted on 15 August 1947.

- Reactions
 - Both the Muslim League and Congress accepted the plan, though reluctantly, as the only workable solution.

Q9: Why was the Mountbatten Plan accepted by the Muslim League? (7 marks)

The Muslim League accepted the Mountbatten Plan because it finally recognized the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. Jinnah understood that further delay might endanger the goal of independence. Although some compromises were made, such as the partition of Punjab and Bengal, the plan guaranteed a separate Muslim homeland. It was therefore seen as the realization of the Lahore Resolution and the fulfillment of the League's long-standing demand.

Q10: How important was the Mountbatten Plan in the creation of Pakistan? (14 marks)

The Mountbatten Plan was the decisive step that led directly to the creation of Pakistan. It provided a clear and practical framework for partition and ended years of political deadlock. By setting a definite date for British withdrawal, it ensured a peaceful transition of power. The plan's acceptance by both the Congress and the League made independence inevitable. It also resolved the issue of Muslim-majority provinces through referendums and boundary commissions. Without the Mountbatten Plan, the establishment of Pakistan in August 1947 would not have been possible.

The Creation of Pakistan (August 1947)

On 14 August 1947, Pakistan emerged as an independent dominion consisting of West Pakistan (Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan) and East Pakistan (formerly East Bengal).

Jinnah became the Governor-General, and Liaquat Ali Khan became Prime Minister. The creation of Pakistan fulfilled the dreams of millions of Muslims who had struggled under Jinnah's leadership for a separate homeland where they could live according to their faith and culture.

Contributions of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal & Rahmat Ali

- How important were the contributions of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947?

Key Question 10: How important were the contributions of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947?

Focus point:

- How important were Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the Pakistan Movement?

Specified content:

Jinnah as an advocate of Hindu–Muslim unity:

- his role in the Muslim League, the Pakistan Movement and as negotiator with the British
- his relations with Gandhi, Nehru and the All-India Congress.

Allama Iqbal:

- views on Hindu–Muslim future as separate nations and the Allahabad address, 1930.

Rahmat Ali:

- views on a separate Muslim homeland, his pamphlet 'Now or Never', 1933, and the name 'Pakistan'
- differences between his views and those of Allama Iqbal.

1. Muhammad Ali Jinnah

- **Early Role:**
 - Initially promoted **Hindu–Muslim unity**.
 - Helped draft the **Lucknow Pact (1916)** to bring both communities together.
- **Leadership in the Muslim League:**
 - **Rejoined and revived** the Muslim League in **1934**.
 - United Muslims politically under one platform.
 - Defined the **goal of a separate homeland** for Muslims.
- **Negotiations & Leadership:**
 - Represented Muslims in talks with **British and Congress leaders (Gandhi, Nehru)**.
 - Rejected the “**one nation**” theory, demanded **separate Muslim states**.
 - Led the **Pakistan Resolution (1940)**.

- His **leadership, determination, and diplomacy** were vital for independence.
- **Importance:**
 - Provided **practical political leadership** and **direction** that turned the Pakistan idea into **reality** in 1947.

2. Allama Muhammad Iqbal

- **Ideological Contribution:**
 - Declared Muslims a **separate nation** with their own religion, culture, and traditions.
 - In **Allahabad Address (1930)**, proposed a **Muslim-majority state** in northwest India.
- **Influence on Jinnah:**
 - Encouraged Jinnah through letters to **lead and protect Muslim interests**.
 - His ideas laid the **ideological foundation** of the Pakistan Movement.
- **Importance:**
 - Provided the **philosophical and ideological vision** for Pakistan's creation.
 - Inspired **Muslim political awakening** and unity.

3. Chaudhry Rahmat Ali

- **Main Contribution:**
 - Coined the name "**Pakistan**" in his pamphlet "*Now or Never*" (1933).
 - Proposed a homeland for **Punjab, Afghania (NWFP), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan**.
- **Differences with Iqbal:**
 - Wanted **immediate separation**, while Iqbal emphasized **autonomy first**.
 - His ideas were initially seen as **unrealistic** by most leaders.
- **Importance:**
 - Provided the **name and identity** for the future Muslim state.
 - Strengthened belief in Muslims' **distinct nationhood**.

4. Overall Evaluation

- **Iqbal** – Provided the **vision** and **ideological foundation**.
- **Rahmat Ali** – Gave the **name** and **concept** of Pakistan.
- **Jinnah** – Turned the **vision into political reality** through leadership and negotiation.

Topical Questions

Q. Why was the partition of Bengal reversed in 1911?(7)

- Why did the British decide to reverse the partition of Bengal in 1911? (7)
- Why did the British reverse the partition of Bengal in 1911? (7)

Q. How did the Hindus oppose the partition of Bengal between 1905 & 1911? (7)

Q. Why was Bengal partitioned in 1905? (7)

- Explain why the British partitioned Bengal in 1905. (7)

Q. Bengal was partitioned in 1905 because of geographical factors. Do you agree? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. The reasons for partitioning Bengal in 1905 were more important than those that caused its reversal in 1911, do you agree? Explain your answer. (14)

- Partition or reversal? Were the reasons why Bengal was partitioned in 1905 more important than those regarding its reversal in 1911? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Describe the swadeshi movement. (4)

- What was the Swadeshi Movement? [4]

Q. How successful was the Partition of Bengal in 1905? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Explain the reasons for the establishment of the Muslim League in 1906. (7)

Q. Why was the Muslim League founded in 1906? (7)

- Why was the Muslim League established in 1906? (7)

Q. Why was the Simla delegation of 1906 an important turning point for the Muslims of the subcontinent? (7)

- Why was the Simla delegation of 1906 an important event for the Muslims of the Subcontinent? (7)

Q. The Muslim League was established in 1906 because the Hindus had their own political party. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Q. Was the need for their own political party the most important reason why the Muslim league was established in 1906? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Was the partition of Bengal the main reason for the formation of the Muslim League in 1906? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Q. Explain why the Muslim community felt it necessary to form their own political party in 1906. (7)

Q. The Morley Minto reforms were the most important of the attempts by the Muslims, Hindus or the British Governments in seeking a solution to the problems in the Sub Continent between 1906 & 1920? Do you agree? Give reason for your answer. (14)

- Were the Morley Minto reforms the most important attempt by the Muslim, the Hindus or the British in seeking a solution to the problems in the sub-continent between 1906 & 1920? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Why did the congress party oppose the Morley Minto reforms of 1909? (7)

Q. The Morley Minto reforms were more important than any other political developments between 1909 & 1919. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons to your answer. (14)

Q. Why did Congress oppose the Morley Minto reforms of 1909? (7)

Q. Why were the Morley Minto reforms of 1909 opposed by the congress party? (7)

Q. How successful were political developments in seeking a solution to the problems in the subcontinent between 1909 and 1919? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. What were the terms of the Indian Councils Act of 1909? (4)

Q. Explain why the Lucknow pact of 1916 was made? (7)

Q. Which of the following had the most important effect on Hindu Muslim relationship between 1914 & 1928. Lucknow Pact Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919 Nehru Report? Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14)

Q. The Lucknow pact of 1916 was the only beacon of hope of Hindu Muslim unity between 1914 & 1930. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Q. Explain why the Lucknow Pact of 1916 came about. (7)

Q. The Lucknow pact of 1916 was the most important attempt by the Muslims, Hindus or the British government in seeking a solution to the problems in the sub-continent between 1909 and 1919. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Q. Explain why the Lucknow Pact of 1916 came about. (14)

Q. Describe what happened at Lucknow in 1916. (4)

Q: According to source A what message is being conveyed by Jinnah? [3] Source A: What we want is true political freedom of the people, not posts and positions in government. Secondly, the unusual haste displayed in passing the Rowlatt Act before the new Council, and contrary to universal opinion, only goes to illustrate the policy of the government. And when, in the Punjab, this universal opposition against the Rowlatt manifested itself through constitutional methods, it fell to the lot of the lieutenant-governor to dishonestly characterize it as 'open rebellion'.

Ans: Jinnah demanded political freedom in true letter and spirit. He clears to the British that we do not want posts and positions in the government but a true political freedom which British is reluctant to pay heed to. This is because of struggle against Rowlatt act, people had gathered in Punjab, but it was characterized as 'open rebellion'.

Q: What does source B tell us about the incident of Jallianwala Massacre? [5]

Ans: I can infer from the picture that General Dyer can be seen in the picture with Malacca stick in his hand which is the symbol of command in the army. It can also be inferred that British forces have opened fire on Indians who have not held any firearms. This means that Indians have been mercilessly killed by the British forces. All the gates of Jallianwala Bagh were closed so that the visitors may not flee from the site and more casualties can be observed.

Source A: The offer of the hand of friendship from Congress is more valuable than any concessions which the British Govt. is willing to make. The public meetings of the citizens of Bombay firmly declare that the commission which has been announced is unacceptable to the people of India as it denies the right of the people of India to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of the country. It contains no Indian representation. Indian throughout the country should have nothing to do with the commission at any stage or in any form. We are not satisfied with the status of just being petitioners to this commission.

The Simon Commission

Q: According to source A, why was there opposition to Simon Commission of 1927? [3]

Ans: There was no Indian representative on the Simon Commission. The British valued friendship with Congress more than their concessions. Congress was not on equal terms with British in framing the new constitution and it was not satisfied with being only petitioner to the commission.

Source B Question

Q: How does source B help us to understand Indian concerns about the Simon Commission of 1927? [5]

Ans: The conservative Govt. set up a commission of seven men under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. All the members were British, so there were protests in whole India as the commission was considered as an insult. Banner tells us that he was an uninvited guest, so he should go back to Britain. He was very unpopular so he and his commission members were not welcomed and thus it was demanded that they should go back to Britain.

Long Questions

Q: The Round Table Conference of 1930 achieved more than those of 1931 and 1932. Do you agree or disagree? Explain your answer. OR [14]

Q: The First Round Table Conference was the most successful of all three. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. OR [14]

Q: How successful were the Three Round Table Conferences of 1930-32? Explain your answer. [14]

There were both successes and failures to the Round Table Conferences.

Discuss three RTCs as above

Consequently, it can be said that 3rd Round Table Conference was the most successful of all three Round Table Conferences because it managed to issue white paper on the basis of all three RTCs which later became the source of Govt. of India Act 1935.

Source B Question

Q: What does source B tell us about the negotiations during the Round Table Conference between 1930 and 1932? [5] I can infer from the picture that the driver of the car is John Bull who represents British interests. It is a bumpy road, so negotiations are difficult. Indians want to take control from the British who were reluctant to give it to Indians. With reference to the brake of the Car, British feared that progress towards change might happen quickly. Political leaders of India were reluctant to attend the Round Table Conferences as the decision of taking control of India has already been made by the British.

Q. Was the migration of Afghanistan the most important reason behind the failure of the Khilafat Movement? (14)

Q. Explain the reasons for the establishment of the Khilafat Movement. (7)

Q. Was the withdrawal of Gandhi's support from the Khilafat Movement the most important reason for its failure? Explain your answer. (14)

Q. Why did the Khilafat Movement fail? (7)

Q. A number of events that happened during the years of the Khilafat Movement led to its failure. During the years when the Movement was at its strongest, western

dress and hair styles became less popular and the idea grew that disregard of the law of Islam by the British made India a dar-ul-harb(enemy territory). Thus thousands of Muslims set off on their hijrat. Describe the hijrat. (4)

Q. Explain why people joined the Khilafat Movement. (7)

Section III

Nationhood(1947-99)

Key Questions

- How successful was the establishment of an independent nation between 1947 and 1948?
- How far did Pakistan achieve stability following the death of Jinnah?
- Why did East Pakistan seek and then form the independent state of Bangladesh?
- How successful was Pakistan in the twenty years following the 'Decade of Progress'?
- How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the 20th century?
- How important has Pakistan's role been in world affairs since 1947?

Establishment of an Independent Nation (1947-48)

- **How successful was the establishment of an independent nation between 1947 and 1948?**

3. Nationhood 1947–99

Key Question 11: How successful was the establishment of an independent nation between 1947 and 1948?

Focus points:

- What immediate problems faced Pakistan in the establishment of an independent nation?
- How successful were their attempts to solve these problems?
- How important was the role of Jinnah in solving these problems?

Specified content:

- outcome of the Radcliffe Award and reactions of the Pakistan and Indian governments to it. Impact on Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs
- the Canal Water Dispute, its course and resolution
- the role of UN mediation
- the division of assets between Pakistan and India
- an overview of problems with the Princely States (especially Jammu and Kashmir)
- the refugee and accommodation crisis
- economic, social and administrative problems
- the issue of national language
- India's reactions to these problems and their on-going significance in later tensions/wars with India (*See also below under Key Question 16.*)
- an assessment of Jinnah's role and achievements as Governor-General.

Contents

1. Radcliffe Award & Independence Act 1947
2. Canal Water Dispute
3. Initial Problems
 - Refugee Crisis
 - Princely States
 - National Language
 - Other Problems
4. Division of Assets
5. Achievements of Quaid as Governor-General
6. Questions

→ Radcliffe Award & Independence Act

The Radcliffe Boundary Award was the decision outlining the final borders between India and Pakistan at the time of Partition in August 1947.

- **Sir Cyril Radcliffe**, a British lawyer unfamiliar with Indian conditions, was appointed to chair the **Boundary Commission**.
- The commission had **four members** — two nominated by the **Muslim League** and two by the **Indian National Congress** — to represent both communities.
- Its task was to **demarcate the boundaries of Punjab and Bengal**, two provinces with mixed populations, based on religious majorities and other factors such as administrative convenience and economic resources.
- The **Radcliffe Award** was announced on **16 August 1947**, two days after independence.
- Despite Muslim majorities, **Gurdaspur, Ferozepur**, and parts of **Calcutta** were **given to India**, while Pakistan received the western portion of Punjab and eastern Bengal.
- The decision was **highly controversial** and led to **widespread violence, mass migrations**, and **loss of life** on both sides of the new border.

The **Indian Independence Act of 1947** was a law passed by the **British Parliament** that officially ended British rule in India and created two independent dominions — **India** and **Pakistan**.

- The Act received **Royal Assent on 18 July 1947** and came into effect on **15 August 1947**.
- It legally divided **British India** into **two sovereign states**:
 - **The Dominion of India**
 - **The Dominion of Pakistan** (comprising East and West Pakistan).
- Each dominion was given the right to **frame its own constitution** and **govern itself independently**.
- The **British Government's authority** over India was **completely terminated**.
- The **position of the British Viceroy** was replaced by **Governor-Generals** in both dominions — **Lord Mountbatten** for India and **Muhammad Ali Jinnah** for Pakistan.
- **Provisions** were made for the **division of the Indian Army, civil services, assets, and finances** between the two new states.
- The **Princely States** were given the **option** to join either India or Pakistan, or in some cases, remain independent.

→ Canal Water Dispute

The **Canal Water Dispute** emerged soon after the **Partition of Punjab in 1947**, when the irrigation system that served both India and Pakistan was divided between the two countries.

- **West Pakistan** (now Pakistan) depended heavily on canal irrigation fed by the **Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab Rivers**, while the **headworks** controlling water flow — particularly at **Madhopur** and **Ferozepur** — were located in **East Punjab (India)**.
- This division placed **Pakistan's agriculture** at a severe disadvantage, as India could potentially **control the water supply** to millions of acres of farmland in Pakistan.
- In **April 1948**, India **suspended water flow** to some Pakistani canals, creating a crisis for Pakistani farmers.
- Pakistan sought to take the issue to the **International Court of Justice**, but **India refused**, insisting it was a bilateral matter.
- A **temporary agreement** was reached in **May 1948**, under which **India allowed water to flow** to Pakistan in return for certain payments and negotiations on a permanent solution.

→ Initial Problems

i) Refugee Crisis

The **Partition of India in 1947** led to one of the **largest and most tragic mass migrations in human history**, causing a severe **refugee and accommodation crisis** in both new nations — **India and Pakistan**.

- In the months leading up to Partition, **communal riots** between **Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs** spread across northern India, especially in **Punjab, Bengal, and Delhi**.
- When the **Radcliffe Boundary Award** was announced in **August 1947**, millions suddenly found themselves **on the “wrong” side of the border**, triggering mass migrations.
- By **January 1948**, around **20 million people** had migrated — Muslims moving into Pakistan, and Hindus and Sikhs moving into India.
- The migration was marked by **horrific violence**, looting, abductions, and massacres; about **1 million people were killed**, and **10 million were left homeless**.
- **Karachi**, then Pakistan’s capital, received nearly **2 million refugees**, overwhelming its housing, sanitation, and food supplies.
- **Refugee camps** were hastily set up, but conditions were poor due to a **lack of infrastructure and resources**.
- In **Delhi**, violence became so uncontrollable that **martial law** was declared in **September 1947**.
- Both **India and Pakistan**, despite their new rivalry, began to **cooperate to reduce communal violence** and assist refugees through agreements and repatriation efforts.

Consequences:

- Pakistan faced a **massive economic and humanitarian challenge**, struggling to provide housing, food, and employment for millions of refugees.
- The refugee crisis left a lasting social impact, as the new migrants — called **Muhajirs** in Pakistan — played a major role in shaping the **urban and political landscape** of the country, especially in **Karachi** and **Lahore**.

ii) Princely States

When British India was partitioned in **1947**, there were about **562 princely states** (some sources say 562–565) ruled by local princes under British suzerainty. After independence, **Lord Mountbatten**, the last Viceroy, gave **462 princely states** the right to **choose between joining India or Pakistan**, based on **geographical location** and the **religious majority** of their populations.

❖ **Accessions to Pakistan**

- Several northern and northwestern states — **Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb, and Hunza** — **joined Pakistan** willingly in 1947.
- **Bahawalpur** also acceded to Pakistan soon after independence.
- In the east, **Sylhet** (in Assam) voted through a **referendum** to join **East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)**.

❖ Disputed States

1. Hyderabad

- **Largest princely state** in India with a population of **16 million** (not 160 million) and a revenue of **160 million rupees**. The ruler, **Nizam Osman Ali**, was **Muslim**, but the majority of the population was **Hindu**. The Nizam initially wanted **independence** or accession to **Pakistan**, but India pressured him to join the Indian Union. In **August 1947**, he appealed to the **United Nations**, but before any decision was made, **India invaded Hyderabad (Operation Polo)** in **September 1948** and annexed it.

2. Junagarh

- A small coastal state, around **300 miles south of Karachi**, ruled by a **Muslim Nawab**, though most of its population was **Hindu**.
- The Nawab announced **accession to Pakistan** in **September 1947**, and Pakistan accepted it.
- **India objected**, calling it an **encroachment on Indian territory**, and sent troops to occupy Junagarh.
- A **referendum** was held under Indian supervision, showing a vote for India.
- Pakistan protested to the **UN**, but the issue remains **unresolved** to this day.

