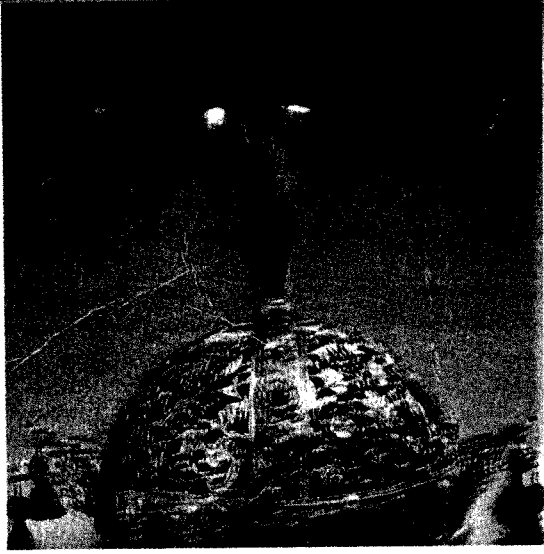


THE HISTORY & CULTURE OF PAKISTAN

Nigel Kelly

NEW EDITION

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he History and Culture of
Pakistan

IGEL KELLY



PEAK PUBLISHING

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Foreword

As long ago as the beginning of the twentieth century, the American President, Woodrow Wilson, was asked whether he thought it was important for young Americans to study their country's history. He answered:

'A nation which does not know what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, nor what it is trying to do.'

If this was true for the United States one hundred years ago, it is even more true for Pakistan today. *The History and Culture of Pakistan* enables you to gain a full understanding of the epic struggle which resulted in the formation of the new Muslim country in 1947 - and the challenges it faced in its first 50 years of existence.

Those using the book in preparation for the Cambridge Pakistan Studies O Level examination will find it an invaluable resource, as it has been written specifically to meet the needs of such students:

- The book is divided into three sections, in the same way that the Cambridge syllabus is divided.
- The book's 16 chapters mirror the 16 'Key Questions' set out in the Cambridge syllabus, with a coverage of all the content set out in the 'specified content'.
- The author has used his experience and knowledge to set 'Exam-type questions' at the end of each chapter.
- Throughout the text, examples of Source-based questions, in the style of those appearing in the examination, are provided to give practice in this new question type.
- At the end of each section, guidance is given on answering the traditional part (a), (b) and (c) questions and on answering Source-based questions.
- To assist learning, there are numerous 'Aid to Learning' questions, designed to assist comprehension and understanding.

Whether you are using *The History and Culture of Pakistan* just to understand the exciting story around the establishment of Pakistan, or whether you need to do well in your Cambridge examination, we are sure you will enjoy what you are about to read.

Nigel Kelly

Cultural and Political Background to the Pakistan Movement

Introduction

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Mughals ruled India. However, by the middle nineteenth century, external forces and internal weaknesses meant that the once mighty Mughal empire was gone.

The decline of the Mughal Empire reflected a decline in the fortunes of the Muslims in general on the subcontinent, as the British tended to favour the Hindu community. Fortunately a number of Muslim reformers emerged who helped bring about a revival of Muslim fortunes and place Muslims on the road to an independent Pakistan. Shah Waliullah made the Quran accessible to large numbers of Muslims by translating it into Persian; Syed Ahmad Barelvi launched a movement to restore Islam to its original purity and his work was continued by Haji Shariatullah's Faraizi Movement.

Perhaps the most important Muslim leader, however, was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He played a major role in restoring relations between the British and the Muslims after the unsuccessful Wahabi Movement and in helping Muslims to appreciate the value of education.

The work of these four great reformers played a vital role in raising the ambitions and the status of the Muslim community in the subcontinent.

In later years Urdu also played a significant part in unifying Muslims - particularly after the creation of Pakistan.

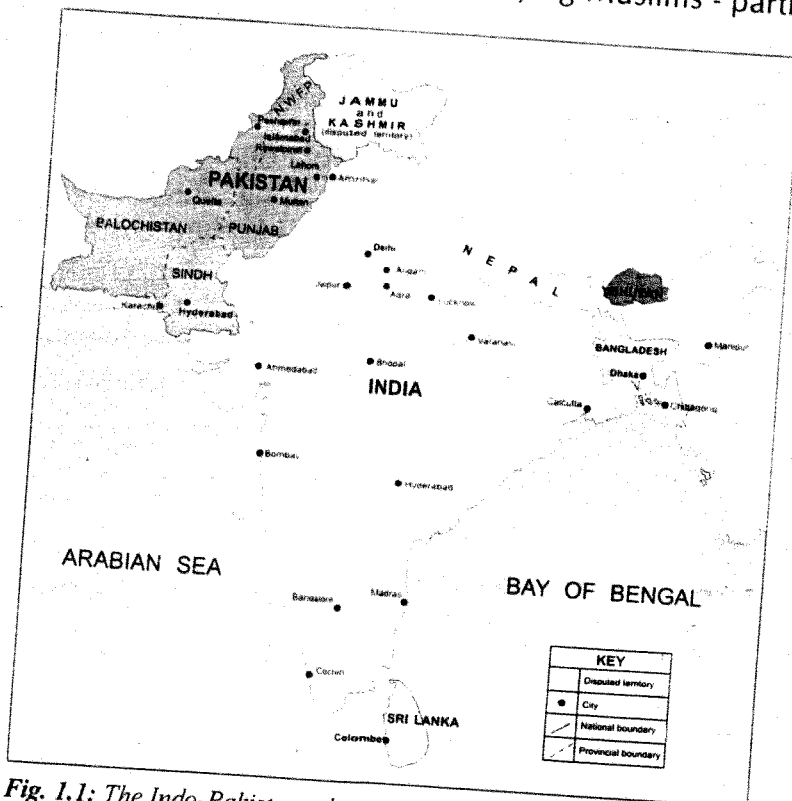


Fig. 1.1: The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE THE RELIGIOUS THINKERS IN SPREADING ISLAM IN THE SUBCONTINENT DURING THE 18TH & 19TH CENTURIES?

Contents

The religious reforms of Shah Waliullah

His political and religious role

Syed Ahmad Barelvi and the revival of Islam

The Jihad movement and the Mujahideen

Haji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ How important were the religious reforms of Shah Waliullah?
- ▶ What influence did Syed Ahmad Barelvi exert in the revival of Islam?
- ▶ How influential was Haji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement?

The Work of Shah Waliullah (1703 - 1762)

Early Biographical Details

Shah Waliullah was born on 21 February 1703 during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. His real name was Qutub-ud-Din, but he later became known as Shah Waliullah because of his piety. His father was Shah Abdul Rahim, who founded the Madrassa Rahimiya in Delhi. When his father died in 1718 Shah Waliullah began teaching at the Madrassa.

In 1724 Shah Waliullah went to Arabia to perform Haj and to further his studies. He studied under the famous scholar Sheikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim, before returning to Delhi in 1732.

Beliefs

- During his time in Arabia, Shah Waliullah thought deeply about the problems faced by Muslims in the Mughal Empire. The Empire was in decline and Muslims were disunited and vulnerable to attacks on their religion. Shah Waliullah realised that reform could not come from the weak leadership in Delhi and that it had to come from within the Muslim community itself.
- He believed that many of the problems of the Muslims resulted from their incomplete knowledge of the Quran and about Islam in general – and it was necessary that Quranic teachings become more accessible to the people.
- All political, social and economic behaviour should be based on Islamic principles.
- A major problem for the Muslim community was the way it was divided into sectarian groups, such as Sunnis and Shias. Shah Waliullah wanted them to concentrate on the fundamental principles of Islam and put aside their differences, believing that this would create a more united community.
- It was essential to follow the moral and spiritual principles of Islam in order to create a good society. Un-Islamic principles were not acceptable in any area of society, whether politics, economics or just the day-to-day lives of the individual Muslims.

GUID TO LEARNING

What did Shah Waliullah think were the main causes of the problems of the Muslims?

What did he believe was essential to create a good society?

Work

- Shah Waliullah worked hard to ensure that he was a role model for other Muslims. His deep understanding of the Quran, Hadith, Fiqah and Tasawuf made him a highly knowledgeable scholar at an early age.
- Since he believed that an emphasis on Quranic teachings was vital to Muslims, he translated the Quran into Persian. Few Muslims spoke Arabic and so the Quran had not been widely studied previously. Now it could be understood by a larger number of Muslims. The *ulama* criticised Shah Waliullah, but his work proved very popular. Later his two sons, Shah Abdul Qader and Shah Rafi, translated the Quran into Urdu, which meant that many more people could study it.
- In addition to translating the Quran, Shah Waliullah wrote fifty-one books in Persian and Arabic. Amongst the most famous were *Hujjat Allāh al-Bāliḡah* and *Izalat-Akhfa*. He also wrote an account of the first four caliphs of Islam in a way that was acceptable to both Shias and Sunnis. He hoped that this would help to heal the division between them.
- His writings brought him great fame and prestige and enabled him to have influence in other areas too. For example, in economics he emphasised the need for social justice and for peasants and craftsmen to be truly valued for their contribution to the economy.
- One of Shah Waliullah's most important contributions to the Muslim community was his organisation of opposition to the Marathas, who were threatening to over-run the Mughal Empire from the south. He realised that the Muslims had to unite to deal with this threat, and that of the Sikhs who were attacking in the north. Shah Waliullah wrote to all the Muslim nobles calling on them to join together to save the Mughal Empire. It was partly his influence which helped to persuade Ahmed Shah Abdali of Persia to intervene. He joined forces with local Muslim leaders and defeated the Marathas at the Battle of Panipat in 1761. However, despite encouragement from Shah Waliullah, the Muslim leaders did not unite to take advantage of the defeat of the Marathas. Perhaps if they had done so, the Muslims would not have soon found themselves under non-Muslim rule.

TO LEARNING

Why were the writings of Shah Waliullah important?

What role did he play in opposing the Marathas?

Importance

Shah Waliullah's contribution towards Islamic revival was extremely important for a number of reasons:

- He was one of the first Muslim thinkers to state that the decline of the Mughal Empire and the vulnerable position of the Muslims were due to a neglect of the principles of Islam. He believed that if the decline in the position of the Muslims was to be stopped, there had to be spiritual and moral regeneration.
- He showed how this regeneration might take place. The Madrasa Rahimiya continued to play a vital role in teaching Islamic principles and researching Islamic thought.
- His writing in Persian made Islamic teaching available to large numbers of Muslims who had not been able to understand Arabic. He believed that Muslims could only prosper if they followed proper Islamic customs and did not indulge in social evils. Shah Waliullah provided the inspiration for all Muslims to lead a pure life, based on the belief that anti-social attitudes incurred the displeasure of God.
- He also showed that a Muslim revival could only take place if there was an acceptance that sectarian division was to stop. Muslims had to concentrate more on the basic principles of Islam, and not allow the differences between them to lead to conflict. He tried to build bridges between the different Muslim sects and to unite the community. He tried to do this by organising opposition to the Marathas and uniting Muslims by emphasising the importance of Jihad against a common enemy.

- Like all great reformers, Shah Waliullah's influence continued long after his death. Not only did his writings survive and translated in many languages, but the Madrassa Rahimiya continued to flourish as his sons carried forward his work and teachings. Many future Islamic leaders were inspired by him to fight for the good of the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmad Barelvi (1786 - 1831)

Early Biographical Details

Syed Ahmad was born near Lucknow in the small town of Rai Bareli in 1786. His father died whilst he was still young and in 1806 he moved to Delhi and enrolled in the Madrassa Rahimiya.

For two years he studied under the sons of Shah Waliullah learning the Quran and the Hadith.

But Syed Ahmad was more a man of action than a scholar and in 1810 joined the forces of Amir Khan, a Pathan military leader. It was at this time that Syed Ahmad learned how to use European weaponry. He showed himself to be so able that he was given command of a group of soldiers. However, because of his piety he was also made responsible for leading the troops in prayer. In 1817 Syed Ahmad returned to Delhi, where his work became important in trying to restore Islam to its original purity.

Beliefs

- As a man of action, Syed Ahmad was an ideal person to act as a leader to work against British power in India and to try to ensure that Muslims were ruled by fellow Muslims. He believed that the freedom of Muslims could only come as a result of armed struggle against the foreign and non-Muslim forces which were oppressing them.
- Syed Ahmad believed that there was a need to end the evils that had corrupted Islamic society. Consequently, even when he served as an army officer he surrounded himself with men of great piety who were prepared to reject worldly wealth and work for improving the moral and intellectual lives of Muslims.
- The British had ensured that the Mughal emperors had little real power and the Sikhs were dominant in the Punjab. Syed Ahmad founded the Jihad Movement, which called for armed struggle to overthrow non-Muslim oppression and restore Muslim power. He believed that once this was done Islam could be rejuvenated and rescued from beliefs and customs contrary to Islamic beliefs which had crept into every day life.

Work

- In 1821 Syed Ahmad went for Haj; before going he travelled across India and held meetings in order to spread his beliefs about *jihad*. When he returned from Arabia in 1823, he was ready to take action.
- At this time the Punjab was under the control of the Sikh regime of Ranjit Singh, who had also extended his authority into the North West Frontier. The Muslims suffered under Sikh rule because they were unable to carry out many of their religious practices – even the call to prayer was banned in some places. Syed Ahmad thought that this was intolerable and decided that the Punjab was the place to launch his *jihad* against non-Muslim rulers.
- Syed Ahmad toured the Punjab and the North West Frontier to enlist men to fight the Sikhs. He travelled many hundreds of miles to raise a *mujahideen* force. His travels took him through Rajasthan, Sindh, Balochistan and into Afghanistan.

However, he found that the Afghan troops were suspicious of each other and not always prepared to join him in his *jihad*.

- In 1826 Syed Ahmad established his headquarters near Peshawar. He sent a message to Ranjit Singh telling him that he must allow Muslims freedom of worship or face the *mujahideen*. Ranjit Singh dismissed the ultimatum, so Syed Ahmad was forced to attack first at Okara on 21 December 1826, and then shortly afterwards at Hazrothe; the Sikhs suffered defeat.
- Syed Ahmad's victories established him as a successful military leader and encouraged other tribes to join the *mujahideen*. Soon the army numbered over 80,000 strong. A major problem for Syed Ahmad, however, was that his army consisted of men from many different communities which disagreed over how the campaign was fought. The Sikhs tried to exploit these differences by calling his army un-Islamic. They claimed that by following the teachings of Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmad's forces were not true Muslims.
- This view was not accepted by the Muslim leaders. In 1827 they agreed unanimously that Syed Ahmad should assume the authority of an *Imam*. His word on religious matters was considered binding and his increased authority helped to unite the various Muslim groups forming the *mujahideen* force.
- Syed Ahmad was preparing to attack the fort of Attock when he encountered an army of 35,000 Sikhs near Okara. What he did not know was that Yar Muhammad Khan, a Pathan chief who had joined his army, had been bribed by the Sikhs. First one of his servants tried to poison Syed Ahmad, then Yar Muhammad Khan deserted the battlefield along with his men thus creating confusion and chaos in the ranks which ultimately led to the defeat of Syed Ahmad's forces. He had no other option but to move his headquarters to the safety of Panjtrar near Kashmir.



the valley of Balakot

- Although Yar Muhammad was later killed in battle against the *mujahideen*, his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan also waged war against Syed Ahmad. This constant campaigning against fellow Muslims was not what Syed Ahmad wanted, so he moved his forces to Balakot, hoping to liberate Kashmir and Hazara. Balakot was thought to be safe as it was protected on three sides by mountains. But once again Syed Ahmad was betrayed when local leaders told the Sikhs of a way through the mountains. They made a surprise attack on the forces of Syed Ahmad. The Battle of Balakot (1831) was a fiercely

contested one. Though the *mujahideen* had been taken by surprise by a much larger Sikh army they fought bravely but were heavily outnumbered and unable to resist the Sikhs. Six hundred *mujahideen* soldiers were killed, including Syed Ahmad and his commander, Shah Ismail.

Influence

The defeat of the *mujahideen* in the Battle of Balakot, was a serious setback for the Jihad Movement and it struggled to survive in the following years. The movement continued on in the hills of the North West Frontier until 1863 when the British sent a large army to deal with the *mujahideen* threat. Even then the movement survived through the determination of its followers. The work of Syed Ahmad had been very influential because:

- It was the first example in Indian history of a movement formed to free the Muslims from the tyranny of non-Muslim or foreign rulers.

LEARNING

was Syed Ahmad a very suitable leader to lead opposition to the British?

What role did he play in ending the Sikh rule?

- It was not a movement in order to place a particular leader in power but, instead, to achieve religious and spiritual freedom.
- The Jihad Movement was a uniting force for Muslims. Many of Syed Ahmad's soldiers had been spiritual leaders or teachers. The fact that they were prepared to die for their cause was an inspiration to all Muslims.
- The Jihad Movement is regarded by many historians as the fore-runner of the Pakistan Movement in India. Syed Ahmad's efforts were an inspiration to all Muslims in defending their religion, their culture and their freedom. Those Muslims who later campaigned for their own homeland saw Syed Ahmad as an example of a Muslim fighting for the Muslim cause in much the same way, since he too wanted to see a state which was based on the principles of Islam.

The work of Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840)

Early Biographical Details

Haji Shariatullah was born in 1781 in Faridpur district in East Bengal (today part of Bangladesh). His father was a farmer and his family was not very well off. In 1799 he travelled to Arabia on pilgrimage and stayed there for the next nineteen years. He became greatly influenced by the beliefs of Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab.

On his return to East Bengal he started his own reform movement designed to purify Islam of the Hindu influences. Haji Shariatullah died in 1840, but his work was carried on by his son Mohsin-ud-Din.

Beliefs

- Haji Shariatullah believed that the miserable condition of the Muslims in India led to the country being Dar-ul-Harb. This meant an area where non-Muslims ruled. Haji Shariatullah said that in such areas Friday and Eid prayers should not be offered.
- He also believed that the Muslim community had moved away from true Islamic practice. He wanted them to return to what he thought was the proper observation of Islamic duties called *faraiz*. This was why his movement was called the Faraizi Movement.
- The Faraizi Movement supported the idea of *jihad* against the non-Muslims who were undermining the true principles of Islam.

Work

- Haji Shariatullah found that the Muslims of East Bengal had been oppressed both by the Hindus and by the British. Previously the Muslims have been the ruling class in Bengal, but when the British took over, they worked with the local landowners (zamindars), who were mainly Hindus. The Muslims had also been given few opportunities in education and employment. As a result, many important Muslim families had been reduced to near poverty. Haji Shariatullah started the Faraizi Movement to restore the pride of the Muslims and remove what he thought were the Hindu practices which had crept into their worship.
- Emphasis was placed on praying for past sins and on promising to lead a righteous life in the future. An important part of this reform would be to follow the religious obligations of a true Muslim.

TO LEARNING

What did Haji Shariatullah mean by Dar-ul-Harb?

Why was his movement called the Faraizi Movement?

LEARNING

Did Hindu landlords drive Haji Shariatullah out of Bengal?

Did the British support Mohsin-ud-Din?

- The success of Haji Shariatullah's movement caused great concern amongst the Hindus of East Bengal. In that region Hindu and British landlords had carried economic oppression of the Muslim peasants. The landlords did not want Haji Shariatullah creating difficulties for them and were very alarmed that the Muslim cultivators were uniting in a desire to improve their lives and purify their religion. They drove Haji Shariatullah out of the region to Nawabganj in Dhaka district, where he died in 1840.
- His work, however, was carried on by his son, Mohsin-ud-Din, who continued to work to improve the position of Muslims in East Bengal and introduced important economic measures.
 - (i) He divided East Bengal into areas called circles, each under the control of Khalifas. They were responsible for the social and spiritual welfare of the people in their area.
 - (ii) He helped the peasants to oppose the excessive taxes imposed by the Hindu and British landlords.
 - (iii) Mohsin-ud-Din's opposition to the payment of taxes led to unrest in East Bengal, but he went even further and threatened to declare a jihad against the British government.

The British arrested him and put him in prison. After his death in 1860, the Faraizi Movement declined.

Influence

The Faraizi Movement was influential for a number of reasons:

- It gave encouragement to Muslims at a time when they were demoralised by the oppression they suffered from the Hindus and the British.
- It brought about a spiritual revival which led to a revival in the Islamic religion in East Bengal. Hindu influences were removed from Islamic practices.
- It also had an important political and economic impact. The Bengal peasants became united in their opposition to the harsh treatment they received. They became more aware of their rights and a political unity began to grow amongst them. This was to prove important in later years as the Muslim demands for their own homeland grew. It might be said that some of the seeds of the Pakistan Movement were sown by the Faraizi Movement.



B

do Skills Book
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type Questions

What was the Faraizi Movement? [4]

Why did Shah Waliullah translate the Quran into Persian? [7]

Was the work of Syed Ahmad Barelvi the most important factor in the revival of Islam in the period 1700-1850? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE?

Contents

Internal reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire
 The impact of Aurangzeb's policies on the stability of the Mughal Empire
 The effectiveness of his successors as rulers
 Problems of controlling the empire
 The rise of the Maratha and Sikh empires

External Reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire
 Foreign invasions from Persia and Afghanistan
 The East India Company's involvement in the subcontinent
 British relations with the later Mughal rulers of Delhi
 British expansion from the 1750s to the 1850s in the subcontinent
 The annexation of the territories encompassing Pakistan today.
 The British search for a 'natural' and 'scientific' NW Frontier
 British policy towards Tribal Territory

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

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

Timeline

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1658 | Aurangzeb seizes control and becomes Emperor | 1799 | Nawabs of Oudh defeated |
| 1707 | Aurangzeb dies. Period of instability | 1803 | British enter Delhi |
| 1719 | Muhammad Shah takes control | 1806 | Akbar II becomes Emperor |
| 1748 | Ahmad Shah becomes Emperor | 1833 | Government of India Act |
| 1754 | Start of reign of Alamgir II | 1838 | Bahadur Shah II comes to the throne |
| 1757 | Battle of Plassey | 1843 | Annexation of Sindh |
| 1759 | Shah Alam II succeeds Alamgir II | 1849 | Annexation of Punjab |
| 1764 | Battle of Buxar | 1852 | Doctrine of Lapse introduced |
| 1784 | India Act | | |

The Mughal Empire before Aurangzeb



Babur, the first Mughal Emperor

Babur: The first Mughal Emperor

The first Mughals were a ruling family from Central Asia and the first Mughal Emperor in India was Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad, or Babur as he is generally known.

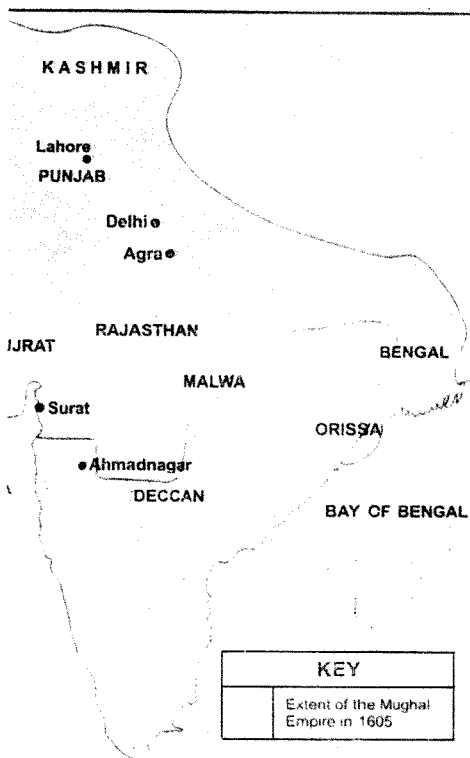
Babur was a Muslim who ruled in Turkestan and was keen to expand his territory. In 1526 he defeated the Emperor of Delhi in the Battle of Panipat. He then defeated other Indian chiefs and established himself as unchallenged ruler of northern India.

Humayan: A Troubled Reign

Babur ruled northern India for just four years before he died. He was succeeded in 1530 by his son, Humayan. The Afghan chief, Sher Shah Suri defeated Humayan in battle and took control of many of his territories. Humayan also had to face opposition from his own brothers and it was not until 1555 that he restored his control in the lands that Babur had won. But his success was short-lived. Just one year later he tripped on his own robes on the steps of his library and fell to his death!

Akbar: The Empire Extended

Although he was only 13 years old when he succeeded his father, the next emperor, Akbar, extended the Mughal Empire further. He was greatly influenced by Sufi beliefs and in 1581 announced his 'Din-e-Ilahi', a new religion containing elements of both Islam and Hinduism. This religion did not take root and died out after Akbar's death.



The Mughal Empire under Akbar

Akbar ruled for almost fifty years and at his death in 1605, the Mughal Empire was strong and the foundations had been laid for other emperors to continue to expand the lands under Mughal control.

Jehangir and Shah Jehan

This expansion continued under Akbar's son, Jehangir, though it was Jehangir who signed a commercial treaty with the British in 1615. He did not realise that the British would eventually overthrow the Mughals!

Jehangir's son, Khurram took the throne under the name Shah Jehan. He was responsible for building the famous Taj Mahal, in memory of his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal. Shah Jehan also tried to extend the empire in campaigns against the Persians and in modern day Uzbekistan, but his wars were costly and ineffective. He did, however, defeat the Portuguese after they tried to forcibly convert Muslim girls to Christianity.

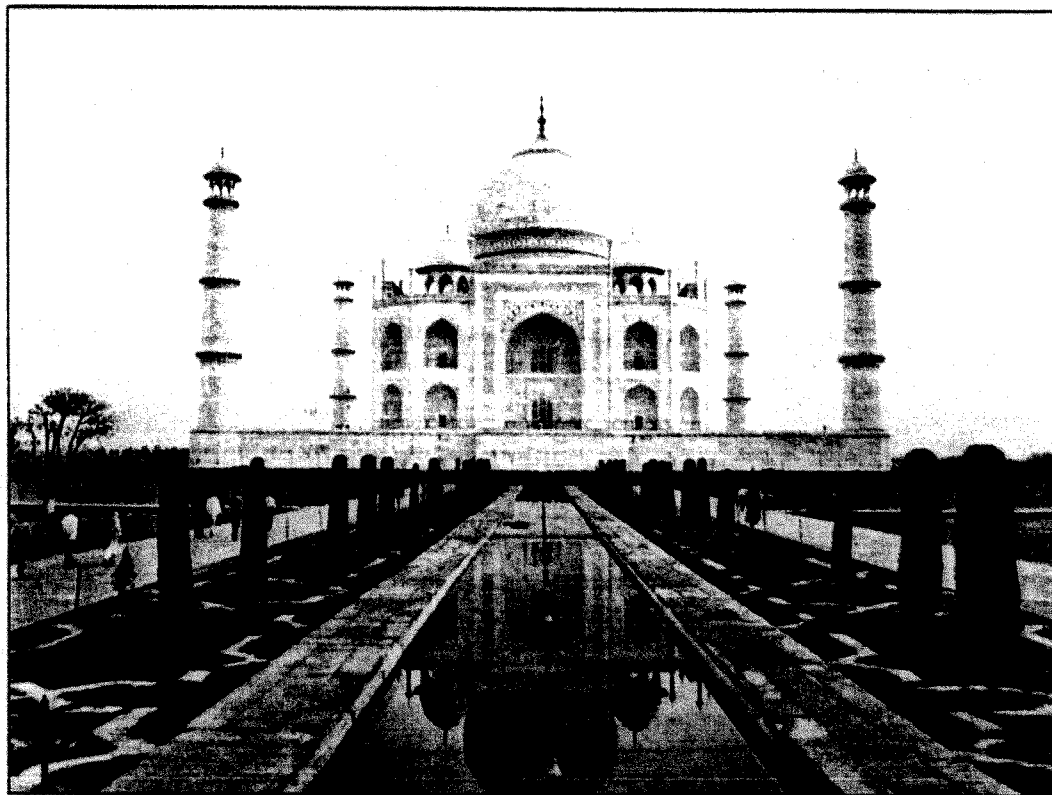


Fig. 2.3: The Taj Mahal

Exam-type Questions

Q. What does the picture of the Taj Mahal tell us about the Mughal Empire?

The Reign of Aurangzeb (1707)

Aurangzeb Seizes Control

In 1657 Shah Jehan fell seriously ill. This presented a serious problem for the Empire as he had four sons, all of whom were of mature age, were all Governors of important parts of the Empire and had large armies available. They all wanted to be the emperor! When it appeared that Shah Jehan was dying, they began to jostle for power. Two of them, Shah Shuja and Murad, actually had coins struck in their name showing them as the new Emperor. However, the eldest son, Dara Shikoh, was thought to be the emperor's preferred successor.

But could he establish himself in power? It seemed that he could not because in 1658 two of his brothers, Murad and Aurangzeb, joined forces and defeated Dara Shikoh's army. But then Shah Jehan recovered and ordered his sons not to march on Agra. Aurangzeb replied that his father had lost control and it was important that he, Aurangzeb, take over and re-establish order. In May 1658 he defeated the Imperial army, led by Dara Shikoh and took his father prisoner. Shah Jehan was allowed to remain in Agra until his death in 1666, where he was buried in the Taj Mahal.



Aurangzeb

Murad was imprisoned and later executed.

Shah Shuja was killed whilst trying to raise an army to oppose his brother.

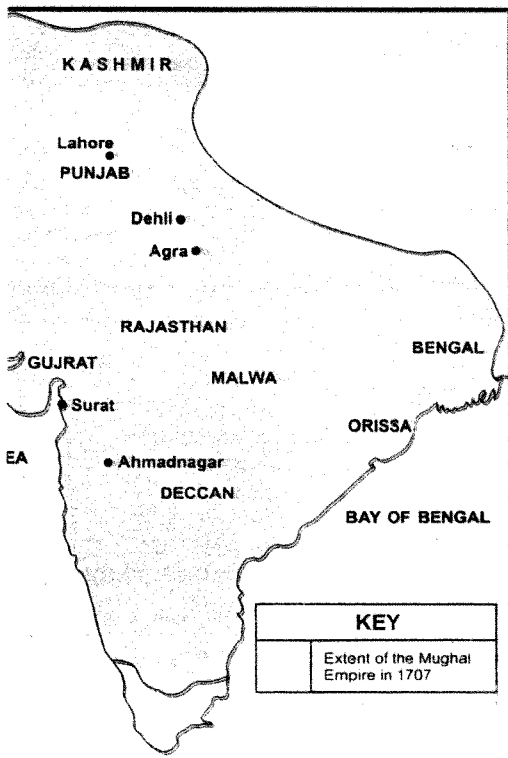
Dara Shikoh proved more troublesome. Aurangzeb had to pursue him and take him prisoner before executing him in 1659.

The impact of Aurangzeb's Policies on the Stability of the Mughal Empire

After defeating the Imperial army Aurangzeb took steps to establish himself as Emperor.

Although Shah Jehan had left the empire larger and more peaceful than at any other time in its history, this did not last. Aurangzeb was soon finding that much of his time (and money) was spent fighting.

- There was a war against the Rajputs from 1679-81 and rebellions by the Sikhs, and the Satnamis in Mewar and the Jats in Gokal.
- Since Aurangzeb was keen to extend his Empire northwards, he also had to fight a tough campaign against Pathan tribes in the North West Frontier.



The Empire of Aurangzeb

- Perhaps most costly for Aurangzeb was the campaign fought against the Maratha tribe in the Deccan. The Maratha leader, Shivaji, was originally defeated in 1665 and brought as a prisoner to Agra. However, he escaped and was soon back in the Deccan leading the fight against Aurangzeb. Even after 25 years of fighting Aurangzeb had not subdued the Marathas. He had, however, almost emptied the Mughal treasury. Although Aurangzeb did face many problems in extending the Empire, by the time of his death in 1707 it was larger than it had ever been, stretching from Kashmir to the Karnatak and Gazni to Chittagong.

Aurangzeb's Reforms

Historians are divided about Aurangzeb's attitude towards religion. Some say that he was intolerant and wanted to destroy other religions. They point out that he re-introduced the tax on non-Muslims, the *Jizya*, he destroyed a number of Hindu temples and he tried to ban some old Hindu practices, such as suttee. He also enforced Islamic law, making Hindus and Sikhs live according to the Quran.

Other historians, however, argue that Aurangzeb was not intolerant, but that he was more 'orthodox' than some earlier Emperors. They emphasise that he employed some Hindu advisors and there are recorded instances of him making donations to Hindu temples.



There are mixed views on how successful Aurangzeb was as an emperor. Perhaps much of the criticism is a result of his more austere measures, such as appointing censors of public morals, banning the consumption of alcohol, stopping singing and dancing at 'court' and even determining the maximum length for beards. But to many people these were wise and needy measures helping to ensure that peoples' lives were lived in the correct manner.

Aurangzeb made himself popular with traders by abolishing many local taxes, but generally taxation was very high during his reign. Not only did he have to pay for the cost of his military campaigns, but he also spent huge sums on building luxurious palaces. An example of his extravagance is the famous Pearl Mosque at Delhi, which was built for his private prayers. The taxes resulting from Aurangzeb's heavy spending meant that, by his death in 1707, he had become an unpopular ruler. Aurangzeb was 89 years old when he died and had ruled the Empire for almost fifty years. He achieved much, but it is also true that, during his reign, the start of decay in the empire could be seen.

SOURCE A

Aurangzeb keeps the fast on Fridays and during the period of Ramadan. He does not eat forbidden meats and does not listen to music. In his court, no wicked talk, no backbiting or lying is allowed.

This is an extract from 'The History of Aurangzeb' written by an official in his court in 1668.

SOURCE B

Aurangzeb says:

'My kingdom is now full of mosques instead of the most hideous temples. Instead of poisonous inns and brothels we find groups of holy men'.

But despite what Aurangzeb says in his kingdom every day the most monstrous crimes in the world are committed!

This was written by an Italian who visited India during Aurangzeb's reign and wrote a book called 'The History of the Mughals'.

1. What does source A make you think about Aurangzeb?
2. Do you agree that Source B makes you think about Aurangzeb in a slightly different way from Source A? Explain your answer.
3. As Source A and Source B were written at about the same time, why do you think they don't say the same things about the Emperor?

The Effectiveness of Aurangzeb's Successors

Aurangzeb had become emperor by defeating his rivals in battle. He was determined to avoid such a war after his death so he divided the Empire between his three sons. But he did not succeed. Fighting broke out between them, and eventually Prince Muazzum established himself as Emperor. He survived only a few years and then his four sons fought over the throne, but the victor, Jahandar Shah, was murdered within a year. In the ten years after Aurangzeb's death, twelve different people claimed to be Emperor at one time! The stable Mughal Empire had become weak and divided.

Muhammad Shah became emperor in 1719 and ruled for almost thirty years, but he faced so much opposition; that he was really the last Mughal leader who could claim to be emperor.

Invading Forces

During the eighteenth century The Mughals found it increasingly difficult to cope with foreign attacks.

The Persians

In 1738 the Persian leader, Nadir Shah invaded the Mughal empire. He defeated Muhammad Shah's forces at Karnal in 1739. After that he captured and sacked Delhi, taking over territories west of the Indus. Nadir Shah did not intend to make himself emperor, but only to win as much booty as possible. When he left after two months, he took huge amounts of gold and jewels. He also took the prestige of the Mughals. Now people saw how weak the empire had become.

The Marathas

Another problem for the Mughals was the Marathas. They formed a Hindu empire in southern India and were a constant source of difficulty for the Mughals. Aurangzeb spent over 25 years trying to defeat the Maratha forces and after his death, they continued to take land from the Mughals. In 1737 they defeated the Mughal army and plundered Delhi. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Marathas had replaced the Mughals as the most powerful force in India.

The Afghans

A third invading force came from Afghanistan. In 1747, an Afghan general called Ahmad Shah Durrani attacked Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore. By 1749 he had gained control of the Punjab and by 1756 he added Kashmir and the Multan to his possessions. The weakness of the Mughal Empire can be seen by the fact that the Mughals were unable to stop Maratha or Afghan expansion and it was actually Ahmad Shad Durrani who defeated the Marathas expansion in 1761 at the battle of Panipat.

However, as you will read below, by far the greatest threat to the Mughals came from the British.

The End of the Empire

Ahmad Shah Durrani helped place Muhammad Shah's son, Ahmed Shah on the Mughal throne. However, the empire he ruled was shrinking rapidly, as unrest in the empire continued to increase. Indeed, Ahmed Shah was imprisoned by his own court and died in captivity. His successor, Alamgir II, was assassinated on the orders of his chief minister and the next emperor, Shah Alam II remained in Bihar and chose not to return to Delhi for another twelve years. In 1764 he suffered defeat at the hands of the British at the Battle of Buxar.

Shah Alam's defeat led to the British taking control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In 1803 they also occupied Delhi and placed the emperor under 'British protection'. The British were now winning a stranglehold on India and the final two emperors ruled in name only. Shah Alam's son, Akbar II ruled parts of Delhi, but little more. His son, Bahadur Shah II was expelled for his part in the 1857 War of Independence and died in exile in Rangoon.

The once-mighty Mughal Empire was over.

Why did the British call Tipu 'The Monster of Mysore'?



Tipu Sultan riding into battle on his elephant

Tipu was Sultan of Mysore and he proved a formidable enemy for the British.

The British disliked the way that Tipu stood up to them and in particular they were worried that he received help from France. There was a revolution in France and the British did not want revolutionary ideas spreading into their colonies.

Tipu was determined to resist the British advance in India and believed that to defeat the British he had to match their weapons. So it is said that he had 50 cannons, 100,000 cannon balls and 10 muskets – as well as rockets and handguns.

His army was so strong that he defeated the British in battle several times. The East India Company wanted to improve its army to defeat him. To do this it needed funds and support. It would

be much easier to obtain these if the EIC could show that instead of being a brave Indian leader protecting his homeland against invaders, Tipu was some cruel tyrant who had to be overthrown.

So we can see in our investigation of what they said about him, that they were using propaganda to project him as wicked and cruel as possible.

Tipu of Mysore

Governor-Generals 1784-1856

Hastings	1784-85
Macpherson	1785-86
Cornwallis	1786-93
Lord Shore	1793-98
Wellesley	1798-1805
Cornwallis	1805-06
George Barlow	1806-07
Wellesley	1807-13
Dalhousie	1848-56
Dalhousie	1823-28
Dalhousie	1828-35
Dalhousie	1835-36
Dalhousie	1836-42
Dalhousie	1842-44
Dalhousie	1844-48
Dalhousie	1848-56

SOURCE A

In 1791 the British general, Sir Hector Munro defeated Tipu in battle. Some years later Munro's son was killed by a tiger. Tipu saw this as revenge and had a model made of a tiger attacking a British soldier. The British said that this showed what a monster Tipu was.

An extract from a modern history of India

SOURCE B

The main features of Tipu's character were his vanity and arrogance. According to Tipu no-one was ever as wise, learned or brave as him. He murdered his English prisoners because he hated their bravery; he insulted his Hindu subjects because he hated their religion.

An English officer's opinion about Tipu.

SOURCE C

The British claimed that Tipu was a Muslim fanatic. In fact Tipu made offerings in Christian churches and Hindu temples of his loyal subjects. He only destroyed the places of worship of his enemies.

A British historian writing about Tipu in 1992

1. Consider each of the three sources. What does each one tell you about Tipu?
2. After considering these sources, do you think Tipu was a 'monster', or was this just something the British wanted people to think?

Type Questions

What was the 'EIC'? [4]

Why was Britain able to expand its control of the sub-continent in the period 1750-1850? [7]

Is the arrival of the British the main reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire. Give reasons for your answer. [14]

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1857-58?

Contents

The immediate and underlying causes of the war

The attitude of the Mughal ruler to the war

The course of the war

Reasons for failure

Impact of the war on the Muslim people

British reaction and reforms after the war

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

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

Timeline

1857
January British announce greased cartridges will be used

March Sepoys executed for refusing to use cartridges

May Uprising in Meerut. Revolt spreads

September British regain Delhi and Lucknow

1858
June Lakshmibai killed

August War officially declared over

The Causes of the War

Introduction

In 1857 the British faced a serious challenge to their control of India. In that year there were a series of uprisings which are known by British historians as 'The Indian Mutiny' and by Indian historians as 'The War of Independence'. These differing names for the same event show how history can be a matter of interpretation.

For the British the events of 1857 were a revolt against their authority which had to be crushed in order to maintain control. To the Indians it was a war to throw off the shackles of foreign domination.

The reasons for the outbreak of the war in 1857 can be divided into four areas, though different sections of the population were motivated by different factors. What they all had in common, however, was resentment of British rule. So to fully understand this topic, you will need to make sure you understand how the British imposed their rule on the subcontinent (see pages 19-26)

1. Political

As the British extended their control, the local leaders saw their authority decline. Lord Dalhousie's use of the 'Doctrine of Lapse' was particularly unpopular.

figurehead, most Indian princes didn't really want to see imperial power restored. Nor was there any real sense of national patriotism. India was too divided for such a feeling. For example:

- The Punjab and Sindh had been conquered by troops from Bengal and Central India under the command of British officers. So when those troops rebelled against the British, it is not surprising that the Punjab was not interested in supporting them.
- Some of the Indian princes were interested only in restoring their own feudal powers. Sometimes their powers actually depended on the support of the British. This explains why the ruler of Kashmir sent 2000 troops to help the British win the war. His position was closely tied to the continuation of British rule.

Perhaps the only real uniting force in the war was Islam. The Mughal Empire had been created by Muslims and they were keen to see Bahadur Shah regain his powers. The fact that Muslims were in the minority in the country and that it was mainly Muslim rulers and kings that were being replaced by the British may also explain why they were more prepared than any other group to oppose the British. However, any degree of unity amongst the Muslims alarmed the Hindus and Sikhs who were not prepared to fight to restore power to the Muslim Mughal Empire. These reasons may well explain why the British came to see the War of Independence as predominantly a 'Muslim Revolt'.

2. British Strengths

Perhaps the major reason for the failure of the Indians was that the British were too strong. Britain was one of the most powerful nations in the world at this time and its troops were experienced in warfare and highly trained in modern methods of fighting. They also had a good reputation for discipline on the battlefield.

The only hope the Indians had to defeat the British was that there should be a general uprising across most of India and for the Indian troops to act together. As it was, the British kept control in more than three quarters of their possessions. They were skilled diplomats and they knew that most of the Indian rulers were fighting to restore their own rights, not to establish a united India. So they found it easy to play the various groups off against each other. Although there were a number of serious uprisings against the British, but being uncoordinated it was only a matter of time before the highly efficient British military machine restored order.

The Proclamation of 1858 ^{4 marks}

British said they would:

not interfere in the religious beliefs of the people.

show due regard to ancient property rights and customs.

be bound by all treaty obligations.

have no further territorial acquisition.

guarantee the right to appointments in public service.

The Effects of the War

The failure of the war confirmed the British as masters of India. It had been intended to loosen the yoke of British control, but instead it tightened it. The British issued a proclamation at Allahabad in 1858 bringing the war to an end.

In the proclamation the British recognised some of the grievances of the Indian people but, in practice, they paid little attention to their promises. The British reaction to the war was to carry out brutal reprisals against the Indians, as was seen at Cawnpore.

The War of Independence: Looking at the Evidence

Historians work with sources, but sometimes those sources do not tell the whole story. In the case of the War of Independence, the British wanted people in Britain to believe that they had acted correctly and that the way they defeated the Indians was just. So some of the things they said or published were heavily slanted against the Indians.



The picture shows British officers blowing sepoys apart with their guns. This drawing came from a book published in 1868.

Look at Source A
 Why do you think the British are acting so cruelly in this picture?

SOURCE C

Is it true that large numbers of European women and children were murdered with great brutality, some of the stories have been exaggerated. The British forces felt that every man capable of carrying weapons was guilty of such crimes. Modern British historian writing about the war.

Read Source C
 Why do you think the British might have exaggerated stories of Indian brutality in 1857?

SOURCE B

Pea fowl and partridges and mutineers rose together. It was the mutineers that gave the best sport.

A British officer describes the hunt for Indian fighters in fields of wheat.

Q. What does this source tell you about the attitude of some British officers?

SOURCE D



A cartoon about the Cawnpore Massacre printed in a British magazine in September 1857. The woman in the cartoon represents British justice.

This cartoon is as an example of British propaganda and not drawn to tell the truth.

- a. What do you think the message is and how does the cartoon try to put it across?
- b. In what ways is that message wrong?

British Rule

After the War of Independence the East India Company was abolished. Now the British government would take full responsibility for all matters in India. A member of the British Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India, was given responsibility for the government of the country.

However, the direct responsibility was in the hands of the Governor-General, now called the Viceroy. He had over one thousand members of the Indian Civil Service (ICS) to help him administer the country. These ranged from highly paid judges to lowly paid junior administrators. Despite the proclamation of 1858, by 1870 only one Indian had become an officer in the ICS. As for the Indian princes, those who had shown themselves to be loyal were allowed to remain on their thrones. Yet they had little or no real power and were obliged to follow the policy laid down by the British government.

After the war Bahadur Shah was put on trial and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was sent to live out his years in Burma. In January 1877 the British Queen, Victoria, was appointed Empress of India. The Indian royal family had formally been replaced.

The Muslims

The British considered that the Muslim community was largely to blame for the war and it was to be many years before they once more began to trust Muslims. In the army the British began to recruit men mostly from groups such as Sikhs, Pathans and Gurkhas, who they thought were 'trustworthy'.

The Muslims objected to British education and to the use of English, both of which they considered to be un-Islamic. But the British withdrew funding from Muslim schools and Muslim education fell into decline.

It may well have been part of the British plan to keep the Muslims illiterate and thus prevent them from gaining public office. As a well-known British historian of India wrote at the time:

There is scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Muslim can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots or mender of posts.

In contrast the Hindus soon found favour with the British by adapting themselves to the new rule. They readily accepted British education and many of them quickly learned to speak English. Although only minor posts were offered to Indians, almost all of these went to Hindus educated in 'English type' of schools.

Thus the Muslim community suffered as a result of the War of Independence.

The Birth of Nationalist Ideas

After the War of Independence the British took strong measures to ensure that their control of India was unchallenged. The East India Company was abolished and control of India now passed to Her Majesty's Government. In other words, to the British government in London. In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in a magnificent ceremony in Delhi.

- British rule proved unpopular with many Indians. They were largely excluded from governing India. A member of the British Cabinet, the Secretary of State for India, was in charge of deciding the policy for India, working with a fifteen-man council. In India itself, the policy was administered by the Governor-General (sometimes called 'the Viceroy'), based in Calcutta. He was advised by an Executive Council and the everyday business of the 'British Raj' was carried out by the Indian Civil Service. In 1858 Queen Victoria had asked that 'our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service'. However, by 1870 there was only one Indian officer in the Indian Civil Service. So the Indian people had little say in how their country was run.
- In other areas also the British made sure that India was run in a way to benefit themselves, instead of putting the needs of the local population first.
- After 1857, there were fewer opportunities for Indian soldiers in the British army, as the ratio of British to Indian soldiers was increased from 1:5 to 1:2. Recruitment from less 'trust worthy' areas, such as Oudh, was stopped.
- Viceroy Lord Lytton ended import duties on British cotton goods entering India. These duties had made British goods expensive and so the local cotton had sold easily. With the duties ended, British cotton was cheaper and local manufacturers found it harder to sell their goods.

LEARNING

What was the effect of the war on the Muslim community in India?

Do you think that the treatment of the Muslims by the British in 1857 was justified?

LEARNING

What system did the British set up for governing India after the War of Independence?

Do you think so many Indians disapproved of British rule in India in the nineteenth century?

Reasons for the Decline of the Mughal Empire

There are many reasons why the Mughal empire declined. The decline was gradual and although some historians blame Aurangzeb for sowing the seeds of decline, the empire continued for another 150 years after his death. Perhaps the real answer to the question is that a number of factors combined to bring about the fall of one of Asia's most famous dynasties.

A. The Nature of the Empire

- *Administration*

The huge empire was very difficult to administer. Decisions often had to be relayed over thousands of miles. Obviously emperors could not know exactly what was happening in every part of the empire. This was one reason why Aurangzeb encouraged the use of *mansabdars*, but many problems remained. When rebellions broke out, it was often many months before the emperors could take decisive action to end them.

- *Military Costs*

The Mughal empire was huge and within the empire there was an array of different peoples and different religions. As you will have seen from the way that the emperors were continually fighting rebellions, there was always a pressure on the empire from separatist elements. The cost of putting down rebellions and fighting wars against invaders, such as Nadir Shah from Persia was enormous.

- *Succession*

It should also not be forgotten that it was often true that huge sums were wasted when emperors died and there was a succession dispute. When Shah Jehan fell sick in 1657 all four sons ended up fighting to succeed him – even though he had not yet died! It was to avoid costly wars that Aurangzeb decided to divide the empire between his three sons, but this was not successful and succession disputes continued to erode the empire.

B. The Consequences of Success

- *Declining Military Expertise*

When dynasties are in power for long periods, it is easy to become complacent and to imagine that success will continue for ever. This happened with the Mughals, who let their army's expertise decline until it was no longer an effective fighting force. When it became obvious that Mughal strength was declining discontented groups within the empire were quick to act. Consider how Aurangzeb was unable to deal with Shivaji's rebellion in the Deccan.

- *Pleasure Seeking*

The wealth created by the Mughals also encouraged the nobility to become pleasure loving and degenerate. They betrayed the principles of Islam and instead enjoyed the pleasures brought about by wealth. Nobles often had the finest clothes, jewellery and food. One friend of Akbar is said to have ordered at least 100 courses at each meal. The emperors also set a poor example. Fine buildings were a symbol of power and culture, but they were also sometimes so expensive that they were a symbol of extravagance.

• *Weak Control*

As the wealth and influence of the nobility grew so that they became highly powerful at court and some of the emperors found it very difficult to control them (some, such as Alamgir II were assassinated by powerful courtiers). With weak control from the centre, the mansabdari system was not sufficiently supervised and administrative efficiency declined. Discontent grew and revenue from tax collection declined.

C. The Arrival of the British

The Mughal Empire was in serious decline by the end of the eighteenth century. What eventually pushed it into final decline was the ambition of the British. Since the time of Jehangir the English East India Company (EIC) tried to take advantage of the wealth to be gained by trade with India. The EIC was a private trading company, but behind it was the government of what was possibly the most

powerful country in the world. England had been the first country to experience the Industrial Revolution. Its industries were producing cheap manufactured goods which were sold around the world. With the wealth this created, the British could afford a military strength which the Mughals could not match. The weaknesses of the Mughal Empire, together with the strength of the British, meant that the fall of one of the mightiest dynasties in history was almost inevitable.

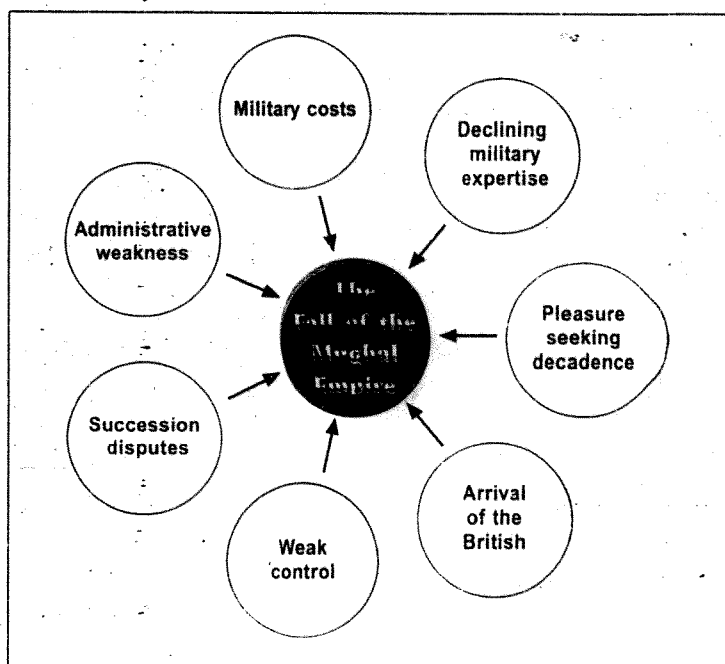


Fig. 2.6: Reason for the fall of the Mughal Empire

Exam-type Questions

All the surplus produce of a fertile land under a most bounteous providence was swept into the coffers of the Mughal Nobility and pampered them in a degree of luxury not dreamt of even by kings in Persia or Central Asia. Hence, in the houses of the Delhi Nobility, luxury was carried to an excess. The harems of many of them were filled with an immense number of women of an infinite variety of races, intellect and character.

From the writings of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an early twentieth century Bengali historian.

Q. According to this source what were the weaknesses of the Mughal Empire?

Enter the British

2 **British**

There is sometimes a little confusion about what we mean by the term 'British'. The best definition of British is 'from Britain', which means England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Although the king or queen of England rules all these countries, each of them has its own language. However, the language spoken by most people, and the official language, is English.

Even before the Mughal Empire went into decline, Europeans were casting envious eyes on India's wealth. The Portuguese established a base in Goa in 1510, but it was the British who were most determined to establish trading bases in India.

In 1600 the English Queen, Elizabeth I granted permission to a group of merchants to set up the East India Company (EIC). The British government did not send out its own expeditions or carry out its own trading. Instead it gave permission to groups of individuals to do this. The government did, however, make sure that these groups operated in a way which was acceptable to the government.

The EIC was given the monopoly in trade between Britain and areas east of Africa. That meant that no other British company could trade in that area. The merchants were hoping to break into the spice trade in the East Indies (modern day Indonesia), but the Dutch had already won control of the spice trade and would not let any other European power share it.

So the East India Company turned to India as an alternative. They first landed in Surat in 1608, but it was not until 1612 that they were allowed to begin trading. When the Governor of Gujarat (the future Shah Jehan) granted this permission, he could not have imagined that one day the British would end up ruling all of India.

TO LEARNING

What was the East India Company?

Why was the EIC interested in India?

EIC Influence Grows

The British influence in India grew slowly. At first the EIC had just a few bases on the Indian coast, but by 1664 they had established their headquarters in Bombay. In 1690 a trading post was established in Calcutta. The EIC purchased spices, silks and cotton from the Indians and trade was so profitable that the company soon had its own huge private army to protect the trading posts.

By the early eighteenth century, the EIC had three main bases, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (Fig. 2.7). The company began to refer to these as 'presidencies' and they were later to become the major provinces of British India.

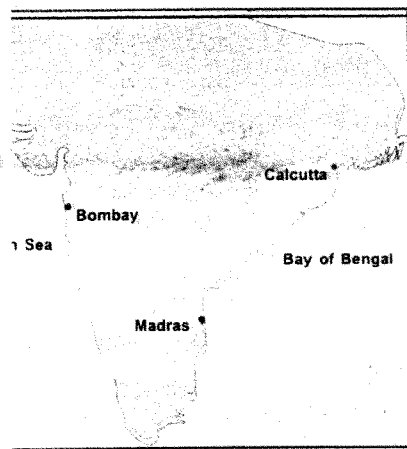


Fig. 2.7: EIC bases in India in the early eighteenth century

At first the arrival of the British merchants brought benefits not only to the British but also to the Mughal Empire. Indian merchants were able to sell their goods and became wealthy from the large amounts of silver being sent out from Britain to pay for them. At this time the British imported Indian goods but did not export much to India. However, the British began to develop plans for growth which would lead to direct competition with the Emperor. By the end of the seventeenth century the EIC was talking about *English dominion for all time to come*.

The EIC even had the audacity to go to war with Aurangzeb in 1686. He defeated the company's forces and pardoned them only after they had apologised for the *'ill crimes they may have done'*. The company was also forced to pay a heavy fine.

But the EIC was more successful in fighting against other European nations who wanted the opportunity to share in the highly profitable Indian trade. During the seventeenth century both the Portuguese and the Dutch were defeated, but the main rivalry came from the French. They had set up their trading company in 1664 and soon came into conflict with the EIC. The military skills of the British general Robert Clive enabled the EIC to defeat the French and take advantage of India's



Robert Clive

unsettled conditions to increase British influence and control. It slowly began to expand its forces to make local Indian princes accept its authority and was thus able to set up its own government in parts of India.

After winning the Battle of Plassey, Robert Clive was made governor of Bengal, but his opponents in Britain carried out an investigation into his behaviour in India. Although he was not found guilty of the charge of 'plundering India', the disgrace, coupled with his addiction to opium, caused him to take his own life in 1773.

Exam-type Questions

History has viewed Clive both as a courageous and resourceful military commander who ultimately became an imperial statesman, and also as a greedy speculator who used his political and military influence to amass a fortune, at India's expense. Although he attempted to reform the Bengal administration and reduce corruption, Clive was subjected to further political attacks on his return home in 1767. Accused of running a corrupt administration, he responded: 'I stand astonished at my own moderation'.

From the web page of the British Army Museum.

Q. According to this source what sort of person was Sir Robert Clive?

Victories in India

Arcot

Plassey

Pondicherry

British Expansion from the 1750s to 1850s

The Battle of Plassey

In 1756 the French encouraged the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah to attack the EIC base at Calcutta. He captured the city, but was unable to keep control of it. In 1757 Clive arrived with a force of EIC soldiers and defeated Siraj-ud-Daulah's troops in the Battle of Plassey. The Nawab's body was found in a river after the battle.

Clive's victory had been made easy by the treachery of Siraj-ud-Daulah's general, Mir Jafar. The EIC rewarded him by making him Nawab of Bengal. This showed how British control was growing. Thus one of India's richest provinces fell under British control. Mir Jafar was forced to give the company gifts of land and money which helped make some of the EIC officials very rich.

In 1764 Mir Jafar's son, Mir Qasim joined forces with the Nawab of Oudh and the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam II to drive the EIC out of Bengal. They were unsuccessful and after their defeat in the Battle of Buxar in 1764 British influence actually increased. The EIC now took control of the revenue collection in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and also extended its influence into Oudh.

Bengal Exploited

The East India Company had been established to gain as much profit as possible, but its greed after Buxar embarrassed the British government. The company made huge profits from its monopoly of the trade in Bengal and company merchants became accustomed to receiving personal 'gifts' which increased their wealth. Whilst they made huge profits, the local people were exploited and many died in a serious famine which hit Bengal. Robert Clive, who had been responsible for the military victory which brought EIC control of Bengal admitted that:

Such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery and corruption was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal.

LEARNING

What happened at Plassey?

Was this an important event in Indian history?

A British member of Parliament (M.P) was so angered by what was going on that he made a speech in the British House of Commons claiming that:

No civilised government ever existed on the face of this earth which was more corrupt or more greedy than the government of the East India Company from 1765 to 1784.

The British Government Intervenes

The British government was forced to act to stop this misgovernment. In 1773 it passed an Act of Parliament which required the EIC to provide good government to stop this anarchy. Then in 1784 the British government passed the India Act (sometimes called 'The Pitts India Act') and took direct control of the Indian possessions. It appointed a Governor-General, who would have control of the three presidencies. There would also be provincial governors and a Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The EIC continued to trade, but lost most of its administrative powers.

To further improve efficiency, a police force and legal system were set up on British lines. A professional civil service was also introduced, but local people were not given jobs in it. Only the British were considered suitable to help run 'British India'.

After setting up their new administration system in India, the British government continued to expand British control.

- In 1782 the first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, signed a treaty ending the First Maratha War between the British and the Marathas. This gave the British the opportunity to extend their influence elsewhere.
- In 1799 Governor-General Wellesley invaded Mysore and killed Tipu, the Sultan of Mysore. The British then took control of his lands.
- In the same year the Nawabs of Oudh were defeated and forced to grant large areas of their territory to the British.
- In 1803 the British entered Delhi and forced the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, to accept that he was ruling under 'British protection'.
- In 1818 the Marathas were defeated by British forces and finally forced to accept British control.

Titu Mir

Titu Mir (real name Syed Mir Nisar) was a great Bengali freedom fighter who led the people against the oppression of the zamindars and the British colonial system. In 1822 Titu Mir went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and when he returned to Bengal in 1827 he was determined to free Bengal from un-Islamic practices and British rule.

He proclaimed himself king and raised an army of 15,000 followers. He built a bamboo fort at Narkelbaria in October 1831 and defeated British forces sent to destroy it. As a result the British sent an army including cavalry and cannon. Titu Mir's forces could not withstand the power of the British modern weapons. Titu Mir along with many of his followers died after five days of fierce fighting. In his report, the British commander praised the amazing bravery of Titu and his men.

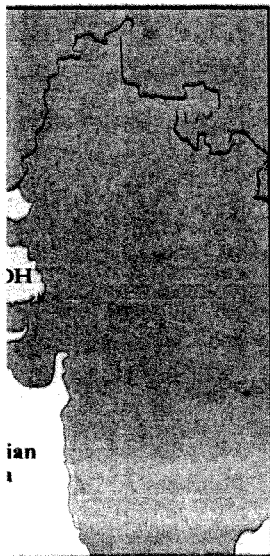
The Annexation of Sindh - How did the British take over the area of modern day Afghanistan?

By the early nineteenth century the British were becoming increasingly concerned about The Russian expansion. The British wanted to make sure that Afghanistan did not fall into Russian hands. The British agreed with the Sikh ruler of the

TO LEARNING

What was an Act of Parliament concerning India that was passed in Britain in 1784?

How was the British system of government organized in India from 1784?



The location of Sindh

How do Skills Book page 7



LEARNING

were the British
sted in Sindh?

did Sir Charles
mean by his
ment regarding the
of Sindh?

was the attack on
a 'shameful British

Punjab, Ranjit Singh, that Afghanistan should remain independent. They hoped that Ranjit Singh would help them install a pro-British ruler in Kabul. He did not support them, so the British went a head on their own. However, a rebellion in Afghanistan in 1841 led to all British troops in the country being killed.

The British felt that their pride had been hurt by this loss in Afghanistan and decided to turn on Sindh. This territory was ruled by a collection of Amirs who had signed a treaty of friendship with Britain in 1809. However, the British wanted to regain their prestige and also to make sure that Sindh could not be a target for Sikh expansion. Ranjit Singh had been following a policy of extending his kingdom and this had worried the British, so they decided to annex Sindh. All they needed was an excuse. The British general, Sir Charles Napier provoked the Amirs of Sindh so much that they attacked the British Residency in 1843. He now had his excuse for war. He later admitted that:

We have no right to besiege Sindh, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful human piece of rascality it will be.

The Amirs were defeated and Sindh was annexed by the British.

