

Section 1

SECTION 1 CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

1.1 Muslim Religious Thinkers/Scholars/Reformers

CIE; Key Question 1: How successful were the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the sub-continent during the 18th and 19th centuries?

Shah Wali Ullah:

How important were Religious reforms of Shah Wali Ullah?

- He **identified** the **causes of decline** of the Muslims
- He believed that **Islam** could Muslim in the **political, economics** and **social** fields guide
- He believed that **Muslims should relearn the Quran and Hedith** to regain the respectable and honorable status
- He **translated** the **Holy Quran** into **Persian**
- He **wrote 51 books**
- He brought **Sunni** and **Shia** sects **closer**
- He explained the **importance of Jihad** to the Muslims
- He **wrote letters** to rules of Muslim states to unite and **rise against Non-Muslim** forces
- On his **invitation**, Afghan ruler **Ahmed Shah Abdali** came and **crushed Marathas** in the 3rd Battle of Panipat in 1761

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Barelvi and his jihad Movement:



Ahmed Shaheed Barelvi a Man of actions with jihad movement

What influence did Syed Ahmed Barelvi exert in the revival of Islam?

- In 1806 he joined **Madrassa Rahimiya** and learnt the Holy Quran and **Hadith**
- He was more a **man of action** than a scholar
- He **joined** a Pathan **military** leader and the art of warfare and the use of artillery learned
- He **founded** the **Jihad Movement**
- The aim of Jihad Movement was the **restoration and revival of Islam**
- The Muslims of the Punjab were facing great difficulty in following their religion. Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh **banned the call of Azan**.
- Syed Ahmed **Started gathering an army** to overthrow Sikh rule

- He believed that if Punjab and N.W.F.P.(KPK) were freed from the Sikhs, the Muslims could regain their former position
- He arranged a **force of 6000 Mujahidin**
- His first two **attacks on Sikh** forces were **successful**
- He wanted to **liberate Kashmir and Hazara**

Haji Shariat Ullah, Founder of Fraizi Movement:

How influential was Haji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement?

- He **believed** that the **Muslims** had **moved away** from true **Islamic** practices
- He **wanted** them to **return** to the proper observation of **Islamic duties** called **Faraiz** (Religious Obligations)
- He found that the **Muslims of East Bengal** were **suppressed and oppressed** by the **Hindu** landlords and the British
- The **Muslims** had **no opportunity** in **education** and **employment**
- He started the **faraizi Movement** to restore the **pride** of the Muslims and to **remove** the **Hindu practices**
- He **urged** the **Muslims** to **give up Non-Muslim practices**
- A great number of **Muslims** **followed** his teachings
- The **British** were also **worried** over **this development**
- It had an important **political** and **economic impact** and the **Bengal Muslim** peasants became united against Hindu landlords

1.2 Decline of Mughal Empire



Decline of Mughal Empire

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

Causes of Decline of Mughal Empire:

- When Mughal control weakened, the **princes** got an opportunity to **rebel and rule** the land as they wish
- The rise of **Marathas and Sikhs** in Punjab started getting strength and also became a big threat to the Mughal empire
- The Mughals were busy in **expanding the empire**. Huge expansion resulted in **poor administration**
- The **Mansabdari system** (the system of civil and military administration) was not properly supervised and administrative.

- The **Military cost** of putting down rebellions was huge and unbearable
- Huge amount of money was wasted on **war of succession** dispute
- Mughals did not pay any attention to improve **agriculture and Infrastructure** that causes huge **food shortage** in the empire
- Instead of promoting **trade and business**, the Mughals took away profits from merchants and tradesman
- Rajas built up their own armies in **Jagirdari system**
- **Lack of Naval Power**, The Mughals were skillful in land warfare but they did not have naval force whereas the British had naval force while Mughals had no proper training, no supply and **modernization of weapons**.
- The wealth that Mughals had accumulated made them ease loving and **pleasure seeking**
- **Foreign Invasions**, Mughal empire was invaded first from the Persians then from the Afghans. The Persians under Nadir Shah the Afghans under Ahmed Shah Abdul Abdali invaded Mughal empire
- **Religious Intolerance**, **Deen-I-Ellahi** of king Akber brought dissatisfaction among Muslims being a biased Muslim while Aurangzeb re-imposed the **Jizya tax** on non-Muslims.
- The Mughals **did not pay any attention** to make arrangements for acquiring **modern education**
- The **British arrival & expanded** the territory with the help of their superior administration, organization, military skill, weapons, war techniques and a well – trained and disciplined army

The Consequences of the Decline of the Mughal Empire on Muslims:

- The **end of the Mughal empire** put Muslims at a disadvantages
- Mostly their local rulers were Hindus
- The **Muslims** started thinking that they were **a minority instead of rulers**.
- Muslims were **deprived of senior posts**
- Muslims **status** had **changed**
- Muslims **Drifted** from their **faith and religion**



Consequence of Decline of Mughal Empire

1.3 East India Company 1600 – 1873

What role did the East Company play in the decline of the Empire?

At first the **EIC** was interested in **trade** of spices, cotton goods and Yarn, silk, potassium, tea, indigo, precious stones, while peeper made huge profit.

- The **Decline** of the Mughal Empire, **threats** from the Marathas and the French forced the EIC to protect its trading interests. The EIC **recruited** local people into its **army** that were known as **Sepoys**. By 1850 through bloody **wars** and deceitful **political deals**, the British were successful in getting almost complete control of the Indian territory



British East India Company (1600-1873)

British Expansion:

- The **British army** was disciplined, **well equipped** and well-trained
- They had great **supplies and funds**
- They had excellent **spy system**
- Indians **lacked weapons**, supplies and funds and were **disunited**

Robert Clive 1725 – 74:

- Robert Clive is the real **founder of British rule** in India. Under his command, the EIC army **defeated the ruler of Bengal**. As a reward he was made the Governor of Bengal. He played a **daring and important role** in the British **conquest** of the subcontinent. He had not only diplomatic skills also military qualities of a high order.

The Doctrine of lapse 1852:

The Governor General Lord Dalhousie introduced the Doctrine a Lapse to **extend British control**. According to the Doctrine of Lapse when **a ruler died** without a natural heir the **British would annex his lands**. This law was on large disliked by the Indians. This act showed the British were dominant in India.

1.4 The War of Independence – 1857

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



Cause of the War of Independence

Causes of the War of Independence:**Causes of the Uprising:**

Anger against British control was rising over many years. There were plenty of causes of hate British rule.

Political causes:

Doctrine of Lapse in 1852 where according to the **law** a state would go to the **EIC control** if its ruler failed to produce a male heir and forceful annexation of Sind, Punjab and Oudh greatly frustrated the Indians.

Religious cause:

Pardah which was the religious custom of the Muslim women was abolished by the British. People were forced to convert to **Christianity**.

Social and cultural Causes:

The British **spread their culture**. **Arabic** and **Persian** was completely **removed** from schools. **English** was introduced in all schools and colleges. For the British there were **special courts** and for the Indians there were **ordinary courts**, and often Indians had to suffer **injustice**.

Economic Problem:

The British were preferred for high posts and jobs. The local **industries collapsed** and economic conditions of the Indians **deteriorated** and rate of **poverty increased**.

Taxes:

The **land tax** imposed by the British on all Indians were greatly resented

Westernization:

The Indians took the English education

Military Causes:

In the EIC army most of the soldiers were Indians with **low salaries & no promotion**

Grease Cartridges:

In 1857 the British introduced a new Enfield rifle used **cartridges** that had to be ripped open with the **teeth** before loading. There was a rumor that these cartridges were **coated with cow and pig fat**. The cow is sacred to Hindus and Pig is strictly forbidden in Islam.

Why was Independence not achieved?

The aims of Indian forces were **not clear**. There was no unity among the rebel forces and no common cause. There was **no plan** and no attempt to work together. At different places different groups were fighting for different reasons and there was **no sense of national patriotism**. The Punjab and Sind did not support the uprising rather they **helped the British**. The **British army** was well-disciplined, well trained and well-equipped army. They had continuous **supply of weapons** and funds from Britain. They had excellent spy system. The rebels were lacking fund, weapons and training. As a result the **War of Independence failed** and ended with the victory of the British in 1858.

What were the immediate consequences of War of Independence?**Consequences/Aftermath of the War of Independence 1857 – 58:**

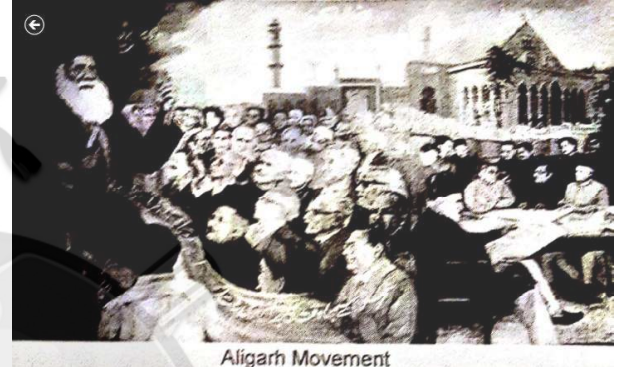
- The **British** government took **direct control** of India
- The title of **Governor General** was now **changed to viceroy** who was given vast power
- The so-called **Mughal rule** took its **last breadth** and last Mughal ruler bahadur Shah Zafar was sentenced to life imprisonment
- An Arms Act was enforced so that Indians could own **no weapons**
- **British were victorious**, the revolt cost them a huge amount of money and trade and business remained suspended for more than a year
- The British **stopped the annexation**
- Only the **Muslims were blamed** for the revolt and now they were being treated harshly
- It made the Indians determined to free India from foreign rule
- Conflicts between the **Hindus and the Muslims** started
- **Educational reforms** were introduced and new schools were set up to increase the standard of education

1.5 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

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

What was his contribution to education, politics and religious?

- He decided to **change Muslim mindset** towards getting **British education**
- Faced bitter opposition from the **Muslim Ulemas** who had misconception that Western Education would undermine Islamic beliefs
- He **opened school** in Muradabad in 1859
- He **established Scientific Society** at Ghazipur in 1866 where Persian, Arabic and English Literature was translated into Urdu
- He published a magazine **THAZEEB-UL-IKHLAQ** in which the discussed manners, social behavior and etiquettes of eating
- He wrote a book **LOYALTY MUHAMMADEN OF INDIA** to prove Muslim loyalty towards the British and also urged the Muslims to develop a **friendly attitude with the British**.
- He advised the British that they should try to understand and respect Muslim beliefs



How successful was the Aligarh Movement?

- He set up the **MUHAMMADEN ANGLO-ORIENTAL SCHOOL**
- The **Aligarh College** was a model
- He founded the **"ANJUMAN-E-TARAQQI-E-URDU"** to promote and protect Urdu
- In 1886 a established the **MUHAMMADEN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE** to raise educational standard among Muslims
- Due to Sir Syed's efforts, a large number of **Muslims** started getting the **modern education**
- Muslims had became able to **acquire government jobs and high posts** along with Hindus
- He is rightly called the **prophet of education**

Sir Syed's Two Nation Theory:

How important was his 'Two-Nation' Theory?

Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to join Congress on account of the following reasons

- The **Congress was a Hindu dominated** body and was working to thrust Hindu supremacy over the Muslims
- Congress' demand that democracy should be on British line would lead to **Hindu Raj** because in this system only majority would rule
- In such democracy the **Muslims** would have no **representation**
- He started Muslims and Hindus are different identities hence **Muslims** should strive for **their rights**

Hindu Urdu Controversy:

- In 1867 Hindus demanded that **Hindu should be official language** in place of Urdu
- He was now convinced that Hindus and Muslims were **two different nations** as they had different outlook towards like from religious, social and cultural point of view

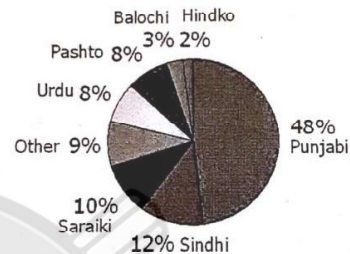
1.6 Languages

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

Languages are very important in the development of any state or national culture. One single language as the **National Language brings unity and cultural Identify**. A common language produces a sense of Understanding among people. Whenever any Muslim conqueror came to India to rule, he brought with him his own language

Native languages in Pakistan

Source: CIA World Factbook



Urdu:

Urdu poetry reached its **peak** near the end of the Mughal Empire. **Iqbal** brought about a revolution in Urdu verse. Prose writers like Sir Syed, Hali, Shibli and Deputy Nazir Ahmed produced master pieces. Due to these was **literary Giants**, Urdu is now capable of expressing all kinds of ideas and knowledge relating to science, art, history and politics etc. the language was also spread through **Sufis** who often preached Islam in Urdu and Persian. In the 19th century Urdu played a major role in the **struggle for independence**. The development of Urdu continued after the establishment of Pakistan. Urdu has been declared the official language of Pakistan. When Pakistan came into being, **Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared** that Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan. Urdu is now **Widely spoken** and understood throughout the country. Urdu is the **medium for radio and television** programs. Urdu newspapers, magazines and books are printed and published in all provinces of Pakistan. At present, Urdu has become the symbol of **national unity and identity** of the country.

