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(Q2) As per the Government of India Act 1935, elections were conducted in 1936-37. This was a significant moment in the political history of British India, as it completely changed Muslim perspective about their Hindu compatriots and showed them a glimpse of what awaited them in a Hindu ruled India.

Overview of 1936-37 elections

In 1936-37 elections Congress contested 716 out of 1585 seats in provincial legislatures. It won 707 seats across British India and secured absolute majority in 5 of the 11 provinces - Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. The Muslim League's performance was relatively poor. Though the Government of India Act 1935 provided separate electorates for Muslims, the League was only able to

secure 108 seats, and hence had to form coalition governments in muslim majority provinces such as Bengal.

Congress Denial to Separate Electorate and Representation paved way for Muslim State

After the elections of 1937, Congress formed government in many provinces. The policies and rule of Congress during this time was critical in shaping Muslim's perception of Hindu-rule. Some of the rigid policies of Congress are as under:

- a) Deny Muslims the Right of separate Electorates

Though the Government of India Act 1935 granted muslims the right to separate electorate, it was not well-received by

Hindus. The Congress leaders like Gandhi always opposed separate electorate for Muslims. He viewed Muslims as a part of Indian whole and argued that separate electorates would only widen the gulf between the communities. Congress viewed themselves as the sole representatives of entire India and rejected Muslim League's claims of being the sole representative of Muslims. These views amplified after the 1937 elections as Congress left no stone unturned in getting the right of separate electorates abolished.

b) Promotion of Hindi:

Congress denial to Muslim representation was also visible from their commitment to promoting Hindi. Many Muslim majority provinces like Bihar and UP witnessed an unprecedented promotion of Hindi at the expense of Urdu.

With such extreme and Hindu-centered policies it ~~was~~ became evident to muslims that congress was trying to suppress and eliminate their distinct culture from India, and hence the idea of separate nation began to surface.

c) Educational Reforms:

The educational reforms were also aimed at erasing muslim identity. In schools it was made mandatory that pictures of Gandhi should hanged. Moreover, Muslim students were taught about Hindu religion and culture and efforts were made to encourage muslim students to forsake their Islamic principles and join Hinduism. Such efforts went a long way in ~~passing~~ shaping muslims demand for a separate state.

d) Cultural Insensitivity

During the Congress rule, their intentions of imposing their culture on Muslims laid bare. Schemes like Vidy� Mandir scheme and Wardh scheme were seen as an instrument to eliminate centuries old Muslim culture from the sub-continent. Hence it became apparent to Muslims that a separate state was necessary if they wanted to preserve their culture and their separate identity.

e) Attacks on Islam:

Congress's aim to target Islam was also exposed during its rule from 1937-39. Islam was severely attacked by impunity. Mosques were not allowed to give Azaan (call to prayer) and pigs (impure creatures considered in Islam)

were dragged in Mosques. Moreover, Hindu extremists played loud music outside mosques during prayer time and ~~see~~ sacrificing of cows was made illegal. Such actions ~~show~~ made muslims realize that Congress not only sought to eliminate their culture, but also their religion from India.

(ongress Policies paved the way for separate Muslim state

a) Changed Muslim perception:

Before the congress rule Muslims did not view Hindus as a threat to their culture and Religion. However, the extreme policies of Congress made muslim realize the true intentions of Hindu extremists.

This shaped their perception about Hindus to a great extent, and hence the demand for a separate Muslim state

was gathering support.

b) Change in Muslim League's policies:

During the Congress rule, the Muslim League found itself helpless to come in the aid of Muslims. The league was unable to secure majority in the previous elections, and hence lacked the political strength to take actions. However, during the Congress rule, League revisited its policies and stepped up efforts to expose Congress and inculcate to muslims that only under a Muslim rule would their rights be protected.

c) Day of Deliverance:

Muslims relief after the congress Ministries had resigned was evident from the fact how they celebrated

after that. Two years of oppressive rule brought muslims to their breaking point and when finally when congress resigned, muslims in unprecedent numbers celebrated that.

d) Pakistan Resolution and Elections of 1946

On 23rd March 1940, a historic resolution was passed demanding a separate Muslim State for Muslims. The resolution was well-received by majority of the muslims of the subcontinent. The huge support for this demand for a separate state can be discerned by the overwhelming Muslim league's victory in 1946 elections in which the party's manifesto was to vote for them if muslims sought a separate homeland.

Conclusion

To sum up, Muslims of the sub-continent felt the need for a separate homeland due to Congress's oppressive policies towards Muslims. It was during that time that the founders of Pakistan i.e Quaid-e-Azam, and Allam Iqbal also realized that a separate state was necessary to preserve Muslim identity and culture. And Hence, after years of hard work and unwavering commitment, their efforts came to fruition on 14 August, 1947.