Annexation of the Punjab and the North West Frontier

Shortly afterwards the Punjab also fell into British hands. Ranjit Singh had signed a treaty of 'perpetual friendship' in 1809 but, after his death in 1839, rival chiefs argued amongst themselves over who should be the king. The Sikhs were worried that the British would invade the Punjab and so launched an attack on the British. The British defeated the Sikhs at the Battle of Aliwal in January 1846 and forced them to sign the Treaty of Lahore. The Sikhs had to cede land to the British and pay a huge indemnity. The Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, who had helped the British, was allowed to purchase Kashmir (which the British had taken from the Sikhs) and was granted the title Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

In the Second Sikh War (1848-9) the Sikhs once more suffered defeat and the Sikh empire came to an end. The Punjab and what later became known as the North West Frontier became part of the British Empire on 30 March 1849.

The Natural and Scientific Border

The acquisition of the NW Frontier to the British nearer to what Lord Curzon later called the 'scientific and natural frontier of British India'. This meant establishing a border which was based on natural geography, but also played a part in defending the territory from outside forces.

The British were determined that such a border would also help in their relations with the 'Tribal Territory' to the north of the new territory. Lord Lytton (who became Viceroy of India in 1876) put forward the idea of establishing a boundary to separate India from the tribesmen. He wanted to safeguard northern India from the non-stop tribal warfare and raiding. Eventually, Sir Mortimer Durand, in 1893, concluded an agreement with Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan fixing the border. This agreement established what became known as 'The Durand Line', a boundary drawn on "scientific lines" reflecting British defence needs. A clause in the treaty stated that:

The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

Although much of 'British India' had been gained in battle, the British did not formally add all conquered lands to their empire. In some places, such as Hyderabad Deccan and Oudh, the local Nawabs had been forced to sign treaties with the East India Company. These treaties allowed the rulers to stay on the throne and to rule their subjects, but gave Britain control of external affairs.

So Indian rulers could not follow a foreign policy with which the British disagreed. British influence was further extended by settling a British resident in the territory to 'advise' the ruler.

The Doctrine of Lapse

In 1852 Governor-General Dalhousie extended British control even further by applying the Doctrine of Lapse. When a ruler died without a natural heir the British would annex his lands. So Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi soon fell into British hands. Not surprisingly, this was an unpopular policy and caused much resentment, especially when it was used just as an excuse to take land. For example, in 1856 the Nawab of Oudh died, and although he had several legal heirs, Dalhousie declared that the Nawab had governed his people badly and took Oudh under British control. More than anything, this act showed how Britain was now dominant in India.

TO LEARNING

What was the Doctrine of Lapse?

Why was it so unpopular to many Indians?

Why were the British able to conquer India?

1. The Weakness of India

The Mughal empire was already in decline when the British began to expand their influence in India. At that time there was no strong uniting force in India. It was a collection of disunited territories with a variety of different rulers with different religions and cultures. They fought with each other and they often saw the British as possible allies in their arguments with their neighbours, rather than potential enemies. It was also true that many rulers were wealthy feudal lords living on their past history and allowing their states to decline through neglect rather than aiming to reform and reinvigorate them.

2. The Strength of the British

The Industrial Revolution in Britain resulted in it being technologically much more advanced than India. It had superior weapons, means of communication and the confidence that went with these technological advantages. Quite simply, the British considered themselves superior to the Indians. They did not doubt that it was their right, if not their duty, to spread their 'superior' culture across the globe. They saw India as a country in stagnation and decline. There were great opportunities for profitable trade and for imposing efficient British administrative systems on the sprawling giant of a country. A major reason for the British success in India was that they always believed that they would succeed. Their political belief, was that progress was inevitable. Part of that progress was a belief that they were not only superior, but that they were destined to rule large parts of the world.

TO LEARNING

In how

many ways did the weakness of India and the strength of the British contribute to Britain conquering India.

British Rule

Although the British had been to blame for much of the warfare that occurred in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were determined to try to do something about the impact of those wars.

- Law and order had broken down in many places and there was frequent famine in some areas. Warfare had damaged many of the great monuments of the past and had also disrupted trade and agriculture.
- Some areas of India, such as Bengal, had great wealth, but little of it was shared with the ordinary Indian people. Instead it went into the pockets of the Indian nobility, or increasingly, the British rulers.

LEARNING

do you think the official meant he talked of British being 'like a sponge'.

The early Governor-Generals tried to do something to improve the situation. In 1833 the British government tried to give Indians a more important part in running their own country. The Charter Act of 1833 said that Indians could be part of the civil service administering India. But in practice there was little change. The Indian Civil Service employed about 1000 administrators. They were chosen by open public examination, but those exams were taken in England, in English. So in reality India was governed by an able, but entirely British group of officials.

The salaries paid to the officials became part of what Indian historians have called the '*Drain of Wealth*'. Revenue was collected from the local people, but unlike in the past, it was often used to buy goods that were then shipped out of the country – to England. No wonder that one English official at the time talked of how British rule was '*like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames*'.

British Exploitation of India

Romesh Dutt, who became president of Congress in 1899, has written that the purpose of Britain's economic policy in India

'was to make India subservient to the industries of Britain and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only to supply materials for the manufacturing industry in Britain'

Historians have calculated that in the 150 years after the Battle of Plassey, a sum of £1000 million was transferred from India to Britain. This helps explain the poverty that existed in India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and may explain why the famines of 1877, 1878, 1889 and 1892 had such a devastating effect. It has been calculated that around 15 million people died in these famines.

LEARNING

do historians mean when they say that to be successful in the nineteenth century Indians had to become 'Anglicized'?

By the mid-nineteenth century the British were firmly established in India. For the Indian peasants and workers, life did not change much in the early period of British rule – especially as the British were careful not to cause offence by trying to change the religious and cultural practices of the Indian people (Although they did ban suttee in 1829). For the upper classes, however, there was a big change in their way of life. If they wanted to succeed they had to become 'Anglicized'. Two examples prove this point:

- In 1834 English replaced Persian as the official language of the administration.
- In 1835 it was decided that education should be in the English language. These changes reflected the view of many British that they had '*a great moral duty*' to govern India well.

As the British began to introduce more reforms into India, opposition grew. Many Indians viewed the British as conquering westerners trying to impose their culture on India. They didn't like Christian missionaries and they were very apprehensive about the new technological ideas such as railways. At the beginning of the century an Englishman had claimed that '*Natives of India do not really like us*'. He thought that given the opportunity they would '*gladly rise against us*'. That opportunity arose in 1857.

B

do Skills Book
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In 1907, Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama, a Parsi from Bombay, attended the International Socialist Conference in Germany. There she made a fiery speech attacking how India had suffered from the 'terrible tyrannies of British rule'.

Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama said:

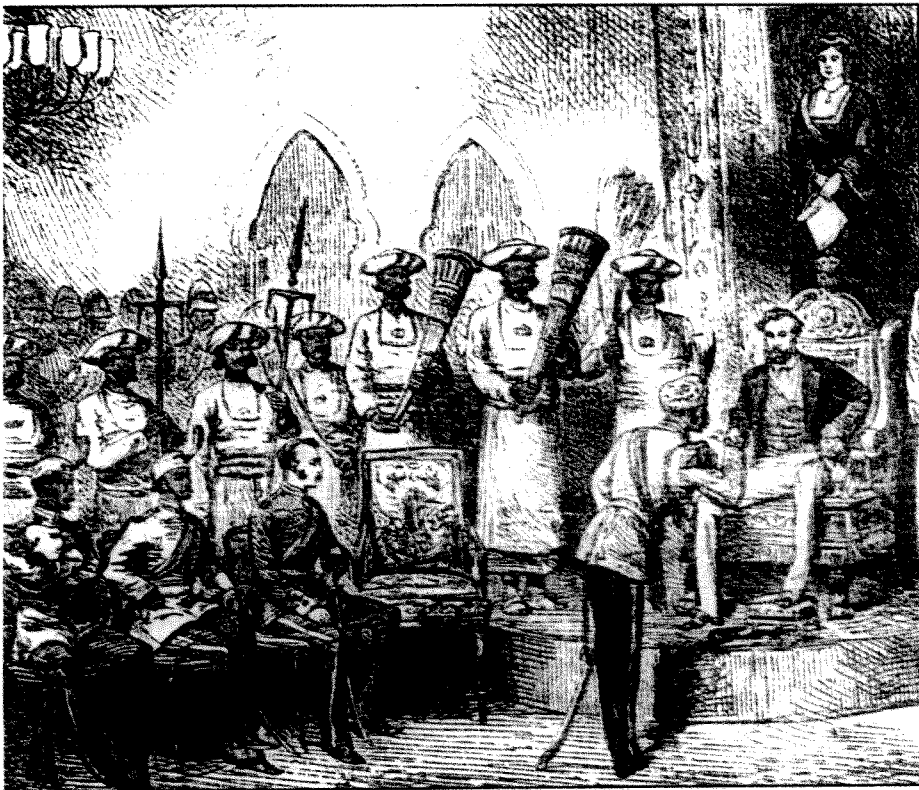
"Thirty-five million pounds have been taken annually from India to England without return. As a consequence people in India have died at a rate of half a million every month."

1. What do you think Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama was trying to say?
2. Do you think the figures 35 million and half a million will be very accurate figures? Does it matter?

The lack of opportunities for Indians led to wide-spread criticism of the British in newspapers articles written in regional languages. The British response was to pass the Vernacular Act of 1878, which placed strict controls on these newspapers. In the same year, the British passed an Arms Act which made it impossible for most Indians to own weapons, to ensure that if there were another Indian uprising, it would be less effective.

In this environment it is not surprising that nationalist ideas began to grow in India.

- In 1866 Rajnarayan Bose founded a society for the promotion of national feeling.
- In 1867 the yearly Hindu Mela was started in Bengal.
- Political groups also began to spring up, such as Sarvajanik Sabha founded in 1870. The most significant of all these was the Indian National Congress founded in 1885.



3: The Viceroy of India receiving a visitor. Notice how he has all the trappings of a monarch. Behind him is a picture of the Empress of India, Queen Victoria

Look carefully at the picture of the Viceroy.

1. What impression do you get of the Viceroy from this source?
2. Do you think this drawing was done by someone who supported the British rule or opposed it? Explain your answer.

Give reasons for your answer.

type Questions

What was the Doctrine of Lapse? [4]

Why did the British take tough measures against the Muslim community after the War of Independence? [7]

Do you agree that the British defeated the Indians in the war because the Indians were not united? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

ad on

DR SYED AHMAD KHAN AND 'THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT'

Syed Ahmad Khan wrote '*The Causes of the Indian Revolt*' in 1858. He had witnessed events very closely and had lost both a cousin and an uncle in the fighting. In the summer of 1857 he had rescued the British population of Bijnaur district and almost lost his life in doing so. He also witnessed the revenge carried out by the British when they recaptured Delhi in September 1857. He witnessed large numbers of Muslims driven from the city and the confiscation of numerous estates belonging to Muslims. He is quoted as saying:

For some time I wrestled with my grief and, believe me, it made an old man of me. My hair turned white.

He was particularly disturbed by the way that the British came to view the war as a Muslim conspiracy and that they should be punished for it. Syed Ahmad complained that Hindus were gaining revenge on Muslims by incriminating them in the eyes of the British. No proof was needed to establish guilt. Being Muslim was enough.

It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people alone can check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us.

Indian representation would have another advantage too. It would prevent misunderstandings of the government's intentions and help counter the widely held belief that the government wanted to convert Indians to Christianity - or, at the very least, to threaten established customs and practices in India.

It was from these misunderstandings that Syed Ahmad thought all causes of the war could be traced. He didn't believe that the war was a Muslim conspiracy and he didn't see it as part of the development of Indian nationalism and a desire to restore the power of the Mughal emperors.

HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE WORK OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT IN THE 19TH CENTURY?

Contents

- Sir Syed's contribution to the education of Muslims
- Revitalisation of Muslim national consciousness
- His main educational works and their importance
- Sir Syed's social and political theory
- The impact of his work, his relations with the British and the ulama
- Reasons for the foundation of Aligarh College
- His role in Congress and the Muslim League
- The 'Two-Nation Theory' and the Hindi-Urdu controversy

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ What was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's contribution to education, politics and religion?
- ▶ How important was his 'Two-Nation Theory'?
- ▶ What was the Hindu-Urdu Controversy?
- ▶ How successful was the Aligarh Movement?



4.1: Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898)

Early Biographical Details

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in 1817 in Delhi. He came from a wealthy family which was well known and respected in the area. Great care was taken by his father to ensure that he received a high-quality education.

By the age of 18 Sir Syed was skilled in Arabic, Persian, Mathematics and Medicine. He had also been introduced to some of India's most able writers and had developed a love for Literature.

In 1838 Sir Syed's father died and he was forced to seek employment. He quickly rose from a lowly position in the legal system to become a judge in Delhi in 1846. That year he wrote his well-known book on archaeology called *Athar-al-Sanadeed*. When the War of Independence broke out in 1857 Sir Syed was working as chief judge in Bijnaur and is said to have saved the lives of many women and children during the fighting. In return for his loyalty the British offered him an estate with a large income, but he refused the offer.

His belief that armed uprising against the British was pointless made him unpopular with some Muslims, but it did not stop him from working towards a reconciliation between the British and the Muslim community after the war. He was appointed Chief Justice in Muradabad and later was transferred to Ghazipore. In 1864 he was transferred to Aligarh where he played an important part in establishing a new college. In 1876 he retired from his work in the law to concentrate on running the college and to devote himself to improving the position of Muslims in the sub-continent through education. Aligarh became the centre of a 'Muslim renaissance'. He died on 27 March 1898, having served his fellow Muslims in a way which few had rivalled.

Beliefs

Sir Syed was extremely unhappy about the position of the Muslims in the subcontinent. Since the days of the Mughal empire their social and economic status had declined sharply. The role of Muslims in the War of Independence had led to a further decline in their fortunes as the British took measures to ensure that their control would not be subject to further challenge.

Sir Syed felt that the poor status of the Muslims was due to the way they were treated as second-class citizens by the British and the Hindus, but that they also had to take some of the responsibility themselves. Many Muslims considered the British to be little more than invaders in India and wanted nothing to do with them. Sir Syed believed that the Muslim community had to accept that the British were rulers who intended to stay for many years. The Muslim position could only be improved if they adopted a more positive approach to the British. They needed to accept more British ideas and to take advantage of British education. If they did not, then the Hindus would continue to prosper because of their more cooperative approach.

Sir Syed wanted to see the Muslims united and prospering. He also wanted to see an improvement in their economic, social, political and religious fortunes. He made this ambition his life's work and, because so much of his effort revolved around a 'Muslim renaissance' taking place in Aligarh, he is said to have founded 'The Aligarh Movement'.

The central aims of the Aligarh Movement were to:

- improve relations between the British and Muslim communities by removing British doubts about Muslim loyalty and Muslim doubts about British intentions,
- improve the social and economic position of Muslims by encouraging them to receive Western education and take up posts in the civil service and army,
- increase the political awareness of the Muslim community in order to make them aware of the threat to their position from the Hindus policy of co-operation with the British.

Work

1. *Improving Relations between the British and Muslim Communities*

Sir Syed believed that the position of the Muslims in the subcontinent could only be improved if relations with the British were improved and Muslims gained higher-quality education. There were two major obstacles to good relations.

- A** The British had put the entire responsibility for the War of Independence in 1857 on the Muslims. As a result they carried out policies of repression against the Muslims after 1857. The Hindus and other religious groups were considered to be loyal and prepared to assist in governing India, but the Muslims were seen as rebellious and unhelpful. Even as early as 1843 the British Governor-General had stated:

'I cannot close my eyes to the belief that the Muslim race is fundamentally hostile to us. Our true policy is to reconcile with the Hindus.'

Sir Syed wanted to ensure that this false view was corrected.

- B** There was a deep-seated resentment of the British among many in the Muslim community. This was sometimes based on the fact that the British were seen as 'foreign invaders' and sometimes because they were thought to be trying to replace Islam with Christianity. Other Muslims rejected all Western ideas because they were often not in line with Islamic beliefs. Sir Syed wanted to ensure that the benefits and advantages of British rule, particularly in the areas of science and technology were embraced by the Muslim community to improve the lives of the masses

LEARNING

Did Sir Syed believe in the position of the British in India? Was he fair to the Muslims? Was he fair to the British? Was he fair to the Hindus?

What did he want to achieve for the Muslim community?

Convincing the British

In 1860 Sir Syed wrote *The Loyal Mohammadans of India*. In this work he defended the Muslims from the British accusation that they were disloyal. He gave a detailed account of the loyal service which Muslims had given and named various Muslims who had shown particular loyalty to the British. At the same time he called on the British to end their hostility towards the Muslim community.

In order to convince the British that they were wrong to put the full blame for the events of 1857 on the Muslims, Sir Syed wrote a pamphlet called '*Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt*'. In this, he pointed out the main reasons for the uprising were:

1. The lack of representation for Indians in the government of the country.
2. The forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity.
3. The poor management of the Indian army.

He also listed many other measures taken by the British which created dissatisfaction and led to resentment among the Muslim community.

This pamphlet was circulated free amongst the British officials in India and was also sent to members of parliament in England.

Even members of the Royal family received copies. Some British officials were angered by what Sir Syed wrote as he seemed to be blaming them for the uprising. Others read what he wrote with sympathy and accepted that there was truth in his words. Sir Syed also tried to clear up a misunderstanding amongst the British who resented being called '*Nadarath*' by the Muslims. The British thought that this was an insult, but Sir Syed pointed out that the word came from '*Nasir*', an Arabic word meaning helper. So the term was a reflection of the positive image Muslims had of the British, not an insult.

Convincing the Muslims

Sir Syed was aware that the British knew very little about Islam. Indeed, on a visit to England he was so offended by an English book on the life of the Prophet (peace be upon him) that he immediately wrote his own work correcting the many errors.

It was also true, however, that the Muslims in India knew very little about Christianity. He tried to overcome this by writing *Tabyin-ul-Kalam*, in which he pointed out the similarities between Islam and Christianity. Due to lack of resources the work was not finished, but it showed Sir Syed's commitment to improving relations.

Another example of this was the British Indian Association which Sir Syed established to try to increase cooperation between the two peoples.

2. Encouraging the growth of Western Education

As we have seen, after 1857 the Muslim community was subject to discrimination at the hands of the British, whilst other groups were supported. The Hindus, for example, had decided that they should work with the British. This helped the British to see them as a counter to the supposedly 'disloyal Muslims'. So Hindus were keen to learn the English language and to acquire a British education in the subcontinent. This helped them to gain employment and to make progress in society. By 1871 there were 711 Hindus in government employment compared with only 92 Muslims.

The 'Hindu Movement' gained strength as more and more Hindus received education in the new schools, colleges and universities which were springing up. This increased confidence among Hindus also led them to view Muslims with an increasing lack of respect.

TO LEARNING

What did Sir Syed believe were the two main obstacles to good relations between the British and the Muslims?

Why did he write '*The Loyal Muhammadans of India*' and '*Causes of the Indian Revolt*'?

Sir Syed took steps to change Muslim attitudes towards receiving British education. In doing this he came into conflict with the ulama. They believed that the acceptance of Western scientific and technological ideas might undermine Islamic beliefs. Sir Syed believed that the Holy Quran emphasized the need to study and that an understanding of modern scientific beliefs actually helped reveal the full majesty of God.

- To gain support for his views Sir Syed set up an Urdu journal called *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*. This journal contained articles from influential Muslims who agreed with Sir Syed that there was a need for a new approach to education. Although some *ulama* attacked the journal, it played a major part in bringing about an intellectual revolution amongst Muslim thinkers.
- In 1863 Sir Syed founded the Scientific Society at Ghazipore. Its main purpose was to make scientific writings available to a wider market by translating them from English, Persian or Arabic into Urdu. When he was transferred to Aligarh in 1864 he continued his work and in 1866 began issuing a journal called the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*.
- He had already shown his commitment to expanding educational opportunities when, in 1859, he opened a school in Muradabad. In 1864 he opened another school in Ghazipore.
- In 1869 Sir Syed travelled to England to study the university system there. He dreamed of setting up a university for Muslims in the subcontinent. He was very impressed by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and hoped to set up an educational institution based on their model. However, on returning home, he found that his plans were often met with suspicion. He could not start with a university straight away. So instead he decided to begin with a school.
- A committee was set up, which toured the country raising funds for a new Muslim school. On 24 May 1875, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental School was set up in Aligarh on the pattern of English public school system. The British would not allow it to be affiliated with a Muslim university outside British territory so, for the moment it could not become the Muslim University that Sir Syed wanted.
- The college offered both Western and Indian education, though Islamic education was also provided. It became much more than an educational institution. In the days before the Muslim League, it became a symbol of Muslim unity. Many of the future leaders of Pakistan, such as Liaquat Ali Khan and Ayub Khan, were educated there and some historians have commented that the college was the institution which contributed more than any other to the formation of Pakistan.

LEARNING

did Sir Syed think education was so important for Muslims?

was the importance of Mohammedan-Oriental College?



Members of the debating club, MAO College - 1886

- However, Sir Syed's work in education did not end with the formation of the college. He wanted to publicise the new educational methods being used at Aligarh. So in 1886 he set up the Mohammedan Educational Conference. Its aim was to raise educational standards among Muslims. It held meetings at a number of cities across the subcontinent and sub-committees were formed in many places. The Conference attracted famous orators and writers and also played a major role in establishing a political platform for Muslims, in the days before the formation of the Muslim League.
- In 1920 the college became the University of Aligarh.

3. Increasing Political Awareness

Sir Syed was determined to improve the status of the Muslim community. By writing his Essay on the *Causes of the Indian Revolt and The Loyal Mohammadens of India* he had shown a desire to re-establish good relationships with the British, as he hoped this would lead to greater opportunities for Muslims. This earned him a reputation of being too moderate and too British. But, in fact, Sir Syed realised that the British were too powerful to overthrow and that Muslims would gain more by co-operating with them.

He also believed that Muslims should have good relations with Hindus, as they had a common longterm aim – to restore the authority of the local people in their own country. In a speech to the Indian Association he said:

'We, Hindus and Muslims, live together on the same soil under the same government. Our interests and problems are common and, therefore I consider the two factions as one nation.'

However, Sir Syed soon realised that the Hindus were not so keen on working with Muslims and this led him to the conclusion that the two groups could not work together. In time he came to believe that Hindus and Muslims were different enough to be considered as two separate groups within the subcontinent.

Indian National Congress

- In 1885 the Indian National Congress was formed. The British saw this body as a means by which they could hear the views of the educated elite in Indian society. The Congress said that it would represent the views of all the communities within India, regardless of their religion. However, it soon became apparent that the Congress was a Hindu dominated body which was working to establish Hindu supremacy over the Muslims.

Political Representation

- A good example of this was the call by Congress for the introduction of a democratic system of political representation similar to that practised in Britain. This sounded fair, but since there were four times as many Hindus as Muslims, they would win every election. Democracy would leave the Muslims with no representation at all.

Sir Syed spoke out angrily against any such plans saying:

'I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election ... would be attended with evils of greater significance. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community'

Competitive Examinations

- Congress also suggested that appointments in the government service should be by competitive examination. Since Muslims were not receiving education of a standard similar to that received by Hindus, this would greatly disadvantage them. Sir Syed commented that only when equal educational opportunities were provided could such an idea work.

m-type Questions

the creatures of God have equal rights. No man is entitled to allow one particular race of men obtain the good things of this world, and to bar the rest from participating in them, and it is duty of the government to observe this divine law in all its integrity.

from the writings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

According to this source how should India be governed?

LEARNING

Sir Syed believed Hindus and Muslims should work together in India. Why did he have this idea in his mind?

What was 'The Two Nation Theory'?

B

do Skills Book
pages 11-12

Language

- A further cause of concern to Sir Syed was the 'Hindi-Urdu Controversy'. In 1867 the Hindus demanded that Hindi should be made the next official language in place of Urdu (which had become the official language in 1825). It was not until after his death that Hindi became the second language, but the Hindu opposition to Urdu was another factor guiding Sir Syed towards his 'Two Nation Theory'.
- As you will read in the next section, Urdu had a special place in the hearts of the Muslim community with many of its finest writings in that language. Sir Syed was bitterly opposed to this attack on Urdu and particularly shocked to find that the Hindu members of his Scientific Society wanted the society's journal to be published in Hindi.

Sir Syed's belief that Congress was working in the interests of Hindus, and in a way which was harmful to the Muslim community, led him to refuse to attend its meetings. Instead he organised an alternative body called the United Patriotic Alliance. In 1893 this became the Mohammedan Defence Alliance. By this time rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim communities was increasing and there were several examples of Hindus showing disrespect for the Muslim religion. In Bombay some Hindu extremists began playing loud music outside mosques.

It seemed that in some areas it was becoming increasingly difficult for Muslims and Hindus to live in peaceful co-existence.

Importance

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan played a vital role in improving the status of the Muslim community in the subcontinent.

- He worked tirelessly to restore relations with the British, particularly after the War of Independence when many British were of the opinion that the Muslims were disloyal and untrustworthy. His writings, his tireless work and the example he set were to convince the British to see the Muslims in a new light.
- Sir Syed played a major part in bringing about a Muslim revival, largely through the work of the Aligarh Movement. Muslims came to value education as a means of self-improvement and of obtaining better employment. From this came greater the feeling of self-worth.
- Linked to the Muslim revival was a greater political awareness. As Hindus sought to take advantage of the poor relations between the Muslims and the British, Sir Syed emphasised the threat to Muslims and developed his 'Two Nation Theory'. Once Muslims came to accept the wisdom of this theory, it was only a small step to call for partition. For this reason Sir Syed Ahmad Khan can rightly be called 'The Father of the Pakistan Movement'.



Bab-e-Syed - The main entrance of the Aligarh University

Multiple Choice Questions

1. What was the Aligarh Movement? [4]

2. Why did Sir Syed Ahmad Khan write 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt'? [7]

3. Do you agree that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's most important contribution to the Muslim community was his support for education? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE URDU AND REGIONAL LANGUAGES CONTRIBUTED TO THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN?

Contents

- The importance of Urdu
- Reasons why it was chosen as the national language
- The advantages and disadvantages of Urdu as the national language
- The importance and promotion of Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto and Sindhi

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

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

Introduction

Language is extremely important in the development of any state or national culture. The acceptance of one single language as the 'national language' helps bring about uniformity and a cultural identity by binding a 'people' together. A common language increases understanding and helps build a shared understanding of what a nation believes in.

In Pakistan many languages are spoken, but the national language is Urdu. It is a relatively new language and over time Muslims in the subcontinent have spoken a wide variety of languages.

History

Ever since Islam came to the subcontinent there have been many different languages used. As any group came to rule the subcontinent, they brought with them their own language, such as Arabic or Turkish. Effective rulers appreciated the need to foster an understanding of arts and literature and so it is not surprising that these new languages took root and spread.

The language which perhaps had the greatest impact was Persian. During the Mughal period it was the official language in the court of Delhi. Most books were written in Persian and it was adopted by poets and scholars, such as Amir-Khusrau. Shah Waliullah translated the Quran from Arabic into Persian so that it was accessible to more people. Many Sanskrit books were also translated into Persian. The language was also used for day-to-day communication and became so widespread that even Hindus began to use it.

GUIDE TO LEARNING

1. Why is language important in the development of a nation?
2. Why does the Indian subcontinent have many languages?

Urdu

When the state of Pakistan was set up, its constitution stated that Urdu was the national language. It was to be the symbol of unity between the different regions of the new country. Why was Urdu chosen?

علم ہی سے قدر ہے
ہے وہی انسان جو

- It has long been considered the language of the Muslims of the subcontinent, developed by combining many other languages. It became widely used in the Mughal period, but dates back as far as the era of the Sultans of Delhi. It is said that it first originated in North-West India when Persian, Turkish and Punjabi interacted with the local dialects of Delhi and the surrounding areas. We also know that at the end of the thirteenth century the Muslim armies were using a common language to help people from different areas and languages to understand each other. This language eventually went through many stages of development to form what we now call Urdu. It became widely spoken and understood in many different regions of the subcontinent. As Muslims travelled abroad they spread their language further.
- Urdu language developed a rich literary background which helped to promote its use. Poetry has been significantly prevalent in Urdu for centuries. Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) occupies a prominent position in its early development. The language received a boost when Emperor Muhammad Shah and Bahadur Shah Zafar took an interest in promoting it, the latter being a great poet himself. Famous poets of this period are Mir, Sauda, Dard and Ghalib. Aligarh Muslim University became a centre for the study of Urdu and produced talented writers like Hasrat Mohani, Majaz and Jazbi. In the early twentieth century Dr. Allama Iqbal, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Muhammad Hussain Azad, Maulana Altaf Husain Hali and Allama Shibli greatly enriched Urdu prose and poetry, producing numerous literary masterpieces.
- Due to the efforts of poets and writers, Urdu has spread widely. Its link to the Islamic religion has also been very important, most notably with the translation of the Quran into Urdu by Shah Abdul Qadir. Many religious books have also been written in Urdu and this has helped develop unity amongst Muslims.
- In the twentieth century Urdu has played a major part in the struggle for independence. As you will read later, the Muslim League (formed 1906) aimed not only to defend the rights of Muslims, but also to protect the Urdu language. The British made English the official language of the administration, but some of its educational institutions, such as the Fort William College, took an interest in the Urdu language and promoted it.

LEARNING

How did Urdu develop as a language up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

How has it been important in helping to create unity in Pakistan?

After 1857, however, the British began to seek the support of the Hindus in governing India and lost any interest in helping Urdu to develop. Urdu was the main language of the Muslim-dominated provinces in the north-west of the subcontinent, but in 1867 some leading Hindus began campaigning to establish Hindi as the leading language. Muslims saw this as an attack on their rights and strongly resisted Hindu demands. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan set up a society to support Urdu and relations between the Hindus and Muslims suffered during this 'Urdu-Hindi Controversy'.

- It also showed that Urdu was not supported by non-Muslims. However, it was also true that not all Muslims supported the language, either. In Bengal (which formed the majority of Pakistan's population until 1971) there was widespread resentment at Bengali not being made the national language. In 1948 protests in Dhaka led to arrests and in 1952 tear gas had to be used to disperse students protesting against Urdu.

The language issue was an important part of the controversy which led to civil war in 1971 and the eventual establishment of Bangladesh.

Balochi

زندہ پہ چیرگ و مرگ پہ سوگ
حشکیں ننگ و زالی زارباں

Balochi is the language spoken in Balochistan, the largest of Pakistan's provinces, though other languages, such as Persian and Brohi are also spoken in the province. There are two main kinds of Balochi, 'Sulemanki' and 'Mekrani'.

The Balochi language was brought into Balochistan by tribes which migrated from North-West Iran. They were nomadic people who rarely settled in any one place for long periods of time.

This explains why there has been little development in Balochi poetry and prose and why the language has been largely an oral one. The early Balochi poetry abounds in folk songs. Jam Darang is considered an important Balochi poet.

LEARNING

Was there little development in Balochi literature before the 19th century?

What steps have been taken since partition to promote Balochi?



The provinces of Sindh and Balochistan

The first time Balochi language became known outside the region was in 1830 when the British traveller, W. Leech, reported in the *Journal of Asiatic Society* about the existence of Balochi language and literature.

Before partition Balochi literature was beginning to decline. There were few books or magazines published in Balochi and even the Balochistan Gazetteer was published in English. After partition, however, there have been steps to promote the language.

- Radio Pakistan Karachi began broadcasts in Balochi.
- The Balochi Literary Association was set up and there are now weekly and monthly magazines published in the language.
- The Quetta Television Station broadcasts in Balochi.
- Modern Balochi literature has shown rapid progress. There are many poets most notable are Atta Shad and Ishaq Shamin. Other writers, such as Gul Khan Nazir and Azad Jamal Din are also working to promote the Balochi language.

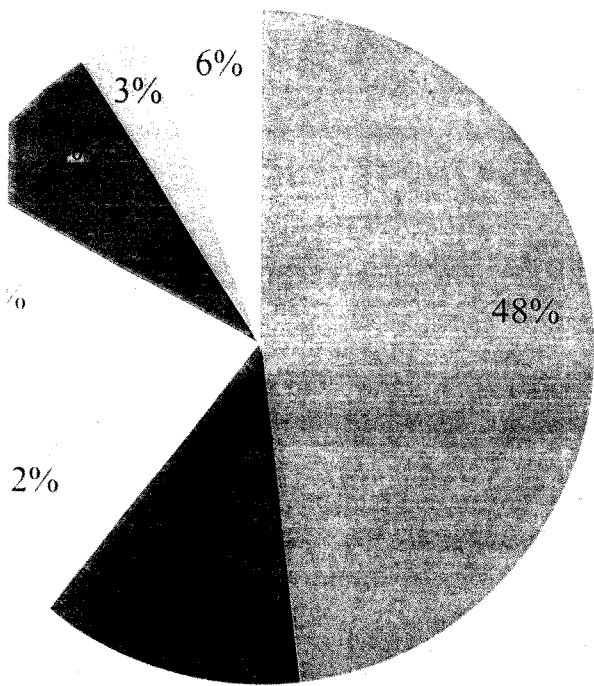
Punjabi

علموں بس کریں
اکو الف تے

Punjabi is the language spoken in the most populous of Pakistan's provinces, the Punjab, though it is also spoken in other areas, such as Azad Kashmir and the North West Frontier Province. It is an easily understood language which has been given various different names throughout history. For example, it has been referred to as 'Masoodi', 'Al-Hindi' and 'Hindko'. It is thought that in 1080 Hafiz Barkhudar was the first person to have used the term 'Punjabi' to describe the language.

Punjabi has a long history. Originally it was written in Gurmukhi script, but during the latter years of the Mughals, Arabic script was used. The Punjabi language has been influenced by many other languages, such as Persian, Arabic, Hindi, Turkish and English. Several different Punjabi dialects exist and in the Western Punjab the language has also been influenced by Sindhi and Pashto.

The early Punjabi literature consists of folk tales. Among them *Heer-Ranjha*, *Sassi-Punnu*, *Sohni-Mahiwal* are widely known. There has also been a long



Punjabi ■ Urdu
 Sindhi ■ Balochi
 Urdu ■ Rest
 Balochi ■
 Urdu ■

ٺٺو، ٺٺو! ڪاڪ ٽڙين، جتي ٺٺو
 نه ڪا جهل نه پل، سڀڪو پٺي

- Urdu is generally accepted as the state language today, but as the chart shows by far the most widely spoken of the 72 first languages in Pakistan is Punjabi.

Urdu as a National Language

Despite this opposition, Urdu survived and after independence became the national language. The Quaid-e-Azam was keen to promote Urdu as he saw it as an important unifying force in the new country. It was to be the link language for all the provinces to provide for the cultural and educational needs of the people and to forge unity of purpose among the various sections of society.

The government has taken steps to foster the growth of Urdu. It is the medium of instruction in many educational institutions in Pakistan. A dictionary of office terms in Urdu has been published and steps have been taken to move away from English as the language of administration. Urdu is the medium for radio and television programmes. Urdu plays and films are very popular. Urdu novels, poetry, magazines and newspapers are widely read.

Sindhi

Compared with Urdu, Sindhi is an older language which is spoken in the province of Sindh, and documents show that as far back as the 12th century it was spoken in the same form as it is today.

Before the arrival of the Muslims, Sindhi was written in the 'Marwari' and 'Arz Nagar' ways of writing. When the Arabs settled in Sindh their culture and literature had a major impact on Sindhi. Many Arab words were absorbed into the language and the language was written in the Arabic script. When the Muslims first settled in Sindh in the eighth century, they found that two languages were being spoken. Arabic was the language of the administration, but Sindhi was the language spoken by most of the people. This remained the case until the subcontinent fell under the influence of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, who brought their Persian language with them. Consequently Sindhi has been greatly influenced by both the Arabic and Persian languages.

Sindhi has had a number of famous poets and writers who have played their part in the development of the language. Amongst the most famous of these are Makhdum Nuh of Hala and Qazi Qazan of Thatta. Sindhi literature was of a particularly high quality during the Somroo period between 1050-1300, though most scholars consider that it was at its peak between 1685 and 1783. The poetry of Sachal Sarmast and Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai is particularly famous.

The growth of the language was further aided by journals which began to appear in the nineteenth century. The first of these was *Ta'alim Alkhashaf-o-Tauheed*.

In more modern times, steps have been taken to promote the Sindhi language:

- In 1948 the Sindhi Literary Board was set up and this has printed many books and magazines in Sindhi. Amongst important Sindhi authors are Pir Ali-Muhammad Rashdi, Faqir Nabi Bux and G. Allana.
- Several important books have been written on Sindhi folk literature.
- In 1954 Bazm-e-Talib-ul-Muala was set up to promote Sindhi literature.
- A Sarmast academy has been established in the memory of Sachal Sarmast.
- A Sindhiology department has been established at Sindh University Jamshoro.

TO LEARNING

How has the use of Sindhi
 developed since the
 nation of Pakistan?

AID TO LEARNING

1. Which languages have influenced Punjabi?
2. Who were the famous Sufi poets?

tradition of mystic literature extending from the twelfth century. Sufi poet as Baba Farid Ganjshakar, Sultan Bahu wrote their famous works in Punjabi. Bullhe Shah composed stirring mystical lores and melodious *kafis* which are commonly sung to this day.

At the beginning of the 20th century, novels, short stories and dramas were published in Punjabi and as the century progressed, books on a wide range of academic subjects such as Law, Medicine, History and Philosophy have been published in the language. Punjabi poetry came to the contemporary scene and new mediums like the *gurbani* and *nazm*, including blank-verse, came into vogue.

One of the new literary endeavours was the verse translations of the Holy Quran rendered by Muhammad Ali Faiz, Ustad Daman, Sharif Kunjahi, Ahmad Raza Khan, Munir Niazi are the major exponents of a new wave of Punjabi writing and along with their many young followers seem to be moving towards a quick departure from the traditional patterns of Punjabi literature, in content and form. Punjabi literature is now taught at the MA level at the University of Punjab.

Pashto

Pashto is the language spoken by the people of the North West Frontier Province and in the northern part of Balochistan. Like most languages it has been influenced by other languages, such as Arabic, Persian, and Greek.

The history of Pashto literature can be divided into three periods:

- The first period dates from around the second half of the thirteenth century. The first Pashto poet of this period was Amir Khan Pehivan, though the most famous was Bayazid Ansari. His most famous work, *Khair-ul-Maqbul* was probably the first book on sufism in Pashto literature.
- The second period begins with the Mughal invasions of India in the sixteenth century and lasted for about one hundred years. It was during this period that the quality of Pashto prose was at its peak. Also during this period Pashto poetry reflected the growth of nationalism and Pashto literature played an important part in asserting Pashto freedom. Perhaps the greatest poet of this period was Hazrat Mian Umar and other famous literary personalities of the period were Saadat Ali Khan and Amir Muhammad.
- The third period extends to the establishment of British rule and is considered to be a golden period for Pashto literature, as so much high quality writing was produced. Famous writers from this period include Dardeza and Khushal Khan *Khattak*, as well as the Sufi poet Rehman Baba.

Pashto literature played a very important part in creating opposition to British rule and in the movement for independence. Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan tirelessly to increase the political awareness of the people of the North West Frontier Province and it was his work which was the driving force behind the establishment of the Islamia College in Peshawar. Here study in Pashto helped foster a sense of national identity and the college became the centre of the freedom movement in the province.

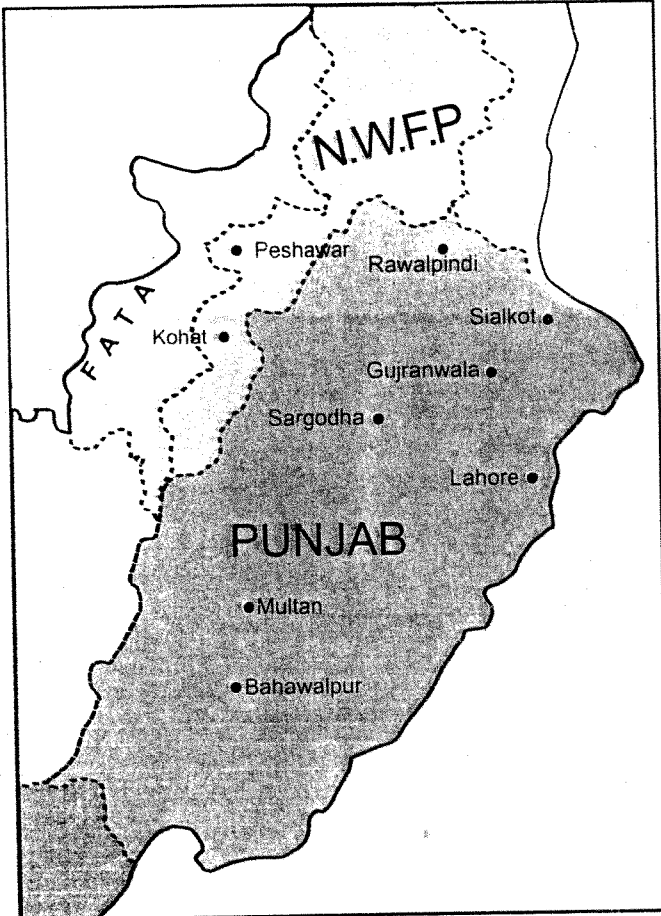


Fig. 5.2: The provinces of Punjab and N.W.F.P.

که صورت د محمد نه وی پیدا
پیدا کړي به خدای ته وده دا دنیا

AID TO LEARNING

What part did Pashto play in the opposition to the British?

Within three years of Independence Peshawar University was established an academy for the promotion of Pashto literature was set up in 1954. academy was initially headed by Maulana Abdul Qadir and prepared a well accepted Pashto dictionary. Since that time post-graduate classes in Pashto literature have been established at university level in NWFP.

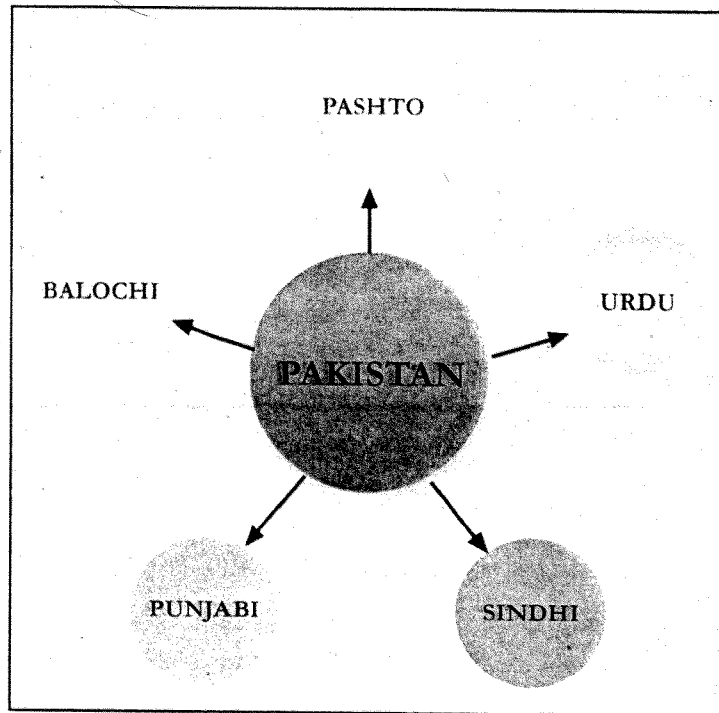


Fig. 5.3: Languages of Pakistan

Now do Skills Book pages 13-14

Exam-type Questions

- A. What steps to foster the growth of Urdu has the government taken? [4]
- B. Why did Pakistan choose Urdu as its national language in 1947? [7]
- C. How successful has the promotion of local languages in Pakistan been since 1947? Give reasons for answer. [14]

What you have written so far is a very good answer on the importance of just ONE Muslim leader. However, that is only part of the answer. You now have to write paragraphs of the same quality on two other points as well. Then you will have written a very good answer. If you then conclude with a paragraph explaining why one of the three was the MOST important, you would have written an excellent answer.

He is also important because he promoted Muslim interests by his writing. Not only did he translate the Quran into Persian, but he also wrote fifty-one books, including 'Azalat-Akhra'. He also tried to end divisions between the various groups of Muslims, so that the Muslim community would be more united. During Shah Waliullah's time, the Marathas had been threatening to overrun the Mughal Empire. There was also a threat from the Sikhs in the north. Shah Waliullah persuaded the Muslim nobles to come together to save the Empire. As a result of this the Marathas were defeated at the Battle of Panipat in 1761 and the Mughal Empire was not overrun. This would have threatened the Muslim religion, so he was really important in promoting Muslim interests.

He studied in Arabia and developed a deep understanding of the Quran. He helped promote Muslim interests by his respectful and learned approach to his religion.

Our section on Shah Waliullah was very important in promoting Muslim interests because he gave the Muslims a model to show how they ought to live. He studied at the Madrasa and became a highly knowledgeable scholar at an early age.

1. He was important because he acted as a role model.

2. He was important because of his writings.

3. He was important in opposing the Marathas.

Let us use Shah Waliullah as an example. We could say the following about him.

The best way to plan to answer this question is to treat it like three lots of Question 2. Take each point and find a number of reasons to explain why he was important. Then add a final paragraph explaining why one was more important than the others.

Planning:

- explain why each of the three was important.
- and then why you think one of the people was the most important.

You need to

So in this question there are three important Muslim leaders to write about.

marks. and Haji Shariatullah were important too. So you have to write about them too or you will not score marks. is listed, but you have to bring in others too. You should know that in this period, Syed Ahmad Be Hint: When you are given this sort of question, you are expected to write about the person or event.

Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Was Shah Waliullah the most important Muslim leader in the period 1700-1850?

Section B: Question (c)

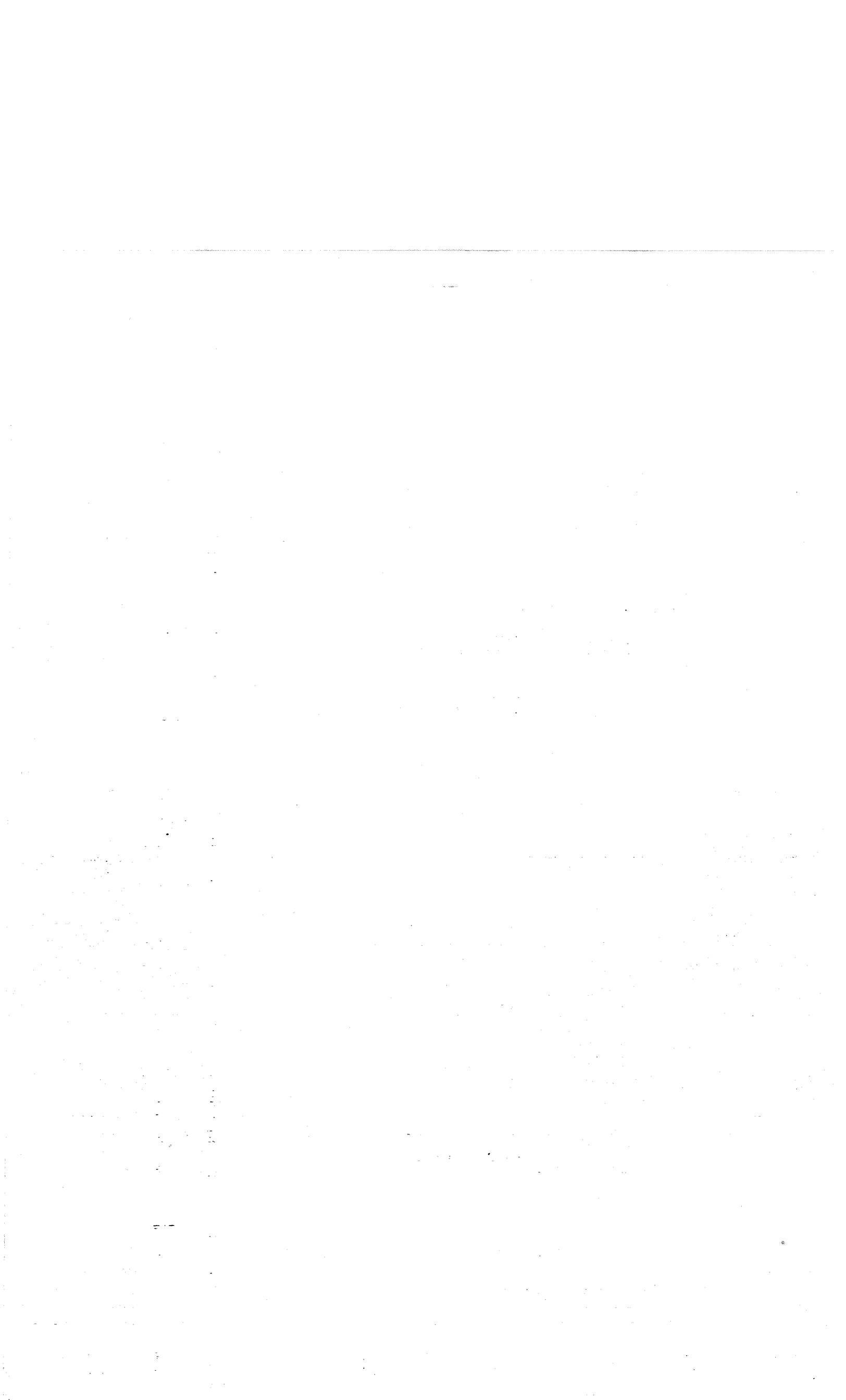
If you wrote the above answer, you could hope to get a very high mark indeed.

marks with just two reasons, but three, well done will help you get top marks. Even if you know more than this, there is no need to explain more than three reasons.

- It identifies a number of reasons and explains why each one was important in Urdu being chosen as the national language. Three reasons are identified. In the examination you could score very high marks.
- It addresses the question straight away by saying 'One of the reasons why Urdu became the national language in Pakistan is...'

This answer is very good.

Urdu as he saw it as a unifying force. Since Pakistan was a new country, it was very appropriate to have a language which had played a part in unifying Muslims.



Exam Guidance

At the end of each chapter we have provided you with questions in the style of those you will be asked in an examination. Let us now look at some of those questions and how they should be answered.

Question B: Question (a)

This question is designed to test your factual recall. In this type of question you are asked to provide details of a well-known person, event or historical occurrence. There are four marks for this question and the most straightforward way to score full marks is to write four separate sentences each of which provides a piece of information. However, if you write a sentence that is a statement of fact and also contains some development of that fact, you could score two marks for that sentence.

Here is a possible answer about the Doctrine of Lapse. It has three statements of fact and two of those have been developed. So there is more than enough here to score full marks.

Doctrine of Lapse was introduced in 1852 (fact), because the British wanted to extend their control (development). It was introduced by Governor-General Dalhousie. (fact) The Indians hated the policy (development), because they thought that it was just a British excuse to take over their land. (development)

Question B: Question (b)

Why did Pakistan choose Urdu as its national language in 1947? [7]

When you are asked the question 'Why?', you are expected to find more than one reason. You will not be asked a question with just one reason for the answer. You are not asked to give every possible reason you can think of, but will be expected to find two or three important reasons for an event occurring. In this question you are expected to explain why those reasons led to Urdu being chosen, rather than just say what they are. Equally important, you are not asked to write all you know about Urdu (or the other languages). What is needed is only the information that is necessary to answer the question.

Planning:

When you are answering a question which requires continuous prose, it is always a good idea to make a brief plan. This plan ought to show what you will include in each paragraph. The best idea is to write a paragraph for each idea. In explaining why Urdu was chosen, we might select the following reasons:

Urdu's history

The status given by poets, writers and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Its unifying role in the struggle for independence.

What we have to do now is write a paragraph on each of these, providing enough information to explain each factor led to Urdu being adopted. Start your answer with a direct response to the question. There is no need to waste time with lengthy background information. There are no marks awarded to such introductions.

Here is a suggested response:

One of the reasons why Urdu became the national language in Pakistan is its long history. It was widely spoken in the Mughal period and dates back as far as the Sultans of Delhi. In its early stages it was used by the Muslim armies and became widely spoken and understood in many parts of the subcontinent. So it is natural that such a well-known and established language would be chosen.

Another reason for Urdu being chosen was its high status. Some of the finest early poets, such as Amir Khusrau wrote in Urdu and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's school at Aligarh became a centre for Urdu study. Many religious books, including the Quran, were translated into Urdu. So it was considered an important language with a rich literary tradition.

Perhaps the major reason for Urdu being chosen was the fact that it was so closely associated with the Indian National Movement. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan supported it and the Muslim League was formed not only to represent Muslim interests, but also to protect Urdu. The Quaid-e-Azam was particularly keen to promote Urdu.

...he saw it as a unifying force. Since Pakistan was a new country, it was very appropriate to pick Urdu which had played a part in unifying Muslims.

Your answer is very good.

It addresses the question straight away by saying 'One of the reasons why Urdu became the national language in Pakistan is...'

It identifies a number of reasons and explains why each one was important in Urdu being chosen as the national language. Three reasons are identified. In the examination you could score very high marks with just two reasons, but three, well done will help you get top marks. Even if you know more than three, there is no need to explain more than three reasons.

If you wrote the above answer, you could hope to get a very high mark indeed.

Question B: Question (c)

Shah Waliullah the most important Muslim leader in the period 1700-1850? Give three reasons for your answer. [14]

When you are given this sort of question, you are expected to write about the person or event that is named, but you have to bring in others too. You should know that in this period, Syed Ahmad Bareilvi and Mirza Asadullah Khan were important too. So you have to write about them too or you will not score high marks.

In this question there are three important Muslim leaders to write about. You need to identify them and explain why each was important.

Then you need to explain why you think one of the people was the most important.

For this question, you should write about three people and explain why each was important.

For example:

One way to plan to answer this question is to treat it like three lots of Question 2. Take each person and list a number of reasons to explain why he was important. Then add a final paragraph explaining why one was more important than the others.

Use Shah Waliullah as an example. We could say the following about him.

Shah Waliullah was important because he acted as a role model.

Shah Waliullah was important because of his writings.

Shah Waliullah was important in opposing the Marathas.

One possible structure for your answer on Shah Waliullah might go like this.

Shah Waliullah was very important in promoting Muslim interests because he gave the Muslims a role model to show how they ought to live. He studied at the Madrasa and became a highly knowledgeable scholar at an early age.

He travelled to Arabia and developed a deep understanding of the Quran. He helped promote Muslim interests by his respectful and learned approach to his religion.

Shah Waliullah was also important because he promoted Muslim interests by his writing. Not only did he translate the Quran into Persian, but he also wrote fifty-one books, including 'Azalat-Akhfa'. He also tried to end the divisions between the various groups of Muslims, so that the Muslim community would be more united.

During Shah Waliullah's time, the Marathas had been threatening to overrun the Mughal Empire. There was also a threat from the Sikhs in the north. Shah Waliullah persuaded the Muslim nobles to combine forces to save the Empire. As a result of this the Marathas were defeated at the Battle of Panipat in 1761 and the Mughal Empire was not over-run. This would have threatened the Muslim religion, so this was very important in promoting Muslim interests.

Your answer so far is a very good answer on the importance of just ONE Muslim leader. However, it is only part of the answer. You now have to write paragraphs of the same quality on two other people. Then you will have written a very good answer. If you then concluded with a paragraph explaining why one of the three was the MOST important, you would have written an excellent answer.

Source Guidance

Answering Source-based Questions

Cambridge International Examinations Pakistan Studies O-level examination is now divided into Section A and Section B questions.

Section A is compulsory and contains 4 questions worth a total of 25 marks. These questions are linked to a common theme and the first two questions (a) and (b) are source-based questions.

We will look at four questions which follow this pattern and are based around the theme of the War of Independence in 1857.

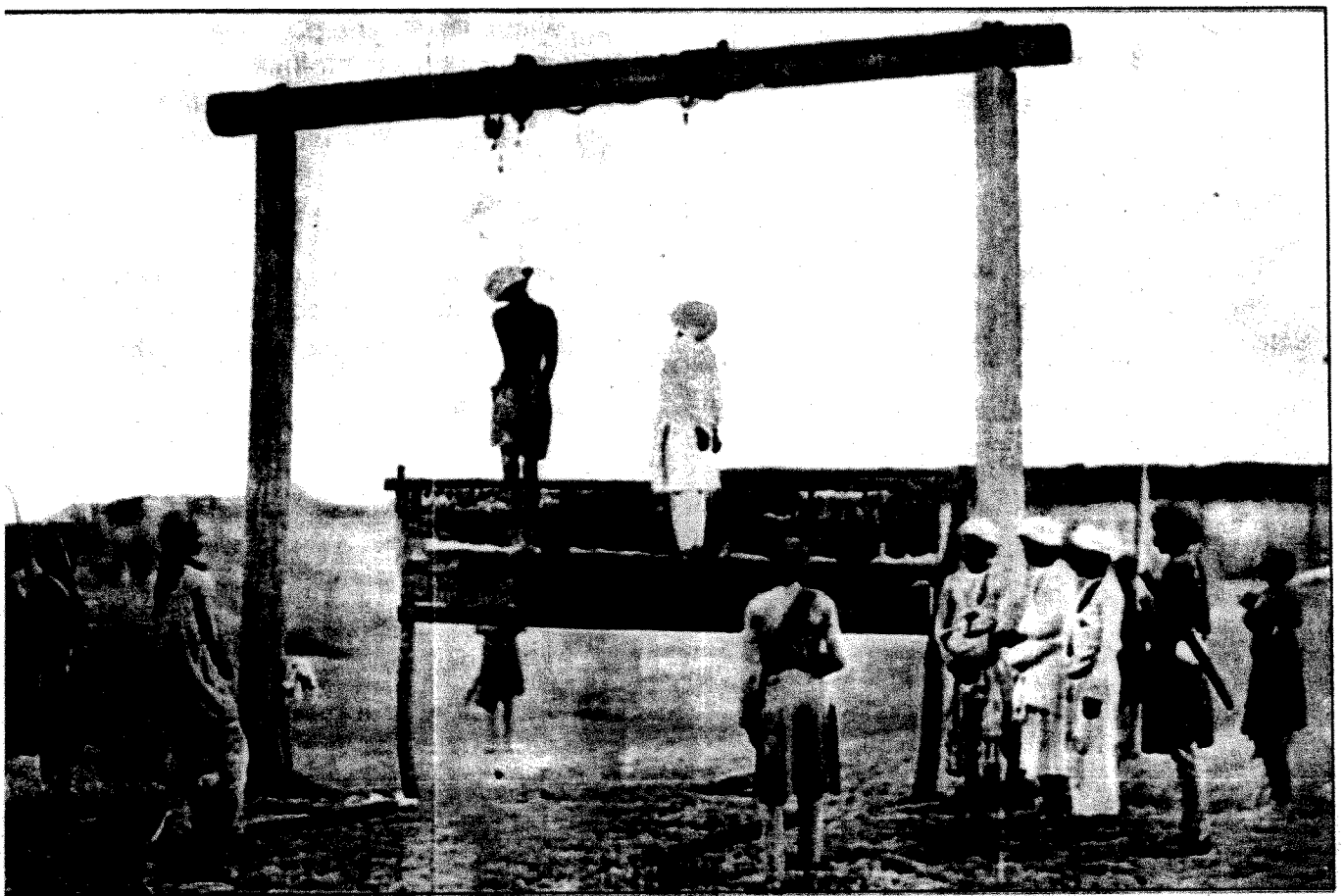
SOURCE A

Full accounts of the earlier scenes of the recent revolt in the Bengal army have now reached us. Several regiments have broken out into open mutiny, murdered their officers and entered into direct rebellion against the British government. At present revolt seems to be confined to the army of Bengal, the largest and most important of the three presidencies, and only about 8000 men have taken part. Everywhere else, according to reports received, all is quiet and the native army is true to its duty.

An account of the events of 1857, written in an English newspaper in June 1857.

According to Source A how widespread was the 'revolt'? (3)

SOURCE B *The public hanging of Indians who took part in the War of Independence.*



What does Source B tell us about British attitudes towards the uprising? (5)

Why did the war break out in 1857? (7)

How successful was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in restoring the reputation of the Muslims in the eyes of the British in the years after the war? (10)

As you will see, Question (c) is exactly like the part (b) questions that have been set for many years. Question (d) is also very similar to the part (c) questions in previous papers. However Question (a) and Question (b) are new types of question. How do we answer them?

Question (a)

According to Source A how widespread was the 'revolt'? (3)

This question is designed to test your understanding of what a source tells us. To help understand what you have to do, it might be helpful to call it the 'comprehension question'. You have to read it, comprehend it, and quote information from it. There are 3 marks for this question and you will get one mark for each correct statement. So a good answer to Question (a) above would be.

Source A tells us that the revolt is confined to several regiments. It says that 8000 soldiers from the Bengal Army were involved and that everywhere else the soldiers are quiet and doing their duty.

If you wrote this, you would have written three correct statements.

Question (b)

What does Source B tell us about British attitudes towards the uprising? (5)

This question is a little more demanding. This time you have to look at the picture and work something out from it. We call this making an 'inference' because you infer something that you have been told or shown. So in answering Question (b) if you said '*It tells us that they thought they should hang the Indians who fought against them*', you would just be describing what you see and would get a low mark.

A better answer would be.

Source B tells us that the British had no sympathy for the Indian people who fought against them and that they should be used to make an example of so that the rest of Indian people knew not to resist them. I can tell this because these Indians are not just being hanged, they are being hanged in public.

This is a very good answer because the student has not only worked something out (made an inference), but also supported it with detail from the source.

SECTION 2

The Emergence of Pakistan 1906 - 1947

Introduction

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British were firmly in control of the Indian subcontinent. However, within 50 years they had been forced to leave and partition their Indian empire into two separate countries, India and Pakistan.

A significant factor in the move towards independence was the formation of organisations representing the main religious groups in the country. The Indian National Congress had been formed in the late nineteenth century and in 1906 the Muslim League came into being to represent Muslim views.

At first Hindus and Muslims were able to work together in opposing the British. Together they signed the Lucknow Pact and both communities were involved in the Khilafat movement. However, in the 1920s and 1930s communal disagreement - and sometimes violence, was more common than cooperation. When Congress governed India for two years after the 1937 elections, the rivalry between the two religions was particularly bitter.