3. The Kashmir Issue

- The **State of Jammu and Kashmir** was the **most serious and long-lasting dispute** between India and Pakistan.
- It was strategically important, sharing borders with **China, Afghanistan, and the USSR**.
- The majority of its **4 million inhabitants were Muslims**, but it was ruled by a **Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh**.
- In **September 1947**, communal tensions escalated as the Maharaja tried to suppress Muslim uprisings; around **200,000 Muslims fled to Pakistan**.
- When a **rebellion** broke out in Kashmir, the Maharaja sought **military help from India**.
- India agreed **only if Kashmir acceded to India**, and the Maharaja signed the **Instrument of Accession** in **October 1947**.
- **Pakistan sent troops** to support Kashmiri Muslims, leading to the **First Indo-Pak War (1947–48)**.
- The conflict was referred to the **United Nations** in **January 1948**.
- A **ceasefire** was declared on **1 January 1949**, dividing Kashmir into:

- **Indian-administered Kashmir** (Jammu, Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh)
 - **Pakistan-administered areas** (Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan).
- **Indian Prime Minister Nehru** promised a **UN-supervised plebiscite (referendum)** to determine the people's wishes once peace was restored — however, **this plebiscite has never been held.**

Significance

- The **accession disputes** created **long-term tensions** between India and Pakistan. The **Kashmir conflict** became the **core issue** in Indo-Pak relations,
- leading to **multiple wars** (1947–48, 1965, 1999) and continuous political hostility. These unresolved issues continue to **shape South Asian**
- **geopolitics** and remain a central obstacle to peace between the two nations.

iii) National Language

After the creation of Pakistan in **1947**, one of the first major internal problems faced by the new state was the **national language issue** — a dispute over which language should be the **official or national language** of Pakistan.

- At independence, **Pakistan was divided** into two wings:
 - **West Pakistan** — where **Urdu and Punjabi** were widely spoken.
 - **East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)** — where **Bengali (Bangla)** was spoken by about **56% of the population.**
- Despite Bengali being spoken by the **majority of Pakistan's population**, **Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah** and many leaders of the **Muslim League** proposed **Urdu** as the **sole national language.**

Reasons for Choosing Urdu

1. **Historical and cultural significance:** Urdu had been the **language of Muslims in India** and was closely linked with **Muslim identity** during the independence movement.
2. **Neutrality:** Urdu was not the language of any single province in Pakistan, making it a more **neutral choice** than Bengali or Punjabi.
3. **Unity:** The leaders believed that **one common language** would help **unify** the diverse regions and ethnic groups of Pakistan.

Opposition from East Pakistan

- People in **East Pakistan** strongly opposed the decision to make Urdu the only national language.
- They argued that **Bengali** should also be recognized because,
 - It was spoken by **the majority** of Pakistan's citizens.
 - It had a **rich literary and cultural tradition**.
- The decision was seen as **unfair** and **West Pakistan-dominated**, creating resentment in the eastern wing.

Early Protests (1948)

- In **March 1948**, protests broke out in **Dhaka (Dacca)** demanding that **Bengali be made a state language**.
- During his visit to Dhaka, **Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah** addressed the students and leaders, firmly declaring:

“Urdu, and only Urdu, shall be the state language of Pakistan.”

- He emphasized that Urdu would be the **symbol of Muslim unity**, but his stance did not satisfy the Bengalis.

Consequences

- The issue created **linguistic and political tensions** between **East and West Pakistan**.
- It marked the **beginning of the sense of alienation** felt by East Pakistanis, who believed their **culture and identity were being ignored**.
- This dispute later **intensified in the 1950s**, leading to the **Language Movement (Bhasha Andolon)** and eventually contributed to the **separation of East Pakistan in 1971**.

iv. Other Problems

After independence in **August 1947**, Pakistan faced **severe political, economic, social, and administrative challenges**. These problems arose mainly because Pakistan was **created hastily**, received an **unfair share of resources**, and lacked the **infrastructure and experience** needed to run a new state.

1. Political Problems

- **India inherited** the established **British administrative system**, government buildings, records, and trained officials.
- **Pakistan started from scratch** — it had **no proper capital, no government offices, no civil service structure**, and **very few experienced politicians**.
- Most **members of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly** were **wealthy landlords** with little administrative or political experience.
- There was a **shortage of trained officers**, as most senior bureaucrats and Hindus had opted for India.
- **Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah** had to personally oversee almost every aspect of governance — from **setting up ministries** to **appointing officials**.
- **Karachi** was made the **temporary capital** of Pakistan until Islamabad was built later.
- **Jinnah's ill health (tuberculosis)** made the situation more difficult, as Pakistan's leadership depended heavily on him.

2. Economic Problems

- Pakistan was **economically weak and underdeveloped** at independence.
- Out of all British Indian industries, **less than 10%** were located in Pakistan.
- The new country had **only one modern port** — **Karachi**, with **poor transport links** to other regions. **Agriculture** was the main occupation, but
- it lacked modern techniques and produced **low yields**. Pakistan's main cash crop was **jute**, but **all jute mills** were in **India**, meaning Pakistan had to
- export raw jute without earning much profit.
Partition disrupted trade, supply chains, and transport networks.
- India initially **withheld Pakistan's share of financial assets**, worsening the crisis.

3. Electricity and Infrastructure Problems

- The **partition of Punjab** left the **electric supply system broken**.
- Most **power stations**, like the one at **Mundi**, were located in **India**, even though they served **West Punjab**.
- This caused serious **electricity shortages** and disrupted irrigation and industry.

4. Social Problems

- Pakistan was a **multi-ethnic and multilingual** country made up of five main groups:
 1. **Punjabis** (North-East)

2. **Sindhis** (South)
3. **Balochs** (West)
4. **Pakhtuns (Pathans)** (North-West)
5. **Bengalis** (East Pakistan)

- Each group had **its own culture, traditions, and language**, making **national unity difficult**.
- Some regions, like **Baluchistan and Bengal**, were initially **reluctant to join** Pakistan, fearing domination by Urdu-speaking West Pakistanis.
- The **refugee crisis** further increased population pressure and tension in urban areas like **Karachi and Lahore**.

5. Educational and Planning Problems

- There was **no proper national planning** or data to guide development.
- The **education system** was **disorganized** and **colonial in nature**.
- Policies were often **changed hastily**, without research or preparation — for example:
 - **Nationalization and denationalisation** of schools
 - **Semester system** introduction and cancellation
 - **Comprehensive schools** and **superior science colleges** started without proper planning
- Pakistan **lacked universities and technical institutions**, resulting in a shortage of **trained manpower**.

→ Division of Assets

At the time of **Partition in 1947**, India and Pakistan had to divide all the **financial, military, and administrative assets** of British India. However, this division was **unequal, slow, and unfair**, creating serious difficulties for Pakistan in its early years.

❖ Division of Financial Assets

- It was agreed that the **financial and administrative assets** of British India would be divided in the ratio of **17:5** between **India and Pakistan**, based on their **population size and territorial share**.
- Out of the **4 billion rupees** in the **Reserve Bank of India**, **Pakistan was entitled to 750 million rupees**.
- Initially, **200 million rupees** were paid to Pakistan.
- Later, **India withheld the remaining 550 million**, claiming Pakistan might use the money to **buy weapons for conflict in Kashmir**.
- **Mahatma Gandhi**, believing the division should be fair, **threatened a hunger strike** to pressure the Indian government.
- His efforts succeeded, and India finally released the **remaining 500 million rupees** in **January 1948**.

However:

- ★ By then, Pakistan's financial system had already suffered — it lacked funds to pay civil servants, buy equipment, and run basic services.
- ★ The delay caused a **serious financial crisis** in the new country's early months.

❖ Division of Military Assets

- The **armed forces and military equipment** were to be divided **36% to Pakistan** and **64% to India**, again based on relative size and needs.
- **Members of the British Indian Army** were allowed to **choose** whether to join **India or Pakistan**.
 - **Muslim regiments** went to Pakistan.
 - **Non-Muslim regiments** went to India.
- Pakistan's new army consisted of around **150,000 men**, but had only **2,500 trained Muslim officers**, while it **needed at least 4,000**.
- To fill this gap, **Jinnah temporarily hired about 500 British officers** to train and manage the army.

❖ Major Issues:

- All **16 ordnance factories** (used to produce weapons and ammunition) were located in **India**, which **refused to transfer any** to Pakistan.
- Instead, India agreed to pay **60 million rupees** as compensation — but most of the **equipment handed over was old, damaged, or obsolete**.
- This left Pakistan's armed forces **poorly equipped and under-prepared**, especially during the **Kashmir conflict of 1947–48**.

Topic	Key Facts/Figures
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Ratio of division	17:5 (India:Pakistan)
Pakistan's share of Reserve Bank funds	750 Million Rupees
Initial Payment	200 Million Rupees
Withheld Payment	550 Million Rupees (500 payed later after protest form Gandhi)
Army Division	36% Pakistan, 64% India
Ordnance Factories	All 16 in India
Compensation of Factories	60 million rupees (mostly old/obsolete weapons)

Percentage of Economic Assets in Pakistan after Partition

- Industrial enterprises:10%
 - Mineral deposits : 10 %
 - Industrial workers : 6.5%
 - Electrical capacity : 5%
- (Incomparison with India)

❖ **Impact**

- Pakistan started its existence **with very limited financial and military resources.**
- It had to build new **banks, armories, and administrative institutions** from scratch.
- The **unfair and delayed division** of assets worsened Pakistan's early **economic instability** and **defense weakness.**
- Despite these difficulties, Pakistan's leadership, especially **Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah** and **Liaquat Ali Khan**, worked tirelessly to stabilize the country and build its armed force

→ Achievements of Quaid e Azam as Governor General

❖ As a Leader

- Quaid-e-Azam became the **first Governor-General of Pakistan** and also served as **President of the Constituent Assembly**.
- He acted as **Chief Executive**, presiding over cabinet meetings and guiding the new government.
- Jinnah inspired the nation through his **personal example, discipline, and commitment** to Pakistan's ideals.
- He emphasized **unity, faith, and discipline**, urging citizens to rise above divisions of religion, language, and province.
- He declared that **every citizen, regardless of religion or background, was equal** in the eyes of the state.

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques... You may belong to any religion—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.” — *Jinnah, August 11, 1947 speech*

❖ Nation-Building

- Pakistan faced enormous challenges after partition — refugee influx, violence, administrative vacuum, and economic hardship.
- Jinnah personally oversaw **refugee rehabilitation**, establishing a **Relief and Rehabilitation Fund**.
- He worked to unite the **diverse regions** of Pakistan — East Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan — under one national identity.
- Promoted **religious tolerance and minority rights**, calling himself the **“Protector-General of Minorities.”**
- Secured **Pakistan's membership in the United Nations in September 1947**, gaining international recognition.

❖ Building a Government

- Recognized that effective governance was essential to survival.
- Appointed **Liaquat Ali Khan** as Pakistan's **first Prime Minister** and formed the **first Cabinet**.

- Established **Karachi as the capital** and set up the **Central Secretariat** to manage administration.
- Organized the **Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP)**, drafting new rules and stressing honesty, efficiency, and public service.
- Reminded officials: “You are the servants of the people, not their rulers.”
- Set up the **Constituent Assembly** to draft the **Constitution of Pakistan**.

❖ **Building an Economy**

- Pakistan was denied its fair share of India’s financial assets, creating an economic crisis.
- Despite this, Jinnah laid the foundation of a **self-reliant economy**.
- On **1 July 1948**, he inaugurated the **State Bank of Pakistan**, symbolizing economic independence.
- Encouraged **industrialization and trade development**.
- Reached a **temporary canal water agreement** with India to safeguard Pakistan’s agriculture.
- Promoted **agriculture, banking, and education** as essential sectors for national progress.

❖ **Establishing National Security**

- Pakistan inherited a **weakened military** with limited officers and outdated equipment.
- Jinnah worked to **strengthen the armed forces**, recruit new officers, and ensure discipline.
- He was determined to keep the **military under civilian control**, warning against the rise of a military-dominated state.
- Focused on creating a **professional, loyal, and well-organized defense system** for Pakistan’s survival.

❖ **Conclusion**

- Despite severe illness, Quaid-e-Azam worked tirelessly until his death on **11 September 1948**.
- His efforts laid the foundation for **Pakistan’s political, economic, and administrative structure**.

(1948-1956)

➤ **How far did Pakistan achieve stability following the death of Jinnah?**

Key Question 12: How far did Pakistan achieve stability following the death of Jinnah?	
Focus points: • What were the main achievements of the various ministries in the years 1948–58? • What were the achievements of the 'Decade of Progress', 1958–69? • What attempts were made to establish a new constitution in the years 1949–73?	Specified content: • Khwaja Nazimuddin • Liaquat Ali Khan • Ghulam Muhammad • Iskander Mirza • Muhammad Ayub Khan and the 'Decade of Progress' • Yahya Khan <i>(Candidates will need to compare the more significant achievements of various ministries and discuss main features of their domestic reforms and foreign policies. See also below under Key Question 16.)</i> • the origin, reasons and principles of the 1949 Objectives Resolution, reasons for its adoption by the Constituent Assembly and details of its Islamic provisions • later constitutional changes (including the reasons for and the principles on which they were based), with particular reference to Islamic provisions in the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions.

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→ **The Constituent Assembly (1947-54)**

- The **First Constituent Assembly** of Pakistan was formed **under the Indian Independence Act of 1947**.
- It began its work on **11 August 1947**, three days before independence.
- The **Governor-General, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah**, **inaugurated and presided** over its first session.
- It consisted of **69 members** (later increased to **79** after refugees and princely states were represented).
- **Liaquat Ali Khan** became the **Leader of the House** (Prime Minister), and **Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan** became the **President (Speaker)** of the Assembly.

❖ **Main Functions and Responsibilities**

The Constituent Assembly had a **dual role**:

1. **To frame the Constitution** of Pakistan.
2. **To act as the Legislative Assembly**, passing laws and running the government in the meantime.

❖ **Major Achievements**

1. **Oath and Guiding Vision**

- On **11 August 1947**, **Quaid-e-Azam** gave his historic speech, emphasizing **democracy, equality, religious freedom, and rule of law**.
- He outlined his vision of **Pakistan as a tolerant and just state**, where religion would not interfere with the affairs of the State.

2. **Objectives Resolution** (March 1949)

- Introduced by **Liaquat Ali Khan** on **7 March 1949** and passed on **12 March 1949**.
- It laid down the **principles guiding the future Constitution** of Pakistan:
 - Sovereignty belongs to **Allah Almighty**.
 - Authority will be exercised through the **people's representatives**.
 - Principles of **democracy, freedom, equality, and social justice** as enunciated by Islam will be followed.
- It became the **preamble of all future constitutions of Pakistan**.

3. **Legislative Work**

- Passed important **laws to run the new country**, including acts for:
 - **Rehabilitation of refugees**.
 - **Distribution of financial and military assets**.

- **Civil service reorganization and administrative reforms.**
- Helped establish **key state institutions**, such as:
 - **State Bank of Pakistan (1948)**
 - **Pakistan Public Service Commission (1947)**
 - **Auditor-General's Office**
 - **Federal Court**

4. Representation of Minorities

- The Assembly provided **reserved seats for minorities**, ensuring representation for Hindus, Christians, and others in legislation.
- This reflected Jinnah's vision of an **inclusive Pakistan**.

5. Development of the Federal Structure

- The Assembly discussed how to balance power between **East and West Pakistan**.
- However, tension over **representation and parity** between the two wings often delayed progress.

❖ Problems Faced by the First Constituent Assembly

- **Death of Quaid-e-Azam (1948)** created a leadership vacuum.
- **Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan (1951)** weakened political stability.
- Growing **differences between East and West Pakistan** over power-sharing.
- **Frequent changes of Prime Ministers and Governors-General** caused political instability.
- The Assembly was **slow in drafting a constitution**, which increased public frustration.

❖ Dissolution of the First Constituent Assembly (1954)

- Governor-General **Ghulam Muhammad** dissolved the Assembly on **24 October 1954**, claiming it had **lost the confidence of the people**.
- The Speaker, **Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan**, challenged the dissolution in court, but the **Federal Court upheld the Governor-General's action**.
- This event **set a precedent for future political instability and misuse of executive power** in Pakistan's history.

→ Major Acts and Constitutions

- i) **1949 Objectives Resolution Act** (Liaquat Ali Khan)
- ii) **1956 Constitution** (Iskander Mirza)
- iii) **1962 Constitution** (Ayub Khan)
- iv) **1973 Constitution** (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto)

i) Objectives Resolution Act (1949)

- The **Objectives Resolution** was presented by **Liaquat Ali Khan**, the **first Prime Minister of Pakistan**, on **7 March 1949** and **adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 12 March 1949**.
- It was a **guiding framework** for the future **Constitution of Pakistan** and became the **preamble of all later constitutions (1956, 1962, 1973)**.
- The Resolution declared that **Pakistan's constitution would be based on the principles of Islam**, rather than being modelled after Western secular systems.

❖ **Main Principles of the Objectives Resolution**

1. **Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone**, and all authority is to be exercised within limits prescribed by Him.
2. **The State shall exercise its powers through representatives chosen by the people**, ensuring **democracy**.
3. **The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice** shall be implemented as taught by Islam.
4. **Muslims shall be enabled to lead their lives** in accordance with the **teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah**.
5. **Minorities shall have full freedom** to profess, practice, and develop their own religions and cultures.
6. **Pakistan shall be a federation**, ensuring power-sharing between the central and provincial governments.
7. **Fundamental rights** such as freedom of speech, religion, and equality before law shall be guaranteed.
8. **The Judiciary shall remain independent**, ensuring justice and rule of law.

❖ **Importance and Significance**

- It was the **first constitutional step** taken after independence to define Pakistan's **ideological foundation**.
- It **combined Islamic ideology with democratic principles**, making Pakistan both a **modern democracy and an Islamic state**.
- It provided a **balance between religion and politics**, reflecting Jinnah's vision of a just and tolerant society.
- It **guided future constitutional development**, forming the **ideological basis of the 1956, 1962, and 1973 Constitutions**.
- The Resolution later became a **substantive part of the 1973 Constitution (Article 2-A)** under **General Zia-ul-Haq**.

❖ **Criticism and Opposition**

- Some **non-Muslim members** of the Assembly (especially from East Bengal) opposed it, fearing it would **undermine minority rights** and create a **theocratic state**.
- **Liaquat Ali Khan** assured them that the Resolution was **not theocratic**, but **democratic within an Islamic framework** and guaranteed full rights to minorities.