How successful has the promotion of regional languages been since 1947?

Sindhi:

- Sindhi language is the same as it was **eight hundred years ago**
- When the **Arabs** came and settled in Sindh, their culture and literature put a great impact on **Sindhi language**
- Many **Arabic words** were absorbed into the Sindhi language and Sindhi was being written in the **Arabic script**
- Now Sindhi is the language of the **13% of the people** of Pakistan
- Islamic traditions and culture are widely described in Sindhi Language
- Shah Abdul **Latif Bhitai** and **Sachal Sarmast** produced excellent work in Sindhi poetry
- After the creation of Pakistan Sindhi language and literature made great progress in poetry and prose
- In 1954 Bazm-e-Talib-ul-Muala was set up to promote Sindhi literature
- Sindhi is the **Court and office language** at lower level in Sindh
- Sindhi is the language of teaching and medium of examination up to Matric level
- **Sindhi magazines** and newspapers are read on large scale in Sindh
- **Radio and T.V** played a major role in the progress of Sindhi language

Punjabi:

- Punjabi has long history and is at least **1000 years old**
- Punjabi was spoken during the times when Mahmood of Ghaznavi attacked India
- It was the language of the **Sufi poets** who used it for their mystic and romantic folk poetry

- The **famous folk tales** such as Heer-Ranjha, Sassi-Pannu, Mirza-Sahiban, Puran-Bhagat and Sohni-Mahiwal are written in Punjabi
- The Punjabi language earned great popularity when Madho-lal-Hussian, Warsi Shah, Sultan Bahu and Baba Bhulay Shah composed mystic poetry in this language
- At the beginning of the 20th century, novels, short stories and dramas were being written in the Punjabi language
- The **Holy Quran** has been translated into this language
- When Pakistan came into being, Radio and T.V. did a great job for the development of Punjabi language

Pashto:

- Pashto is the **regional language** of the people of KPK
- It is also the main language of the people of the **northern areas** of Baluchistan
- Pashto is greatly influenced by **Arabic, Persian and Greek languages**
- It is also an important language of **Afghanistan**
- It is written in the same **Persian script** that is used for Urdu
- In Pakistan, many Pashto words have been **taken from Urdu**
- Mostly Pashto poetry describes **nationalism**
- Pashto literature has played an important role to emphasize **Pushtun freedom**
- Pashto literature played an important role to create **opposition to British rule**
- An **academy** was founded in 1954 to **promote**, modernize and develop Pashto language
- **Pashto dictionary** has also been prepared
- Many **newspapers and magazines** are being published in Pashto in KPK
- **Pashto writers** and poets had great services in the **freedom struggle**

Baluchi:

- Baluchi is the regional language of **Baluchistan**
- Baluchi is of **two types** sulamanki' and Mekrani'
- Baluchi is an **ancient language**
- Baluchi prose literature is not as developed as **Baluchi poetry**
- **Religious poetry** describes the rules of Islam
- Before partition Baluchi literature was declining, but after partition **steps** were taken to **promote the language**
- **Radio Pakistan** Karachi began to broadcast in Baluchi
- The Baluchi Literary Association was set up
- Now weekly and monthly **magazines** are being published in Baluchi language
- **Quetta Radio and T.V.** relay all kinds of programs in Baluchi

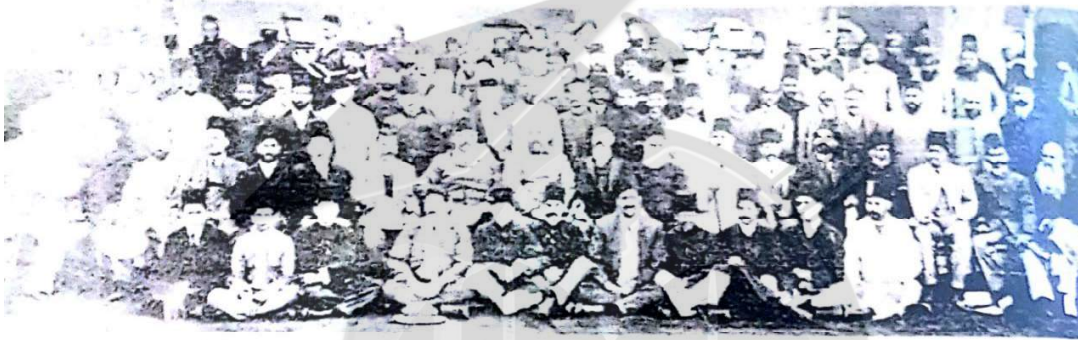
SECTION 2

THE EMERGENCE OF PAKISTAN 1906-47

2.1 Muslim league

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

Aims and Origins of the Creation of Muslims league:



The AIME Conference in 1906, held at the Ahsan Manzil palace of the Dhaka Nawab Family, laid the foundation of the Muslim League

The **Congress** was a **Hindu body** and would protect only **Hindu interests**. Hindus were advanced in education, political awareness and wealth whereas, Muslims were not and Hindus had biased attitude towards Muslims. Hindu demand that democracy in India would be on British line was not in favor of the Muslims. These were the reasons that forced the Muslims to form their own political organization. Moreover the Hindu agitation on account of the Partition of Bengal had convinced the Muslims to have their own political set up.

- A **deputation** of the Muslims led by **Sir Agha Khan** met the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla
- This deputation is called **Simla Deputation**
- During that time the Muslims were watching the **reaction of the Hindus** to the partition of Bengal with great concern
- The Muslims were afraid that the Hindu agitation would result in the reversal of the partition of Bengal
- The **Simla Deputation** demanded **protection** for Muslims
- They demanded **separate electorate** for Muslims
- They demanded the appointments of the **Muslim judges** in courts
- The outcome of the Simla Deputation was the **formation** of the **All India Muslim League** in 1906
- A **meeting** was held in **Dhaka** under Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Salimullah and **all India Muslim League was founded**
- Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was chosen the **first president** of Muslim League

Aims of the Muslim League :

1. To promote the **feelings of loyalty** towards the **British** among the Muslims
2. To protect and advance the **political rights** and interest of the **Muslims**
3. To **remove any misunderstanding** among Muslims against government measures
4. To keep **good relations** with other communities
5. To convey the **needs and demands** of the Muslims to the British

2.2 The Partition of Bengal 1905

Partition of Bengal was the first major political crisis the British had faced. Bengal was the **largest province** of India. It was **densely populated**. It was **difficult to govern** and administer such a large province. In 1905 Viceroy **Lord Curzon** ordered to **divide Bengal**. Bengal was partitioned into **West Bengal and East Bengal**. **West Bengal** had a **Hindu majority** population while **East Bengal** had a **Muslim majority** population. Some Historians say that it was a political decision to **divide Hindus and Muslims** into two communal groups.

Hindu Reaction against the Partition of Bengal:

The **Hindus Reaction** was very **hostile and aggressive**. They took the partition of Bengal as the British policy of **Divide and Rule**. Hindus did not like the creation of a **Muslim majority province**. A wave of **violence** rose and **Hindus** tried to **take the life of Lord Minto**.

Swadeshi Movement was started the **British goods** were boycotted. **Civil Disobedience** movement was also launched. In no time **sale of British goods** dropped rapidly. **Mass agitation** against the Partition of Bengal was started. **Riots and protests** became common.



Swadeshi Movement

Muslims Reaction to Partition of Bengal:

Muslims were very **happy** with the partition of Bengal. They **welcomed** the Partition of Bengal. They were now **free** from **Hindu tyranny** and oppression

How British Reacted of the Hindu Protest & Reversal of Partition

- Strong agitation and protest **forced** the British to **reverse** the Partition of Bengal
- In 1911 on the Coronation of King George V at the Delhi Durbar, the **Partition of Bengal** was **annulled**

2.3 The Minto - Morley Reforms 1909

The architects of the Reforms were Lord Minto the Viceroy of India and Sir John Morley Secretary of State for Indian Affairs. The British Parliament passed the reforms as the Indian Council Act 1909 as Morely Minto Reforms.

The Salient Features of the reforms were:

- The **Imperial Council** was **increased to 60** members
- The **Central Executive Council** was **enlarged** by adding **60 new members** and the members could **advise the government** on policies and budget
- **Provincial councils** were **enlarged**
- **Seats for Muslims** in each of the council were **reserved**
- **Muslim** members were elected by **separate electorate**

The importance of the Reforms:

These reforms gave some **political power to Indians**. Though these reforms granted some power to Indians, the British hold was still strong. The members were allowed to give opinion, but they **could not change** the decision. **The Congress was very angry** over Muslim right of **Separated Electorate** whereas the Muslims were very happy. The reforms gave **legal and constitutional** status to Muslims.

Aftermath of the Reforms:

The reforms were **extremely criticized by Congress**. Tension broke out between Muslims and Hindus. The Congress **demand**ed the **cancellation** of separated electorate

2.4 Montague – Chelmsford Reforms 1919

Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy of India and Montague was secretary of State for India. After some consultation with local leaders, they presented **new constitutional reforms** which were also known as The Government of India Act 1919

Salient Features:

- There would be **Bicameral Legislature** (TWO Houses)
- **Upper House** would be based on **60 members** whereas **Lower House of 45 members**
- The term of Upper House was of **5 years** and of Lower House of **3 years**
- The two Houses could **pass laws** and discuss the **budget**
- The viceroy could veto any recommendation
- **Wealthy Indians** were allowed to **vote**
- Muslims and Sikhs were permitted separated electorate
- System of **Diarchy** was introduced in the provinces (a system in which **central government could interfere in provincial matters** through provincial governors)
- 32 seats were reserved for Muslims in Legislative Assembly
- The council of State would have 60 members of which 33 were elected
- The **Viceroy could pass any law** which he thought necessary for the safety of India
- More constitutional reforms would be introduced after 10 years
- **Law and order, finance and courts** were under **British administration** whereas departments of education, public health, agriculture, and local government were transferred to Indian ministers

Reaction of the Indians of the Reforms:

- The Montague – Chelmsford Reforms **disappointed** both the **Hindus and the Muslims**
- Indian's demand for **self-government** was **denied**
- Indians did not have real power in the government
- The **Viceroy and Governors** had **key powers** to appoint minister and dismiss the assemblies
- These reforms **did not solve** the real **problems** of the Indians
- Both **Gandhi and Jinnah** bitterly **criticized** the reforms

2.5 The Lucknow Pact – 1916

The Muslim league under the leadership of Jinnah decided to **improve their relations with the Congress**. In 1916 a **joint session of Muslim League and Congress** was held at Lucknow. Muslim League was led by M.A Jinnah and Congress by A.C Muhajan. For **the first time** the **Congress recognized** the Muslims as a **separate nation**.

Features of Lucknow Pact:

- Congress **accepted the Muslim right of Separate electorate** in those provinces where the Muslims were in majority
- No bill effecting a community should be passed if **3/4th of the members** of the community **opposed** it
- **Muslims** should be given **1/3rd seats** in the councils

- The number of seats on the councils should be increased
- Motions passed by majorities in the councils should be accepted as binding by the British
- **Minorities** in the provinces should be **protected**
- **Provincial autonomy** should be given to all provinces

2.6 The Khilafat Movement 1919

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

Institution of **Khilafat** always **considered sacred** by the Muslims. During the First world war 1914 – 1918 Turkey was under Caliphate run by Ottoman Sultan.