Both Congress and the Muslim League wanted the British to leave India, but had fundamental differences over what should happen after the British were gone. Inspired by such great men as Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Rahmat Ali and in particular, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslims gradually decided that they could not expect justice in a Hindu dominated India. In 1940 the Pakistan Resolution made partition and the establishment of a Muslim homeland the official policy of the Muslim League.

Yet there was still much work to be done before Congress and the British accepted that Pakistan should be formed as an independent country. The British proposed several schemes to keep India as one country, and Congress too opposed partition. It was largely through the perseverance of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, soon to be the first Governor-General of an independent Pakistan, that on 14 August 1947, the Muslim ambitions were achieved.

HOW FAR DID THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT DEVELOP DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY?

Events

Partition of Bengal 1905-11
 Simla Declaration
 Foundation of the Muslim League 1906
 1906 Manifesto
 India Muslim Educational Conference
 Cooperation with Congress and the breakdown of relations
 Morley-Minto Reforms
 Impact of the First World War
 Lucknow Pact
 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms
 Rowlatt Act and the Amritsar Massacre
 Non-Cooperation Movement

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ What were the aims and origins of the Muslim League?
- ▶ How successful was British rule and attempts at constitutional reform during the years 1909-19 (including reactions in India among Muslims and Hindus)?
- ▶ How and why did relationship between the Muslims and Hindus change between 1916 and 1927?

Timeline

Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India

First conference of the Indian National Congress

Partition of Bengal

Simla Deputation Formation of Muslim League

Rowlatt Act passed

Morley-Minto Reforms passed

George V announces reversal of Partition of Bengal

Outbreak of the Balkan Wars

Outbreak of First World War

1915 Congress and the League meet in Bombay

1916 Lucknow Pact

1919 Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

1919 Rowlatt Act

1919 Amritsar Massacre

1922 Non-cooperation campaign called off

1923 Hindu Mahasabha founded

Swaraj Party wins seats in elections.

1927 The Delhi Proposals

The Indian National Congress

The Beginning of Indian Political Awareness

By the end of the nineteenth century many people, both in India and Britain, had come to believe that the Indian people needed their own national political body to represent their views to the British. In 1883, the Indian Association suggested forming such a body and in the same year a British Member of Parliament wrote to the Times newspaper suggesting that the Indians should set up their own national political association.

Then, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, Allan Octavian Hume, wrote a letter to all the graduates of Calcutta University calling on them to take the lead in setting up a national political organisation. Hume followed his letter by setting up the Indian National Union with branches in several cities. The British Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, supported what Hume was doing as he said that the new organisation would act as 'a safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces' within India.

On 28 December 1883, a conference of the Indian National Union was called in Bombay. At the same time a second conference was held in Calcutta.

These conferences were held under the name of the Indian National Congress (usually just referred to as 'Congress') and mark the beginning of the organisation which was to play an important part in winning independence from Britain. However in its early stages Congress was keen not to offend Britain. It declared its loyalty to Queen Victoria who now ruled the British Empire (See page 59), and stated that its ambition was only *'that the basis of government should be widened'*.

By the time that the Congress had its second meeting in 1886 there were 436 delegates who were elected representatives of their provinces. At this meeting Congress stated that its aim was to create an organisation *'united one and for all to promote our welfare and the welfare of our mother country'*. It would do this in two ways.

- By educating the public in India and in Britain. So its resolutions were printed in newspapers and a British Committee of the Congress formed.
- By persuading the British government to end unfair practices. To this end the Indian Civil Service (ICS) called for more Indian representation in the ICS and in the legislative councils in the various provinces.

TO LEARNING

Why do you think the British at first approved the setting up of a national political organisation, but later disapproved?

An Indian historian has said 'The Congress was the natural and inevitable product of forces already at work in the country. It could have emerged on enough Hume, or without Hume'. What do you think the historian meant by this?

However, Congress had little success. It did help to persuade the British to introduce the Indian Councils Act of 1892, which increased the number of Indians in the councils. But, in reality, these bodies had very little power and were largely ignored by the British. It was not long before the British began to ignore Congress too. Lord Dufferin claimed that it represented just 'a microscopic minority' of Indian opinion and in 1900 the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon, wrote that *'The Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions is to assist it to a peaceful death'*.

Despite this, most Congress members hoped that the British would eventually increase the role of the native Indians in the government. These 'Moderates' believed that the British were fair-minded and that British rule had brought benefits to India. There was political stability and a modern form of justice and education. All that was required was for peaceful protest and persuasion to encourage the British to relax their tight control of the country.

Other Indians, however, wanted things to move more quickly. In the late nineteenth century a form of radical nationalism began to develop.



An Indian cartoon showing Lord Curzon
partitioning Bengal

- Leaders such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Poona made impassioned speeches calling for 'freedom' for the Indian people. In 1897, he was imprisoned for writing a provocative newspaper article.
- During the late 1870s, many secret societies sprung up aimed at ridding India of the British.
- In 1897, a British officer and his companion were assassinated.

These activities worried the British, who were forced to take measures to clamp down. One way in which they did this was to partition Bengal.

The Partition of Bengal

Bengal was the largest of the provinces of India. At the end of the nineteenth century it included Western Bengal with a population of 54 million (42 million Hindus and 12 million Muslims) and East Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million (12 million Hindus and 18 million Muslims). This was a huge area to govern as one unit. (There were ten times as many people in Bengal as there were in the whole of Britain at this time!)

The British claimed that Bengal was too large to govern as one province and that it would be more efficient to govern it as two smaller provinces. In 1903 Viceroy Curzon proposed that Bengal should be partitioned into West

Bengal and East Bengal. The eastern province would include Assam and three districts previously considered to be part of West Bengal, Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensingh.

It was two years before the proposal was put into effect, but in 1905 the British partitioned Bengal as Curzon had suggested. Many Hindus believed that the partition had nothing to do with administrative efficiency. They believed there were much more 'sinister' reasons. Whatever reasons the British had, the most immediate effect of partition was to cause conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus.

The Muslim View

The Muslims were delighted with the partition. Their position was improved overnight. Since 1867 the British had mistrusted the Muslims and they had denied them proper education. The Hindus had gained all the advantages and they had even tried to replace Urdu with Hindi. Now at last the Muslims had true recognition – a province in which they were in the majority. This would enable millions of Muslims to escape from the oppression of Hindu rule.

The Hindu View

The Hindus believed that the British had divided Bengal as part of their traditional 'divide and rule' policy. The Hindus dominated Congress and they had begun to call for reform. They believed that the British had tried to weaken Hindu unity by dividing Bengal and establishing East Bengal with a Muslim majority. This meant the, so-called, Hindu 'threat' would be reduced.

The partition aroused fury amongst the Hindus. They proclaimed 16 October 1905, the day partition was put into effect, as a day of mourning. There were hundreds of protest meetings and many petitions sent to the government. Later, there was even an assassination attempt on the future Viceroy, Lord Minto.

-type tions

What does the
Indian cartoon tell
us about the
partitioning of
Bengal?



Lord Minto

The Hindus also decided to introduce a boycott of British goods. Instead of buying British salt, cloth, or any other manufactured product, Hindus vowed to buy Indian produced goods. This 'Swadeshi Movement' spread rapidly. British cloth was thrown onto bonfires and it became a matter of honour to wear locally produced clothes. At the same time some Indian workers, such as those in Calcutta, began a series of strikes to show their opposition. Soon, the sale of British goods dropped dramatically.


One Indian author, Rabindranath Tagore, has written a novel based on events at this time. In the novel, the heroine declares "I must burn all my foreign clothes. I do not wish to ever wear them again in this life"

Q. What can you tell about how people felt about the Partition of Bengal from this extract?

The British Reaction to the Hindu Protest

The British took immediate steps to deal with the Hindu protest:

- Restrictions were placed on newspapers and public meetings. Between 1906 and 1908 editors were prosecuted and some were imprisoned.
- In 1908, a Press Act gave the government even greater control over newspapers.
- Tilak was arrested in June 1908 and he was sentenced to six years imprisonment. Other radical leaders left India to avoid arrest. Soon local prisons were filled with those the British considered to be 'revolutionaries'. Sometimes suspects were simply deported – without being charged or put on trial.

But the British realised that using tough measures to crush the Hindus would not be sufficient in themselves. A better approach would be to win the support of the moderate Hindus by making reforms. In 1905 Lord Minto (the grandson of the former Governor-General with the same name) was appointed Viceroy. He worked with the Secretary of State for India in London on what were to be known as the Morley-Minto Reforms (see page 57). These reforms were intended to win the support of the Hindus. 



How do Skills Book
ages 15-16

Winning the Support of the Muslims The Simla Deputation

Even before the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced, Morley had decided that the British should take advantage of their improved relations with the Muslims to try to win their support for British rule. It was not long before the Simla Deputation provided an ideal opportunity.

The Muslims had watched the reaction of the Hindus to the Partition of Bengal with dismay. They saw a massive wave of organised protest which they feared would result in the Partition being reversed. They knew that they, the Muslims, were not able to provide such a level of protest to maintain the Partition.

Further, the Indian National Congress was dominated by Hindus and the Muslims feared that Hindu agitation would lead to Hindi becoming the national language – or even to Muslims being forcibly converted to Hinduism. When the new Liberal government was elected in Britain in 1905, Muslim fears grew. The Liberals had stated that they would increase local participation in the government of India through elections. Since the Hindus were in the majority, the Muslims feared that they would soon be dominated by Hindus in local government. It was time to act.

TO LEARNING

Why do you think the proposal to partition Bengal was important to the Hindus?
the Muslims?

Why do you think the British took such tough measures to deal with the Hindu protest?

On 8 October 1906 a deputation of prominent Muslims led by the Aga Khan, visited Viceroy Minto at Simla. There they requested that the position of Muslims in India 'should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of their community and the service it has rendered to the Empire'. Their demands were set out in what has become known as 'The Simla Deputation'. In it they asked that:

- in all local and provincial elections Muslims should have their own representatives, who would be elected only by Muslim voters.
- in the councils, the Muslims should have a higher percentage of seats than their percentage of the population.

The Muslim leaders argued that such measures reflected the importance of the Muslim community in Indian society. Many Muslims were major landowners and the percentage of Muslim soldiers in the British army was very high. Equally important was the fact that, without separate Muslim representatives, elected by Muslims only, there was likely to be communal violence between Muslims and Hindus at every election.

Although the Secretary of State for India, John Morley, thought that the Muslims' proposal was undemocratic, Lord Minto accepted their arguments and he agreed to separate representation for the Muslims.

The Importance of the Simla Deputation

The British acceptance of the Simla Deputation was an extremely important moment in the history of Pakistan:

- The British acceptance showed that the attempts by Sir Syed and others to restore relations between the Muslims and the British had been successful. The British were now prepared to work with the Muslims, and even to make concessions to them.
- It also showed that the Muslim community had decided to ensure that it established a secure place in the constitution by its own methods. The Hindu-Muslim rivalry which existed in day-to-day life now existed in the constitution as well.
- The Deputation showed that many Muslims had now come round to the idea that they were a separate community who should be treated in a different way from Hindus. From this, it was only a short step to breaking away from Congress to establish a Muslim party which would represent and protect Muslim interests.

The Simla Deputation was perhaps the first step down the long road leading to the formation of Pakistan.

The Foundation of the All-India Muslim League Its Aims and Objectives

Aims

The Muslims were encouraged by their success in persuading Lord Minto to allow separate electorates and they decided that the time was now right to form their own political party. There were several reasons for this:

- Although the British had accepted the Simla Deputation and partitioned Bengal to establish a Muslim-dominant East Bengal, the Muslim community still felt that it lacked the influence that the Hindus had gained through their control of Congress. Indeed, one of the declared aims of the new organisation was 'to counter the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress'.
- The British had partitioned Bengal, but this had resulted in a feeling of outrage

TO LEARNING

Do you think the Muslims meant when they said the Muslim position in India 'should be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to political importance of their community and the service it has rendered to the Empire'?

Have some historians said that the Simla Deputation was a very important step on the way to the formation of Pakistan?



3: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk

TO LEARNING

Do you think it was inevitable that the Muslims would set up their own political organisation? Explain your answer.

Why do you think one of the objectives of the Muslim League was to promote feelings of loyalty to the British government?

in the Hindu community. This had reinforced the division between Muslim and Hindu and had led Muslim leaders to believe that it was even more vital to establish their own political organisation. So another aim of the League was to ensure that Muslim views were represented to the British.

- Some Hindus claimed that the British were behind the establishment of the Muslim League to act as a counter to Congress. But it was the Muslims themselves who set up the new organisation. Once Lord Minto had accepted the idea of separate electorates, once Congress had become a predominantly Hindu organisation and once the Hindus had begun organised opposition to the partition of Bengal, it was inevitable that the Muslims would form their own party to ensure that their views received a hearing from the British.

Formation

In 1906 Muslim leaders met at the twentieth session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Dhaka. After the conference had finished a meeting was called, chaired by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk to consider setting up an organisation to be called '**All-India Muslim League**'.

Objectives

At the first meeting of the new organisation in December 1906 the League declared that its objectives were:

- to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Muslims in India,
- to represent Muslim needs and aspirations to the government of India,
- to promote feelings of loyalty to the British government,
- to remove any misunderstandings amongst the Muslims as to the intentions of any government measure,
- to prevent the rise of hostility in Muslims towards other communities in India.

It is true, however, that the British welcomed the formation of the Muslim League. It was led by landowners and princes, who were moderate in their views and who could help to counter the Hindu protests that were growing, particularly after the partition of Bengal. A comparison of the resolutions passed by the League and Congress in three main policy areas shows how different their views were. This opposition between Congress and the League was to be a feature of Indian politics for the next generation.

The Morley-Minto Reforms - British attempts to win Indian Support

Both Lord Minto and Secretary of State John Morley were convinced that the Indians' demand for an increased share in the government of their country was fully justified. They worked together to draw up a series of reforms which were passed by the British parliament in 1909 as the Indian Councils Act. They are however usually referred to, as the Morley-Minto reforms. The main terms were:

- The Imperial Council was increased to 60 members by adding more 'non-official members' (members not holding positions in government). However, the British retained control by ensuring that the majority of members were 'official' (and therefore appointed by the British).
- The Central Executive Council was increased by adding 60 new members. The Council could discuss matters of importance and advise on government policies, including the budget.
- Provincial Councils were also increased to 50 members in the larger provinces and 30 in smaller provinces.
- Muslim representatives to the Councils were elected by a separate Muslim-only electorate.

The Importance of the Reforms A Voice for Indians?

LEARNING

Morley-Minto reforms
aiming to improve the
status of Muslims in
India.

Whether you agree
or not with this
policy.

The Morley-Minto reforms increased the numbers of Indians sitting on the Councils and therefore appeared to give the local population a greater say in how the country was run. Yet it must be remembered that the Councils had no real power. Their functions were purely advisory. The British were keen to allow the Indians to express their opinions and they wanted to know what the Indians had to say. But they did not intend that the locals should have the power to change government policy. Morley himself stated that the reforms were not part of a move towards setting up a parliament in India. Indeed, he stated that if he thought that they might make such a parliament any more likely *'I for one would have nothing to do with it'*.

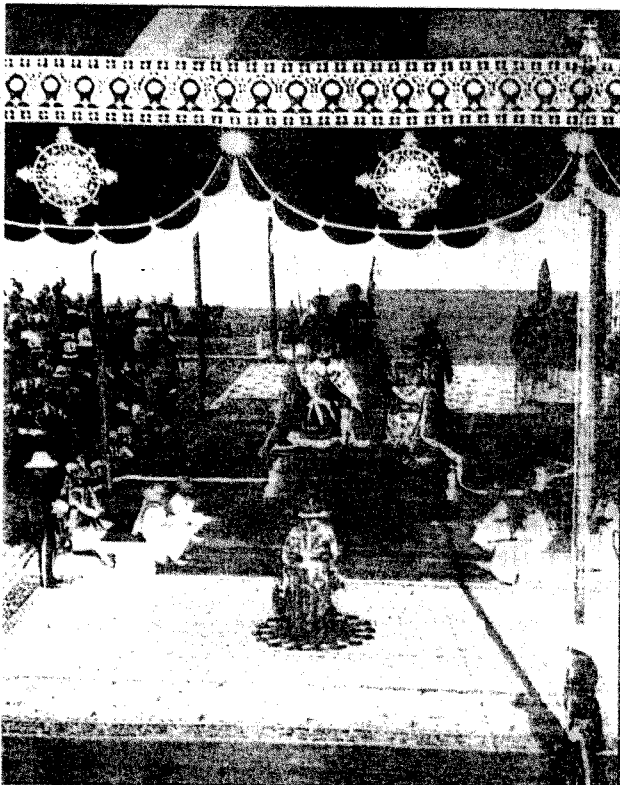
The most important consequence of the reforms was the acceptance of the separate electorate for Muslims. The Hindus argued that this was undemocratic and for the next 25 years, Congress was to pass an annual resolution calling for an end to separate electorates.

Resolutions Passed by Congress and the Muslim League - Dec 1906

Congress	Muslim League
Accepted British government	Declared loyalty to the British
Accepted Partition of Bengal	Supported partition of Bengal
Accepted boycott of British goods	Opposed boycott of British goods

But Congress failed to understand what the British were trying to do. The British had no desire to establish a democracy in India. Instead they wanted to make as few concessions as were necessary to bring stability.

Both Hindus and Muslims had set up their own political organisations and were campaigning for greater rights. The British needed to react to these demands, but did not intend to give up any more power than they had to. Unfortunately, for the Muslims, part of the British reaction to Hindu protests and demands was to reverse the Partition of Bengal – and with it much of the goodwill that had been built up between the British and the Muslim community since 1905.



King George V at the Durbar

The Bengal Partition reversed

Just how vital it was for the Muslims to have formed their own political organisation was emphasised in 1911 when the British showed that they could not be trusted to protect Muslim interests. Lord Harding, the new Viceroy, agreed to reverse the partition of Bengal. The decision was announced at a Durbar in Delhi on 12 December by King George V, who was visiting India at the time.

The British tried to suggest that they had reversed the partition as part of their policy in governing India. In reality they had been forced into the move by the fierce opposition of the Bengali Hindus. However, the British also moved the capital from Calcutta to Delhi to show that the Bengalis' opposition had not been completely successful. The reversal of the partition was bitterly opposed by the Muslims, but the British were not to be moved. The Muslims now realised just how vital it was that the Muslim League prospered if Muslims were to receive fair treatment in India.



Queen Victoria in 1859

Queen Victoria was the longest reigning British monarch who was on the throne for more than 60 years. She succeeded her uncle, William in 1837 at the age of 18 years. The Prime Minister at the time, Lord Melbourne, was so concerned for her well being that he advised her not to read the novels of Charles Dickens, because they were full of '*unpleasant subjects*'.

Victoria, however, was soon to prove to be a woman of great determination and attention to duty. During her reign Britain's empire doubled in size to be the largest in the world - and Victoria took a keen interest in how it was governed. In 1840 Victoria married her first cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. They soon became devoted to each other and had nine children.

When Albert died of typhoid in 1851, Victoria was devastated and retired to the Isle of Wight. It was only with much persuasion that she again took up her public duties and celebrated both Golden and Diamond Jubilees. At the start of the reign the British royal family was losing popularity with its people, but Victoria's modest and sensible rule made it as popular as ever (though there were seven attempts on her life between 1840 and 1882)

How much she was loved by her people can be seen by the moving account of her death in the British newspaper, The Times, on 23 January 1901.

All day long the Angel of Death has been hovering over Osborne House. One could almost hear the beating of the wings. But at half-past six those wings were folded and the Queen was at rest. To those who knew her Majesty best and most closely, the whole event seems credible and unreal. To all of them the life of the Queen has seemed a part of the natural order of things, a thing as certain as the rising or the setting of the sun'.

The early morning bulletin, which spoke of diminishing strength, showed that the end was drawing near. All the members of the Royal Family who were in reach were summoned. Before noon the flickering flame of life burned up more brightly for a moment and the Queen was able to recognise those who had been summoned to her deathbed. But by 4 o'clock it was announced that she was sinking slowly and at six thirty came the end.



Now do Skills Book
pages 17-18



India before the First World War

The reversal of the Partition of Bengal had led to poor relations between the British and the Muslims.

- The Muslims saw the reversal of the Partition as a betrayal of British promises that the original Partition was final.
- They also soon realised that the Morley-Minto reforms did not provide Indians with any genuine voice in the government of their country.
- Despite the attempts to work with the British since the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the Muslims now lost faith in the British to allow them any real political power.

In 1912-13, the British supported the Balkan states fighting against Turkey in the Balkan Wars. As Turkey was the major Islamic state in Europe, the Muslim community in India saw this as a further example of how the British had no interest in protecting Muslim rights. The Muslims had so little belief in British rule that in January 1913 the Muslim League declared that its aim was '*a form of self-government suitable to India*'. This was the first time that the League had passed a resolution calling for self-government and it now stood beside Congress in making such demands. The resolution was extremely important in improving relations with Congress, which now realised that the League was not an organisation designed to promote support for the British.

☞ The Impact of the First World War on the Indian Sub - Continent

When the First World War broke out in Europe in August 1914 there were mixed views in India. As part of the British Empire many Indians had great sympathy for the British. More than a million Indians responded to requests to enlist in the army and thousands gave their lives fighting with the British in Europe and Mesopotamia. The British, themselves, said that the war would have been longer and indeed might not even have been won without the help of the Indians.

Many politicians in India agreed with the idea of giving support to the British, who said they were fighting for the rights of nations to determine how they should be governed (self-determination). So if the British won this war, then surely they would reward Indian loyalty by introducing reforms to give the Indians a larger role in governing the country.

However, it is also true that many Indians were not sympathetic to the British. They saw Britain's '*necessity*' as India's '*opportunity*'. In other words, Britain was in difficulty and needed help, so there was more opportunity for Indians to press for self-government. The 'anti-British' group soon began to take action.

- In 1913, Lala Hardayal, who was in exile in America, set up a Mutiny Party which sent arms to India and arranged for armed opposition to the British. However, the party's supporters in India were betrayed and they were killed in a battle with Indian police in September 1915.
- In 1915 there was also a planned uprising by Indian 'nationalists' in the Punjab, which was easily put down by the British.
- A mutiny by Indian troops serving in the British army in Singapore was crushed and dozens of troops executed or imprisoned.
- Another unsuccessful plot was the 'Silk Letter Conspiracy' in which anti-British Muslims proposed a general uprising by the Muslims to free themselves from British rule. However, their plans came to nothing.

As a result of discontent within India, the British were forced to pass the Defence of India Act, which gave them extraordinary powers to deal with unrest. Hundreds of alleged revolutionaries were exiled or were imprisoned without proper trial.

◎ LEARNING

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the people of India
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of 1914?

The Lucknow Pact

Co-operation between the League and Congress

The failure of the British to grant more rights to the Indians in the period up to 1914, and their policy of repression during the war, had moved Congress and the Muslim League closer together. In 1915, thanks partly to the persuasion of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent member of the League, the two organisations both held their annual sessions in Bombay. At the same time joint councils of Congress and the League were set up to improve common understanding between them on key issues.

The British realised that they needed to take steps to ensure that they did not have serious political unrest in India at the same time as they were fighting a war against Germany and its allies. So in October 1916, they let it be known that they were considering a series of proposals which would lead to:

- at least half of the members of the Executive Council being elected, the Legislative Council having a majority of elected members.

Both Congress and the League supported these proposals. Their agreement also helped to draw the two parties closer together. Although Congress and the League realised that, if further concessions were to be gained, they had to develop greater cooperation between themselves.

In 1916 they, once again, held their annual sessions in the same city, Lucknow. Largely as a result of the support of the two leaders, Jinnah from the Muslim League and Mahajan from Congress, the Lucknow Pact was drawn up. It showed clearly that Congress was prepared to make concessions to gain the support of the League. In it Congress agreed that:

- Muslims had the right to separate electorates in electing representatives to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. This would apply even to Punjab and Bengal where they did not yet exist.
- Although they represented only one quarter of the population, Muslims should be given one third of the seats in the Councils.
- No Act affecting a community should be passed unless three-quarters of that community's members on the council supported it.

These were major concessions by Congress and they showed how keen it was to gain the support of the League. Congress leaders had objected strongly to the principle of separate electorates being included in the Morley-Minto reforms and this was the first time that they had moved away from their belief that India was one indivisible nation.

The Pact also included a set of common demands to the British as to how India should be governed. It said that:

- The number of elected seats on the Councils should be increased.
- Motions which were passed by large majorities in the Councils should be accepted as binding by the British government.
- Minorities in the provinces should be protected.
- All provinces should have autonomy.

Importance of the Lucknow Pact

The Lucknow Pact was a significant moment in the movement towards self-rule.

- It was the first time that the Hindus and Muslims had made a joint demand for political reform to the British. Jinnah said that the Pact had come about because *'Cooperation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great sister communities'*.

LEARNING

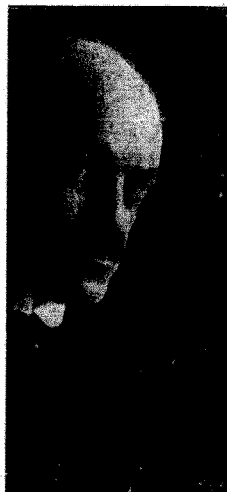
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- It marked the first acceptance by the Hindus that a degree of partition would be necessary in any self-governing India.
- It showed that the Muslims acknowledged that they stood much more chance of protecting their rights if they worked with Congress against the British.
- It led to a growing belief in India that Home Rule (self-government) was a real possibility. During 1917, two Home Rule Leagues campaigned across India. One was led by Tilak and the other by an English woman called Annie Besant. She was imprisoned by the British in June 1917, but she was released in August after a great public outcry. She was then elected Congress President. In the same month E. S. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, announced in the British House of Commons that the British policy was 'an increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration' until India was ready to govern itself as part of the British Empire.
- The Pact marked the high-water mark of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was to be short-lived, however, as the consequences of the Amritsar Massacre (see page 64) and Khilafat Movement (see chapter 7) led to a more communal approach to politics.

To see India free, to see her hold up her head among the nations, to see her sons and daughters respected everywhere, to see her worthy of her mighty past engaged in building a yet mightier future. Is not this worth working for, worth living for and worth dying for?

Part of a speech made by Annie Besant in 1917. She has deliberately used a passionate style to create an impression.

Q. What examples of this can you find? Explain in more straightforward language exactly what she was saying.



Lord Montagu



Lord Chelmsford

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms – Diarchy in India

In November 1917 the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford and the newly promoted Secretary of State, Lord Montagu, carried out a fact-finding tour of India. After discussions with local leaders, in July 1919 they issued the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (sometimes called the Montford Report).

The two leaders stated that a system of Government should be introduced in India which gave *'some measure of responsibility to representatives chosen by an electorate'*.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report proposed:

- The Legislative Council should now be known as the Legislative Assembly. It would have 145 members, of which 103 should be elected for a period of 3 years. There should be separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs, with 32 seats reserved for Muslims.
- The Council of State would have 60 members, 33 of whom would be elected.
- A Council of Princes was set up with 108 members to allow the princes to debate matters of importance. But it had no power and some princes did not even bother to attend what was little more than a *'talking shop'*.
- The role in the central administration for the Indians was further restricted by the power of the Viceroy who could still pass any law he chose, if he felt it was

The Lucknow Pact

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LEARNING

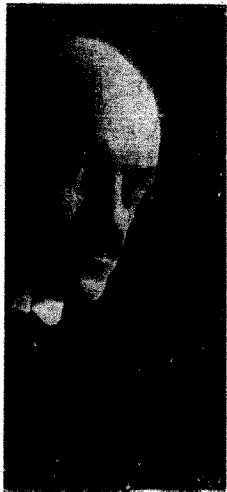
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- It led to a growing belief in India that Home Rule (self-government) was a real possibility. During 1917, two Home Rule Leagues campaigned across India. One was led by Tilak and the other by an English woman called Annie Besant. She was imprisoned by the British in June 1917, but she was released in August after a great public outcry. She was then elected Congress President. In the same month E. S. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, announced in the British House of Commons that the British policy was 'an increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration' until India was ready to govern itself as part of the British Empire.
- The Pact marked the high-water mark of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was to be short-lived, however, as the consequences of the Amritsar Massacre (see page 64) and Khilafat Movement (see chapter 7) led to a more communal approach to politics.

To see India free, to see her hold up her head among the nations, to see her sons and daughters respected everywhere, to see her worthy of her mighty past engaged in building a yet mightier future. Is not this worth working for, worth living for and worth dying for?

Part of a speech made by Annie Besant in 1917. She has deliberately used a passionate style to create an impression.

Q. What examples of this can you find? Explain in more straightforward language exactly what she was saying.



Lord Montagu



Lord Chelmsford

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms – Diarchy in India

In November 1917 the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford and the newly promoted Secretary of State, Lord Montagu, carried out a fact-finding tour of India. After discussions with local leaders, in July 1919 they issued the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (sometimes called the Montford Report).

The two leaders stated that a system of Government should be introduced in India which gave 'some measure of responsibility to representatives chosen by an electorate'.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report proposed:

- The Legislative Council should now be known as the Legislative Assembly. It would have 145 members, of which 103 should be elected for a period of 3 years. There should be separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs, with 32 seats reserved for Muslims.
- The Council of State would have 60 members, 33 of whom would be elected.
- A Council of Princes was set up with 108 members to allow the princes to debate matters of importance. But it had no power and some princes did not even bother to attend what was little more than a 'talking shop'.
- The role in the central administration for the Indians was further restricted by the power of the Viceroy who could still pass any law he chose, if he felt it was

necessary for the safety of India. Also the Executive Council was still made up of only nominated members, although three of these were now to be Indian.

- In the provinces, a new system of 'diarchy' was introduced. Under this system areas of responsibility were divided into two lists.

<u>Reserved Subjects</u>	<u>Transferred Subjects</u>
Justice	Local government
Police	Education
Revenue	Public Health
Power Resources	Public Works
Press and Publication	Forests

- Reserved subjects were controlled by the provincial governor and his Executive Council, which had between two and four members nominated by the governor.
- Transferred subjects were entrusted to ministers responsible to provincial Legislative Councils. As these Councils were elected by the people, this looked as if there was a substantial degree of involvement by local people, but it should not be forgotten that the ministers were chosen from the Legislative Council by the Viceroy himself. So he had the real power. Indeed, under certain circumstances, the Viceroy had the authority to dismiss the provincial Legislative Councils.
- The British also claimed that they were extending voting rights to more local people, but the new regulations still meant that only 5.5 million (or 2%) of India's 250 million population could vote.

The Reaction of the Indian people

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were set out in the Government of India Act of 1919. If the British thought that they would be welcomed with enthusiasm by a grateful Indian population they were mistaken. Many Indians had fought with the British in the War and they expected much greater concessions. Congress and the League had recently come together, calling for self-rule, and they were bitterly disappointed by the new structure. At a special session of Congress in August 1918, the reforms were condemned as '*inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing*'. Only the moderates in Congress supported the measures and they were soon excluded from the party. It was true that the local people had more say in how their country was governed, but, in reality, the British maintained their grip on power by ensuring that the Viceroy had the authority to control how India was governed.

There was also one other unexpected outcome of the Reforms. The British had reluctantly accepted separate electorates for the Muslims. Soon the non-Brahmins, Sikhs and Eurasians were calling for concessions too. As these were granted, the divisions within Indian society were increasingly emphasised.

The Rowlatt Act - India's Anger

The British had offered concessions in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which they had hoped would win the support of the Indian people. However, they had every intention of taking strong and effective action against any element in India which opposed British rule. In December 1917, a committee was formed under Justice Rowlatt to investigate revolutionary activity in India.

TO LEARNING

do you think Congress described the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms as: *inadequate, unsatisfactory, disappointing*?

The committee reported in April 1918 and it suggested that there was a definite growth of revolutionary activity in India, which should be dealt with as a matter of urgency. The committee recommended that some of the emergency measures of the Defence of India Act should be retained permanently. Most controversial amongst these were:

- arrest without warrant,
- detention without bail,
- the right of the provincial government to order people where to live.

The proposals caused uproar in India as they appeared to go against two of the central principles of British justice, namely trial by jury and safeguards against illegal imprisonment. Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest, and Gandhi launched a *hartal* against the proposals. Throughout April 1919 there were strikes and demonstrations across India but the Viceroy ignored the opposition, accepted the recommendations and the Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919.

The Amritsar Massacre – A British Outrage

The strikes and demonstrations caused the British to ban anti-government publications and to forbid public meetings. Despite this, unrest continued, particularly in the Punjab. In early 1919, two nationalist leaders, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were deported without trial.

On 10 April, rioting started in the city of Amritsar and two banks were attacked. Five Europeans were also killed in the rioting. General Dyer, the British commander in the area was determined to restore order. He banned all public meetings in the city and was angered when an estimated crowd of 20,000 turned up for a peaceful demonstration at a public park called Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar.

The park had only narrow entrances and was surrounded by a 5 foot wall. General Dyer stationed his troops at the entrances and, without warning, fired on the unarmed crowd of men, women and children. The troops fired over 1600 rounds. No one knows exactly how many people were killed, but estimates suggest around 400, with a further 1200 wounded or injured in the panic to try to flee the bullets.

General Dyer stated that he had fired on the crowd in the park to make sure that the people of the Punjab understood that they should obey British rule. Other measures soon followed. In Amritsar, men were flogged in public and made to crawl on hands and knees down a street where an English woman had been attacked. A crowd meeting illegally at Gujranwala was bombed from the air. The British also carried out numerous sentences of death, exile or imprisonment to maintain order.

A special enquiry, the Hunter Committee, was set up in England to investigate what Dyer had done in Amritsar. As a result of its findings, Dyer was eventually removed from active service, but he received no further punishment. In the eyes of many Europeans he was a hero who had shown local troublemakers what would happen if they did not conform to British rule. Not surprisingly, the Indian people were highly insulted by the British failure to punish Dyer. It was one of the reasons why Gandhi now stated that:

'Cooperation in any shape or form with this satanic government is sinful'.

TO LEARNING

do you think the British should have passed the Rowlatt Act when they were trying to win the cooperation of the Indians?

It is impossible to understand why Dyer acted as he did at Amritsar. Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement.

Exam-type Questions

Coming to the case of General Dyer, it will be seen that he was removed from his appointment by the Commander-in-Chief in India; that he was passed over by the Selection Board in India for promotion; that he was informed that there was no prospect of further employment for him under the Government of India; and it was recommended that he should be retired from the Army.

From a speech made by the Minister for War in the British parliament in 1920.

Q. According to this source what happened to General Dyer after Amritsar?

Lead on

GENERAL DYER AND AMRITSAR

Dyer was born in India and was educated at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, England. He was a very experienced and able soldier who had served with great distinction in India.

He was responsible for maintaining order in India after disturbances in 1919 and he strongly believed that he was acting properly when he ordered his troops to fire on the crowd in Jallianwala Bagh. But he seems to have been a little confused in what he said after the shooting.

SOURCE A

I had to shoot. I had thirty seconds to make up my mind about what actions to take. What would have happened if I had not shot? I and my little force would have been swept away and then what would have happened?

This is what General Dyer said to a British newspaper shortly after the shooting

SOURCE B

Hunter: You did not issue a warning to the crowd to disperse before you opened fire.

Did you think you were going to be attacked?

Dyer: The situation was very serious. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd. I had to produce a sufficient impression of strength not only on those who were there, but also throughout India.

Hunter: When did you first decide to fire?

Dyer: When I first heard of the meeting.

These are some of the questions the Hunter Committee asked Dyer and his answers to them

SOURCE C



A scene from the British film Gandhi showing Dyer's troops firing on the crowd.

What reason does General Dyer give in Source A for his decision to open fire?
 According to Source B when did Dyer decide to fire?
 Does this mean that Dyer contradicted what he said in Source A?
 Why do you think Dyer said different things in Sources A and B?
 Look at Source C.
 Which is it most like, Source A or Source B? Explain why you made your choice.
 Do you think that Source C gives a completely reliable impression of what it was like in Jallianwalla Bagh?
 Explain your answer.

B
Study Skills Book
 p. 19-20

The Non-cooperation Movement

By March 1920 many Indians had lost faith in their British rulers and joined Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement with great enthusiasm. British cloth was burned in huge amounts and the production of hand-spun and hand-woven Indian cloth encouraged. Teachers and students left English colleges and schools and set up their own institutions. Many lawyers gave up their practices as part of a boycott of the English legal system. The first elections for the reformed Councils in 1920 (following the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) were largely ignored and Congress refused to field candidates.

Jawaharlal Nehru has written about the attitude of the Indian people at this time. He said:

We were full of excitement and optimism and buoyant enthusiasm. We sensed the happiness of a person crusading for a cause.

In response to this widespread opposition the British began a policy of imprisoning alleged trouble-makers. Soon the jails were filled with over 30,000 political prisoners.

It seemed that non-cooperation was providing a very difficult situation for the British. But as non-cooperation spilt over into violence (see chapter 7) and Gandhi decided to call off the campaign in February 1922.

The first non-cooperation campaign had failed to bring about *swaraj* and had also failed to save the Khalifa. It had, however, played an important part in raising Indian expectations and convincing many people of the need to work to overthrow their British rulers. It was a weapon which Gandhi was to use several more times against the British.

The Growth of Communalism

Post-war events in India had brought Hindus and Muslims closer together in their opposition to British repression and in an attempt to save the Khalifa in Turkey. In the early 1920s, however, there was an increase in suspicion and rivalry between the two groups.

The ending of non-cooperation did not bring peace to India. Instead it led to serious communal rioting across India. This was a period when Hindu fundamentalism gained more influence. Arya Samaj had been founded in 1877 and had strongholds in western and northern India. It aimed to purify Hinduism of some of the impure practices into which it had fallen. By doing so, its founder, Dayanand Saraswati hoped to reconvert Hindus who had been converted to Christianity. During the 1920s Arya Samaj was a powerful agent for the spread of education and social reform, particularly in the Punjab. Together with the Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj carried out militant activities in 1924 which helped strain relations between Hindus and Muslims.

TO LEARNING

Do you think Nehru is right when he talked of the 'happiness of a person crusading for a cause'?

Why did Gandhi have to call off the non-cooperation campaign because of the use of violence. Does this mean the campaign was a failure? Explain your answer.



Pundit Mohan Malaviya

Pundit Mohan Malaviya

In the Punjab Hindu Sabhas had been involved in local politics since the 1890s. In 1923 UP Congressman Pandit Mohan Malaviya brought a number of them together in a political party, the Hindu Mahasabha. It contested its first election in 1926. The party made little progress, however, until the charismatic V.D. Savarkar became President. In 1947 the Hindu Mahasabha was to condemn the partition settlement as a national disaster, since it wanted India to be a Hindu state. It believed that Gandhi's religious tolerance was a threat to Hindu purity. Savarkar was later accused of being involved in the assassination of Gandhi in January 1948, though he would be acquitted by the court.

Growing divisions in the Congress Party

The Hindu Congress Party was split in the early 1920s. Although the party officially opposed the elections for the Council in 1920, a splinter group stood in the elections and won some seats under the name 'National Liberals'. But these members, and those of other parties who had fielded candidates, soon found that they had little influence on the British. In 1923 Congress decided to adopt a new policy. Now was the time to enter the Councils and 'carry out a policy of consistent obstruction, with a view to making government ...impossible'. The 1923 elections were fought under the name of the 'Swaraj Party' and a large number of seats were won.

The growth of Congress influence worried the Muslim League which feared that Congress was more concerned with Hindu matters than winning rights for all Indians. The League's suspicion was further increased when Congress refused to support Muslim demands for full provincial autonomy (which would safe-guard Muslim majorities in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier). To make matters even worse, Hindu groups began carrying out forcible conversions of Muslims. It was time for the League to fight back.

The Delhi Proposals

In 1927 Jinnah called a conference of all Muslim leaders in Delhi. The purpose was to discuss how Muslim interests should be protected in the future. He was particularly keen to discuss the future of separate electorates in any future constitutional reform. The Delhi conference resulted in a number of demands, known as the Delhi Proposals.

- Muslims should be given one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature through joint electorates.
- Sindh should be given full provincial status.
- All British reforms in India should be extended to Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province.
- The number of seats to be given to Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal should be proportional to the Muslim population living there.

Jinnah stated that if these proposals were accepted, the Muslims would call off their demands for a separate electorate.

Short-answer Questions

What was diarchy? [4]

Why was the Muslim League Founded in 1906? [7]

Of all the events in the period 1911-1919 was the Amritsar Massacre the one that had the greatest impact on relations between the British and the Indian people. Give reasons for your answer. [14]

HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT?

Contents

break up of the Ottoman Empire and the
of the Khilafat Movement
Khilafat Conference 1918 and its objectives
delegation to England
failure of the Hijrat Movement
act of the Khilafat and Hijrat movements on
Muslims in India

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

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

Timeline

End of the First World War

Treaty of Versailles

First Khilafat Conference

Second Khilafat Conference

Khilafat leaders meet Viceroy

Treaty of Sevres announced

Non-cooperation policy begins

1920 British adopt policy of oppression

Hijrat to Afghanistan

1921 Third Khilafat Conference

1922 Policemen killed in Chauri-Chaura

Gandhi calls off non-cooperation

Sultan deposed by Kemal Attaturk

Introduction

Khalifa or Caliph

The word '*Khalifa*' is derived from the Arabic root *Khalifa* which means 'to follow' or 'to come after'. When Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) passed away, Hazrat Abu Bakr was elected to succeed him. He was consequently called '*Khalifat al-Rasool Allah*' or the successor of the Messenger of Allah.

When the Umayyad Dynasty was set up in Damascus, it had gained power through military force and wanted a way to suggest that it was a legitimate regime. For that they chose the word *Khalifa*. They used thereby to remind people of the legitimacy that was associated with the title of Hazrat Mohammad's (Peace be upon him) successor, Hazrat Abu Bakr. In so doing they changed the meaning of the word. The word *Khalifa* was no longer to mean 'successor' it now meant monarch or ruler.

Over time the *Khalifa* (sometimes called 'Caliph') developed into a religious figure as well. The Ottomans emphasised the notion of the Caliph's supposed religious role, which was a basis for the Caliph's claim to the loyalty of Muslims everywhere, including India.

Introduction

The Lucknow Pact showed that Muslims and Hindus could work together towards a common aim. When the Khilafat Movement was formed, it looked like another example of how the two communities could cooperate. But as time went on, it became apparent that religious differences made it impossible for Muslims and Hindus to work together without communal fears continually undermining the supposed harmony.

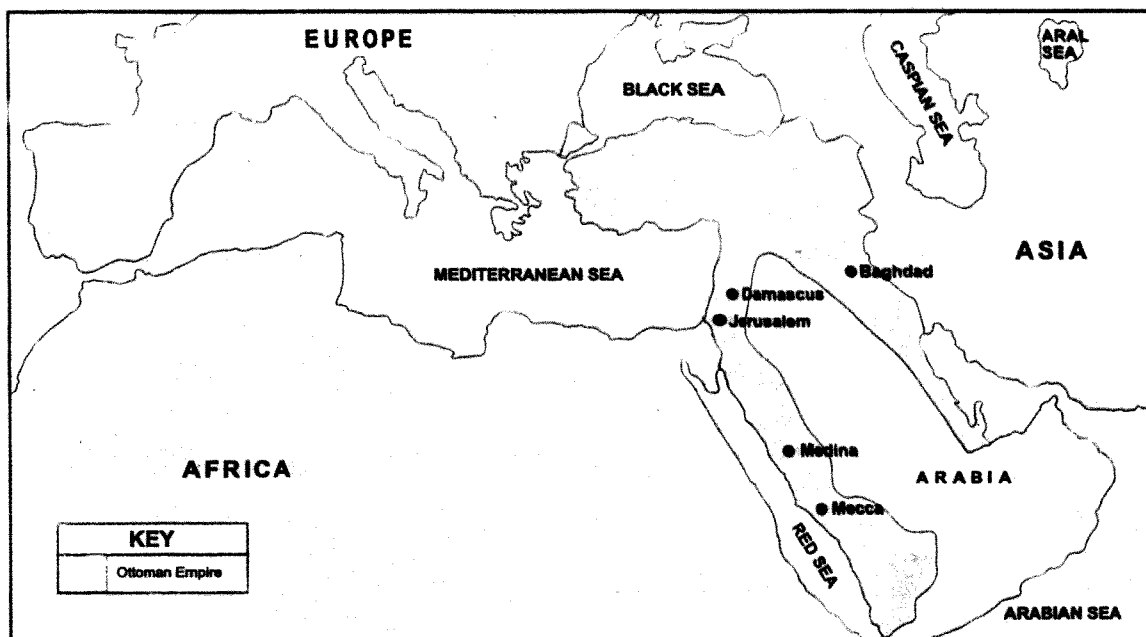


Fig. 7.1: Map of the Ottoman Empire, 1914

Reasons for the Formation of the Khilafat Movement

A. Deep-Seated Muslim Fears

It should not be thought, however, that the Khilafat Movement sprang solely from the British threat to dismember the Turkish Empire. It had its roots in a deep-seated mistrust of the way the West, and Britain in particular, treated Muslim countries.

- Afghanistan and Persia, both Muslim countries, had been the subject of rivalry between Russia and Britain. The two powers had agreed on how Afghanistan and Persia were to be run, but little attention was paid to the views of the native, Muslim population.
- Some Muslims in India considered that the British policy towards Muslims was to encourage in them a fear of Hindus so that Muslims would cooperate with the British. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a prominent leader of Congress criticised Muslims who had 'cooperated with the Satans of Europe' and told them:

'You are fighters for God's battle and ...the Hindus who are engaged in a struggle for their country's progress and independence are also waging a jihad'

- Although there were many Muslims in the British army fighting against Turkey, there were a large number of desertions by soldiers unwilling to fight fellow Muslims in Turkey.
- Concern about British policy towards Muslims was also shown in 1918 when the President of the Muslim League, Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq, stated that 'Every instance of a collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of our community'. Like Azad, he called on Muslims to abandon their traditional hostility towards Hindus.

B. The First World War and Turkey

During the First World War, the Turks had fought on the side of the Germans – against Britain. This created a serious problem for the British in India. They wanted the Indian Muslims to fight in the war against the Turks, but they knew that Indian Muslims would not take part in any fighting which led to the Khalifa being overthrown, or his empire being dismantled.

To solve the problem, the British informed the Indian Muslims that the British would respect the rights of the Khalifa and that the Turkish Empire would be maintained. As a result of this promise thousands of Muslims joined the British army.

During the war the British imprisoned some leading Muslims, such as Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali, to try to prevent opposition within India. However, the strength of Muslim feeling can be seen in a speech made by Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq in his Presidential address to the Muslim League in 1918 when he said:

'To me, the future of Islam in India seems to be wrapped in gloom and anxiety. Every instance of a collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of our community in India'

LEARNING

do you think Maulvi
il-Haq meant by
atement quoted on
age?

far does it explain
he Khilafat
ment was formed?

At the end of the war peace treaties were drawn up showing how the defeated nations were to be treated. The Treaty of Versailles set out what would happen to Germany. Its armed forces were greatly reduced, its colonies taken away and the country was split in two by the creation of a new country, Poland. The Germans were also forced to pay a huge sum to the victorious Allies for the damage caused by the fighting. Similar measures were taken against Germany's ally, Austria.

These treaties worried the Muslims in India. In view of the punishments imposed upon Germany and Austria, it was difficult to see how Turkey could be treated any differently. Indeed the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, felt strongly that the Turkish Empire should be split up in the same way that Germany and Austria had seen their empires taken away. The Indian Muslims were outraged at this suggestion and began to organise opposition to the British plan.

LEARNING

ere the Muslims
red about the
nt of Germany and
after the First
War?

C. The Khalifa

Turkey was a Muslim country, and its ruler, the Sultan, was considered to be Khalifa, the head of the worldwide Islamic community. He ruled over an Empire, which included important religious centres such as Mecca, Jerusalem and Medina and was known as the Khilafat. The Sultan was a figure of immense importance in the Muslim world. When the British threatened to take territory away from the Khalifa, Muslims in India were outraged and formed the Khilafat Movement to protect the Sultan and their religion.

Muslim Outrage - Establishment of the Khilafat Movement

A. The All India Khilafat Conference

In November 1919 a conference was called in Delhi to try to persuade the British to keep their promises about maintaining the Turkish Empire. The leading figures at the conference were two brothers, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Muhammed Ali Jauhar, and senior member of Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Conference passed a resolution agreeing to send a delegation to Britain to make sure that the British were aware of the strength of Muslim support for the Khalifa.

TO LEARNING

What was the policy of satyagraha?

Why might some people have been surprised to see Congress supporting the Khilafat Movement?

Mahatma Gandhi was also present at the conference. By the end of the war he had become an unofficial leader of Congress and his presence showed that the Khilafat Movement was one in which religious differences were much less important than Hindus and Muslims uniting in opposition to the British. Gandhi's influence can be seen in the fact that the Conference also passed resolutions boycotting British goods and adopting a policy of non-cooperation with the British.

Gandhi was a keen advocate of the policy of passive resistance. He gave this approach the name *satyagraha*, which he described as meaning '*not meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant*'. Passive resistance, he argued, showed strength and moral supremacy over those who resorted to violence. Gandhi urged the Muslims to join Congress in seeking *swaraj* (self-rule) for India. Most Muslim leaders agreed with the idea of self-rule, though Jinnah thought India was not yet ready for it.

The Second Conference

The second Khilafat Conference was held in Amritsar in December 1919. At the same time both Congress and the League were also meeting in the city. It was agreed that all three organisations should work together to oppose plans to dismember the Turkish Empire. It was agreed that Gandhi would take the lead in trying to persuade the British not to punish Turkey. This seemed a difficult task. Maulana Muhammad Ali had recently returned from a visit to Britain in which he had impressed upon the British the importance of solving the Turkish problem. They had listened politely but were not persuaded by his arguments. On his insistence that Turkey should get justice, Lloyd George the British Prime Minister replied rather sarcastically, that Turkey would get justice: '*Austria has had justice, Germany has had justice - pretty terrible justice - why should Turkey escape?*'

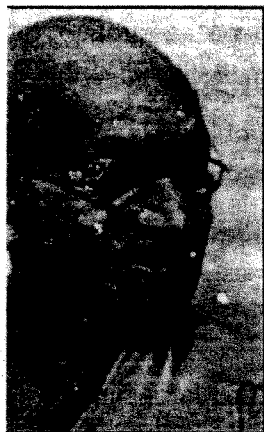
B. The Policy of Non-Cooperation

In January 1920 a deputation from the Khilafat Movement called on the Viceroy to ask for fairness in the treatment of Turkey. In February a further delegation was sent to England to try to persuade the Western powers not to treat Turkey in the same way as Germany and Austria. But whilst the delegation was in England the terms of the treaty concerning Turkey (the Treaty of Sevres) were announced. Amongst other things the treaty said that the Ottoman Empire was to be split up. Arabia was made independent and Turkey's other possessions in the Middle East were placed under the League of Nations and allocated to Britain and France (that is non-Muslim states). Turkish land was to be given to Greece so that Turkey's only possession in Europe was a small area around Istanbul. (The Turks later rebelled against this treaty and the Treaty of Lausanne replaced it in 1923. Some of the land lost in Europe was returned, but Turkey never regained control of the Muslim territories in the Middle East.)

On 22 June 1920 the Muslims in India sent a message to the Viceroy warning that if the terms of the unfair Treaty of Sevres were imposed on Turkey, then a policy of non-cooperation in the country would begin on 1 August. Gandhi began a tour of India to rally support for the Khilafat cause.

Both Hindus and Muslims greeted the non-cooperation programme with equal enthusiasm. It involved:

- surrendering of titles and resigning from seats in local bodies,
- withdrawing children from government schools,
- boycotting British courts,
- refusing to volunteer to join the armed forces,
- boycotting foreign goods,
- refusing to stand for election.



2: Mahatma Gandhi

The Development of the Khilafat Movement

A. As a general anti-British protest

These measures helped to turn the Khilafat Movement into a general anti-British protest movement. There was a great deal of support across the country and the British were highly embarrassed when visits by British royal princes were greeted with demonstrations and strikes. For example, when the Prince of Wales visited Bombay in 1921, there was a nationwide strike and demonstrations in Bombay led to anti-British rioting in which 53 people were killed.

The British reacted by introducing a policy of repression involving widespread arrests. By the end of 1921, there were more than 30,000 political prisoners in India's jails. The Khilafat Movement had attracted Muslims and Hindus alike and, for a short while, communal rivalry was put aside.

B. To protect and foster Islam - *Hijrat*

To many Muslims, however, the Khilafat Movement was not about opposing the British. It was about protecting and fostering Islam. During the years when the movement was at its strongest, Western dress and hair styles became less popular and the idea grew, particularly in the North-West Frontier and Sindh that disregard of the law of Islam by the British made India a dar-ul-harb (enemy territory). Consequently in August 1920, 18,000 Muslims set off on a *hijrat* (migration) to Afghanistan. They sold their land and property and began the long trek with their few remaining possessions in carts and their wives and children walking beside them. The journey was long and difficult, but the emigrants were told that the Afghan Government would welcome them and that fertile fields would be made available for them to plant their crops. The truth was very different. The Afghanis did not welcome the idea of such huge numbers suddenly descending upon their country. The emigrants were refused entry and forcibly sent back to what now is part of Pakistan. When they got back to their villages more problems awaited them; they had no jobs and whatever property they owned was in the hands of others. This was damaging to the movement as many supporters lost their enthusiasm to carry on.

The Khilafat Movement in Difficulty

On 8 July 1921 the All-India Khilafat Movement met for the third (and final) time. It passed a series of resolutions, which so offended the British that the Khilafat leaders were arrested. The resolutions stated that no Muslim should attend British schools, serve in the police or army or offer any form of cooperation to the British. As a result of their 'sedition', both the Ali brothers were imprisoned.

The British were concerned that the Khilafat Movement was a threat to law and order, and it is true that there were disturbances across India. In August 1921 there was an uprising by the Moplahs in South India against the British and their Hindu landlords. At Tirur some 10,000 Moplahs set the police station on fire and took arms and ammunition. The British had to send troops in to end the uprising and 4000 Moplahs were killed. Perhaps the most famous incident occurred in Chauri-Chaura, a village in Gorakhpur district. In February 1922 twenty-one policemen were killed after they fired on a political procession.

Gandhi had already begun to have reservations about the wisdom of his civil disobedience campaign which had resulted in disturbances in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Now he decided that India was not yet ready for a mass campaign and he called off the movement. His decision upset many Congress leaders. The Muslims, too, accused Gandhi of retreating just when the Indian people were taking

TO LEARNING

do you think
Gandhi's policy of non-
cooperation was so
popular in India?

do you think the
British were particularly
embarrassed when visits by
British royal princes were
greeted with demonstrations?

TO LEARNING

Do you think historians who
write about the Khilafat Movement
omit the story of the

TO LEARNING

Do you agree that it was
the decision of Gandhi to call
for non-cooperation
in 1920 just because
a policeman had been
killed in Chauri-Chaura?
Give your answer.

up the cause with enthusiasm. The British saw how Gandhi's support had declined and, a few weeks after he called off his civil disobedience campaign, he was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

The End of the Khilafat Movement

The decision to call off the civil disobedience campaign weakened the Hindu-Muslim unity, but the Muslims were determined to carry on with the Khilafat Movement. Unfortunately, they cared more about the fate of the Khalifa than did the new rulers of Turkey. In 1922 the Sultan was deprived of political power. Two years later, the new leader, Kemal Attaturk abolished the Khilafat and exiled the Khalifa, Muhammad VI. It made no difference what Indian Muslims or British politicians wanted. The Turks themselves had abolished the Khilafat. Consequently the Khilafat Movement in India also came to an end.

Reasons for the Failure of the Khilafat Movement

1. The Khilafat Movement failed largely because its members were more concerned with the fate of the Khalifa than were the Western powers and the people of Turkey. In the end the new government of Kemal Attaturk simply abolished the Khilafat, regardless of what anyone outside Turkey thought. This is why one historian has described the Khilafat as a wrong ideology, romantic and out of touch with actualities. Nowhere is this seen better than in the Hijrat to Afghanistan where the Muslims were shocked by the lack of support from the Afghan government.
2. Although the Khilafat Movement was the first movement in which Hindus and Muslims worked together, their unity was probably always doomed to failure. The Hindu aim of self-rule was not really an objective of the Muslims (Jinnah spoke out against such a policy) and the Hindus were prepared to support the Muslims in protecting their religious rights only as long as it helped move India towards self-rule. Gandhi also stressed that working with Hindus would reduce Muslim hostility towards the Hindu religion. As he said 'In laying down my life for the Khilafat, I ensure the safety of the cow.' Once difficulties emerged, however, (such as the communal rioting in 1921-22), it was inevitable that this unity began to decline.
3. The movement also failed because of the strength of anti-British feeling that it created. Although the movement was based on saving the Khilafat, some supporters seized on Gandhi's policy of non-cooperation to demonstrate their opposition to British rule in general. The ensuing violence frightened Gandhi who called off his campaign even before Kemal Attaturk abolished the Khilafat.

The Impact of Khilafat Movement

Although the Khilafat Movement had not saved the Khilafat, it did bring significant benefits to the people of India.

1. The policy of non-cooperation with the British had united Hindu and Muslim and it showed that the Indian people were no longer prepared to accept British rule. Some historians see the Khilafat Movement as the first step on the road that led to independence.
2. The Khilafat Movement made the Muslims realise that they had political power. They realised that they could organise themselves to demand their political rights. They were not the 'pets' of the British and did not have to rely on either the Hindus or the British to gain their rights. Indeed the British opposition to the Movement reinforced the growing feeling that the British only accepted the need for Muslims to have rights when doing so did not contravene other policies they were pursuing (like punishing Turkey).

TO LEARNING

Why did the Khilafat Movement fail? Since it didn't save the Khalifa, the movement was a total waste of time'. Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement.

But there were also some very negative consequences of the Khilafat Movement.

1. Many unfortunate Muslims had given up their jobs in public service and many students had forsaken their studies as part of the non-cooperation policy established in 1920. Even more unfortunate were the Muslims who had tried to emigrate to Afghanistan. They returned home to economic misery.
2. The failure of the Khilafat Movement, and the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims to work towards a common objective, drove a wedge between the two communities. Communal rioting followed the calling off of the non-cooperation campaign and hostility and suspicion increased. These events proved that the Hindus and Muslims could never live together in harmony. Therefore, the failure of the Khilafat Movement could be seen as an important step in moving the Muslims nearer to having their own independent state.

Type Questions

1. What was the Hijrat? [4]

2. Why was the Khilafat Movement founded? [7]

3. How important was the Khilafat Movement? Give reason for your answer. [14]

Read on

HAMMAD VI THE LAST SULTAN OF TURKEY

Hamad VI (also known as Mehmet VI, Mehmed Vahdettin and Mehmed Vahideddin) was the last Sultan of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire. He succeeded his brother Hammed V after the heir to the throne, Yusuf Izzetin, committed suicide. He ascended the throne on 4 July 1918, just a few months before the end of the First World War. His four years in power were very troubled ones.



Mehmet VI

During the First World War, Turkey fought on the side of Germany and Austria. The war did not go well for them and Baghdad, Jerusalem and Turkey's capital, Constantinople were all occupied by enemy forces. At the end of the war the victorious Allies decided that the Ottoman Empire should be dismembered and Turkey itself reduced in size. At the San Remo Conference in April 1920 France was given a mandate to govern Syria and Britain was given a mandate to govern Palestine and Mesopotamia. These mandates, and a severe reduction in the size of Turkey, were confirmed in the hated Treaty of Sevres in August 1920.

It was Muhammad VI's representatives who consented to the terms of the treaty and this made the Sultan's government even more unpopular with Turkish nationalists. They had taken over Anatolia and formed a new government, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Kemal Attaturk). This government denounced Muhammad VI and in 1922 deposed him. By November of that year the Sultan was so concerned for his life that he sent a letter to the British asking for shelter in Britain.

On 17 November the Sultan left Turkey on the British warship, *Malaya*. His exile, however, was to be in Italy, not Britain. In 1924 the Turkish government abolished the caliphate and all members of the Ottoman house were exiled. The last Sultan did not survive very long after the caliphate. He died from heart failure on 15th May 1926 and was buried in the Sultan Selim Mosque in Damascus.

HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT IN THE YEARS 1927 TO 1939?

Contents

- The Simon Commission 1927
- The Nehru Report
- Jinnah's 14 Points
- The Allahabad address by Allama Iqbal
- The Round Table Conferences
- Communal Award
- Government of India Act 1935
- Rahmat Ali and the Pakistan Movement
- The 1937 elections and their significance
- Congress Rule 1937 - 39
- The Day of Deliverance

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

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

Timeline

- 1927** Simon Commission arrives in India
- 1927** Congress votes for independence
- 1928** Nehru Report
- 1929** Fourteen Points agreed
- 1930** Salt March begins
- 1930** First Round Table Conference
- 1930** Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address

- 1931** Second Round Table Conference
- 1932** Communal Award
- 1932** Third Round Table Conference
- 1933** Rahmat Ali writes 'Now or Never'
- 1935** Government of India Act
- 1937** Congress wins election



8.1: The Simon Commission

The Simon Commission

By 1927, communalism in India threatened to undo any cooperation between Hindu and Muslim. The British, however, were soon to take action which restored that cooperation.

The Government of India Act of 1919 had stated that a commission was to be set up after 10 years to enquire into the workings of the reforms set up in 1919. The British Conservative government, however, feared that it might soon lose power to the Labour Party, which it thought was too sympathetic to the beliefs of Indian nationalism. A Labour government might make too many concessions.

LEARNING

Did the British government send the Simon Commission to India?

Was there so much opposition to the Commission in India?

B

Do Skills Book
Page 23

LEARNING

What did Jinnah mean when he talked of 'the mingling of the ways' in India?

What did Jinnah mean when he said 'Fourteen points'?

What are the Fourteen points important in the history of Pakistan?

So the Conservative government therefore decided to bring the date of the commission forward. In 1927 it appointed a seven man committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to consider the situation in India. All members of the committee were British and not one of them was Indian. Not surprisingly the composition of the committee was considered an insult in India, and all parties became convinced that they must settle their differences and work together in opposition to the Simon Commission.

Opposition to the Simon Commission

At its Madras session in December 1927, Congress decided that it would boycott the commission and called for mass demonstrations when the members of the Simon Commission arrived in India. It also made a very important decision for the future of the sub-continent when for the first time it came out in favour of complete independence.