- ★ The **Objectives Resolution (1949)** remains a **cornerstone of Pakistan's constitutional and ideological identity**.
- ★ It clearly laid down that **Pakistan's political system would be democratic**, but **guided by Islamic principles of justice, equality, and morality**.

ii) The Constitution of Pakistan (1956)

- The **1956 Constitution** was the **first Constitution of Pakistan**, adopted on **23 March 1956**, officially declaring Pakistan as the “**Islamic Republic of Pakistan**.” It replaced the **Government of India Act 1935**, which had been
- used as an interim constitution since independence. The Constitution came into force under **Governor-General Iskander Mirza**, who became the **first**
- **President of Pakistan**.

❖ Main Features of the 1956 Constitution

1. Written and Rigid Constitution

- The Constitution was **written** and contained **234 articles**.
- It was **rigid**, meaning it could only be amended by a **two-thirds majority** in the National Assembly.

2. Islamic Republic of Pakistan

- Pakistan was officially declared an **Islamic Republic**, emphasizing its ideological foundation.
- The **Objectives Resolution (1949)** was included as the **preamble**, setting out the guiding Islamic and democratic principles.

3. Federal System

- The Constitution provided a **federal form of government**, dividing powers between the **Centre** and the **Provinces**.
- Both **East and West Pakistan** were given **equal representation** in the National Assembly (despite East Pakistan’s larger population) to maintain balance and unity.

4. Unicameral Legislature

- The Parliament consisted of **one house only** — the **National Assembly**.
- Total seats were **300 (150 from East Pakistan and 150 from West Pakistan)**.
- The Assembly had the authority to make laws for the whole country.

5. Parliamentary System

- A **Parliamentary form of government** was adopted.
- The **President** was the **Head of State**, and the **Prime Minister** was the **Head of Government**.

- The **Prime Minister** was required to have the confidence of the National Assembly.

6. The President

- Had to be a **Muslim**, at least **40 years old**, and a **citizen of Pakistan**.
- Elected for a **five-year term** by the National Assembly.
- Enjoyed **limited powers**, mainly ceremonial, as the real power rested with the Prime Minister.

7. The Prime Minister

- The **leader of the majority party** in the National Assembly.
- Responsible for running the **executive branch** and forming the **Cabinet**.
- Could be **removed** through a **vote of no confidence**.

8. Provincial Autonomy

- Provinces were given powers over local matters like education, health, and agriculture.
- A **Federal List** and **Provincial List** clearly divided responsibilities between Centre and Provinces.

9. Islamic Provisions

- No law could be passed **against the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah**.
- Steps were to be taken to enable Muslims to lead lives **in accordance with Islamic principles**.
- The **Head of State** had to be a **Muslim**.

10. Independent Judiciary

- Ensured a **free and independent judiciary**.
- The **Supreme Court** was the highest judicial authority.

11. Fundamental Rights

- Guaranteed rights such as:
 - **Freedom of speech, movement, and religion**
 - **Right to life, liberty, and property**
 - **Freedom to choose a profession**

- **Equality before law**
- These could be suspended only in times of emergency.

12. National Languages

- Both **Urdu and Bengali** were declared as **national languages**, reflecting equality between East and West Pakistan.

❖ Weaknesses and Problems

- Equal representation caused **resentment in East Pakistan**, which had a larger population.
- The **unicameral system** gave limited provincial representation.
- Political instability continued due to **weak party structures** and **frequent changes of government**.
- On **7 October 1958**, **President Iskander Mirza abrogated (cancelled)** the Constitution and imposed **Martial Law**, ending the parliamentary system.

❖ Significance

- It was the **first successful attempt** to frame a permanent constitution for Pakistan.
- Introduced **Islamic democracy** — a **blend of Western parliamentary democracy and Islamic principles**.
- Marked the first time Pakistan was officially titled “**The Islamic Republic of Pakistan.**”
- Although short-lived, it provided the **basis for later constitutions** (especially the 1973 Constitution).

iii) The Constitution of Pakistan (1962)

The **1962 Constitution** was the **second Constitution of Pakistan**, promulgated on **8 June 1962** by **President Ayub Khan**.

It replaced the **1956 Constitution**, which had been abrogated after the **1958 Martial Law**.

The 1962 Constitution introduced a **Presidential form of government** and was designed to provide stability and strong central control after years of political turmoil.

Main Features of the 1962 Constitution

1. Written and Rigid Constitution

- It was a **written document** consisting of **250 articles**.
- Could be **amended only by a two-thirds majority** of the National Assembly.

2. Presidential Form of Government

- **The President** was both **Head of State** and **Head of Government**.
- The President was **directly elected** by an **Electoral College** (Basic Democrats).
- President held **wide executive powers**, including the authority to appoint ministers, dissolve the National Assembly, and declare emergencies.
- The **Prime Minister's office was abolished**.

3. Unicameral Legislature

- Only **one house**, the **National Assembly**, with **156 members**.
- Members were **elected indirectly** through the **Basic Democracies system**.
- The Legislature had limited powers; **the President could veto bills and issue ordinances**.

4. Federal System

- Pakistan remained a **federal state**, with power divided between the **Centre and Provinces**.
- However, the **Centre was made stronger** than the Provinces.
- East and West Pakistan were given **equal representation** to preserve parity.

5. Fundamental Rights

- Fundamental Rights were **restored** (initially suspended under Martial Law).
- Rights included **freedom of speech, religion, and property**, but could be **restricted in times of emergency**.

6. Islamic Provisions

- Pakistan was renamed the “**Islamic Republic of Pakistan**” (originally just “Republic of Pakistan” until 1963 amendment). **No law** was to be
- made **contrary to Qur’an and Sunnah**. **Advisory Council of**
- **Islamic Ideology (A.C.I.I.)** established to recommend Islamic reforms in laws. **The President and Speaker of the Assembly** had
- to be **Muslims**.

7. Judiciary

- The **Supreme Court** was the **highest judicial authority**.
- The **High Courts** functioned at provincial levels.
- The Judiciary was **formally independent**, but the President retained influence through appointments.

8. Provincial Governments

- Provinces had **Governors** appointed by the President.
- Governors were assisted by **Provincial Assemblies** and **Councils of Ministers**.
- Provincial autonomy remained **limited** due to the strong central system.

9. Basic Democracies System

- Introduced by **Ayub Khan in 1959**, incorporated into the 1962 Constitution. **80,000 Basic Democrats** (local council members)
- formed the **Electoral College** for the **President and National Assembly**. Intended to link **local government with national**
- **politics** and promote **grassroots democracy**.

10. Emergency Powers

- The President could **declare a state of emergency** in case of war or internal disorder.

- During an emergency, **fundamental rights and legislative powers** could be suspended.

11. Languages

- Both **Urdu and Bengali** were declared **national languages**, maintaining linguistic equality between East and West Pakistan.

Weaknesses and Problems

- The **President's dominance** made the system **authoritarian**.
- **Provincial autonomy** was weak, causing dissatisfaction in **East Pakistan**.
- The **Basic Democracies system** was seen as **undemocratic**, as it limited direct participation.
- The Constitution **concentrated too much power in the President**, reducing checks and balances.
- **Political opposition** grew, leading to mass protests against Ayub Khan in the late 1960s.

Significance

- Introduced a **Presidential system** — first of its kind in Pakistan.
- Aimed to bring **stability and efficiency** after years of parliamentary instability.
- Encouraged **economic planning and local governance** through Basic Democracies.
- However, its **centralized and autocratic nature** led to strong opposition and **political unrest**.
- Ultimately **abrogated in 1969**, when **General Yahya Khan** imposed **Martial Law** and took power.

iv) The Constitution of Pakistan (1973)

The **1973 Constitution** is the **current and longest-lasting Constitution of Pakistan**, passed by the **National Assembly on 10 April 1973** and **enforced on 14 August 1973**.

It was framed under **Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government**, after the separation of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The Constitution restored a **parliamentary form of government** and is based on **Islamic and democratic principles**.

Main Features of the 1973 Constitution

1. Written and Rigid Constitution

- A **written document** consisting of **280 articles** and several schedules.
- **Rigid** in nature — can be amended only by a **two-thirds majority** in Parliament.

2. Islamic Republic of Pakistan

- The country was officially named the “**Islamic Republic of Pakistan**.”
- The **Objectives Resolution (1949)** was made a **substantive part** of the Constitution (in the Preamble).
- Emphasized **sovereignty of Allah, democracy, freedom, and Islamic principles**.

3. Parliamentary Form of Government

- The **Prime Minister** is the **Head of Government** and holds real executive powers.
- The **President** is the **Head of State** with **ceremonial powers**.
- The **Prime Minister** must have the **confidence of the National Assembly**.
- The **Cabinet** is collectively responsible to the **National Assembly**.

4. Federal System

- Pakistan was declared a **Federal Republic** with **three levels of government**:

- **Federal (Central)**
- **Provincial**
- **Local**
- **Four provinces:** Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP).
- **Federal and Provincial lists** clearly define division of powers.

5. Bicameral Legislature

- A **two-house Parliament** was established:
 - **The National Assembly (Lower House)** — represented the **people**.
 - **The Senate (Upper House)** — represented the **provinces** equally.
- Ensured **balance between large and small provinces**.

6. The President

- **Head of State**; must be a **Muslim** and **at least 45 years old**.
- **Elected by the Parliament** for **five years**.
- Performs **ceremonial duties**; acts on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- May be **impeached** by Parliament for violation of the Constitution.

7. The Prime Minister

- **Chief Executive** of the country.
- Must be a **member of the National Assembly**.
- **Appoints ministers, formulates policies, and leads the Cabinet**.
- Can be **removed** through a **vote of no confidence**.

8. Islamic Provisions

- **No law** shall be enacted **against the Qur'an and Sunnah**.
- **Council of Islamic Ideology (CII)** established to ensure laws conform to Islamic teachings.
- **The President and Prime Minister** must be **Muslims**.

- **Teaching of Islamiat was made compulsory.**
- **Zakat, Ushr, and interest-free banking** encouraged.

9. Judiciary

- **Independent Judiciary** established as a separate organ.
- **The Supreme Court** is the **highest court**, followed by **High Courts** and **lower courts**.
- Judges appointed by the **President** on the **Prime Minister's advice**.
- Judiciary ensures **protection of fundamental rights** and **interpretation of the Constitution**.

10. Fundamental Rights

- Guaranteed **basic freedoms** to all citizens:
 - Freedom of speech, religion, movement, and assembly.
 - Equality before law and right to life, liberty, and property.
- Rights can be **suspended during a state of emergency**.

11. Provincial Autonomy

- Provinces were given significant control over subjects like **education, health, agriculture, and police**.
- **Concurrent List** allowed both federal and provincial legislation (later removed by the 18th Amendment in 2010).

12. National Language

- **Urdu** declared the **national language** of Pakistan.
- **English was allowed** as an official language for a **transitional period** until Urdu became fully adopted.

13. Amendment Procedure

- Amendments require a two-thirds **majority** in **both houses** of Parliament.
- This ensures **stability and protection** of constitutional structure.

Weaknesses and Problems

- Frequent **military interventions** (1977, 1999) suspended or altered the Constitution.
- **Strong Prime Ministerial powers** sometimes led to political imbalance.
- **Ethnic and provincial tensions** remained due to uneven development.
- **Islamization amendments (1980s)** and **18th Amendment (2010)** changed its original form.

Significance

- **Restored democracy** after years of military rule.
- Combined **Islamic ideology** with **parliamentary democracy**.
- Created a **balanced federal structure** with equal provincial representation.
- Still serves as the **supreme law of Pakistan**, guiding all political, legal, and administrative functions.
- It is the **most enduring Constitution** in Pakistan's history, surviving various amendments and regimes.

→ Tenures of Leaders

→ <u>Before Institution of 1956 Constitution</u>	
<u>Governor General</u>	<u>Prime Minister</u>
Muhammad Ali Jinnah August 15, 1947 – September 11, 1948	Liaquat Ali Khan
Khawaja Nazimuddin September 14, 1948 – October 16, 1951	Liaquat Ali Khan August 15, 1947 – October 16, 1951
Ghulam Muhammad	Khawaja Nazimuddin October 19, 1951 – April 16, 1953
Ghulam Muhammad	Muhammad Ali Bogra April 17, 1953 – August 10, 1955
Ghulam Muhammad October 19, 1951 – October 5, 1955	Chaudhry Muhammad Ali
Iskander Mirza October 6, 1955 – March 22, 1956	Chaudhry Muhammad Ali August 11, 1955 – September, 1956

★ **Iskander Mirza instituted the Constitution of 1956 on **March 22, 1956**, hence being made the **1st President** of the country. His **tenure as Governor General ended** with the institution of the Constitution.**

→ <u>After Institution of 1956 Constitution</u>	
<u>President</u>	<u>Prime Minister</u>
Iskander Mirza	Chaudhry Muhammad Ali August 11, 1955 – September, 1956
Iskander Mirza	Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy September 12, 1956 – October 18, 1957
Iskander Mirza	Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar October 18–December 16, 1957
Iskander Mirza	Malik Feroz Khan Noon December 16, 1957 – October 7, 1958

→ <u>After Institution of 1956 Constitution</u>	
President	Chief Martial Law Administrator (Head of Government)
Iskander Mirza March 22, 1956 – October 27, 1958	Ayub Khan
Ayub Khan <u>October 27</u> , 1958, – March 25, 1969.	Ayub Khan <u>October 7</u> , 1958, – March 25, 1969.

- ★ On **March 22, 1958**, Iskander Mirza **imposed Martial Law as President**, abrogating the Constitution, and made **General Ayub Khan** Chief Martial Law Administrator.
- ★ General Ayub Khan overthrew Mirza's Presidency on **October 27, 1958**, through a **military Coup**, and declared himself **President and Head of Government** (did not have a Prime Minister) while still holding powers of Chief Martial Law Administrator.
- ★ Ayub Khan **instituted a new Constitution** on **June 8, 1962**, lifting the Martial Law, but still remaining both **President and Head of Government**.
- ★ He conducted **elections in 1965**, which he won, but **resigned from office on March 26, 1969**. Shortly afterwards, **General Yahya Khan** imposed Martial Law, becoming Chief Martial Law Administrator and took over the Presidency.
- ★ ~~General Yahya Khan~~ **resigned from office December 20, 1971**, after losing the **Indo-Pak War of 1971** and **Creation of Bangladesh**. He appointed **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** in his place as **President and Chief Martial Law Administrator**, who appointed **Noor-ul-Amin** as first Prime Minister, and then as Vice-President. Bhutto introduced the **Constitution of 1973**.

i) Liaquat Ali Khan

- **Liaquat Ali Khan** was one of the closest associates of **Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah** and played a major role in the **Pakistan Movement**.
- After independence in 1947, he became **Pakistan's first Prime Minister**, a **natural choice** due to his loyalty, leadership, and service to the Muslim League.
- He led Pakistan during its most **challenging formative years (1947–1951)**.

❖ Contributions After Independence

1. Establishing the New Government

- Faced enormous difficulties: **refugee crisis, administrative chaos, and financial problems**.
- Assisted **Quaid-i-Azam** in:
 - Controlling **communal riots and refugee influx**.
 - Setting up a **functioning administrative system** from scratch.
 - Establishing new institutions, ministries, and government structures.

2. Constitution-Making Efforts

- **Presented the Objectives Resolution** in the **Constituent Assembly** on **March 12, 1949**.
 - It declared that **sovereignty belongs to Allah** and that Pakistan's future constitution would be based on **Islamic and democratic principles**.
 - The Resolution later became the **preamble of all Pakistani constitutions**.
 - (Additional Information already stated above)
- Supervised the **Basic Principles Committee (BPC)**, which drafted Pakistan's first constitutional framework.

3. Economic and Administrative Reforms

- Established the **National Bank of Pakistan (NBP)** in **November 1949** to strengthen the economy and reduce reliance on the Reserve Bank of India.
- Set up a **paper currency mill in Karachi** to promote economic independence.
- Worked towards **eliminating corruption** through **Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act (PRODA)** (1949):

- Allowed enquiry and punishment of public officials found guilty of misconduct.
- Aimed to promote integrity in government service.

4. Foreign Policy Achievements

- **Defined Pakistan's foreign policy** – friendly relations with all, based on **peace, Islam, and cooperation**.
- Promoted **closer ties with the West**, especially after his **visit to the United States in May 1951**.
 - Strengthened Pakistan's economic and political relations with the USA.
- Advocated **peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue** through the **United Nations**.
 - A **ceasefire** was declared in **January 1949**, and a **plebiscite** was promised under UN supervision (though never held).

5. Relations with India – Liaquat–Nehru Pact (1950)

- Signed in **New Delhi on April 8, 1950**, between **Liaquat Ali Khan** and **Jawaharlal Nehru**.
- Also known as the **Delhi Pact**.
- Main points:
 - Refugees were allowed to **return safely** to dispose of property.
 - **Abducted women and looted property** were to be returned.
 - **Forced religious conversions** would not be recognized.
 - **Minority rights** in both countries were protected.
 - **Minority Commissions** were set up in both countries to monitor these provisions.
- This pact **eased Hindu-Muslim tensions** and **prevented another war** between India and Pakistan in the early years.

6. Rawalpindi Conspiracy (1951)

- The **first attempted coup** in Pakistan's history.
- Planned by **Major-General Akbar Khan** and supported by some **army officers** and **left-wing politicians**.
- Objective: to overthrow **Liaquat Ali Khan's government**.
- The conspiracy was **uncovered and foiled**, and the conspirators were **arrested and tried**.
- Marked the **first sign of military interference** in Pakistan's politics.

7. Leadership After Quaid's Death

- After **Quaid-i-Azam's death (1948)**, Liaquat tried to **fill the political vacuum** and maintain unity.
- Displayed **strong leadership** during periods of tension and communal violence (especially in 1949–50).
- Advocated for **Islamic democracy** — combining democratic principles with Islamic values.

❖ **Assassination**

- On **October 16, 1951**, Liaquat Ali Khan was **assassinated** while addressing a public meeting at **Company Bagh, Rawalpindi** (now called *Liaquat Bagh*).
- The assassin, **Said Akbar**, was immediately shot dead by police, and the **motive behind the murder remains a mystery**.
- His death created **political instability** and marked the **end of Pakistan's founding leadership era**.
- He was posthumously given the title “**Shaheed-e-Millat**” (*Martyr of the Nation*).

★ After his assassination, Pakistan fell into Political turmoil throughout the 50's.

Public & Representative Officers Disqualification Act 1949 **PRODA**

PRODA was passed in **1949** during **Liaquat Ali Khan's government** to combat corruption and misconduct in public service. It aimed to ensure **honesty, accountability, and integrity** among politicians and government officials.