In the First World War Turkey sided with Germany against the British. The **Muslims of India were not willing to fight against the Ottoman Empire** to overthrow the Khalifa. The **British assured** the

Indian Muslims that they would not remove the Khalifa and not pull the Turkish Empire to pieces. **Due to this promise**, thousands of **Muslims took part** in the war on the British side. **Later on**, the **British** also decided to **break Turkey into pieces** and destroy the Caliphate seat. The Indian **Muslim were very angry** over this decision. The **two brothers** Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali started Khilafat Movement.



Khilafat movement was organised by the famous Ali brothers, Muhammed Ali and Shaukat Ali

What were the origin, aims and main features of the Khilafat Movement?

The Khilafat Movement had two objectives:

1. To **protect** the Muslim holy places
2. To **maintain** the Khilafat

Origin and Aims of Khilafat:

- In 1919 the **first Khilafat Conference** was held in Dehli
- **Gandhi** also participated & fully **supported** the Khilafat Movement
- He assured his people that **SAWRAJ or Self-rule** could be attained if they supported this programme
- The **Hindus** came under his leadership to get **self-rule**
- The **second Khilafat Conference** was held in Amritsar also in 1919
- Here leaders of both the Khilafat Movement and **Non-cooperative Movement** decided to start a **country-wide agitation**
- The **Hindus and Muslims** forgot their long-standing enmity and protested together on large scale
- On account of protest **foreign goods were boycotted**, titles were surrendered, government jobs were rejected, children were withdrawn from government schools, armed forces were refused to join and people also decided not to stand for election
- **Lawyers refused** to appear in British courts
- People **refused** to pay the **taxes**



Gandhi and Non Cooperation Movement

- No one would offer any co-operation to the British
- These steps upset the British and the Khilafat leaders were arrested

Why did the khilafat Movement fail?

The End of Khilafat Movement & Failure

- **Gandhi's withdrawal** weakened the Khilafat Movement
- But this was not the real cause of the failure of the Khilafat Movement
- A Turkish leader **Mustafa Kamal Atatürk** abolished the seat of Khilafat and established modern **democratic Turkey**
- Thus Khilafat movement came to an end in the sub continent without achieving any thing

2.7 Hijrat Movement Mualana Abdul Bari

In 1920 Mualana Azad and Mualana Bari decided India **DAR-UL-HARB** (a land under foreign rule) they asked the **Muslims to leave India** and live in an Islamic state. About **20,000 Muslims** sold their possessions and homes and **migrated to Afghanistan** but the Afghan government did not accept them. The **Afghan government forced them to go back**. On their return journey, many **refugees died** on the way. When they **returned** to India, they were **penniless and disappointed**. The **Hijrat Movement was a tragedy** and the only sufferers were the Muslims.

2.8 Chauri-Chaura Incident

- The most dirty incident took place in Chauri-Chaura village in UP in 1922
- During that time the **protests and crowds** were going out of hand
- In Chauri-Chaura **protesters** were taking out a procession when they were fired at from a **nearby police station**
- The **angry mob** set the **police station on fire** and **22 police men** were **burnt alive**
- **Gandhi** was shocked and he immediately **called off the strike** without consulting anyone
- **Gandhi was arrested** and was **sentenced six years imprisonment**



Chauri-Chaura violent protest

2.9 Rowlett's Act 1919

The British appointed Justice Rowlett to suggest **legislative measures** to investigate and **eradicate revolutionary crimes**. Through these so-called legal steps, the British **wanted to threaten** the **Indians** and to curb their freedom. Many Indians were **put into prison without any excuse**. **Processions** were **banned**. In protest **Gandhi started strike**. Both Hindu and Muslims participated devoted and as a **result rioting, violence and plundering** started.

2.10 Amritsar Tragedy 1919

- A **procession of around 30,000 people** was taken out in **Juluanwala Bagh in Amritsar**
- It was a totally **peaceful procession**
- The people were listening to the speeches calmly when **General Dyer** came and **closed all the exits of the Bagh**
- On his order the **troops opened fire** without any warning
- Consequently **380 people lost their lives and 1200 people were injured**
- This **incident made the people furious and violent**
- **In protest around 1000 more people lost their lives**



Amritsar Massacre

2.11 Dehli Proposal 1927

Jinnah arranged a conference of Muslims leaders in Dehli to discuss **future constitutional reforms**. Jinnah proposed **conditions** on which Muslim could accept **joint electorates**. The **Muslims** should have **1/3rd representation** in the central legislature. **Sindh** should be **separated** from Bombay. These conditions were known as **Dehli Proposals**

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

2.12 Simon Commission, 1927

A commission of **seven members** was appointed **under Sir John Simon** to consider the political situation in India. **All members** of the commission were **British**. All **Indian parties** decided to **oppose** the Simon Commission. The **congress** decided to start **mass protests**. These was a popular slogan throughout in India '**SIMON GO BACK**'.



Simon Go Back

Simon Commission Features:

- **Abolishment of diarchy system**
- **Federal form of government** would be set up
- **Separate electorates** for **Muslims** would continue
- **Muslim demand for 1/3rd representation** in the central legislature was **rejected**
- **Separation of Sindh** from Bombay was **postponed**
- The present status of N.W.F.P.(KPK) would continue

Aftermath:

Subsequently **Congress started Civil Disobedience Movement**. All the **parties unanimously boycotted** the Simon Committee

Report:

- Constitutional surety of **fundamental rights**
- A **strong central government** with all powers
- A parliament with **two houses**
- Full **provincial status to N.W.F.P.(KPK)** and Baluchistan
- **Sindh** should be **separated from Bombay**
- The **Foreign affairs, Army and Defence** should be under direct **control of parliament and viceroy**
- **No separate electorates** for Muslims
- **No reserved seats** for **Muslims** except in the central legislatures

In these recommendations many points were against the Muslims. **Jinnah** proposed **4 important amendments**:

1. **1/3rd Muslim representation** in the central legislature
2. Seats should be **reserved** for **Muslims in Bengal and Punjab** on population basis
3. **Residuary powers** should be given to provinces
4. Sindh and N.W.F.P.(KPK) should be have **full provincial status**

Mr. Jinnah's amendments were rejected by Congress. In response Muslim league rejected Nehru report. Hence, Quaid gave 14 points.

2.14 Fourteen Points of Quaid-e-Azam 1929**Why did Jinnah produce his 14 Points of 1929?**

Quaid Produced his fourteen points in **response of Nehru report** to sort future constitution, to create **provincial autonomy**, to form **1/3rd Muslim representation** in the central legislature with **separate electorates** for Muslims. So that no territorial re-adjustment could effect Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P.(KPK) and Muslims could have **full religious liberty**. Muslims could have proper **share of the jobs in government service**. The constitution could protect Muslim education, language, religion and culture and to **safe guard** the political, social and religious **right of the Muslims** of the subcontinent Quaid Produced his 14 Points.

2.15 Round Table Conferences

How successful were the three round table Conference of 1930 – 32?

When Congress and Muslim League boycotted the Simon Commission, the British announced that a Round Table Conference would be held in London. In the Conference Indian political leaders would be invited to discuss to frame the reforms for the future constitution. To some



Round Table Conference

extent Round Table Conference were successful but on the whole the Conferences could not achieve anything important and could not solve constitutional problems

First Round Table Conference 1930:

Mr. Jinnah attended the conference whereas Mr. Gandhi did not attend. The Congress did not attend the Conference because the British did not promise self-government for India and also refused to make Nehru Report the part of the Conference. Gandhi started his civil disobedience movement.

Salient Feature:

- **Federal** of government was approved for India
- The princely states also agreed to join the federation
- Full responsible government in provinces
- Sindh would be a separate province
- The F.R.T.C of 1930 was successful as federal form of government was agreed upon
- This was a great success because the Congress had suggested Unitary Form of government in Nehru Report

2.16 Gandhi Irwin Pact 1931

Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement ended with rioting and violence. After meeting with Viceroy Irwin, Gandhi agreed to end the Civil Disobedience Movement on the following conditions:

1. Congress would end the Civil Disobedience Movement
2. Congress would end the Civil Disobedience Movement
3. Government would withdraw those laws that were designed to curb the Congress
4. Government would release all Congress workers arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement
5. Government would withdraw all political charges against the Congress
6. If the British Government agreed to a Federal India, Gandhi would give up his demand of immediate independence

Second Round Table Conference 1931:

The Second Round Table Conference also held in London in 1931. Second Round Table conference was important as both The Muslim League and Congress were taking part in it. Gandhi represented the Congress. The Muslim League was represented by Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal.



Second Round Table Conference 1931

Two committees were established to carry out the work of the conference:

a) Federal form of government

b) Issues of minorities

- Gandhi took a stubborn attitude. Gandhi refused to accept the rights of minorities
- Gandhi claimed that he was the sole representative of the Indians. He did his best to prove that India was a One Nation
- Gandhi's stony and hard position infuriated the Muslim Representatives
- Quaid-e-Azam took firm stand against Gandhi's ideology of declaring Indians as One Nation
- In response Quaid-e-Azam declared that Indian Muslims were a separate nation

- The Muslim League demanded that 14 Points of Quaid-e-Azam should be included in the future constitution
- As a result there was no settlement on the issue of minority on account of Gandhi's irresponsible and stubborn attitude
- Minorities made an agreement and demanded to accept it as a whole
- Gandhi refused to recognize the demand
- However, The Second Round Table Conference reached only one agreement that the KPK and Sindh should be given provincial status

THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE 1932:

- The Third Round Table Conference had little chance of success as Gandhi had again launched his Civil Disobedience Movement
- Lord Willington ordered to arrest Gandhi and Nehru and other Congress leaders
- Quaid-e-Azam did not participate in the Third Round Table Conference and went on self-exile
- Sir Agha Khan had to lead the Muslim Delegation
- It had no importance and proved to be a formality

Result of the Conference:

- The British came to know the demands of the Indians
- Diarchy System came to an end in Provinces
- Federal Form of Government was set up in Centre
- Sindh was separated from Bombay
- Communal Award was announced
- White paper (a report of RTC) was published

2.17 Communal Award 1932

There was a Constitutional Deadlock in the Round Table Conference. The British Government had to announce its own scheme known as Communal Award.

FEATURES:

- Sindh was separated from Bombay and made a new province
- Separate electorates for Muslims
- 1/3rd Muslim representation in the Central Legislature
- Boundaries of the provinces were demarcated
- The Hindu majority was not reduced in any area
- However, Muslim majority was reduced to minority in Punjab and Bengal



Government of India act 1935 being signed by British

2.18 The Government of India act 1935

How important was the Government of India Act, 1935?

The Government of India Act 1935 was enforced on the basis of recommendations of the Simon Commission of 1927 and the reports of Round Table Conferences

Main Provisions of Government of India Act 1935:

1. Federal form of government
2. The country was divided into 11 provinces
3. Diarchy was ended in provinces and introduced in centre
4. Three lists of subjects were drawn up:
 - A. **Central Subjects** were Defense, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Communication
 - B. **Provincial Subjects** were Education, Health, Public Works and Agriculture
 - C. **Concurrent Subjects** were those on which both Centre and Provinces could make laws, but the Center had the final decision making power
5. All provinces were given more powers for the first time
6. Central Legislature had two houses. The Upper House with 260 members and The Lower House with 375 members
7. Thirty million people were given right to vote. Women were also given right to vote
8. Muslims and other minorities were given right of separate electorate

Reaction to Government of India 1935:

- There was no safeguard for the minorities and personal liberties
- The Assembly had no authority to bring any change in the Act
- Only the British Parliament could bring change in the Act
- The Congress rejected the Act thoroughly
- The Princely States refused to accept the Act because they were not happy over the loss of their power
- Quaid-e-Azam decided the Act to be a defective document
- Though no one liked the Act, it paved the way towards independence

2.19 Elections – 1937**Why was Congress Rule (1937 – 39) unpopular with many Muslims?**

Muslim League contested elections on two principles:

1. India should have self-government
2. Provincial autonomy and safeguard for the minorities

Result of the Elections of 1937:

- Congress got majority in 5 provinces: Madras, Orissa, Bihar, C.P. and U.P.
- Congress also formed a coalition government in Bombay and KPK
- Congress was able to form ministries in 8 provinces
- Muslim League was not successful in the Muslim majority areas
- Muslim League got only 104 seats out of 489 Muslims seats
- Muslim League was not well organized as a political party as Congress was
- In some areas Muslim League could not find suitable candidates
- Congress also could not prove to be the sole representative for all Indians

Formation of congress ministries:

- In 1937 Congress was invited to form ministries
- Congress refused to include the members of Muslim League unless they joined Congress Party
- Congress used its new power to upset Muslims

Atrocities during congress rule:

- Hindus wanted to eliminate Muslims from India
- Muslims were forbidden from eating beef
- Cow slaughtering was banned
- Azan was forbidden
- Worshippers were attacked
- Pigs were pushed into the mosques
- Building of mosques were banned
- Music played in front of mosques
- Anti-Muslim riots were arranged to attack Muslims
- Hindu-Muslim riot were arranged by Congress in which Muslims were blamed for rioting
- Muslim villages were plundered and properties were set on fire
- Muslim women and children were kidnapped
- Congress started Mass Contact Scheme to crush the popularity of Muslim League

Bande Matram:

It was a nationalist Hindu song. In this song derogatory remarks were passed against Muslims and Islam. Congress members of the provincial assemblies insisted in starting the day with the recitation of Bande Martam

Wardha Scheme or Widhya Mandir Scheme:

Muslims students were asked to pay respect and homage to Gandhi's-picture. Urdu was totally ignored and Hindu was made the official language

Role of Quaid-e-Azam during Congress Rule:

Congress Rule provided an opportunity to Jinnah to warn Muslims that they must organize themselves to resist Congress and its desire to establish Hindustan

2.20 Day of Deliverance

When British declared war against Germany, the British government appealed for help from all political parties of India in war against Germany. British promised to grant dominion status to India after the war. The Congress rejected the offer and resigned from ministers to pressurize as the Day of Deliverance. The Muslims had a sigh of relief from the oppressive tyrannical rule of Congress



Day of Deliverance

CIE; Key Question 9: How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the years 1940 to 1947?