The commission faced regular protests and demands that its unrepresentative members return to England. In May 1928 members of the Congress, the League, the Liberals, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Central Sikh League met in an All-Party Conference to draft the constitution which the Indian people thought should be used to govern their country. Pundit Motilal Nehru chaired the committee that devised this constitution, and was contained in the 'Nehru Report'. This was overwhelmingly approved by the All-Party Conference in September 1928.

The Nehru Report

The report called for:

- Immediate Dominion status for India. This meant that India would become independent, but would remain a member of the Commonwealth and accept the British monarch as Head of State.
- India was to be a federation with a two-chamber parliament. There would be universal suffrage to elect the lower house and the provincial councils.
- There would not be separate electorates for any community or weightage for minorities. There was, however, to be protection of the minorities through a system of reserving seats in the central parliament.
- There should be no state religion and men and women should have equal rights as citizens.
- Hindi should be made the official language of India.

Gandhi proposed a resolution saying that the British should be given one year to accept the recommendations of the Nehru Report or a campaign of non-cooperation should begin. The resolution was passed.

The Nehru Report Rejected

Although the Nehru Report had been drawn up by an All-Party Congress, many Muslims were horrified by its proposals. It seemed that the views of the Muslims had been ignored and that Congress was turning its back on the agreements it had made in the Lucknow Pact. On January 21, 1929, the All India Muslim Conference rejected the report.

In an attempt to save the Report Jinnah proposed four changes which laid down the demands of the Muslims in India in the clearest possible terms.

1. One-third of the elected representatives of both the houses of the central legislature should be Muslims
2. In the Punjab and Bengal, in the event of adult suffrage not being established, there should be reservations of seats for the Muslims based on population for ten years.
3. Residuary powers should be left to the provinces and should not rest with the central legislature.
4. The North-West Frontier Province and Sindh should have full provincial status.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

Any future constitution should be federal, with power resting with the provinces.
All provinces should have the same amount of autonomy.
All legislatures and local bodies should be constituted with adequate representation of minorities.
Muslims should have one-third of the seats in the Central Assembly.
Election should be by separate electorates.
Any territorial changes should not affect the Muslim majority in Bengal, the Punjab and the NWFP.
Full liberty of belief and worship shall be granted to all communities.
No Bill shall be passed in any elected body if 3/4 of any community in that body opposed it.
Sindh shall be separated from Bombay.
There should be reforms in the NWFP and Balochistan to put them on the same footing as other provinces.
Muslims should have an adequate share in the services of the state.
Muslim culture, education, language, religion and charities should be protected by the constitution.
All Cabinets (at central or local level) should have at least 1/3 Muslim representation.
The federation of India must not change laws without the consent of the provinces.

The failure of Congress to accept these proposals was to have a major impact on the history of the sub-continent. Jinnah described this moment as the 'the parting of the ways' and it was certainly an important step in the eventual partition of India. Jinnah would not try to reconcile Congress with the Muslim League again. Instead it was time to make clear what was acceptable from the Muslim Point of view.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

In January 1929 the All-India Muslim League met in conference in Delhi, where Jinnah presented his Fourteen Points. In them he stated that '...no scheme for the constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable... unless all the following basic principles are given effect to'. He then set out points which were to be the basis of Muslim demands from this time to the creation of Pakistan.

Although the events of the 1920s had divided the Muslims into a number of factions, they were united in agreeing that Jinnah's Fourteen Points should form the basis of any further discussions with Congress on the future of India. These were formally accepted by the conference in March 1929.

As Jinnah's Fourteen Points were shortly followed by a rejection of the Nehru Report, it was apparent that any Hindu-Muslim cooperation had now come to an

end. Both groups, however, continued to campaign separately against the British plans.

In December 1929 Congress met in Lahore for what was to prove to be a historic occasion. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President of the session which now rejected the idea of dominion status and instead called for complete independence. At midnight on 31 December Nehru led a procession to the banks of the River Ravi, where the Indian flag was raised amidst cries of 'Long live the revolution'. Three weeks later a declaration of Indian independence, written by Gandhi was read out across India.

believe that it is the inalienable
of the Indian people, as of any
r people, to have freedom....We
eve that if a government deprives
eople of these rights, the people
e a right to alter or abolish it...The
h government has ruined India
omically, politically, culturally and
ually... We believe that India must
r the British connection and attain
plete independence.

of the Declaration of Independence
January 1930

What was Gandhi saying in this resolution?
Why is this resolution considered an
important point in the history of the
subcontinent?



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The Salt March

More non-cooperation

As it had threatened, Congress also re-launched its non-cooperation campaign. Gandhi was placed in charge of the campaign which began on 12 March with the famous Salt March from his *ashram* (retreat) near Ahmedabad to the seaside village of Dandi. This twenty-four day march became a triumphal procession which was widely reported in the newspapers. The British forbade the making of salt, except under licence from the government. The march was not only an attack on the unfair Salt Laws, but was seen as the opportunity for Indians to disregard all unfair laws and show opposition to British rule in any way possible. British cloth shops were picketed and British schools, colleges and services boycotted.

In response, the British outlawed Congress, censored the newspapers and began widespread arrests. Both Gandhi and Nehru were amongst the many Congress leaders arrested.

Jinnah disapproved of the non-cooperation plan as he felt that Congress was aiming not only for independence from Britain, but also dominance over the Muslims. Consequently, most Muslims did not join in the campaign.

The Allahabad Address

At this time however, there was a very important moment in the history of Pakistan. In 1930 the famous philosopher poet Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal was asked to chair a meeting of the Muslim League in Allahabad. In his presidential address he called for the Muslims of the subcontinent to work towards achieving an independent homeland. He argued that Islam had given its followers a creed which united the Muslims of the subcontinent into one nation. There could be no peace unless they were recognized as a nation and under a federal system the areas of Muslim majority given the same privileges as the areas of Hindu majority. He stated that he would like to see Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state, either within the British empire, or outside it. *'The formation of a consolidated North-West India Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims'*. It is interesting to note that Allama Iqbal did not call for Kashmir or Bengal to be included, even though they were both Muslim-majority areas.

Allama Iqbal's contributions were extremely important to the Pakistan movement.

- He was the first Muslim leader to suggest partition of the subcontinent in keeping with the Two-Nation Theory. He has, therefore, been called the father of the ideology of Pakistan.
- His views acted as an inspiration to many Muslims who were uncertain about how to defend their religion and culture. Iqbal gave them a clear-cut objective, as he set out a goal for Muslims to work towards.
- Allama Iqbal was also the inspiration for other Muslim leaders. In 1933 Rahmat Ali's Pakistan scheme was built upon his ideas (see page 80). They were also to be the basis of Jinnah's 'Pakistan Resolution' in 1940.
- Iqbal's poetry was a source of inspiration for the Muslims of India. It kindled a sense of nationhood and motivated them to work hard to achieve their goal.

The Round Table Conferences

Despite the opposition it faced, the Simon Commission still managed to produce a two-volume report in 1930. The report had little in it to cheer the Muslim community. Although it supported the idea of separate electorates, it rejected

Muslims having a one-third share of seats in the Central Assembly and the idea of Sindh being separated from Bombay. The British then called a Round Table Conference to discuss the commission's recommendations.

The First Round Table Conference - November 1930

The first conference was held in London in November 1930. It was attended by the Muslim League, the Liberals and representatives of the Princely States. However, Congress refused to attend unless there was a guarantee that anything agreed at the conference would be implemented. No such guarantee was given. Instead of attending, Congress began its programme of non-cooperation. Since Congress was India's largest party, it was difficult for significant progress to be made in the talks in its absence. However, some advances were made.

- The princes declared that they would join a future federation of India as long as their rights were recognized.
- The British agreed that representative government should be introduced at provincial level.

The Muslims, whose representatives included Jinnah, Maulana Muhammad Ali and the Aga Khan, left the conference feeling some ground had been gained.



The Second Round Table Conference

The Second Round Table Conference September 1931

When the Indian representatives returned from the first Round Table Conference, they urged Gandhi to stop his non-cooperation and agree to attend the next set of talks. In February 1931 Gandhi met the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in the first of a series of meetings to agree the terms of future progress. Some British politicians, especially Winston Churchill, objected to Irwin holding talks with someone who had just been imprisoned for opposition to British rule. Irwin, however, understood the need to bring Congress into the discussions.

So on 5 March 1931 the 'Gandhi-Irwin Pact' was signed. Irwin agreed to release most political prisoners and return property seized by the government; Gandhi

agreed to call off the non-cooperation campaign and attend the next round of talks. He also agreed to give up his demand for full independence in return for a promise that in a federal India, Indians would have a genuine say in how they were governed.

The second Round Table Conference took place in London between September and December 1931. The conference failed for two reasons:

- The Labour Party had lost power in Britain and the new coalition government was less keen to reach a compromise in India.
- Gandhi took a hard line in the talks and refused to recognize the problems of the minorities in the subcontinent.

Consequently little was achieved at the conference, other than an agreement that the NWFP and Sindh should be made provinces with their own governors. The British warned that if agreement could not soon be reached, they would impose their own solution to the 'Indian problem'.

The Communal Award 1932

The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, saw himself as 'a friend of the Indians' and wanted to thus resolve the issues in India. After the failure of the Second Round Table conference, he announced the 'Communal Award' on August 16, 1932.

LEARNING

Why did the Round Table Conferences fail?

If they failed, it was a waste of time having 'Round Table Conferences'. Explain whether you agree with this statement.

This gave the right of separate electorate to all the minority communities in the country. The principle of weightage was also applied.

The Award was not popular with the Muslims as it has reduced their majority in Punjab and Bengal. For example in the Punjab, although the Muslims constituted almost 56 percent of the total population of Punjab, they were given only 86 out of 175 seats in the Punjab Assembly. However, they were prepared to accept the Award and the League passed a resolution saying "Though the decision falls far short of the Muslim demands, the Muslims have accepted it in the best interest of the country, reserving to themselves the right to press for the acceptance of all their demands."

Congress rejected the Award and decided to launch a campaign against it. Gandhi protested against the declaration of Untouchables as a minority and undertook a fast unto death. He also held meetings with the Untouchable leadership for the first time to persuade them that they were not minorities, but part of the mainstream Hindu society.

The Third Round Table Conference - November 1932

The third Round Table Conference stood little chance of success. Lord Irwin had been replaced as Viceroy by Lord Willington, who was much less prepared to make concessions. In places the non-cooperation movement re-started and Willington responded by having Congress leaders, including Gandhi and Nehru, arrested. In January 1932 Congress formally re-started the non-cooperation campaign.

The events of 1932 meant that none of the parties involved in the third Round Table Conference expected it to achieve anything. Indeed Congress boycotted the talks, as did all the major princes. Jinnah had gone into voluntary exile, disillusioned with the lack of progress being made, and was not even invited to the conference. The Muslims were, therefore represented by the Aga Khan, but there were only 46 delegates and the meeting broke up with nothing of any substance agreed.

Rahmat Ali

Rahmat Ali was one of a number of young Indian Muslims studying in England in the 1930s. During his studies he attended conferences in London to discuss the position of Hindus and Muslims in India. Rahmat Ali did not agree with the ideas being put forward by Muslim representatives at these conferences. They were talking about a federation in India, but Rahmat Ali believed that there should be partition with a separate Muslim homeland established.

At this time Rahmat Ali's thinking was much more advanced than other Muslims. Even Jinnah did not agree in the early 1930s that India should be partitioned. However, Rahmat Ali was not put off by lack of support for his ideas. In 1933 he wrote a four page pamphlet called 'Now or Never'. In it he said that the Muslims should have their own homeland called Pakistan. He wrote:

Pakistan is both a Persian and an Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our homelands - that is Punjab, Afghania (NWFP), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh, Turkaristan, Afghanistan and Balochistan. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and the ethical stocks of our people.

LEARNING

Why is Rahmat Ali an important figure in the history of Pakistan?

Why was Jinnah not impressed by Rahmat Ali's views?

It was, therefore, Rahmat Ali who had the honour of devising the name of the future Muslim nation. His views were different from those of Allama Iqbal, as Rahmat Ali wanted his Muslim homelands to be independent. Read more about Rahmat Ali on page 100.

The Government of India Act 1935

Despite the failure of the Round Table conferences, in March 1933 the British government announced its proposals for how India should be governed. These were published in a 'White Paper' (a discussion document issued before a Bill is presented to the British parliament). After discussions by British politicians, and consultation with 'safe' Indian delegates, nominated by the government to take part in the talks, a Bill was introduced before the British parliament in December 1934. In August 1935 the Government of India Act became law. This was the last major legislation that the British government passed before independence was granted. Its main terms were:

- India was to be a federation including both the provinces of British India and any Princely States which chose to join.
- There were to be two houses of parliament at central government level. The upper house (Council of State) was to have 156 members from British India and 104 from the Princely States. The members from British India were to be elected and those from the Princely States were to be nominated. The lower house (Assembly) was to have 250 members from British India (elected by the provincial legislatures) and 125 members from the Princely States (nominated).
- Diarchy was dropped at provincial level, but introduced at central government level. Certain 'reserved' subjects (defence, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and the administration of the tribal areas) were to be administered exclusively by the Governor-General assisted by up to three appointed Councillors.
- At provincial level diarchy was replaced with a system in which provinces were given a large degree of autonomy. The ministers of provinces were, in effect, heads of provincial administration and provincial governors were instructed to act on their advice except in areas where they had special responsibilities (the peace of the province and the rights of minorities).
- The number of provinces was increased to eleven by giving the NWFP the status of a fully-fledged province and creating two new provinces, Orissa and Sindh. The composition of the provincial legislatures varied, though most had a bi-cameral system similar to that of the central government. The Act appeared to grant real power to the people of India, but in reality things were a little different.
- The Governor-General was head of the Federation and could exert special powers in the reserved subjects.
- Provincial governors also had special powers in the two reserved areas. They had the authority to dismiss ministers and even the right to dismiss the whole administration and rule by proclamation during a period of emergency.
- The part concerning central government was never introduced because the princes rejected the new arrangements.
- Although the Act appeared to give the Indian people a say in running their own country, there was a very limited franchise. The property qualification for voting meant that only 25% of India's population was allowed to vote in the provincial elections.

TO LEARNING

What do you think Nehru meant when he described the Government of India Act as 'a machine with strong brakes, but no engine'?

The Government of India Act was opposed on all sides in India. The princes resented the loss of power it would entail, Nehru called it a '*Charter of Slavery*' and said that it had so many safeguards that it was like '*a machine with strong brakes but no engine*'. To Jinnah it was simply '*thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable*'.

Although it suited no one, the Act was an important point in the move towards independence. It provided the basis for the negotiations which finally resulted in the British leaving India. Parliamentary systems had been set up in which the Indian people were to gain increasing representation. Independence was moving nearer.

1937 Elections

Neither Congress nor the Muslim League approved of the Government of India Act, but both of them could see an advantage in contesting the provincial elections which were to be held in January and February of 1937.

Nehru had at first wanted to boycott the elections to show his party's disapproval of the Act. Many other Congressmen, however, believed that taking part in an election campaign had its advantages. As Nehru himself said, by contesting the election, Congress could carry its message 'to the millions of voters and scores of millions of the disenfranchised, to acquaint them with our future programme and policy.' The decision on whether to actually take up office could be made later.

The Muslim League also saw the potential for getting its message across. Jinnah had been persuaded to return to active politics and in 1934 had been sworn in as permanent president of the Muslim League. It now laid down two basic principles on which it campaigned for office.

- India should have self-government.
- There should be greater provincial autonomy and safeguards for the minority communities.

Nehru is reported to have said 'there are only two parties in the country, the government Congress and the others line up. I refuse to line up with Congress. There is a third party in this country and that is the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody.'

Jinnah speaking during the election campaign in 1936

Why do you think Nehru made this comment about there only being two parties in India? What does Jinnah's reaction tell you about his importance in the history of Pakistan?

Jinnah had believed that it was possible for Congress and the Muslim League to cooperate after the elections stating that:

'Unity and an honourable settlement between Hindus and Muslims and the other minorities is the only pivot upon which national self government can be maintained.'

Nehru, however, was not keen to improve relations and declared that there were only two parties in India, the British and Congress. This angered Jinnah.

Jinnah showed great commitment to the cause of the Muslims, but the elections results were a great disappointment for the Muslim League. Congress won absolute majorities in five provinces and was the largest single party in four others. It was invited to form ministries in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, Bombay and later, Assam and the NWFP. Even in the three remaining provinces (Punjab, Sindh and Bengal) where there was a Muslim majority, the League did not fare well. It won only 109 of the 482 seats reserved for Muslims.

The election had not been a success for the Muslim League, but it had brought benefits to them.

TO LEARNING

Were the 1937 elections important to the Muslim League?

- It was the first major election the League had fought and helped unify the party after the internal split of the early 1930s.
- The party learned a great deal about how to contest elections. It realized that it had to improve its organisation and planning.
- The League now knew that its support lay more in areas where the Muslims were a minority, rather than a majority. Where there was a majority the Muslims did not yet feel threatened by Hindu domination.
- The League also realized that it had an 'image problem'. Its leaders were seen as aristocrats and princes, whereas many Muslims at this time were poor and illiterate.

The Rule of Congress 1937-39

Nehru had been reluctant to contest the provincial elections, but Congress received such overwhelming support that he believed it was their duty to take office. Once he had received assurances from Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, that the provincial governors would not use their special powers to interfere in provincial government, the Congress members took up their seats and formed cabinets in eight provinces.

After the elections, Congress treated the Muslim League with disdain. In areas where the League was the largest single party, Congress refused to cooperate. In the Muslim majority provinces Congress agreed to Muslims forming the government as long as they were not members of the League. Yet most damaging for the Muslims was the Congress belief that it represented the whole of India and had a mandate to introduce measures that proved how correct Jinnah had been when during the election campaign he had warned of the dangers of Congress rule. The Congress leaders soon introduced a series of measures which threatened Muslim culture and identity.

Bande Matram

This was a nationalist Hindu song in which Hindus were encouraged to expel Muslims from '*Hindustan*'. This was not a Congress policy, but the singing of the song was made compulsory before the start of official business every day in the provincial assemblies. This worried and offended Muslims.

The Wardha Scheme

This was an education scheme based on Gandhi's views and introduced into all Congress education ministries. Teaching was to be in Hindi, spinning cotton by hand was introduced into the school curriculum and there was to be no religious education. All students were expected to bow before a picture of Gandhi hung in their schools. Muslims saw these measures as an attempt to subvert love for Islam amongst their children and convert them to Hinduism.

The 'Congress Tyranny'

Whilst it was never an official Congress policy, Muslims feared that a major aim of their Hindu rivals was to erase the Muslim culture. It is true that in some places Hindu extremists behaved in an appalling way. Muslims were forbidden to eat beef and received harsh punishments if they slaughtered cows. *Azaan* was forbidden and attacks were carried out on mosques. Noisy processions were arranged near mosques at prayer time and pigs sometimes pushed into the mosques. Muslims felt that if they lodged complaints with the authorities decisions were always made against them. Sometimes there were anti-Muslim riots in which Muslims were attacked and their houses and property set on fire. Viceroy Linlithgow himself talked of '*many instances of continued oppression in small ways*'. Whilst these incidents were not necessarily widespread, together with the *Bande Matram* and Wardha Scheme policies, they explain why many Muslims see the period 1937-39 as one of '*Congress Tyranny*'.

TO LEARNING

Do some Muslims refer to the period 1937-39 as one of 'Congress tyranny'?

The Day of Deliverance

When Britain went to war with Germany in 1939 (see page 85) it announced that India was at war with Germany too. Congress objected to the fact that it had not been consulted and all Congress provincial governments resigned. The Muslims were so pleased to see the end of the Hindu governments that they gave great support to Jinnah's call to celebrate the end of Congress rule on 22 December 1939 as the 'Day of Deliverance'.

The Muslim League under Congress Rule

After the 1937 election, Jinnah had suggested that coalitions of Congress-League ministries should be formed in several provinces, but no agreement had been reached. Jinnah now devoted his time to warning Muslims that they must organize themselves if they were to resist the desire of Congress to establish 'Hindustan'. At the Lucknow meeting of the Muslim League in October 1937 Jinnah persuaded the party that it needed to build up support from the grass roots. He pointed out that in the recent elections victory had come where local branches of the League had been established before 1937.



Fig. 8.4: Muslim leaders during the 1937 session of the All India Muslim League in Lucknow

Jinnah's drive to transform the fortunes of the party soon bore fruit. The chief ministers of Assam, Bengal and Punjab formally joined the party and by mid 1938 membership numbers had grown dramatically. Congress recognized the importance of the League when talks between Nehru and Jinnah were organized, though it refused to accept Jinnah's demand that the growing Muslim League be seen as the sole representative of the Muslim community.

Consequently, by 1939 Hindu-Muslim relations were at a low ebb. The British, however, were soon to have more immediate priorities than concern for how India was governed. In September 1939 Britain went to war with Germany.

-type Questions

Who was Rahmat Ali? [4]

How successful was the Muslim League in the 1937 elections? [7]

Were the Round Table Conferences the most important attempt to reach agreement on how India should be governed in the period 1919-39? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

HOW IMPORTANT WERE ATTEMPTS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS FACING THE SUB-CONTINENT IN THE YEARS 1940 TO 1947?

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The Second World War in relation to India
Pakistan Resolution 1940
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The Simla Conference
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The Cabinet Mission Plan
The 3 June Plan
Radcliffe Commission and Award
Independence Act 1947

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ How successful were the meetings held during the Second World War to produce a plan for the future of the sub-continent?
- ▶ How did the success of the Muslim League in the elections of 1945-46 lead to changes in the attempts of the British government to produce a solution to the problems of the sub-continent?

Timeline

1939 Outbreak of Second World War
Congress resigns from government
1939 Day of Deliverance
1940 Pakistan Resolution
1942 Cripps Mission
1942 Quit India Resolution
1944 Gandhi - Jinnah talks
1945 Simla Conference

1945 Elections
Executive Council sworn in
1946 Cabinet Mission plans announced
1946 Direct Action Day (16 August)
Constituent Assembly elected
1947 Indian Independence Act (15 July)
1947 Pakistan created (14 August)



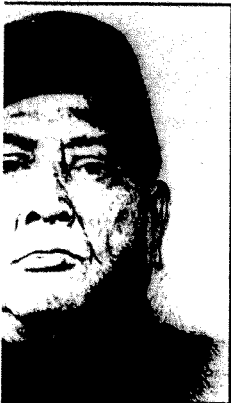
1: Newspaper headlines announcing outbreak of war

The Outbreak of War 1939

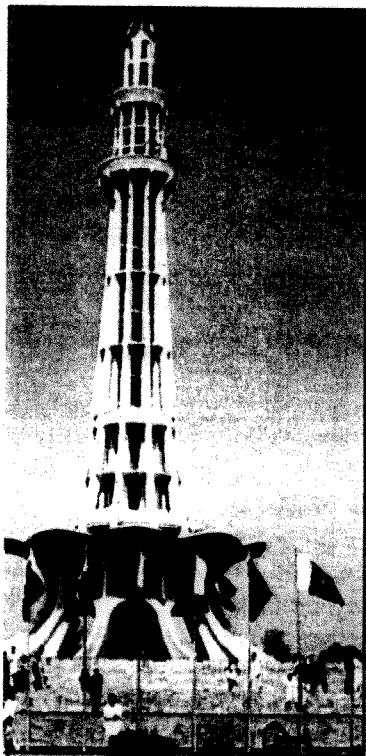
On 3 September 1939 Britain announced that it was at war with Nazi Germany. On the same day, Viceroy Linlithgow announced that India too was at war with Germany. Congress objected to this announcement, saying that if India was to fight, it could only do so if it were granted a promise of full independence. The British would not grant this, but instead promised Dominion status after the war. Congress could not accept this and called on its members to resign from government. Before doing so, however, it passed a resolution setting out its 'entire disapproval' of Nazism and Fascism. It supported the British cause, but would not support Britain without a promise of independence.

the ideology and of the Nazis, (Socialist German party) based on nationalism, national unity, and state control of the economy.

a radical and authoritarian nationalist ideology.



Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq



The Minar-e-Pakistan monument commemorates the Resolution

The Muslim League also had demands to be met before it would agree to support the British. Jinnah demanded:

- an end to the anti-Muslim policies by Congress,
- that no law affecting Muslims should be passed unless two-thirds of Muslim members supported it,
- that Congress should agree to form coalitions in provincial administrations.

Neither the British, nor Congress would agree to these demands. Consequently, throughout the war the Muslim League's position was one where it did not give full support to the British. However, like Congress, it disapproved of Nazism and Fascism, so did not go as far as actually opposing the British.

As Congress members had resigned from the provincial governments, on 22 December 1939 the Muslim League called a 'Day of Deliverance' across the subcontinent to celebrate the end of the 'tyranny, oppression and injustice' that had occurred under Congress rule. Congress was deeply offended by this and Nehru was moved to comment on how Congress and the League now seemed to agree on very little.

The Pakistan Resolution

Both Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Rahmat Ali had recently built upon the earlier views of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for the Muslims to have their own homeland. At first, Jinnah was not in favour of the idea. He believed that Muslims would be better off in a federation in which they had political autonomy and a promise that their rights would be safeguarded. But the two years of Congress rule and a growing realization that the British would soon be forced to leave India, convinced Jinnah that it was time to consider establishing a Muslim state.

At the annual session of the Muslim League held in Lahore on 22 March 1940, the premier of Bengal, Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq put forward a resolution demanding that 'Regions in which the Muslims are numerically a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zone of India, should be grouped

to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. The Resolution was passed on 23rd March, which is now a national holiday, Pakistan Day.

This resolution was passed unanimously and soon became known as the 'Lahore Resolution'. However, the Hindu press began referring to it as 'The Pakistan Resolution' and that title was soon adopted. The Muslims of the subcontinent had finally got their rallying call. The years of oppression from the British and the Hindus were to be put behind them. Now was the time to work for the homeland to become a reality – and it was the Muslim League which was the undisputed leader of 'The Pakistan Movement'.



The Pakistan Resolution engraved on the marble plaque at Minar-e-Pakistan

TO LEARNING

Why did both the Muslim League and Congress reject the Cripps proposals?

What did Gandhi mean when he called the proposals 'a post-dated cheque on a failing bank'?

Key-terms

What does the picture of the Quit India Campaign tell us about attitudes to the British at the time?

The Cripps Mission

The Muslim League had made its position clear, but Congress was vehemently opposed to any partition of India – and the British had still not accepted that their control of the country should end. In March 1942 the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the Cabinet, to India to see if a compromise could be reached which would win support for the British war effort. Cripps proposed that:

- after the war an Indian Union would be set up with Dominion status (though individual provinces could opt out of the Union and negotiate their own independence),
- after the war a Constituent Assembly should frame a new constitution,
- elections for the Constituent Assembly would be held immediately after the war.

The Muslim League rejected the plan immediately, as it contained no reference to the establishment of Pakistan. Jinnah was pleased to see, however, that the right to opt out of a future Union was included. This showed that the British realized the need to protect minority interests.

Congress also rejected the Cripps proposals, as it was now demanding immediate control of India's affairs. It was not prepared to wait until the war was over and wasn't sure that it trusted the British to deliver their promises. Gandhi called the proposals 'a post-dated cheque on a failing bank'. Congress knew that the British were desperate and intended to exploit this.

The Quit India Resolution

In May 1942 Gandhi spoke at a Congress meeting in Allahabad. He talked of how 'British behaviour towards India has filled me with great pain'. He argued that if the British left India, there would no longer be a threat of a Japanese invasion. So they should be persuaded to go by a non-violent protest. On 8 August 1942 the All-India Congress Committee passed its 'Quit India Resolution' calling for the immediate withdrawal of the British. To support the campaign there should be 'a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale'.



1: Rioting during the Quit India Campaign

Two days later Gandhi, Nehru and other senior Congress figures were arrested. The Congress Party was banned.

For several weeks there was widespread rioting and the British lost control in some parts of the country. Only the strongest measures, including the use of machine guns and aerial bombing, restored their rule – at the cost of thousands of Indian lives.

The Muslim League did not approve of the Quit India campaign. It saw the Hindus' attempts to drive the British out as a means of gaining control in India to exercise their own, anti-Muslim, wishes. Jinnah criticized the Quit India campaign as 'blackmail', saying that Congress was trying to exploit Britain's problems to win advantages for itself.

The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

Gandhi was released from prison on medical grounds by the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell in May 1944. Gandhi proposed to Jinnah that the two meet to consider the future of India after the British departure, which now seemed inevitable. Throughout September 1944 the two met at Jinnah's home in Bombay. Although many people expected a compromise to be reached, the talks broke down for a number of reasons.

- Gandhi wanted the League to give immediate support to Congress in its struggle to remove the British. Only after the British left could partition be considered. Jinnah knew that he had to secure partition before the British left. Why should Congress agree to it once the British were gone?
- Gandhi also wanted the central government to have control over key areas such as defence and foreign policy. Jinnah wanted these matters to be in the hands of the provinces.
- Gandhi considered himself to be speaking for all of India. Jinnah reminded him that really he was just the spokesman of Congress.
- Gandhi gave the impression that he did not support the 'Two Nation Theory', whereas this had now become official League policy.

So the talks broke up without agreement. Jinnah, however, could claim some success from the talks. Congress was now accepting that the League was an important organization and that it spoke with authority on behalf of Muslims.



Jinnah with Lord Wavell during the conference

Lord Wavell and the Simla Conference

By early 1945 it was clear that the Second World War was drawing to an end. In March, Lord Wavell flew to London to consult with the British government its future policy in India. It was now clear that the British intended to leave India. What they desperately needed was agreement on what should happen when they did leave.

Wavell proposed that an Executive Council should be set up to govern the country under the present constitution until a new constitution could be agreed on. The Executive Council would contain equal numbers of Muslims and Hindus and be entirely Indian, apart from the Viceroy and a member controlling defence. To discuss the proposal Wavell called a conference in Simla in June 1945.

The conference had the leaders of Congress, the Muslim League, the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and other groups. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin led the League delegation. Gandhi led the Congress group, but Congress president Abul Kalam Azad was also included. As he was a Muslim, this would make the point that not all Muslims were represented by the League.

The conference at first made some ground. All the parties agreed with the principle of an Executive Council. What caused the failure of the conference, however, was lack of agreement about who was to be on the council. Wavell had said that he wanted an equal number of Muslims and Hindus, but Jinnah pointed out that, as the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes on the council were bound to vote with the Hindus, this would mean a permanent Muslim minority in the Executive Council. Jinnah also objected to the Congress suggestion that it could nominate Muslims as well as Hindus. Jinnah pointed out that the League had won every by-election for the last two years and was the undisputed voice of the Muslims.

Lord Wavell could see no solution to the problem and closed the conference on 14 July. Another British attempt to find a solution had failed.

The 1945-46 Elections

In 1945 the British war-time prime minister, Winston Churchill, and the Conservative Party were defeated in a general election. The new Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and his Labour Party were committed to self-government in India. Wavell was told to organise elections to both provincial and central assemblies

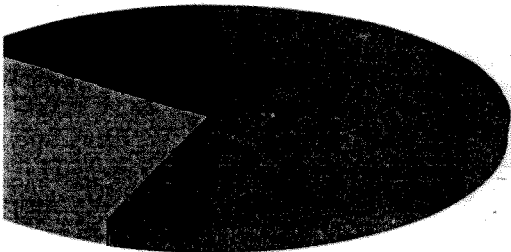
TO LEARNING

Were Jinnah's objections to the British proposals about who should be a member of the Executive Council?

and then set up an Executive Council with 'the support of the main Indian parties'. The elections were to show just how divided India had become. Congress claimed to represent all Indians and all communities. It fought the election on a policy of an undivided and independent India. The League, on the other hand, appealed to the Muslim community with a policy of establishing an independent Muslim homeland. The results were announced in December 1945.

- The League won 87% of the Muslim vote, all 30 Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and 446 of the 495 Muslim seats in the provincial elections. It took control in Bengal and Sindh and was the largest party in Punjab.
- Congress won 91% of the non-Muslim vote and took control in the other eight states. The victory of Congress in the NWFP was a serious blow to the League, as Congress took 19 Muslim seats to the League's 17 seats. The elections showed that the Muslim community was supporting the League and the rest of the country was generally supporting Congress. In 1937 the League had done poorly. Why had it performed so much better in 1945?

of the Election to the Central Legislative Assembly Dec 1945



Congress: 57 seats
 Muslim League: 30 seats
 Independents: 5 seats
 Akali Sikhs: 2 seats
 Muslims: 8 seats

- Since 1937 the Muslim League had succeeded in getting its message across and had become a force in Indian politics. It had learned the lessons of 1937 and campaigned effectively to let Muslims know exactly what it stood for.
- The period of Congress rule from 1937-39 had made Muslims realize that if they did not stand up for their rights, they would suffer at the hands of Congress.
- The subcontinent in 1945 was a different place to that of 1937. Now the Muslim League had passed the Pakistan Resolution and Jinnah was fighting to show that the League was an equal force in politics to Congress. The communal divide was much greater and the election results showed the split in India between Congress and the League.

Whatever the reasons for the success of the Muslim League, it was now clear that there could be no settlement in India without its approval.

TO LEARNING

Why did the Muslim League perform poorly in the elections of 1937 but become successful in 1945.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

In March 1946 the British made their final effort to settle the differences within India. A three man delegation (Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty) was sent to India to try to find a settlement acceptable to all. This 'Cabinet Mission' arrived in New Delhi on 24 March 1946 and met representatives of the Muslim League, Congress, the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha.

TO LEARNING

Why did the League believe that it should consider the Cabinet Mission proposal of May 1946?

The delegation soon found that there was little common ground between the League and Congress. Jinnah was insisting on the formation of Pakistan comprising six provinces. Once this was established he might consider the setting up of a central agency of India and Pakistan to look after certain common subjects. Congress was opposed to any partition and would not accept Jinnah's ideas.

Why did that proposal fail?

The Cabinet Mission therefore decided on a different approach. It proposed that an interim government should be set up to rule India whilst the British withdrawal was organised. The government would form an All-India Commission from members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures. The commission would then decide whether there should be one or two states after the British had left.

Neither Congress nor the League agreed to the new plan, but the delegation continued its work and in May 1946 the Cabinet Mission announced its final plan.

- It rejected the idea of establishing Pakistan
- Instead there would be three different parts to a post-British India:
 1. The Hindu majority territories
 2. The western Muslim provinces
 3. Bengal and Assam
- Each part would have local autonomy and would be able to draw up its own constitution.
- Foreign affairs, defence and communication would be managed by a central Indian Union.

The Muslim League stated that it was prepared to nominate members to an interim cabinet to oversee the move to independence based on this plan. Nehru, however, said that Congress would not feel bound by the plan once the British had left. The League felt that this made further discussions pointless. Any agreement might just be overturned after the British had gone. So the Cabinet Plan was dropped.

Direct Action Day

By late summer 1946 it was clear that the British withdrawal from India was imminent. The Muslims feared that the British might just pull out and leave India to sort out its own problems. If that happened, the Muslims would surely suffer at the hands of the overwhelming Hindu majority. What was needed was a show of Muslim solidarity and an indication of Muslim strength to both the British and Congress.

In July 1946 the Muslim League passed a resolution declaring that it should prepare for the final struggle against both the British and Congress. On 16 August the League called for a 'Direct Action Day' to show the strength of Muslim feelings. In many places thousands demonstrated peacefully to show Muslim solidarity. In Calcutta, however, the demonstration turned to violence in which up to 4000 people died in the 'Great Calcutta Killing'.

Towards Independence

Despite the violence and the failure to reach agreement between Congress and the League, the British were determined to make arrangements for leaving India. In late August 1945 the British asked Nehru to form an Executive Council to act as interim government, since Congress was the largest party in India. Jinnah refused to nominate members to the council until Congress accepted that it had no right to nominate Muslims. So on 2 September 1945 the council was sworn in with only Congress members.

However, Jinnah also realized that it was important that there were League members in the council. Therefore 5 League members, including Liaquat Ali Khan, were nominated. In a political masterstroke, Jinnah also nominated one Hindu. He knew that if Pakistan was formed there would be many Hindus living there and wanted to show that he was not anti-Hindu.

Elections were held for a Constituent Assembly between July and December 1946. However, when it first met on 9 December, the League members refused to attend. In retaliation Congress demanded the resignation of the League members in the Executive Council, since the League had originally rejected the Cabinet Mission plan. If they did not resign, Congress would withdraw its own members. The British Prime Minister, Attlee decided that it was time for decisive action.

The 3 June Plan

In February 1947 Attlee announced that the British would leave India no later than June 1948. A new Viceroy, Viscount Mountbatten was sent to work out a plan for the transfer of power. Attlee had deliberately set a short timespan for arrangements to be made. He feared that if more time were given, there would only be more disagreement.

Mountbatten soon realized the need for a speedy settlement. In March 1947 there were riots and killings between Muslims and Hindus in Punjab. Soon the trouble spread to other provinces. It seemed that civil war, with the inevitable thousands of deaths might be only months away. Mountbatten arrived in India in March 1947. His meetings with different political leaders convinced him that partition was inevitable. Few people wanted India partitioned, but Jinnah was adamant that the Muslims must have their own state. On 3 June 1947 that plan was announced.

According to the 3 June Plan:

- Two states should be set up, India and Pakistan. The interim constitution of both states was the 1935 Government of India Act.
- Each state was to have Dominion status and have an Executive responsible to a Constituent Assembly.
- Muslim majority provinces would vote either to stay in India or join Pakistan. In Sindh and Balochistan the provincial legislatures voted to join Pakistan. Bengal and Punjab had two decisions to make. Firstly on whether to join Pakistan. If so, they then had to decide whether the provinces should be partitioned into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Both decided that they should join Pakistan, but that their Muslim-minority areas should stay in India. The NWFP also joined Pakistan after holding a referendum. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet in Assam joined the eastern wing of Pakistan.

In a press conference held the day after the 3 June Plan was announced, Mountbatten said that the final transfer of power might be brought forward from June 1948 to 15 August 1947. This date generally became accepted as the date when British rule would end. That meant that there were only 7 weeks left to deal with the problems involved in partitioning British India.

- There was still a need to draw boundaries between Muslim and non-Muslim areas, particularly in Bengal and Punjab.
- The issue of the princes had to be resolved. What was to happen if a prince went against the wishes of his people in deciding which country to join.
- It was still undecided what the division of assets (army, civil service, finance etc.) was to be.
- Although India had decided that Mountbatten should be the first Governor-General of India, Jinnah was to be Pakistan's Governor-General. Consequently Pakistan's relationship with Britain still had to be resolved.

TO LEARNING

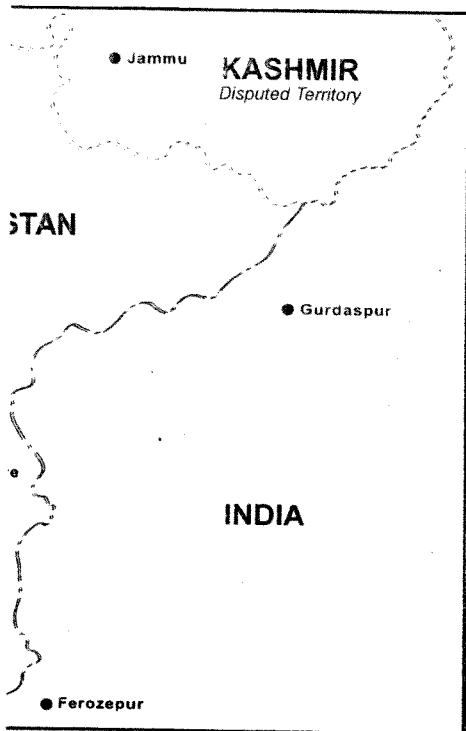
do you think would be pleased with the 3 June Jinnah or Nehru? in your answer.

n-type Questions

aid 'Well, I am afraid we must have partition. We can't trust them. Look what they did to us in 1938-9. When you go, we'll permanently be at the mercy of the elected Hindu majority and we shall have no voice, we shall be oppressed and it will be quite terrible'. I told him I was quite certain that people like Nehru, there were many of his colleagues like him, had no intention whatever of oppressing them. He said 'Well, that's what you say, but Nehru was still the most important figure when they did, in fact, oppress us in 1938-9. And he failed to stop it'.

in an interview with Lord Mountbatten who is talking about his discussions with Jinnah.

According to this source what were Mountbatten and Jinnah's views on partition?



Ferozepur, Gurdaspur and Kashmir

The Radcliffe Award

One issue which could not be resolved by 15 August was the boundary between Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Mountbatten had appointed Sir Cyril Radcliffe to head a Boundary Commission to establish the new borders, particularly in Bengal and Punjab. Radcliffe had four assistants, two nominated by the League and two by Congress.

The decision of the Boundary Commission (known often as the Boundary Award or Radcliffe Award) was announced on 16 August. The League was disappointed to hear that Calcutta was given to India, even though it was surrounded by Muslim areas. In the Punjab, both Ferozepur and Gurdaspur were given to India.

Again, the Muslims were disappointed by this decision. Ferozepur had a Muslim majority and the Pakistanis had evidence to suggest that Radcliffe had originally awarded it to Pakistan but had been forced by Mountbatten to change his mind. Gurdaspur also had a Muslim majority. By awarding it to India, the Indians now had a border with Kashmir and future disputes between India and Pakistan became inevitable.

Jinnah told the people of Pakistan that the awards were 'wrong, unjust and perverse'. However, partition had taken place two days earlier and there was little to be done. Besides, there were many other problems which were more pressing for the new country.

B
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The Independence Act

On 15 July 1947 the Indian Independence Act was passed. The Act stated that from 15 August British India would be partitioned into two dominion states - India and Pakistan. Each state would have complete freedom to pass any law it wished. The Government of India Act would be the provisional constitution until the states devised their own.

On 14 August a new country came into being - PAKISTAN. On 15 August India declared its independence.



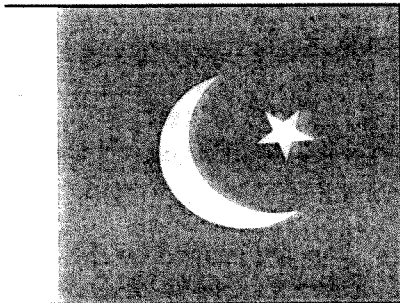
Fig. 9.7: Front page headlines of a Pakistan newspaper dated 15th August 1947



8: Jinnah giving his first speech as Governor-general



Fig. 9.9: Liaquat Ali Khan presenting the flag of Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly



9.10: The flag of Pakistan

The flag of Pakistan symbolises the following:

- The dark green and white colours indicate prosperity and peace. (Besides, green is the traditional colour of Islam).
- The crescent indicates continuous progress. (The crescent waxes to become a full moon, whereas a full moon wanes until it disappears from the sky).
- The five-rayed star symbolises light and learning.

m-type Questions

What was the Day of Deliverance? [4]

Why did the Muslim League do better in the 1945 elections than it had in 1937? [7]

Do you agree that during the Second World War there was no significant progress towards independence in the sub-continent? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

on

D MOUNTBATTEN, GOVERNOR-GENERAL



Mountbatten

Lord Mountbatten was born as Louis Battenberg in Windsor, England in 1900. He was related to both the British and German royal families. Mountbatten's father followed a career in the British navy in which he became the First Sea Lord. During the First World War the family changed its name from Battenberg (which was considered too German) to Mountbatten. Louis followed his father into the navy and served on several British warships.

After the war, he continued his naval career, but was also selected as an advisor to accompany the Prince of Wales on his visits to India, Australia and the Far East. In 1922 he married Edwina Ashley and their marriage continued until her death in 1960.

During the Second World War Mountbatten rose from a destroyer captain to flotilla commander before Prime Minister Churchill promoted him to be Chief of Combined Operations. In this position he was responsible for preparing for an Allied invasion of German occupied Europe. In 1943 Mountbatten was again promoted to be Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in South-East Asia.

After the war, the newly elected Labour government sent Mountbatten as Viceroy to make the arrangements for the British withdrawal. At first, he hoped to keep India as one united unit. However, when he saw the strength of Jinnah's opposition to any plan which did not involve establishing a homeland for the Muslims, he changed his mind. Some people have criticised him for supporting partition, but as one British historian has recently written:

After his time in India, Mountbatten returned to the navy and was promoted to First Sea Lord in 1955. His final promotion was to the post of Chief of Defence Staff, from which he retired in 1965.

In 1976 he was on his boat near his holiday home in Ireland when it was blown up and he was killed. The Irish Republican Army was fighting a campaign to persuade the British government to give up its control of Northern Ireland. They hoped that this 'high-profile' victim would help get publicity for their cause.

HOW IMPORTANT WERE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF JINNAH, ALLAMA IQBAL AND RAHMAT ALI TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT?

Contents

Jinnah as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity
Jinnah's role in the Muslim League, the Pakistan Movement and negotiator with the British
Jinnah's relations with Gandhi, Nehru and Congress
Allama Iqbal's views on Hindu-Muslim unity
The Allahabad address
Rahmat Ali's views on a Muslim homeland
Differences between the views of Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali

Key Question addressed in this chapter

- What were the contributions of Jinnah, Dr. Allama Iqbal and Rahmat Ali to the Pakistan Movement?

Introduction

The study of History teaches us that sometimes events are beyond human control. No matter what steps we take, things do not turn out according to plan. However, it is equally true that there are times when political leaders or great statesmen possess such a high degree of insight that they are able influence events to help bring them to a successful conclusion. The history of the Pakistan Movement is one such example. Three great men, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Allama Mohammad Iqbal and Rahmat Ali not only helped bring about a set of circumstances where the creation of Pakistan was possible, but in the case of Jinnah, also helped to establish the state as a new member of the world community.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876 - 1948)



1.1: Mohammad Ali Jinnah

- 1876** Birth of Mohammad Ali Jinnah
- 1892** Travels to England to learn law
- 1897** Returns to Karachi
- 1909** Became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council
- 1913** Joins Muslim League
- 1916** Helped negotiate Lucknow Pact
- 1921** Left Congress Party
- 1929** Issued Fourteen Points
- 1930** Represented Muslims in the Round Table Talks
- 1939** Seen as Muslim leader in India
- 1944** Took part in talks with Gandhi
- 1945** Took part in Simla Conference
- 1947** Became Pakistan's first Governor-General

Mohammad Ali Jinnah made a unique contribution to the Pakistan movement in that he not only played a central part in bringing about the agreement with the British which resulted in the creation of Pakistan, but he was the first Governor-General of the new country.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born on December 25th, 1876 in Karachi. He came from a family of Gujarati Khoja Muslims. He was a very able scholar and at the age of 15 was sent to London to study law. Whilst in England he attended debates at the House of Commons and it is here that his interest in politics first developed.

Jinnah returned to Karachi in 1897 and established a highly successful law practice. He made his first move into politics in 1909 when he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He joined both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress and in his early years was a strong supporter of cooperation between the two groups. He played a major part in negotiating the Lucknow Pact in 1916 and was held in high regard by both Muslims and Hindus.



Jinnah as a young man

Jinnah disapproved of the radical Hindu approach which Gandhi brought to the Congress movement and left the party in 1921, arguing that Gandhi's approach was likely to lead to division between the two communities. He did not approve of civil disobedience or Gandhi's support for the Khilafat Movement.

Although he was no longer a member of Congress, Jinnah still believed that the Muslim and Hindu communities should cooperate to bring about independence. His hopes, however, were dashed with the issue of the Nehru Report which he stated asked for Muslims to make unacceptable sacrifices. The criticism he received from Hindus for rejecting the report had a lasting effect. He later described this as 'the parting of the ways' and in 1929 issued his Fourteen Points. These called for a federal government in India, with separate electorates and one-third of the seats in any Central Assembly reserved for Muslims.

The Fourteen Points were an important step on the road to Pakistan. Although they did not call for a separate, independent country for Muslims (which Jinnah still opposed at this time), they did form a blueprint for all future discussions.

In 1930 Jinnah represented the Muslim community in the Round Table talks in London. He was so disillusioned by the failure to make progress that he considered giving up politics and settling in London. However, in 1933 he returned to the subcontinent and re-took his position in the Central Assembly. He witnessed the humiliating defeat for the Muslim League in the 1937 elections. This led him to persuade the party that it needed to reorganise to build support from the grass roots. By 1938 party membership had grown dramatically (partly due to the appalling treatment of Muslims by the Congress government) and the party was well-placed for the 1945 elections.

By 1939 Jinnah was seen as the undisputed leader of the Muslim community and both Congress and the British acknowledged him as such. At first Jinnah did not support the idea of a Muslim homeland, as he thought Muslims would be better in a federation. But by the time of the Lahore Resolution he had decided that a new country should be set up. As Jinnah told Gandhi in 1944:

'Muslims and Hindus are two major nations. We Muslims are a nation of a hundred million with our own distinctive culture and civilisation...By all canons of international law we are a nation.'

The story of how Pakistan achieved its independence has been told in the previous chapters. Jinnah was an essential part of that process. During the 1920s and 1930s he tried to work in cooperation with Congress, but when it became

clear that Congress was acting only in Hindu interests, he became as strong supporter of a separate homeland for Muslims. As he said in a speech in Bombay in 1947:

'I am fighting for Pakistan because it is the only practical solution for solving the problem'

In August 1947 he won that fight.

Achievements of Quaid-e-Azam in the Office

Although he lived for just one year after Pakistan achieved independence, Quaid-e-Azam played a vital role in establishing the new country in the world community. In August 1947 few people expected Pakistan to survive as an independent nation and many Indian politicians actually worked to make that survival even more difficult. Yet thanks to his unflagging efforts Pakistan not only survived, but prospered.

As a Leader

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah held the post of Governor-General. This was intended to be a ceremonial position with few duties. The Governor-General was to be a figurehead acting as an inspiration to the nation. The Quaid-e-Azam, however, took the role of Chief Executive in the new government. He chaired Cabinet meetings and was the President of the Constituent Assembly. It was almost as if he knew that he had only a short time to live and was determined to ensure that the country he had fought so hard for should be established on a firm footing.

Building a Nation

The Quaid immediately set about dealing with those problems that Pakistan faced after partition.

- He could do little about the fact that the country was divided into two distinct areas - East and West Pakistan, or that it was made up of a number of disparate peoples. He could, however, work towards establishing that Pakistan was a single, united country. He stressed the need for everyone in Pakistan to work together to create the nation. He said people should not think of themselves as for example, Punjabi or Bengali. Instead they should think, feel and act as Pakistanis and be proud of it. He toured all the areas of Pakistan to get across the message that 'Every one of us should think feel and act as a Pakistani and we should be proud of being Pakistani alone'.
- Quaid-e-Azam was as opposed to religious intolerance as he was to provincialism and racialism. Even after the movement of refugees Pakistan had millions of non-Muslims and India had millions of Muslims. The Quaid called himself the 'Protector-General' of religious minorities and his advice was often sought by the non-Muslims. He was determined that Pakistan should be seen as a land of tolerance and said that Islamic ideas about justice and equality demanded that any non-Muslims who chose to remain in Pakistan should be treated fairly, not persecuted.
- To help the newly arrived refugees he set up a Relief Fund to rehabilitate them as quickly as possible. The people were quick to respond with donations in cash and kind.
- To emphasise the role of Pakistan in the world community, the Quaid secured membership of the country into the United Nations Organization (UNO) in September 1947. This helped it gain recognition and support among the other nations of the world.

Building a Government

The Quaid knew that there was a great deal of work to be done in establishing a governmental and administrative framework for Pakistan. No problems could

be solved unless the country had an administration that could take decisions about the problems and make sure that those decisions were carried out.

- Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed Prime Minister, and a Cabinet was formed. A Constituent Assembly was set up. One of its tasks was to begin framing a constitution for the new Pakistan.
- Karachi became the capital of Pakistan and the Central Secretariat was set up to run the country. Those people with government experience who chose to move from India to Pakistan were brought to Karachi on special trains and airplanes.
- The Civil Services were recognized. In order to run the administration smoothly the Civil Service rules were drafted.
- The Quaid was determined that Government officials should have the right attitude to their work. He informed them that they had to remember that they were servants of the people, not the rulers of the country. It was therefore essential that they worked with national spirit. This was particularly important because the officials found that they had no office equipment, no furniture and very little stationery. For many years the Pakistani Civil Service worked under extremely difficult conditions.

Building an Economy

- As we read earlier, Pakistan was denied its full share of the wealth of the old British India and there was much work to do in converting Pakistan from an almost completely agricultural country to one with a degree of industrial development. An important step on this path came on 1 July 1948 when the Quaid established the State Bank of Pakistan, to help develop the economy.
- In 1948 Jinnah's Industrial Policy Statement made it clear that he, and the government, saw that it was important to set up industries in Pakistan, as quickly as possible.
- The Quaid also reached a compromise with India in the Canal Water Dispute which ensured that Pakistan's agriculture would not be denied precious water supplies. He also helped persuade the Indian government to hand over the agreed share of financial assets from pre-partition India.



*Quaid-i-Azam addressing the
Constituent Assembly of Pakistan*

Establishing National Security

Although Pakistan had been given poor military equipment and it lacked senior cadre officers for the army, the Quaid worked to ensure that the new country was able to defend itself.

- The Pakistan army needed more officers and the gaps were filled by offering temporary commissions and using British officers. He was determined that the army should know that its role was to be 'the servant of the people' and warned it that 'you do not make national policy'. The Quaid did not want to see Pakistan become a military dictatorship.
- Although Pakistan's army was ill equipped, the Quaid was not afraid to use it, and the army saw its first action in Kashmir. Despite being outnumbered and having inferior arms and ammunition, it stood up well and held its own in fighting.

TO LEARNING

What contribution did
Muhammad Ali Jinnah
make to the Pakistan
movement?

If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make... even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on...

From Jinnah's address to the Constituent Assembly in August 1947

Conclusion

The Quaid died on 11 September 1948. Despite his failing health, he had worked tirelessly to establish his new country. By the time of his death, a new government and administration had been put in place, measures had been taken to unite the diverse people into one single 'Pakistani' nation and the steps made in developing the country would not be solved unless the country had an administration that could take decisions about the problems and make sure that those decisions were carried out.

As the English newspaper, the Times, wrote, shortly after his death:

Mr. Jinnah was something more than Quaid-e-Azam, he was more than the architect of the Islamic nation he personally called into being. Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was a legend even in his lifetime.

Such was the greatness of the Quaid.



Fig. 1.4:
Mohammed Iqbal

Allama Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938)

- 1877 Birth of Allama Iqbal
- 1922 Knighted by the British
- 1926 Elected to the Punjab Assembly
- 1930 Presided over the All India Muslim League meeting
- 1938 Death of Allama Iqbal

Allama Iqbal was born in Sialkot in northern Punjab in 1877. He was a distinguished scholar who gained a Masters degree from the Government College in Lahore, before studying philosophy at Cambridge University and practicing law in England. He also received a doctorate in philosophy from Munich University in Germany.

As well as being a philosopher, Allama Iqbal was also a poet, taking his inspiration from the Holy Quran.

In 1922 he was knighted by the British in recognition for the high standard of his poetry. His poetry was designed to awaken the Muslims of the subcontinent to the need to work to improve their position in society. As a result of his love of philosophy and the many books of poetry he wrote, Allama Iqbal has been called 'the philosopher-poet'.

Allama Iqbal was also a politician, believing in the need for Muslims to struggle for the establishment of a separate country for themselves. Although he had been knighted by the British, he was completely opposed to British rule in India and his poetry reflected his belief that India should stand against British rule, using such terms as '*poor helpless India....mortgaged to the alien, soul and body*'.

too...enslaved to Britain' . . . His poetry was full of hope for the Muslims telling them to be proud of their past and of their heritage. He saw the British and the Hindus as equally opposed to the Muslim cause and believed that Hindus and Muslims were two nations who should have separate sovereign states. As a result, he has been described as the 'Architect of Pakistan'.

In 1926 Allama Iqbal was elected to the Punjab Assembly and soon made an impact with his skill in handling new laws. He had seen how attempts at Hindu-Muslim talks had failed in the 1920s and came to believe that the only answer was partition. To achieve this end, it was important to ensure that the Muslim League became a powerful party with a broad mass support across the subcontinent.

In 1927 he was appointed General Secretary of the Muslim League Sir Muhammad Shafi group. In December 1930 he was granted the honour of presiding over the All India Muslim League meeting in Allahabad. It was here that he made his famous address calling for a federation in which Muslims were given political autonomy.

He stated that *'European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is perfectly justified. I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state'*

This idea of a separate Muslim nation was very much ahead of its time and the Muslim League did not adopt it as its policy for another 10 years,

Allama Iqbal died in 1938 and was buried outside the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore. His tomb is now visited by hundreds of devotees everyday. He did not live to see his separate nation come into being, but he was a great influence on other Muslim leaders and after his death Jinnah talked of how Iqbal's poetry *'immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and inspire us'*.

Rahmat Ali (1897-1951)

LEARNING

Contribution did Iqbal make to the Movement?



Rahmat Ali

1897: Birth of Rahmat Ali

Published a pamphlet entitled 'Now or Never'

1933: Formed the Pakistan National Movement

1951: Death of Rahmat Ali

Rahmat Ali was born in 1897 in the Punjab. Like many other important Muslim figures he attended the Islamia College in Lahore. After completing his degree in 1918 he continued living in Lahore and practising law.

After winning an important case for the Nawab of Mazari, he was able to travel to Britain to study at Cambridge University, where he was awarded a Masters Degree.

He was in London when the Round Table Conferences were being held and tried to persuade the Muslim leaders that they should demand nothing less than a separate homeland for Muslims. At this stage, Jinnah still believed that Muslim interests would be best served by being part of a federation with special rights, so Rahmat Ali was frustrated by the failure of the Muslims to support his views.

In 1933 Rahmat Ali and three other students at Cambridge University published a pamphlet entitled 'Now or Never'. The pamphlet was written to the 30 million

Muslims in the north-west of the Indian sub-continent. Rahmat Ali could never have imagined just how influential that pamphlet would be. Although the message in the pamphlet, that the sub-continent should be partitioned to provide a Muslim homeland, was not accepted by Muslim leaders at the time, this was the first direct call for a separate state.

Neither Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, nor Allama Iqbal had gone as far as calling for two distinct nations. What really caught the imagination of Muslims, however, was that Rahmat Ali provided a name for this separate homeland. That name was 'Pakistan' (see page 80). So Rahmat Ali stands as the man who gave Pakistan its name (though one of the other students who contributed to pamphlet, Aslam Khattak, claims that it was he who thought of the name)

In 1933 Rahmat Ali formed the Pakistan National Movement to campaign for the idea of Pakistan. He also published a work entitled '*Pakistan, the Fatherland of the Pak nation*' which contained all his writings on the subject.

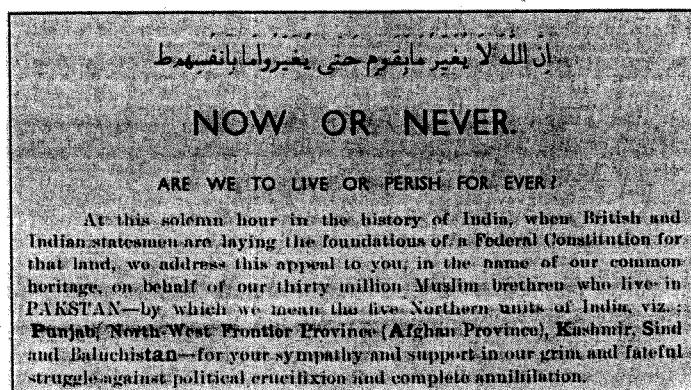


Fig. 10.6: A portion of the 'Now or Never' pamphlet

Rahmat Ali believed passionately in the Pakistan cause, but he was not able to persuade other Muslims leaders to support his views. He often made himself unpopular by criticising those leaders, including Jinnah, for not going far enough in their demands. It is true that in 1940 the Muslim League finally adopted his main belief that there should be a separate homeland for Muslims, but even then there were disagreements. Rahmat Ali disapproved of the way land was allocated during partition in 1947 and felt that important Muslim communities, such as those in Delhi had been abandoned to India. He criticised Jinnah for accepting the terms of partition in 1947.

Rahmat Ali died in Cambridge in 1951 and is buried in the local cemetery.

n-type Questions

What were the Fourteen Points? [4]

Why do you think Jinnah decided to support the idea of creating a separate 'Pakistan' [7]

Was the creation of the new state the greatest achievement Jinnah made to the Pakistan Movement? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Exam Guidance

At the end of each chapter we have provided you with questions in the style of those you will be asked in the examination. Let us now look at some of those questions and how they should be answered.

Section A: Question (a)

This question is designed to test your factual recall. In this type of question you are asked to provide details of a well-known person, event or historical occurrence. There are four marks for this question and the most straightforward way to score full marks is to write four separate sentences each of which provides a piece of information. However, if you write a sentence that is a statement of fact and also contains some extra development of that fact, you could score two marks for that sentence.

Here is a possible answer about the Cripps Mission. It has four statements of fact with no development. This should be enough to score full marks..

The Cripps Mission was in 1942. (fact) Cripps offered an Indian Union with Dominion status. (fact) After the war a Constituent Assembly would be elected. (fact) That Assembly would draw up a new constitution. (fact)

Section B: Question (b)

Why did the Muslim League do better in the 1945 elections than it had in 1937? [7]

Hint: When you are asked the question 'Why?', you are expected to find more than one reason. You will not be asked a question with just one reason for the answer. You are not asked to give every possible reason you can think of, but will be expected to find two or three important reasons for an event occurring. In this question you are expected to explain why the Muslim League did badly in the 1937 elections and well in the 1945 elections, rather than just say what happened. Equally important, you are not asked to write all you know about the elections, but to explain why the results were as they were.

Planning:

If you are answering a question which requires continuous prose, it is always a good idea to make a brief plan. This plan ought to show what you will include in each paragraph. The best idea is to write a paragraph on each idea. In this case we can divide the essay into two separate parts:

1. Why did the League do badly in 1937?

- It was the first major election the League had fought.
- The Muslim party was split.
- The League needed to improve its organisation and planning
- Muslims did not yet feel threatened by Hindu domination.
- The League had an 'image problem'. Its leaders were seen as aristocrats and princes, whereas many Muslims at this time were poor and illiterate.