Under this law, any **public or representative officer** found **guilty of corruption, misuse of power, or misconduct** could be **disqualified from holding office** for a specified period. Complaints could be made to the **Governor-General or provincial governors**, who could then order an **inquiry by judges**. If proven guilty, the person was **barred from public office**. Although PRODA was intended to promote transparency and discipline in governance, it was sometimes **criticized for being used politically** against opponents. Overall, it was Pakistan's **first major anti-corruption law** after independence.

ii) Khawaja Nazimuddin

- Born into the **Dhaka Nawab family** on **19 July 1894**.
- Educated at **M.A.O. College, Aligarh**, and **Trinity Hall, Cambridge**.
- Close associate of **Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah** and key leader of the **Muslim League**.
- Became **second Governor-General of Pakistan (1948–1951)** after Jinnah's death.
- Appointed **second Prime Minister of Pakistan (1951–1953)** after **Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination**.
- Supported the **Objectives Resolution (1949)**, emphasizing Islamic principles and democracy.
- Faced criticism from **religious leaders** who wanted Pakistan to be more Islamic.
- Worked to stabilize Pakistan's **economy**, presenting **surplus budgets**.
- Faced major challenges:
 - **Bengali Language Movement (1952)** in East Pakistan.
 - **Anti-Ahmadiyya riots (1953)** in Punjab.
- Dismissed by **Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad** on **17 April 1953** due to civil unrest.
- Known for his **honesty, simplicity, and commitment to democracy**.
- Died in **Dhaka** on **22 October 1964** at the age of **70**.

Bengali Language Movement (1952)

was a political and cultural movement in **East Pakistan** demanding the recognition of **Bengali as a state language** of Pakistan. After independence, the central government, led by **Governor-General Khawaja Nazimuddin** and earlier **Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan**, declared **Urdu** the only national language. This decision angered Bengalis, who made up **over half of Pakistan's population** and spoke Bengali as their mother tongue. Protests began across East Pakistan, especially in **Dhaka**, where students led demonstrations demanding equal status for Bengali. On **21 February 1952**, police opened fire on protestors, killing several students — an event that became a turning point in Pakistan's history. The movement eventually succeeded when **Bengali was recognized as a state language in 1956**. The struggle strengthened **Bengali nationalism** and later contributed to the **separation of East Pakistan** in **1971**.

Anti-Ahmadiyya Riots (1953)

The **Anti-Ahmadiyya Riots of 1953** were a major outbreak of **religious violence in Punjab**, primarily in **Lahore**, against the **Ahmadiyya Muslim community**. Religious groups such as the **Majlis-e-Ahrar** and **ulama** demanded that Ahmadis be officially declared **non-Muslims** and that **Foreign Minister Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan**, an Ahmadi, be removed from office. The government of **Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin** refused to comply, stressing equality and constitutional order. This led to widespread riots, looting, and killings, paralyzing Lahore and nearby areas. The situation worsened until the **army was called in**, and **martial law was imposed** for the first time in Pakistan's history. Hundreds were killed and thousands injured. The **Munir Inquiry Commission** later investigated the riots, concluding that **religious intolerance and lack of political unity** were the main causes. The incident severely weakened Nazimuddin's government and exposed deep divisions in Pakistani society.

iii) Muhammad Ali Bogra

- Born on **19 October 1909** in **Bogra, Bengal**.
- Educated at **Calcutta University**; joined the **Indian Civil Service** before entering politics.
- Member of the **Muslim League** and supporter of the **Pakistan Movement**.
- Served as **Pakistan's ambassador to the United States (1950–1952)**.
- Appointed **Prime Minister of Pakistan** on **17 April 1953** after the dismissal of Khawaja Nazimuddin by Governor-General **Ghulam Muhammad**.
- Introduced the **Bogra Formula (1953)** to resolve the **representation issue between East and West Pakistan**:
 - Proposed a **bicameral legislature** with **equal representation for both wings**.
 - Sought to create political balance and national unity.
- Strengthened **foreign relations**, especially with the **United States**, signing several **defense and aid agreements**.
- Faced growing political instability and was **dismissed in 1955** when the **One Unit Scheme** was introduced.
- Later served as **Pakistan's Foreign Minister (1955–1957)**.
- Died on **23 January 1963** in Dhaka.

Bogra Formula (1953)

The **Bogra Formula (1953)** was introduced by **Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra** to solve Pakistan's growing political problem of **unequal representation between East and West Pakistan**. The **1956 Constitution** had not yet been framed, and disputes arose because **East Pakistan** had a larger population but fewer political advantages. Bogra proposed a **bicameral legislature** consisting of two houses — the **Upper House (Parliament)** and the **Lower House (House of Units)**. The **Upper House** would have **equal representation** from both wings, while the **Lower House** would be based on **population**, giving East Pakistan a majority. Both houses together would elect the **Prime Minister and President**, ensuring balance between the two regions. The formula was widely welcomed for promoting **federal unity** and **inter-wing equality**, but it was never implemented due to **Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad's dissolution of the Assembly in 1954**.

One Unit Scheme (1955)

The **One Unit Scheme (1955)** was introduced by **Prime Minister Chaudhry Muhammad Ali** and supported by **Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad**, but its concept was first proposed in **November 1954** by **Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra**. Bogra suggested that the **four provinces (Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan)** and **ten princely states** of West Pakistan should be **merged into a single administrative unit** called **West Pakistan**. Under the scheme, Pakistan was reorganized into **two equal wings** — **East Pakistan** and **West Pakistan** — each having **equal representation in the National Assembly**. The plan aimed to promote **national unity, administrative efficiency, and political balance**, but it was **strongly opposed by smaller provinces**, who felt it suppressed their **local identities and autonomy**. The scheme was eventually **abolished in 1970**, ahead of **East Pakistan's separation in 1971**.

iv) Ghulam Muhammad

- Born in 1895; educated at **Aligarh Muslim University**.
- Worked as a **chartered accountant** and later in the **Indian Railway Services**.
- Opted for **Pakistan in 1947**; became **first Finance Minister (1947–1951)**.
- Introduced **Pakistan's first Five-Year Plan (1948)**.
- Organized **International Islamic Economic Conference (1949)** in Karachi; promoted **pan-Islamic economic cooperation**.
- Became **third Governor-General (1951–1955)** after Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination.
- Faced **Kashmir dispute, East Pakistan unrest, and anti-Ahmadiyya riots (1953)**.
- **Dismissed PM Khawaja Nazimuddin (1953)**; appointed **Muhammad Ali Bogra**.
- **Dissolved Constituent Assembly (1954)** when it sought to reduce his powers.
- Criticized for **authoritarian rule** and overuse of Governor-General's powers.
- Suffered from **paralysis**; removed by Iskander Mirza (1955).
- **Died in Lahore, 1956**.

Pakistan's first Five-Year Plan (1948)

Pakistan's **First Five-Year Plan (1948–1953)** was introduced by **Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Muhammad** to set the foundation for economic growth in the new country. Its main goals were to develop **agriculture**, establish **industries**, improve **transport and communication**, and ensure **balanced regional development** between East and West Pakistan. However, the plan could not be fully implemented due to **shortage of funds, lack of trained personnel**, and **administrative weaknesses** following Partition. Despite its failure, it served as the **basis for future economic planning** in Pakistan and marked the beginning of the country's efforts toward organized economic development.

International Islamic Economic Conference (1949)

The **International Islamic Economic Conference (1949)** was held in **Karachi** from **November 26 to December 6**, organized by **Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Muhammad**. Delegates from several Muslim countries attended to discuss **economic cooperation** and **unity among Islamic nations**. The main aim was to explore the creation of a **pan-Islamic economic bloc**, strengthen **trade relations**, and promote **self-reliance** among Muslim states. The conference emphasized the need for collaboration in **industry, finance, and education** to uplift Muslim economies. Although its proposals were not fully implemented, it marked an early attempt to promote **economic solidarity in the Muslim world**.

→ Major General Iskander Ali Mirza

- Born on **13 November 1899**; died on **13 November 1969**.
- Great-grandson of **Mir Jafar**.
- Educated in India; served in the **British Indian Army** before joining the **Indian Political Service**.
- Became **Joint Defence Secretary of India** in 1946.
- After Partition, appointed **first Defence Secretary of Pakistan** by **Liaquat Ali Khan**.
- Supervised the **Indo-Pak War (1947–48)** and **Balochistan conflict (1948)**.
- Appointed **Governor of East Pakistan** in 1952 to control unrest from the **Bengali Language Movement**.
- Oversaw the **One Unit Scheme** in 1954.
- Became **Governor-General of Pakistan** in 1955, succeeding **Ghulam Muhammad**.
- Promulgated the **1956 Constitution** and became the **first President of Pakistan**.

- His presidency saw **political instability** — four Prime Ministers were dismissed in two years.
- Faced **foreign policy challenges** and **strained ties with the United States**.
- In **1958**, imposed **martial law**, suspended the Constitution, and **appointed General Ayub Khan** as Chief Martial Law Administrator.
- **Ayub Khan deposed him** after 20 days and sent him into **exile in London**.

❖ Prime Ministers from 1956-1958

- **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali** (August 11, 1955 – September, 1956)
- **Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy** (September 12, 1956 – October 18, 1957)
- **Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar** (October 18–December 16, 1957)
- **Malik Feroz Khan Noon** (December 16, 1957 – October 7, 1958)

i) Chaudhry Muhammad Ali

- Born in **Jalandhar, Punjab** in **1905**; educated at **Punjab University**.
- A skilled **civil servant** in British India; later joined **Pakistan's Civil Service** after Partition.
- Served as **Finance Secretary** and then **Finance Minister** under **Liaquat Ali Khan**.
- Played a major role in **establishing Pakistan's administrative and financial structure** after independence.
- Instrumental in introducing **Pakistan's first national budget** and organizing **currency and banking systems**.
- Appointed **Prime Minister of Pakistan** in **1955**, succeeding **Muhammad Ali Bogra**.
- Oversaw the **One Unit Scheme (1955)**, merging West Pakistan's provinces for administrative unity.
- Key achievement: **Framed and implemented the 1956 Constitution**, declaring Pakistan an **Islamic Republic**.
- Tried to stabilize the government and economy, but faced **political unrest and opposition**.
- **Resigned in September 1956** due to conflicts with political leaders and bureaucratic challenges.

ii) Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy

- Born in **Midnapore, Bengal**, in **1892**; educated at **Calcutta University** and **Oxford University**.
- A **brilliant lawyer and politician**, known for his oratory and leadership skills.
- Active in **Bengal politics** before independence; served as **Premier of Bengal (1946–47)** and supported the **United Bengal Plan** to keep Bengal united during Partition.
- After Partition, joined **Pakistan politics** and became a leader of the **Awami League**.
- Became **Prime Minister of Pakistan** in **September 1956**, succeeding **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali**.
- Promoted **parliamentary democracy** and **East–West Pakistan unity**, seeking equal political representation.
- Strengthened Pakistan's **relations with the United States** and advocated for **economic development** through Western aid.
- Introduced policies to improve **industry, trade, and education**, especially focusing on **East Pakistan's economy**.
- Faced **political instability**, opposition from West Pakistani politicians, and **strained relations with the military**.
- **Resigned in October 1957** after losing the support of the ruling coalition.
- Later became a **founding member of the National Awami Party (NAP)** and continued advocating democracy until his death in **1963** in Lebanon.

iii) Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar

- Born in **1897** in **Ahmedabad, India**; educated in **law** and became a successful **lawyer and politician**.
- A **member of the All-India Muslim League**, he played an active role in the **Pakistan Movement** under **Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah**.
- After independence, served as **Minister for Trade, Commerce, and Industries** in **Liaquat Ali Khan's cabinet**.
- Later held key portfolios such as **Minister for Law and Justice** and **Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation**.
- Became the **6th Prime Minister of Pakistan** on **17 October 1957**, succeeding **Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy**.

- His government was a **coalition** supported mainly by the **Muslim League** and **Republican Party**, but lacked a stable majority.
- During his short tenure, he introduced a **bill to amend the Electoral College**, proposing **separate electorates** for Muslims and non-Muslims — a controversial issue that led to opposition.
- Faced **political instability** and conflicts between East and West Pakistani politicians.
- Resigned after only **56 days in office** on **11 December 1957**, making his tenure one of the **shortest in Pakistan's history**.
- Remembered as a **principled but politically weak leader** who struggled to maintain unity in a divided parliament.
- Died in **1960**.

iv) Malik Feroz Khan Noon

- Born on **7 May 1893** in Sargodha District, Punjab; educated at **Wellington College** and **Cambridge University** in England.
- A **lawyer and politician**, he joined the **Indian Civil Service** and later became active in politics through the **Unionist Party** before joining the **Muslim League**.
- Played a key role in the **Pakistan Movement**, helping secure Muslim support in Punjab.
- After independence, served in several high offices including **Foreign Minister** and **Minister of Defence**.
- Became **7th Prime Minister of Pakistan** on **16 December 1957**, succeeding **I.I. Chundrigar**.
- His tenure focused on **foreign policy successes** and **territorial integrity**. Negotiated with **Britain for the return of Gwadar** to Pakistan in **1958**, strengthening national unity and coastline security.
- Faced internal **political instability**, growing **provincial tensions**, and **public dissatisfaction** with corruption and inefficiency.
- His government failed to manage the **rising influence of the military** and **economic challenges**.
- On **7 October 1958**, **President Iskander Mirza**, with **General Ayub Khan**, imposed **martial law**, dissolving Noon's government.
- Later withdrew from active politics; **died in 1970**.

❖ 1958 Martial Law and Fall of Iskander Mirza

- By **1958**, Pakistan was facing **severe political instability**, with **frequent changes in prime ministers**, **weak governance**, and **corruption**. The
- **1956 Constitution**, which had established Pakistan as an **Islamic Republic with a parliamentary system**, failed to bring stability.
- **President Iskander Mirza** believed that **Pakistan was not ready for democracy** and that the country needed a strong, authoritarian system to restore order.

➤ Imposition of Martial Law

- On **7 October 1958**, Iskander Mirza:
 - **Abrogated the 1956 Constitution.**
 - **Dissolved the national and provincial assemblies.**
 - **Banned all political parties**, including the Muslim League.
 - Declared **Martial Law** across Pakistan.
- **General Muhammad Ayub Khan**, then **Commander-in-Chief of the Army**, was appointed **Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA)**.
- Mirza claimed the action was necessary to **end chaos, corruption, and political instability**.

➤ Power Struggle Between Mirza and Ayub Khan

- Initially, Mirza believed he would **retain political control** while Ayub would manage law and order under military rule.
- However, **Ayub Khan** had **strong backing from the armed forces** and began consolidating real power.
- Tensions quickly grew between the two leaders over who would control the government.
- The **military leadership** and bureaucracy started **siding with Ayub Khan**, isolating Mirza politically.

➤ Fall and Exile of Iskander Mirza

- On **27 October 1958**, just **20 days after the imposition of Martial Law**,
 - **Ayub Khan forced Iskander Mirza to resign.**
 - Mirza was **arrested and exiled to London**, never to return to Pakistan.

- Ayub Khan then **assumed the presidency** of Pakistan, marking the **official beginning of military rule** in the country.

★ Main Summary & Timeline of Events

1948: Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, died on **11 September 1948**.

Liaquat Ali Khan became the **first Prime Minister**, guiding the new nation through its formative years until his **assassination in 1951**. After Liaquat's death, **Khawaja Nazimuddin** became **Prime Minister**, while **Ghulam Muhammad** was appointed **Governor-General**.

1953: Due to **anti-Ahmadiyya riots** and increasing political tensions, **Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin**, dissolved the **Constituent Assembly**, and imposed a **state of emergency**.

Muhammad Ali Bogra became **Prime Minister** and formed a "**Cabinet of Talents**," introducing the **Bogra Formula (1953)** to balance representation between East and West Pakistan.

1955: Ghulam Muhammad resigned due to illness and was succeeded by **Major General Iskander Mirza** as **Governor-General**.

Mirza replaced Bogra with **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali**, under whom the **1956 Constitution** was passed, establishing **Pakistan as an Islamic Republic** with a **parliamentary system** and **equal representation** for both wings.

1956–1957: Frequent **Prime Ministerial changes** created instability—**Suhrawardy**, **I.I. Chundrigar**, and **Feroz Khan Noon** each briefly held power.

Feroz Khan Noon (1957–1958) stabilized politics and achieved the **return of Gwadar** from Oman.

1958: Political unrest grew; **President Iskander Mirza**, fearing loss of control, declared **martial law**, suspended the **1956 Constitution**, and appointed **General Ayub Khan** as **Chief Martial Law Administrator**. Power struggles followed—Ayub **ousted Mirza**, exiled him, and declared himself **President**, marking the start of **military rule in Pakistan**.

→ Field Marshal General Ayub Khan

Background

Q: Why did Ayūb Khān come to power in 1958? OR [7]

Q: Why was Martial Law imposed in 1958? [7]

- 1- Political chaos
- 2- Serious economic problems
- 3- Constant threat from India
- 4- Army; only organized institution
- 5- Validation through the court of Justice Munir.

Answer: The differences between East and West Pakistan grew at a rapid pace. East Pakistan wanted more share in legislatures because of their majority (55% of total population), but they were given equal representation in the National Assembly under one unit scheme. This political dominance was resented by East Pakistanis because this dominance ensured economic bankruptcy of East Pakistanis.

Political instability was at rise in the period of Iskandar Mirzā. The presidential powers of nominating and dismissal of Prime minister given by the constitution of 1956 were misused by Iskander Mirzā who dismissed five Prime ministers. So, he began to lose his popularity. A tough time was given by Hussayn Shahīd Suharwardī by uniting the politicians against Iskandar Mirzā. He challenged Mirzā to hold a popularity test by voting in the assembly but because of the fear of defeat, Mirzā declared Martial Law on 7th Oct 1958 and appointed General Ayūb Khān as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA).

Ayūb Khān had already declined an offer of Ghulām Muḥammad to take over the country. Now another offer was given by Iskandar Mirzā to him. Constitution of 1956 did not allow President Mirzā or General Ayūb Khān to abrogate the constitution. So, the validity of this order was challenged in supreme court which was decided in favor of General Ayūb Khān by chief justice of supreme court Justice Munīr. Thus, he assumed the power to himself and removed Mirzā from the office on 27th Oct 1958.

Short Questions

Q: Was Ayūb Khān's takeover legal? [4]

- Constitution of 1956 did not allow President Mirzā or General Ayūb Khān to abrogate the constitution.
- So, the validity of this order was challenged in supreme court which was decided in favor of General Ayūb Khān by chief justice of supreme court Justice Munīr.
- 'Doctrine of Necessity' was made as the reason for validating this Martial Law.
- Thus, Ayūb assumed the power and removed Mirzā from the office on 27th Oct 1958.

Q: What are the Agricultural Reforms of Ayūb Khān? OR OR [4]

Q: What was Green Revolution? [4]

- Agricultural reforms were called as "Green Revolution".
- Modernized agriculture by introduction of tractors, High yield variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides.