2.21 The Lahore Resolution 1940

The bitter experience of two years of Congress rule convinced Quaid-e-Azam to consider setting up a separate Muslim homeland

- At the annual session of Muslim League in Lahore in 1940, the Lahore or Pakistan Resolution was passed
- Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq chief minister of Bengal moved the Resolution
- Chaudary Khaliq-uz-Zaman MLA of UP seconded the Resolution
- Prominent leaders supported the Resolution enthusiastically
- Over 100,000 people attended the meeting
- The Two Nation Theory was the base of Resolution
- Jinnah pointed out that Hindus and Muslims had two different religion, social customs and literature, therefore they are two different Nations
- It was proposed that Muslim majority areas e.g. Punjab, Sindh, KPK, Baluchistan, Assam and Bengal should be grouped together to form an independence state
- The resolution also demanded that proper steps should be taken to protect the rights of minorities, their religion, Language and culture
- First it was called Lahore Resolution, the Hindu press used to refer it as the Pakistan Resolution, soon the Muslim League adopted that title.



Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman seconding the Resolution with Jinnah and Liaquat presiding the session

2.22 The Cripps Mission – 1942

Second World War was turning against the British. The Germans were advancing on every front in Europe and the Japanese had come near to India. The British needed active help from India. The British sent Sir Stafford Cripps to talk to the Indian Leaders to suggest recommendations for the future constitutional reforms.

- The Talk could not take place because of Non-Cooperative Movement
The Cripps Mission failed and left after 14 days

Salient Features

- A constitutional assembly would be set up after the war
- After the war India would be set up after the war
- After the war India would be given full and complete independence
- Elections for the Constituent Assembly would be held right after the war
- During the war Indian political parties would join the Executive Council with control of all government departments except the armed forces
- In the meantime, the British government would hold the control of the defence of India
- Congress strongly rejected the proposals because there was no promise of immediate transfer of power
- The Muslim League rejected the proposal as there was no promise of Pakistan



Mahatma Gandhi standing with British Parliamentarian Sir Stafford Cripps 1942

2.23 Quit India Movement – 1942

A quit India movement procession in Bangalore

Cripps had to go back to England without achieving anything. Gandhi thought that the British were in great trouble on account of war and sooner or later they would have to leave India

- Seeing the situation on ideal one, Gandhi and Congress took another anti-British step, the Quit India Movement (Leave India)
- Unrest spread in UP and Bihar
- There was a widespread rioting, plundering and looting
- Government buildings including police stations and post offices were either set on fire or destroyed
- The British lost control of the cities of Bombay and Calcutta
- The British reacted with great strength and took very strong actions
- They used machine guns and aerial bombing to restore their actions
- This took the lives of thousands of Indians
- Gandhi and Nehru were arrested
- The Congress party was banned

- The Muslim League did not support Quit India Movement
- In response to Gandhi's Quit India Movement, Jinnah gave his popular Slogan "DIVIDE AND QUIT"

2.24 Gandhi Jinnah Talks – 1944

The new viceroy Lord Wavell released Gandhi from jail in 1944. Soon after his release, Gandhi proposed to Jinnah that they should meet to discuss as to what should be the future of India after the British departure.

The talks began at Jinnah's house at Bombay

- Gandhi left no stone unturned to make Quaid-e-Azam express that the demand for Pakistan was irrational and unreasonable
- Gandhi wanted Quaid-e-Azam to support Congress in removing the British from India
- Quaid-e-Azam wanted to defend partition before the British left.
- Quaid-e-Azam knew that Gandhi would not accept the two nation idea of partition
- Gandhi wanted the control of the central government over Defence and Foreign Policy but Jinnah wanted the control of Provinces over these matters
- Gandhi took himself to be speaking for the whole of India but Quaid-e-Azam regarded him as the Congress and Hindu spokesman only
- In response to Gandhi's arguments, Quaid-e-Azam firmly supported the Two Nation Theory
- Both Hindus and Muslims were two different nations and had their own national identity and could not live together. As a result, the talks ended without agreement



Gandhi-Jinnah talks in Bombay 12 September 1944

2.25 Simla Conference – 1945

By 1945 the Second World War was coming to an end and had turned in favor of the British. It was now clear that the British had decided to leave India. To discuss the future of India Wavell called a conference in Simla in 1945

- Lord Wavell proposed an Executive Council to run the country until a new constitution could be agreed upon
- The Executive Council would have equal number of members of the Congress and Muslim League
- Quaid-e-Azam led Muslim League whereas Congress was led by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad
- The Muslim League declared itself to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslims
- Congress objected that the Muslim League was not the sole representative of Muslims.
- Congress wanted that fifth member should be a Punjabi Muslim who also should not be the member of Muslim League.
- The Viceroy also wanted to give one Muslim seat to a non-Leaguer from Punjab.
- There was a disagreement over Muslim league demand that all 5 members of the Executive Council should be from Muslim league.
- Quaid-e-Azam took firm stand on this issue.



First day of the Simla Conference: Lady Wavell is talking to the delegates

- Lord Wavell saw no solution to the problem and closed the conference.
- The failure of the Simla Conference proved that Hindus and Muslims could not live together.

2.26 The Elections – 1945 – 46

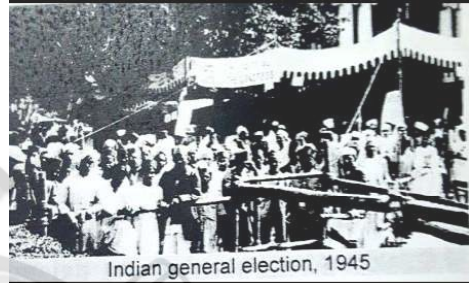
Muslim league contested election on two points:

- Muslim League represented all Muslims.
- India would be divided into two independent countries (India and Pakistan).

Congress contested election on these points:

- Congress represented all communities of India.
- India would remain one united country.

Muslim League won all Muslim seats in the Central Legislature Muslim League won 446 out of 495 of Provincial Assemblies Congress won almost total seats of Hindu majority areas Elections proved that Muslim League represented all the Muslim of India.



2.27 Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

The new Prime Minister Lord Atlee sent a special mission to India under Sir Stafford Cripps Cabinet Mission held discussion with the leaders and representatives of all the parties Jinnah demanded that Muslim majority areas should be grouped together to form an independent state of Pakistan.

- Congress was represented by Maulana Azad and Nehru whereas Muslim league was represented by Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan etc.
- Congress wanted a single Constituent Assembly while Muslim league wanted two Constituent Assemblies: one for India and one for Pakistan no solution could be driven hence conference ended without reaching an agreement. As a result the Cabinet Mission has to issue its own solution of the constitutional problem.



Long Term Plan:

- There should be the Union of India that would hold Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.
- There should be three groups of provinces. Group A would have six Hindu-majority provinces. Group B would have Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. Group C would have the provinces of Bengal and Assam.
- Each group would have freedom to make its own constitution.
- All residuary powers would be given to the provinces.
- The Princely State will retain all powers other than given to the Union of India

Short Term Plan:

- The Cabinet Mission also give a Short Term Plan.
- According to plan, an Interim Government would be set up.
- In the Interim Government all the Portfolios would be held by the Indian Nationals.
- The Cabinet Mission Plan gave the full glimpse of Pakistan.
- Muslim League accepted the plan with the hope that it would result in the creation of Pakistan.
- The Congress also accepted the plan and had agreed to join the Interim Government.
- Viceroy Lord Wavell invited the Congress to form an Interim Government.

- On the idea of Congress Interim Government, the Muslim League announced to withdraw its support to the plan.

2.28 Direct Action Day -1946:

on 16th August 1946 Muslim League observed Direct Action Day. At this time it was clear that British would leave India soon. The Muslims feared that if once British left India, they would have to suffer at the hands of Hindu majority.

- The Muslim League passed a resolution that it was ready for the final struggle against both the British and Congress.
- Communal riots broke out in Calcutta that took lives of 4000 people.
- That killings is famous in the history as Great Calcutta Killing.
- The Victory had to invite the Muslim League to join Interim Government.

2.29 June 3rd Plan 1947 :

Muslim league was demanding immediate independence Congress was demanding immediate transfer of power to Hindus. After negotiation and consultation with Indian leaders. Lord Mountbatten prepared the plan of partition by April 1947. Mountbatten went back to England to get the plan approved by the British Parliament. On his return from London, the plan was made public on June 3rd.



Quaid & Fatima Jinnah with Lord Mountbatten

Silent Features of June 3rd Plan

- Punjab and Bengal were to be divided.
- The people of India shall make the constitution of India.
- The constitution shall be applicable only to those areas where people accept it.
- Referendum shall be held in N.W.F.P (KPK) and Assam.
- Baluchistan shall adopt proper way to decide its future.
- Princely States shall be free to join either Pakistan or India.
- A Boundary Commission shall be set up to demarcate the boundaries of both Pakistan and India.
- Both India and Pakistan shall have their own Governor General who would be the Executive Head of their country.
- Military assets shall be divided between the two countries after partition.

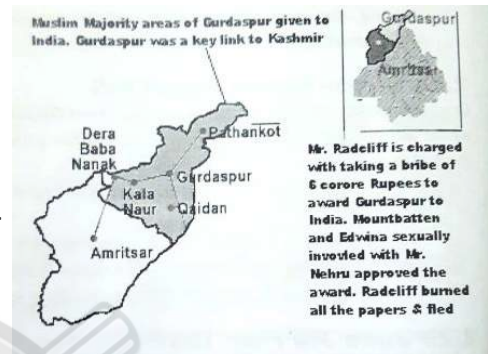
2.30 Radcliffe Award – 1947

It was necessary to set up a Boundary Commission to demarcate the boundaries between Pakistan and India.

Two Boundaries Commissions were set up one for Bengal and one for Punjab.

- Sir Cyril Radcliffe was the Chairman of both the Commissions.
- He demanded longer period for the demarcation but Mountbatten told him that he had only five weeks.
- The two main High Court Judges and two Hindu Judges were appointed for Punjab as the member of Boundary Commission and likewise were appointed in Bengal.
- These member of the Boundary Commission could not reach an agreement.
- Now the responsibility was given to Radcliffe to demarcate the boundary by himself.