2. Why did the League do well in 1945?

- Since 1937 the Muslim League had campaigned effectively to let Muslims know exactly what it stood for.
- The period of Congress rule from 1937-39 made Muslims see the need to stand up for their rights.
- Now the Muslim League had passed the Pakistan Resolution and the divide between Hindu and Muslim was much more obvious.

What we have to do now is write a paragraph on each point that you have identified, providing enough information to explain how each factor led to the League doing well or doing poorly. Start your answer with a direct response to the question. There is no need to waste time with lengthy background information. There are no marks awarded to such introductions.

Here is a suggested response.

The League did not do well in the 1937 election for a number of reasons. The party was split, it had not contested a major election before, it was poorly organised, its leaders were considered to be too high class and not all Muslims felt under threat at the time. In 1945 things were different. The League was now more united and better organised. It also had a stronger message because of the Pakistan Resolution. Another important point was that Congress had run the government in the period 1937-39. During this time it introduced a series of measures which threatened Muslim culture and identity.

For example the singing of Bande Matram and the introduction of the Wardha Scheme were both considered by Muslims as attempts to undermine their culture, subvert a love for Islam amongst their children and convert them to Hinduism. When acts such as forbidding Muslims to eat beef or deliberately disrupting worship in the mosques are committed, one can see why Muslims had become increasingly worried. This led them to support the Muslim League in 1945 because it was the party which promised to support Muslim interests against the Hindu Congress party.

Comments on answer:

- After establishing a good plan, much of the answer is just listing reasons. This is certainly true for the 1937 part and for the first part of the section on 1945. This is identifying reasons instead of explaining reasons and so is not a good answer.
- However, the answer is improved by the part on the Congress tyranny. Here the answer identifies a reason for the League's support and explains why that reason produced support. This explanation takes the answer to the top level.

However, as only one reason is explained, the mark will not be high.

To improve the answer to score high marks, the answer would have to explain at least three of the reasons led to more support for the League. For example, why did the leaders being seen as too high class make it less likely that people would vote for the League? How did the Pakistan Resolution lead to more votes?

Section B: Question (c)

Do you agree that during the Second World War there was no significant progress towards independence in the subcontinent? Give reasons for your answer [14]

Hint: Whenever you are asked to say whether you agree with a comment or indicate whether you think a policy or person was successful, you must make sure that you give both sides of the argument. So what the question really means is 'What do you know that supports this statement and what do you know that doesn't?'

Planning:

The best way to plan to answer this question is to treat it like two halves. Take each side of the answer and list what you think should go in

1. No significant progress

Failure of the Cripps Mission

Arrest of Congress leaders during Quit India campaign

Failure of Simla Conference

Failure of Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

2. Some significant progress.

It is a little more difficult to see significant progress during the war, but it is there if you look. One interesting thing is that some of the things which we identified as no 'significant progress', could also be argued, in some ways, to have brought progress.

End of Congress tyranny

Pakistan Resolution

Cripps Mission (shows British accepted need to protect the minorities)

Quit India Campaign (shows Congress taking radical action)

Gandhi-Jinnah talks (shows Congress accepting League as equal)

Simla Conference (all parties agree that an Executive Council should be formed)

By end of war British withdrawal inevitable

Once you have made the plan, then you need to start the answer by addressing the question straight away. Something like this:

It is not true that no significant progress was made during the Second World War. Certainly there were many events which failed, but despite this, independence was much nearer in 1945 than it had been in 1938.

Then you have to work your way through your plan, explaining how there was and there was not progress. Sometimes events can be used on both sides of the argument. The Cripps Mission is a good example of this. Here is what you might write:

In March 1942 the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, to India to see if a compromise could be reached which would win support for the British war effort. Cripps proposed that after the war an Indian Union would be set up with Dominion status and that a Constituent Assembly would frame a new constitution. The Muslim League rejected the proposals as they did not mention setting up Pakistan. Congress rejected them because it wasn't prepared to wait until after the war for independence.

So at first sight no progress had been made, as the British effort had been rejected by both parties. However, Jinnah was pleased to see, that the right to opt out of a future Union was included. This showed that the British realized the need to protect minority interests and was a step nearer independence for the Muslims. Also the opposition to the Cripps proposals showed the British that the Indian people were determined, which was also progress.

If you can work your way through your plan like this, you can expect a very high marks. To score very best marks however, you need to add a final judgement. Something like this would be ideal:

So it appears that no real progress had been made because the Cripps Mission and the Simla Conference had both failed. However, underneath this apparent failure was real progress. Both the Muslims and Hindus had come to see that British rule must end immediately. Many British people realised this too.

Source Guidance

Answering Source-based Questions

After Section 1 (p 49/50) we looked at the types of questions in Section A of the examination.

Let's look now at some source work-type questions similar to those in Section A of the examination for the section of the syllabus called 'The Emergence of Pakistan 1906-47'.
Question (a) (Remember, this is the 'comprehension question'.)

SOURCE A

If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you - no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations you have had in the past, no matter is his colour, caste or creed...there will be no end to the progress you will make.

Part of Jinnah's address to the Constituent Assembly in August 1947.

According to Source A what was Jinnah advising the Constituent Assembly to do in August 1947?

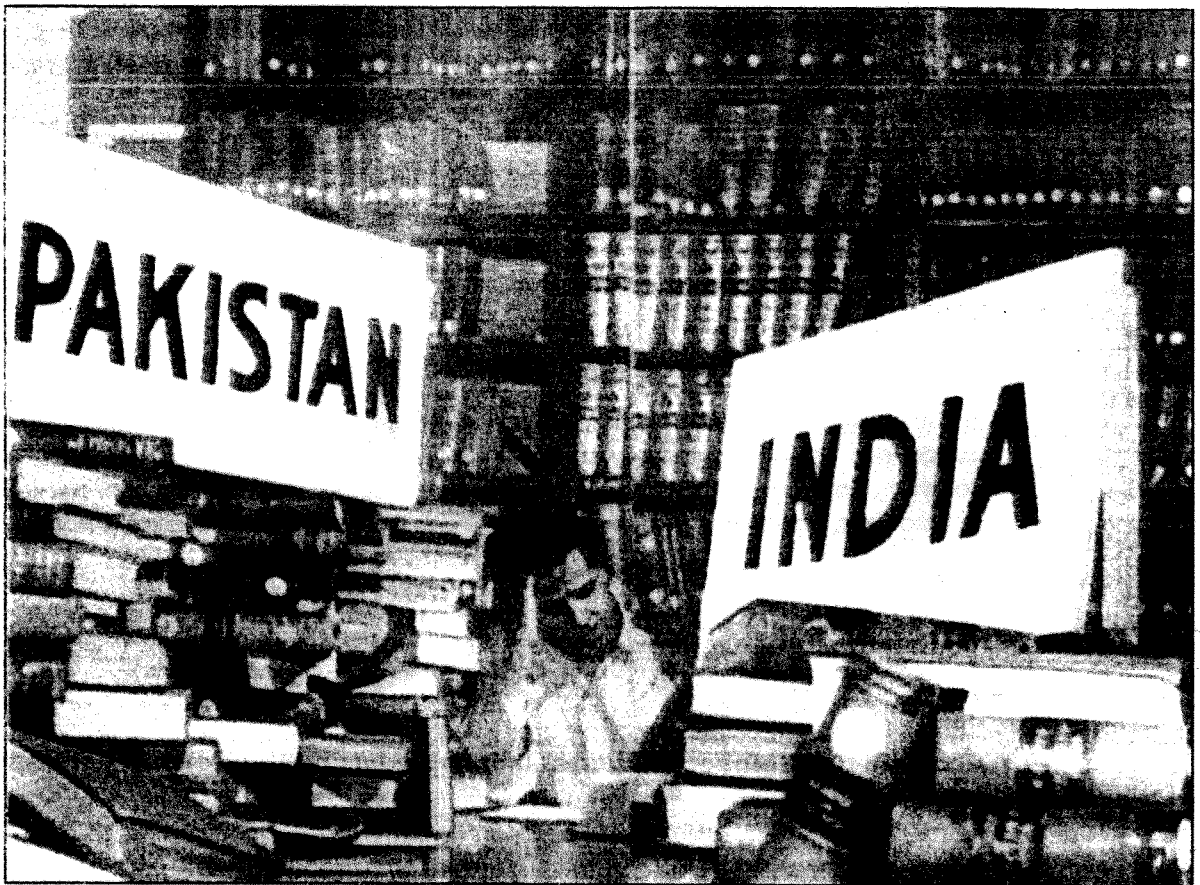
This question carries three marks. You are required to find three statements in the source which tell us what Jinnah was advising. Each correct statement would receive one mark. In this case we could say:

Jinnah was advising the members of the Assembly to work in co-operation. (One thing) Also they should stop worrying about the past ('bury the hatchet') (two things) and ignore their differences in colour, caste or creed (three things)

This should be enough to score full marks.

Question (b) (Remember, this is the 'inference question')

SOURCE B *A Library being divided at the time of partition in 1947*



What does Source B tell us about India and Pakistan in 1947?

You could answer *'It tells us that they divided library books between them'* However, that would not be a very good answer, because it is just describing what the source shows and would get very few marks.

You could answer *'It tells us that India and Pakistan were not getting on very well.'* That would be a better answer, because you have worked something out from the source. You have made an inference. But to score higher marks, you need to explain why the source makes you think that. So a good answer would be:

'It tells us that India and Pakistan were not getting on very well. It does this because we can see that they even felt the need to go through their libraries and divide up all the books between the two countries. If they had been on good terms, they would have found a better way to do this.'

Now you would have written a very good answer with an inference supported with detail from the source.

Nationhood 1947-1999

Introduction

On 14 August 1947 Pakistan became an independent country. But it was a country with many problems - not least that it was an independent country in two parts, East and West Pakistan, separated by almost 1000 miles of land belonging to India.

Pakistan faced huge political problems as well as geographical ones. As a new country it needed to devise its own framework for dealing with government, social issues and the nation's finances. Jinnah, the father of Pakistan lived for only one year after partition. That was long enough to establish Pakistan as a viable Muslim state, but not long enough to put in place a system of government which would serve the country for the remainder of the twentieth century. Over the next fifty years Pakistan swung between parliamentary, presidential and military government, as successive leaders tried to deal with the country's problems in the most effective manner.

Throughout this period Pakistan sought to improve relations with her neighbours and to play a significant part in world politics. Although the Soviet Union was keen to win Pakistani support, it was the USA to which Pakistan first turned for an alliance.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 huge sums of American aid poured into Pakistan, as it became the focal point of support for the Afghani mujahideen fighters. The withdrawal of that financial support after the Soviets left Afghanistan was to have a serious affect on the Pakistan economy. During this period Pakistan suffered several blows, none more painful than the loss of East Pakistan in 1971. The failure to defeat India in the wars of 1965 and 1971 were also low points in Pakistan's foreign policy. The need to gain security against attack from her neighbours led Pakistan to develop nuclear weapons with a consequent damaging of relations with the USA.

However, there can be little doubt that by 1999, the country whose future had seemed so uncertain in 1947 was a secure and respected member of both the United Nations and the world community.

Reactions to the Radcliffe Award

Sir Cyril Radcliffe's plan for the partition of India was made public on 17 August 1947. Not surprisingly, there were numerous objections to the boundaries he had created and millions of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs found themselves on the 'wrong side' of the new borders. Since March 1947 emigration had begun in anticipation of the partition. Once the details of the borders were finally announced, emigration grew dramatically and Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus all suffered terribly. It is true, however, that more Muslims lost their lives than Hindus and Sikhs combined.

Jinnah denounced the Radcliffe Award as unjust and incomprehensible. The Muslim's main objections were:

- Ferozpur was given to India even though it had a Muslim majority.
- Gurdaspor also had a Muslim majority and was given to India. Jinnah was convinced that this was done deliberately to give India a border with Kashmir and allow it to intervene in areas of Kashmir which Jinnah believed were rightly part of Pakistan.
- The Muslims were also very disappointed that when Bengal was partitioned, Calcutta went to India. The city of Calcutta was the capital of the province and its biggest industrial, commercial and educational centre. The raw material which East Bengal produced had to be sent to Calcutta because all factories and mills were in that city.

The Sikhs were disappointed because they made up a large proportion of the population in the Punjab and had important historical and religious associations with it. They wanted a separate Sikh state if partition was to go ahead. This came to nothing and Lord Mountbatten announced '*I have spent a great deal of time seeing whether there was any solution which would keep the Sikh community more together. I am not a miracle worker and I have not found that solution.*' So the Punjab was divided on the basis of majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. Sikhs migrated into the Indian Punjab where the claim for a separate Sikh state was to be renewed immediately after partition.

The Hindus too had some complaints about the Award. For instance, they most resented the fact that the Chittagong Hill Tracts were not awarded to India. These had a large Hindu majority and Nehru believed they should become part of India. However, the Tracts were regarded as having a vital economic relationship with East Bengal, so Radcliffe awarded them to Pakistan.

1. Geographical problems

On 14 August, 1947 Pakistan finally gained its long-fought for independence, but it immediately faced very serious problems. Most countries have natural borders, such as rivers, mountains or the sea. These are clear and agreed indicators of where one country's territory ends and another country's territory begins. This was not the case with Pakistan in 1947. Indeed the country was split into two separate parts almost a thousand miles apart.

East Pakistan:

Comprised of most of Bengal (but not Calcutta, as you read in Section 2) and the district of Sylhet, which voted in a referendum to join Pakistan.

West Pakistan

Comprised of west Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and the North West Frontier Province. The princely states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb, Hunza, Gilgit and Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan.

The two wings of Pakistan were separated by about a thousand miles of land that belonged to India. The vast distance between them also meant that there were significant differences and outlook between the people of the two different regions. Bengal and the west Punjab, for example, were both largely Muslim areas, but they had little else in common.

2. Political Problems

In 1947 it had been decided that old British India should be divided into two new countries, Pakistan and India. But Pakistan was to face many more problems than India.

- India inherited government buildings, furnishings, even officials from the British. Pakistan had none of these.
- India had officials, members of the Indian National Congress, with political experience to take over the government. These people had worked to gain political influence under the British and they had experience both of the election process and of holding political office. In Pakistan, the Constituent Assembly members were mostly wealthy landowners with little political experience. The Muslim League drew most of its support from the rural areas and lacked support from the urban areas.
- The geographical distance between East and West Pakistan made it difficult to govern as one country.

This was made worse by the fact that while over half the population of Pakistan lived in East Pakistan, the majority of the government and army leaders came from West Pakistan.

- Pakistan lacked both the administrative and the governmental machinery to run the affairs of a new country. The Quaid-e-Azam would need to find a capital, a government and officials to ensure the efficient government of the new state.
- Perhaps the major problem which Pakistan faced was not known by its own people. For some years the Quaid-e-Azam had suffered from tuberculosis. He knew that he had little time to live, and so was resolved to make sure the new nation survived. The office of Governor-General was supposed to be a ceremonial one, but Jinnah ignored this. It was his ceaseless work and great leadership skills that ensured that Pakistan not only survived, but flourished.

3. Economic Problems

Pakistan was made up of states that were mostly underdeveloped, with very little industry. Although Karachi was a modern port with substantial trading and business activity, much of Pakistan (e.g. the North West Frontier Province) was on the borders of the sub-continent and had not been linked to the industrialisation that had taken place in central India. Around 90% of the people lived in the countryside and there were only 8 towns with a population of more than 100,000 (Karachi, Lahore, Dhaka, Hyderabad, Rawalpindi, Multan, Sialkot and Peshawar).

Pakistan was not a wealthy country and its major industry, agriculture, did not produce enough of a surplus to create the wealth needed for industrialisation. The exception to this was in the production of jute, where in 1947 East Pakistan produced nearly 70% of the world's crop. Jute export produced the major source of foreign exchange earnings for Pakistan for many years. But the problems created by partition are exemplified by the fact that in 1947, Pakistan did not have a single jute mill. All the jute mills were in the new India.

As the table below shows, in the division of the sub-continent's assets, Pakistan did not do well.

TO LEARNING

What geographical problems did Pakistan face as a new country in 1947?

Why was India better equipped for independence than Pakistan in 1947?

The percentage of economic assets in Pakistan after partition	
Industrial enterprises	10%
Industrial workers	6.5%
Electrical capacity	5%
Mineral deposits	10%

4. Social Problems

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

The Pakhtuns in the north
 The Balochs in the west
 The Sindhis in the south
 The Punjabis in the north-east
 The Bengalis in the east.

These people had different traditions, cultures, languages and lifestyles. The British system of government had given these diverse people very little opportunity to participate in government. In 1947 some of them, particularly Balochistan and the Bengal, were not completely sure they now wanted to transfer allegiance to a new 'Pakistan', where once again the official language, Urdu, would not be the one they spoke. Pakistan was not comprised of a single united people and there was much work to do in convincing everyone of the wisdom of joining the new state.

As a prominent member of the Constituent Assembly said in 1951:

'Pakistan is a unique country having two wings which are separated by more than one thousand miles. The two wings differ in all matters except two things: namely that they have a common religion, barring a section of the people in East Pakistan, and we have achieved independence by a common struggle. All other factors, the language, the tradition, the culture, the customs, the dietary habits, the calendar, the standard time – practically everything, is different'.

Exam-type Questions

Q. According to this source what problems did Pakistan face in 1951?

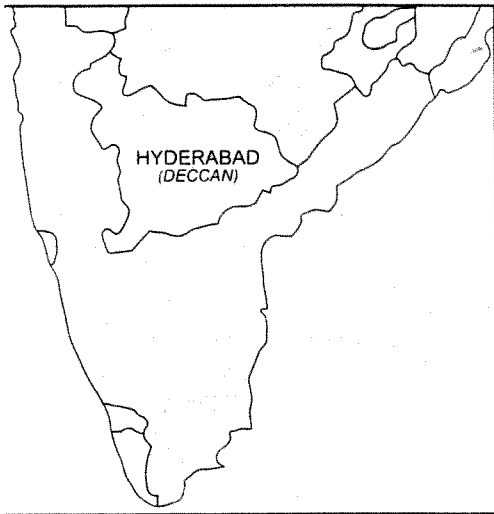
5. The Accession of the Princely States

At Partition, Lord Mountbatten had told the leaders of the 462 princely states that they would not be granted independence. He feared that if they did become independent, their futures would be uncertain and could lead to war. Consequently, they were given the right to choose between India or Pakistan. For most princes, their location or their religion made the choice a straightforward one.

In 1947 the northern states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb, and Hunza joined Pakistan. They were joined by Gilgit and Kalat in Balochistan (though the Pakistan Army had to prevent the Khan's younger brother from trying to declare independence).

Bahawalpur, also joined Pakistan, adding a further 1.5 million inhabitants to the new country. In the East the people of Sylhet voted in a referendum which led to them joining Pakistan.

In other areas, the decision proved much more difficult to make.

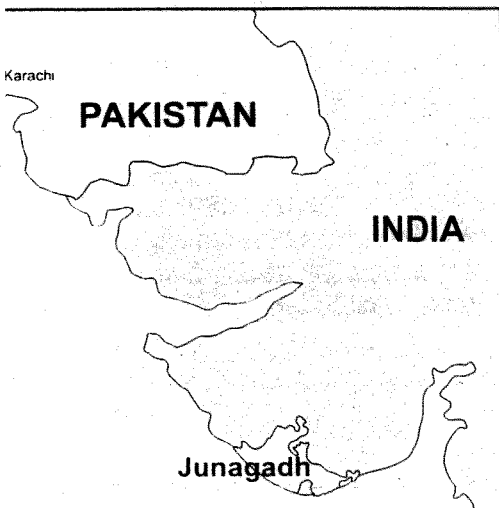


2: Hyderabad (Deccan)

Hyderabad

Hyderabad was the largest of the princely states in the subcontinent, with a population of more than 160 million. It was also very wealthy with an annual revenue of over 160 million rupees. 'His exalted Highness', the Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to be given dominion status, but Lord Mountbatten told him this was impossible. The state had a non-Muslim majority, but the Nizam was Muslim and, therefore, favoured joining Pakistan.

The Indian government, however, was determined not to allow Hyderabad to join Pakistan. It began pressurizing the Nizam to join India. He was unwilling to do so, but finally agreed to enter into a treaty in respect of defence, foreign affairs and communications. Further pressure was exerted by the Indians and in August 1948 Hyderabad filed a complaint before the United Nations Organisation. Before it could be heard, Indian troops entered Hyderabad, dismantled the state and incorporated it into different provinces in India.



3: Junagadh

Junagadh

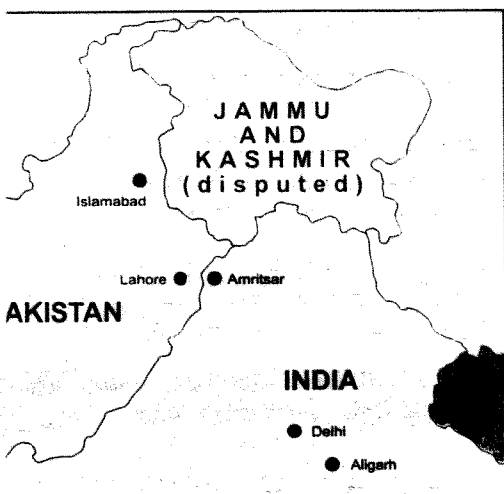
Junagadh was a small state on the coast, 300 miles south of Karachi. The population was mostly non-Muslim, but its prince was Muslim. In 1947 it announced that it would join Pakistan. Lord Mounbatten informed Pakistan that the accession of Junagadh was 'an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory' and the Indian government sent troops to surround the state. A blockade was imposed and soon Junagadh was short of food. Then, in November 1947, Indian troops invaded and took control of the area. The government of Pakistan protested to the United Nations Organisation about the illegal occupation, but the matter remains unresolved.

The Kashmir Issue

The most serious disagreement between India and Pakistan concerned the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This was the largest state in the subcontinent and the fact that it had boundaries with Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia gave it great strategic importance.

In 1947 most of the 4 million inhabitants of Kashmir were Muslim, but the maharaja or ruler was a Hindu. It was believed that he was trying to win independence for his state and so he delayed joining either Pakistan or India.

The maharaja, Hari Singh, did not treat the Muslim population well. In September 1947 he started a campaign to drive many Muslims out of Kashmir. Over 200,000 fled to Pakistan and finally the Muslims rose in rebellion. The maharaja was forced to turn to India for help to crush the Muslims. Indian help came only after the maharaja agreed to accede to India.



4: Jammu and Kashmir

LEARNING

do you think India and Pakistan were so concerned about the accession of various princely states?

do you think the 'Kashmir issue' has still not been resolved?

Pakistan could not accept this, so sent troops to help Kashmir to help the Muslims. The Pakistan government was convinced that the Indians had always planned to seize Kashmir. Neither side was strong enough for a long war and in January 1948 the matter was referred to the UNO. A ceasefire was arranged and Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan. However, Pakistan was angered that India retained the largest area of Kashmir, including the capital, Srinagar. After pressure from Lord Mountbatten, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, agreed that a referendum would be held in Kashmir to determine the wishes of the people, 'once the situation has normalised'.

This referendum has not been held and the 'Kashmir issue' remains a major source of discontent between the two countries today. Pakistan has made numerous demands that the UNO resolve the dispute, but, so far, it has been impossible to reach agreement.

SOURCE A

In a speech to government officials on 11 October, 1947, Jinnah said: *'We are to exist as a nation and give shape to the dream of Pakistan, we will have to face problems with determination and force. Our people are disorganized and disheartened by the difficulties we face. Their morale is low and we will have to work harder to pull them out of their despondency and galvanize them to action. All this throws a greater responsibility on government servants, to whom our people look for guidance.'*

SOURCE B

In a speech to students at the Islamia College, Peshawar, in 1947, Jinnah said: *'Our duty to the state takes us beyond Provincialism. It often demands that we be ready to merge individual and provincial interest to the common cause for good. Our duty to the state comes first, then our duty to our Province, district, town, village and lastly, ourselves.'*

How does Jinnah describe the people of Pakistan in Source A?

What does he see as a possible solution to the peoples' problems? (Source A)

What political problems is Jinnah referring to in Source B?

Why do you think he made this speech? (Source B)

6. The Division of Financial and Military Assets

- One of the major issues involved in partitioning the old British India was how to divide up the assets of the country. They now belonged to two countries, not one and there had to be an agreement on how it should be shared. It was agreed that the assets were to be divided on the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. This reflected the relative size and populations of the two countries.

In June 1947 it was agreed that Pakistan would be paid 750 million rupees of the 4 billion rupees in the Reserve Bank. The first 200 million rupees were paid. Then war broke out over Kashmir. India refused to pay the rest, saying Pakistan would only use it to buy arms to fight against India. If Pakistan stopped fighting and agreed that Kashmir should be an Indian possession, then the rest would be paid. What the Indian government hoped was that by withholding the money, Pakistan would become bankrupt. Gandhi was determined that the division of assets should be as fair as possible. He objected to what the Indian government was doing and took steps to try to persuade them to pay the money it was withholding. As a supporter of non-violence, he used the threat of a hunger strike and successfully persuaded the Indian government to pay a further 500 million rupees.

Pakistan also needed armed forces and military equipment to ensure its security. The British were, at first, reluctant to divide the armed forces but eventually it was agreed that they should be split 36% to 44% between Pakistan and India. The armed forces personnel were given freedom to opt for whichever country they wanted. Muslim regiments went to Pakistan and non-Muslim to India. It was agreed to split the army along religious lines as in the table below.

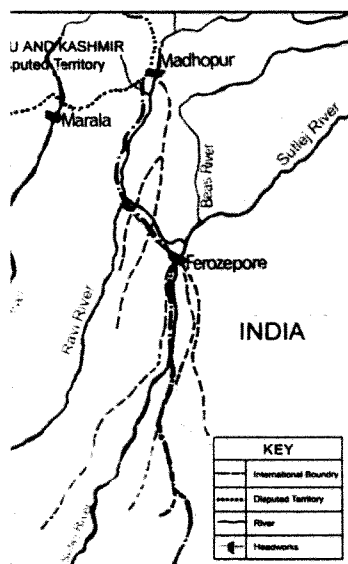
	Pakistan	India
oured divisions	6	14
ery divisions	8	40
try divisions	8	21

A big problem for Pakistan was that its army comprising of 150,000 men needed 4,000 officers. There were only 2,500 trained Muslim officers, as the British Indian army had favoured Hindu officers. While it was possible to train some men up from ordinary soldiers, Jinnah was forced to take 500 British officers temporarily. These were mostly at the highest rank, for this was where there were no Muslim officers at all.

But as Pakistan faced almost immediate war with India over Kashmir, it needed the best army it could raise, no matter who was leading it.

In other military matters the Indians once again failed to keep to the agreement. They did not want to see Pakistan become strong militarily, especially as they were fighting in Kashmir. All 16 ordinance factories were in India, and it refused to hand over any. Consequently, Pakistan had no factories capable of making military goods. India eventually agreed to pay 60 million rupees in lieu of handing over ordinance factories and this was used by the Pakistani government to build an ordinance factory at Wah.

The military supplies which India agreed to hand over did not arrive at times, or when they did, they were often old, worn, damaged and obsolete. The result of the division of military assets in 1947 was that Pakistan started its existence with a seriously under-resourced military force.



5: Rivers and canals
ed in dispute

7. The Canal Water Dispute

The Canal Water Dispute had its origins in the partition of Punjab in 1947. West Pakistan is a fertile country but has a hot and dry climate. Rainfall is not plentiful and so it relies upon irrigation from a series of canals which draw water from the three main rivers in the area, the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab.

The partition of the subcontinent cut across many rivers and canals. The problem for Pakistan was that the flow of water through the canals and rivers was controlled at a series of 'headworks', most of which lay in the part of Punjab that was now in India. The Indian government promised not to interfere with the supply of water to Pakistan. However, India and Pakistan were soon in dispute over the canals, especially the waters from the Bari-Doab canal. India claimed that as the headworks were in its country it had complete rights to do what it wanted with the water. Pakistan argued that it had a right to the water as its economy depended upon it. The Pakistan government called for the matter to be settled by the International Court of Justice, but India refused.

In May 1948 a temporary agreement was reached. India agreed to allow water from east Punjab to flow into west Punjab, but only if Pakistan agreed to try to find alternative water supplies. The 'water problem' was one that the new country had to address urgently.



: Refugees on their way to their new homeland

8. Refugees and the Accommodation Crisis

In the years immediately before partition, there was widespread violence between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities across India. Although Congress and the Muslim League called for calm, the summer of 1947 saw rioting which led to numerous deaths. When the boundary Award was announced in August 1947 things became even worse. Millions of people found themselves living in the 'wrong' country and became victims of communal attacks. The only answer was for Muslims to move into Pakistan and non-Muslims to move into India. So began what perhaps was the largest migration ever witnessed in the history of mankind and also some of the worst scenes of communal violence.

1-type Questions

What does the picture of refugees tell us about the problems Pakistan faced in 1947?

Partition had been made along religious lines in the hopes of easing tensions between Muslim and Hindu communities – instead it made matters worse. Over 10 million people had moved from India to Pakistan or in the other direction by January 1948. Some moved

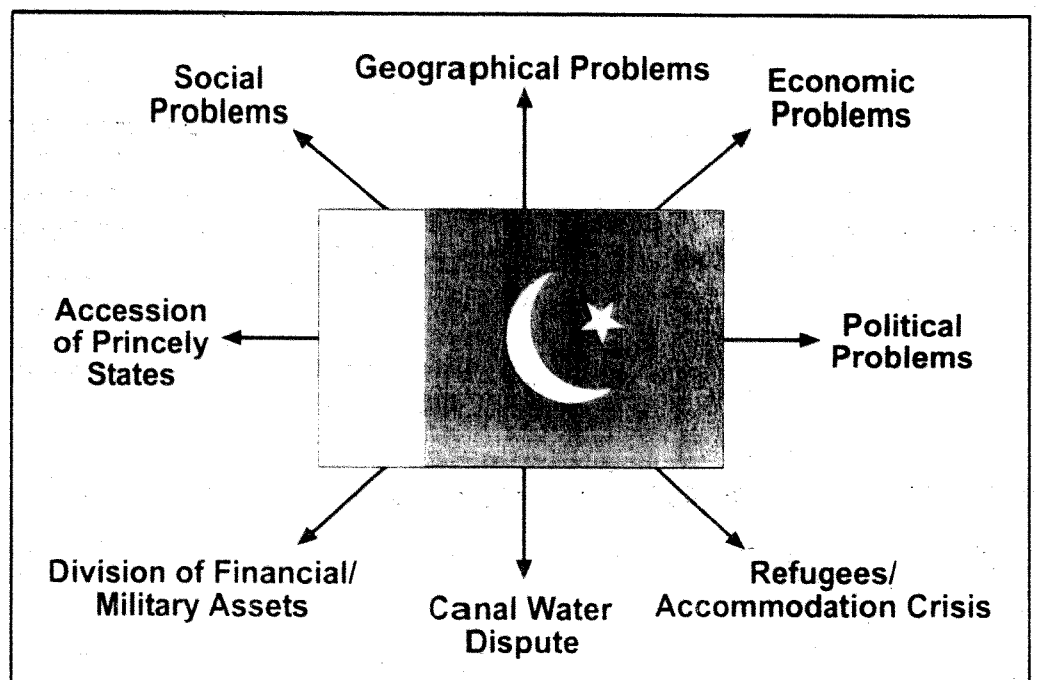


Fig. 11.7: Problems facing Pakistan at the time of Independence

willingly, taking as many of their possessions with them as they could. Others fled from violence and often arrived in their new country with nothing at all.

The violence was sometimes orchestrated by the local authorities and many Muslim historians believe that Hindus and Sikhs had an organised programme for the massacre of Muslim refugees. In the non-Muslim princely states there were examples of state troops being used to support attacks on Muslims. It is also true, however, that atrocities were carried out by Muslims as a tide of communal hatred swept across the subcontinent in late 1947.

Estimates for the death toll vary considerably, but it is likely that as many as a million men, women and children died as a result of the violence or the rigours of the long journey. Nearly 20 million people were made homeless and both India and Pakistan faced enormous problems as huge numbers of refugees fled to them for safety. Karachi alone received nearly two million refugees in 1947.

Not surprisingly, it was extremely difficult for these people to be accommodated. Pakistan in particular, as a new and not wealthy country, did not have the necessary facilities to house millions of new citizens.

Some of these refugees were so distressed by their hardships that they turned on the local population of different religions. In September 1947 the authorities in Delhi had to declare martial law as non-Muslim refugees had begun a slaughter of local Muslims.

By the end of 1947 India and Pakistan were so concerned about the communal violence that they began to co-operate in trying to control it. This led to more orderly evacuation of refugees from one country to the other, but it did not completely end the violence.



1.8

The Quaid-e-Azam said:

'You may belong to any religion, caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all equal citizens of one state.'

1. What do you think the Quaid meant ?
2. Partition had been made along religious lines, so why do you think the Quaid said this?

m-type Questions

What is the Kashmir issue? [4]

Why was the Kashmir Issue a problem for Pakistan in 1947? [7]

The refugee crises the greatest problem that Jinnah faced in governing Pakistan in the years 1947-48. Give reasons for your answer. [14]

d on

7: A TERRIBLE YEAR

The full extent of the events of 1947 is never likely to be known. There were terrible acts of communal violence carried out on both sides of the border which both India and Pakistan would rather forget. Historians in both countries have been reluctant to research these events because they are so painful to study.

If all the atrocities of communal violence had been recorded, there would be too many events in that year to list. It is perhaps enough to say that in the summer of 1947 tensions ran so high that ordinary, peace-loving Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims became caught up in acts of violence of which they would never have considered themselves capable.

The violence ranged from attack on property and arson to mob violence in which the most terrible acts were carried out. Stories abound of young girls being abducted and raped, of State troops not only allowing the violence, but in places joining in. In some areas attacks were carried out to allow for migration. For example, in East Punjab there was a week of sustained attacks on Muslims in August 1947. This was to make room for Muslims migrating from the west.

In August four senior Muslim officers and 150 Muslim officials were murdered on a train taking them from Delhi to Karachi. Soon trains began arriving at the destinations with dead bodies.

In areas where there had been no communal violence, there was tension. Saeed Ahmad was an Indian Muslim from the town of Mirzapur. He remembers the night of independence well.



'It was like a festival, at least at my place people were very expectant, hopeful of things to come. But reports coming from other places made the minorities fearful. In our town we did not have any record of communal violence. But there were stories of violence, riots, attacks on trains and bloodstained trains arriving with dead bodies'.

Unfortunately those rumours were true and up to one million men women and children are believed to have died in the terrible events of 1947.

HOW FAR DID PAKISTAN ACHIEVE STABILITY FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF JINNAH?

Contents

Khwaja Nazimuddin & Liaquat Ali Khan
The Objectives Resolution of 1949
Malik Ghulam Muhammad
Major General Iskander Mirza
Field Marshall Muhammad Ayub Khan
President Yahya Khan
The Constitutions of 1956, 1962 & 1973

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ What were the achievements of the various ministries in the years 1948-58?
- ▶ What were the achievements of the 'Decade of Progress 1958-69'?
- ▶ What attempts were made to establish a new constitution in the years 1949-73?

1948 - 1958

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1951-53 Khwaja Nazimuddin
1953-55 Mohammad Ali Bogra
1955-56 Chaudry Mohammad Ali
1956-57 H.S. Suhrawardy
1957 I.I. Chundrigar
1957-58 Feroze Khan Noon

Pakistan in 1948

Though Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah had helped establish Pakistan as an independent country, fully recognised by the United Nations, there were still many problems which had to be overcome by his successors.

Pakistan was a poor country, with the mass of its people living close to subsistence level.

The landowners dominated politics and provided the main support for the Muslim League. It was they who held the seats in the National Assembly.

Relations with India were poor, particularly over Kashmir.

Despite the work of the Quaid, Pakistan remained a country of five different regions, with different languages.

The Quaid had not been in office long enough to introduce a new constitution. Indeed his taking office as Governor-General had created confusion about the respective roles of the Governor-General and the Prime Minister.

It was these problems which faced the men who were to govern Pakistan in the years after the death of the Quaid.



Khwaja Nazimuddin

Khwaja Nazimuddin 1948 - 51

- 14 Sept 1948** Khwaja Nazimuddin made Governor General and Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister
- 17 Sept 1948** India invades Hyderabad (Deccan)
- 12 Mar 1949** Objectives Resolution passed
- 1949** The Public and Representative (Disqualification) Act [PRODA]
- 28 Sept 1950** First Report of the Basic Principles Committee
- 16 Oct 1951** Liaquat Ali Khan assassinated in Rawalpindi

On 14 September 1948, three days after the death of the Quaid, Khwaja Nazimuddin became the new Governor General of Pakistan. Nazimuddin was leader of the Muslim League at the time and was also Chief Minister of East Pakistan. He was respected as an honest and talented politician. Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, remained in office.

Khwaja Nazimuddin quickly realized that Liaquat Ali Khan had the confidence of the government, administrators and people of Pakistan. People looked up to him because he was a close associate and a most trusted companion of Quaid-e-Azam. Nazimuddin therefore stood back and allowed Liaquat to run the country. The role of Governor General became less important than that of Prime Minister. One of the first tasks which Liaquat Ali Khan had to address was establishing a constitution which would satisfy the different groups within Pakistan.



Fig.12.2: Liaquat Ali Khan



The Quaid with Liaquat Ali Khan

The Objectives Resolution

Since 1857 the subcontinent had been completely under the control of the British Crown. Various Acts of Parliament were passed setting out how India was to be governed. As you saw on page 81 the final Act, the Government of India Act 1935, said that India should be governed as follows:

- There would be a Governor-General reporting to the British Secretary of State for India in London. The Governor-General would be advised by an Executive Council and have wide powers over all aspects of government in India.
- There would also be two Houses of Parliament.
- At provincial level, there would be provincial governors, provincial assemblies and provincial ministers.

After independence in 1947, Pakistan was ruled under the Indian Independence Act, which was an amended version of the Government of India Act. A Constituent Assembly was set up to frame a new constitution, but until it reported, the Governor-General would have control over the entire field of government activity, but under the control of the Cabinet. However, as Pakistan lacked well-organised political parties and a Prime Minister with a stable majority in the legislature, it also lacked an effective Cabinet. So the Governor-General became a much more important office, particularly when it was held by the Quaid.

The Constituent Assembly had set up a Basic Principles Committee to decide the principles on which the new constitution should be based. It had 25 members, about a third of the Assembly. Its findings were contained in a document called the Objectives Resolution, which was passed on 12 March 1949. It declared:

1. The constitution should observe the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as laid down by Islam.
2. Muslims would be able to lead their lives according to Islamic principles.
3. Other religious groups should be able to practice their religion freely.
4. Minorities and the poor would be legally protected from social injustice.
5. All fundamental human rights should be guaranteed.
6. The legal system should be independent of government.

The Objectives Resolution contained several references to Islam, as it tried to counter criticisms from the *ulama* that the new government had not made Pakistan a proper Islamic state, with a constitution based on the *Shariat*. Although there was no timescale set down for completing the Constitution, nor for holding the first elections - or indeed any agreement on how to make sure the Objectives were met, they did form the basis for the draft constitution presented to the Assembly by the Basic Principles Committee on 28 September 1950. The committee recommended bicameral legislature with equal powers. The president was to be elected by the joint session of the two houses. It suggested that Urdu should be the official language of Pakistan.

The proposals came in for much criticism:

- East Pakistan had a much larger population than West Pakistan and resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly. The East Pakistanis also resented having to accept Urdu as the official language, at the expense of Bengali.
- Provincial politicians objected to the power being given to the Head of State and to the Federal Government.
- Religious groups complained that the constitution was not sufficiently Islamic. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan decided that since there was so much criticism of the proposals they should be given further consideration. His untimely death meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader was found and had time to settle in.

During the time of Khwaja Nazimuddin's Governor-Generalship, several other important measures were taken.

Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act

This Act showed that Pakistan had yet to become the free, democratic country that the Quaid had envisioned. It was sub-titled '*an Act for the debarring from public office for a suitable period of persons judicially found guilty of misconduct in any public office or any representative capacity in any matter therein*'.

By this Act complaints could be made to the Governor-General or provincial governors who could order an enquiry by judges. Anyone found guilty under PRODA was debarred from office. The law was designed to eliminate corruption, but in reality, it allowed the ruling elite to remove those who it did not approve of.

Refugees

In August 1947 the Quaid had called the refugee problem in Pakistan 'a grave emergency' and had set the Central Refugee Council to deal with it. Liaquat Ali Khan met with the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and signed the Liaquat-Nehru Pact. It was agreed that each government was responsible for the safety of minority groups within its borders. Free passage of refugees across the border was restricted and a visa system for refugees was introduced.

TO LEARNING

Why did the Basic Principles Commission have wanted to include each of the six principles in the Objectives Resolution of 1949.

TO LEARNING

Was PRODA a good or bad measure for Pakistan? Give your answer.

Hyderabad and Kashmir

On 17 September 1948, while Pakistan was still coming to terms with the death of the Quaid, India invaded Hyderabad (see page 113).

On 5 January 1948 the United Nations Organization organized a ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. However, there was no agreement over the future of Kashmir, so tensions looked likely in time to come.

Army Leaders

In January 1951 Sir Douglas Gracey the British Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, was replaced by General Ayub Khan, a Pakistani. Since partition many army officers had complained about the presence of the British in senior positions. By 1951 most army officers were Pakistani. Despite this, some army officers unhappy with the government, began to plan a coup to take over the government. In March 1951 this 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy' was discovered by Ayub Khan, and the conspirators were arrested, tried and imprisoned. Amongst them was Major-General Akbar Khan, Chief of General Staff and 14 other officers.

Liaquat Ali Khan had survived his first coup, but his success was to be short-lived. He was shot dead by an assassin on 16 October 1951, whilst addressing a public meeting in Rawalpindi. He had worked tirelessly for the country and was a popular leader. The government gave him the title of Shaheed-e-Millat (a martyr for the cause of the nation).

Ghulam Muhammad (1951 - 55)



Ghulam Muhammad

Oct 1951	Ghulam Muhammad sworn in as Governor General of Pakistan
17 Apr 1953	Nazimuddin dismissed from premiership Muhammad Ali Bogra appointed Prime Minister First Five Year Plan for economy introduced
29 Sept 1954	Ghulam Muhammad dissolves the Assembly. New cabinet sworn in
Feb 1955	Sindh High Court rules that dissolution of Assembly was unconstitutional
10 May 1955	Federal Court overturns Sindh High Court ruling. New Assembly elected
Aug 1955	Ghulam Muhammad resigns

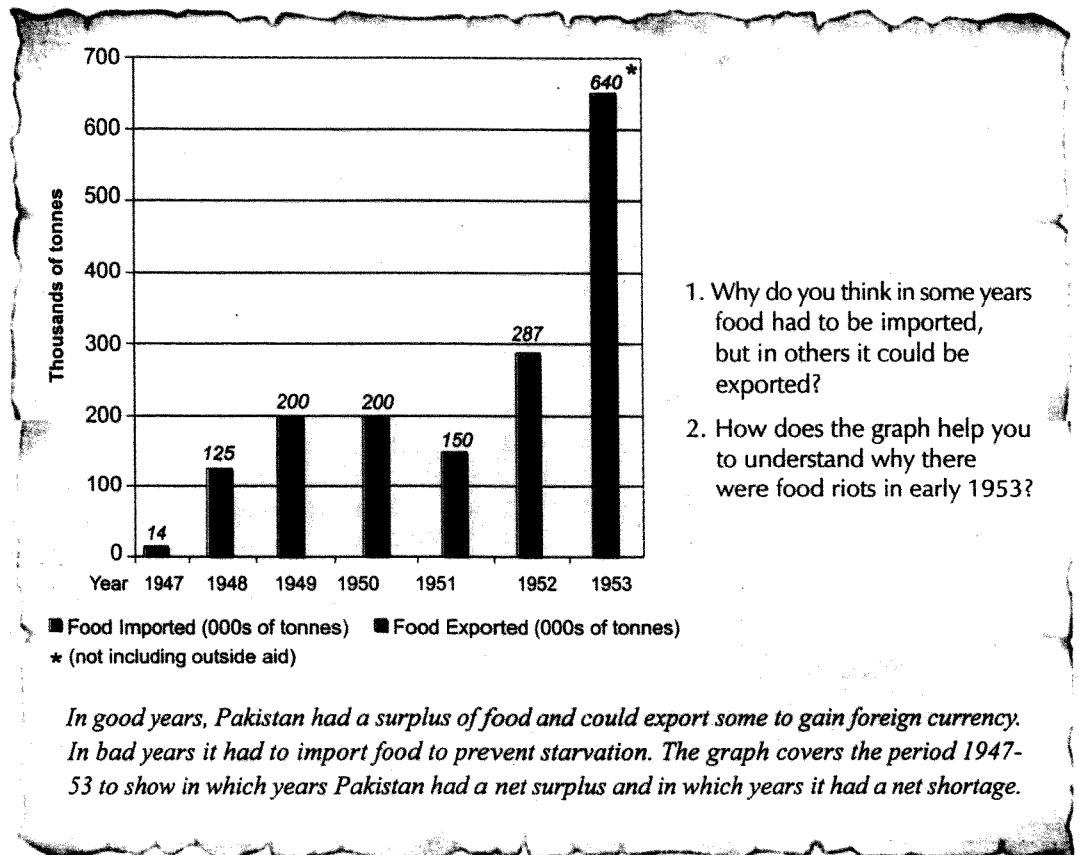
After the death of Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, **Ghulam Muhammad** became the third Governor General of Pakistan. He had been the Finance Minister in the Cabinet. He persuaded Khwaja Nazimuddin to become Prime Minister (which under Liaquat Ali Khan had become a more prestigious office than Governor-General). Ghulam Muhammad was the first of a number of major political figures in Pakistan who had risen from amongst the civil service to high office.

In 1950 a Planning Commission was set up to oversee economic development in Pakistan. In 1951 it launched a Six Year Plan for Pakistan, covering agriculture, fuel and power, industry and mining, transport and communications and 'social uplift schemes'. In 1953 a Planning Board was set up to review the development that had taken place and this produced a Draft Five Year Plan in 1956 to follow on from the Six Year Plan. Both these schemes played a major part to help bring about economic development in Pakistan. For example, in 1952 a major jute processing plant was opened at Narayanganj (East Pakistan) and the exploration for oil/gas led to the discovery of vast reserves of natural gas at Sui in Balochistan.

However, these were not easy times for the people of Pakistan. From 1951 to 1953 there was a severe drought in Pakistan. This affected food production and in February 1953 severe food shortages led to rioting in most cities throughout Pakistan. The government was not well-placed to deal with these shortages. During the Korean War there had been increased demand for Pakistan's jute and cotton, to supply the thousands of soldiers involved in the fighting but by 1953 demand had declined.

This meant that Pakistan was making less money just when it needed to buy more foodstuffs. In April the USA agreed to donate a million tons of wheat to help Pakistan overcome the food crisis.

The rioting, however, had not been just about food shortages. It also had a religious element. Some ulamas had begun a campaign against the Ahmedis. They demanded that all Ahmedis be dismissed from office, including Zafarullah Khan, the Foreign Minister. It was only after martial law was imposed and numerous arrests were made that the rioting was brought under control.



Constitutional Matters

The recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee presented to the Assembly on 28 September 1950 had proved so unpopular that they were withdrawn for further consideration. Two years later, on 22 December 1952 a revised Report of the Basic Principles Committee was presented by the Prime Minister, Nazimuddin. It altered the 1950 proposals by suggesting:

1. The Head of State must be Muslim.
2. There should be a House of Units with 60 members from East Pakistan and 60 from West Pakistan. The House of People should have 400 members with 200 elected from each wing.

3. Religious minorities would have representatives at National and Provincial levels.
4. The Cabinet was to be responsible to the National Assembly, not the Head of State.
5. The Head of State would choose a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic law.
6. The official language should be settled by the Assembly.

These proposals also met with criticism, so Nazimuddin said they would undergo further discussion. Further political changes and uncertainty meant that a Constitution was not settled until 1956, when Major General Iskander Mirza was in power. As yet, Pakistan had no official language, although Urdu had been suggested under the Quaid and had much government support. It was an issue that so many people felt strongly about that it would be hard to resolve without further unrest – the Bengalis of East Pakistan, were particularly opposed to its use. Consequently no progress was made on this issue.

On 17 April 1953 Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin and three other members of the Cabinet, blaming them for not controlling the economy and the riots that resulted from food shortages in February. He did this despite the fact that they had received a vote of confidence from the Assembly. Ghulam Muhammad said that:

'I have been driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet of Khawaja Nazimuddin has proved entirely inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country.'

Nazimuddin was angered, but decided not to resist, fearing that disagreement in the government would be disastrous for the country. The new Cabinet had eight old members and three new ones, including a new Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Bogra, who had been the acting ambassador to the USA.

Bogra wanted as much foreign aid as possible to boost Pakistan's economy. In April 1953 the US, Canada and Australia agreed to send Pakistan a million tons of wheat, which helped to calm fears of famine that had sparked the riots. It was also Bogra who set up the Planning Board to produce a Five-Year Plan that would, hopefully, avoid further food shortages. He also worked out a regional agreement, called the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Part of this involved Western aid for Pakistan, in terms of money, supplies and the help of various industrial experts.

provided by the US until 1 January 1957

Type of Aid	Amount (in million dollars)
Grant aid for projects	75.5
Technical help	34.4
Commodity aid and other relief supplies of raw materials and other goods	220.2 135.4 43.1
	508.6

The 1954/55 Constitutional Crisis

The social and economic problems that Pakistan faced, coupled with Ghulam Muhammad's desire to maintain the power of the position of Governor-General, meant that there was little progress in getting agreement on the new constitution. Instead, Ghulam Muhammad hoped to dominate Bogra to maintain his own power. But Bogra did not turn out to be quite as compliant as Ghulam Muhammad had hoped.

On 21 September 1954, while Ghulam Muhammad was out of the country, Bogra persuaded the Assembly to pass laws limiting the powers of the Governor General by saying:

- That all his ministers, including the Prime Minister, must be members of the Assembly.
- that the Assembly had to approve the Cabinet,
- that the Governor General had to take the advice of his ministers.

TO LEARNING

Use the table to draw a bar chart to show the various kinds of aid received from the US to 01 January 1957.

During the time of the World War (see page 8), why do you think the USA would be so keen to provide Pakistan with aid?

This was an attempt by the Assembly to weaken the powers of the Governor-General and increase its own powers. After voting through the above measures in just 15 minutes, the Assembly repealed the Public and Representative (Disqualification) Act [PRODA], which said the Governor General could remove ministers from the National and Provincial governments for up to five years if they 'abused public office'. Then the Assembly adjourned for a month to discuss a new draft constitution.

However, Ghulam Muhammad was not a man who took opposition lightly. He waited until Bogra was out of the country during the following week and then struck back. He declared a state of emergency and then dissolved the Assembly. He made a statement saying:

The Governor-General, having considered the political crisis with which the country is faced, has decided to declare a state of emergency. The Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function. Until such time as elections are held, the administration of the country will be carried out by a reconstituted Cabinet.

Ghulam Muhammad then chose a new Cabinet. Having resisted his authority, he re-appointed Bogra as Prime Minister, but selected five members of the cabinet who were not members of the Assembly, this included the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Ayub Khan.

Maulvi Tamizuddin, the Speaker of the dissolved Assembly, contested the dissolution in the Sindh High Court, saying that the dissolution had been illegal and that non-Assembly members should not be appointed in the cabinet. In February 1955 the Court ruled in favour of Maulvi Tamizuddin. Ghulam Muhammad appealed to the Federal Court against this judgement. On 10 May 1955, this higher court ruled that Ghulam Muhammad had the authority to dismiss the Assembly 'if he was satisfied that the situation demanded it.'

On 21 June 1955, elections were held for a new Constituent Assembly. It met for the first time on 7 July 1955. In August, Ghulam Muhammad fell ill and had to resign. He was replaced by Major General Iskander Mirza.

SOURCE A

constitutional machinery has broken down... The Constituent Assembly has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function.'

Part of a speech by Ghulam Muhammad on 24 October 1955, when he dissolved the Assembly.

SOURCE B

The Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body. The Governor General has no power of any kind to dissolve it.

Part of the decision made by the Sindh High Court, February 1955.

SOURCE C

When, on 21 March 1955, the judge issued the [federal] court's majority decision upholding Ghulam Muhammad's dismissal of the Constituent Assembly, one legal scholar said 'it devastated the political structure of Pakistan'.

From A Journey to Disillusionment, by Sherbaz Khan Mazari, Oxford University Press, 1999.

- 1. What reason did Ghulam Muhammad give for dissolving the Constituent Assembly? (Source A)
- 2. Ghulam Muhammad thought he had the right to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. Did the Sindh Court agree with him? (Source B)
- 3. What do you think the historian meant when he said that the Federal Court judges decision was 'devastating to the political structure of Pakistan'? (Source C)

Iskander Mirza (1955-58)



Iskander Mirza

1955	Iskander Mirza becomes acting Governor General Muhammad Ali Bogra dismissed as Prime Minister
5 Oct 1955	One Unit system introduced – West Pakistan to be treated as one unit, not four provinces
23 Mar 1956	Constitution announced
12 Sep 1956	Chaudry Muhammad Ali resigns, Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy made Prime Minister
8 Oct 1957	Suhrawardy dismissed, I.I. Chundrigar appointed Prime Minister
Dec 1957	I.I. Chundrigar dismissed, Feroze Khan Noon made Prime Minister
7 Oct 1958	Mirza proclaimed martial law. Made himself President Ayub Khan made Prime Minister

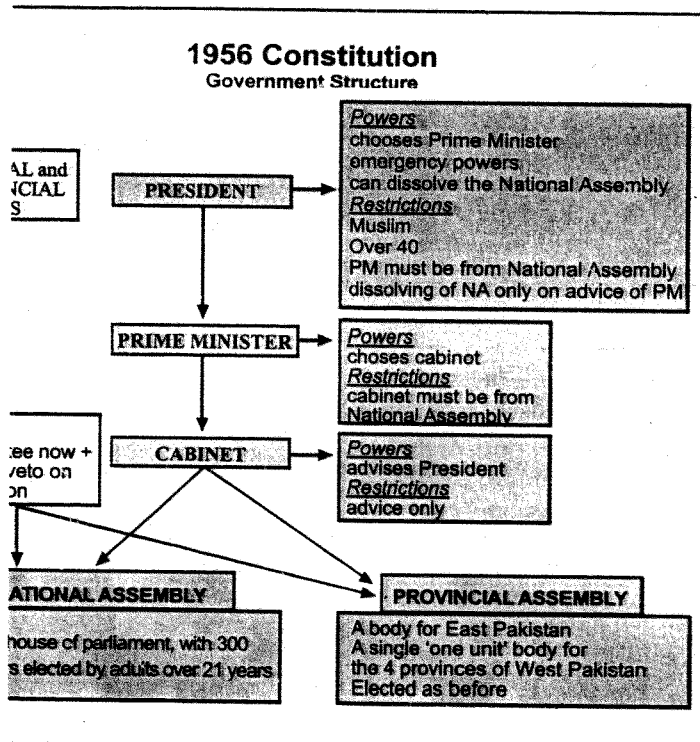
Major General Iskander Mirza was one of the 5 members selected for Ghulam Muhammad's Cabinet who was not a member of the Assembly. From May 1954 he was the Governor of East Pakistan. When Ghulam Muhammad had to retire due to ill health, Iskander Mirza was made acting Governor General. He decided that what Pakistan needed was a leader capable of taking, decisive action. As a politician with a military background having served in the British army, Mirza was not afraid to take it.

He dismissed Ali Bogra as Prime Minister and made him the ambassador to the USA again. He appointed the Finance Minister, Chaudry Muhammad Ali, as Prime Minister and pressed him hard to have a Constitution drawn up quickly.

1956 Constitution

On 29 February 1956 Pakistan's first Constitution was adopted by the Second Constituent Assembly. It was formally enforced on 23 March. The Constitution was a compromise between the wishes of the two most important parties, the Muslim League and the United Front, and neither was completely satisfied. However, the United Front dropped its objections to equal seats in the Assembly and no longer demanded full provincial autonomy. In return Bengali was accepted as an official language. The constitution declared that the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' was to be governed as shown in the diagram below.

The constitution was to last only two years before President Mirza (the office of Governor-General was replaced with that of President in the constitution) declared martial law and scrapped the new constitution.



guaranteed by the Constitution

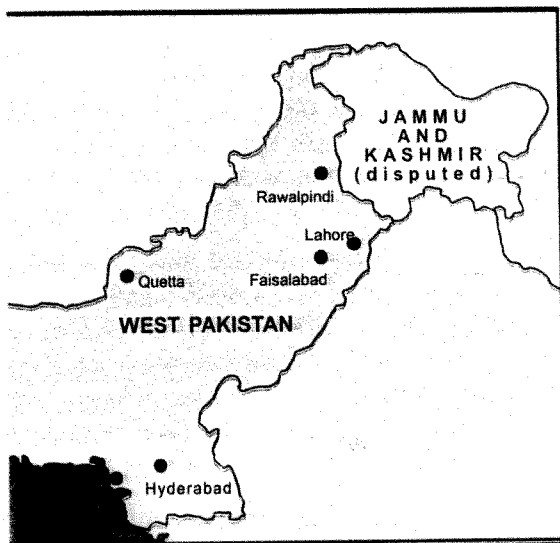
freedom of speech and assembly
right to vote
right to form political parties
right to criticise
freedom from unlawful arrest
freedom of religion
equality as a citizen
freedom of culture
right to security
right to marry
right to education
right to own property
right to choose trade or profession
right to practice that profession

The 'One Unit' policy

In November 1954, Bogra had proposed that the four provinces and 10 princely states within Pakistan should be joined together to form West Pakistan. On 5 October 1955 Mirza passed an order unifying all of West Pakistan in what became known as the 'One Unit Scheme'

Iskander Mirza claimed that the unification would bring about greater efficiency and enable more rapid development. It would also be a significant step towards a united country, instead of one where people might show loyalty to their local province and not to the state. However, there were other reasons for the policy. In Pakistan the dominant politicians and administrators were from the West wing, in particular, from the Punjab. These leading lights in the Pakistan government feared that the East Pakistanis might soon gain influence at their expense. After all, there were 10 million more people in East Pakistan than West Pakistan. By dividing Pakistan into two wings (West Pakistan and East Pakistan) officially and ensuring equal representation in the Assembly, the One Unit Scheme prevented East Pakistan gaining a majority in the Assembly.

The scheme was highly unpopular in East Pakistan and also was opposed in the individual provinces of West Pakistan. Such was the opposition that President Mirza had to dismiss the Chief Minister of Sindh and dissolve the state assemblies of Bahawalpur and Khairpur provinces. West Pakistan formally came into being as a united province on 14 October 1955.



6: Map of the new West Pakistan

SOURCE A

'There will be no Bengalis, no Punjabis, no Sindhis, no Pathans, no Balochis, no Bahawalpuris, no Khairpuris. The disappearance of these groups will strengthen the integrity of Pakistan.'

A comment made by Mohammad Ali Bogra in 1954.

SOURCE B

1. It would end the curse of provincial prejudices.
2. It would reduce administrative expenses.
3. It would allow the development of backward areas.
4. It would make it easier to draw up a new constitution.
5. It would give East and West Pakistan maximum autonomy.

The reasons given to the Assembly for adopting the One Unit Scheme by Iskander Mirza in September 1955.

SOURCE C

paper the scheme appeared rational, but the issues that separated the provinces nationalities were sentimental and emotional, psychological and historic. paper reorganization could change, let alone replace, the underlying realities. *stan in the Twentieth Century, by Lawrence Ziring, Oxford University Press, 1997.*

What did Ali Bogra mean in Source A when he talked of how the 'disappearance of these groups will strengthen the integrity of Pakistan'?

Which of the 5 reasons given in Source B for adopting the One Unit Scheme was the most important? Explain your answer.

Why did the author of Source C think the One Unit Scheme would fail?

Other Policies

- **Modernization:** Iskander Mirza's government program initiated an industrialization and rural development programme. Karachi airport was completed in 1955 and modernization of railway continued. The telephone system was expanded. Mirza publicised government provision in health and education services. However, these were not always as extensive as the government made out.
- **East Pakistan:** East Pakistan had always been poorer than West Pakistan and its people had not been involved in the decision-making process of government. Their natural discontent was made worse by food shortages and other problems caused by severe flooding through 1955. Chaudry Mohammad Ali resigned as Prime Minister on 12 September 1956. Mirza replaced him with Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, a politician from East Pakistan. He hoped that giving the most important Cabinet post to a politician from East Pakistan would help to win support from there for his government.

Suhrawardy kept his job for only a year. He had no desire to be a 'puppet' Prime Minister and pressed hard for Mirza to allow him to have a meaningful degree of authority. He was dismissed in October 1957. Suhrawardy showed what a shrewd politician he was by asking Mirza to put his popularity to the test by holding a vote in the Assembly. Mirza knew that Suhrawardy would probably win this vote and refused.

On 18 October 1957 Iskander Mirza appointed Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar to replace Suhrawardy. His government was a collection of politicians with differing views which could not even agree on major issues, such as the One Unit Scheme. Feroze Khan Noon was Mirza's next choice. Noon's government contained members from a number of political parties and was even more divided than that of Chundrigar. He was forced to appoint a large Cabinet (26 members out of the 80 in the Assembly) in the hope that this would help bring all shades of opinion into the government and create unity. Inevitably, it did not. Mirza now found himself in a very difficult position. His rule was becoming increasingly unpopular and the 1956 Constitution had been introduced with the promise of elections in 1957. Mirza dare not call these as he knew he would lose.

On 7 October 1958, Iskander Mirza, using the constant disagreements in the government as his excuse, proclaimed martial law with himself as President. Iskander Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed by a plan by Suhrawardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him. Therefore, Iskander Mirza turned to the military. He asked the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Ayub Khan to take charge as Chief Martial Law Administrator.

On 24 October he appointed Ayub Khan as Prime Minister. Ayub Khan had on several occasions declined an offer from Ghulam Muhammad to take over the country, but by 1958 he had come to believe that it was now necessary. On 27 October he forced Mirza to resign and was exiled to London. Pakistan began its first period of military rule.

TO LEARNING

It was the One Unit policy?

Was there so much tolerance to the One policy?