- Under the Indus water treaty, 3 dams were built i.e., Warsak, Mangla, and Tarbela on rivers of Kabul, Jehlum, and Indus respectively.
- Several perennial canals were built to irrigate the lands.
- Agricultural Development Bank was setup to facilitate farmers.
- Easy loans were provided to the farmers.
- Fair distribution of land holdings i.e., land owner cannot hold more than 1000 acres of un-irrigated or 500 acres of irrigated land.
- The excess land was given to the poor farmers by the Govt.
- The success rate of the land reforms was poor because of the strong social position of landed aristocrats.

Q: What are the Industrial Reforms of Ayūb Khān? [4]

- The huge amount of aid was used for industrial development.
- Oil refinery was setup at Karachi to reduce the import cost of oil.
- Mineral Development Corporation was setup to extract minerals.
- Several incentives like leverage in taxes and exports were given to private sector which was an attraction to manufacturing industry.
- The major development in industries and the beneficiary of these reforms was West Pakistan, so the disparity between East and West Pakistan grew.
- Only 22 families had controlled 66% of the Pakistan industries through his industrial reforms.

Q: What are the Social Reforms of Ayūb Khān? [4]

- Ayūb Khān tried to raise the literacy rate by encouraging primary education.
- New curriculum was introduced in schools.
- The government built new schools and colleges.
- Technical education was given to raise the skill base workers.
- University degree courses were launched.
- Scientific education was improved.
- Civil defence training was enhanced.
- He appointed General Āzam Khān- the rehabilitation minister to settle 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings of Karachi.
- Scheme for satellite township were launched in all big cities.
- He made Islamabad a planned city.
- He implemented Muslim Family Law Bill/Ordinance to control polygamy and rapid population increase.
- Family planning clinics were opened.
- He acted for the prevention of hoarding by arresting and fining the profiteers.
- He also fixed the price of milk and other goods to stop profiteering.
- Women got benefitted by the reforms affecting marriage and divorce.
- Mechanism of registration of marriages and divorces was implemented and if someone wants to be remarried, he/she must take approval from the court.

Q: What are the Constitutional Reforms of Ayūb Khān? [4]

- Constitutional committee was setup in 1961 by Supreme Court.
- The new constitution respected Islam but did not declare Islam as a state religion.
- The Electoral College was very limited i.e. 80,000 initially and later on 120,000 to elect a president.

- He introduced Muslim Family Law Bill which abolished polygamy (practice of having more than one marriage).
- The Arbitration councils were set up in rural and urban areas to deal with the issues regarding marriages.

Q: What were the Basic Democracies? [4]

- On the first anniversary of his government on 26th Oct 1959, General Ayūb Khān addressed the nation and introduced Basic Democracies Order under a presidential order.
- This was initially a five-tier system later Provincial Development Advisory Council, the last tier of the system was abolished, and it became a four-tier system.
- Union or Town council was the lowest tier and Divisional council was the highest tier of the system.
- People elected the basic democrats in 1959-60 elections on the non-party basis.
- These basic democrats formed the electoral college for the elections of President.
- The no. of basic democrats was 80,000 at start which later raised to 120,000. 95% of these elected Ayūb Khān as president in a referendum.
- The system of basic democracies was abolished in 1969 by General Yahyā Khān.

Q: Describe the constitution of 1962? [4]

- Ayūb Khān appointed a constituent commission to setup a new constitution which implemented the constitution on 1st March 1962.
- It was a federal constitution.
- It was a presidential system- most of powers vested into President.
- President has to be Muslim not less than 35 years of age.
- The term of president was to be 5 years.
- He was the executive head of the state who would be elected indirectly by the basic democrats.
- It was a unicameral legislature i.e., having only one house-National Assembly.
- There were 156 members (later 218, and then 313) of National Assembly who were elected indirectly by electoral college of basic democrats.
- President nominates the members from within the National Assembly.
- National Assembly has equal no. of seats for both East and West Pakistan.
- No law can be passed without the approval of President.
- Urdu and Bengali were declared as the national languages of Pakistan.
- This constitution was abrogated by General Yahyā Khān in 1969.

Q: What is EBDO? [4]

- Ayūb Khān promulgated two ordinances.
- The first one was PODO (Public Office Disqualification Order/Act) and the other was EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order/Act).
- According to EBDO, politicians were given a choice to either face the trial for misdeeds or voluntarily abdicate from all political activities for next six years.
- Many politicians like Suharwardī, Makhdūm Zādah, Hassan Maḥmūd and C.E. Gibbon chose to step down instead of facing the trials.
- Similarly corrupt bureaucrats and police officers were dismissed from the service.

Q: Why do we call the years 1958 to 1969, a "Decade of development/progress"? [7]

- 1- Hired economic advisors from Harvard university.

- 2- Industrial development.
- 3- High economic growth 7%.
- 4- Agricultural Reforms / Green Revolution- HYV seeds, insecticides, pesticides, built dams & barrages, etc.
- 5- Social reforms- Hospitals, Schools, colleges, family planning, modernized Islam.

Answer: Ayūb Khān hired the economic advisors which were trained and educated from Harvard University to stabilize the economic situation of the country. The huge amount of aid was used for industrial development.

Several incentives like leverage in taxes and exports were given to private sector which was an attraction to manufacturing industry. During the second five year plan from 1960-65, people's income went up to 14%.

Economic growth rate grew to 7% which was three times to that of contemporary India.

Ayūb introduced agricultural reforms which were called Green Revolution. It included modernization in agriculture through tractors, High yield variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides. Under the Indus Water Treaty, Pakistan was funded to build dams and barrages.

In the field of social reforms, new hospitals and medical colleges were set up to provide better health. High population growth rate was controlled through better policies of family planning. Tried to raise the literacy rate by encouraging primary education. Most of these benefits went to the West Pakistan.

Q: Why was Islamabad chosen a new capital of Pakistan? [7]

- 1- Closer to Army headquarters in Rawalpindi
- 2- North was economically less developed
- 3- Economic influence of Karachi
- 4- Pleasant climate
- 5- Landlocked city, no danger from outside

Answer: Ayūb Khān wanted to get closer to the Army command headquarters established in Rawalpindi as Karachi was far too away from Army headquarters. He wanted to shift the power from the economically developed south to the underdeveloped North. He also got closer to Punjab and KPK which provided most of the troops to the Army.

The economic influence of the commercial Karachi on the government officials was minimized. Govt. officials started taking interests in trade instead of doing their official duties which was a clear conflict of interest. The developments in Karachi had left Northern Pakistan relatively under developed. Pleasant climate of Islamabad also won over the humid climate of Karachi.

A planned city was easier to build there as it was an abandoned place. Karachi's location at Indus Delta Coast was not suitable because it was vulnerable to Indian Navy attacks and Islamabad a land locked city was at distance from the Indian border. Capital was officially shifted in 1967.

Q: What was the cause of Ayūb Khān's fall from the government? [7]

- 1- Disparity b/w rich and poor
- 2- Concentration of wealth by 22 families
- 3- The beneficiary of reforms was mostly West Pakistan
- 4- Alleged rigging in Presidential elections
- 5- Humiliating cease fire of 1965
- 6- Mobilization of masses by ZAB

Answer: Agricultural reforms created disparity between rich and poor farmers. Only 22 families had controlled 66% of the Pakistan industries through his industrial reforms. People were angry by his celebration of "decade of development". East Pakistan was also frustrated because most of the beneficiaries of his reforms was West Pakistan.

Criticism on the rigging of 1st presidential elections of 1965. Concentration of powers with the President was considered undemocratic. Most of the Basic Democrats had resigned by 1969. He became unpopular because of the humiliating cease fire of 1965. The cease fire of Ayūb Khān was against the advice of foreign minister of Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto, who in return resigned as a protest and formed his own political party named as Pakistan People's Party in 1967.

Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto mobilized masses and launched an anti-Ayūb campaign. Thus, in 1969, eight political parties formed Democratic Action Committee and demanded general elections and Ayūb Khān failed to negotiate with them and as a result he resigned in March, 1969.

Q: How did Ayūb Khān try to modernize Islam in his era? OR [7]

Q: Why did Ulema oppose the government of Ayūb Khān? [7]

- 1- Name of 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' was changed to 'Republic of Pakistan'.
- 2- Ulema criticized Family Planning.
- 3- Muslim Family Law Bill which prohibited polygamy, strictly devised the pattern of divorce, re-marriage was made difficult, etc.
- 4- Grandchild could not inherit the property of his grandfather if his father died.

Answer: The constitution of Pakistan in 1962 altered the name of Pakistan from 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' to 'Republic of Pakistan'. This was opposed by and large by everyone especially religious parties and Jamā't-i-Islāmī in particular. Maulānā Maudūdī- leader of JI opposed many of Ayūb's social reforms and called them non-Islamic. Family planning was criticized by the Islamic parties such as JI because according to Ulema, 'God is Rāziq' and none has the right to prevent children from being born.

Maudūdī criticized Muslim Family Law Bill which was promulgated in 1961. It prohibited polygamy and devised the pattern of divorce. A man wishing to divorce his wife must go through union council in which the marriage was registered. For remarriage a written permission by first wife is needed. It also prescribed minimum marriageable age limit for male and females.

The family laws also changed the law of inheritance. According to this law, a grandchild cannot inherit the property of his grandfather if his father died in the lifetime of his grandfather. Also, speaker of National Assembly could be a non-Muslim.

Long Questions

Q: 'Agricultural reforms were the most important of Ayūb Khān's domestic policies during the decade of development.' Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons. [14]

Q: Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayūb Khān's domestic policies. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons. [14]

Q: Social reforms were the most important of Ayūb Khān's domestic policies. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons. [14]

Q: 'The Economic reforms the most important of Ayūb Khān's domestic policies during the decade of progress.' Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons. [14]

Ayūb Khān came to power after Martial Law was declared in October 1958. He announced himself as the president of the country and introduced many reforms.

Agricultural reforms were called as "Green Revolution". Modernized agriculture by introduction of tractors, High yield variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides. Under the Indus water treaty, 3 dams were built i.e. Warsak, Mangla and Tarbela. Several perennial canals were built to irrigate the lands. Agriculture development bank was setup to facilitate farmers. Easy loans were provided to the farmers. Fair distribution of land holdings i.e. no land owner can hold more than 1000 acres of un-irrigated or 500 acres of irrigated land. The excess land was given to the poor farmers by the Govt. The success rate of the land reforms was poor because of the strong social position of landed aristocrats.

The huge amount of aid was used for industrial development. Oil refinery was setup at Karachi to reduce the import cost of oil. Mineral Development Corporation was setup to extract minerals. Several incentives like leverage in taxes and exports were given to private sector which was an attraction to manufacturing industry. The major development in industries and the beneficiary of these reforms was West Pakistan, so the disparity between East and West Pakistan grew. Only 22 families had controlled 66% of the Pakistan industries through his industrial reforms.

Ayūb Khān tried to raise the literacy rate by encouraging primary education. New curriculum was introduced in schools. The government built new schools and colleges. Technical education was given to raise the skill base workers. University Degree courses were launched. Scientific Education was improved. Civil defence training was enhanced. He appointed General Āzam Khān- the rehabilitation minister to settle 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings of Karachi. Scheme for satellite township were launched in all big cities. He made Islamabad a planned city. He implemented Family Law Ordinance to control polygamy and rapid population increase. Family planning clinics were opened. He acted for the prevention of hoarding by arresting and fining the profiteers. He also fixed the price of milk and other goods to stop profiteering. Women got benefitted by the reforms affecting marriage and divorce. Mechanism of registration of marriages and divorces was implemented and if someone wants to be remarried, he/she must take approval from the court.

Constitutional committee was setup in 1961 by Supreme Court. The new constitution respected Islam but did not declare Islam as a state religion. The Electoral College was very limited i.e. 80,000 initially and later on 120,000 to elect a president. He introduced Muslim Family Law Bill which abolished polygamy (practice of having more than one marriage). The

Arbitration councils were set up in rural and urban areas to deal with the issues regarding marriages. A man wishing to divorce his wife must go through union council in which the marriage was registered. For re-marriage a written permission by first wife is needed. It also prescribed minimum marriageable age limit for male and females. The family laws also changed the law of inheritance. According to this law, a grandchild cannot inherit the property of his grandfather if his father died in the lifetime of his grandfather.

Consequently, it can be argued that Ayūb Khān's agricultural policies / Green Revolution was the most successful because mostly country's population was directly and indirectly involved with agriculture. Majority of farmers were poor, having less land for cultivation. Thus introduction of land reforms benefited the poor farmers.

Source A Question

Q1:According to source A, why did Ayūb Khān assume power in 1958? [3]

Source A: The situation at the time of military coup in 1958 was appalling. Corruption, black markets, smuggling, tax evasion, inflation, an exchange crisis, extreme poverty, high illiteracy, and the bankruptcy of parliamentary democracy had brought an intolerable situation. President Ayub Khan imposed honesty, enforced price controls on basic products, reduced Government expenditures, collected back taxes, spurred industrial production and, in short, transformed the situation in a favorable way in every aspect. One cannot wonder that he has now been given voluntarily by the people the right to maintain the position and the power which he seized in 1958. Editorial comments in New York Times, 16 February 1960

Answer: Ayūb Khān assumed power because country at that time was facing the problems of corruption, black marketing, Price hike, extreme poverty, illiteracy, and political democratic bankruptcy. Ayūb Khān sought to solve these problems through making a mechanism to control the prices, to launch austerity in Government expenditures, etc. By seeing what he has done for the country, people voluntarily gave him the right to govern then.

Source B Question

Q1:What does source B tell us about the foreign policy of Ayūb Khān? [5]

Pakistan president Ayūb Khān and U.S president John F Kennedy waving to the people

Answer: I can infer from the picture that General Ayūb Khān is standing tall with U.S president Kennedy in car which shows that both the countries had outstanding diplomatic relations. Their level of popularity can be seen by the people standing behind them. Pakistan has been the part and strategic ally of US sponsored SEATO and CENTO- the organizations setup to cope with soviet influence in southeast Asia and middle east. Pakistan had their formal diplomatic relations with U.S determined on the terms of equality.

→ General Yahya Khan

Q: Who was General Yahyā Khān? [4]

- Yahyā Khān was a military officer, who had fought in British Army in Second World War.
- Ayūb Khān handed him the power after imposition of second martial law.
- He held the first general elections in united Pakistan (East and West Pakistan) in 1970.
- Yahyā Khān started military operation in East Pakistan, and it was his era that the situation had escalated to such an extent that a 3rd war with India started.
- Pakistan lost this war and consequently East Pakistan got separated from West Pakistan.

Q: What was Operation Searchlight? [4]

- Operation Searchlight was headed by General Yahyā Khān in March 1971 to crush Bengali nationalism flourished by Awami League which might threaten Pakistan's unity.
- This operation aimed to target Bengali intelligentsia, Scholars, and Hindus.
- Censorship on press was imposed which was an undemocratic act.
- Thousands of Bengalis were killed and in retaliation they secretly announced the name of new state 'Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh' on radio broadcast.
- Yahyā sent more troops to control the situation, but it worsened and ultimately led to the third war between Pakistan and India in December 1971.

Q: Who was Sheikh Mujīb ur-Rehṁān? [4]

- Sheikh Mujīb ur-Rehṁān was the founder of Awami League in 1949.
- He presented his popular 6 points in Feb 1966 which were rejected by the West Pakistan.
- His party won a huge majority in 1970 elections.
- Sheikh Mujīb ur-Rehṁān became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh in 1971.
- He was an autocratic ruler. He and his wife were both killed in a military coup.

Q: What were the six points of Sheikh Mujīb ur-Rehṁān? [4]

1. Pakistan should be a federation with the parliamentary form of government formed by the elections held on the basis of universal adult franchise.
2. Federal government (the centre) would deal with only two subjects i.e. Defence and Foreign affairs.
3. He demanded two separate and freely convertible currencies for two wings.
4. Power of taxation and revenue collection to be vested in the federating units (provinces).
5. Two separate accounts for the foreign exchange earnings of the two wings to be formed.
6. East Pakistan should have the paramilitary force of its own.

Q: Why were these demands resisted? [7]

- The demands were rejected because of fear of breaking the nation.
- A loose federation would be formed with weak centre and powerful provinces.
- East Pakistan was more populated - 55% of total population and had every chance of being more powerful province, but they were given equal representation in National Assembly.
- It was assumed that Mujīb wanted to establish an independent, fascist, and racist regime.
- A divided Pakistan would be vulnerable to Indian attack.

Q: What were the grievances of East Pakistan with West Pakistan? OR [7]

Q: Why East Pakistan wished to get separated from West Pakistan? [7]

1. Bengali was not made as official

language

2- More population- less representation in national assembly.

3- Economic disparity between East and West Pakistan.

a. Less industrial base of East Pakistan.

b. Economic domination of 22 West Pakistan families.

c. Bhola cyclone, 500,000 died

d. Less salaries of East Pakistanis in all cadres.

4- Communicational difficulties (1000 miles distance).

5- Mujib's six points were not accepted.

Answer: Right from the inception of Pakistan, Quaid-i Āzam declared Urdu as the only national language because of his belief of 'One nation one language'. He believed that more languages

of one nation results in division of the nation. So, Urdu as an only official language was

resisted by the Bengali nationalists. Secondly, instead of more population of East

Pakistan 55% of the total population, they had equal

representation in the National assembly. Which meant that the power was vested in West Pakistan.

There was a visible economic disparity between East and West Pakistan where most of the economic policies benefited West Pakistan. East Pakistan had a weak industrial base. 22 families of West Pakistan had dominated the most of Pakistan's wealth. Floods and cyclones further aggravated the economic situation of East Pakistan. Bhola cyclones in 1970 killed as many as 500,000 people in East Pakistan and West Pakistan remained indifferent (allegedly) to this cyclone. Senior civilian and Army officials were all from West Pakistan so that the power crux remains in West Pakistan. The salaries of West Pakistan were also more than that of East Pakistan. They even boycotted Ayub's celebration of 'Decade of Development' in 1968/69.

Communication difficulties because of 1000 miles distance between the two units. Also, Sheikh Mujeeb's six points were not accepted by the West Pakistan. It was considered as one of their main deprivations. In 1970 elections, majority party was Awami League but they were not offered to form the government. Military crackdown against East Pakistan in 1971 was the last nail in the coffin.

Q: Why did the victory of Awami League in the 1970 elections in Pakistan cause a constitutional crisis? [7]

1- Awami League won in East Pak (160 out of 162 seats).

2- ZAB won 81 out of 138 in West Pak.

3- Yahya and ZAB did not want Mujib to take over NA.

4- Mujib wanted to include six points in constitution.

5- Talks failed between Mujib and ZAB

- 6- Yahyā urged Mujīb to reconsider which never happened.
- 7- Newly elected Assembly was not called and Awami league protested it.
- 8- Strong center is important for a federation which was denied in his 6 points.