- Radcliffe studied the reports of the meetings of the Boundary Commission and finally gave his own award known as the Radcliffe Award.
- It was very unjust and unfair award to Pakistan.
- In Bengal the city of Calcutta was the centre of commerce and trade on account of the labour of Muslims. without Calcutta the Muslim Bengal was the rural slum. Under the secret deal between the British and the Congress, Calcutta was given to India.
- The Muslim majority areas of Murshidabad, Nadia and Malda were also given to India.
- In Punjab, the Muslim majority districts of Gurdaspur, Ferozpur and Jullandar were given to India.
- This created huge difficulties for Pakistan.
- On account of the unjust Award. The Canal Water Dispute, the Kashmir Problem and the Refugee Problem took birth.
- This adjust Award paved the way of India's military intervention in Kashmir.



2.31 India Independence Act 1947

The bill was drafted and introduced in the House of Commons and on 16th July by House of Lords. Without amendment received the Royal assent on 18th July. The Act provided for the partition of India and the establishment of two Dominion of India and Pakistan on the Midnight of 14-15th August 1947.

The Act also Provided:

- Legislative supremacy of the two Dominions.
- Legislators were given full powers to make laws.
- British government had no control over the affairs of Dominions.
- Act terminated British authority over India.



Nehru, Lord Mountbatten and Quaid 1947

HAMZA M. ALI

A Child mis-educated is a child lost.



HAMZA M. ALI

A Child mis-educated is a child lost.

SECTION 3

NATIONHOOD 1947-99

3.1 After Independence 1947

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

3.2 Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Quaid Produced his fourteen Points in response of Nehru report to sort future constitution, to create provincial autonomy, to form 1/3rd Muslim representation in the central legislature with separate electorates for Muslims. So that no territorial re-adjustment could effect Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P.(KPK) and Muslims could have full religious liberty. Muslims could have proper share of the jobs in government service. The constitution could protect Muslim education, Language, religion and culture. Overall to safe guard the political, social and religious rights of the Muslims of the subcontinent.



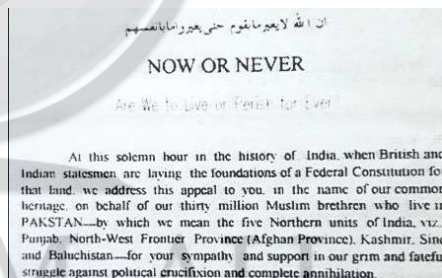
Allama Iqbal arriving for Allahabad Address

3.3 Allama Iqbal

Annual session of All India Muslim League, Allama Iqbal clarified two nation theory and demanded a Separate homeland. Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, Begal and Asaam as One Unit his speech got very popular and became the idea of Pakistan.

3.4 Chuadhry Rahmat Ali

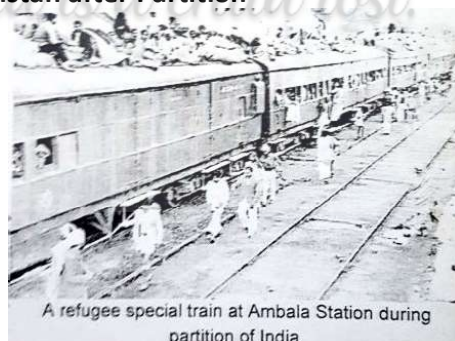
Chuadry Rahmat Ali suggested the name of Pakistan and formed a pamphlet "Now or Never", which was a final call for seprate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent. This played the role of a catalyst in Pakistan Movement.



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

3.5 Immediate (Initial or early) Problems faced by Pakistan after Partition

Hindus killed millions of Muslims and millions were pushed into newborn Pakistan Rehabilitation of Refugees. The refugees were in search of new homes, new lands and new relationship. On their way to Pakistan, millions of Muslims were massacred brutally by Hindus and Sikhs according to a plan. The Indian army was also involved in this mammoth genocide. There were no places to accommodate this growing number of refugees. There were no shops, no hospitals and no schools to fulfill basic needs of the refugees.



A refugee special train at Ambala Station during partition of India

Yet, Pakistan made sincere effort to rehabilitate the refugees. A new department was created for the rehabilitation of refugees. On this occasion Quaid-e-Azam gave a confidence building statement that Pakistan has come to stay and will stay

Other immediate Problems:

Formation of a Government: The first and foremost task for a new born country was to set up an administration for the government

Language Problem, Pakistan had to face a great difficulty in choosing an official language for the nation. Pakhtonistan Issue, After partition, the people of NWFP (KPK) created many problems. They thought that they were a separate nation and there should be an independent homeland for them.

Problem of Princely states, at the time of partition the Princely States were asked to join either Pakistan or India. When India forcibly annexed three Princely States of Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir, it created great problems for Pakistan.

Division of Financial and Military Assets, The division of assets proved to be a big problem. The Indian leaders adopted unfair, unjust and hostile attitude towards Pakistan. On financial side Pakistan was receive 750 million rupees. Pakistan was paid only 700 million rupees in installments and 50 million were never paid. The division of military assets was also a big problem. Pakistan extremely needed military equipment for defence but was not given adequate military.

The Canal Water Dispute, In 1948 India stopped the supply of water in canals coming out of River Ravi and Sutlej as their head works were in India. In 1960, Indus Water Treaty was signed between Pakistan and India. According to the Treaty, Jhelum and Chenab were given to Pakistan and Ravi, Sutlej and Beas were given to India.

CIE; Key Question 12: How far did Pakistan achieve stability following the death of Jinnah?

3.6 Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din 1948 – 51

- After the death of Quaid-e-Azam, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din became the new Governor General of Pakistan. At that time he was the Chief Minister of East Pakistan and the leader of the Muslim League.
- Liaquat Ali Khan was Prime Minister of Pakistan at that time



First Cabinet of Pakistan (1947)

3.7 Liaquat Ali Khan 1947 – 51

- Soon Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din realized that Liaquat Ali Khan had the confidence of the people. He stood back allowed Liaquat Ali Khan to run the country
- This is why, the role of Governor General became less important
- The first task that Liaquat Ali Khan had to do was to make a constitution in the years 1949 – 73?

What attempts were made to establish a new constitution in the years 1949 – 73?

3.8 The Objectives Resolution 1949

The Constitution Assembly set up Basic Principle Committee to make the principles on which the new constitution should be based. The findings of the Basic Principle Committee are called Objectives Resolution.

The main articles of the Objectives Resolution were as follows:

- 1) The Sovereignty over the whole universe belongs to Allah
- 2) The authority given by God is a sacred trust which will be used by the members of the assemblies in the light of Quran and Sunnah
- 3) There shall be Federal System of Government
- 4) Principles of democracy, equality, freedom and social justice as described by Islam shall be fully introduced

- 5) Efforts shall be made to enable the Muslims to lead their the according to the principles of Islam
- 6) Rights of minorities would be protected
- 7) All efforts would be made to develop the undeveloped areas
- 8) Fundamental rights of all citizens shall be protected
- 9) Judiciary shall be fully independent
- 10) The integrity of the territories of the Federation shall be safeguarded

What were the main achievements of the various ministries in the years 1948 – 58?

3.9 Ghulam Muhammad 1951 – 55

- After the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, Ghulam Muhammad became Governor General of Pakistan
- He was Finance Minister in the cabinet of Liaquat Ali Khan
- He persuaded Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din to become Prime Minister
- In 1950 he set up Planning Commission to see the economic development in Pakistan
- In 1951 Planning Commission launched a Six Year Plan for Pakistan
- In 1953 Ghulam Muhammad set up Planning Board to review the development in Pakistan
- In 1956 Draft Five Year Plan and the Six Year Plan played a major role to bring economic development in Pakistan
- In 1952 a big jute processing plant was set up in East Pakistan
- Huge reserve of Natural Gas at Sui in Balochistan were discovered
- There was severe drought in Pakistan and USA donated million tons of wheat to help Pakistan to overcome the food crisis

Constitutional Matters during his time:

A revised report of Basic Principles Committee was presented in 1952 by Prime Minister Nazim-ud-Din. It stated:

- 1) The Head of the State must be a Muslim
- 2) There should be The House of Units and The House of People
- 3) The House of Units would have 60 members from East Pakistan and 60 from West Pakistan
- 4) The House Of people would have 400 members with 200 elected from each wing
- 5) Religious minorities would have members at National and Provincial Assemblies
- 6) The cabinet was responsible to the National Assembly
- 7) The Head of the State would appoint a committee of Islamic scholars to make sure that all Law. Making was being done according to the principles of Islam
- 8) The National Assembly would decide the official language of the country

The proposals of the Basic Principles Committee were criticized, On account of criticism, constitution could not be made until 1956 during the time of Iskander Mirza

3.10 Muhammad Ali Bogra

- In 1953 Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din
- Ghulam Muhammad appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as new Prime Minister
- Bogra got millions of tons wheat from USA, Canada and Australia as a help
- He set up Planning Board to give Five Year Plan
- Bogra signed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). As a result he got lot of Western aid.
- When Ghulam Muhammad was out of the country, Bogra persuaded the Assembly to pass laws to limit the power of Governor General

- National Assembly cancelled PRODA Act and now Governor General could not remove the cabinet
- When Bogra was out of country, Ghulam Muhammad declared a state of emergency and dismissed the Assembly
- But surprisingly he re-appointed Bogra after some time
- In 1955 Ghulam Muhammad fell ill and had to resign

The One Unit policy was announced by Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra on 22 November 1954. On 5 October 1955 Iskander Mirza (Acting Governor General of Pakistan) passed an order unifying & merging all four provinces of West Pakistan in one homogeneous unit also known as the 'One Unit Scheme'

3.11 Major General Iskander Mirza 1955 – 58

- When Governor General Ghulam Muhammad resigned, Iskander Mirza became the acting Governor General
- He Dismissed Bogra and appoint Chaudhry Muhammad Ali as new Prime Minister of Pakistan
- He directed Muhammad Ali to make the constitution quickly

3.12 1956 Pakistan's first Constitution

In 1956 Pakistan's first constitution came into being

- The constitution was a compromise between the two political parties the Muslim League and the United Front
- Bengali was accepted as an official language
- The constitution could not last long
- In 1958 Iskander Mirza annulled the new constitution by imposing Martial Law
- Iskander Mirza had lost the support of the politicians of Pakistan
- He turned to the military
- He asked General Ayub Khan to take charges as Chief Martial Law Administrator
- He also appointed Ayub Khan as Prime Minister then Ayub Khan forced Iskander Mirza to resign
- Thus, the first military rule began

3.13 Ayub Khan 1958 – 69

After Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, political turmoil took birth so seriously that the development of the country stood still. Uncertainty prevailed everywhere. Politician had lost their credibility. These were the circumstance in which Ayub Khan had to impose Martial Law and to take over the government

- In 1959 Ayub Khan introduced Basic Democracy
- BD System was a system in which ordinary people elected Union council Members, and Union Councils Members elected District and Divisional Members
- BD System became the part of 1962 constitution
- According to the 1962 constitution, 80,000 elected BD Members formed the Electoral College to elect the President and the Members of the national and Provincial Assemblies
- 95% of the BD members gave the vote of confidence to Ayub Khan
- After receiving the vote of confidence, Ayub Khan set up a Constitution Commission to frame a new constitution

3.14 The Constitution of 1962

Ayub Khan declared the new constitution as "Combination of democracy with discipline"

The main features of the constitution are:

- 1) The President could not be removed unless impeached
 - 2) The President set up the cabinet of the members of the National Assembly
 - 3) The President nominated the heads of the Supreme Court and High Courts and Governors of the Provinces
 - 4) The National Assembly could not pass a law without the approval of the President
- The New National Assembly removed the ban on political parties
 - New constitution increased the power of the ruling elite class
 - The big landlords dominated the BD System
 - The New Constitution upset the people of East Pakistan
 - East thought that they had no say in governing the country
 - Soon the people of Bengal realized that the military government and the civil bureaucracy were languages

What were the achievements of the 'Decade of Progress', 1958 – 69?