(Q3)

Since its inception, Pakistan has been grappling with numerous security threats, and the situation in the last decade has only gotten worse. Furthermore, the rise of digitalization has opened new fronts a new front of war, which Pakistan was not prepared for. Hence,

in the present scenario, it has become all the more important for Pakistan to revisit its foreign policy and shape it in a way to counter the complex and intricate security threats that the country faces.

What is meant by National Security concerns

Security concerns refers to the threats emanating from internal and external sources that threaten the socio-economic, political outlook of a country or endanger its sovereignty. Though the prevalent misconception is that security concerns are confined to military warfare, in reality security concerns encompass a wide spectrum of issues. This is also echoed by Barry Buzan in his book 'People, states and fear' in

which he points out that the security concept of security is too narrowly founded and lies down the facets that pose security challenges: Military, Economic, Political, security, Environmental, societal.

Major Security concerns that Pakistan has faced in the last Decade

a) Threat from India:

India has been by far the most severe security threat for Pakistan.

India, being seven times larger than Pakistan has always given it an edge in military, economic, and geo-

strategic importance over Pakistan. One would think that acquiring nuclear weapons would reduce the direct confrontation between the two countries, but the in reality

the situation has worsened. Especially after US-India strategic partnership, India's military, economic, and uranium capacity has grown manifold. The alleged surgical strikes in 2016 and then in 2019 conducted by India in Pakistan speaks volumes of the growing Indian threat.

b) Security concerns from Afghanistan:

Much like India, Afghanistan has also had tense ties with Pakistan. Not only do the Afghans not accept Durand line but also declined to accept Pakistan after the latter's independence. In the last decade, security threats from Afghanistan have grown a lot more complicated especially after America's withdrawal. Initially this withdrawal was lauded by Pakistan, as it was believed that it would stop the use of Afghan soil to conduct terrorist insurgencies in Pakistan.

tan, however since 2022, these terrorist attacks have ~~g~~ surged, making it a security challenge for the country.

c) Terrorist Attacks have increased:

Pakistan has long been a victim of terrorist insurgencies. These insurgencies have increased a lot since 2022. There are at present many terrorist organizations operating in Pakistan, some of the infamous are Tehreek-Taliban Pakistan, Islamic State Khorasan Province, and Balochistan Liberation Army. To make matters more difficult, many of these terrorist organizations are supported by external state actors like India's Research and Analysis Wing (Raw). This was also evident from a vast network of finance and arms supply chains uncovered by Pakistan in 2020.

that revealed India's involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan. All this irrefutable evidence was sent to UN, but no action was taken.

d) Fifth-Generation Warfare:

With the rapid increase in digitalization, Pakistan has found itself exposed to a new front of war: Fifth-Generation warfare. In this type of warfare, there the enemy inflicts damage through non-kinetic military action such as cyber attacks, misinformation, propaganda, and social engineering. Daniel Abbot, in his book 'The Handbook of 5GW', call 5GW as war of information and perception. Hence, this new front of war has added to the country's security challenges in the last decade.

Revisiting Foreign Policy to Mitigate Security concerns.

- a) Strengthen Military By taking Help from China:

In order to keep pace with the growing military might of India and to ~~shatter~~ counter the internal terrorism activities, Pakistan should aim for joint military drills and for acquiring latest defense technologies from China. Also there should be a ~~#~~ communication channels which would allow quick and efficient sharing of intelligence information. Hence the foreign policy should be aimed at improving diplomatic and cordial relations with China.

- b) Establish cordial relations with TIA:

Being located mid The Foreign Policy of Pakistan should work towards maintaining cordial relations with Afghanistan. Pakistan already has many enemies in the region and so it cannot afford making an enemy of TTA.

c) Joint Military operations in Afghanistan:

Pakistan should persuade TTA into allowing Pakistan to take military operations in Afghanistan against Taliban. TTA have time and time again given their inability to conduct operations against TTP in Afghanistan as a reason for such practices to perpetuate. Hence revisiting foreign policy that aims at enhanced collaboration b/w Pakistan and afghanistan against terrorists is crucial.

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d) Improve relations with Russia:

With the growing US-India partnership, it is high time that Pakistan should reach out to Russia for improving diplomatic and strategic relations. Russia is one of the strongest countries in the world, so having defense and economic agreements with it can bolster Pakistan's defense capabilities as well as improve the country's outlook. Hence shaping foreign policy to improve relations with Russia can prove very fruitful.

e) Seek Foreign collaboration in solidifying Cyber security

Much like strengthening military defense, the foreign policy of Pakistan should also focus on increasing

the country's cyber security in order to counter rising fifth-generation warfare. The Foreign Policy should aim to seek digital assistance from country's allies like China to enhance Pakistan's capacity to ~~not~~ counter misinformation, social engineering, propaganda and cyber attacks.

Conclusion

To sum up, Pakistan's security challenges are ~~not~~ becoming increasingly complex by each passing day. Although Pakistan has managed to remove threats that pose a threat to the existence of the country, it is essential Pakistan focuses on the internal security challenges and non-kinetic sources of threats. The solutions in this passage have the capacity to mitigate some of the security threats.