TO LEARNING

How many Prime Ministers did Iskander Mirza have from 1955 to 1958?

Do you think there were so many changes in the Prime Minister?

Do you think General Ayub Khan changed his mind and took control in October 1958?



Work Skills Book
Pages 35-36

Declaration of Martial Law October 1958

- The Constitution of 23 March 1956 will be abrogated.
- The government will be dismissed with immediate effect.
- The National and Provincial Assemblies will be dissolved.
- All political parties will be abolished.
- Until alternative arrangements, Pakistan will remain under martial law.





7: General Ayub Khan

Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan (1958-69)

- 27 Oct 1958 General Ayub Khan takes over
- Oct 1959 Basic Democracies introduced
- 1 Mar 1962 New Constitution
- Sept 1965 War with India
- 25 Mar 1969 Ayub forced to resign

After taking power **General Ayub Khan** announced that he hoped that a period of military rule would settle Pakistan. Since the death of the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan, the government of Pakistan had been subject to so much change and uncertainty that it had been difficult to develop industry, support agriculture and maintain even a basic level of social welfare. Once stability was restored and Pakistan was more settled, Ayub Khan said, the government would provide a constitution that would 'combine democracy with discipline'.

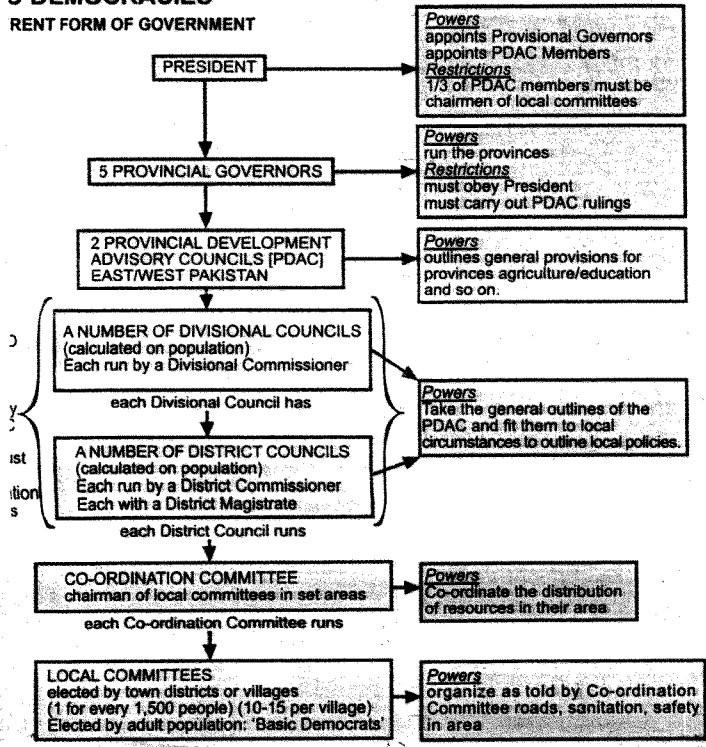
'A new era has begun under General Ayub Khan and the armed forces have undertaken to root out the administrative malaise and anti-social practices, to create a sense of confidence, security and stability and eventually to bring the country back to normalcy. I hope and pray Allah may give them the wisdom and strength to achieve their objective.'

A comment made by Quaid-e-Azam's sister, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, in an interview with the Morning News, 29 October 1958.

1. According to Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah what is going to happen in Pakistan?
2. The Quaid was not in favour of government by the army. Why, then do you think his sister, who had also been his advisor, supported Ayub Khan's takeover?

C DEMOCRACIES

PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT



1959 Basic Democracies

The first step in Ayub Khan's constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies Order on 26 October 1959. As shown in the diagram below, this was a four-tier system in which ordinary people elected union council members who in turn elected district and divisional members. Later, it was stated in the 1962 Constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the electoral college for the election of the President and members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the Basic Democrats for a vote of confidence. Almost 95% of them declared their confidence in him and on 17 February 1960 he was confirmed as President. He then announced the creation of a Constitution Commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.

...we given it the name *Basic Democracies* for the very obvious reason that we want it to grow and evolve from the very first rung of the political ladder so it finds roots deep among the people.'
 ...of a speech made by Ayub Khan on the radio on 2 September 1959.

Do you think that all the people of Pakistan will have agreed that Ayub's new system was one which laid the foundations of democracy in Pakistan? Explain your answer.

1962 Constitution

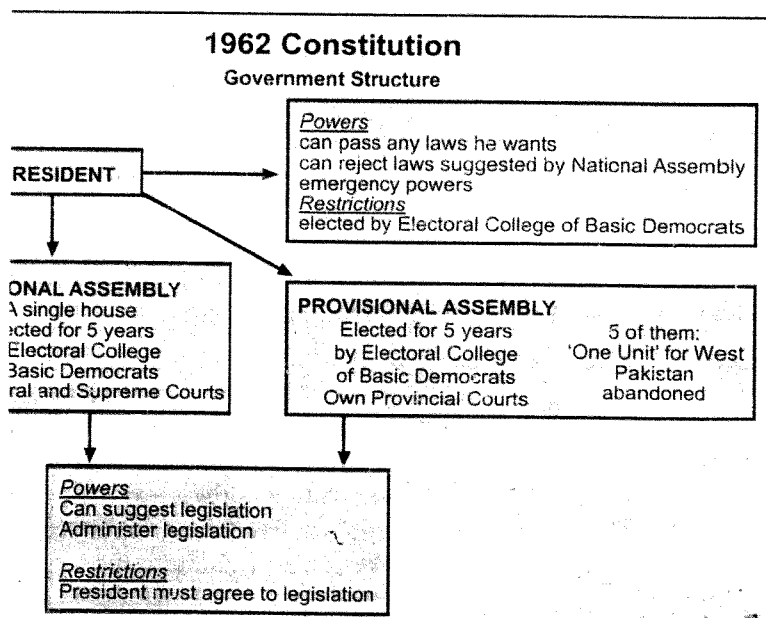
The new constitution was announced on 1 March 1962. Although Ayub described it as combining 'democracy with discipline', in reality it set up a presidential form of government.

- The President could not be removed unless impeached.
- The President nominated the Cabinet from the members of the National Assembly.
- The President nominated the heads of the judiciary and the provincial governors (who then nominated their Cabinets).
- The National Legislature could not pass a law without the approval of the President.

The new constitution was introduced without debate and Ayub brought martial law to an end soon afterwards. The new National Assembly met for the first time on 8 June 1962. One of its first acts was to remove the ban on political parties. It appeared that Pakistan was moving nearer to a democratic system, but actually, Ayub's reforms had increased the powers of the ruling elite. This had happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used coercion or bribery to influence the results.

The constitution also further upset the people of East Pakistan. They felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. Gradually they were coming to realize that Pakistan's government was in the hands of military and civil officials from West Pakistan. Various steps were taken to placate them:

- Both Urdu and Bengali were recognised as two of the national languages.
- The National Assembly Session was to be held in both Dhaka and Islamabad.
- If the President were from West Pakistan, then the Speaker of the National Assembly was to be from East Pakistan.



Despite these measures the people of East Pakistan still believed that Pakistan was, in reality, government of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. This resulted in a feeling of unease in East Pakistan.

In January 1965 elections were held for the Presidency. Ayub Khan was nominated by a new party, the Convention Muslim League, which he had helped form.

He believed that the opposition parties were too divided to put up a credible opponent in the elections. He was, however, wrong. The opposition parties all agreed to support the sister and advisor of the Quaid, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah.



Fig. 12.8: Mohtarma Jinnah

In the election, Ayub Khan won 64% of the votes, compared to Miss Jinnah's 36%. This result was challenged by the opposition, who claimed that the voting had been rigged. There were riots in Karachi and East Pakistan in which 20 people were killed. Ayub Khan had been re-elected, but at the price of riots by opposition groups, who believed their candidate had been cheated.

The Decade of Development

Ayub Khan is perhaps best remembered for a series of economic and social reforms which brought praise from politicians and economists around the world. In 1968 he celebrated this work by calling the period 'A Decade of Development'

Agricultural Reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors wanted to bring reforms in the field of agriculture and make it more productive. They said that many small, subsistence holdings could never be efficient. A law was passed saying that no farm could



Fig. 12.9: Ayub Khan visiting a model farm in Pakistan

be smaller than 12.5 acres or larger than 500 acres (irrigated) or 1000 acres (unirrigated). This meant that many smaller farmers found their land was redistributed. However, the resulting larger farms did produce a steady rise in food output. Big landowners were forced to find tenants for parts of their land and this, too, raised productivity as the tenants and smaller farms were often more efficient than the larger, poorly run farms. Three major dams were built to help irrigation. Farmers were also loaned money to build wells to reduce the need for canal irrigation. These reforms revitalised agriculture and crop yields were at an all time record. Ayub said that they had brought about a Green Revolution. However, it should be noted that much of the increased productivity was due to mechanization, which could generally only be afforded by big landowners.

Industrial Reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors pressed for more industrial development. This was carried out with the help of loans from more industrialized western countries, particularly the USA, Germany and the UK. In 1962 an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation set up for the exploration of mineral deposits. In 1964 an economic union was formed with Iran and Turkey, the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) in which the three countries agreed to develop ties in trade, commerce and industry. An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.

m-type questions

What does Fig. 12.9 tell us about Ayub Khan?

As a result of these policies economic growth rose sharply. The average annual rate by which the economy grew in the 1960s was 7%, which was three times that of India. Production did rise rapidly and the Pakistani economy improved significantly, but the new wealth created did little to benefit the large numbers of Pakistanis living near the poverty line. In 1968 it was revealed that just 22 families controlled 66% of Pakistan's industrial assets. The same families also controlled 80% of Pakistan's banking and insurance companies. So a small, elite group of wealthy Pakistanis had almost complete control of Pakistan's wealth. It did not go unnoticed in East Pakistan that almost all these families were in West Pakistan. Also, whilst industry was improving rapidly, Pakistan was increasingly dependant on foreign aid.



Fig. 12.10: The National Refinery, Karachi

Social and Educational Reforms: Ayub Khan's advisors drew up a new curricula for schools and suggested that new textbooks should be published. The government began an extensive literacy programme, building new schools and colleges.

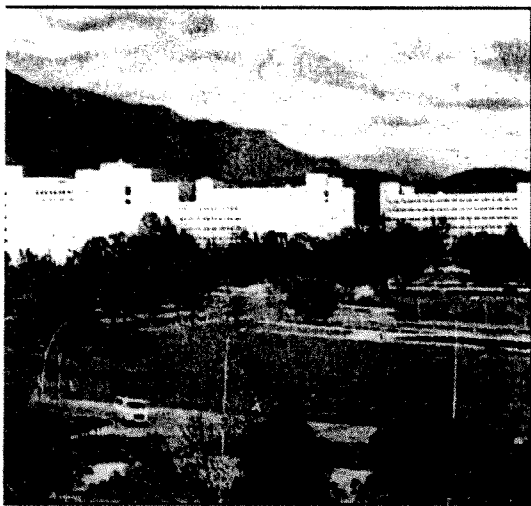
There was also an attempt to deal with shelterless people. In some cities, especially Karachi, refugees from the partition era had still not been able to find permanent homes. Ayub Khan appointed General Azam Khan the Rehabilitation Minister and he settled 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings near Karachi. Laws were passed that factory owners had to provide accommodation for their workers at a reasonable rent – although it did not specify that this accommodation had to be of a reasonable quality.

Ayub's government also tried to control population growth and set up the Family Planning Programme, funded largely by American loans. The government used radio, cinema, newspapers, posters and leaflets to persuade Pakistanis to limit the size of their families. The programme, however, was not particularly successful.

Medical facilities were also improved. More medical and nursing training schools were set up to increase the number of doctors and nurses.

A New Capital

Since partition, the capital had been Karachi. Ayub's government decided to build a new capital. In 1959 the site of Islamabad was chosen to replace Karachi as the capital of Pakistan.



1: Islamabad - the new capital (1967)

Construction was started in October 1961, and the city came into life on 26 October, 1966, when the first office building of Islamabad was occupied. In 1967 Islamabad was officially made the capital. Work on the city's principal buildings, streets, and facilities continued and was completed by the mid-1970s. It is a modern and carefully planned city.

The Secretariat Blocks are the administrative and policy planning nerve center of the country. They cover an area of 92,900 square meters. The city is divided into eight largely self-contained zones, each characterized by its predominant usages (such as the diplomatic enclave, the commercial district, the educational sector, the industrial and residential areas etc.) each with its own shopping area and park.

Political Unrest

In 1965 Pakistan went to war with India over Kashmir. Ayub's government had provoked India into war, but neither side was able to win a decisive victory. Ayub told the people that Pakistan had won the war, but the peace treaty at Tashkent contained no reference to how the Kashmir issue should be settled. It was to regain that disputed Kashmir territory that Pakistan had started the war. Ayub sacked the Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who he blamed for the failings in the war. Bhutto now became a focal point for opposition to Ayub.

By 1968 many people were discontented with the government. It seemed to be undemocratic as there were numerous accusations of intimidation and vote-rigging in the elections for the electoral college and the presidential elections. The economy was improving, yet only a few people were benefiting from this. Agricultural production was rising, but so were food prices.

- In October 1968, there were student protests all over West Pakistan.
- On a visit to Peshawar Ayub was the target of a failed assassination attempt.
- When Ayub carried out widespread arrests, including Bhutto, there were more protests, which spread to East Pakistan.

Ayub Khan's repressive policies succeeded in uniting the various parties that opposed him. In January 1969 eight of them formed the Democratic Action Committee. They wanted proper elections, the lifting of emergency powers and autonomy for East Pakistan. Ayub tried to calm the unrest. On 17 February 1969 Ayub Khan withdrew the emergency powers and released many political prisoners arrested the previous October. He began negotiating with the opposition. But he had done too little, too late. Even his cherished Basic Democracies Scheme began to unravel as Basic Democrats resigned in large numbers. The opposition rapidly gained support, whilst he and his party rapidly lost it.

By March he realised that he did not have enough support to stay in power. On 25 March 1969 he resigned. But he did not call for new elections to choose another President. Instead he handed over power to the army and for the second time in its short history Pakistan experienced martial law.

General Yahya Khan (1969-71)



12: General Yahya Khan

Mar 1969 Yahya Khan becomes President

Apr 1969 1962 Constitution suspended

1970 General elections held

Following the declaration of martial law, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, **General Yahya Khan**, was appointed Chief Martial Law Administrator and also took over as President.

He announced that:

1. Basic Democracy had not been a success.
2. There would be a properly elected government.
3. The 'One Unit' system had not worked, so there would be a return to Provincial Government.

Although he was a military commander, Yahya was committed to bringing democracy to Pakistan based on 'one man, one vote'. The One Unit plan and the 1962 Constitution were annulled and Pakistan's four provinces re-established.

From January 1970 political activity resumed. The various parties began campaigning to elect a National Assembly of 300 members. That assembly would have 120 days to draw up a new constitution. Three days after the National Assembly elections, there would be provincial elections.

The elections were to be held in October 1970, but they had to be postponed because severe flooding in East Pakistan caused such chaos that voting was impossible. The elections were finally held on 7 December 1970 and for the first time ever were held on the principle of 'one man, one vote' (see page 136). The results were such a shock that they created a constitutional crisis in Pakistan. That crisis was to split Pakistan into two separate countries.

n-type Questions

What was the One Unit Scheme [4]?

Why was Ayub Khan forced to resign in 1969? [7]

**How successful were Ayub Khan's economic and agricultural policies?
Give reasons for answer. [14]**

WHY DID EAST PAKISTAN SEEK AND THEN FORM THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF BANGLADESH?

Contents

Relations between East and West Pakistan
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Rise of the Awami League
The Six Points
Outbreak of war

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ Why did East Pakistan seek independence from West Pakistan?
- ▶ What role did Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League play in the Independence Movement?
- ▶ How did Bangladesh achieve independence in 1971?

Timeline

- 1970 Awami League wins majority in the National Assembly
- March 1971 Civil War breaks out between East and West Pakistan
- December 1971 India declares war on Pakistan
- December 1971 Pakistan army in East Pakistan forced to surrender
- December 1971 Yahya resigns as President. Bhutto takes over
- December 1971 Republic of Bangladesh officially declared an independent nation
- March 1972 Mujibur Rahman becomes first Prime Minister of Bangladesh

Introduction

In 1940 the premier of Bengal, Fazl-ul-Haq put forward the Lahore Resolution which demanded that Muslim majority regions, *'as in the north-west and eastern zone of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'*

This measure was passed unanimously by the Muslim League. This led the people of Bengal to believe when independence came there would be an autonomous state centre in Bengal. But in 1946 the word 'states' became 'state' and in 1947 Muslims in Bengal found themselves governed from Karachi. They were also appalled to learn that Bengal was once again to be partitioned, with a significant portion going to India. This included the major city of Calcutta with its port and important industry. So from as early as 1947, seeds of tension were sown. Events were to make that tension grow:

A. Social and Cultural Disparity

When Pakistan was formed in 1947, it consisted of two 'wings', East Pakistan and West Pakistan (see map page 109). The capital was in West Pakistan and many people in East Pakistan did not feel like they were equal partners in the new nation. They spoke Bengali, but Urdu was chosen as the national language.

They protested that Urdu was the mother tongue of only 6% of the whole of Pakistan, whereas Bengali was spoken by 56% of its people. But the Quaid was determined to use Urdu as a uniting force. He refused requests for Bengali to be made a joint state language and visited Dhaka to tell the people that '*Urdu and only Urdu shall be the state language of Pakistan*'.

In 1952 students called 'A State Language Day' on 21 February. The government banned protests on that day but a march was still held, resulting in several deaths when police used tear gas to break it up. Further protest, and further death, followed but it was not until the 1956 Constitution that Bengali was recognised as one of the official languages of Pakistan.

The Bengalis were offended by this opposition to Bengali, particularly as they also had a different culture from West Pakistan. Much of their art, music and dance and their cultural heroes were different from those found in West Pakistan. It seemed that East and West Pakistan were two parts of the same country but divided by 1000 miles and by culture. In his autobiography, *Friends, Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, Ayub Khan stated that there were those in West Pakistan who considered their culture to be superior to that of East Pakistan. This did not go unnoticed amongst the East Bengalis.

B. Economic Disparity

The newly founded Pakistan was a poor country; East Pakistan was very much the poorer of the two wings. Since 1947 trade with West Bengal had been cut off and poverty was rife. When the government took steps to help boost the economy, the measures seemed to favour West Pakistan. More than twice as much foreign aid and capital investment went to West Pakistan as East Pakistan. The Bengalis also believed that the earnings from their trade in jute were used in West Pakistan. Between 1949 and 1960 the per capita income increased in West Pakistan from 330 rupees to 373 rupees. In East Pakistan it declined from 305 rupees to 288. In 1951 the per capita income of East Pakistan was 85% of that of West Pakistan. In other words, West Pakistanis were, on average 15% wealthier than East Pakistanis. By 1970 the gap had grown to 40%.



: Jute cutting in East Pakistan

The Bengalis believed that West Pakistan's economic growth had taken place as a result of transferring resources from East to West Pakistan. They argued that the single largest Pakistani export was jute, which was grown in East Pakistan. Whereas perhaps the largest spending by the government was on defence to protect the border with India. Since most of the border between the two countries lay in West Pakistan, some East Pakistanis considered that spending on the army was really to protect West Pakistan. There was no major border dispute between East Pakistan and India.

This difference was also seen in health and education. In 1948 there were only 200 doctors and 3000 hospital beds in the whole of East Pakistan. Between 1947-58 the numbers in primary school in West Pakistan rose by 163%, but in East Pakistan, the increase was just 38%.

C. Political Disparity

East Bengalis also complained that, although they were a majority in the Constituent Assembly, Governor Generals and Prime Ministers were nearly always from West Pakistan. This was also true of appointments to senior

positions in the Armed Forces (less than 20% of officers were from East Pakistan), to senior government positions and to posts in the civil service. Even high level posts in Dhaka were usually filled by West Pakistanis or refugees from India who had become Pakistani citizens.



Devastation in the cyclone of 1970

The 1970 Cyclone

On 12 November 1970 the deadliest tropical cyclone ever recorded hit East Pakistan and up to 500,000 people lost their lives. The government in West Pakistan was slow to react and political leaders in East Pakistan accused the government of "gross neglect, callous indifference and utter indifference". The Pakistan Observer sent reporters who sent back stories with headlines such as "No Relief Coordination", even though the government claimed that relief operations were being carried out efficiently. India was one of the first nations to offer help and East Pakistanis were angered to hear that the government had refused to allow India to fly in aid, instead it had to be transported much more slowly by road.

It was just weeks after the cyclone hit East Pakistan that the elections for the National Assembly were finally held. They were to create even more problems for Yahya Khan.



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

Problematic Results

The main parties in the elections for the National Assembly were the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which was based in West Pakistan and the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which was based in East Pakistan.

The Awami League was able to win support by proposing a programme which called for a fairer share of government spending and more power to the provinces. It was able to exploit the sense of frustration felt by the people in East Pakistan towards their Muslim countrymen in West Pakistan. The Awami League won their huge victory by campaigning on the basis of the Six Points.

The election resulted in a stunning victory for the Awami League. 162 of the 300 seats in the election were allocated to East Pakistan. The Awami

League won 160 seats which gave them a majority in the Assembly. The PPP won just 81 of the 138 seats in West Pakistan. This presented Yahya with a situation which he could not tolerate. The Awami League had contested the election on a manifesto calling for political and economic independence for East Pakistan. The League would have a majority in the National Assembly. Yahya could not allow the traditional dominance of West Pakistan to be overturned.

Why did the victory of the Awami League cause a constitutional crisis?

There were two major problems created by the results of the election.

- The Awami League had won such a large number of seats that it now had a majority not only in East Pakistan, but also in the National Assembly as a whole. That meant that it was in a position to form the

Six Points the Awami League called for:

- Directly elected government.
- The federal government to control defence and foreign policy. All other decisions to be made at provincial level.
- Separate currencies and/or financial policies for East and West Pakistan, to stop all the money flowing from East Pakistan to West Pakistan.
- The provinces to tax their people and send a share to the federal government.
- The federal government not to tax people.
- Each province to set up its own trade agreements with other countries and control the money spent/made through its trade.
- Each province to have its own troops.

Results of the National Assembly Election 1970	
West Pakistan (162 seats)	
League	160 seats
Pakistan People's Party	2 seats
East Pakistan (138 seats)	
Pakistan People's Party	81 seats
Awami League	57 seats

TO LEARNING

Explain why President Yahya Khan might have been surprised by the results of the 1970 elections. Why did these results send him with a dilemma?

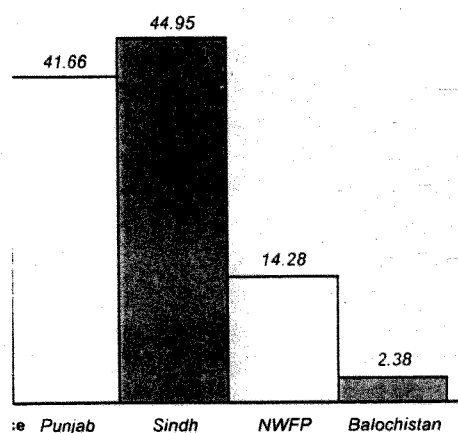
Consequently, Yahya Khan and the West Pakistani politicians were not prepared to allow the Six Points to be put into action. Mujib believed that they were negotiable, but he had little chance to explain this, before steps were taken against him.

The Crisis Deepens

Yahya Khan hoped that he could reach a compromise with Mujibur Rahman. In January 1971 he had referred to him as 'the next President of Pakistan'. He hoped he would persuade Mujib not to form the next government and that he should not use the new assembly to create a new constitution limiting the power of the central government. But the many years of frustration in East Pakistan drove the East Bengalis to demand that Mujibur Rahman held firm.

In February 1971, Bhutto announced that the PPP would not take up their seats in the National Assembly unless Mujib talked with the other parties and reached an agreement about power sharing. Finally, on 1 March 1971, just two days before it was due to meet, Yahya was forced to postpone the opening of the Assembly, without setting a new date.

Percentage of votes received by the PPP in 1970 election



West Pakistan 38.89%

What can you learn about support for the PPP from these figures? Explain why support for PPP differed across West Pakistan. Although the PPP scored only 38.89% of the votes, it won 81 of 138 seats. Can you explain why this was so?

government on its own. In theory, the future Prime Minister and the entire cabinet could come from East Pakistan. Although the PPP had won an overwhelming victory in West Pakistan (in terms of number of seats), it was quite possible for it to have no role in the government unless the Awami League invited it to share power.

- The second problem was that the Awami League had won the election on a programme limiting the power of central government over the provinces. The call for the provinces to have control of their foreign exchange earned from trade would greatly reduce the funds available to the central government in West Pakistan.

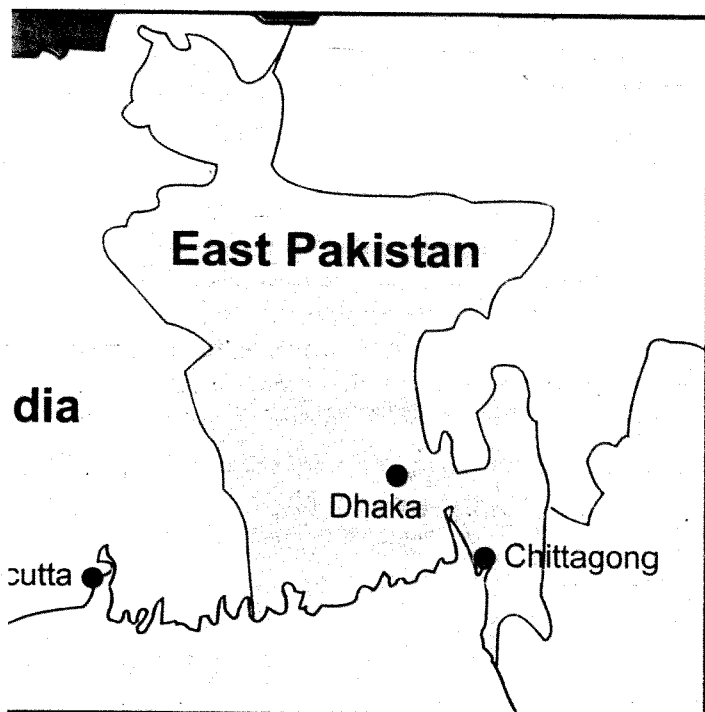
The people of East Pakistan considered that they had been betrayed by Yahya and immediately began a campaign of mass civil disobedience, strikes, demonstrations and refusing to pay taxes. When it became clear that the power of the central government had broken down in East Pakistan, Yahya recalled the provincial governor and appointed General Tikka Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator.

Exam-type Questions

Let me make it absolutely clear that no matter what happens, as long as I am in command of the Pakistan Armed Forces and Head of the State, I will ensure complete and absolute integrity of Pakistan. Let there be no mistake on this point. I have a duty towards millions of people of East and West Pakistan to preserve this country. They expect this from me and I shall not fail them.

Part of a speech made by Yahya Khan on 6 March 1971.

Q. According to this source what were Yahya Khan's views on the claims of the Awami League?



East Pakistan in 1971

On 15 March Yahya and Bhutto met Mujibur Rahman in Dhaka for talks to resolve the situation. As it became apparent that no agreement could be reached, General Tikka Khan brought in reinforcements. On 25 March Yahya flew back to Islamabad and the next day Bhutto left Dhaka.

Operation Searchlight

President Yahya Khan launched Operation Searchlight - his campaign to crush Bengali nationalism. Yahya claimed that he had launched the campaign to keep order in East Pakistan, as the Awami League's campaign was a threat to Pakistan's unity. In reality, Operation Searchlight was an attempt to wipe out all opposition to Yahya's government through a campaign of oppression in which Bengali intelligentsia, academics and Hindus were treated with extreme harshness. Mujib was arrested and thousands of Bengalis were murdered as Pakistan forces took control of the towns

and cities of East Pakistan. Press censorship was imposed and all political activity through Pakistan was banned.

In retaliation on 26 March the Bengalis announced in a secret radio broadcast from Dhaka the formation of the 'Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh'.

Yahya's measures were supported by all the political parties in West Pakistan and Bhutto claimed that '*Pakistan has been saved*'. Rather than being saved the reality was millions of Bengali refugees were fleeing across the border to India and civil war was now inevitable.

TO LEARNING

Why did Civil War break in East Pakistan? Whose fault do you think it was that civil war broke out? Explain why you think this.

- On 31 March India declared its support for '*the people of Bengal*' against West Pakistan. The Indian Army began to help and train a rebel Bengali army, which called itself *Mukti Bahini*. As a result relations between India and Pakistan deteriorated rapidly. The Indian High Commission in Dhaka was closed, as was the Pakistan High Commission in Calcutta.

- Yahya Khan sent more troops into East Pakistan. By early April the army had gained control of most of the major towns and was successful in driving off the East Pakistani rebels.



Rebel forces in Jessore

- In August 1971 the Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce with India. Yahya knew that this meant that the Soviet Union would support India if it went to war with Pakistan. Pakistan's own allies, China and the USA were much less keen to be involved and they urged Yahya to negotiate an agreement with the Awami League. He was determined to do so. He also believed that he could win any war with India.
- On 21 November, the Mukti Bahini launched an attack on Jessore and captured the town. Knowing that the Indians were supporting the rebel forces, Yahya declared a state of emergency and told his people to be ready for war. In response, the Indians began to build up their forces on the East Pakistan border. Tension increased further when, on 29 November, East Pakistan announced the members of its provisional government.

War with India

A war between India and Pakistan had become almost inevitable. All that was needed was the event that would make it official. This came on 3 December when the Pakistani air force launched attacks, not on East Pakistan but on northern India. Mrs Gandhi, the Indian leader, reacted immediately.

- On 4 December India attacked East Pakistan from air, ground and sea simultaneously. Two days later India officially recognized the Bangladeshi government. Within two weeks the Indian forces had surrounded Dhaka. The Pakistan Army tried to divert the Indian army from East Pakistan by launching attacks in Kashmir and Punjab, but they were not very successful.
- Whilst the fighting was taking place, the United Nations (UN) Security Council had been trying to find a solution to avoid war. Bhutto attended UN talks in New York. The UN passed a resolution calling on India and Pakistan to stop fighting and withdraw from East Pakistan whilst a solution was worked out. It soon became clear, however, that whilst the USSR was prepared to back India by fighting, the US and other western 'allies' were not prepared to do the same for Pakistan. Bhutto returned to Pakistan knowing that Pakistan had to win the war on its own.
- Just a week after he arrived in Pakistan, Yahya accepted defeat and ordered the army in East Pakistan to surrender. In Dhaka the Mukti Bahini carried out massacres of anyone suspected of having collaborated with the Pakistan



6: The Pakistani Army in action on in border

There seems little doubt that the Indian authorities made great efforts to feed and shelter refugees to guard against epidemics and to gain substantial quantities of foreign relief. These efforts were broadcast to the world and India portrayed herself as an unselfish humanitarian power, interested in mitigating an appalling human catastrophe. What was less admirable is the astute use she (Mrs. Gandhi) made of this posture to promote her aim of breaking up Pakistan.

A comment by a historian on India's reaction to the East Pakistan crisis in 1971

1. What reasons does the historian give for India's intervention in 1971?
2. Why would India want to break up Pakistan at this time?

TO LEARNING

Why did India want to go to war with Pakistan in 1971?

Which do you think was the main reason for Pakistan's failure to win? Explain why you chose this reason.

Do you agree that defeat in the war meant Yahya Khan had to resign? Explain your answer.

Army. It is also alleged that, in the final days before surrender the Pakistan Army wiped out large numbers of professional Bengalis to weaken the new country and make it less of a rival to Pakistan.

The separation of East Pakistan came as a huge shock to the people of West Pakistan. They had been led to believe that the Awami League was a poorly organised group of rebels. They were also told that if India intervened on East Pakistan's side, it too would be defeated easily. Instead the Pakistan Army, despite being well-supplied and with a force of over 90,000 soldiers had surrendered. Why was this?

- The main reason for the Army's failure was that the people of East Pakistan were determined to resist West Pakistan. The West Pakistan forces knew that they were trying to force East Pakistan to stay a part of Pakistan, when it did not want to. Many had little heart for such a fight in which they would have to put up armed resistance against fellow Muslims.

B
How do Skills Book
Page 39-40

- Pakistan also knew that it could expect little support from its allies. East Pakistan had support from India, and when the war developed into one between India and Pakistan, the Indians could rely on support from the Soviet Union. Pakistan's allies and the UN were not interested in supporting a war to bring East Pakistan into line.

Consequences of the War

Defeat in the war brought disgrace for Yahya and for the army. On 20 December Yahya resigned as President and was replaced by Bhutto.

On 21 December 1971, the Republic of Bangladesh was officially declared and two weeks later Bhutto released Mujib from prison. He returned to Bangladesh, where, on 10 January 1972, he became the country's first Prime Minister.



-type Questions

Who was Mujibur Rahman? [4]

Why was there a civil war in East Pakistan in 1971? [7]

Do you agree that Pakistan lost the 1971 civil war because of Indian intervention? Give reason for your answer. [14]

HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS PAKISTAN IN THE TWENTY YEARS FOLLOWING THE 'DECADE OF PROGRESS'?

Contents

The policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with regard to the constitution, industry, agriculture, health, administration and social welfare

His fall from power and execution

The Islamisation policies of Zia-ul-Haq

The position of ethnic & religious minorities and women under Zia

Martial Law and the Eighth Amendment

Death of Zia-ul-Haq

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ How successful were the policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto?
- ▶ Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto executed in 1978?
- ▶ How successful were the policies of Zia-ul-Haq?
- ▶ Why was Zia-ul-Haq assassinated in 1988?

Presidents of Pakistan 1971-88

- ▶ **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** 1971 - 73
- ▶ **Fazal Elahi Chaudry** 1973 - 78
- ▶ **Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq** 1978 - 88

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-77)



1.1: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

3 Jan 1972	Economic Reform Order - nationalisation of key industries
10 Feb 1972	Labour policies: workers share profits, pensions and insurance
1 Mar 1972	Land reforms
21 Apr 1972	Martial Law lifted
2 Jul 1972	Simla Agreement with India signed
12 Apr 1973	New Constitution passed
14 Apr 1973	Bhutto elected Prime Minister
1 Jan 1973	Banks nationalized
7 Mar 1977	General elections
19 April	State of emergency declared
5 July	Bhutto arrested
7 July	Constitution suspended Martial Law imposed

On 20 December 1971, **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto** became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. Pakistan was at a very low ebb. The army had received a 'shock' defeat in a war against India, East Pakistan had seceded and the country was still under martial law. The 1970 election, however, had given the Pakistan People's Party [PPP] an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. Bhutto now intended to use that majority to introduce radical measures to bring about changes in Pakistan. First he had to establish himself in power.

1. Controlling the Army

Although he was not a military man, Bhutto was Chief Martial Law Administrator in a country under military rule. He was determined to limit the powers of the army so that it would not intervene to thwart his policies. Unless he did so, PPP would not have a free hand to make changes. Control was established by:

- Removing the most important army leaders (29 in Bhutto's first four months in power). Amongst these were the head of the Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Gul Hasan.
- Appointing his own leaders. For example, General Tikka Khan was placed in charge of the army in a new post named, 'Chief of Army Staff'.
- Setting up the Federal Security Force [FSF] from October 1972, a government controlled military force was set up 'to assist the police force'.

2. The Simla Agreement:

It was vital to restore diplomatic relations with India, so that the prisoners of war captured by the Indians in East Pakistan could be returned. On 2 July 1972 Bhutto signed the Simla Agreement with the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi. India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not in international forums, such as the United Nations. Importantly for Bhutto, he had not given up the claim that Pakistan spoke for Kashmir because it was rightly a part of Pakistan. What he had done, however, was:

- Reduced his dependence on the army by making further fighting with India less likely.
- Improved his government's international reputation, by being seen as willing to negotiate to maintain peace.
- Increased his popularity in Pakistan by bringing home the prisoners of war.



Signing of the Simla Agreement

3. Establishing a New Constitution

Bhutto came to power under martial law and was determined to return Pakistan to parliamentary democracy. In April 1972 martial law was lifted and a new Assembly was called, reflecting the voting in the 1970 elections, in which the PPP had gained an overwhelming majority. A committee was set up with representatives from different parties in the Assembly to draw up a new constitution. The committee reported in April 1973 and its recommendations received almost unanimous support in the Assembly.

On 14 August 1973, the new constitution, which relied heavily on the principles of the 1956 constitution, became law. The most significant features of the new constitution were: (see Fig 14.4)

- There would be two Houses, the Senate and the Assembly. The Assembly would be elected for a period of 5 years and the members of the Senate would be nominated in equal numbers from each of the four provinces.

TO LEARNING

1 Bhutto sign the agreement with India?

- The leader of the party with a majority in the Assembly would become Prime Minister and select a Cabinet.
- The President became largely a figurehead, whose orders had to be signed by the Prime Minister.
- Pakistan was an Islamic Republic and both the Prime Minister and President had to be Muslims.
- Pakistan was a federal state. Each province had its own Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage, with the majority party forming the provincial government. The National Assembly could only change the political leadership in the provinces by amending the constitution, which required at least a 75% majority in a vote.
- All fundamental basic human rights were guaranteed.

As leader of the PPP, Bhutto became Prime Minister and Chaudry Fazal Elahi was elected President.

Party Politics:

The 1973 Constitution revived the power of the National Assembly and as a result political parties became more important. The PPP was the biggest and most important party in the National Assembly and in the Sindh and Punjab Provincial Assemblies. In the Balochistan and NWFP Provincial Assemblies did not have many seats because the National Awami Party [NAP] and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam [JUI] parties were stronger there and, working together as a coalition, held the most seats. This gave the 2 parties enough strength to try to force through changes that would maintain the autonomy of the provincial assemblies.

On 27 April 1972 the PPP and the NAP/JUI coalition signed an agreement. This stated that:

1. The National Assembly could not appoint provincial governors without the agreement of the Provincial Assembly concerned.

2. In return for their support for the PPP in the National Assembly, the NAP/JUI could have a free hand in their provinces. However, the agreement came to an end just one year later when the central government dismissed the governors of Balochistan and the NWFP. The Balochistan government was dismissed and an uprising by Balochis ensued that took almost five years to suppress. After committing thousands of troops and large supplies of military equipment loaned by Iran, the Pakistan army was eventually successful. The uprising, however, had destroyed any ideas of provincial autonomy. It had also once again brought the army into politics – at the very time when the new constitution was trying to re-establish parliamentary democracy. Good government meant that several steps had to be taken which limited the benefits of the new constitution.
- In April 1974 a constitutional amendment allowed the government to limit press freedom and ban any political parties it felt were a threat to the 'sovereignty and integrity' of the country.

Human Rights guaranteed under the 1973 Constitution

- Freedom of speech.
- Freedom of assembly.
- Freedom of movement.
- Right to vote.
- Right to form political parties.
- Right to criticise.
- Freedom from unlawful arrest .
- Right to security.
- Right not to be arrested for the same offence twice.
- Freedom from punishment for something that becomes an offence after a person has done it.
- Freedom of religion.
- Equality as a citizen.
- Freedom of language, written language and culture.
- Equal access to public places.
- Right to education.
- Right to own property.
- Right to choose and practice any trade or profession.

4.3: Extract from the 1973 constitution

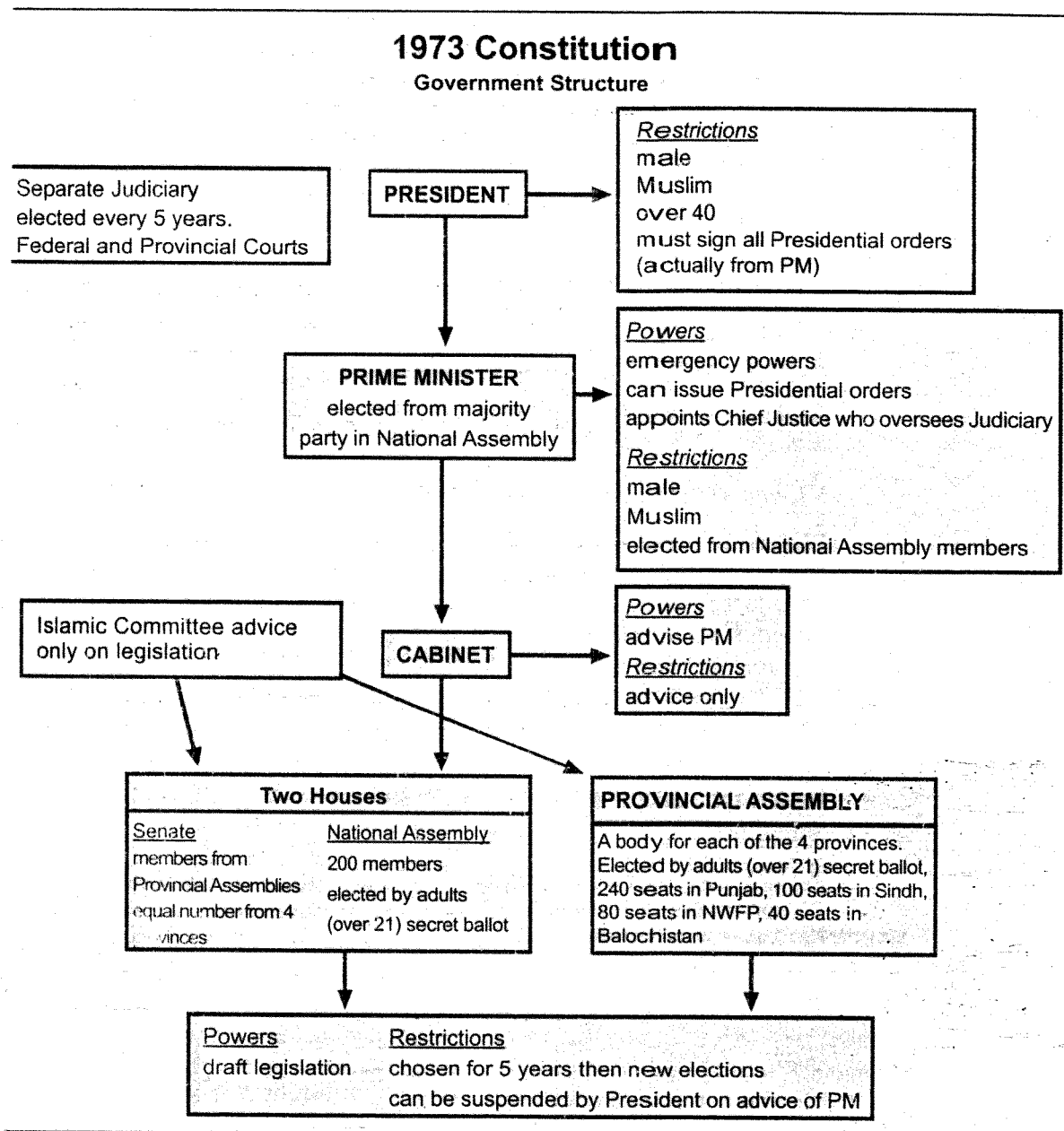


fig. 14.4

- In 1975 laws were passed allowing the security forces to detain suspects indefinitely and took away the right of bail for those held by the FSF. This organisation became increasingly active, breaking up opposition rallies and intimidating political opponents. On the orders of Bhutto, one of the founding members of the PPP, J.A. Rahim was seriously beaten by the FSF. Any person thought to be a threat to the government might find himself a victim of FSF brutality.

LEARNING

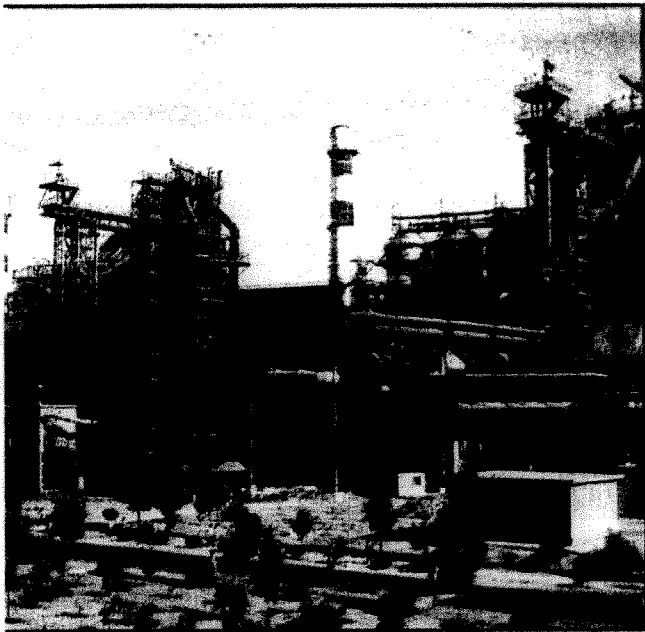
What measures were introduced during 1973-75 which undermined the 1973 Constitution?

Were these measures introduced?

Bhutto's Reforms

Bhutto was now able to concentrate on putting into practice the promise of 'Food, Shelter and Clothing', which he had promised his supporters in the campaign for the 1970 elections.

These were basic needs, but for many people in Pakistan they were not being met. So the government had to make reforms that would raise food production, create more jobs and provide a better welfare system. All these would require money and take time to be implemented properly.



5: Pakistan Steel Mill, Karachi

A. Industrial Reforms:

Bhutto wanted to promote economic growth and bring inflation down from its unacceptably high level of 25%. A major part of its economic policy was the introduction of a programme of nationalisation.

The sugar, cotton, vegetable oil and rice industries, together with the banking and insurance sectors were taken under government control. In all, 70 major industrial units were placed under the control of a Federal Ministry of Production. These changes were designed to help the government:

- control industrial output and channel investment into industrialisation,
- raise the workers' living and working standards, including the provision of cheap housing,
- allow the workers to set up unions,
- even out the inequalities that had collected most of the industrial wealth into a few hands.

Twenty industrial houses owned 80% of Pakistan's large-scale industry,

- create wealth to help fund other government reforms,
- raise the popularity of the PPP with the urban populace, which was an important sector of the party's support.

However, the nationalisation policy faced many difficulties:

1. Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production. Capable factory owners were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce.
2. The Federal Ministry had a huge job to do, co-ordinating nationalization across the country. The system often got bogged down in bureaucratic muddle.
3. The changes took place at a time when the world was going through a recession. The newly nationalized industries faced a declining demand for their goods, in keeping with reduced demand across the world. Private companies would have been forced to close; Pakistan's nationalised industries continued to operate.

Despite these problems, Bhutto's industrial reforms did have some success and inflation fell to just 6% in 1976. Economic growth also began to increase.

B. Agricultural Reforms:

Bhutto's government passed two major reforms, intending to introduce a new ceiling on ownership of land and security of tenancy.

Land Ownership

Under Ayub, the ceiling on land ownership had been 500 acres of irrigated land and 1000 acres of non-irrigated land. Bhutto believed that improved technology and better farming methods (such as the use of tractors, pesticides and tube wells for irrigation) had raised production. So landowners could maintain their income on smaller, more productive, areas of land. He therefore cut the ceiling to 250 acres (irrigated) or 500 acres (unirrigated). The surplus land could be sold to the smaller peasant farmers to make better profits. Land would also be available to allow many people to own their own farms for the first time.

TO LEARNING

What was the purpose of Bhutto's agricultural reforms?

Explain whether you think they were successful or not.

Unfortunately, Bhutto's reforms were undermined by the cunning of big landowners. Many of them had anticipated Bhutto's reform (which they had actually feared would be much harsher) and had transferred some of their landholding to members of the extended family. Others transferred land to trusted tenants and then leased it back on long-term leases. Even where such measures had not been carried out, there remained the power of personal influence or bribery to persuade officials to overlook transgressions to the new law.

Security of Tenure

Bhutto wanted to give tenants security of tenure of the land they farmed. He introduced a measure giving tenants the first right of purchase of land farmed by them. This meant that landowners could not sell land to a third party who might then evict the tenants. Such a measure encouraged tenants to make improvements on their lands as they knew they would not be evicted. Once again, however, the landowners undermined the impact of the reform. In advance of the introduction of the measure, there was mass eviction of tenants from farms to prevent them receiving security of tenure. Bhutto's government also underestimated the influence of the landowners in their community. If a landowner did not want to sell to a tenant, it was extremely difficult for the tenant to stand up to the landowner, to raise finance to buy the land, and, if necessary, find the funds to fight a legal case. It was also true that many landowners used their social position to persuade revenue officers to record land as 'owner-cultivated' when actually it was in the hands of tenants.

C. Education:

The government was concerned about education. Only about a half of all children were attending school and the official literacy rate was just 25%. Article 37 of the 1973 Constitution stated that it was the duty of the government to provide free and compulsory education. Bhutto introduced reforms to put this into effect. His government outlined eight ambitious goals:

1. To eradicate ignorance.
2. To provide education for all, including women, the mentally impaired and illiterate adults.
3. To ensure that the school curriculum meets Pakistan's social, economic and political needs.
4. To ensure uniformity of education in each subject in every school and college of Pakistan.
5. To raise the self-confidence of the common man.
6. To raise aspirations for higher education among the youth.
7. To develop each person's personality and potential.
8. To develop a 'Pakistani' culture and identity and national pride.

The changes the government wanted to make were sweeping. They could not be implemented overnight and, in the first few years, were bound to face difficulties. The main problems were:

- The administration needed to co-ordinate the reforms was not yet in place. Both the planning and the administration of the system were introduced with efficiency where there were sufficient administrators, but in other areas it had little impact.
- Only 13% of the government education budget was allocated to primary schools and so implementation was difficult.
- Many people in rural areas did not see the need for education or literacy. Even when education was free many poor people could not afford the loss of earnings they faced if they sent a child to school instead of sending it out to work.

- There was a drop in the standard of education in many of the selective schools that had been nationalized as they were unable to cater to the increased number of students without additional trained staff.
- Education takes time. It is not possible to change the curriculum, train teachers and provide the necessary equipment in a short time. Consequently even after five years the literacy rate had not risen by more than 1%.

D. Health and Social Reforms:

Pakistan had poor health care facilities and it had one of the highest infant mortality rate in the world. Life expectancy was also very low. In August 1972 Bhutto launched a health scheme, designed to correct these anomalies.

- The central plank of the reforms was the introduction of Rural Health Centres [RHCs] and Basic Health Units [BHUs] in urban areas to provide more widespread healthcare. The plan was to set up 1 RHC for every 60,000 people and 1 BHU for every 20,000 people.
- Training colleges for doctors and nurses were expected to admit students on merit. Once qualified, doctors had to work the first year wherever the government placed them. So that instead of working only in big cities they could be assigned a post in any small town or village.
- The sale of medicines under brand names was also banned. This practice, common in the West, allows drug companies to sell new medicines under a patented name and stops other companies manufacturing the drug under its medical name. This measure reduced the costs of medicines dramatically. Medicines were made available without prescription. They could be bought at any pharmacy.

The reforms did improve medical services in Pakistan, but there was always a shortage of doctors and nurses. (Pakistan had fewer of both in 1977 than in 1970). The removal of brand names from medicines also saw a fall in the income of chemists and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan, as they could not make a profit.

E. Administrative Reforms:

To administer his reforms, Bhutto wanted a modern and efficient civil service. He felt that the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was corrupt, inefficient and full of unnecessary rules and regulations. He reorganised the Civil Service into a smaller number of levels and unified pay scales. This removed some of the old, unnecessary distinctions between types of civil servant. He also reformed entry requirements so that people could join at any level, even the more senior ones, without having to work their way up. He said that this would enable the CSP to recruit high quality staff, but his opponents complained that all he was doing was setting up a system of patronage where he could reward his followers with posts in the civil service.



The 1977 Election

In 1977 Bhutto called a general election. He was confident that his government's record and the lack of effective opposition would result in an easy PPP victory. However, once the election was called, nine of the various opposition parties combined to form the Pakistan National Alliance [PNA]. There were two issues which united the opposition in the election campaign. They all wanted to end the rule of Bhutto and the PPP and they were united in their desire to rule Pakistan according to Islamic law. The PNA began to attract big audiences at its election rallies and was clearly gaining support. The government introduced a law limiting public gatherings to just five people. This was to stop public

TO LEARNING

Do you think Bhutto's decision to remove brand names from medicines was a good idea or a bad idea? Write your answer.



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demonstrations of support for the PNA and to ensure law and order during the election.

The results of the election showed a landslide victory for the PPP. Of the 200 seats contested it won 154, against the PNA's 38. There was an immediate outcry of protest from the PNA, which accused the government of rigging the results and demanded new elections. However, there is little doubt that the election result was correct in showing that the majority of people in Pakistan supported the PPP.

There is little doubt that the government did interfere with the vote, and on one occasion the results for one constituency were announced on television before the count had even started! Some historians believe such vote rigging was a serious error because the PPP was likely to have won the election without it.

Steps to Downfall

Bhutto refused to agree to fresh elections and the PNA organised mass protests against the government. Soon there was rioting in many towns and cities and the Federal Security Force could not stop the unrest. Bhutto was forced to negotiate with the PNA. He offered fresh elections in some of the disputed constituencies and to appease the religious factions, banned gambling, restricted the sale of alcohol and declared Friday to be the weekly holiday.

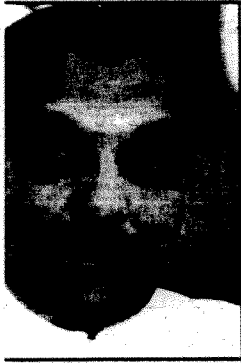
However, at the same time he turned to the army for help. On 19 April he declared a state of emergency, placing Pakistan under martial law. The PNA leadership were arrested and by the beginning of June, some 10,000 of their supporters were in prison.

Bringing the army into politics is a dangerous game, as Bhutto found to his cost. The army leaders saw the concessions Bhutto was making as a sign of weakness which would lead to even greater unrest. Consequently, on 5 July the army staged a coup, named 'Operation Fairplay'. Bhutto and all other major political leaders were arrested that night.

Two days later, the Chief of Army Staff, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, announced the suspending of the constitution and the dissolution of all national and provincial assemblies. Once more the army was in control in Pakistan.

General Zia-ul-Haq

Jul 1977	Zia seizes power	1984	Anti-Zakat riots
1977	FSF disbanded	1984	Zia's referendum
1978	Zia made President	Feb 1985	Elections to the National Assembly
Apr 1979	Bhutto hanged	3 Dec 1985	End of Martial Law
Dec 1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	10 Apr 1988	Ojhri Camp explosion
9	Shariat Laws introduced	29 Apr 1988	Junejo dismissed
r 1980	Provisional Constitution Order	17 Aug 1988	Zia killed in air crash
1980	Zakat Ordinance		



6: General Zia-ul-Haq

General Zia-ul-Haq and the army took control of Pakistan on 5 July 1977. Two days later martial law was announced and the Assemblies were suspended. However, Zia stressed that this was only until peace was restored. He said he hoped that within 90 days, it would be possible to hold new elections. However, this relied on the unrest stopping, so that election campaigns could be held in a peaceful environment. He accused Bhutto's government of corruption and misusing government money, though he produced no evidence for this. It certainly suited his purposes to be able to claim that the restoration of peace and the exposure of injustices were his most urgent tasks.

He also announced that Bhutto's government had been corrupt and that those who had been misusing government money, preventing justice and exploiting the people of Pakistan would have to be made accountable and punished. So the restoration of peace, the exposure of injustices and fresh elections were said to be Zia's most urgent tasks.

If we hold elections before completing the process of accountability, it will be a great injustice to the 70 million people of this country. If we accept that accountability needs to be completed first, then it is necessary that the elections are postponed.

Part of a speech by General Zia on

1 October 1977, when he postponed national elections indefinitely.

1. What reasons does Zia give for postponing the elections?
2. Do you think these were the only reasons why the elections were postponed? Explain your answer.

TO LEARNING

Do you agree that Zia had no voice about putting Bhutto to death? Give reasons for your answer.

Early Measures

The Death of Bhutto:

Zia's most immediate dilemma was how to handle Bhutto's case. The problem was particularly difficult because it was Bhutto who had appointed Zia the Chief of Army Staff, even though he was junior to several other generals who hoped to be appointed. So Zia would be acting in a disloyal way if Bhutto received too severe a punishment.

Some army officers thought that Zia was not capable enough to be Chief of Army Staff, so in his dealings with Bhutto he wanted to show that he could be a determined leader. Bhutto was released from arrest at the end of July, but when he made it plain that he intended to reassert his political authority, he was rearrested on 3 September. Along with three others he was accused of murdering a political opponent by sending the FSF to kill him. The trial, which took nearly 2 years, resulted in Bhutto being found guilty and sentenced to death. As President (he had replaced Fazal Elahi in September 1978) Zia had the power to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. Bhutto, however, was too dignified to plead to Zia for his life. Many others at home and abroad did so, but Zia was unmoved. Bhutto was hanged on 4 April 1979. Zia used this affair to try to show people that he was not the weak leader that many suspected.

the offenses which the accused are charged with are thus proved to the hilt. Bhutto has been hurling threats and insults on us and at times has been unruly. In addition, he has proved himself to be a compulsive liar. He is the arch culprit in the matter. He has used the FSF for personal vendetta and has turned members of that organisation into criminals and hired assassins and thus corrupted them.

Comments made by the judge at the end of Bhutto's trial in March 1978.

Exam-type Questions

Q. What crime does the judge say Bhutto has been guilty of?

DAWN

FOUNDED BY
QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
KARACHI

7 Jumaat-ul-Awwal, 1399
Thursday, April 5, 1979
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By Mr. J. P. Khan

BHUTTO HANGED IN 'PINDI JAIL

Press note in execution of Z. A. Bhutto

Ex-PM buried in family graveyard of Nau Dero

Four others await decision on mercy petitions

ISLAMABAD, April 4: A Press note issued by the Ministry of Information today announced that the body of Z. A. Bhutto, former Prime Minister, was buried in the family graveyard of Nau Dero, near Rawalpindi, at 2.30 p.m. today.

RAWALPINDI, APRIL 4: MR ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO WAS HANGED TO DEATH AT TWO O'CLOCK THIS MORNING IN THE RAWALPINDI DISTRICT JAIL.



A warning to all politicians, says Khurshid

From ISLAMABAD

LONDON, April 4: Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the outgoing President of Pakistan, today issued a warning to all politicians, including the opposition, to abstain from any political activity during the mourning period for the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

AMIN WARNS TANZANIA Massive attack on Kampala launched

NAIROBI, April 4: Amin's forces overran the Ugandan military base at Kampala today, launching a massive attack on the city.

Calm prevails throughout Sind province

Calm prevailed all over the province of Sind after the execution of Mr. Bhutto.

11 arrested in Liaquat Bagh firing case

ISLAMABAD, April 4: Eleven persons were arrested in connection with the Liaquat Bagh firing case.

14.7: Front page headlines in a newspaper announcing Bhutto's execution

Balochistan

Zia had inherited a rebellion in Balochistan and settled this by declaring an amnesty for all those who were prepared to give up their arms. He tried to re-establish good relations between the Balochi tribal leaders and the central government. He also began a number of development projects in the province in a bid to improve living conditions and increase support for his rule.

Accountability

Zia also disbanded the FSF in November 1977. He knew that it was extremely unpopular and that it had been discredited by its behaviour in Bhutto's time. He wanted to show that the political oppression which Bhutto had introduced towards the end of his rule was a thing of the past.

Investigations began into the corruption of the previous government. Zia was keen to discredit Bhutto's government and wanted to demonstrate that it was being replaced by a new, more moral Islamic government. It was not difficult to find evidence of corruption during Bhutto's time and Zia was also able to show that the civil service and the legal system, both supposed to be impartial and not involved in politics, had been filled with Bhutto's supporters.

Islamisation

Zia was publicly committed to holding elections and to a return to parliamentary democracy, but he was also well aware that in an underdeveloped country such as Pakistan, the best organised and most stable force was the army. For this reason, he was unwilling to give up his position as Chief of Army Staff. He was also determined to keep the PPP out of power and so he wanted to delay elections until he was sure that the PPP's opponents were victorious. It was no surprise, therefore, when he announced that elections would be postponed indefinitely, as what Pakistan needed was strong government based on Islamic values. The introduction of a more Islamic-based ideology would have other benefits for Zia too:

- Bhutto had attempted to introduce socialist measures into Pakistan. Islam would provide an excellent counter-ideology to Bhutto's beliefs.
- The introduction of Islamic measures would win the support of the religious elements within Pakistan's political parties. This applied in particular to Jamaat-i-Islami which was influential both in the administration and the army.
- When the Russians invaded Afghanistan, Zia was able to portray his government as pro-Islamic fighting the 'pagan communists'. This would win support from the West, and it would also further highlight the anti-West, socialist ideas of the PPP.

So from 1979 a series of Islamic laws were introduced in Pakistan.

- In 1979, a Federal Shariat Court was set up to consider existing laws and legal judgements and decide if they were in keeping with Islamic principles. The court had five judges, plus a chairman, with three ulama, later added to their number. If the court decided that existing laws were not in keeping with Islamic principles, they could be repealed. For example, one of the court's early decisions was that stoning to death for adultery should be annulled (though this decision was reversed by the court in 1982). The Federal Shariat Court was also to act as the court of appeal for cases originally tried by lower courts under the Shariat Laws.
- Hudood Ordinance was promulgated on the country in 1977. According to the Hudood Ordinance different punishments were prescribed for various crimes. These were:

• Offence against Property Ordinance
 • Offence of Zina Ordinance
 • Offence of Qafq Ordinance
 • Prohibition Ordinance

These Hudood Ordinances introduced Islamic punishments for gambling, drinking, theft and adultery. For example, amputating the right hand for theft, and eighty stripes of the cane for drinking alcohol. They also included laws affecting women.

A new offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was introduced, with imprisonment or a fine as the punishment for offenders. Zia also introduced the Council of Islamic Ideology to suggest ways in which the legal framework of Pakistan could be brought closer to Islamic ideology. There was also an attempt to enforce Islamic principles in the economic field by replacing the payment of interest with profit-sharing.

TO LEARNING

What were the main measures in Zia's policy of Islamisation?

Why do you think Zia introduced these measures?