The Decade of Development (Agriculture Reforms)

- Ayub Khan took number of steps for economic and social reforms
- Ayub Khan's agricultural reforms were very successful
- Agricultural production doubled between 1960 and 1965
- High yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers and mechanized farming were successfully introduced
- In 1960 Indus Water Treaty was signed with India, Rivers Indus, Chenab and Jhelum were given to Pakistan whereas India was given River Ravi Sutlej and Beas
- Pakistan built large dams, barrages and link canals
- Now lot of irrigation water was available
- Many tube wells were installed to control water logging

Green Revolution Land Reforms

In 1959 Land Reforms were enforced. In this regard following steps were taken:

- 1) Subdivision of land was prohibited
 - 2) No farm could be smaller than 12.5 acres
 - 3) The maximum ownership was fixed at 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 of non-irrigated land
 - 4) The excess land was taken away from big landlords and distributed among landless farmers
- However these land reforms were not successful because BD was ruled by many landlords

Industrial Reforms

- Industries made great progress
- For this purpose import of technology was done on large scale
- New industries were given tax holiday
- Tariff was imposed on imported goods
- Aid and loans from foreign countries were arranged
- As a result the industrial production was doubled

Educational Reforms

- Ayub Khan also started educational reforms to increase literacy rate
 - New syllabus was prepared for schools
 - A large number of schools and colleges were opened
 - Technical and female education was given more attention
- To cut a long story, Ayub's agricultural reforms were very successful

Political Turmoil

- In 1965 a war broke out between Pakistan and India over Kashmir
- The war ended in draw as neither side won
- The Peace Treaty at Tashkent sow the seeds of doubt in the minds of people as to how Pakistan had won the war as Ayub was claiming
- Instead of calling for the new election, Ayub handed over the power to the army General Yahya Khan

3.15 General Yahya Khan 1969 – 71

General Yahya Khan imposed Martial Law. Yahya Khan declared that:

- A. Basic Democracy was not successful
 - B. There should be proper elected government
 - C. One Unit Scheme was declared null and void
- Yahya Khan was determined to bring democracy to Pakistan
 - He re-established the four provinces of Pakistan
 - In 1970 he lifted ban on political activities
 - He announced elections to be held in October 1970
 - The elections were postponed on account of severe flooding in East Pakistan
 - Finally elections were held on 7 December 1970
 - The shocking results of the elections created political crisis in Pakistan
 - The political crisis split Pakistan into two countries

3.16 Causes of the Separation of East Pakistan

CIE; Key Question 13: Why did East Pakistan seek independence and then from the independent state of Bangladesh?

During the struggle of Pakistan, the people of Bengal gave a number of sacrifices. Lahore Resolution was presented by Fazal-ul-Haq the Chief Minister of Bengal. The people of Bengal believed that when Pakistan would come into being, Bengal would be the center of new state. They thought that Bengali would be the national & official language. Their hopes were dashed to the ground when Karachi became the capital of Pakistan. Urdu was declared to be the national language of the country. Urdu was spoken by 6% of the people of Pakistan whereas Bengali was the mother tongue of 56% of the people. After many protests, Bengali language was recognized as the official language along with Urdu in 1956.

- The culture of East Pakistan & West Pakistan was different
- East Pakistan was poorer than West Pakistan
- The Bengalis strongly believed that their earnings from jute were being spent in West Pakistan
- Per capita income increased in West Pakistan, but it went down in East Pakistan

- The Bengalis resources were being used to improve the economy of West Pakistan
- Faster industries development in West Pakistan as compared to East Pakistan
- East Pakistan industries belonged to the industrialists of West Pakistan
- There was continuous transfer of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan
- Most of the banks, insurance companies and big commercial centers had their head offices at Karachi
- Great disparity in health and education between the two wings
- Bengalis complained that they had majority in National Assembly, but Governor Generals and Prime Minister were from West Pakistan
- Three prime ministers from East Pakistan were unjustly dismissed
- The behavior of West Pakistan officers was hateful and humiliating with the Bengalis High positions in Armed forces, in government and civil service were in the hands of West Pakistan
- When deadly cyclone hit East Pakistan in 1970, West Pakistan made no significant relief programme. India offered to help East Pakistan, but the government refused and this enraged the Bengalis

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in Crore rupees)	Amount spent on West as percentage of total (%)	Spending on East Pakistan (in Crore rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of total (%)
% of total population		36.23		63.77
1950-55	1,129	68.31	524	31.69
1955-60	1,655	75.95	524	24.05
1960-65	3,355	70.5	1,404	29.5
1965-70	5,195	70.82	2,141	29.18
Total	11,334	71.16	4,593	28.84

A statistical overview of economic discrimination b/w West & East is shown in this table

What roles did sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and the Awami League play in the independence movement?

In 1970 National Assembly Elections were held, but proved to be disastrous. The Awami League won the elections on the basis of Six Points. The Awami League won 160 seats whereas PPP of Bhutto won 81 seats. The Awami League had decisive majority in the National Assembly to form the government. Now the future Prime Minister would be from East Pakistan. The Awami League also wanted to limit the powers of the Central Government over the provinces. This was the situation which West Pakistan and Yahya Khan could not tolerate. Mujeeb's Six Points were also the root cause of the political crisis.

Mujeeb's Six Points:

- 1) A directly elected government
- 2) The Federal Government would control Defence and Foreign Affairs and the rest of the matters would be solved by the Provinces
- 3) Separate currencies for East Pakistan
- 4) The provinces would tax their people
- 5) Each province could make its own trade agreements with other countries
- 6) Each province would have its own troops

Meanwhile Bhutto announced that PPP would not go to the National Assembly unless Mujeeb talked to the other parties to reach an agreement about power sharing, Yahya had to postpone the opening session of the National Assembly. The Bengalis launched mass protests.

How did Bangladesh achieve independence in 1971?

- Yahya appointed General Tikka Khan as Chief Martial law Administrator
- Yahya launched Operation Searchlight to crush Bengali nationalism, through this operation, yahya wanted to crush opposition to his government
- Mujeeb was arrested and thousands of Bengalis were murdered
- All political activities were banned and press censorship was imposed
- All the political activities were banned and press censorship was imposed
- All the political parties in West Pakistan supported the steps taken by Yahya Khan
- Meanwhile India began to help and train a rebel Bengali army called Mukti Bhaini
- A war between India and Pakistan became inevitable
- Pakistan Air Force attacked Northern India
- In response India attacked East Pakistan from air, ground and sea
- The Pakistan Army attacked Kashmir and Punjab to divert Indian attention, but it was not successful
- Soon Yahya accepted defeat and ordered the army in East Pakistan to surrender

Geographical distance between the two countries was also an important cause for the separation of East Pakistan. East Pakistan was at the distance of 1600km from West Pakistan. Between East and West Pakistan there was hostile Indian Territory. There was no direct and safe route between the two Wings. Eventually, East Pakistan got separated and announced new state name Bangladesh.



1971 instrument of Surrender

3.17 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto 1971–77

CIE; Key Question 14: How successful was Pakistan in the twenty years following the 'Decade of Progress'? Bhutto came to power as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. It was a very critical time for Pakistan. In West Pakistan PPP was a majority party. Bhutto used the majority of his party to bring about changes in Pakistan. Bhutto tried to limit the power of the army by removing the most important leaders of army. It was the need of time to establish the diplomatic relations with India to get back the **prisoners of war**.

Bhutto signed the Simla Agreement with the Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi. In return India got promise that Kashmir issue would be discussed directly with India and not in International Forums.



Simla Agreement Signed

3.18 1973 Constitution

Another task for Bhutto was to make a new constitution for Pakistan. A committee of the members of the National Assembly was set up to draw up a new constitution. The new constitution was unanimously adopted and signed by the all parties. It was enforced in the country in 1973. Bhutto's constitutional reforms were the most important of all of his domestic reforms.

- The new constitution was a federal form of government
- Provincial autonomy was guaranteed

- The two houses were created : The Senate and The National Assembly
- The National Assembly had the term of five years elected by direct elections
- The Senate had equal number of seats for all provinces & the members of the Senate were to be elected through indirect elections
- The new constitution gave more power to the Prime Minister
- The Prime minister was the executive head of the state and the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly
- The President was to work on the advice of the Prime Minister
- According to the constitution both Prime Minister and President must be Muslim
- The new constitution guaranteed all fundamental and basic rights
- The constitution revived the power of the National Assembly
- Political parties became more important
- Though many amendments were made from time to time, the constitution of 1973 is still working

How successful were the policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971-77?

Bhutto had made promise “Food Shelter and Clothing” during his election campaign. He was to raise food production, create more jobs and provide a better welfare system

Industrial Reforms:

Bhutto wanted to promote economic growth Sugar, rice, vegetable oil industries together with the banking and insurance sectors were nationalized. He set up Pakistan Steel Mill with the help of USSR at Pipri Karachi. Furthermore industries were nationalized in 1976. His Industrial reforms proved to be ineffective and disastrous. The industries were totally mismanaged and mills went into losses. Industrial expansion came to stand still. Businessmen stopped investing into new industrial projects.

Agricultural Reforms:

Bhutto introduced agricultural reforms. The maximum land ownership was reduced to 150 acres of irrigated and 300 hundred acres of non-irrigated land. The surplus land be distributed among landless peasants to make better profits. These reforms provided security of tenure and now no tenant could be evicted by the landlord. The landowners were very powerful and they made the reforms totally ineffective.

Educational Reforms :

- Bhutto launched a big literacy programme
- Many Primary Schools were opened & primary education was made free
- All private schools and colleges were nationalized to modernize and restructure education

His educational reforms were also not successful because free primary education did not attract poor families to send their children to schools. Children were a source a income for poor families and they could not afford that their children should go to school. People from rural areas did not see the need for education. Nationalism of private schools and colleges became the cause of overcrowding & resulted in the decline for the standard of education. Required number of schools could not be opened due to lack of funds. Trained teachers were also not available. As a result his educational reforms also met failure.

Health Reforms

Bhutto launched a health care scheme to correct the health sector

- **Rural Health** and Basic Health units were opened
- There was shortage of doctors and nurses

- The sale of medicines under brand names was banned
- The objective was to reduce the cost of medicine
- Consequently many international drug companies closed down their businesses in Pakistan. As a result the income of the chemists fell
- Local companies started producing sub-standard drugs
- His health Care Schemes also failed

Bhutto also wanted to modernize the Civil Service Sector. He felt that the Civil Services of Pakistan was corrupt and inefficient. He took steps to make the Civil Services Sector efficient. He faced criticism and made no move on civil servants. But his constitutional reforms were most important and successful

The Elections 1977:

In 1977 Bhutto announced general election. Bhutto was confident that he would win election against ineffective opposition. As election was announced, nice opposition parties combined to form Pakistan National Alliance (PNA).

On the points opposition parties united:

1. End the rule of Bhutto
2. Enforce Islamic Laws to run the country

PNA was successful in arranging huge election rallies. The election results were very disturbing for PNA. PPP won landslide victory and gained 154 seats out of 200. PNA got only 38 seats. PNA accused Bhutto for holding rigged election. Mass protests started that paralyzed the Bhutto regime. PNA demanded new election & Bhutto refused. Rioting spread in many towns and cities. Bhutto's own made Federal Security Force (FSF) could not control the strikes. Bhutto had to negotiate PNA. So, he offered fresh elections in disputed constituencies. At the same time Bhutto turned to the army for help and declared state of emergency and PNA leadership was arrested.

Bringing the army into politics was Bhutto's dangerous move. The army leadership took it as Bhutto's weakness. The Chief of Army Staff General Zia-ul-Haq dismissed Bhutto government. General Zia dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies and imposed Martial Law.



Bhutto at UN Security Council

Causes of the Downfall of Bhutto:

Why was Bhutto executed in 1878?

Businessmen and landowners were bitterly against his economic policies and land reforms. Many people criticized his educational reforms because the reforms had destroyed the academic standard in good schools. Religious groups condemned his secular way of governing. He put his opponents into jail. He made FSF to crush the opposition. He was accused of killing Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan the father of his own party member Ahmed Raza Qasori who was opposing Bhutto. His slogan "Food, shelter and Clothing" remained slogan and he did nothing for the purpose. These were the reasons that became the cause of his downfall and tragic end of sentenced death.

3.19 General Zia-ul-Haq 1977 – 1988

How successful were the policies of Zia-ul-Haq 1977 – 88?

General Zia-ul-Haq took control of Pakistan on 5 July 1977, He imposed Martial Law and dismissed Bhutto government and assemblies. He suspended constitution. He accused Bhutto of misuse of power and corruption. He announced that corrupt PPP leaders would be made accountable and punished. Meanwhile Bhutto was arrested on the charges of murdering the father of his political opponent through FSF. In the beginning Bhutto was released on bail, but soon he was rearrested Bhutto found

guilty and the court awarded him sentence to death. Many countries pleaded to Zia for Bhutto's life, but Zia was unmoved. Bhutto was hanged on 4th April 1979 in Rawalpindi Jail, here Zia wanted to show that he was not a weak leader.