Answer: Awami League had won a landslide victory in the elections of 1970 where they won 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan. Pakistan People's Party of Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto won 81 out of 138 seats in West Pakistan. So, democratically, and legally Awami League had to form the government in the center but, Yahyā Khān and Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto both were committed not to allow Awami League to take over the National Assembly.

Mujīb ur-Rehmān of Awami League insisted on forming the government. Whereas ZAB and Yahyā did not allow him to do that. Thus, a constitutional crisis was created between East and West Pakistan. Mujīb ur-Rehmān of Awami League insisted on forming the government. Whereas ZAB and Yahyā did not allow him to do that. Thus, a constitutional crisis was created between East and West Pakistan. Talks between Mujīb and ZAB failed because of the mistrust between them. Mujīb wanted to talk about constitutional amendments and ultimately wanted to include his six points to be reconsidered. Yahyā Khan and other politicians of West Pakistan were not ready to consider six points of Mujīb.

President Yahyā Khān urged Mujīb ur-Rehmān to come to a soft stance on his six points as strong center is the backbone of a sovereign and strong government which was denied in his six points, and which might ultimately break Pakistan. The first meeting of newly elected Assembly was delayed and Awami League started protesting it.

Q: What was India's involvement in breakup of Pakistan? [7]

- 1- India supported Mukti Bahini.
- 2- India's stance over its intervention was the influx of refugees fleeing to India.
- 3- Pak agencies already estimated the defeat.
- 4- India acquired Pakistan's 5619 sq. miles and Pakistan only 121 sq. miles.
- 5- 93,000 Pakistani troops were captured.
- 6- Pakistan lost half of its Navy, a 3rd of its army, and quarter of its air force.

Answer: Right from the start, India supported members of Mukti Bahini with weapons and training. The conflict between East and West Pakistan emerged and was at climax when India started its direct involvement in the affairs of East Pakistan. India took a stance that because of millions of refugees were fleeing into India after the floods we had to intervene.

The war lasted for 13 days from 3rd to 16th December 1971. India attacked both East and West Pakistan and Pak agencies have already estimated their defeat, but they wanted to minimize the humiliation of loss. India had acquired 5619 sq. miles in Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir while Pakistan acquired only 121 sq. miles of Indian territory.

Indian troops in the East reached Dhaka but the bloodshed was avoided because of the unconditional surrender of Pak forces in the hands of Indian forces. 93,000 Pakistani troops were captured by India. Pakistan lost half of its Navy, a 3rd of its Army, and quarter of its air force in this war. 16th December 1971 is still considered as a dark day in Pakistan's history.

Q: Why was Pakistan unsuccessful in 1965 and 1971 wars? OR [7]

Q: Why was India successful in 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan? [7]

- 1- Military strength of Indian Army.
- 2- Miscalculation of Ayūb Khān in operation Gibraltar.
- 3- SEATO and CENTO did not help Pakistan.
- 4- India was aided by Soviets in 1971.
- 5- Mukti Bahini was trained by Indians.
- 6- Bengalis did not support West Pakistan b/c latter was accused of killing Bengali intelligentsia.
- 7- The 1600 kms distance b/w both wings.

Answer: Pakistan was unsuccessful in both wars, Firstly, because of military strength of Indian army. Secondly, in 1965, Ayūb Khān miscalculated the Indian preparations for the war and thought that it would be an easy victory for Pakistan. In operation Gibraltar, Pakistani army infiltrated Kashmir without taking local Kashmiris in confidence. Thus, local Kashmiris did not support Pakistan in this operation.

Pakistan could not receive the western aid in both the wars. US military aid was stopped for both Pakistan and India whereas Soviet aid continued for India. SEATO and CENTO did not help Pakistan in these wars. USA and China wanted Pakistan to resolve the matter on their own.

Number of troops and weapons increased rapidly in the war of 1971. It motivated and helped Mukti Bahini against Pakistan to win their freedom from West Pakistan. Bengalis did not support Pakistan because the latter was already accused of killing Bengali intelligentsia. The communicational impediment i.e., 1600 kms distance between the two wings also played an important role in Pakistan's defeat because it could not send re-enforcements in time.

Long Questions

Q: Economic disparity was the most important factor in separation of East Pakistan. Do you agree? Explain. OR [14]

Q: Economic factors contributed the most towards the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons to your answer. [14]

Economic Factors between East and West Pakistan grew after the inception of Pakistan.

The continuous calamities of floods did not let the industrial base grow in East Pakistan. Ayub's economic reforms widened the gap, 22 families of W.P controlled 66% of the industrial base of the whole Pakistan. 80% of the banking and insurance companies were controlled by these families. East Pakistan produced world's 75% of the jute but the earnings from this crop was spent on West Pakistan rather than East Pakistan.

Politically, East Pakistan wanted a share according to their population which was 10% more than West Pakistan but unfortunately, they were denied the appropriate share. Most of the political decisions were being taken in West Pakistan for their own benefits. East Pakistan did not get the appropriate share in civil services and armed forces.

Mujeeb's six points were denied. Awami League was not given the right to form the government even though the party was most successful in the elections of 1970. The military operation (operation searchlight) was started against the Bengalis in 1971.

Lingual factor was one of the important factors contributing towards the separation of East Pakistan. One language was introduced at the inception of Pakistan by Jinnah on the basis of "One Nation One Language" which was opposed by East Pakistan. The distance of 1600 km between East and West Pakistan resisted the cultural contacts between the two units. Regular natural calamities i.e. floods and cyclones worsened the economic conditions of East Pakistan. Bhola cyclone in 1970 killed as many as 500,000 Bengalis. India helped Bangladesh time to time on humanitarian grounds but Pakistan did not.

Consequently, it can be argued that economic factors may be concluded to be the most important factors which aggravated the situation and contributed to the separation of East Pakistan. The situation was taken as the continuity of a colonial rule on them.

Source A Question

Q:What did Yahyā Khān do to make it up to Ayūb's mistakes?[3]

Source A: Yahya did not want to leave any doubt to make Pakistanis believe that elections on the basis of universal adult franchise were being held. Perhaps he remembered the situation created by Ayub Khan who turned the country's political life a mess and left a bad impression about the army. In making his intentions clear Yahya ordered the Election Commission to get the electoral rolls prepared by end of June the following year, so that the nation could go to the polls by December 1970. An excerpt taken from the Article of Dawn on Yahyā's commitment to hold elections

Answer: Yahyā Khān ensured to hold the elections on universal adult franchise. He ordered election commission to get the electoral polls prepared in no time. He wanted to make it up to political mistakes of Ayūb Khān.

Source B Question

Q:Describe the intentions and aims of East Pakistanis before liberation?[5]

Answer: Women in the Azimpur field look enthusiastic to gain liberation from west Pakistan. They are holding the gun and standing in a straight line means they are organizing themselves for the situation to come. They are holding the guns means they are getting trained to use guns against their enemies. Women are smiling means they are not taking pressure while getting trained and they are enjoying such military training. We already know that Mukti Bahini have been trained by Indian army. So, East Pakistanis were enthusiastic in getting independence from West Pakistan.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto & General Zia ul Haq

- How successful was Pakistan in the twenty years following the 'Decade of Progress'?

Key Question 14: How successful was Pakistan in the twenty years following the 'Decade of Progress'?	
Focus points: • How successful were the policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971–77? • Why was Bhutto overthrown in 1977? • How successful were the policies of Zia-ul-Haq, 1977–88? • What problems did Zia-ul-Haq face?	Specified content: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: • controlling the army • the Simla Agreement, 1972 • a new constitution, 1973 • industrial, agricultural, education, health, social and administrative reforms • his overthrow. <i>(See also below under Key Question 16).</i> Zia-ul-Haq: • the Islamisation programme • overview of the constitutional and Islamic legal position of women and ethnic and religious minorities • law and government, elections and issues of martial law and the Eighth Amendment • problems facing Zia • the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, 1979. <i>(See also below under key Question 16).</i>

Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto (1971-77)

Position held by him: Foreign Minister, Adviser to President, Party Chairman, Chief Martial Law Administrator, President, and Prime Minister.

Tenure of P.M: Aug 1973 till July 1977

Important development: He had faced the case of murder of Nawāb Muḥammad Khān (Father of Aḥmad Razā Qasūrī) for two years and sentenced to death by Lahore High court. The decision was upheld by Supreme Court. He did not plead for pardon, reprieve, or respite from General Žiā ul-Ḥaq even though he could do that. He was hanged in April 1979

Short Questions

Q: What steps were taken by Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto for re-organization of army? [4]

- Pakistan army wanted to play limited role in politics, so Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto facilitated the decision of Pak army with few steps.
 - o He coined the designation of COAS (Chief of the Army Staff) in 1972.
 - o A new paramilitary force was established to assist the police called the FSF (Federal Security Force).
- The Famous Shimla agreement was signed with the then Prime Minister of India Ms. Indirā Gāndhī in 1972 by which 93,000 prisoners of war were released by India.

- Zulfiqār´AlīBhuttoimprovedtheimageofPakistanandreducedthemilitarydependency to show lesser chances of war.

Q: What was Federal Security Force? [4]

- Tolimittheroleofarmyinpolitics,Zulfiqār´AlīBhuttointroducedaparamilitaryforce named Federal Security Force (FSF) in October 1972.
- Itsprimarytaskwastoassistcivilbureaucracyandpoliceinmaintaininglawandorder so that military intervention can be resisted.
- However,oppositionpartiescalleditasprivatearmyofZulfiqār´AlīBhuttowhocrushed Bhutto’s rivals.
- It was abolished by Zīā ul-Ḥaq in 1977.

Q: Describe the terms of constitution of 1973? [4]

- The1973constitutionwasdraftedintheeraofZulfiqār´AlīBhutto,anditbecamea reason for his popularity.
- ItprovidedforParliamentaryformoftheGovernmentinwhichthepowerswouldbe vested in Prime Minister.
- P.MwouldbeanexecutiveheadandPresidentwouldbefigurehead,bohtobeelected for 5 years.
- Itwouldbeabicallegislature,UpperHousei.e.(Senate)andLowerHouse(National Assembly).
- UpperHouse(senate)electionsafterevery3years,electedby4provincialassemblies.
- Lower House (National Assembly) for 5 years, elected by adult franchise.
- Fourprovincialassemblieswillbeelectedfor5yearsandwouldbeelectedbyadult franchise.
- IslamiccommitteewassetuptoaddressIslamicissuesandtoadvisegovt.onIslamic laws.
- President and Prime Minister will be Muslims.

Q: What are the six amendments passed in Zulfiqār ´Alī Bhutto’s regime? [4]

There were only six amendments made to the constitution in Bhutto’s regime.

- 1) First one is Pakistan’s recognition of Bangladesh.
- 2) Second is declaration of Ahmadis as non-Muslims.
- 3) Third is the extension in period of preventive detention.
- 4) Fourth; deprived the courts to grant bail to anyone under preventive detention.
- 5)TheSindandBaluchistanHighCourtshallceasetofunctionasacommonHighCourt for theProvincesofBaluchistanandSind.ThePresidentshall,byOrder,establishaHigh Court for each of the Provinces of Baluchistan and Sindh.
- 6)andlastdeterminedtheagesofretirementofchiefjusticeofsupremecourt(65years) and high court judges (62 years).

Q: Describe Zulfiqār ´Alī Bhutto’s health reforms? [4]

- Zulfiqār ´Alī Bhutto established Rural Health Centers (RHC) to provide health facilities to therural and far-flung areas of Pakistan and Basic Health Units (BHU) in Urban areas.
- One RHC was to setup for 60, 000 people in rural areas and one BHU for every 20,000 people in urban areas.
- Fresh doctors are then to give compulsory service in rural areas.
- Inhis regime new hospitals and medical colleges were established to provide widespread health care.

- Branding in medicines was discouraged to reduce the cost of medicines through drug act, 1972.
- He started family planning programs to control growing population of Pakistan and vaccination programs to control growing infant mortality rate.
- These reforms resulted in improved medical care of Pakistani people which increased PPP popularity, but shortage of fresh doctors and nurses caused a concern.
- Many multinational pharmaceuticals closed the business because of discouragement in branding of medicines.
- Distant hospitals and lack of ambulances were one of the main reasons of the failure.

Q: What were Basic Health Units and Rural Health Centers? [4]

- Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto established Rural Health Centers (RHC) to provide health facilities to the rural and far-flung areas of Pakistan.
- and Basic Health Units (BHU) in Urban areas.
- One RHC was to setup for 60, 000 people in rural areas.
- and one BHU for every 20,000 people in urban areas.
- A BHU had a doctor with few paramedics.
- and a RHC had a doctor, Lady Health Visitor (LHV) and some paramedics.
- It later became a source of employment for the fresh doctors and medical graduates.

Q: Describe Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto's agricultural reforms? [4]

- These were introduced to modernize the agriculture by introducing fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides and to increase the productivity of the largest economic sector of Pakistan.
- The land ownership was decreased to 250 acres of irrigated land and 500 acres of unirrigated land in 1974. Surplus land could be sold to smaller peasant farmers.
- It was a failure because MNAs divided their lands among their relatives and trustworthy workers working in their homes and fields.
- Illegal and inappropriate transfer of lands to the relatives and trusted tenants.
- It resulted in large scale eviction of the tenants which ultimately lowered the crop growth.

Q: Describe Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto's administrative reforms? [4]

- Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto dismissed more than 2000 civil servants on charge of corruption and appointed men of his choice.
- Civil services were categorized based on their salary and divided them into smaller levels.
- Direct recruitment method was introduced through which nepotism prevailed in the country.
- Likeable people were given the government jobs.

Q: What were the political steps taken by Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto? [4]

- Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto as a Politician was an immaculate and charismatic personality.
- He won the elections of 1970 from West Pakistan (81 out of 138 seats).
- There was a strong JUI-NAP alliance in NWFP and Baluchistan.
- Bhutto established a coalition with JUI (Jami'at Ulamā i Islām) and NAP (National Awami Party) and committed to give a free hand in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
- After one year he dismissed the governments of NWFP and Baluchistan which led to the military operation against Baloch tribal chiefs in Baluchistan for 5 years.
- He wanted to have a provincial autonomy which remained a dream for him.

- He also wanted to have presidential system and interim constitution of 1972 was also presidential, but it also remained a dream for him because his party protested this. In 1975, extended powers were given to the FSF to pressurize opposition.

Q: Describe JUI-NAP coalition with PPP in 1972? [4]

- An agreement took place between PPP, JUI, and NAP for smooth functioning of the govt. in center and provinces.
- National Assembly cannot appoint provincial governors without agreement of provincial assembly.
- In return to support in center, JUI-NAP will have a free hand in provinces of NWFP and Baluchistan.
- However, this agreement collapsed after a year and provincial governors were dismissed by the center.
- Baluch insurgency was dealt by iron hand, military operation started, Iran helped out govt. of Pakistan by providing military supplies i.e., Cobra helicopters to deal with insurgents.
- Military operation again brought army in politics.

Q: Describe Shimla Agreement between Pakistan and India? [4]

- It was signed between Pakistan President Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indirā Gāndhī in 1972.
- Differences between the countries will be dealt peacefully through negotiations.
- 93,000 prisoners of war were released through this agreement.
- Kashmir would be a bilateral issue and third-party intervention would not be welcomed.
- Both countries will respect each other's national unity and integrity.
- Both countries will prevent hostile propaganda against each other.

Q: Describe the security of tenure scheme? [4]

- ZAB wanted tenant farmers to have security of tenure.
- He gave tenant farmers the first right of purchase of the land they worked.
- Landowners could not sell the land to a third party who might then evict the tenant farmers.
- Tenants were encouraged to make improvements on their land as they knew they would not be evicted.
- Many landowners circumvented the scheme to evict their tenant farmers.
- Landowners had too much power and influence to make the scheme work.

Q: Describe Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto's educational reforms? [4]

- Pakistan's literacy rate at that time was just 25%.
- Article 37 of the constitution of 1973 stated that it was a duty of the govt. to provide free and compulsory education.
- Bhutto introduced these reforms for which he outlined eight goals to improve literacy in Pakistan.
- 13% of the govt. educational budget was allocated to improve literacy rate in Pakistan.
- Standard of education dropped because of many factors but one important factor was nationalization of schools.
- These reforms were opposed by the rural population as most of their earnings were through child labour.
- Literacy rate went up to 1% only.

Q: Describe election of 1977? [4]

- Elections were held on 7 March, 1977.
- PPP were convinced that they will win elections easily because of ineffective opposition.
- However, soon after calling elections, a nine-party alliance was formed called as PNA: Pakistan National Alliance.
- PNA attracted huge crowds in election campaign and govt. limited these gatherings to five people only to stop demonstrations in support of PNA.
- Result showed a landslide victory for the PPP. Out of 200 national seats, it won 154 seats and PNA won only 38.
- PNA accused the govt. of rigging the elections by using govt. machinery, not allowing PNA's candidates to freely campaign for themselves.
- The white paper issued by Zia's regime for the elections of 1977 showed that elections were completely rigged.

7-Marks Questions

Q: Describe Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto's industrial reforms? OR [4]

Q: What was nationalization policy of Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto? OR [4]

Q: Why did Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto's industrial reforms unsuccessful? [7]

Points: -> SOEs under NERO failed because;

- i- Demotivated private sector.
- ii- Foreign investor was reluctant to invest.
- iii- Foreign reserves declined.
- iv- No middle / management staff.
- v- Civil servants were technically not equipped to run operations.
- vi- worldwide economic recession.

Answer: Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto nationalized major industries to make them SOEs (State Owned Enterprises) i.e., Sugar, Oil, Fertilizers, etc. under NERO (Nationalization and Economic Reform Order (1972)). Objectives of nationalization include generation of funds for development, betterment of living standards of the labor class, establishment of labor unions, reduction in Ayūb Khān's disparity among the provinces, accountability of Industrial revenues, and political popularity of PPP among masses.

It resulted in demotivation and reluctance of investors to invest in Pakistan. Foreign reserves declined because confidence of private sector was shattered. The reasons of its failure were the lack of middle management staff to support the industrialists / investors and nationalized units were headed by civil servants who had no technical expertise in running the business. Inefficient people were running the nationalized cause. Lastly, worldwide economic recession took its toll and due to nationalization, Pakistan suffered a lot.

Q: Why were Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto's educational reforms failed? [7]

Points: i- Nationalized schools lowered

the education standards.

ii- It was opposed by rural masses.

iii- Loss of earning through child labor.

iv- lack of qualified and efficient staff.

v- literacy rate only went up to 1% in 5 years.

Answer: The primary objectives to introduce these reforms were to improve the literacy rate and grooming of individuals (Ethics, social awareness, and socio-economic skills). It assured uniform education, modern curriculum, and eradicate illiteracy. Objectives also include, nationalization of Private schools, introduction of uniform syllabus in all provinces, establishment of new schools, free and compulsory primary education. For all this Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto allocated 13% of the budget which was an extensive amount.