- In June 1980 the Zakat Ordinance imposed a 2.5% wealth tax on savings over a certain amount. This was a wealth tax in keeping with Islamic principles. The money raised was given to Zakat committees in villages and towns to meet the needs of the poor. Shia Muslims protested, saying that their view of the Islamic law was that such giving should be voluntary. They organised a huge demonstration in Islamabad in 1984, and forced Zia's government to exempt them from having to pay the tax.
- At the same time, the Ushr Ordinance imposed a 5% tax on agricultural income. Income raised under this ordinance was also paid into the Zakat fund to assist the poor.
- Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory in schools and colleges.
- Candidates who took the Pakistan Civil Service examinations were given extra marks if they had learned the Quran by heart.
- Efforts were made for the promotion of Arabic language. Radio Pakistan introduced Arabic courses and a daily news bulletin in Arabic was presented on Pakistan Television.

The Position of Women

Within months of taking power, Zia introduced a series of reforms that reversed many of the legal advances women had made in the previous thirty years. Even though Islam grants equal rights to women, many men saw such beliefs as 'Western' and un-Islamic. Educational policies and school textbooks favoured males and discriminated against women. Women were encouraged to stay at home and avoid working in public places. They were discouraged from working in a government or private sector jobs and a census in 1981 showed that only 5.6% of women were in employment, compared to 72.4% of men.

Women in Pakistan were particularly affected by the Hudood Ordinances and measures such as the Qanun-e-Shahadat Order (Law of Evidence Order), relegated women to an inferior legal status and even said that in some circumstances their testimony had only half the weight of a man's.

Zia's oppressive policies towards women led to some female academics forming organisations to protest about their treatment. One of the best known of these was the Women's Action Forum. Despite their efforts, the position of women declined seriously under Zia.

Impact on Minorities

Zia's religious policies were designed to unite the nation behind a common belief in the principles of Islam. However, there was also a concentration on the conservative values of Islam, partly as a means of lessening support for the more socialist PPP. Zia's policies encouraged the Sunni madaris at the expense of Shia madaris and this led to a Sunni-Shia tension which proved harmful to the country. Zia also used his policy of islamisation as an excuse to restrict minority groups such as the Ahmadis. The Martial Law Ordinance XX restricted the activities of religious minorities and was particularly hard on Ahmadis by prohibiting them from "indirectly or directly posing as a Muslim.". They were not allowed to declare their faith publicly, build mosques, or make the call for Muslim prayer. In effect, virtually any public act of worship or devotion by an Ahmadi could be treated as a criminal offense.



: Russian tanks in Afghanistan

The 'Afghan Miracle'

On 25 December 1979 Soviet tanks rolled into Afghanistan. Until that time the West had not taken Zia particularly seriously, and some Western leaders were unhappy that military dictatorship had replaced democracy.

But the invasion had an immediate impact on international relations. Now Zia was the leader of a Muslim nation on the frontline against the communist forces of oppression. The West, and in particular the United States, was ready to provide unconditional economic and military support to establish Pakistan as the base for anti-Soviet activities. In fact, Pakistan was the West's only ally in the region.

The Soviet invasion proved to be a windfall to Zia. It established Pakistan as a leading country in world politics. It also led to huge sums of money being poured into Pakistan to pay for rehabilitation of refugees and to develop the Pakistan army. Zia was able to increase the defence budget and built up such an effective military force that he was able to sell military assistance to other Muslim countries. Pakistan became the second largest supplier of military manpower in the developing world.

TO LEARNING

Do you think some
ans describe the
in Afghanistan as the
1 Miracle?

In 1985 there were estimated 50,000 Pakistanis serving abroad in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Libya, Oman, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Karachi itself became the best naval base in the region. The influx of funds in the 1980s also allowed Zia to undertake a degree of economic reform. The funds from Western allies were matched by even larger amounts being remitted to Pakistan by workers overseas. There were two million Pakistanis working in the Middle East alone and their remittances have been estimated to be in the region of \$4 billion a year.

- Zia's government denationalized many of the companies that Bhutto's government had nationalized. Some were returned to former owners, others were sold to new investors.
- Laws were passed that stated that industries could not be nationalized in future except in exceptional circumstances, with fair compensation paid to the owners. This removed investors' fears that they might lose their money.
- The few industries that remained nationalized were reformed in an attempt to make them more efficient.

Although the large numbers of Pakistanis working abroad caused wages in Pakistan to rise, and the influx of funds created inflationary pressures, between 1977 and 1986, Pakistan's average annual growth in the Gross National Product was 6.2%, the highest in the world.

Law and Government

Despite his assertions in 1977 that it was important that the legal system should be independent of the government, Zia passed several laws that restricted the power of the courts. The Constitution (Amendment) Act of 1979 established military courts to try offenders according to martial law. In March 1980 the Provisional Constitutional Order took away the right of the courts to challenge any political executive decision. When nineteen judges protested, they were removed from their jobs and replaced with judges who accepted the Order.

The civil service, which Zia had also declared should be impartial, was also brought under military control.

Zia filled many posts with military officers and a fixed quota of military men was transferred into the Civil Service Academy each year. Thus Zia was able to reduce opposition and provide career opportunities for his supporters in the army. The military nature of his government was further emphasised by the fact that by 1982, 40% of Pakistan's ambassadors abroad were military men.

Although Zia was becoming more autocratic, he continued to create the impression that he was more than an army general who had seized power under martial law and was using the support of the army to rule Pakistan. He formed the Majlis-e-Shoora, Islamic Parliament, to advise him on his government. However, the members were appointed by Zia and they had no legislative powers, so it was not really an effective parliament. What it did do, however, was to show Zia in a good light and to allow him to win over potential opponents by appointing them to the parliament.

Elections

On 12 August 1983, Zia announced that elections, national and provincial, would finally be held in March 1985. It was clear that Zia did not intend that the elections should be fought by political parties. The intention was that he should continue as president after the elections. Several opposition parties united to form a national protest movement, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy [MRD], which campaigned for free elections with political parties fielding candidates.

Zia resisted the pressure from the MRD and he continued with his plans for elections without political parties. To make sure that the election would not result in a reduction of his power, he passed a series of amendments to the Constitution:

- Article 48 gave automatic validity to any decisions taken by the President. All his actions, even if they violated human rights, were deemed to be legal.
 - All military decisions and actions since 1977 were legal and not open to enquiry or later prosecution.
 - No decision taken under martial law could be changed without the President's consent.
 - The President could appoint the Prime Minister and other senior government officials without the need for any other consultation.
- These changes meant that whatever the result of the election, the President would hold all the power in the country and any Assembly would be merely advisory.

Referendum

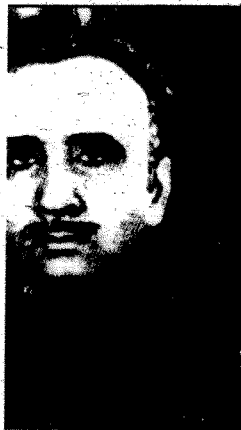
On 1 December 1984, Zia announced that the government was to hold a referendum, the first ever in Pakistan. The referendum was on whether people wanted the process of Islamisation to continue in Pakistan. However, it was also announced that a 'yes' vote would also mean that the people of Pakistan had agreed with Zia's policies and, therefore wanted him to continue as President for a further five years. The MRD considered that this was an unfair proposition and called on the people of Pakistan to boycott the referendum. Despite pressure from the government to vote, only 10% of those eligible to vote did so. Zia had the overwhelming majority of the votes cast, but in reality the referendum was an embarrassing failure with huge numbers of Pakistanis following the MRD advice not to vote.

The 1985 election

Despite the set-back of the referendum, Zia continued with the February 1985 elections for the National and Provincial Assemblies. The MRD urged people to boycott the elections, saying that it would give support to Zia's very undemocratic form of democracy if anyone took part. There were no political parties involved and no campaigning. Instead candidates had to be proposed by 50 persons who were not members of a political party.

This time, the MRD had miscalculated. Many people ignored the MRD and campaigned within Zia's rules. There was a 52% turnout as electors voted for their landlords or tribal chiefs who had put themselves forward for election. Although nine Cabinet ministers were defeated, the election was a triumph for Zia.

- A tame and obedient Assembly had been elected, which was not dominated by the PPP.
- Although some Cabinet ministers and 63 members of the Shoorah lost their seats, many of those elected were loyal to Zia.
- Zia had also defeated the MRD. It had called for a boycott which had not been supported by the Pakistani people. Indeed many members of the MRD stood as candidates in the election.



Junejo: Muhammad Khan

Following the election, Zia chose a former PPP member from Sindh, **Muhammad Khan Junejo**, as Prime Minister. Junejo was an uncontroversial figure who was acceptable to a wide range of people. Zia considered that it would be safe to form a political party from among the elected members with Junejo at its head.

The new party was to be called the Muslim League, a deliberate reference to the days of the great Quaid-e-Azam.

Zia believed Junejo to be a quiet man who would be easy to control. It was true that Junejo was not a radical figure, but he worked effectively to help the Muslim League to develop. In this he was assisted by the Chief Minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif, who some historians consider to have been the spearhead behind the growing influence of the League. It was also to the benefit of the League that various groups in the PPP began to quarrel among themselves so that it lost power as an opposition force.

On 30 December 1985, martial law was lifted. The Constitution of 1973 was restored although it must be remembered the amendments still gave Zia almost total control over the government, whether there was an elected National Assembly or not. Also, Zia only agreed to lift martial law after the passing of the **Eighth Amendment** to the constitution. This said that:

- All previous acts of the martial law period became law, with no right of appeal
- The President could appoint the Prime Minister, Governors of the provinces and other officials.
- The President could dismiss the Prime Minister and National Assembly.

Martial law had been lifted, but the President remained firmly in control.

Problems for Zia

In the second half of the 1980s Zia found it much more difficult to govern Pakistan effectively.

- The 'Afghan miracle' had brought economic support to Pakistan, but at a cost. The West freely supplied guns to help the Afghanis, but those guns now became common on the streets of Pakistan (through smuggling), with a subsequent threat to law and order. Drug use and drug trafficking also grew at alarming rates until Pakistan became one of the world's leading countries for drug trading. Killings and violence became common on the streets of Karachi and the large sums of money involved in the drug trade led to an inevitable increase in the level of corruption in society.
- There was also a widening gap between the aims of the provinces. The Punjab remained a strong supporter of the central government, but this was not the case elsewhere. Sindh had become almost ungovernable, with regular outbreaks of violence so common that armed escorts were necessary to ensure safe travel. It was also demanding secession from the rest of Pakistan. The NWFP was becoming increasingly critical of Zia's rule, especially as it had to bear the brunt of the refugee problem resulting from the Afghan War. Although Balochistan had officially ended its uprising in 1977, there was still a strong anti-central government ethos amongst many of its people.
- By 1988 the world's superpowers were trying to find ways to resolve their differences. They had already signed agreements on arms control and now they were looking for a way to end the Afghan crisis. It was resolved when Russia agreed to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in return for an American commitment not to support the mujahideen. Pakistan had little choice but to agree to also stop providing arms for the Afghan 'miscreants'.
- Junejo and the Muslim League saw this as an opportunity for them to play a greater role in political events and Junejo called an all Party Conference in March 1988 to discuss the situation in Afghanistan. He was keen to show that the civilian wing of the government had sufficient influence to act independently of the army. The army took serious note of Junejo's action but no action was taken.

LEARNING

Which of these two points you think better describes the rule of Zia in Pakistan.

was a man who was determined to restore elementary democracy, but the events made it difficult.

was a man who never really wanted to lessen the influence of the army over political events in Pakistan.

- Then on 10 April 1988, an army weapons dump at Ojhri Camp blew up. The dump was located in the middle of a densely populated area between Islamabad and Rawalpindi and hundreds of civilians were killed, with thousands more injured. Prime Minister Junejo announced an immediate inquiry into the explosion and promised that whoever was to blame would be brought to justice - even if it meant the dismissal of important army commanders. This was too much for the army and for Zia. Junejo appeared to be gaining far too much influence. Consequently, on 29 May 1988 Zia used his powers to dismiss Junejo and dissolve the National Assembly.

ational Assembly has failed to make a move towards the Islamisation objectives could not provide protection to the life and property of the people of Pakistan. Prime Minister has succumbed to unwholesome political pressure, which has rampant corruption, nepotism, and maladministration, finally leading to a complete breakdown of morality and law and order in the country.

ement by President Zia, explaining why Junejo was dismissed.

Exam-type Questions

Q. According to this source why did Zia dismiss Junejo?

What Next?

The 1973 Constitution said that elections should be held within 90 days of a National Assembly being dissolved. There was very little expectation that Zia would adhere to this timescale. He obviously would not tolerate the election of a Prime Minister with any real political influence. In 1977, he had accused the Bhutto government of corruption and delayed elections until the corruption could be 'weeded out'. As Junejo's government had also been dismissed as corrupt, there was no knowing how long clearing up that corruption would take. Zia set a date in October for the elections, but no one knew whether he would honour the date.

However, fate intervened. On 17 August 1988, as Zia flew from an army base in southern Punjab, his plane was blown up in mid-flight. Everyone on board, including many senior army officers, and the American ambassador to Pakistan, were killed. While this was clearly sabotage, Zia's death (like that of Liaquat in 1951) was never solved. The chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became acting President to supervise the election process, which took place in October, as arranged. The PPP, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto, won by a majority. She became the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan.



How do Skills Book
page 43-44

1-type Questions

What was the Simla Agreement? [4]

Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto hanged? [7]

How successful was Zia-ul-Haq as a leader of Pakistan? Give reason for your answer. [14]

Zia dies in plane crash

US envoy, Gen. Akhtar
among dead
Gen. Zia
takes over as President
10-day mourning declared
Inquiry ordered



ministry, and American diplomats, who were on board, by their absence, sources started to speculate as the word of confirmation reached here.

The television and the radio carried their funeral programmes and started recitation of the Holy Quran which continued till late in the night.

APR adds: The Government of Pakistan announced with the deepest sense of sorrow that President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq died in an air crash this afternoon.

The announcement said General Zia was on a short visit to Bahawalpur to inspect the Army garrison there. On his return, the C-130 plane crashed and his party took off from the Bahawalpur airport around 4:30 pm. Minutes later, the plane exploded in the air. There were no survivors.

Immediate investigations have been ordered into the incident, the official spokesman stated.

SEARCH: Extensive search has been launched by the authorities to collect the remains of President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq and others who died in the crash.

The announcement said Gen. Zia was on a short visit to Bahawalpur to inspect the Army garrison there.

Lead on

THE DEATH OF ZIA

At 4:30 pm on 17th August 1988 the VVIP flight, Pak One took off from Bahawalpur airport. On board the plane was a total of 31 people, including General Zia, the US ambassador, the Chief of the US military mission in Pakistan and a group of senior officers from the Pakistan Army.

For two minutes and thirty seconds the plane rose into the clear blue sky. Take-off was smooth and without problems. Suddenly the Bahawalpur control tower lost contact with the plane. For a further two minutes the plane continued to fly, though eyewitnesses tell it bouncing up and down violently. Then it plunged from the sky and hit the ground with such force that it was blown to pieces and wreckage scattered over a wide area. The plane had full tanks of fuel and a massive ball of fire rose from the crash site.

There were no survivors and the bodies of the victims were so charred that it was difficult to identify them. The remains of the two Americans were returned to the United States. Later, some of the bones were returned because tests had shown that they were not part of the remains of the American victims.

A Board of Enquiry was set up to consider the cause of the crash. It concluded that 'the most probable cause of the crash was a criminal act of sabotage perpetrated in the aircraft'. It suggested that perhaps poisonous gas was released and it incapacitated the passengers and crew. This would explain why no 'Mayday' signal was given. The forensic tests found evidence both of poison and explosive.

No one is sure why the crash occurred. If it was an act of sabotage, we do not know who carried it out. However, shortly after 2pm that day (two and half hours before the crash), an anonymous caller phoned a daily newspaper and asked if it was true that General Zia had been involved in an air crash!

HOW EFFECTIVE WERE PAKISTAN'S GOVERNMENTS IN THE FINAL DECADE OF THE 20TH CENTURY?

its

Benazir Bhutto's conflict with Nawaz Sharif
 Agreements with President Ishaq Khan
 Confidence Motion by the opposition
 Inflation and unemployment
 Elections in Kashmir, India
 Dismissal
 Return to power
 Earlier problems with inflation & unemployment
 Evaluation, unrest, dismissal
 Growth of crime & drugs under Nawaz Sharif
 Privatisation
 Role of Co-operative Societies
 Role of US support
 Opposition to President Ishaq Khan
 Overthrow of Nawaz Sharif

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ How successful were the policies of Benazir Bhutto (1988-90, 1993-96)?
- ▶ How successful were the policies of Nawaz Sharif (1990-93, 1997-99)?
- ▶ Why did General Musharraf take power in 1999?

Timeline

Ishaq Khan becomes President
 Benazir Bhutto becomes Prime Minister
 Pakistan rejoins Commonwealth
 Benazir Bhutto dismissed
 Nawaz Sharif becomes Prime Minister
 Martial Law Bill passed
 Bank of Commerce and Credit collapses
 Nawaz Sharif dismissed
 Ishaq Khan resigns
 Benazir comes to power
 Pervez Musharraf becomes President
 Nawaz Sharif's 'Train March'

1996 Death of Mir Murtaza Bhutto
 Benazir Bhutto dismissed
 1997 Nawaz Sharif becomes Prime Minister
 President Leghari resigns
 Muhammad Rafiq Tarar becomes President
 1998 Lahore Declaration
 Nuclear tests carried out in Balochistan
 Chief of Army Staff General Karamat dismissed
 General Musharraf appointed Chief of Army Staff
 1999 Kargil conflict
 Musharraf overthrows Nawaz Sharif
 Nawaz Sharif goes into exile.

Benazir Bhutto



Fig. 1: Benazir Bhutto

In 1988 General Zia had dismissed Junejo as Prime Minister and promised elections within 90 days. When Zia died in an air crash in August 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became President and the elections were held in October as per schedule. Those elections brought to power the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Benazir Bhutto.

Benazir Bhutto was the daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Bhutto. He had been arrested in 1977 and executed by General Zia in 1979. Benazir Bhutto remained under house arrest for much of this time and in 1981 spent more than five months in solitary confinement. In 1984 she went into exile in London. Benazir returned to Pakistan in 1985 for the funeral of her brother Shahnawaz, but was arrested for participating in anti-government rallies. Following her release she once more went into exile, returning when Zia ended martial law in 1986.

Her return was greeted with enormous enthusiasm and she immediately began campaigning for the resignation of Zia and for national elections to be held. She was elected co-chairwoman of the Pakistan People's Party along with her mother, and when the PPP won the 1988 elections she became the first woman to serve as prime minister in an Islamic country.

Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister (1988 - 90)

Many people welcomed the election of Benazir Bhutto as an end to military dictatorship in Pakistan. But from the start she faced considerable opposition:

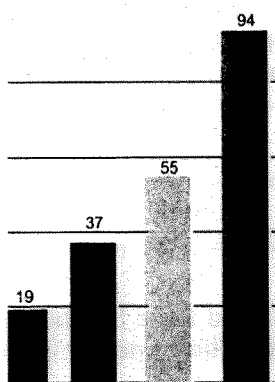


Fig. 2: Results of the 1988 Pakistani general elections

Fig. 2: Results of the 1988 Pakistani general elections

1. Political Opposition: Nawaz Sharif

- In the elections the PPP had gained a majority in Sindh but not in the other three provinces. It was the largest party in the National Assembly, but did not have a majority. President Ishaq Khan asked Bhutto to become prime minister, but to do so she had to form a coalition. She made an alliance with the Muhajir Quami Movement (MQM), a party which represented Muslims who had migrated from India following partition. This gave her a majority, but she still faced fierce opposition to her rule by the Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI), led by Nawaz Sharif, who controlled the provincial government of the Punjab.
- Although military dictatorship had come to an end, the military and the intelligence agencies still held great power. Benazir Bhutto was not able to challenge this influence head-on as she feared that she might be overthrown.
- Being the daughter of Zulfikar Bhutto made her very popular with many electors, but it meant that she also faced opposition from many of his enemies. The major opposition to her rule, however came from Nawaz Sharif who hailed from one of Pakistan's wealthiest families.
- Such was the level of opposition that in October 1989, just 11 months after taking office, the opposition parties organised a No-Confidence motion in the National Assembly. The opposition mustered 107 votes in the 237-seat National Assembly, just 12 short of the 119 it needed to force Miss Bhutto to step down.

Although she had defeated the No-Confidence motion, Miss Bhutto's government had been seriously damaged by this affair.

2. Differences with President Ishaq

- Benazir Bhutto did not work well with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and she sometimes clashed with him. A major area of disagreement was over appointments to positions in the military and the judiciary. Ishaq Khan considered that such appointments were the right of the President, not the Prime Minister. He refused to agree to several appointments and dismissals she wanted to make in the military and this caused further tension between them.

TO LEARNING

Explain why it was difficult for Benazir Bhutto to govern effectively in the years 1988-90

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lection.



Benazir during her
visit to the U.S

Policies: Inflation, Unemployment and Drug Trafficking

In her first address as Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto promised to create a Pakistan which was democratic, but guided by Islamic principles. To her this meant moving away from the pro-Islamic policies of Zia, restoring political freedoms and introducing social and health reforms.

She was able to take some measures, such as ending a ban on trade unions, and releasing political prisoners. She restored students' unions. She also took the first steps towards spreading electricity across rural Pakistan. However, many of her promises were not fulfilled. No new laws were introduced to improve welfare services or help women and the Hudood and Zina Ordinances were not repealed.

Benazir complained that it was difficult to pass legislation because the Senate was dominated by the opposition. This, coupled with the short time she was in power, made it difficult for her to concentrate on legislation and reforms.

The government lost support as it was unable to deliver on its promised employment and economic development programs. Inflation and unemployment were high, and the rapid increase in the country's population meant the already overburdened education and health systems could not cope. The government also failed to deal with the country's growing drug abuse problem. In some parts of the country, drug dealers and smugglers with automatic weapons were in control. The expanding drug trade during General Zia's time had increased the number of heroin addicts in Pakistan from a few thousand to nearly a million in 1988.

Problems in Sindh

Although Sindh had been the stronghold of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, it was also an area of growing opposition to the rule of the PPP. Bhutto had made the study of Sindhi compulsory in schools and also reserved a number of posts in the administration for Sindhis. But there was also a large number of muhajirs many of whom were well-educated, Urdu speakers who opposed special rights for Sindhis and supported the MQM.

In order to win MQM support to form a governing coalition, Benazir Bhutto had promised to protect the interests of all the people of Sindh, not just Sindhi-speakers and to stamp out violence. But she was not able to do this and tension between Sindhis and muhajirs continued.

On 30th September 1988 gunmen on motorbikes, believed to be Sindhi militants, fired into a crowd in Hyderabad, causing 250 casualties, mostly *muhajirs*.

This led to widespread riots in Karachi. In August 1989 the MQM ended its alliance with the PPP. Violence continued with hundreds more deaths in 1989 - 90.

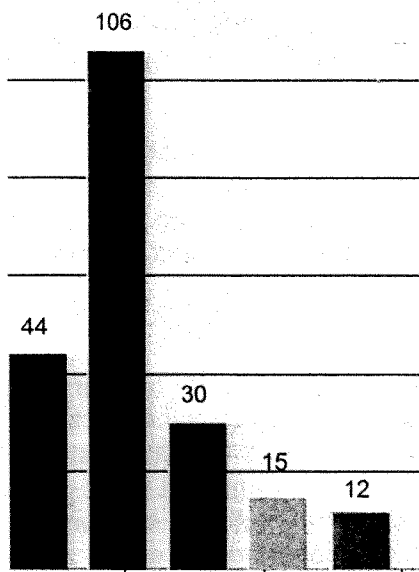
On 27 May 1990, the Sindh government launched a crackdown in Hyderabad, the centre of MQM power. A shoot-on-sight curfew was imposed, and a police house-to-house search operation began. The *mujahirs* protested at this treatment and fighting broke out. In what has become known as 'the Pucca Qila massacre', 31 women and children were killed, leading to retaliations in Karachi and elsewhere and over 300 more deaths.

Kashmir

During Mrs Bhutto's first-term there was an uprising of Kashmiri Muslims in the Indian portion of the disputed region. The uprising was a small-scale affair, with the Muslims poorly armed and having to use homemade weapons. By the early 1990s, however, Pakistan was sending thousands of well-trained and heavily armed fighters into Kashmir to support the local Muslims.

By 1993, during Mrs Bhutto's second term, the Pakistan Inter-Services Intelligence had taken over the uprising from the local fighters. As Mrs Bhutto said in 1994 "India tries to gloss over its policy of repression in Kashmir," she added. "India does have might, but has been unable to crush the people of Kashmir. We are not prepared to keep silent, and collude with repression."

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Results of the 1990
 for the National Assembly

B
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5: Nawaz Sharif

Foreign Policy

Benazir Bhutto had more success in her foreign policy. She took Pakistan into the Commonwealth (see Chapter 16), and hosted the fourth South Asian Association For Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Summit Conference in December 1988. As a result of improved relations at the conference, Pakistan and India were able to sign three separate peace agreements.

Perhaps Benazir's greatest achievement in foreign policy came in June when she made an official visit to the United States in 1989, to meet with President Bush and other government officials. The visit was a great success and did much to restore good relations between the two countries.

The Government Dismissed

Benazir Bhutto's government had to deal with accusations from its political opponents that it encouraged corruption.

Mrs Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari was accused of taking rake-offs on government deals. He was later arrested on charges of blackmail and jailed for two years. The PPP believes that these charges were politically motivated and that Zardari was innocent. However, the tales of corruption further weakened the government. With growing unemployment and strikes, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan took his chance and used the Eight Amendment to dismiss the Bhutto government. Ishaq Khan said his actions were justified because of corruption, incompetence, and inaction.

Following the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi leader of a coalition of parties opposed to the PPP, was asked to form a caretaker government until elections were held in October 1990. Benazir Bhutto complained that the government had been stolen from her and the fact that it was a member of the opposition who took power angered her further.

Mustafa Jatoi was also asked to lead an investigation into the alleged corruption. Benazir Bhutto was asked to give evidence and was charged with corruption, but no further action was taken.

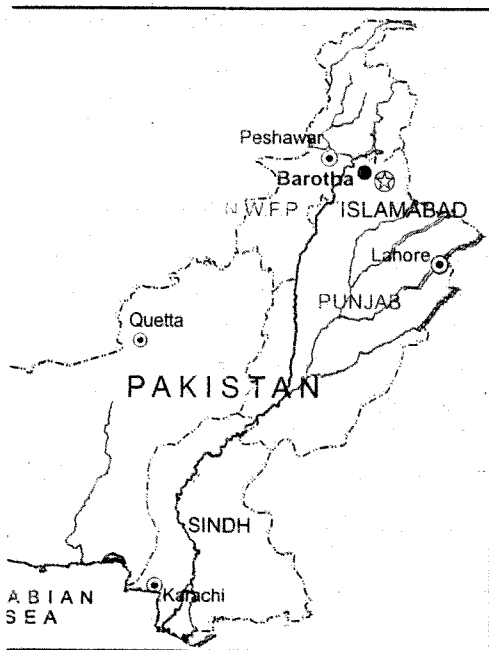
In the elections, the Islami Jamhuri Ittehad won a comfortable victory. Nawaz Sharif was leader of the Pakistan Muslim League, the largest party in the alliance, and he became prime minister. There were widespread accusations of vote-rigging to ensure the PPP was defeated. Benazir Bhutto became the leader of the opposition to the Sharif government.

Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister (1990-1993)

Economic Policy

Shortly after taking power, Nawaz Sharif announced that his government would carry out a national reconstruction programme to industrialise Pakistan. He believed that unemployment was Pakistan's greatest problem and that only industrial growth could solve that problem. He wanted to modernise the country by making effective use of its natural resources and best use of its plentiful manpower. Sharif wanted to follow a policy of privatisation of the industries which had been nationalised under Zulfikar Bhutto. He believed that a partnership between the government and the private sector would boost the economy.

A number of important industries, such as shipping, electricity supply, airlines and telecommunications were opened up to the private sector. He introduced several large scale projects to stimulate the economy, such as the Barotha Hydro



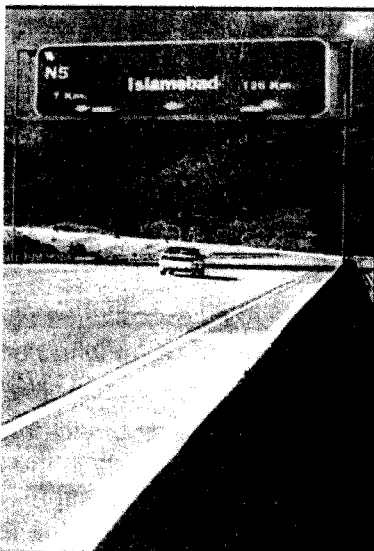
Location of Barottha and Gwadar

Power Project and the Gwadar Miniport in Balochistan. He also tried to solve the unemployment problem by importing thousands of taxis and providing cheap loans to buy them. This had the benefit of providing employment for many young men, but it came at a cost. Few of the loans were repaid.

The Motorway Project

One of Sharif's major projects was to build a fast transportation network to the Central Asian region where countries had gained independence from Russia and needed access to seaports. It would also join the major cities, stimulate rural economies and provide an alternative to the existing overburdened roads. The cost was estimated to be in the region of \$989 000 000 000.

Although Pakistan's first motorway, the M2, was completed in November 1997 and was the first motorway to be built in South Asia, the project suffered from continual delays, especially after General Musharraf called a temporary stop to the programme in 1999.



The M2

Loss of US Aid

Nawaz Sharif's policies were undermined by lack of capital for investment. There was an influx of foreign capital when he loosened foreign exchange restrictions and opened Pakistan's stock market to foreign capital, but the government remained short of funds for investment. The USA had provided significant economic support during the Soviet-Afghan War, but when the war ended that support was reduced. During the dispute over Pakistan's nuclear weapons policy the financial support almost dried up as the USA put pressure on Pakistan to end the programme.

The BCCI Scandal

The reduction in overseas aid, high government spending and a decrease in remittances from overseas workers in the Middle East placed severe pressure on Pakistan's finances. They were further harmed when one of the major banks operating in Pakistan, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) collapsed in 1991. This bank had been founded by Agha Hasan Abedi in 1972 and within

10 years had become the world's seventh largest bank. However, concerns about the bank's lending practices led to an investigation - by a British team of accountants in 1991. They concluded that BCCI had engaged in 'widespread fraud and manipulation'. Following this report, the bank closed and had to pay huge fines. Investors lost huge sums.

Co-operative Societies Scandal

Sharif also lost support because of the 'Co-operative societies scandal'. Cooperative societies accept deposits from members and can legally make loans only to members for purposes that are to the benefit of the society and its members. However, mismanagement of these societies led to a major collapse in which millions of Pakistanis lost money. In Sharif's native state, Punjab, 700,000 people, mostly poor, lost all their savings when the state's cooperative societies went bankrupt. It was soon discovered that these societies had granted billions of rupees in loans to Mr. Sharif's family business, the Ittefaq Group. Although Ittefaq hurriedly repaid the loans, the Prime Minister's reputation was severely damaged.

-type tions

What does the picture of M2 tell us about Pakistan under Nawaz Sharif?

TO LEARNING

What was meant by 'Kalashnikov culture'?

The Kalashnikov Culture

The support for Afghan warlords fighting the Soviet Union had an unfortunate effect on Pakistan. In some of the border tribal lands, gun-carrying was part of the culture. This was reinforced during the war by the easy availability of weapons made in towns such as Sakhot where Russian Kalashnikov guns were copied and sold cheaply.

The government had to deal with rampant crime and terrorism, which continued to be a cause for alarm in the country, particularly in Sindh. Kidnappings, bombings and murders were common, even though the police and the military worked hard to stop it.

The flood of available automatic weapons fuelled the long-standing ethnic and political rivalries. The police were increasingly outgunned, and even foreigners were not immune from attack. These problems also spread into some of the major towns in Pakistan as refugees from the war flooded in and as drug addiction spiralled. It has been estimated that by 1999 Pakistan may have had as many as 4 million heroin addicts.

The situation became so bad that in 1991 Nawaz Sharif had to cancel an important trip to Japan to try to deal with the violence at home. In an effort to stem the violence, the government ordered Pakistanis to turn in their weapons, but few of them did. The government also passed the Twelfth Amendment to the constitution, which provided for 'Speedy Trial Courts' to dispense summary justice. The opposition, however, criticized the law as suppressing fundamental rights.

The Shariat Bill

As a senior member of Zia's government, Nawaz Sharif was a strong supporter of Islam. In May 1991 the Shariat Bill was passed, making the Quran and the Sunna the law of the land as long as this did not 'challenge the existing system of government.'

However, the law was not popular. Opponents disliked the increased role of Islam in government and the fundamental Muslims in the alliance were disappointed that it did not go further. In reality, little was done to enforce the law. For example, when the Federal Shariat Court asked for measures to be taken against the payment of interest, no action was taken by the government.

Relations with the President

By early 1993, Nawaz Sharif's government was in serious difficulties. In 1990 he had been elected with the support of the President and also other parties in the Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI). However, by 1993 this support was crumbling. Indeed Sharif came into open conflict with the President Ishaq Khan. After the sudden death of army chief of staff, General Asif Nawaz Janjua in January 1993, Nawaz Sharif wanted to place his own candidate in the vacant position, against the wishes of both the army and the President. Instead, Ishaq Khan appointed General Abdul Waheed Kakar. It is said that Nawaz Sharif was told about the new appointment just a few minutes before the announcement.

Nawaz Sharif also came into dispute with the president over the Eighth Amendment, which gave the president the power to dismiss the government and elected assemblies. Ishaq Khan believed that the Eighth Amendment was an important check on the Prime Minister's power and was not prepared to revoke it.

Indeed on April 19th Ishaq Khan used the Eighth Amendment to dismiss Sharif and his government. He declared that Sharif's government was guilty of corruption and mismanagement of the economy (almost identical to the charges

made against Benazir Bhutto in 1990). It seemed that Ishaq Khan had finally triumphed.

But the Supreme Court declared Ishaq Khan's action as unconstitutional and Sharif was restored. Although this might have seemed like a victory for the elected Prime Minister over an autocratic President, in practice it meant that effective government could not continue with the President and the Prime Minister at loggerheads.

After weeks of negotiations, Nawaz Sharif and Ishaq Khan failed to reach an agreement. The fear grew that the army might take control. So both men resigned. Ishaq Khan was replaced by the chairman of the Senate, Wasim Sajjad, who functioned as acting president until the elections, and Moeenuddin Ahmad Qureshi (a senior World Bank official) became caretaker Prime Minister.

Elections were called for October 1993. Qureshi published a list of all individuals who had unpaid loans from state banks and barred them from running for office until these loans were repaid. The total sum owed was over a billion rupees.

Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister (1993 - 1996)

The 1993 elections brought the return of Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister. By this time the Islamic Democratic Party had broken up and Nawaz Sharif campaigned as leader of the Pakistan Muslim League. The MQM boycotted the election.

By entering into a coalition with independent parties the PPP was able to form a new government under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. It had also done well in the provincial elections in all four provinces.

In November 1993 Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari was elected as President. He was a member of the PPP and it was hoped that with the Prime Minister and President coming from the same party, it would be possible for there to be a smoother relationship than between Ishaq Khan and Sharif. In his first speech Leghari said that he would revoke the Eighth Amendment, though he was not able to do so. He also promised to reduce the power of religious courts and increase rights for women.

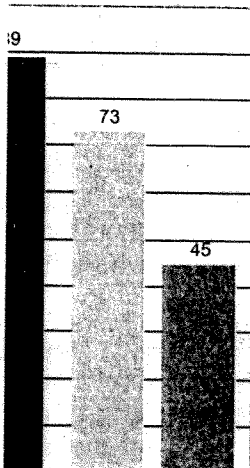
Policies

The PPP had campaigned in 1993 for an 'Agenda of Change' and was particularly keen to bring about an improvement in social services. Benazir Bhutto talked

of her concern for women's social and health issues, including the issue of discrimination against women. She announced plans to establish women's police stations, courts, and women's development banks. But she did not introduce any legislation to bring these measures into being.

Her government found it difficult to act effectively in the face of opposition from Nawaz Sharif and the PML. They worked tirelessly to undermine her government. In 1994 Sharif began a 'train march' taking him from Karachi to Peshawar during which huge crowds listened to his critical speeches. Sharif played a major part in organising strikes throughout Pakistan in September and October 1994. Benazir Bhutto responded by arresting several opposition leaders who had taken part in these strikes. This measure merely increased opposition.

in People's Party
in Muslim League
/Independents



Results of the 1993
for the National Assembly



: Benazir Bhutto taking oath as Prime Minister

Family Feuds

A major problem faced by the Bhutto government revolved around family feuds. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had quarrelled with other members of his family and in the same way Benazir Bhutto did not have smooth relations with her family. She quarrelled with her mother Begum Nusrat Bhutto over control of the PPP after Zulfikar's death. Nusrat preferred Benazir's brother, Mir Murtaza as leader. Murtaza had gone into exile and founded the Al-Zulfikar Organisation which he used to criticise Benazir Bhutto for allegedly betraying their father's principles. He also opposed the involvement of Asif Ali Zardari in the PPP because of the accusations of corruption against him.

Although Murtaza won a seat as an anti-Bhutto candidate in the 1993 elections, when he returned to Pakistan, he was arrested and spent some months in prison on charges of terrorism (he and his supporters had carried out acts of terrorism against the government during Zia's time as a protest against his father's execution). Benazir Bhutto also removed her mother from a leading position in the PPP.

In September 1996 Murtaza was killed in a police ambush at his residence in Karachi. None of the policeman involved was arrested and some were later promoted. A judicial review suggested that there had been government involvement in the killings and this further undermined support for Benazir Bhutto.

Economic Problems

Economic problems also made it difficult for Benazir Bhutto to govern effectively. Benazir Bhutto was an economist by profession and so took charge of economic policy herself. This meant she faced direct criticism when the country's economic problems increased. During this time there was a 30% decrease in the value of the rupee compared to the US dollar. Also Mrs Bhutto's privatisation policy was obstructed by government officials who had a personal interest in the nationalised industries.

Although more than 40 million rupees was raised from the sale of nationalised corporations and industries, the country's economy suffered greatly from the effects of the US financial and military embargo imposed as a result of Pakistan's nuclear programme (see Chapter 16)

As against an average growth rate of 6.0 percent in the 1980s, Pakistan's GDP growth slowed to around 4% at this time. Large scale manufacturing growth slowed to only 2.3 percent compared to over 8% in the 1980s.

The Government Dismissed

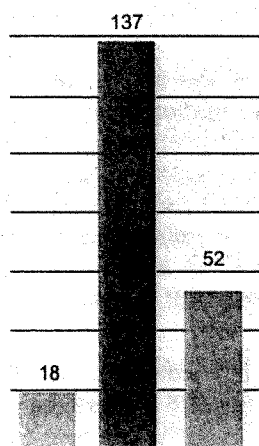
Although relations with President Leghari had originally been good, during her second term in office they deteriorated. The President had promised to revoke the Eighth Amendment, but he actually ended up using it and on 5 November 1996 he dismissed the government, claiming misgovernment and corruption.

Asif Ali Zardari was accused of receiving pay backs on government deals and being involved in political murders. Bhutto said the charges were politically motivated and went into voluntary exile. Zardari remained in prison from 1997 - 2004. Those charges were never proved. The PPP has accused the ISI of maligning Mr Zardari to damage Benazir Bhutto's image.

Following the dismissal of the government, Malik Meraj Khalid became caretaker Prime Minister. Elections were held in February 1997.

The Pakistan Muslim League won an overwhelming victory and Nawaz Sharif resumed power.

Pakistan People's Party
Pakistan Muslim League
Others/Independents



10: Results of the 1997
elections for the National
Assembly



Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister (1997 - 99)

One of the first acts of Nawaz Sharif was to introduce the Thirteenth Amendment giving the Prime Minister the authority to revoke the authority of the President to dismiss the Prime Minister and the National Assembly. The President also lost the power to appoint the three chiefs of staff of the armed forces and the provincial governors. In effect, the presidency now became a ceremonial position. The measure was supported by all political parties as the Eighth Amendment had greatly undermined political stability in the country. Although this appeared to make Pakistan more democratic, the events of 1999 were to show that it actually created dangers for democracy.

Sharif also took measures to stop politicians switching parties in order to help form coalitions to oppose or even form governments. Such a practice invited 'inducements' to persuade politicians to change parties, or even to prevent them changing and many posts in government or cheap loans had been granted as a result of this practice. The Anti-Defection Bill (The Fourteenth Amendment) prevented such switching.

However, whilst Sharif's measures appeared to make the country more democratic, they were accompanied by increasing repression. Journalists who wrote critical articles about Sharif were arrested and unexpected tax inspections of the affairs of newspaper editors were carried out. In May 1997 Sharif's secret police attacked the home of a leading critic of the government, Najam Sethi and kidnapped him. He was released only after international protest.

In the same year when Sharif was defending himself in the Supreme Court against accusations of corruption, his supporters stormed the building and proceedings had to be suspended. Sharif also became involved in a dispute with the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Syed Sajjad Ali Shah. Sharif ordered party members to storm the Supreme Court and remove Ali Shah.

Sajjad Ali Shah

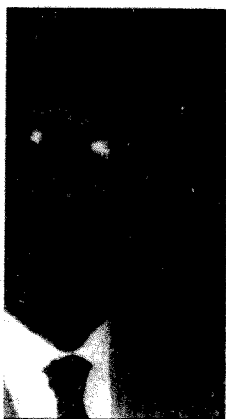
Sajjad Ali Shah had been appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Benazir Bhutto. He became a critic of Nawaz Sharif and matters came to a head in 1997 when Sharif was defending himself in the Supreme Court against accusations of corruption. An unruly mob stormed into the Supreme Court, forcing Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah to adjourn the case against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Hundreds of Sharif supporters broke through the police cordon around the courthouse and the Chief Justice had to flee for his safety. The police managed to restore order only after baton charging and tear gassing the mob, both inside and outside the courthouse.

President Leghari had given his support to Sharif. He was appalled by the measures being taken by the government, but had no powers to dismiss it since the Eight Amendment had been revoked. He was particularly concerned when he was asked by the government to dismiss Sajjad Ali Shah and appoint an acting Chief Justice of Pakistan. He, therefore, resigned on 2 December 1997. Shortly afterwards, Muhammad Rafiq Tarar, the PML candidate was elected to replace him. On 23rd December, Ajmal Mian was appointed as permanent Chief Justice. Sajjad Ali Shah had been dismissed.

Nuclear Testing

In 1998 Pakistan carried out a series of nuclear tests in Balochistan. These tests were very popular within Pakistan where many people were proud of the country's show of strength and the way that it was standing up to India (which had carried out tests several weeks before).

However, they brought widespread international criticism (see Chapter 16) and economic sanctions from countries such as the USA and Japan. The Pakistan economy was close to collapse and Sharif had to raise the price of fuel and negotiate bank loans to keep the government from bankruptcy. He also introduced a state of emergency curtailing civil rights.



Sajjad Ali Shah

The Government Falls

Sharif seemed to be hanging on to power by just a thread and other events made the situation even more precarious. Since Zia's time the army had been a constant threat to democracy in Pakistan. When the army chief of staff, Jehangir Karamat, suggested that he should be given a position on the National Security Council of Pakistan, Sharif forced him to resign. Sharif had removed a potential threat, but Karamat's replacement was General Pervez Musharraf.

Sharif tried to strengthen his position by introducing the Fifteenth Amendment which made sharia the supreme law of Pakistan and gave the Prime Minister the right to rule by decree in the name of Islamic law. However, he was uncertain of the depth of his support and did not ask the Senate to ratify the measure.

Perhaps the final nail in Sharif's coffin was the failure of the Pakistan-supported forces in the Kargil Conflict (see chapter 16). After early successes Muslim Kashmiri forces were driven back. Sharif at first denied that his forces were involved, but evidence soon showed that they were. The failure in Kashmir and the high-handed way in which Karamat had been treated had lost Sharif the support of the army. Mass opposition rallies showed that he had also lost the support of many of the people.



12: Pervez Musharraf

Sharif feared a coup led by General Musharraf and decided to replace him. As Musharraf returned from a visit to Sri Lanka on 12 October 1999, Sharif ordered the Civil Aviation Authority not to give permission for his plane to land. He then appointed the head of the ISI as the new chief of army. The army refused to accept this appointment. It took over Karachi airport and allowed Musharraf's plane to land. Once he was on the ground, Musharraf announced that the army was taking control. Nawaz Sharif, his brother and five other government officials were charged and found guilty on charges of attempted murder, hijacking and kidnapping in the "Plane Conspiracy" case. At the request of the Saudi Royal Family, the Government of Pakistan exiled him to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

n-type Questions

What problems did Benazir Bhutto face as prime minister during the years 1988-90? [4]

Why was Nawaz Sharif dismissed from government in 1993? [7]

Do you agree that the period 1988-99 was one in which Pakistan made little significant progress? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Lead on

Benazir Bhutto was a controversial figure in Pakistan's history. Her father was executed by President Zia and her brother is alleged to have been murdered by security forces. She too was the victim of political violence.

After going into exile in 1999, Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan in October 2007 to campaign for the election of a PPP government with her as Prime Minister. On 14 October 2007 there was an attempt to assassinate her. A bomb was detonated just feet from her car, intending to assassinate her. An initial small explosion was followed by a huge blast just a few metres away from the vehicle. At least one of them was thought to be a suicide bombing. Benazir Bhutto was unharmed, but 140 people were killed.

However, on 27 December 2007 Benazir Bhutto was assassinated as she was leaving a rally of PPP supporters in Rawalpindi. As she stood upright in her armoured car, an attacker opened fire. Seconds later a bomb was set off killing 20 people. The people responsible for the assassination and even the cause of Benazir Bhutto's death remain uncertain.

HOW IMPORTANT HAS PAKISTAN'S ROLE BEEN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SINCE 1947?

Contents

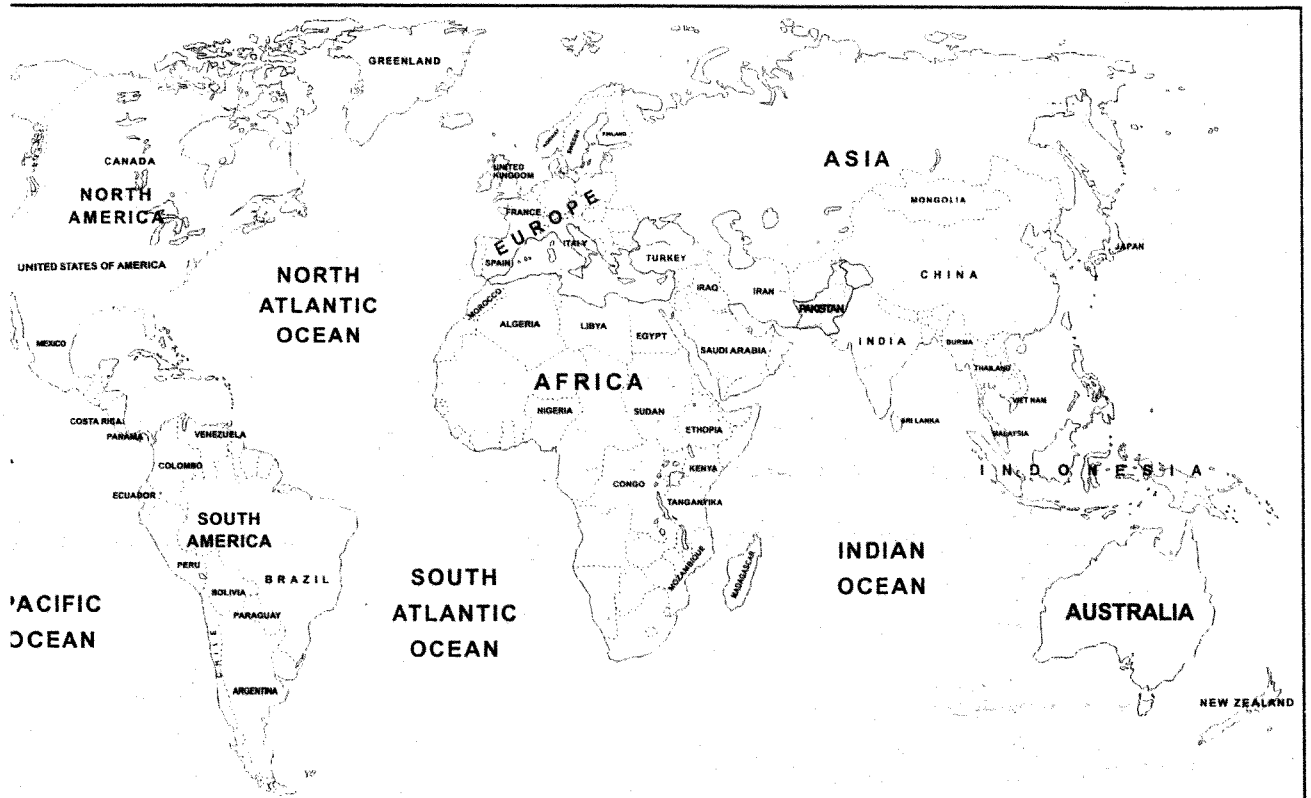
nuclear testing & the impact on other nations
 relations with Bangladesh, India and
 Afghanistan
 and the Islamic Revolution
 science and trade
 Middle East and Palestine
 Soviet Union and Afghanistan
 USA, UK and the Cold War
 Commonwealth
 role played by UN agencies in the development
 of Pakistan

Key Questions addressed in this chapter

- ▶ How successful have Pakistan's relations been with Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan, Iran, China, Turkey and the Middle East, the Soviet Union, the USA, the UK and the United Nations?
- ▶ How has Pakistan developed as a nuclear power?

Timeline

17	Pakistan founded	1965	Ayub Khan visits the Soviet Union
	Liaquat Ali Khan receives invitation from the Soviet Union	Jan 1966	Tashkent Conference
20	Pakistan recognises Communist government in China	1971	Civil war in East Pakistan
	Liaquat Ali Khan visits USA		War with India
54	Pakistan and USA sign Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement	1971	Pakistan leaves Commonwealth
54	South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) set up	Feb 1972	Bhutto visits China
	India and China sign friendship pact	1972	Treaty of Simla
5	Baghdad Treaty signed	1974	Islamic Conference held in Lahore
	Central Asia Treaty Organisation formed	Nov 1979	US Embassy in Islamabad attacked
60	U2 Affair	Dec 1979	The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan
0	Indus Basin Treaty	1985	Presler Amendment passed
	Ayub Khan visits China	1986	Zia visits China
64	Regional Conference for Development (RCD) set up	1989	Pakistan rejoins Commonwealth
		1995	Hillary Clinton visits Pakistan
65	War with India	1996	Brown Amendment passed
		1997	India and Pakistan test nuclear weapons
		1998	Lahore Declaration
		1999	Kargil Conflict



1: The World

Early Decisions: East or West?

The World After 1947

When Pakistan achieved its independence in 1947, international politics was dominated by what was later to be called *'the Cold War'*. This was an ideological struggle between the democratic, capitalist bloc led by the United States and Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union.

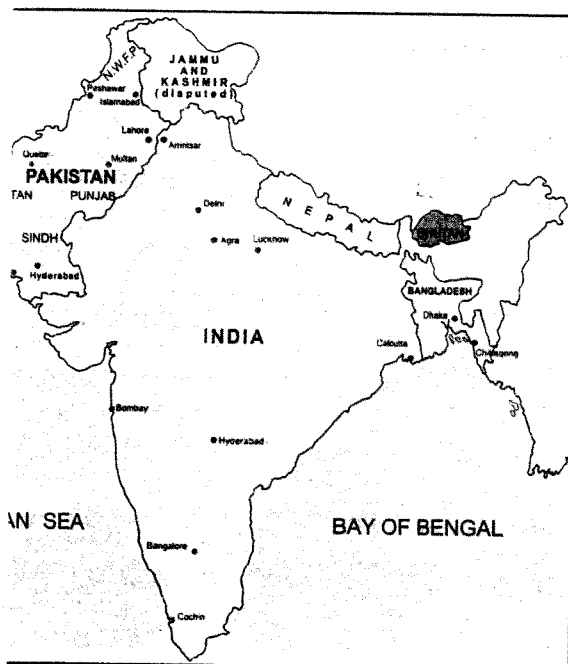
The leaders of Pakistan recognized that they could not remain neutral in this dispute. Pakistan was a new nation and needed economic and political support to help it become established as a viable independent country. Pakistan chose to ally itself with the United States. There were several reasons for this:

- The United States was the most powerful country in the world, with the most advanced economy.
- Pakistan believed in a private economy (like the USA) and had traditional ties with the West.
- Islamic ideology was anti-Communist and the Soviet Union was a country which was considered anti-religion. One of the great Communist philosophers, Karl Marx had described religion as *'the opium of the masses'*. Yet, although the decision as to which of the two superpowers, USA or USSR Pakistan should support was important, the most pressing problem for Pakistan's leaders in 1947- and for many years to come - was its relationship with its neighbour and rival, India.

Pakistan and India

During the struggle for independence from Britain, a feeling of hostility and antagonism had developed between the Muslim League and Congress. Pakistan had been created by dividing the old 'British India' against the wishes of Congress and there had been many deaths as a result of communal violence after partition was announced. It is true to say that from the first day that the new country came

into being, Pakistan has felt threatened by its much larger neighbour. Therefore, relations with India have always been at the forefront of Pakistan's foreign policy.



Geographical position of India in relation to Pakistan

One thing is certain. Partition is not likely to be attained with goodwill. Any hopes that after separation things will settle down and the states will become friendly, are built on sand. The chances are that distrust will make mutual accommodation even more difficult and make necessary the maintenance of protection forces on both sides.

Dr Rajendra Prasad, first President of India.

Exam-type Questions

Q. According to this source why would relations between India and Pakistan be difficult after 1947?

Partition in 1947 gave India and Pakistan a number of shared problems. These were:

- the huge numbers of refugees wanting to move from one country to the other,
- the sharing of what had been joint resources,
- disagreement over possession of Kashmir.

Refugees

Despite the large-scale population transfers in 1947 as Muslims from India moved to Pakistan and Hindus to India, there were still substantial religious minorities in each country. Feelings of hostility between the two religious communities were so high that there was a fear in both countries that the bloody scenes experienced in 1947 might continue. Consequently, in April 1950 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan signed an agreement with Nehru of India. It was called the Minorities Pact and the two leaders agreed that each country would provide protection and religious freedom for the religious minorities. It was hoped that this would encourage the minorities to remain where they were and stop the tide of refugees.

The agreement slowed the flow down, but it did not entirely stop people from leaving. They did not trust government promises or feel that it was possible for statements from the central government to change the feelings of hostility felt at local level. They also realised that, even if protected, a minority group would not have the same opportunities and guarantees as the majority.

Resources

The issue of the handover of resources has been dealt with earlier (see page 114), but it should be emphasised that the unsatisfactory manner in which resources were divided had a marked effect on relations between Pakistan and India. The reluctance of India to release assets made the Pakistani government even more suspicious of Indian motives and soured relations for the future.

A good example of this concerned water, which was one of the vital resources that India and Pakistan shared. On 1 April 1948 India cut off water supplies from all the headworks that it controlled. Farmers in Pakistan had traditionally irrigated the land by canals running off the main rivers. As a result of this move by India water in the rivers ran very low and made irrigation difficult. Pakistan's leaders knew that such an act was undertaken simply to make it more difficult for the new country to prosper. Access to water was to remain a problem until 1959, when the Indus Water Treaty between India and Pakistan guaranteed a 10-year water supply.

Kashmir

Since partition the issue of Kashmir has caused friction between India and Pakistan. As you read in Chapter 10, fighting between India and Pakistan in 1948 resulted in Kashmir being divided between the two countries. However, Pakistan was angered that India retained the largest area of Kashmir, including the capital, Srinagar and was determined to try to gain control of the whole of Kashmir. Most of the 4 million inhabitants of Kashmir were Muslims and Pakistan believed the territory rightly belonged to her.

From 1949 there was an agreed ceasefire line through Kashmir, which was controlled by troops from the UN. Negotiations continued through the 1950s, but little progress was made.

- In 1954 and 1955 India tried to integrate Indian-occupied Kashmir into India. This provoked protests from Pakistan and, then, from the UN after Pakistan appealed to the United Nations Security Council.
- In 1957 the UN Security Council was so concerned that India might try to occupy Kashmir again, that it issued a declaration re-confirming that the whole of Kashmir was a disputed territory and that its future could only be settled by a vote by the people of Kashmir. Such a plebiscite should be supervised by the UN. To date, no such vote has taken place and the area has remained a constant source of tension (see below).

The Drift to War

The Kashmir issue remained unresolved and the lack of trust between the two countries affected their relations in other areas. India was particularly concerned about the military aid that USA was providing Pakistan.

The Indians feared that Pakistan would use the aid against them, but the Americans assured them that support for Pakistan was part of the campaign against Soviet Union sponsored communism. The sense of insecurity felt in India led to them signing a friendship pact with China in 1954.

However in 1962, India and China went to war over the positioning of the border between the two countries. China advanced to where it claimed the border should be before declaring a cease-fire. The Pakistan military noted the ease with which the Indians had been defeated and concluded that Kashmir could be reclaimed by war. The Indian reaction to the Chinese war was to begin a re-armament programme, accepting aid from the West. So by 1965, both countries thought that they could win any war over Kashmir.

The 1965 War

In 1965 Pakistan forced the Indians to accept an independent tribunal to settle a border dispute over the Rann of Kutch on the Sindh/Rajasthan border. Since this was what Pakistan had hoped would also happen in the Kashmir dispute, it now decided to take steps to force India to agree to the setting up of an international body to decide on ownership of Kashmir.

TO LEARNING

What were the various factors for poor relations between Pakistan and India after the formation of Pakistan?

Which of these factors would you say was the most important one? Explain your answer.

The Pakistan strategy was to encourage an uprising in Indian-controlled Kashmir and to send forces in to support the uprising.

- In August 1965 armed guerrillas were infiltrated into Indian occupied Kashmir, with orders to contact rebels and begin local uprisings. To the surprise of the Pakistanis, however, there was only limited local support for an uprising and the venture looked like ending in failure.
- Consequently on 1 September 1965, the Pakistan army attacked Indian controlled Kashmir, hoping to cut off the only road from Kashmir into India.
- On 6 September, Indian troops retaliated by attacking across the border, near Lahore. This had not been anticipated by the Pakistanis and the area was largely undefended. Only a heroic defence by the few troops in and near Lahore prevented it from being captured by Indian troops.
- Although war was still not officially declared, the Indians launched a second major offensive in the Sialkot sector but it was repulsed.
- A fully fledged war broke out between the two countries. After three weeks of fighting, both sides agreed to a ceasefire.
- In January 1966, the Soviet Union arranged a cease-fire conference in Tashkent, in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan. The agreement at the end of the conference (held 4-10 January) produced a cease-fire and a general agreement to sort out 'all disputes' peacefully. However, there was still no date set to begin negotiating a settlement in Kashmir.

Pakistan's ambition of driving India to accept international arbitration over Kashmir had failed. One reason for this was that India was stronger and more determined than Pakistan had realised. Another major reason was that during the war the United States and Britain had both placed an embargo on selling weapons to the two combatants. As Pakistan was dependent on the West for parts to service its military equipment, it was hit harder than India. As a result Pakistan had been forced to rely on diplomatic intervention by China, which threatened to step in to oppose India if it seemed Pakistan's integrity came under threat.

The 1971 War

By 1971 the balance of military power had definitely tilted in favour of India. It had a stronger economy and larger population than Pakistan and was able to develop an army considerably larger than Pakistan could put in the field. India could also rely on support from the Soviet Union after signing the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce in August 1971.

When civil war broke out in East Pakistan and it declared independence, the Indians recognised an opportunity to take advantage of its rival's difficulties. The Indian army attacked East Pakistan. The ensuing war led to the downfall of Dacca and the subsequent surrender of the Pakistani forces with a larger number of Pakistani soldiers being taken prisoner by India. Pakistan's humiliating defeat led to the replacement of Yahya with Bhutto as President of Pakistan.

In early 1972 Bhutto met Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, to conclude a peace treaty. As India was holding 90,000 Pakistani soldiers prisoner, Bhutto was in a weak bargaining position. Consequently, according to the Simla Agreement, in return for the release of the prisoners, Bhutto had to agree that in the future talks over Kashmir should be between India and Pakistan only. Previously, Pakistan had seen it as an international issue and had enlisted the help of the UN when India tried to seize parts of Kashmir (as in 1954 and 1955).



do Skills Book
e 47-48

TO LEARNING

Why did Pakistan go to
war with India in 1965
and 1971?

Why did Pakistan find it
difficult to defeat India?

Did you know?



Brigadier Syed Shirazie

THE BATTLE OF ROHIWAL

This account of the Battle of Rohiwal on 6th September 1965 comes from the personal account of Brigadier Syed Shirazie. At the time he was a Lt Colonel, commanding an infantry battalion, 7 Punjab Regiment. His account is in italics.

'Now it can be told – the courage, doggedness, determination and dauntless spirit of the defenders of Pakistan... To understand how the Indians with marked superiority in personnel, arms and equipment were checked and then driven back, one has to understand the remarkable fighting of the Pakistani soldier. It was his spirit and his faith combined with years of relentless training and sound motivation.'

Colonel Syed Shirazie's men had to defend a position close to the Indian border near the village Rohiwal. On 6 September Indian troops attacked the Pakistani positions without warning and quickly established themselves on high ground. There they were pinned down by 7 Punjab Regiment until 4 tanks were sent to assist them. Lt Colonel Syed Shirazie took possession of an anti-tank gun and *aiming and uttering a prayer, I pressed the trigger. The shot hit the tank on its side and the damaged tank slipped back. The other three tanks then withdrew.'*

However, on other parts of the front the Indian forces threatened to take control. So Lt Colonel Syed Shirazie was ordered by one of his generals to march his men almost 4000 yards to launch a secret attack on the Indian forces which were *'consolidating their position without even a thought that a dash of Pakistani soldiers, one fourth of their strength was about to fall on them in one bold and mighty lunge'.* (The Pakistani force managed to advance almost two miles) *'without being spotted until they were right upon the enemy'.*

With full-throated war cries and fixed bayonets the gallant men charged at the running enemy, who became so unnerved and panicky that no resistance or fight was left in them. They could think of only one thing and that was to make a hasty retreat... The whole area was strewn with torn and shattered pieces of the Indian invaders.'