- There was a rebellion in Balochistan. Zia declared an amnesty who lay down arms, hence there was peace in Balochistan & Zia established good relations with the Baloch tribal leaders & introduced development projects in Balochistan to get support
- He disbanded the FSF
- Military officers were inducted into civil service
- Bhutto government corruption was investigated
- Zia knew that majority of the people of Pakistan are religious minded
- Zia thought that the enforcement of Islamic Laws would win the support of the religious people

USSR Invasion of Afghanistan:

- USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979 & Pakistan became frontline state in preventing Soviet aggression and the spread of communism
- Zia portrayed his government as Pro-Islamic that was fighting against the Unbelievers Communists. He move also won the support of West
- The West and USA provided unconditional economic and military support to Pakistan
- Pakistan was given huge amount of money to develop Pak. Army. Zia increased the defence budget and built up very effective military force in the region

Economic Reforms:

On account of the influx of funds, Zia was able to start many economics reforms

- During that time it was estimated that overseas Pakistanis were sending \$4 billion that also helped Zia to his economic reforms
- Zia built investors' confidence in Pakistan's industry
- Growth rate in the Gross National Product (GNP) was the highest in the world
- Zia denationalized many companies that were nationalized by the Bhutto regime
- Zia assured the investors that there would be no future nationalization
- As a result industrialization started going up
- Interest-free loans were given to farmers to help agriculture sector
- Karachi Steel Mill was completed
- Completion of Karakoram highway was a great achievement
- On the whole Zia's economic reforms were successful of all his reforms

On account of Soviet invasion, there was an influx of Afghan refugees pouring into Pakistan. This massive migration caused many problems for Pakistan. Afghan war brought drug and Kalashnikov culture in Pakistan.



Protest against Zia's Policies

Zia's Islamization:

- Zia promulgated Islamic Laws called Hadood Ordinances
- Hadood Ordinances introduced Islamic Punishments for gambling, drinking, theft and adultery

- For adultery the punishment was stoning to death, A Muslim who found drinking alcohol, would be punished with 80 strokes of cane False allegation or Qazaf declared to be a punishable offence
- A new offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet was introduced with imprisonment or fine
- Zakat and Usher Ordinance was enforced in 1980 for collection and distribution of Zakat
- Interest Free Banking was enforced in 1981
- A Federal Shariat court was set up to review existing Islamic laws
- Council of Islamic Ideology was established to Islamize the Society
- Teaching of Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory from schools and colleges to post-graduate level
- Efforts were made for the promotion of Arabic language

Zia's Islamic Reforms were not successful as they could not be implemented. No Islamic punishment was awarded. Interest-free banking was only a paper work. Zakat system opened the gate of corruption as its benefit could not reach the deserving people properly. Women were discouraged to work in public places. Women were effected by the introduction of Haddood Ordinances

- Zia also tried to curtail the power of the courts
- He promulgated Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO)
- Under the PCO, the judges were not allowed to give judgment on constitutional matters
- When the judges protested, they were replaced
- He created nominated assembly called Majlis-e-Shoora
- Except economic reforms no other reforms could attract the public
- Zia held mock referendum which allowed him to continue as president for five years

In 1983 Zia announced elections to be held in 1985 on non-party basis. Zia wanted to keep the political parties out of the elections so that he could continue as president. The political parties asked the people to boycott the elections. The people ignored the political parties and took part in the elections under Zia's rules. The elections proved to be a victory to Zia. An obedient assembly was elected without PPP. Zia chose a Sindhi Muhammad Khan Junejo as prime minister to counter PPP. Junejo was an uncontroversial person and was acceptable to many people. The new party was formed under the name of Muslim League. Junejo made the Muslim League a power with the help of the Chief Minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif. On December 1985 Zia lifted Martial Law. The 1973 Constitution was restored after making amendments.

- The English Amendment gave Zia power to dismiss the Prime Minister and the Assemblies. After the start of political process, it became difficult for Zia to govern
- Drug trafficking increased on alarming rates
- Killing and violence became common in Karachi

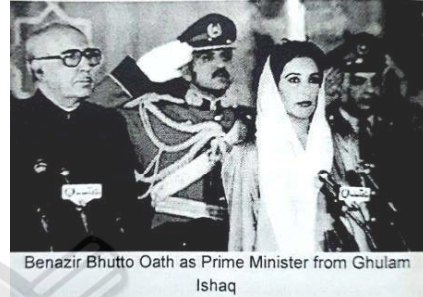
Why was he assassinated

- The Super Power were trying to resolve their differences
- USSR decided to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan & in return USA stopped helping the Afghan Mujahidin
- Junejo called an "All Party Conference" to discuss the situation in Afghanistan Zia and army were not happy over this
- In 1988 an army weapons dump at Ojhri Camp blew up and hundreds of civilians were killed. PM Junejo announced an enquiry and promised to punish those who were responsible
- Zia and army could not bear this, as a result Zia dismissed Junejo and the Assemblies
- On 17th August 1988, Zia's plane crashed near Bhawalpur. Everyone on board including the American ambassador were killed

3.20 Benazir Bhutto

CIE; Key Question 15: How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the 20th century?

After Zia's death in 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the President of Pakistan. He announced that elections on Party basis. During Zia's time, she was either in the jail or went into exile. When she returned in 1986, she was greeted with warm welcome. She was co-chairperson of PPP. In 1988, PPP emerged in the elections as the largest party. PPP got landslide victory in Sindh but not other three provinces. Benazir form a coalition government with the help of MQM Benazir Bhutto became the first Muslim woman Prime Minister. Her opponent party was IJI led by Nawaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of Punjab. Nawaz Sharif gave Benazir Bhutto very tough time.



How successful were the policies of Benazir Bhutto, 1988 – 90, 1993 – 96?

- She took some steps by ending ban on trade unions and releasing political prisoners
- She allowed students' unions in the colleges and universities
- She tried to spread electricity to rural areas
- Made no law for welfare services or help of women
- She also could not make law to reserve Hudood and Zina Ordinances
- Her government could not deal properly with drug mafia and drug trafficking
- ZA. Bhutto preferred Sindhi's to Urdu speaking Muhajirs and made Sindhi language a compulsory in schools
- In 1988 Sindhi Militants on motorbikes opened fire at a crowd of Muhajirs in Hyderabad and killed 250 people. This became the cause of riots in Karachi and resulted in hundreds of more deaths. MQM ended its alliance with PPP. The Sindh government launched crackdown in Hyderabad that was the centre of MQM power. Sindh police started house-to-house search operation. The Muhajirs were very angry over this treatment and fighting broke out. 31 women and children were killed. The operation is known as Pucca Qila Massacre. In retaliations the violence took the lives of more 300 people in Karachi and other part of Sindh
- Her Foreign Policy was successful. She took Pakistan into the Common wealth. She hosted SAARC conference in 1988, it Islamabad. Pakistan and India signed three peace agreements. When she went to USA in 1989, it proved to be very successful visit.
- Despite all this, her opponents alleged that her government was involved in massive corruption
- Her husband Asif Zardari was accused of Mr. Ten Percent on taking bribe on large scale. PPP rejected these allegation and declared Asif Zardari to be innocent
- Education and health schemes could not progress because of inflation, unemployment and rapid increase in population
- Consequently her government lost support on account of poor performance on providing employment and development programme
- Benazir had to face unsuccessful No-Confidence Motion in the National Assembly just 11 months after taking office
- Soon conflicts and clashes took birth between Benazir and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. She wanted to appoint Military Heads and the judges of the Courts. Ishaq Khan was of the view that

such appointments were the right of the President. Ishaq Khan refused to agree to many appointments

- Seeing all this, President Ishaq Khan used Eight Amendment and dismissed the Benazir Government
- Mustafa Jatoi was appointed caretaker Prime Minister
- In the elections, IJI under Nawaz Sharif won the election with majority
- Benazir alleged rigging in the elections
- Benazir became the opposition leader in the National Assembly

Benazir Bhutto Second Tenure as PM 1993–96

- PPP won 1993 elections and Benazir Bhutto became PM for the second time
- With the help of independent parties, Benazir formed a coalition government
- Benazir nominated Farooq Leghari as the next President of Pakistan. Farooq Leghari was the member of PPP
- During Elections, She announced women police station, courts and banks but not made
- Nawaz and his party PMLN did their best to topple Benazir government Nawaz started Train March and organized strikes throughout in Pakistan
- Many opposition leaders who were taking part in strikes were arrested
- Benazir did not have good relations with the family of her father Bhutto. Nusrat Bhutto wanted to make her son. Mir Murtaza Bhutto as the PPP leader. Murtaza Bhutto was bitterly criticizing Asif Zardari for corruption
- In 1996 Murtaza Bhutto was shot dead by the police in Karachi. No involved policeman was arrested. A Judicial Commission suggested that the PPP government was involved in the killing of Murtaza Bhutto
- Support for Benazir rapidly went down
- Her economic policies also could not produce effective results
- As compared to the US dollar, Pakistani rupee decreased 30% in value
- Her privatization policy could not work
- Her difficulties increased when USA imposed military and financial embargo
- Though President Farooq Leghari was from PPP, dismissed her government on the charges of corruption and mismanagement
- Leghari appointed Mervat Mehdi as caretaker Prime Minister
- Elections were held in 1997

3.21 Nawaz Sharif – First period as PM 1990–93

How successful were the policies of Nawaz Sharif, 1990-93, 1997-99?

Nawaz Sharif, 1990-93:

- When Nawaz came to power, he declared to industrialize Pakistan. He believed that through industrial growth, he would be able to remove poverty in Pakistan
- He wanted to use natural resources and manpower to modernize the country
- He followed the policy of privatization of the



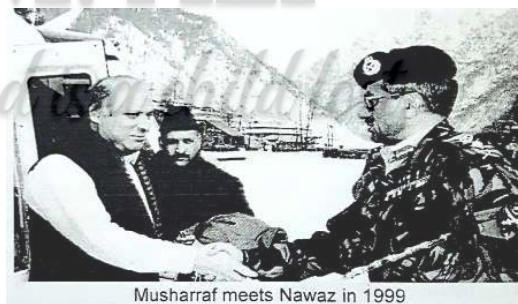
Nawaz Sharif Prime Minister Oath from Ghulam Ishaq

industries to boost the economy. Shipping company, electricity supply, airlines and telecommunication opened up to the private sector

- Introduced big projects like Ghazi Barotha Hydro Power Project and Gawader Port Balochistan
- He provided thousands of Yellow Taxis on cheap loans to the jobless persons to reduce unemployment. This scheme could not produce required results on account of mismanagement and corruption
- Nawaz Sharif got built Motorway to provide the landlocked Central Asian States an access to the seaports
- Financial crisis worsened when the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) collapsed in 1991
- Investors lost huge amount of money
- Co-operative Societies scandal also brought defame to Nawaz Government. These societies had given billions of rupees in loans to Nawaz Sharif family's Ittefaq Group. These societies collapsed and bankrupt
- Law and order situation in Sindh became uncontrollable
- Kidnapping, bombing and murders were common
- The Kalashnikov culture and drug addiction went on up alarmingly
- Nawaz government failed badly to control all this
- He brought Shariat Bill to make the Quran and Sunnah the law of the country
- Nawaz came into open conflict with President Ishaq Khan
- On the question of appointing new Chief of Army Staff, clash with President grew deeper and deeper
- The eighth Amendment gave power to the President to dismiss Prime Minister and the Assembly. Nawaz wanted to revoke the Eighth Amendment. In 1993 President Ishaq dismissed Nawaz and his government with the help of the Eighth Amendment
- But, the Supreme Court declared President's action as unconstitutional and restored Nawaz government. It became obvious that President and Prime Minister could not go together
- On the intervention of the army, both President and PM had to resign
- Wasim Sajjad became the acting President and M.A Qureshi caretaker Prime Minister

Nawaz Sharif Second Tenure as PM 1997-99:

- The first work Nawaz Sharif did was to introduce the Thirteenth Amendment. The Authority of the President to dismiss the PM and the National Assembly was removed under the Thirteenth Amendment. The President also lost of power to appoint the three chiefs of staff of the armed forces & provincial governors
- All the political to stop politicians from switching parties under the fourteenth Amendment
- In 1997 the supporters of Nawaz Sharif stormed the Supreme Court and stopped proceedings against Nawaz Sharif on corruption charges
- Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah had to run away for this safety
- President Leghari was asked to remove the Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah. Instead of removing the Chief Justice, Leghari resigned
- M Rafiq Tarar the PMLN candidate was elected the new president
- Sajjad Ali Shah was dismissed