Education reforms were a failure because firstly formal education was opposed by rural masses. Secondly there was a fear of loss of earning through child labor among the rural inhabitants by sending the children to schools. Thirdly standard of education declined by overcrowding and nationalization of the schools. Fourthly there was a lack of qualified and efficient staff and govt did not have time to train teachers and provide necessary equipment in short time. And lastly there was slow improvement in literacy rate i.e., only 1% in 5 years.

Q: Why did Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto came to power? [7]

Points: -> Majority party in 1970 elections.

-> Popular leader among the masses

-> Know how to run the affairs of govt

-> Morale of army was low

He came to power in Pakistan after separation of East Pakistan in 1971. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of

Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto was a majority party in elections of 1970 in West Pakistan which had won 81 out of 138 seats of National Assembly.

Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto was the only popular leader then who could run the affairs of the govt. Also, he had already served on several important positions such as foreign minister so, he knew how to run the administration of the country.

He inspired his supporters but harshly opposed by the opposition. After the defeat in East Pakistan, the morale of the army was very low, he fit himself in the system and won the confidence of the people.

Q: Why did Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto fall from the Govt. after the elections of 1977? [7]

Points: -> Allegations of Pre-poll rigging

-> Govt. Machinery used by PPP.

-> Protests and allegations by PNA.

-> Curfew in Lahore, Karachi, and Hyderabad

-> Operation Fair play

Answer: Opposition made allegations of Pre-poll rigging on PPP and of using the Govt. machinery in the elections. It was said that Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto used the Govt. officials as his election campaigners. Nine political parties joined hands together to form an electoral alliance called PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) to give a tough time to PPP. PNA was off the view that they had no time for preparation as the elections were suddenly announced in 1977. PPP won with majority and PNA accused the former of rigging and rejected the results.

Wide range protests were organized in different parts of country for which curfew was imposed in Lahore, Karachi, and Hyderabad. Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto was forced to kneel before PNA's demands because of military watch but that was too late. Zia ul-Haq imposed operation fair play and constitution was suspended in July 1977. Several political leaders were arrested including Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto.

**Q: Why was Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto arrested and subsequently executed in 1979? [7] OR
Q: Why Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto's rule ended in 1977? [7]**

Points: -> Opposition by many circles within the country i.e., Industrialists, Middle Class, Ulamā, etc.

-> Using Govt. machinery for personal use.

-> Proclamation of Martial Law.

-> Protests by masses.

-> High court's decision and it being upheld by Supreme court.

Answer: He was opposed by the industrialists and business class due to nationalization. Middle class opposed the educational reforms due to the decline in standard education. Religious parties accused Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto of being a secular communist. He was accused of using FSF for personal reasons. Military operation in Baluchistan was also opposed by masses and political circles of the country.

Rigging in the elections for which PNA protested. Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto was house arrested after proclamation of Martial Law at Muree but released after a short while. Zia ul-Haq promised to hold elections within 3 months and in the meantime, Bhutto attracted huge masses which posed a threat to Zia ul-Haq. So, case of murder of Nawāb Muḥammad Khān (Father of Aḥmad Razā Qasūrī) was reopened. He was re-arrested on 3rd Sep. 1977. A death sentence was given to him by Lahore High Court. The decision was upheld by the Supreme Court. Bhutto had the chance to appeal for Pardon, reprieve, and respite but he did not want to take that from Zia ul-Haq. So, on April 4th, 1979, he was hanged till death.

Long Questions

Q: "Constitutional reforms were the most important of Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977". Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer? OR [14]

Q: “Industrial reforms were the most important of Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977”. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer? OR [14]

Q: In which of the following Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto have most success?

i- Reform and control of the armed forces

ii- Constitutional Reforms

iii- Education and Health Reforms

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. [14]

Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto’s reforms had its impact in the country.

The 1973 constitution was drafted in the era of Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto, and it became a reason for his popularity. It provided for Parliamentary form of the Government in which the powers would be vested in Prime Minister. P.M would be an executive head and President would be figure head, both to be elected for 5 years. It would be a bicameral legislature, Upper House i.e. (Senate) and Lower House (National Assembly). Upper House (senate) elections after every 3 years, elected by 4 provincial assemblies. Lower House (National Assembly) for 5 years, elected by adult franchise. Four provincial assemblies will be elected for 5 years and would be elected by adult franchise. Islamic committee was setup to address on Islamic issues and to advise govt. on Islamic laws. President and Prime Minister will be Muslims.

Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto established Rural Health Centers (RHC) to provide health facilities to the rural and far-flung areas of Pakistan and Basic Health Units (BHU) in Urban areas. One RHC was to setup for 60, 000 people in rural areas and one BHU for every 20,000 people in urban areas. Fresh doctors are then to give compulsory service in rural areas. In his regime new Hospitals and medical colleges were established to provide widespread health care. Branding in medicines was discouraged to reduce the cost of medicines through drug act, 1972. He started family planning programs to control growing population of Pakistan and vaccination programs to control growing infant mortality rate.

These reforms resulted in improved medical care of Pakistani people which increased PPP popularity, but shortage of fresh doctors and nurses caused a concern. Many multinational pharmaceuticals closed the business because of discouragement in branding of medicines. Distant hospitals and lack of ambulances were one of the main reasons of the failure.

Agricultural Reforms were introduced to modernize the agriculture by introducing fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides and to increase the productivity of the largest economic sector of Pakistan. The land ownership was decreased to 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land in 1974. It was further lowered down to irrigated 100 acres and un-irrigated 200 acres. It was a failure because MNAs divided their lands among their relatives and trustworthy workers working in their homes and fields. Illegal and inappropriate transfer of lands to the relatives and trusted tenants. It resulted in large scale eviction of the tenants which ultimately lowered the crop growth.

Zulfikār ‘Alī Bhutto nationalized major SOEs (State Owned Enterprises) i.e., Sugar, Oil, Fertilizers, etc. under NERO (Nationalization and Economic Reform Order (1972)). Objectives of nationalization include generation of funds for development, betterment of

living standards of the labor class, establishment of Labor unions, reduction in Ayūb Khān's disparity among the provinces, accountability of Industrial revenues, and political popularity of PPP among masses. It resulted in demotivation and reluctance of investors to invest in Pakistan. Foreign reserves declined because confidence of private sector was shattered. The reasons of its failure were the lack of middle management staff to support the industrialists / investors and nationalized units were headed by civil servants who had no technical expertise in running the business. Inefficient people were running the nationalized cause. Lastly, worldwide economic recession took its toll and due to nationalization, Pakistan suffered a lot.

The primary objectives to introduce educational reforms were to improve the literacy rate and grooming of individuals (Ethics, Social awareness, and Socio-economic skills). It assured

uniform education, modern curriculum, and eradicate illiteracy. Objectives also include, nationalization of Private schools, introduction of uniform syllabus in all provinces, establishment of new schools, free and compulsory primary education. For all this Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto allocated 13% of the budget which was an extensive amount.

Education reforms were a failure because firstly formal education was opposed by rural masses. Secondly there was a fear of loss of earning through child labor among the rural inhabitants by sending the children to schools. Thirdly standard of education declined by overcrowding and nationalization of the schools. Fourthly there was a lack of qualified and inefficient staff. And lastly there was slow improvement in literacy rate i.e., only 1% in 5 years.

Zulfiqār 'Alī Bhutto dismissed more than 2000 civil servants on charge of corruption and appointed men of his choice. Civil services were categorized based on their salary and divided them into smaller levels. Direct recruitment method was introduced through which nepotism prevailed in the country. Likeable people were given the government jobs.

Consequently, it can be argued that he was partially successful in his domestic policies, but his constitutional reforms were the most successful because the constitution of Pakistan was still enforced although with few amendments.

Source A Questions

Q: According to source A what is the criticism of Bhutto on the govt.? [3]

Source A: I belong to the people and love them. You have created me. My bond with you must always remain. All the levers are so controlled by government that it can direct the flow of the wealth into the pockets of whomsoever it pleases. Now those who control the levers can also profit from the system to make themselves rich. "Power is money" means that in order to become rich one must enjoy authority or be favored by persons wielding authority. Bhutto writing in 1968

Ans: The government is the one who controls the wealth. So, it is the government who can get itself profited by the system. And the one who has authority or wields authority by someone else is rich in our country.

Source B Questions

Addressing to an audience in a procession before the elections of 1977

Q: What can you tell about Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto in source B? [5]

Zulfikār 'Alī Bhutto's is confident while addressing to a procession. Thousands of people have gathered which shows he is popular among the masses. Flags of both his party and Pakistan are flying in the air refers to him working for Pakistan. Masses are anxiously listening to him means that he is talking about something important.

(i) Zia-ul-Haq

Immediate Steps

ZAB: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

- ZAB had promoted Zia by superseding senior officers → difficult decision for Zia to take ZAB, still very popular → attracted huge rallies after release in July.
- An old murder case was reopened against ZAB → murder of Nawab Muhammad Khan, father of Ahmad Raza Kausri, a critic of ZAB.
- ZAB arrested 3 Sept, 1977 → trial for about 2 yrs → death sentence → ZAB refused to plea for mercy before Zia Executed, 4 Apr 1979, Rawalpindi.
- Balochistan: Amnesty for tribal chiefs if they surrendered Some development projects in Balochistan to normalize relations b/w the Central govt & Balochistan.

Islamization

Reasons:

- Wanted a strong & stable govt that was possible only under a military ruler in an underdeveloped country like Pakistan.
- To undo the image and policies of ZAB and keep PPP out of power.
- Argued that Pak had been created in the name of Islam & so, only Islam suited it.

Benefits:

- Islam as a counter ideology against ZAB's socialist views.
- Won support of religious parties, especially the Jama'at-i-Islami that was influential in the army & administration.
- Dec 1979: Soviet/Russian attack on Afghanistan → Zia exploited his pro-Islamic, anti-communist regime to seek the western support & heavy aid.

Steps:

- 1979 → Federal Shariat Court (FSC) to decide about existing laws being Islamic or not → a chairman, 5 judges and Ullema.
- Hudood and Qazf Ordinance 1977 → Islamic punishments for theft, adultery drinking and slander/false accusation of adultery against an innocent woman.
- Blasphemy Law → punishment for showing disrespect for the Holy Prophet/ the Quran.
- 1980; the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance → 2.5% wealth tax on bank savings over a certain amount → Zakat committees at various levels to distribute Zakat money among the poor → strong Shi'a protest.
- 1984: They were exempted from the 5% tax on agricultural income (Ushr) Council of Islamic Ideology to advise the government to make the legal system according Islamic values.
- Dress code for women appearing on TV → to use headscarf → restrictions on women sports & women participation in certain occupations.
- Islamiyat & Pak Studies compulsory in schools Extra marks for those who had learnt the Quran by heart, in the competitive exams of public service.
- Promotion of Arabic by Radio & TV.

Law and Government:

- Several laws to restrict the judiciary.
- Military courts to try offenders according to martial law.
- March 1980, PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order) no decision of the president to be challenged in any court → protesting judges were removed.
- Several military officers in civil services + fixed quota of military in civil services → 40% of Pak diplomats abroad were from the military in 1982.
- Tried to develop a political base → Majlis-i-Shoora (Islamic Parliament) to advise Zia about Islamic law → an advisory body, no legislative power 1984, referendum on the pretext of continuing Islamic reforms as president for another 5 yrs.
- Poor turnout → 10% due to boycott of the combined opposition, MRD (Movement of Restoration of Democracy) → referendum proved a failure → he was no more popular. 1985 elections → non-party basis MRD protested, tried to keep people away from elections but Zia was firm.

- Before elections, many amendments in the constitution to legalize all his steps & strengthen his authority.
- Elections, March 1985 → 52% turnout → big landlords & tribal chiefs were elected despite the boycott by the MRD.
- A loyal & obedient assembly Muhammad Khan Junejo, new PM, to gradually form a political party loyal to Zia Dec 1985 → martial law lifted, constitution restored, with fundamental amendments.

The Afghanistan miracle & economy of Pakistan

- Dec 1979 → Soviet attack on Afghanistan Pakistan, the only US ally in the region for anti-Soviet activities of the USA Heavy economic and military aid to Pak by the west, esp the USA. Heavy aid to accommodate Afghan refugees & to strengthen Pak army. Huge defence budget → Pak became a major supplier of military force to the Muslim world Western aid + remittances by over 2 million overseas Pakistanis → many economic reforms e.g. denationalization of the nationalized industries & ban on further nationalization High annual GNP (Gross National Produce) growth rate of 6.23% With such high growth rate, high inflation b/w 1977 & 1986 Improved standard of living but start of electric power crisis-load shedding.

Problems for Zia

- Afghan refugees. Violence, drug addition smuggling, weapon smuggling, sectarian violence, esp sunnishia in Punjab & linguistic violence in Sindh → rise of the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) Karachi → centre of violence Provincial differences → Punjab, loyal to central govt with rise of Nawaz Sharif Sindh, NWFP & Balochistan turning against Zia, esp over the issue of the Kalabagh dam. Change in the world politics → Geneva Accord , 1988 → USA to stop supporting the Afghan Mujahideen (Who would soon be called miscreants) in return for the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan → no need to continue aid to Pak Junejo & his ML (Muslim League) decided to exploit this change in order to strengthen the civil political power. Apr 1988 → Ojhri Camp disaster → an ammunition dump in Rawalpindi was mysteriously blown up → hundreds were killed Junejo's decision to conduct open inquiry, involving military officers 29 May, 1988 → Zia, using powers under the 8th amendment, dismissed Junejo's govt & assemblies Promised elections in 90 days 17 Aug 1988 → Zia, together with several senior officers & the US ambassador, was killed in an air crash, Bahawalpur

Benazir Bhutto & Nawaz Sharif

- How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the 20th century?

Key Question 15: How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the 20th century?	
Focus points: • How successful were the policies of Benazir Bhutto, 1988–90, 1993–96? • How successful were the policies of Nawaz Sharif, 1990–93, 1997–99? • Why did General Musharraf take power in 1999?	Specified content: Bhutto, 1988–90: • conflict with Nawaz Sharif and growth of separatist movements • difference with President Ishaq over judicial appointment • opposition 'no confidence' motion • inflation and unemployment • issues in Kashmir • her dismissal Bhutto, 1993–96: • Kashmir tensions • opposition demonstrations • unemployment/inflation • IMF concerns following devaluation of the Pakistan rupee • balance of payments issues • dismissal of the Chief Minister of Punjab • Bhutto's dismissal Sharif: • privatisation policy encouraged profiteering • problems with BCCI • loss of US aid following Pakistan's criticisms during the Gulf War • issues in Kashmir • removal of Sharif and imposition of military rule. (See also below under Key Question 16.)

Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990)

- 17 Aug 1988, Zia was killed in an air crash.
- According to the 1973 constitution, Chairman Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the President. As per Zia's schedule, elections were held for national & provincial assemblies B.B. emerged as the most popular leader, leading the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) of her late father, Z.A.Bhutto.
- Alliance of 9 main opposition parties, IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) with such parties as : PML (Pakistan Muslim League) patronized by General Zia Ul Haq since 1985, Jama'at-i-Islami (JI) & other religious parties; most important leader, Mian Nawaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab since 1985.

- Split of mandate → PPP got majority in the centre; PML-led IJI won majority in the Punjab; other parties in the NWFP & Balochistan; Urban Sindh → the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) & rural Sindh
- →PPP Disturbed relations b/w the central govt and the Punjab govt → BB failed to counter the Sharif govt in Punjab; she tried to destabilize his govt but this increased the popularity of N.Sharif. She was accused of being too pro-US; she tried to normalize relations with India in the wake of the Kashmiri uprising; also attempted to project Pakistan's liberal image
- → first Muslim state with a female head of state. Problems in Sindh→ most PPP leaders unhappy over the PPP-MQM alliance in the Sindh Assembly → growing ethnic violence in Karachi & Hyderabad (two major cities under the MQM) → crack down on MQM → The Pucca Qila Operation in Hyderabad under the military's supervision & massacre of the Urdu-speaking (Muhajirs) community. Failure of the PPP govt to control violence & disturbed relations with the Punjab gov
- → GIK (Ghulam Ishaq Khan), using powers under the article 58(2) (b) dismissed govt of PPP, dissolved assemblies. Care taker govt under Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Aug 1990 & elections in 90 days

Benazir Bhutto (1993-1997)

- Elections & return of BB as PM for the second time.
- A senior PPP leader, Farooq Khan Laghari, from the southern Punjab, was elected as the new President of Pakistan.
- PPP also managed to install its chief minister, Mian Manzoor Watto, in the vital province, Punjab BB, however, inherited domestic & external problems of the Sharif regime → inflation, sectarian & ethnic violence & unemployment.
- The position of BB was further weakened by the reports of her husband, Asif Zardari's involvement in corruption.
- All the claims of putting Pakistan on the track of democracy were diluted by accusations of Asif Zardari's involvement in corruption.
- March 1996 → the al-Jehad case regarding the appointment of judges in the Supreme Court further increased problems for B.B. Nov 1996 → President Laghari, using his emergency power, dismissed the government of BB on grounds of corruption, misgovernance and failure to resolve economic problems.
- Later, both B.B & Zardari were arrested & finally, B.B. left Pakistan with self-imposed exile.

Reasons for the Dismissal of B.B

- First term → confrontation with the Punjab govt → escalating tension with the govt of Nawaz Sharif Failure to control violence in Sindh → operation against MQM in Karachi & Sindh. Failure to overcome economic crisis & corruption.
- Second term → involvement of Mr.Zardari in various corruption cases & her failure to prove him innocent Serious differences with MQM → growing unrest, violence and economic problems. Misgovernance, interprovincial differences & continued violence.

Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993)

- N.Sharif won the majority & was elected as PM → first major Punjabi leader to become PM (before him Choudhry Muhammad Ali & Feroz Khan Noon were weak PM's in the 1950's) He had support of the religious parties that encouraged him to follow a somewhat anti-US policy.
- However, the domestic crisis frustrated his designs → growing poverty, unemployment, inflation coupled with an increasing foreign debt.
- Started construction of the Motorway, introduced the "yellow cab scheme", started privatization of some of the state-owned industries to generate jobs but no significant improvement.
- Growing Kashmiri uprising caused worsening of Pak-India relations despite efforts of Sharif to improve them. Religious and business communities remained dissatisfied.