As believable as it sounds, there was not even one casualty on our side during this action. We captured an Indian Major and seven other prisoners beside a large quantity of weapons, ammunition and equipment. The Indian Major said that the great strength of the attacking force had given his men no chance whatsoever. When I told him that the attacking force was just one rifle company, he would not believe it.'

Colonel Syed Shirazie was rightly proud of the work of his men that day. As he concluded in his report: *'The morning of 6th September would remain memorable in the history of the battalion. From the moment the first shot was fired by my troops there was a single thought guiding all our efforts and energies – we were resolved to defend every inch of the beloved and sacred soil of Pakistan. The success of the battalion on the battlefield was only due to the willingness of every individual in the unit to lay down his life for his country. With such officers and men no enemy can hope to transgress Pakistan's frontiers with impunity.'*



LEARNING

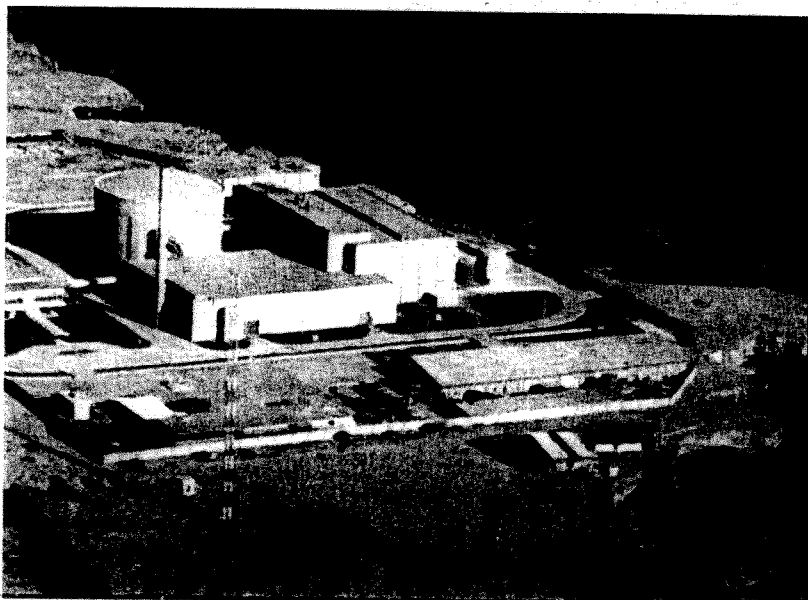
ere relations
Pakistan and India
d after 1971?

Relations After 1971

- Relations between India and Pakistan continued to be strained during the 1970s, but when Zia came to power in 1977 there was an improvement. He began receiving significant aid from the USA to oppose the Soviet Union policy in Afghanistan. Consequently, although the Kashmir issue remained important, Zia's main priority was supporting the Afghanis. This enabled more peaceful relations between India than had been the case for many years.
- In the early 1980s, the Indians faced uprisings by the Sikh community in the Punjab, who were demanding a separate homeland. India accused Pakistan of providing arms and training for the Sikh insurgents, but was never able to substantiate these accusations. Then, in October 1984, Mrs Gandhi was assassinated by Sikhs. Mrs Gandhi's son, Rajiv, took over as Prime Minister. He openly accused Pakistan of having a role in the Sikh separatist movement and therefore, indirectly, in the assassination of his mother. Ill feeling rose, despite Zia declaring a day of national mourning for Mrs Gandhi in Pakistan.
- By 1987 relations had deteriorated to the point where the two countries were close to war. In late January the Indian army began 'exercises' in the Rajasthan Desert. These were designed to intimidate the Pakistanis. Then in a brilliant political masterstroke, General Zia flew to India, supposedly to watch a cricket match in Jaipur between India and Pakistan. Whilst there, he met Indian leaders, including Rajiv Gandhi, and managed to cool the situation down. The 'exercise' was called off.
- War had been avoided, but there were still many problems. The situation in Kashmir was far from resolved and both sides continued to develop nuclear and conventional weapons in case of future warfare.

Pakistan - A Nuclear Power

Pakistan began focussing on nuclear weapons in January 1972, just one month after the loss of East Pakistan. In that year it opened the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP). Pakistan was concerned about India's development of nuclear weapons and India's superiority in conventional forces. Prime Minister Zulfikar Bhutto felt strongly that the nuclear programme was needed to ensure Pakistan's survival. This is one of the reasons why Pakistan did not sign the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.



Karachi Nuclear Power Plant

In 1974 India carried out nuclear tests which caused such concern in Pakistan that it stepped up its own development programme by founding the Engineering Research Laboratories in Kahuta, near Islamabad. It is believed that scientists in Pakistan had produced their own nuclear bomb by the beginning of 1985, but no official announcement was made until 1998. However, in 1987 A. Q. Khan, father of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, told a reporter "They told us Pakistan could never produce the bomb and they doubted my capabilities, but they now know we have it." Khan later denied saying that Pakistan had a nuclear bomb and said he had been tricked by the reporter into making these comments.

This was perhaps because the USA had said that it would not provide aid if Pakistan was developing nuclear weapons.

As Pakistan's relations with India further deteriorated, both countries stepped up their nuclear development programmes. In May 1998 India shocked the world by testing five nuclear devices. Just a few weeks later, Pakistan detonated its own nuclear devices in the Ras Koh Hills. In announcing the tests, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif declared, "Today, we have settled the score."

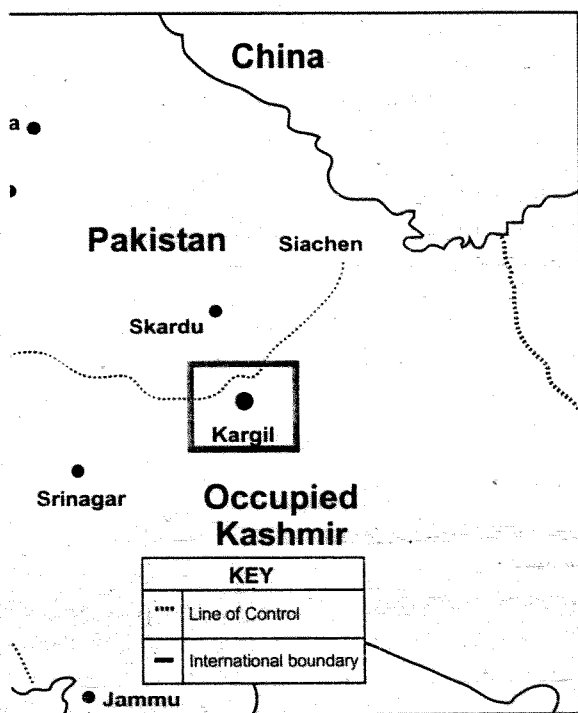
There was considerable concern in the world that the two great rivals now both had nuclear capabilities. The UN Secretary-General asked both India and Pakistan to sign the Comprehensive Test Treaty Ban. India refused, so Pakistan did not sign either. However, in late 1998, both countries announced that they were stopping nuclear testing.

The Siachen Glacier

One area of Kashmir where there is constant conflict between Pakistan and India is around the Siachen Glacier where the border has never been properly drawn. In 1981 Pakistan was concerned that India might try to take possession of the area and sent troops in to prevent this. They were surprised to discover that there were already 300 Indian troops encamped in the mountains. So the Pakistan troops also 'dug in'. Although the region is desolate and infertile, such is its symbolic importance that both India and Pakistan have kept troops in the area and are believed to spend more than USD 500 million each year in preventing an occupation by enemy forces. There has been regular fighting between the two sides which has cost up to 5000 soldiers' lives.

The Kargil Conflict

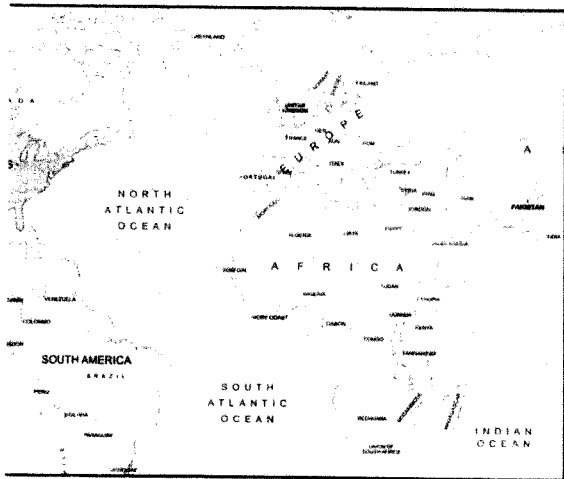
In April 1999 Muslim Kashmiri guerrillas crossed the Line of Control (the unofficial border between free Kashmir and Indian-occupied Kashmir) and captured the Indian occupied towns of Kargil and Drass. The Pakistan government denied any involvement, but has since admitted that Pakistani paramilitary forces were involved.



In May, India launched a counter-attack during which it fired over 250,000 shells and rockets. Two of its aircrafts crossed into Pakistani air space and one was shot down. The international community was horrified that so soon after the Lahore Declaration, two countries with nuclear weapons had gone to war. During May and June 1999 Pakistani forces were pushed back and eventually Sharif was persuaded by US President Clinton to withdraw all Pakistan forces from the Indian-held territory behind the Line of Control.

The Kargil Conflict was a major blow to Pakistan-India relations. It proved even more damaging to Sharif. It had been a mistake to launch the attack so soon after the Lahore Declaration as it was bound to lead to international criticism. Sharif also denied government forces were involved and continually reported that the Indians were being defeated with ease.

Neither of these things was true. Indeed India claimed to have killed 4000-6000 Pakistan troops. The increased unpopularity of the Sharif as a result of the Kargil Conflict was a major cause of his overthrow in October 1999.



Geographical position of USA in relation to Pakistan

Pakistan and the USA

As you read earlier, after the establishment of an independent country, Pakistan decided to ally with the United States. However, at this time, the Americans were working towards an anti-Communist alliance with India, and it was some time before they embraced an alliance with Pakistan with any enthusiasm.

- During the independence struggle the Americans had often talked of the need for unity between Muslims and Hindus. Since the Muslims were trying to establish an independent Muslim homeland, they were disturbed by this. The USA also took several years before it sent an ambassador to Pakistan.
- Liaquat Ali Khan was frustrated by the coolness of the Americans towards an alliance with Pakistan

and in 1949 accepted an offer to visit the Soviet Union. If his intention had been to force the Americans into closer alliance, he was successful. An invitation arrived almost immediately to visit the USA. Liaquat Ali Khan made this visit in 1950 and arranged for a Pakistan Embassy to be established in the USA.

- The Americans continued to try to persuade India to join an anti-Communist Pact with them, but the Indians were reluctant to do so. In contrast, Pakistan was prepared to join such an alliance in return for military and economic aid. By 1954 the Americans had decided that Pakistan, along with Iran and Turkey would be ideal countries to counter the growth of Soviet influence. An agreement was signed and American aid began to flow into Pakistan.

- Between 1954 and 1955 Pakistan signed 3 agreements which firmly established it as a pro-West, anti-Communist country:

1. In May 1954 Pakistan and the USA signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement.
2. In September 1954 the South East Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO] was set up. The members were the USA, the UK, France, the Philippines, Thailand, New Zealand and Australia. Pakistan also joined, but the decision faced opposition from within the Pakistan government and so the treaty was not ratified until 1955. The treaty stated that if any member were attacked, it could appeal to the other members for support. However, there was one major problem as far as Pakistan was concerned. The treaty applied only to help against Communist aggression. This meant that Pakistan received no support in its wars against India. Nor was help provided to prevent East Pakistan breaking away. Pakistan had hoped to persuade SEATO to set up a permanent military force to protect all member countries against any attack. By 1972, it had decided that membership of SEATO was of limited value and Bhutto withdrew Pakistan from the organisation.

3. In 1955 Turkey and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact, establishing anti-Communist alliance against the Soviet Union. Later in the year Britain, Pakistan and Iran joined the pact. All the members except the UK were Muslim. The Pact was renamed the Central Asia Treaty Organization [CENTO] after Iraq left in 1959 because of a revolution. However, despite regular meetings, the group never developed a permanent structure or a system for raising troops for mutual defence. By 1979 the organization had quietly dissolved. The USA supported CENTO but never actually joined. These three treaties help explain why some politicians described Pakistan in the 1950s as the USA's 'most allied ally'.

LEARNING

Why did relations between Pakistan and the USA improve in the 1950s?

Why was Pakistan disappointed by its membership of SEATO?

What do you think politicians meant when they described Pakistan as the USA's 'most allied ally'?

Relations After 1959

Although Pakistan was an enthusiastic ally of the USA, events after 1959 showed that the American attitude was more lukewarm. During the 1960s and 1970s relations were often strained.

- In 1962 China and India went to war. As China was communist, the USA immediately sent military aid to help India fight. This move offended the Pakistan government, which rightly argued that it should, at the very least, have been consulted before India was given aid. Pakistan's leaders also argued that the Americans should have forced the Indians to accept arbitration on the Kashmir issue as a price for receiving aid. Although the Americans promised to consult Pakistan in future, in practice they were pleased to get the large non-Communist state into an agreement.
- After 1962, both China and the Soviet Union seemed keener to have Pakistan as an ally than the USA. In 1962 Ayub Khan visited China and in 1965, the Soviet Union. These visits displeased the USA.
- During the 1965 war between India and Pakistan the USA joined the UK in an arms embargo on both countries. As the Pakistan army was almost entirely supplied and trained by the USA the embargo was far more damaging to it than to India.
- In 1971, the USA did not help Pakistan during the civil war in East Pakistan and took few measures to help in the war against India (though it did send a fleet to warn India not to attack Pakistan).
- Although Ayub had offended the Americans by visiting China and the Soviet Union he was considered the architect of good relations between the USA and Pakistan. He allowed the Americans to build air bases in Pakistan and remained loyal to the USA even during the highly embarrassing 'U2 Affair' when an American spy plane had taken off from Peshawar and had been shot down over Soviet territory (page 178). When Ayub was deposed and replaced by Bhutto, the Americans were concerned that he was not as pro-American as his predecessor and relations between the two countries deteriorated. Bhutto even accused the Americans of organising the opposition against him in 1977.
- Relations reached rock bottom when Zia came to power in 1977. The Americans did not approve of military regimes and did not want to form an alliance with Zia.
- Then in November 1979 the US Embassy in Islamabad was burned down. The USA accused Zia of complicity in the attack and recalled many of its senior officials. All aid programmes were cancelled.



Fig. 5: The Soviet army in Afghanistan

The 'Afghan Miracle'

In December 1979, however, the situation changed. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Pakistan was suddenly on the frontline in the war against Communism. The attitude of the USA to Zia's government changed overnight. Reservations about his domestic policies were quickly put aside. What was more important to the USA was to have Zia's support to oppose the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

In return for supporting the Afghan rebels against the Soviet Union, the USA offered Zia substantial economic and military aid. Zia made the most out of America's need. In 1980 he turned down their first offer of aid as insufficient. By 1981 the

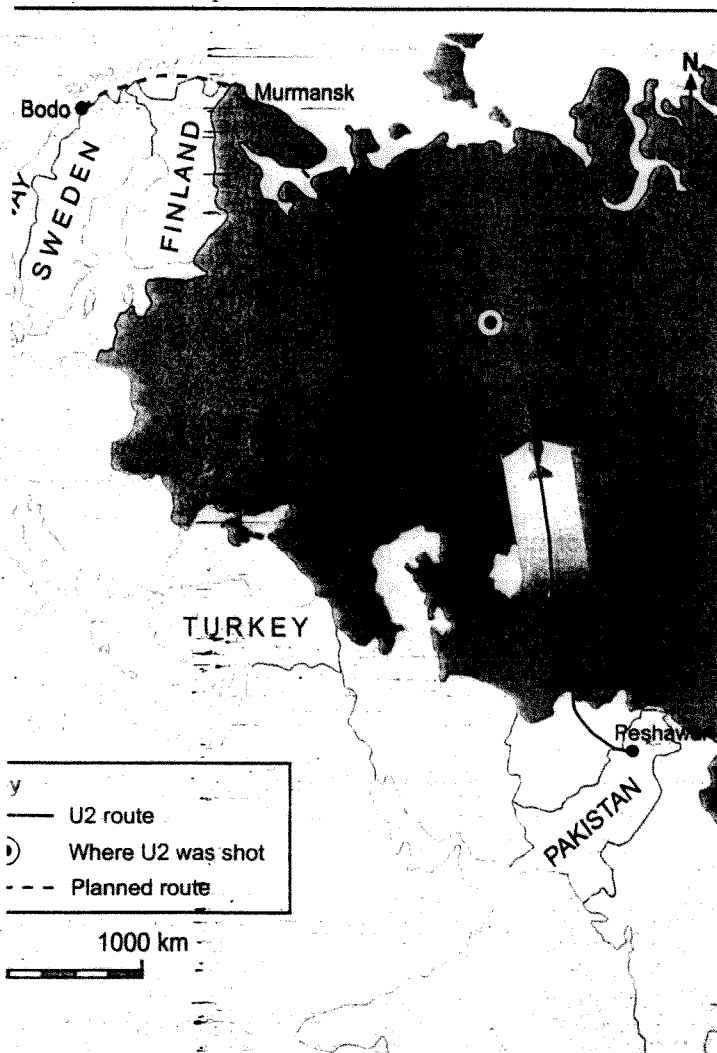
you know?

U-2 INCIDENT

Year 1960 had begun with great hope for relations between the major powers. It was agreed a summit meeting of the 'Big Four' (Eisenhower of the USA, Khrushchev of the Soviet Union, de Gaulle of France and Macmillan of Britain) would be held in May. Perhaps this meeting might lead to an end of the Cold War. Could this be the beginning of better times in international relations?

In May 1960 these hopes were dashed when an American spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. During the 1950s the Americans had developed a plane which could fly at 70,000 feet. It had surveillance equipment and the sophisticated cameras could take clear pictures of Soviet military sites on the ground. Soviet radar could track the planes, but Soviet fighters could not fly high enough to shoot them down.

However, on 1 May 1960 a Soviet missile shot down one of the U-2 planes over the town of Reshava. The pilot, Gary Powers, parachuted to the ground, where he was captured by Soviet forces.



The Americans did not want to admit that they had been spying as this would definitely lead to the summit meeting being cancelled – and show the Americans to be an aggressive nation. They therefore announced that a research plane studying weather conditions had been shot down over Turkey. What they did not know was that the Soviet Union had captured Powers alive. He admitted to spying and the Soviet forces also found a film showing that he had been taking photographs of military sites.

Khrushchev demanded an apology from the USA, but Eisenhower said it was his job to make sure the USA defended itself effectively and refused to apologise. Not surprisingly, the summit meeting broke up and relations deteriorated between the two countries. Powers was tried and found guilty of spying. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, but after seventeen months he was sent back to the USA in return for the release of a Soviet spy serving a prison sentence in the United States.

Americans had agreed to a \$1.6 billion aid package over 5 years and a further £1.5 billion loan at low rates of interest to enable Pakistan to buy modern US weapons. As explained in Chapter 11, this aid enabled Pakistan to enjoy rapid economic development and also to become a leading military nation in the region. Not surprisingly, India objected strongly to the American aid programme, but Pakistan was too valuable an ally for the USA to offend. Indeed, in 1986 a further aid programme providing \$4.2 billion worth of military and economic aid was signed. After Israel and Egypt, Pakistan was the third largest recipient of American aid.

Zia was able to move Pakistan's foreign policy from a total obsession with India to one which provided Pakistan with a role in world politics which was important to all the major global powers – the USA, the Soviet Union, Europe and China.

A comment made by a Senior World Bank official in 1985

1. What changes does the official say Zia brought to Pakistan's foreign policy?
2. Look through the details of foreign policy under Zia and explain how the change the official referred to came about.

The End of the Miracle

TO LEARNING

Do you agree that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a 'miracle' for Pakistan? Explain your answer.

However, in 1988 Afghanistan and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to end their war. Almost overnight Pakistan lost its strategic importance to the USA and aid was reduced dramatically. The impact of the loss of American aid was a serious problem to the new government of Benazir Bhutto. In her first address to the nation as Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto had promised better relations with the USA, Russia and China. This was a change in her thinking as she had criticised Zia's close relationships with the USA. However, she realised the vital importance of American aid to Pakistan and in June 1989 visited the USA.

The Nuclear Issue

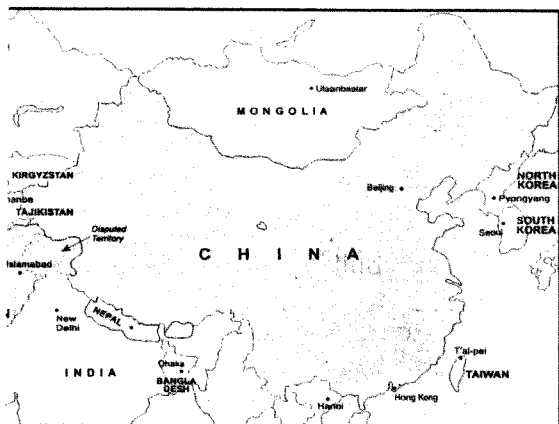
The Americans were particularly concerned about Pakistan's nuclear programme and in 1980 had tried to get it to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Bhutto made a speech to the US Congress saying that her country had no nuclear weapons, but had a right to continue its nuclear programme to ensure that it could defend itself. She said that Pakistan was willing to declare that the sub-continent should be nuclear-free if India did the same.

Bhutto had to work to maintain the relationship with the USA as American officials were not convinced that Pakistan had no nuclear weapons. In 1985 the Pressler Amendment had said that the USA could only give aid to a country after the American president had declared that country had no nuclear weapons and was not developing them. During the Afghan crisis, this rule was conveniently ignored.

But when the war ended, President George H. W. Bush refused to declare Pakistan was nuclear free and blocked aid to the country. He also stopped the sale of 28 F-16 fighter jets which Pakistan had ordered (and paid for).

The withdrawal of US aid was a serious blow to Bhutto's government as a major refurbishment of the military forces was under way. Pakistan was the third largest recipient of US military aid and the refurbishment was due to be financed from a \$4 billion economic development programme due to run until 1993. It led to a significant deterioration in relations between the two countries. Pakistan complained bitterly that the Pressler Amendment seemed to apply only to Pakistan, not India. How was this fair? The USA complained that Pakistan was becoming a major centre for distribution of illegal drugs (between 1979-1999 the number of drug addicts in Pakistan is thought to have risen from around 10,000

- However, the improved relations were short-lived. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 caused an open rift when Pakistan accepted American aid to support the mujahideen rebels. Although Zia visited Moscow in 1984 for the funeral of Andropov he got a cold reception. Later that year the Soviet Union, which also disapproved of Pakistan's nuclear programme, began bombing raids on Pakistan. Hostile relations continued until 1988, when the Soviets finally withdrew from Afghanistan.



Geographical position of China in relation

When Pakistan gained independence in 1947, China was locked in civil war between the Nationalist government and Communist rebels. The war ended in October 1949, with a victory for the Communists, led by Mao Zedong. At this time Pakistan was trying to establish itself as an independent country and took little interest in what was happening in China. In contrast, India enthusiastically recognised the new government in Beijing and supported its request to take up the Chinese seat in the UN Security Council. (Although the Nationalist government had been defeated, it had re-established itself in Taiwan and claimed to be the rightful government in China. It, therefore, also claimed the UN seat as the official Chinese government.)

Despite Pakistan officially recognising the Communist regime in January 1950, it seemed that India's positive attitude, combined with Pakistan's acceptance of aid from non-Communist western powers meant that China and Pakistan were destined not to be close allies.

In the 1960s, however, relations improved, largely as a result of a dispute between India and China. In 1962 China went to war with India over a border dispute.

The Chinese quickly advanced to where they considered the border should be and claimed the newly acquired land. India was not able to prevent this. The event soured relations between India and China

The USA was keen to support India in any stand it made against Communist China, which pushed China and Pakistan into a closer understanding. In March 1962 they began talks to settle their own border dispute. These were successfully completed by March 1963. In the settlement the Chinese made more concessions than the Pakistanis as they were keen to win Pakistan's friendship to counter declining relations with India and the Soviet Union. The talks were followed by other agreements:

- Early in 1963 Pakistan and China announced a series of trade agreements. China granted Pakistan a \$60 million interest free loan and soon became the world's largest purchaser of Pakistani cotton. Pakistan also claimed that China had agreed to come to Pakistan's aid in any war with India.
- In August 1963 Pakistan International Airlines began regular flights to China, which helped to increase movement and trade between the two countries. PIA was the first international carrier ever to operate in certain Chinese cities.
- In 1964 China made a statement supporting Pakistan's policy in Kashmir. In return, Pakistan supported China's entry into the UN. At this time, the USA was supporting Taiwan as the legitimate ruler of China, because it was Nationalist and therefore opposed Communism.

TO LEARNING

Explain why relations between Pakistan and China improved in the period 1947-71?

- During the 1965 war with India, China supplied military aid to Pakistan and applied diplomatic pressure on India to prevent it attacking Pakistani positions. Chinese support almost certainly helped Pakistan obtain better terms in the ceasefire. In 1971 it was unable to offer as much support, as the Soviet Union had promised India that it would take steps to deal with any Chinese support for Pakistan. Consequently the Chinese could not take steps as this would risk war with the Soviet Union.
- Immediately after the war, however, China was able to demonstrate its support once more. In February 1972, Bhutto visited China and it was agreed that many of the loans previously made by China to Pakistan should become grants. China also agreed to supply military aircraft and tanks.

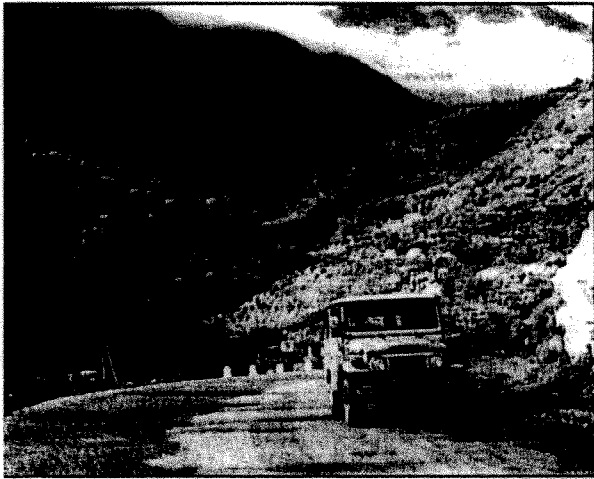


Fig. 9: The Karakoram Highway

- The friendly relations between the two countries was highlighted in 1978 when the Karakoram Highway was opened. This road had been under construction since 1966 and was the first major road built between the two countries. It was largely financed by Chinese money and built by Chinese engineers. The terrain in which the road was built was so dangerous that it is believed that for everyone one kilometre of road built, one construction worker lost his life. The highway follows the old Silk Road through which Chinese goods had originally come to the rest of Asia.

- Cordial relations were emphasised in 1986 when President Zia chose China as one of the first countries to visit after taking power. In 1986 China and Pakistan signed a nuclear cooperation treaty, an indication that the two countries were on excellent terms.

Should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan, China will firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to safeguard Pakistan's sovereignty and national independence.

Text of a letter from the Chinese leader, Chou-en-lai to Yahya Khan in 1971.

What do you think would have been the impact of this letter in Pakistan? Some historians have called Chou-en-lai's words 'an empty promise'. What do you think the historians mean?

Pakistan, Britain and the Commonwealth

Since independence, Pakistan has had a complicated relationship with the British. As it was a British colony until 1947, it is not surprising that Pakistan was determined to break as many links as possible with its old colonial master.

It was extremely critical of the British decision to appoint the last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten as India's first Governor-General. The Quaid also felt that the partition plan had created problems for Pakistan that would be difficult to solve (see Chapter 10). For example, the border imposed at partition was bound to lead to disputes with neighbours.

On the other hand, the British provided Jinnah with help at the top levels of both the military and the civil service. It would have been difficult for Pakistan to begin life as an independent country without this assistance and expertise. Britain also gave financial and technical aid and advice. However, many

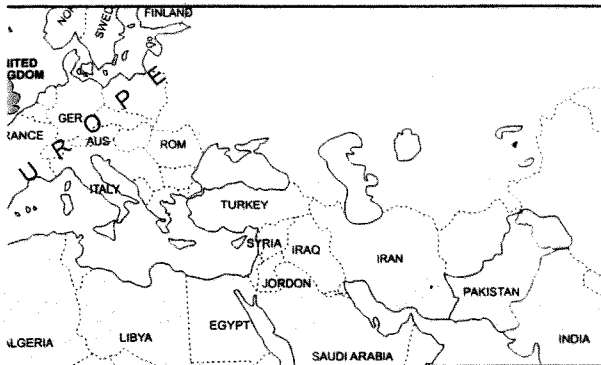


Fig. 10: Geographical position of Britain in relation to Pakistan

B

Business Skills Book
 pages 51-52



Margaret Thatcher

TO LEARN

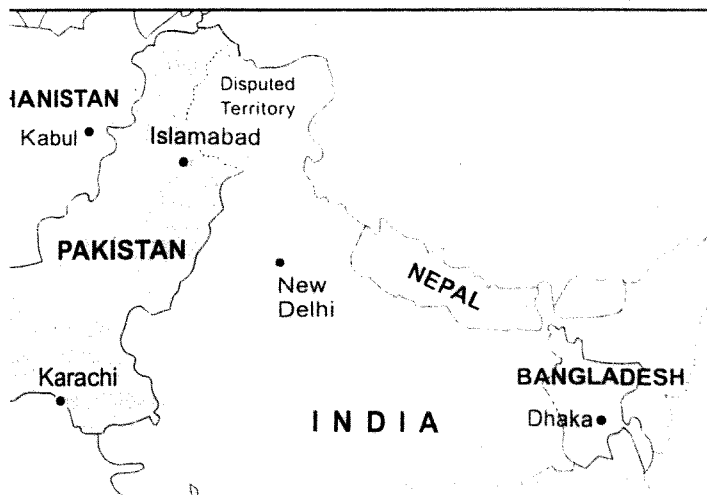
Pakistan received its independence from Britain in 1947. Why did it continue to be on good terms with Britain after independence? Make a list of the main events in Pakistan's relations with Britain in the period 1947-88. List them under the headings 'Examples of good relations' and 'Examples of poor relations'.

Pakistanis felt that if their country had been treated more fairly at partition, there would not have been as much need of either. So Pakistan began its life as an independent country keen to show its newfound independence, but at the same time appreciating the value of maintaining friendly relations with Britain. It is true to say that throughout the first forty years of its existence, Pakistan remained on good terms with the British.

- Pakistan chose to remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was now a British dominion (having its own government, but at the same time recognising the British monarch as technical head of state).
- In 1956 Pakistan declared itself a republic. This meant that the British monarch no longer had any say in how Pakistan was governed. But Pakistan continued as a member of the Commonwealth. This membership gave Pakistan political and economic support. At a Commonwealth meeting in Colombo in 1950, the 'Colombo Plan' was set up to provide aid for Pakistan. More than £1 million was given towards the Sui gas project and some of the wealthy Commonwealth nations made individual contributions. For example, Canada gave \$40 million dollars towards the development of railways.
- However, relations within the Commonwealth have sometimes been strained. Pakistan has not always had the political support it hoped for (as in the Kashmir affair) and Commonwealth members have often argued against the policy of military rule.
- Equally, there were times when Pakistan failed to support Britain.

Events

- Britain and Pakistan worked together as members of both CENTO and SEATO. This did not, however, stop Pakistan criticising Britain over the invasion of the Suez Canal in 1956. Nor did it mean British support in the wars between Pakistan and India. In 1965 Britain played a major part in bringing the war between India and Pakistan to an end. The final agreement was signed at the Commonwealth Conference in London in June 1965.
- Britain remained neutral all through the Bangladesh crisis, abstaining in the United Nations when a vote was taken on whether Bangladesh should be recognised as an independent country, saying it was for Pakistan and Bangladesh to sort out. When Britain recognized Bangladesh as a separate state on 2 February 1971, Pakistan left the Commonwealth in protest. During the Afghan Crisis, Britain supported Pakistan and Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, was the first western leader to visit Pakistan after the occupation of Afghanistan. As a staunch ally of the USA, Britain fully supported the role of Pakistan in the Afghan struggle against the Soviet Union.
- Britain gave not only political support, but also £30 million aid to Pakistan for the welfare of the Afghan refugees that streamed across its border, and £16 million more to help refugees in Balochistan and the NWFP. During the 1980s Britain remained a highly important trading partner with Pakistan, with an estimated £376 million worth of trade between the two countries occurring by 1986.
- Pakistan returned to the Commonwealth in 1989. The Afghan situation had improved relations with the West, and Pakistan also saw Commonwealth meetings as a very useful platform to put pressure on India over Kashmir. Previous attempts to rejoin the Commonwealth had been blocked by India who argued that Pakistan was under military rule and only democratic countries could be members. The death of Zia ul-Haq ended military rule and these objections were no longer valid.



12: Geographical position of Bangladesh and Pakistan

Pakistan and Bangladesh

After the 1971 War and the creation of Bangladesh relations between the two countries remained strained.

- Pakistan saw Bangladesh as a rebel nation, having broken away from West Pakistan and winning independence largely as a result of support from Pakistan's bitter rival, India. During the civil war, there had been fierce fighting in East Pakistan which had left a legacy of distrust and anger between the two countries.

TO LEARNING

What problems stood in the way of good relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1971?

Why did relations between the two countries improve in the 70s and 1980s?

- There was the problem of reallocating assets that had been shared (just as there had been with India in 1947). Bangladesh claimed that it had the right to many of the assets of West Pakistan.
- There was the problem of people in each country who wished to settle in the other – not on the huge scale of 1947, but large enough to be a problem. By stages, Pakistan established better relations with Bangladesh.
- In early 1974, however, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujib was invited to a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries [OIC] in Lahore. This was a highly important point in relations between the two countries, as for the first time Bangladesh was officially recognized by Pakistan as an independent state. The two countries agreed to view each other as Muslim friends and try to resolve their differences.
- In June 1974 Bhutto visited Bangladesh. During this visit, the division of assets was discussed. Bangladesh asked for over half of the assets of that Pakistan had owned in 1971, but Bhutto rejected this as unrealistic. Sheikh Mujib of Bangladesh also insisted that Pakistan take all non-Bengalis from Bangladesh – whether they wished to leave or not. Bhutto also rejected this as unreasonable. The two countries had agreed to establish friendly relations, but they were some way from agreeing on the fundamental issues which divided them.
- In 1975, Sheikh Mujib died. Although Khondkar Mushtaq, the new leader of Bangladesh, did not withdraw the claims over assets and repatriation, he recognised that they should not act as barriers to better relations. The two countries exchanged ambassadors and reached an agreement to co-operate on trade, tourism and the media. By 1986 trade goods moving between the two countries had reached a value of \$40 million.
- In 1985 and 1988 Bangladesh was hit by such severe weather that foreign aid was urgently needed. On both occasions Pakistan was the first country to contribute. Despite the wounds incurred in 1971, Pakistan had not forgotten the strong ties it had with its Muslim brothers in East Pakistan.

Pakistan and Afghanistan

As Afghanistan was both a neighbour and a fellow Muslim state, Pakistan had hoped to establish good relations with it after partition. However, several problems prevented this, until 1979 when the two countries found a common enemy in the shape of the Soviet Union.

- The establishment of the borders of India and Pakistan in 1947 had led to a border dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Afghans laid claim



: Geographical position of Afghanistan and

to parts of the North West Frontier of this area voted in favour of joining Pakistan, but the Afghans did not give up their claim.

- The Afghans argued that the 'Pakhtoons' living in Pakistan wanted to join with Afghanistan to form Pakhtoonistan. In 1947 the NWFP was controlled by two powerful leaders, Dr Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. They had originally supported the idea of Pakhtoonistan, but changed their aim to achieving complete regional autonomy for the NWFP.
- Jinnah did not want to give the impression that the NWFP was an occupied territory, loyal to Pakistan only because of military pressure. So he ordered that the old British military posts along the old border with Afghanistan should be taken down. He hoped this would encourage the people of the area to feel naturally part of Pakistan. He also hoped that Afghanistan would see this as a move of friendship and trust.

- Despite this, the Afghan government remained hostile to Pakistan and was the only state to vote against Pakistan joining the UN in a vote taken on 30 September 1947.
- Pakistan continued to try to improve relations. It called official talks in Karachi in 1947. At these talks the Afghans repeated their demand for the establishment of Pakhtoonistan and asked for a right of access to the sea through Pakistan. It was suggested by Pakistan that if the demand for Pakhtoonistan were dropped, the access to the sea might be given.
- Afghanistan rejected this offer and instead signed a 'trade and transit' agreement with the Soviet Union, gaining access to the sea by way of the Soviet Union and making good relations with Pakistan unnecessary. Relations hit a low point in March 1955 when Afghans attacked and ransacked the Pakistan embassy in Kabul. Pakistan closed its border and cut off diplomatic relations for several months in protest, but still hoped to establish better relations. In 1956 Iskander Mirza visited Afghanistan. Although the government of Pakistan hoped for an alliance, the government of Afghanistan was not interested in such formal ties. It continued to show opposition to Pakistan.
- Afghanistan refused to join the RCD (see page 188) because Pakistan was a member.
- Although the majority of Afghans supported Pakistan in the war against India in 1965 the Afghan government chose to stay neutral. But when Bhutto came to power in Pakistan, he emphasised an 'Islamic' foreign policy and relations with Afghanistan began to improve. Bhutto visited Kabul shortly after taking office. In 1973 Sardar Daud, who had been Prime Minister of Afghanistan and was very hostile to Pakistan, overthrew the monarchy and set himself up as Prime Minister. Bhutto continued to work to improve relations. Access to India through Pakistan was granted to Afghan traders and Pakistan made generous contributions to a fund to deal with the consequences of an earthquake in Afghanistan in 1976.
- In 1976 Daud and Bhutto visited each others' countries several times, on the encouragement of the Shah of Iran, who wanted these two countries, on his borders, to be on good terms.
- When Zia came to power in 1977, he continued to pursue friendly relations. In October he visited Kabul and Daud returned the visit in March 1978. Whilst in Pakistan he made speeches calling for improved relations. Shortly after this, however, Daud was killed when his government was overthrown.

The situation was unclear as to who was in control in Afghanistan. The new government was communist, but there were many divisions within it. Consequently good government proved impossible. In December 1979, the Soviet Union sent an 80,000-strong army to remove the communist leader and replace him. Barbrak Karmal was appointed the head of the government. The Afghan people put up a resolute resistance to this blatant aggression. After putting him in power, Soviet troops stayed on 'to ensure peace'. This led to war between the Soviet Union and resistance groups of Afghan *mujahideen* fighters.

Over 3 million refugees fled from the war to Pakistan over the next year. Pakistan was praised for its humane treatment of these refugees and it soon became the acknowledged route for channelling assistance to the *mujahideen*. The Pakistan army received military aid from the West and was responsible for dividing it amongst the various different *mujahideen* forces. The Pakistan military intelligence service also worked with the Afghans in planning operations against Soviet forces.

The Soviet Union soon hit back to try to prevent Pakistani support for the *mujahideen*. Pakistani frontier towns were bombed and there were also explosions in cities across Pakistan. These attacks were almost certainly the work of Soviet or Afghan infiltrators.

Despite these attacks, President Zia-ul-Haq remained determined in his support for the *mujahideen*. As war dragged on, the Soviet Union began to realise that it was fighting a war it could not win. On 14 April 1988 pressure from Pakistan and Afghanistan led to the Soviets withdrawing their army. Zia seemed a hero to many Muslims and to the West. He had played a major part in bringing one of the world's superpowers to accept defeat.

However, Afghanistan still had a Soviet imposed leader ruling in Kabul. Civil war erupted as the *mujahideen* tried to remove him from power. Pakistan's involvement was far from over at the end of Zia's rule. But now that the Soviet Union was no longer involved, American aid was cut dramatically. Pakistan was to find that thousands of refugees still crossed its borders seeking safety; yet Western aid to help them was not so forthcoming.

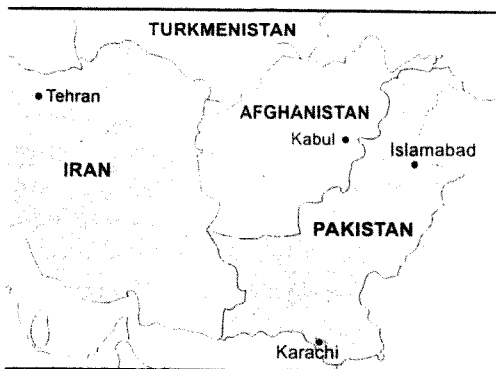
Nawaz Sharif tried to bring fighting to an end in Afghanistan by inviting the leaders of the various factions to talks. The Islamabad Accord was signed by six separate factions, but the lack of a strong central organisation in the country made it almost impossible to restore law and order, so violence continued. The lawlessness spread into Pakistan and became known as 'Kalashnikov Culture'. Some Pakistan towns, such as Sakhot, became expert at copying the Russian automatic weapons and the guns became available to almost anyone who might want one.

Benazir Bhutto decided that Pakistan's best interest lay in supporting the Taliban in Afghanistan, as she said this was the only force strong enough to establish stability and allow Pakistan to trade in the Central Asian republics. Her government provided military and financial support for the Taliban and even sent a small army unit to help them. Partly as a result of this support, the Taliban came to power in Afghanistan and religious fundamentalism grew in Pakistan. Bhutto later admitted that her policy had been a mistake and had led to Islamic militancy which threatened stability in Pakistan. Shortly before her death in 2007 she said the support she and the USA offered the Taliban was:

'...a critical, fatal mistake we made. If I had to do things over again, that's certainly not a decision that I would have taken.'

TO LEARNING

Which issues stood in the way of good relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan before 1971? Why did relations improve between the two countries after that date?



1: Geographical position of Iran in relation to

Pakistan and Iran

Relations between Iran and Pakistan have been consistently good since Pakistan achieved its independence. Together with Turkey, Iran worked to push Pakistan's interests in the international community.

- Both countries joined the Baghdad Pact in 1955. The Pact was set up in February 1955 by Turkey and Iraq. It was designed to stop Soviet expansion in the Middle East. The United Kingdom joined in April, Pakistan in September and Iran in November. All the members except the UK were Muslim. The Pact was re-named

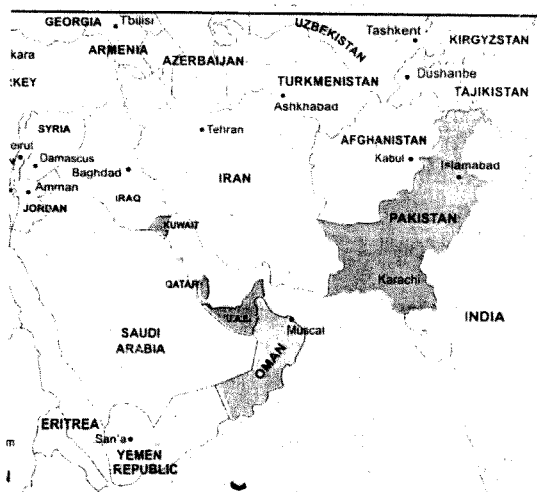
the Central Asia Treaty Organization [CENTO]. However, despite regular meetings, the group never developed a permanent structure or a system for raising troops for mutual defence. In 1959 Iraq left the alliance. By 1979 the organization had quietly dissolved.

- On 21 July 1964, largely as a result of the work of Ayub Khan, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan set up the Regional Co-Operation for Development [RCD]. This encouraged the three countries to develop closer trade links and help each other with industrial projects, such as setting up mills and factories. The agreement lapsed in 1979, but was re-established by Zia in 1985. Ayub Khan was keen to draw Afghanistan into the RCD, but could not persuade the Afghans to join.
- Iran (along with Turkey) tried to persuade other countries to send aid to Pakistan during the 1965 war against India, but was not successful. Despite this, Pakistan appreciated the efforts of the two countries. Iran did, however, send help to the Pakistan government to put down an uprising in Balochistan in 1973.

However, in 1979 there was an Islamic revolution in Iran and the Shah was overthrown. Although Pakistan was one of the first countries to officially recognize and support the new government, relations between the two countries deteriorated:

- The new, Islamic government was suspicious of Pakistan because it had been such an enthusiastic supporter of the Shah.
- The new Iranian government was fiercely anti-American, whereas from 1979 Pakistan was receiving large amounts of aid from the USA.

From 1980 Iran was at war with Iraq and consequently had little concern for its relationship with Pakistan.



5: Pakistan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia & the Gulf States

Pakistan and the Muslim Countries

Pakistan shared a religious and cultural heritage with Turkey, the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States that made mutual support natural. None of these countries have had major disputes with Pakistan, and all have supported Pakistan in its relations with the wider world. It is true, however, that Pakistan hoped to follow a foreign policy based on creating unity amongst Muslim nations. This has not been possible. One reason for this is that although the various countries have a common Islamic ideology, they sometimes do not agree on political matters. For example, Egypt and Saudi Arabia did not like Pakistan signing the Baghdad Pact and Egypt was particularly annoyed that Pakistan did not

support it during the Suez crisis of 1956. It also objected to Pakistan's close relationship with the USA. It was American support which enabled the hated Israel to survive against Arab opposition.

Pakistan has, however, remained a keen supporter of the Palestinian cause. The Pakistani people identify themselves with the Palestinians who are a Muslim community fighting against oppression. In 1969 Pakistan joined with 24 other Muslim nations to form the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC). The first meeting of this organisation was held in Morocco.

It was decided to set up a permanent headquarters in Jeddah until Jerusalem was liberated from Israeli control. In 1971 one of the OIC meetings was held in Karachi and an Islamic Summit was held in Lahore in February 1974. As a member of the OIC, Pakistan supports the agreement that the Palestinian problem is a matter of concern for all Islamic countries. Israel's occupation of the Palestinian's land has been condemned on many occasions by the OIC.

After the 1971 war Bhutto toured many Islamic countries to make sure that relations stayed cordial. His tour covered Western Asia, Muslim Africa, the Gulf States and his Islamic neighbours. Pakistan had failed to defeat India in the war, but Bhutto wanted to demonstrate that his country was still a major power in the Islamic world.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war led to an Islamic Summit, hosted by Pakistan in Lahore from 22-24 September 1974. The heads of 35 Muslim countries attended, as well as the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. The Summit showed that Pakistan had many friends all over the Muslim world. One result of the talks was that Bhutto received offers of aid from many of the wealthy countries that attended the Summit. Within two years Pakistan was receiving more aid from fellow Islamic countries than from the West. For example, Iran gave loans totalling \$730 million, the UAE £100 million and Libya \$80 million.

The Gulf States

With large revenues from their oil sales, the Muslim states of the Gulf were able to finance industrial development in Pakistan. Libya, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates all invested heavily in boosting the Pakistani economy in areas such as oil refining, shipping and banking. Saudi Arabia was among the first countries to recognize Pakistan as an independent country. As it grew richer, it sent more aid to Pakistan and also invested in Pakistani industry. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it sent funds to help Afghan rebels and refugees. It is estimated that Pakistan's second largest source of foreign exchange in the early 1980s aid was the money remitted by the three million Pakistani workers in the Middle East.

The friendship with other Islamic nations also provided Pakistan with the opportunity to export its military expertise. Pakistan provided military expertise for many Gulf States and had 50,000 military personnel operating in other countries. Military agreements were signed with Muslim states in the 1970s.

Pakistan joined in the international coalition which sought to end the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait during the 1990-1 Gulf War. Some elements in Pakistan, especially the Jamaat-i-Islami opposed this policy, as they feared that a defeat of Iraq would lead to an increase in strength of the Shi'ite government in Iran.

Turkey

Turkey was an ally of Iran, so maintained friendly relations towards Pakistan all through the period we are studying. The Turks had also not forgotten the fact that the Muslims of the subcontinent had given strong support to the Khilafat Movement in 1918. Pakistan and Turkey shared a religious and cultural heritage that made mutual support natural.

- In February 1955 Turkey and Iraq were the first to sign the Baghdad Pact, which Pakistan later joined (see pg.188).
- Turkey was part of the RCD, which established close ties between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan (see pg.188).
- Turkey supported Pakistan in the wars against India, but was unsuccessful in gaining aid for Pakistan from other countries. It is true, however, that the only Muslim country to favour India in these wars was Malaysia.

LEARNING

Does Pakistan support the Palestinian cause?

It can be said that Pakistan's good relations with the Muslim states in the Gulf region have been beneficial for both. Explain your answer.

Pakistan and the United Nations

1. The United Nations Organization

The United Nations Organization [UNO or UN] was formed in October 1945. Its aims were set out in the United Nations Charter, a formal document signed by the members. Those aims were:

- To save the world from future war.
- To ensure that all people have basic human rights.
- To establish equal rights between large and small nations.
- To ensure that countries respect international law and obey treaties.
- To work for higher standards of living and social progress.

The United Nations is headed by the UN Secretary-General who has a large number of officials from member states to run the organisation. Its two main

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



- ❖ Main debating chamber
- ❖ Each member gets one vote

THE SECURITY COUNCIL



- ❖ Five permanent members
- ❖ Ten non-permanent members elected by General Assembly

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL




- ❖ 27 members elected by General Assembly

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL



- ❖ Advises countries which run self-governing territories

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL



- ❖ Chief administration officer
- ❖ Elected by majority of General Assembly
- ❖ Presents an annual report and budget to the General Assembly
- ❖ Undertakes special missions on behalf of the UN

THE INTERNATIONAL COURTS OF JUSTICE



- ❖ 15 judges from different countries
- ❖ Chosen by the General Assembly and Security Council

bodies are the General Assembly of delegates from all countries and the Security Council, made up of 5 permanent members (USA, Britain, China, Russia and France) and ten non-permanent members chosen by the Assembly to serve for two years. The United Nations can order military action if it decides it is necessary, though it requires the agreement of all five permanent members of the Security Council. In recent years such action has been taken in Yugoslavia, in Serbia and against Iraq in 1990.

The League also has many organisations and agencies which work for the improvement in living standards of all citizens across the globe. This is achieved in a number of ways:

The International Court of Justice

This is a court of 15 judges drawn from the various member states. It is based in Holland and settles disputes between states when both parties agree to use the court to resolve their disagreements.

The Economic and Social Council

The body consists of 54 states elected for three years. Its role is to co-ordinate the work of three other UN organisations:

- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). This body aims to promote international co-operation by promoting agreement and the exchange of ideas in education, science and the arts.
- The International Labour Organisation (ILO). This body was founded in 1919 as part of the League of Nations and seeks to provide social justice by ensuring adequate working conditions for employees across the world. It holds regular conferences and sets minimum labour standards which all members should meet.
- The World Health Organisation. (WHO) This body has as its objective 'the attainment by all people of the highest possible level of health'. It organises international co-operation between health specialists to promote health in a number of ways. Teams of medical experts are sent to areas where natural disasters have occurred, conferences are held where experts exchange ideas, research and dissemination of medical knowledge is carried out and programmes are set up to promote medical health, particularly in developing countries. In 1967 WHO launched a campaign to wipe smallpox off the face of the earth. By 1979 it was able to claim that its programme of inoculation had rid the world of the disease.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

This organisation was originally set up to meet the emergency needs of children in post-war Europe and China. In 1950 its mandate was changed to include the needs of children in all developing countries and in 1953 the General Assembly decided that it should continue as a permanent body working to improve conditions for children everywhere. It now plays a major role in providing community-based programmes in teaching and child-related health care, such as midwifery and sanitation. Most of its work is undertaken in developing countries and in matters relating to children under five. It also promotes the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which came into force in 1990.

The World Food Programme

Set up in 1963 it is the UN's frontline agency in fighting hunger across the globe. It specialises in providing food for the world's refugees and internally displaced people.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD)

These two organisations are the financial agencies of the UN. They provide loans to developing countries who are members of the UN. However, there has been some criticism of the agencies' work as the loans are often accompanied with conditions, laying down economic policies to be carried out by the recipients. Developing countries often feel that their economic independence and their control of their own financial policies are undermined by these conditions.

2. Pakistan and the United Nations

Pakistan joined the UN on 30 September 1947. It participated fully in debates, contributed soldiers to peacekeeping forces and had members elected to the Security Council three times. It is committed towards working for international co-operation to maintain peace in the world and to establish respect for human rights and liberties. For example, it spoke up against the occupation of Indonesia by Holland and in favour of freedom movements in a number of countries, such as Morocco and Algiers. It has also taken up the Palestinian issue in the UN, in opposition to the illegal occupation of Palestinian lands by Israel. Pakistan has also contributed regularly to UN peacekeeping missions in areas of conflict.

Pakistan has benefited greatly from its membership of the UN. It has become acknowledged as an important member of the world community and has received a number of loans from the World Bank to assist in economic development. The World Food Programme (WFP) has also played a significant role in helping provide for Afghan refugees after the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union. The WFP has also provided food and healthcare for women and girls to promote primary education in Pakistan's rural areas.

However, the Pakistani government has not always been satisfied with the intervention of the United Nations in its own affairs.

- In 1947 the Indian government referred the Kashmir issue to the United Nations, which organised a cease-fire, leaving Kashmir divided between India and Pakistan. Under pressure from Mountbatten, India agreed that there should be a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the Kashmiri people. Despite constant demands by Pakistan in the UN for this plebiscite to take place, the UN has been unable to enforce it. In much the same way, Hyderabad's complaint about being dismembered by India in 1948 is still before the Security Council.
- The Kashmir 'issue' played a significant part in causing war between Pakistan and India in 1965, where the United Nations intervened to bring about a cease-fire. The Tashkent Declaration bound both sides to 'create good friendly relations' in accordance with the United Nations Charter. When civil war broke out in East Pakistan in 1971, leading to war with India, Bhutto was sent to the United Nations to plead Pakistan's case. Bhutto was most unhappy that the UN considered its role was to bring about an end to fighting rather than accept the justice of Pakistan's case. He was particularly concerned at the speed with which UN members recognised Bangladesh as an independent country.
- In the case of the Canal Water Dispute, the UN played a significant role when the President of the World Bank made a recommendation that it should provide financial and technical support to resolve the disagreement. This proposal formed the basis of the Indus Water Treaty signed in September 1959. The World Bank also provided finance to help establish hydro-electricity and soil reclamation programmes.

n-type Questions

What happened in the Kargil Conflict of 1999? [4]

Why were relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan poor in the period 1947-79? [7]

How successful were Pakistan's relations with the USA in the period 1947-1988? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Exam Guidance

Section B: Question (a)

This question is designed to test your factual recall. In this type of question you are asked to provide details of a well-known person, event or historical occurrence. There are four marks for this question and the most straightforward way to score full marks is to write four separate sentences each of which provides a piece of information. However, if you write a sentence that is a statement of fact and also contains some extra development of that fact, you could score two marks for that sentence.

Here is a possible answer about the Kargil Conflict. It has three statements of fact and two of those have been developed. So there is more than enough here to score full marks.

The Kargil Conflict was a dispute between India and Pakistan (fact) about the ownership of Kashmir (development). It happened after Kashmiri fighters took control of Kargil and Kargil (fact). The Indians launched an attack which drove back the Kashmiri fighters (fact) even though they had support from Pakistan (development).

Section B: Question (b)

Hint: When you are asked the question 'Why?' the examiners are expecting you to find more than one reason. They will not ask a question with just one reason for the answer. They are not asking you for every possible reason you can think of, but will expect you to find two or three important reasons for an event occurring.

In this case they are asking you to explain why relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were poor. They do not want a long narrative on the relations between the two countries, nor an account of when relations were good. Instead they want you to use only the information that is necessary to answer the question "Why were relations poor?"

Planning:

If you are answering a question which requires continuous prose, it is always a good idea to make a brief plan. This plan ought to show what you will include in each paragraph. The best idea is to write a paragraph on each idea. In explaining why relations were poor we might select the following reasons:

1. Border disputes, including the Pakhtoon issue.
2. Afghanistan's friendly relations with the Soviet Union.
3. Afghanistan's neutrality in Pakistan's war with India.

What we have to do now is write a paragraph on each point that you have identified, providing enough information to explain how each factor led to relations being poor. Start your answer with a direct response to the question. There is no need to waste time with lengthy background information. There are no marks awarded to such introductions.

Here is a suggested response.

Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan were poor for three main reasons. They had a disagreement over border areas, Pakistan was suspicious of Afghanistan's friendship with the Soviet Union and was particularly offended when Afghanistan remained neutral in the 1965 war with India.

In 1947 when Pakistan was created, the Afghan government laid claim to parts of the NWFP. A referendum had been held which proved that the people wanted to be part of Pakistan, but Afghanistan did not accept this and so relations were not good. It argued that the 'Pakhtoons' living in Pakistan wanted to join with Afghanistan to form Pakhtoonistan. Afghanistan was the only country to vote against Pakistan joining the United Nations Organisation in 1947. That made relations worse.

Even when Pakistan called for official talks in Karachi in 1947, the Afghan government repeated its demand for the establishment of Pakhtoonistan and asked for a right of access to the sea through Pakistan. It was suggested by Pakistan that if the demand for Pakhtoonistan were dropped, the access to the sea might be given.

Afghanistan rejected this offer and instead signed a 'trade and transit' agreement with the Soviet Union, gaining access to the sea that way and making good relations with Pakistan unnecessary. So relations did not improve. In fact as Pakistan was shortly to side with the USA in the Cold War (Liaquat Ali Khan visited the USA in 1950 and Pakistan and the USA signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in May 1954) so it found it difficult to be on good terms with a pro-Soviet Afghanistan.

Relations hit a low point in March 1955 when Afghans attacked and ransacked the Pakistan embassy in Kabul. Pakistan closed the border and cut off diplomatic relations for several months in protest. Afghanistan also refused to join the Regional Co-operation for Development in 1964 because Pakistan was a member. Relations could not be good because Afghanistan did not want good relations. This was seen very clearly when it remained neutral in the war between Pakistan and India. Pakistan knew that the majority of Afghans supported Pakistan in the war and was angered that the government decided to stay neutral.

This is an excellent answer:

- It quickly establishes three main reasons for poor relations.
- It provides detail to support those arguments.
- It does not waste time on irrelevant material about attempts to improve relations.

If you wrote this answer in an examination, you could hope to get full marks.

Section B: Question (c)

Hint: Whenever you are asked to comment on 'How successful' a policy or relations were, you are not just being asked to say in what ways it/they were successful. You also need to consider the ways in which it/they were unsuccessful. The answer to the question might be 'Not very successful at all because'.

Planning:

The best way to plan to answer this question is to treat it like two halves. Take each side of the answer and list what you think should go in

1 Ways in which it was successful

Liaquat Ali Khan visits 1950

Alliances 1954/5

Ayub lets USA build air bases

Pakistan supports USA during U2 crisis

Afghan miracle

2 Ways in which it was not successful

American reluctance to form alliance 1947-9
Relations in 1960/70s less good
USA assists India in war with China

Ayub visits China
USA neutral in wars between Pakistan and India
Bhutto considered anti-American
Zia not popular with USA
End of the Afghan miracle.

Then you have to start by giving an answer straight away. Something like this would be a good start:

Relations between the USA and Pakistan were quite successful during this period. There were times when the USA did not seem fully committed to supporting Pakistan, but there were few occasions on which the two countries were in opposition.

Now you have to go through your plan explaining how each of the events in your 'successful' list show success and how each of the events in your 'unsuccessful' list shows lack of success.

An example of how to do it is given below. It is the paragraph which concerns the 'Afghan miracle.'

After December 1979 relations between the two countries were very good. This was because the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan and the Americans wanted Pakistan to help them provide support to the mujahideen. The USA quickly forgot their dislike of Zia's military government and provided huge sums in aid. In 1981 the Americans gave Pakistan a \$1.6 million aid package. This helped bring about economic growth in Pakistan. Relations were so good, that the USA didn't mind offending the Indians by providing aid for Pakistan. So until the Soviet war in Afghanistan was over, relations between the USA and Pakistan were very successful.

If you can work your way through your plan like this, you can expect a very high mark. To score full marks however, you need to add a final judgement. Something like this would be ideal:

Relations between the two countries varied in the period, but were generally good. However, it could be said that they were not that successful because the USA would probably have preferred to have allied with India and only had good relations with Pakistan when events meant it was necessary. So when Liaquat Ali Khan looked like going to Moscow in 1949 and when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the Americans suddenly became very friendly.

You will not have time to write at this length on everything on your list, but if you can include such detail on 3 events on each side (successful and unsuccessful) you can hope for full marks.

Source Guidance

Answering Source-based questions

After Section 1 (p 49-50) and Section 2 (pages 105-106) we looked at the types of questions in Section A of the examination.

Let's look now at some source work-type questions similar to those in Section A of the examination for the section of the syllabus called 'Nationhood 1947-49'.

Question (a) (Remember, this is the 'comprehension question.')

SOURCE A

"This may be my last message, from today Bangladesh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangladesh, wherever you might be and whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled from the soil of Bangladesh and final victory is achieved.

Source A: Part of a speech made by Sheikh Mujib on 26 March 1971.

According to Source A did Sheikh Mujib want the people of Bengal to do?

This question carries three marks. You are required to find three statements in the source which tell us what Sheikh Mujib is requesting. Each correct statement would receive one mark. In this case we could say:

He is asking the people to resist the army of occupation (One thing) Fight until the last soldier of the Pakistan is expelled (two things) and fight on until final victory is achieved. (three things)

This should be enough to score full marks.

SOURCE B *Children in East Pakistan surrounded by spent artillery shells*



Question (b) (Remember, this is the 'inference question')

What does Source B tell us about the situation in East Pakistan in 1971?

You could answer '*It tells us that they used artillery shells*' However, that would not be a very good answer, because it is just describing what the source shows and would get very few marks.

You could answer '*It tells us that there was a very dangerous situation in East Pakistan at the time.*' That would be a better answer, because you have worked something out from the source. You have made an inference. But to score higher marks, you need to explain why the source makes you think that. So a good answer would be:

'It tells us that there was a very dangerous situation in East Pakistan at the time. It does this because it shows a large number of spent artillery shells, so there must have been serious fighting going on. We can also see children standing amongst the shells. That is a very dangerous thing.'

Now you would have written a very good answer with an inference supported with detail from the source.

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