Musharraf meets Nawaz in 1999

- In 1998 in response to India's nuclear tests, Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in Balochistan. On international level, the nuclear tests of Pakistan were seriously criticized. USA and Japan imposed economic sanctions. The economy of Pakistan came near to collapse
- Nawaz Sharif had to increase Oil prices
- Then Chief of Army Staff Jehangir Karamat suggested that he should be given a position on the National security Council of Pakistan. On this Nawaz forced Jehangir Karamat to resign
- General Pervaz Musharraf was appointed new Chief of the Army Staff
- Nawaz introduced the Fifteenth Amendment which gave all authority to the Prime Minister to enforce the Islamic Laws
- Kargil Conflict was a last nail in the coffin of Nawaz government. In 1999 Pakistani troops tried to get control of Kargil region of Kashmir. First Pakistan denied any involvement in Kargil. Soon, it was revealed that it was a well-planned military action. After heavy fighting, Pakistan had to retreat. Pakistan lost 4000 soldiers in this conflict. The army and Nawaz government blamed each other. Defeat at Kargil was a great setback for Nawaz government
- Nawaz tried to get the support of the US President Bill Clinton, but it was of no use
- Nawaz feared a coup from General Musharraf
- Musharraf was returning from Sri Lanka, Nawaz ordered not to allow General Musharraf's plane to land
- He appointed the Head of the ISI as the new Chief of Army Staff. The army refused to accept him
- Army took over the control of Karachi Air Port and allowed Musharraf's plane to land
- Musharraf took control of the government and dismissed Nawaz government
- Nawaz was tried in the Plane Conspiracy and was sentenced to life Imprisonment. On the request of Saudi Royal Family, Nawaz was exiled to Saudi Arabia

3.22 General Pervez Musharraf 1999-2008

Why did General Musharraf take power in 1999?

In 1998 Nawaz Sharif appointed him as Chief of the Army staff. After dismissal of Nawaz government Musharraf came to power. He took the office as Chief Executive and later he became President. He alleged Nawaz regime for the rising crime and lawlessness, using police force to curb the opposition, storming the Supreme court, undermining the economy, increasing sectarian violence and accepting defeat at Kargil

Musharraf accused Nawaz Sharif of setting up a parliamentary Dictatorship through constitutional amendments Musharraf gave 7 point agenda of his government

- 1) Rebuild national confidence
- 2) Strengthen the federation
- 3) Revive the economy and build the confidence of the investors
- 4) Guarantee law and order to ensure speedy justice
- 5) Depoliticize state institutions
- 6) Transfer power to grassroots level
- 7) Make sure rapid accountability without across the board

Political parties accepted Musharraf. He allowed the political parties to carry on their activities.

Newspapers were allowed to criticize those government policies that were not in favor of the nation. He allowed Private TV channels to be set up and function independently. Earlier USA & West did not like Musharraf takeover and suspended Pakistan from the commonwealth and USA discontinued aid to Pakistan but after the terrorist attack on Twin Towers 11 September 2001, now USA and the West were in need to Pakistan. USA lifted sanctions against Pakistan. Pakistan was permitted to buy latest American

Military Technology. Economy of Pakistan was improving & Musharraf became popular. After February 2008 Elections Musharraf had to vacate his seat.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF PAKISTAN

CIE; Key Question 16: How important has Pakistan's role been in world affairs since 1947?



Pakistan's Relations with India

1948-49:	Kashmir Issue and ceasefire, India stops Pakistan's Water supply. An agreement over Bengal and Assam border
1950:	Liaquat Nehru Pact for the minorities in both countries
1965:	India Pakistan War
1971:	Another War, East Pakistan gets separated
1972:	Simla Accord/Pact
1987:	Threat of War from India
1988-89:	Good relations with the democratic set up
1998:	Kargal Issue; Relations deteriorate
1999-2007:	Good relations in Musharraf Government
2007-11:	Upright relations with the Zardari Government
2010:	Aman ke Asha to create peace

Pakistan's Relations with Bangladesh

1971:	Very bitter relations, Pakistan stated to break bonds with any country ready to recognize Bangal as a separate country
1974:	Pakistan Invites Shiekh Mujib on the Islamic Summit Conference. Both countries agreed to have friendly relations. Both are members of SAARC
1974:	Bhutto visits Bangladesh and division of Assets are discussed

- 1975:** Shiekh Mujib Assassinated and the new leader tries to improve the relations further but refuses to withdraw claim over assets.
- 1985 and 88:** Bangladesh hit by severe storm, Pakistan becomes the first country to contribute for them.
- 1990's:** Pakistan Bangladesh cricket matches
- 2013:** Pakistan opposes execution of Jamat-e-Islami Leaders by Bangladesh.

Pakistan's Relations with Afghanistan



- 1947:** Unfriendly relations due to border dispute of Wakhan Strip. Afghanistan Opposes Pakistan's membership in UNO
- 1955:** Relations further deteriorate due to Afghanis attacking on Pakistan Embassy at Kabul
- 1956:** Iskandar Mirza visits Afghanistan to normalize the relations
- 1965-71:** Afghanistan does not support Pakistan in Wars against India but remains neutral
- 1974:** ZAB visits Afghanistan
- 1979-88:** Good relations because of Pakistan aid Russian invasion and Ceasefire
- 1988-92:** Civil War Breaks in Afghanistan and Pakistan helps information of Mujahiddin Government
- 1992:** Pakistan supported Burhan-ud-Din Rabbani Government
- 1996:** Very good relations with Multan Omar Government
- 1993-99:** Upright relations with Mujahidin Government
- 2000-01:** Relations deteriorate because Musharraf supports America on 9/11 incident
- 2008-11:** Better relations than Musharraf's government and many pacts are signed

Pakistan's Relation with Iran



Very good relation since ancient times due to Ottoman. Empire and Islamic Bond. Iran is the first to Acknowledge Pakistan's existence.

- 1947:** Iran is the first to acknowledge Pakistan's existence
- 1949:** Pakistan's PM visits Iran
- 1955:** Iran and Iraq join Pakistan in Baghdad Pact
- 1964:** Both countries join RCD (Regional Cooperation Development)
- 1965-71:** Iran supports Pakistan in the Wars
- 1972-73:** ZAB's Government and relations remain good
- 1979:** Iranian Revolution and Pakistan supports it & tries to establish good terms with me new government
- 1985:** RCD is restructured and made more effective
- 1985-88:** Good relations under G. Zia
- 1988:** Benazir Government, Very confined Relations
- 1998-99:** Upright relations
- 1999-07:** Not very good relations due to nuclear Issue and American pressure on Pakistan to turn against Iran

Pakistan's Relations with China

- 1949:** China becomes Independent
- 1952:** Diplomatic relations between the countries begin. Pakistan supports China to get UNO membership
- 1959:** Pakistan condemned the military action in Tibet
- 1960's:** A \$60 Million long Term interest free loan regarding import of machinery

1961-62:	China applied for permanent membership of Security Council. Pakistan supports this act
1962:	Pakistan support to China in China-India War
1963:	Boundary Agreement in 1963, China allows PIA to use Chinese air ports and provided with loans
1965-71:	China supports Pakistan in the wars against India
1964:	Karakorum Highway for better trade established
1986:	Civil treaty nuclear cooperation
1993-2000:	Pakistan fully supports religious movement in China
2000-07:	Good Relations with Musharraf Government, many treaties signed

Pakistan's Relations with USSR



1947:	Pakistan joins UNO, Russia dislike this
1949:	Visit of Liaquat Ali to USA rather than USSR harms initial relations
1950:	Russia begins to support India over Kashmir Issue
1954:	Joining SEATO with USA widens the gulf
1954:	Pakistan joins Anti-Communist Pact which angers Russia
1956:	Rejecting Aid from USSR further harms relations
1960:	Pakistan accepts Soviet assistance in search of Water and Mineral but U2 Crises Harms the relations
1961:	Soviet Oil Exploration in Pakistan
1963:	Pakistan receives Pound 11 Million loan
1965:	Improvement in relation because Pakistan leaves SEATO and CENTO and also the visit of Ayub Khan makes it better
1968:	Soviet Arms supply to Pakistan
1972:	ZAB's Gov. tries to improve relations by signing agreement to build Steel Mill in Pakistan and visiting USSR

1978-88:	Relations deteriorate because of Russian Invasion over Afghanistan
1989-1999:	Better relations with the 4 democratic govt
2000-2007:	Unstable relations because Pakistan supports America over the War of Terrorism

Pakistan's Relations with US

1947:	Pakistan joins UNO and becomes Pro American Country
1950:	PM Liaquat Ali visits United States
1955:	Pakistan sign SEATO and CENTO for military and economics aid of Defense
1956:	Pakistan supports USA spy Mission. U2 issue weakens relation
1962:	Relations in strain because US given aid to India in war against China
1965 & 71:	Pakistan gets no military aid. Therefore, Pakistan leaves SEATO and CENTO
1972-74:	Not good relations with Bhutto government and Nuclear Issue
1977-79:	Earlier Zia gets no support and relations remain bad and gets no further aid
1979-89:	Very good relations with the democratic government
1998-99:	Bad relations because of Nuclear bomb testing by Pakistan
2000-08:	Very good relations with Musharraf government
2008-11:	Very upright relations

Pakistan and the Middle East Countries

Pakistan has close relations with Turkey and the Muslim countries in the Middle East. These relations are important for religious, strategic, political and economic reasons. It was the ideology of the founder of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam wanted to have good relations with the Muslim countries. Since its creation Pakistan followed a foreign policy based on creating unity among Muslim countries. Except Afghanistan, Pakistan did not have any major dispute with the Islamic countries.

- **1948:** Pakistan supports Palestine cause actively
- **1955:** Pakistan, Turkey & Iraq join the Baghdad Pact
- **1969:** Pakistan joins the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC)
- **1974:** Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore
- **1970's:** Libya and Gulf States invested heavily in Pakistan as they have large reserve of oil invaded Afghanistan; Saudi Arabia provided funds to Pakistan as an independent country. USSR refugees. Pakistan provided military expertise and skill to Gulf countries
- **1979:** Pakistan signs military agreements with Muslim states
- **1965:** Pakistan has also very good relations with Turkey & Turkey supports Pakistan during its war with India in 1965 & acts as a bridge between the Muslim world and Europe. The same three countries formed the Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD)

Pakistan and the Common Wealth Countries

Pakistan's initial relations were difficult due to the reluctance of British to accept Pakistan and the injustice of Boundary Commission. On the other hand Pakistan needed Britain and its senior officials for

training of Army and official workers. Throughout the first 40 years of its emergence Pakistan has stayed on good terms with Britain

- 1956:** Pakistan declares itself republic by making its own constitution. Until now it had been Under the British Crown. Relations deteriorate because Pakistan criticize Britain over the invasion of Suez Canal
- 1960:** Relations improve as many Pakistan's go to Britain due to the construction of Tarbela and Mangla Dam
- 1965:** Britain plays a major role in ending the war between India and Pakistan
- 1971:** Britain recognizes Bangladesh as separate country against will of Pakistan and Pakistani Leaves Common Wealth in protest
- 1980's:** Britain remains a strong ally and trading Partner
- 1989:** Relations improve because Pak. Returns to Commonwealth

Pakistan and the United Nations



Pakistan has contributed more than 160,000 troops to-date in 41 UN Missions

- 1947:** Pakistan gets UN membership UNHCR aids in solving refugees problem
- 1948:** UN passes resolution on Kashmir Issue. UN plays its role in ceasefire over Kashmir. Canal Water Dispute, UN helps to solve it
- 1965:** UN again plays its role cease fire in Kashmir War and arranges the Tashkan Agreement
- 1971:** Indian invasion and separation of Bengal. UNO fails and relations with Pakistan get Disrupted
- 1978:** Russian invasion- UNO aids Pakistan to stop Russian invasion in Afghanistan
- 1988:** Russian War ends and Pakistan is appointed to arrange Geneva Agreement
- 2001:** 9/11 Incident; American invasion over Afghanistan, UNO supports Pakistan to support USA