- Further problems → January 1993, mysterious death of the military chief, General Aisf Nawaz Janju'a & rumors of Sharif's involvement in the death as the armed forces were quite powerful since the Afghan crisis (1979, Soviet attack on Afghanistan).
- Sharif was pressured to set up an inquiry commission but took a hasty step by suggesting that GIK was involved in the murder.
- GIK, using his powers of the amended constitution (article or the 8th amendment, dismissed the Sharif govt & dissolved the assemblies → caretaker govt & elections scheduled in 90 days.
- Sharif's appeal in the Supreme Court against the action of GIK; Chief Justice Naseem Hassan Shah's verdict against GIK → serious political crisis, resolved only after military intervention → both Sharif and GIK had to resign.

Nawaz Sharif's Second Government (1997–1999)

- Background
 - Won the 1997 general elections with a strong majority.
 - His party, Pakistan Muslim League (N), came to power after Benazir's dismissal.
- Political and Constitutional Reforms
 - Passed the 13th Amendment, removing the President's power to dismiss the government.
 - Introduced the 14th Amendment, enforcing strict party discipline in Parliament.
 - Clashes with the judiciary leading to the resignation of Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah.
- Economic Policies
 - Continued privatization and liberalization.
 - Introduced the "Yellow Cab Scheme" to reduce unemployment.
 - Faced heavy criticism for growing foreign debt and economic mismanagement.
- Law and Order
 - Faced sectarian violence and tension in Sindh.
 - Attempted to introduce Sharia Bill (15th Amendment) to make Islamic law supreme, which drew criticism.

Pakistan's Nuclear Tests (1998)

- India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998, raising regional tensions.
- Pakistan faced both internal and external pressure regarding a response.
- Chagai Nuclear Tests
 - On 28 May 1998, Pakistan conducted five nuclear tests at Chagai Hills, Balochistan.
 - A sixth test followed on 30 May 1998.
 - Pakistan officially became the seventh nuclear power in the world.
- Consequences
 - Widely celebrated as a national achievement.
 - International community, especially the United States, imposed economic sanctions.
 - Strengthened Pakistan's defense posture and deterrence against India.

Nawaz Sharif's Moscow Visit (1999)

- Part of efforts to strengthen Pakistan's diplomatic relations with major powers.
- Aimed at seeking economic cooperation and strategic balance after nuclear sanctions.
- Outcomes
 - Met Russian leadership to discuss trade, energy, and regional security.
 - Symbolized Pakistan's attempt to diversify foreign relations beyond the West.
 - Limited tangible results due to political crisis brewing at home.

Military Coup by General Pervez Musharraf (1999)

- Tensions grew between Nawaz Sharif and the military following the Kargil conflict (1999).
- Nawaz attempted to dismiss Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf while he was returning from Sri Lanka.

- The Coup (12 October 1999)
 - The military took control of the government and arrested Nawaz Sharif.
 - General Musharraf declared emergency rule and suspended the Constitution.
 - Justified the coup by citing corruption, poor governance, and economic collapse.

- Aftermath
 - Musharraf became Chief Executive and later President (2001).
 - Political parties were banned temporarily, and accountability drives were launched.
 - Introduced devolution plan to transfer power to local governments.

Pakistan's Foreign Relations (1997–2001)

- How important has Pakistan's role been in world affairs since 1947?

Key Question 16: How important has Pakistan's role been in world affairs since 1947?

The study of Pakistan's international relations with other countries should cover economic, social, political and religious aspects. Candidates should study the main features of Pakistan's relations with other countries (listed below), together with the aims of Pakistan's foreign policy and emerging nuclear status.

Focus points:

- How has Pakistan developed as a nuclear power?
- How successful has Pakistan been in its relations with Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan, Iran, China, the USSR/Russia, the USA, the UK and the Commonwealth, and the United Nations? (See also above under Key Questions 11–15)

Specified content:

Pakistan – a nuclear power:

- nuclear weapons programme, established 1972
- Indian nuclear test, 1974
- nuclear testing race with India
- Pakistan nuclear tests, 1987
- US concerns
- Pakistan nuclear tests, 1998
- refusals to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Relations with Bangladesh:

- relations from 1971, residual problems from secession, e.g. repatriation and indemnity

Relations with India:

- problems and tensions from 1947 (including Jammu and Kashmir, the creation of Bangladesh, nuclear weapons, issues of trade)
- attempts to develop more friendly relations

Relations with Afghanistan:

- issues related to Pakhtoonistan and Tribal Territory
- Daud Khan, the Pakhtoonistan issue and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
- the Soviet invasion and its impact on Pakistan's foreign policy in respect of the Soviet Union, the USA and Afghanistan
- the post-Soviet legacy affecting Pakistan

Relations with Iran:

- relations prior to and after Iran's Islamic Revolution, 1979
- trade, political and religious links
- impact of the Islamic Revolution on Pakistan's bilateral relations
- Iran's role in the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD)

Relations with China:

- trade and bilateral relations
- China's relations with India as compared to those with Pakistan
- the Karakoram Highway project
- Pakistan's policy towards Muslim minorities in China and its impact on relations with Beijing

Relations with USSR/Russia:

- relations with the USSR and its Central Asian republics
- impact of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on Pakistan's policy in respect of Afghanistan and the USA
- the development of closer ties with Russia post-1991
- Nawaz Sharif's visit to Moscow, 1999

Relations with USA, the UK and the Commonwealth:

- relations with the USA and the UK from 1947 in relation to the Central Eastern Treaty Organisation (CENTO)/Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and reasons why Pakistan left/later rejoined these organisations
- the issue of non-alignment in relation to the West and the Muslim world, particularly Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC)
- Pakistan's relationship with the Commonwealth
- the impact of the removal of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on relations with the USA, the UK and the Commonwealth

Relations with the United Nations (UN):

- Pakistan's place in the UN
- UN involvement with, and declarations on, Jammu and Kashmir, the Canal Water Dispute, the Indo-Pakistan Wars, war with Bangladesh
- evaluation of the UN's role as a peace-maker and mediator in these issues
- overview of the function of United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), World Health Organisation (WHO), World Food Programme (WFP) and the part these agencies have played in the development of Pakistan.

Relations with India

- Nawaz Sharif initially aimed to improve relations through dialogue.
- **Lahore Declaration (Feb 1999):**
 - Both nations agreed to respect each other's territorial integrity.
 - Promoted nuclear restraint and peace.
 - Indian PM **Atal Bihari Vajpayee** visited Lahore — a historic step.
- **Kargil Conflict (May–July 1999):**
 - Ended peace process; India blamed Pakistan for supporting infiltrations.
 - Pakistan withdrew under **U.S. pressure**, weakening Nawaz Sharif's standing.
- **Under Musharraf:**
 - **Agra Summit (2001)** held to restart talks — ended without agreement.
 - Both countries agreed to maintain dialogue channels to avoid escalation.

Relations with the United States

- **Under Nawaz Sharif:**
 - Relations strained after **1998 nuclear tests** → U.S. imposed **economic and military sanctions (Glenn Amendment)**.
 - Sanctions hurt Pakistan's economy and foreign reserves.
 - Nawaz sought U.S. relief and diplomacy; **Bill Clinton mediated** during the **Kargil crisis**.
 - U.S.-pressured withdrawal saved escalation but weakened Nawaz politically.
- **Under Musharraf:**
 - Post-**9/11 (2001)**, Pakistan joined the **U.S. War on Terror**.
 - Sanctions lifted; Pakistan received **aid, debt relief, and military support**.
 - Relations became **strategic but controversial** due to U.S. military presence in the region.

Relations with China

- Relations stayed **strong and consistent** throughout Nawaz and Musharraf's governments.

- China supported Pakistan's **defense and nuclear programs** despite Western pressure.
- Keyjoint projects:
 - **Gwadar Port** (early planning under Musharraf).
 - **Expansion of defense cooperation** and modern equipment supply.
- China remained Pakistan's **most reliable ally**, counterbalancing India's regional influence.

Relations with Muslim & Gulf Countries

- Close ties with **Saudi Arabia, UAE, and other Gulf states** maintained.
- After **1998 nuclear tests**, Saudi Arabia provided **oil on deferred payments**, aiding Pakistan's economy.
- Nawaz Sharif's personal ties with **Saudi royals** secured his **exile and safety (1999 coup)**.
- Under Musharraf:
 - Strengthened **defense and labor cooperation** with Gulf states.
 - Sent thousands of **Pakistani workers** to the Middle East.
 - Actively participated in **OIC**, supporting **Kashmir** and **Palestine** causes.

Relations with Russia

- **Nawaz Sharif's visit to Moscow (1999):**
 - Aimed to **diversify foreign policy** beyond the U.S. and China.
 - Discussed **trade, energy, and regional security cooperation**.
 - Symbolized **renewed dialogue** after years of limited contact.
- **Under Musharraf:**
 - Relations **gradually improved** with cooperation on **anti-terrorism** and **regional stability**.

Relations with Afghanistan

- **Under Nawaz Sharif:**
 - Pakistan **recognized the Taliban regime (1997)** along with Saudi Arabia & UAE.
 - Goal: secure the **western border** and ensure a **friendly Kabul government**.
- **Under Musharraf:**

- After **9/11**, Pakistan **withdrew support from the Taliban**.
- Provided **airbases and intelligence** to U.S. forces.
- This shift improved global ties but caused **domestic opposition**.

Relations with International Organizations

- Active membership in **UN, Commonwealth**, and **OIC** continued.
- Pakistan was suspended **from the Commonwealth** after the **1999 coup**.
- Musharraf sought to **restore Pakistan's global image** by promising **reforms and democracy**.

Past Paper Questions: (2000's onwards)

Q1: Why was Benazir Bhutto's second government dismissed in 1996? (7 marks)

Benazir Bhutto's second government was dismissed in November 1996 mainly due to allegations of corruption, poor governance, and rising law and order problems. Her administration was accused of misuse of power, political victimization of opponents, and large-scale financial scandals involving her husband, Asif Ali Zardari. Violence in Karachi and Sindh increased despite repeated operations to control it, and the government failed to restore stability. Relations with the military and President Farooq Leghari became strained, as both accused her of ignoring administrative discipline and economic management. Inflation, unemployment, and corruption created widespread dissatisfaction, leading President Leghari to dismiss her government under Article 58(2)(b).

Q2: How successful was Benazir Bhutto in maintaining law and order during her second term? (14 marks)

Benazir Bhutto faced serious challenges in maintaining law and order during her second government. Initially, she attempted to restore peace through negotiations with the MQM and by launching police operations in Karachi to suppress ethnic violence. However, these operations often led to more killings

and accusations of extrajudicial actions. Political and sectarian violence spread across Sindh, while tribal and religious conflicts also rose in other provinces. Her government was criticized for political interference in the police and for using state institutions against opponents. Although some temporary stability was achieved in certain areas, overall, her government failed to control violence effectively. By 1996, Pakistan was experiencing widespread insecurity, which became one of the main reasons for her dismissal.

Q3: Describe Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy between 1993 and 1996. (7 marks)

Benazir Bhutto's foreign policy during her second government aimed to improve Pakistan's international image and strengthen ties with major powers. She maintained friendly relations with the United States and Western countries, emphasizing Pakistan's role as a democratic Muslim nation. Relations with India began with cautious optimism but deteriorated over the Kashmir dispute. She worked to enhance Pakistan's relations with China and continued close cooperation with Muslim and Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia. Benazir also encouraged regional cooperation through organizations like the SAARC and the OIC, presenting Pakistan as a moderate Islamic power committed to peace and development.

2. Nawaz Sharif's Second Government (1997–1999)

Q1: What were the main constitutional changes made by Nawaz Sharif in his second term? (7 marks)

Nawaz Sharif's second government introduced several major constitutional amendments to consolidate civilian authority. The most significant was the Thirteenth Amendment (1997), which removed the President's power to dissolve the National Assembly, thus ending the misuse of Article 58(2)(b). The Fourteenth Amendment strengthened party discipline by preventing members of Parliament from defying party leadership during voting. Nawaz also attempted to introduce the Fifteenth Amendment, known as the Sharia Bill, which sought to make Islamic law the supreme law of Pakistan, though it was never passed. These amendments concentrated power in the hands of the Prime Minister and significantly reduced institutional checks and balances.

Q2: Why did Nawaz Sharif's relations with the army worsen by 1999? (7 marks)

Relations between Nawaz Sharif and the army deteriorated rapidly after the Kargil conflict in 1999. The operation, planned by the military without full civilian consultation, led to international condemnation and forced Pakistan to withdraw under U.S. pressure. Nawaz Sharif blamed the military leadership, particularly General Pervez Musharraf, for the failure. Tensions escalated as Nawaz attempted to assert control over the military by dismissing Musharraf while he was abroad. The move was seen by the army as unconstitutional, and in response, the military launched a coup on 12 October 1999. This ended Nawaz Sharif's government and marked another return to military rule in Pakistan.

Q3: How successful was Nawaz Sharif's economic policy between 1997 and 1999? (14 marks)

Nawaz Sharif's economic policy in his second term focused on privatization, liberalization, and reducing foreign debt. His government continued the privatization of state industries and introduced the Yellow Cab Scheme to reduce unemployment. Initially, these measures brought limited improvement, but the 1998 nuclear tests triggered international sanctions that caused severe economic strain. Foreign investment declined, inflation rose, and the country faced shortages of foreign reserves. Allegations of corruption and favoritism damaged investor confidence, while political instability discouraged economic growth. Despite some efforts to stabilize the rupee and control inflation, Nawaz Sharif's overall economic performance was considered weak due to the impact of sanctions and poor financial management.

3. Pakistan's Nuclear Tests (1998)

Q1: Why did Pakistan carry out nuclear tests in 1998? (7 marks)

Pakistan carried out nuclear tests in May 1998 in direct response to India's nuclear explosions earlier that month. The Indian tests threatened the regional balance of power and posed a serious security challenge. Pakistan's leadership, led by Nawaz Sharif, decided to test its own nuclear capability to ensure national security and deterrence against India. There was immense public and political pressure to demonstrate equal strength and technological capability. The tests also aimed to boost national pride and establish Pakistan as a powerful and independent nation capable of defending itself against regional threats.

Q2: What were the main effects of Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests? (14 marks)

The nuclear tests at Chagai in May 1998 had both positive and negative effects on Pakistan. On the positive side, the tests created a sense of national unity and pride, establishing Pakistan as the world's seventh nuclear power and the first Muslim country with nuclear weapons. It strengthened the country's defense and deterrence posture against India. However, the tests led to severe economic consequences, as the United States and other Western countries imposed sanctions that restricted foreign aid, loans, and investment. The value of the rupee fell, inflation rose, and the economy slowed down sharply. Despite economic hardship, the tests enhanced Pakistan's international status and symbolized its determination to protect its sovereignty.

4. Nawaz Sharif's Moscow Visit (1999)

Q1: What was the purpose and outcome of Nawaz Sharif's 1999 visit to Moscow? (7 marks)

Nawaz Sharif's visit to Moscow in 1999 was aimed at improving diplomatic and economic relations with Russia, which had been weak since the Soviet-Afghan War. The visit sought to diversify Pakistan's foreign policy by building new partnerships beyond the United States and China. Discussions focused on regional stability, trade cooperation, and potential energy projects. Although the talks were friendly, the visit produced few practical results because of rising domestic tensions in Pakistan. Nevertheless, it was a significant step in re-establishing dialogue between the two countries after years of limited contact.

5. Military Coup by General Pervez Musharraf (1999)

Q1: Why did General Musharraf overthrow Nawaz Sharif's government in 1999? (7 marks)

General Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif's government on 12 October 1999 due to growing civil–military tensions and political instability. The immediate cause was Nawaz's attempt to dismiss Musharraf while he was on a flight returning from Sri Lanka and to prevent his plane from landing in Pakistan. The army viewed this as an attack on its leadership and moved to seize control. Long-term causes included corruption, poor governance, and the army's dissatisfaction after the Kargil War, where it believed the government had mishandled the situation. The coup was justified by the military as necessary to save Pakistan from political chaos and economic collapse.

Q2: What were the main effects of Musharraf's coup on Pakistan? (14 marks)

Musharraf's coup led to the suspension of the Constitution, dissolution of Parliament, and establishment of military rule. He declared himself Chief Executive and later President, promising accountability, economic reform, and good governance. Political leaders, including Nawaz Sharif, were arrested or exiled. Musharraf introduced the Devolution of Power Plan in 2000 to create elected local governments and increase administrative efficiency. The economy gradually stabilized due to reforms and later foreign aid, particularly after Pakistan joined the U.S.-led War on Terror. However, democracy suffered, as political freedoms were restricted and institutions weakened. The coup brought temporary stability but delayed the return of full civilian rule.

6. Pakistan's Foreign Relations (1997–2001)

Q1: Describe Pakistan's relations with India from 1997 to 2001. (7 marks)

Pakistan's relations with India fluctuated between peace and hostility during this period. In 1999, Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee signed the Lahore Declaration to promote peace, trade, and nuclear

restraint. However, the Kargil conflict later that year destroyed this progress, as India accused Pakistan of supporting infiltration in Kashmir. Relations remained tense after the conflict. Under Musharraf, efforts were made to restart dialogue through the Agra Summit in 2001, but no formal agreement was reached. Overall, relations remained strained due to mutual distrust and the unresolved Kashmir issue.

Q2: Why did Pakistan's relations with the United States improve after 2001? (7 marks)

Pakistan's relations with the United States improved dramatically after the September 11, 2001 attacks. Under General Musharraf, Pakistan became a key U.S. ally in the War on Terror by providing military bases, intelligence cooperation, and logistical support against the Taliban in Afghanistan. In return, the U.S. lifted sanctions imposed after the 1998 nuclear tests and provided significant military and economic aid. Pakistan received debt relief, trade assistance, and recognition as a major non-NATO ally. This alliance restored Pakistan's importance in global politics, although it also brought internal criticism over dependence on U.S. policy.

Q3: How successful was Musharraf's foreign policy from 1999 to 2001? (14 marks)

Musharraf's foreign policy was largely successful in improving Pakistan's international standing after years of isolation. By aligning with the United States after 9/11, he secured the lifting of sanctions and gained financial and military support, which stabilized Pakistan's economy. Relations with China remained strong, with continued defense and technological cooperation. Pakistan also improved its image in the West, presenting itself as a responsible ally in combating terrorism. However, relations with India remained tense after the Kargil conflict, and Pakistan faced criticism at home for supporting the U.S. war in Afghanistan. Despite these challenges, Musharraf's policies re-established Pakistan's role as a key regional power.

Q4: How did Pakistan's relations with Muslim countries change between 1997 and 2001? (7 marks)

Pakistan maintained close relations with Muslim countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Iran. After the 1998 nuclear tests, Saudi Arabia provided oil on deferred payments to help Pakistan survive sanctions. Nawaz Sharif's personal ties with the Saudi royal family ensured continued financial and political support, especially after he was exiled there following the 1999 coup. Under Musharraf, Pakistan strengthened defense and labor cooperation with Gulf states and continued to raise the Kashmir and Palestine issues in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Pakistan's relations with Muslim countries remained strong and beneficial throughout this period.