

# **THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, ITS DECLINE & AFTERMATH**

# Decline of the Mughal Empire

**Key Question: What were the causes of the decline of the Mughal Empire? [14]**

## Focus Points:

- The role of Aurangzeb in the decline of the Mughal Empire.
- Did the Mughal weaknesses from 1707 make decline inevitable?
- The internal split & disintegration amongst the local Indians as a cause.
- How far was the East India Company responsible in the decline of the Empire?

## Specified content:

### **Internal reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire:**

- The impact of Aurangzeb's policies on the stability of the Mughal Empire. (Jizya/forceful conversions/destruction of Hindu temples)
- The ineffectiveness of his successors as rulers, problems of controlling the empire.
- The rise of the Maratha and Sikh empires.
- The rebellion by the locals disgruntled with the continuous chaos and battles.

### **External reasons for the decline of the Mughal Empire:**

- In **1739** the Persian invader **Nadir Shah** captured Delhi. He did not stay in Delhi but emptied royal treasury. He also took with him the symbols of the Mughal pride; the **Koh-i-Noor** diamond and Shah Jehan's **Peacock Throne**.
- It was in **1747** that **Ahmed Shah Durrani** attacked Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore. By **1749** he had gained control of Punjab and by **1756** he had captured Kashmir and Multan too.
- The already weakened empire faced further intrusion by the **British** in **1608** in the form of EIC and the **French**, who in **1664** launched their own **Compagnie des Indes**, which proved to be the last nail in the coffin. The British, who had initially entered as traders took full advantage of the weakening empire and soon became masters of whole India.

### CAIE Exam Questions

1. Who was Aurangzeb? [4]
2. What was the Jizya Tax? [4]
3. Why was Aurangzeb unpopular at the time of his death? [7]
4. 'The coming of the British was the main reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

### Decline of the Mughal Empire

Although the Mughals had been ruling India for the past 200 years and reached its zenith at the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir, it collapsed within a few decades after his death.

#### **Aurangzeb as a ruler:**

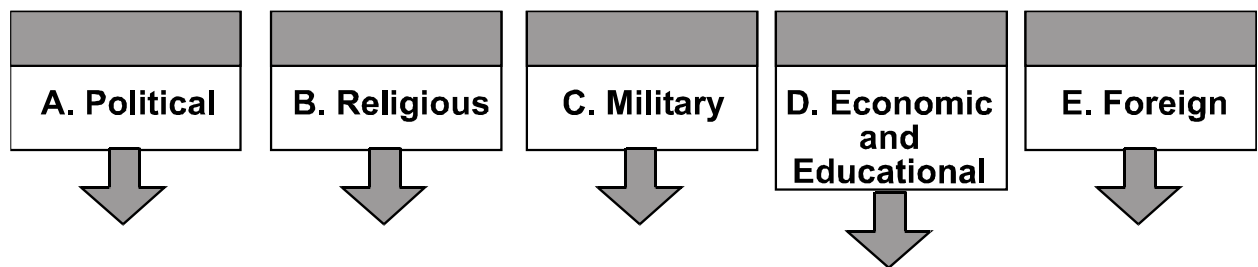
- Aurangzeb is considered to be an ardent believer of Islamic norms and values.
- Aurangzeb's first real challenge was against the Assamese (**1664-1666**) who had invaded Bengal, and though they never completely conquered Assam itself, the king had to accept Aurangzeb as his overlord and give large amount of treasure.
- There was a war against the **Rajputs** from **1680-82** that was a big mistake on his part as they had been reasonably friendly with the earlier Mughals. Also, the rebellion by the Sikhs and Satnamis in Mewar and Jatts in Gokal created problems.
- In order to extend his empire northwards, he had to fight against Pathans in NWFP.
- Marathas were a militant force of peasants and poor farmers who belonged to state of Maharashtra. Under the fierce leadership of **Shivaji** in Hyderabad Deccan area, they were gradually increasing to other parts of India too. Even 25 years of fighting Aurangzeb had not subdued Marathas. He had almost emptied the royal treasury. Still, the Empire was largest till 1707 from Kashmir to Karnatak and Ghazni to Bengal.

## Social Reforms

- He imposed high taxes on common men, though he abolished many local taxes on traders.
- He spent huge amount on military expeditions to extend his empire.
- He spent huge money on palaces and luxurious mosques such as Pearl Mosque in Delhi.

### Causes for the Downfall of the Mughal Empire

The Mughal Empire owes its decline and ultimate downfall to a combination of factors, which may be classified into political, religious, military, economic, educational and foreign.



## **POLITICAL**

### ❖ Succession Disputes

The charm of ruling the empire had enticed many a ruler to gain the control of the empire. Therefore, the Mughal era witnessed civil war at the death of its rulers. The war of successions not only led to bitterness, bloodshed, loss of money and prestige of the empire over a period of time, but to its eventual downfall also. A major cause for the degeneration of the Mughal Empire was the absence of any definite law of accession. This in turn allowed the British to impose territorial acquisition policies, mainly the **Doctrine of Lapse in 1852**.

### Aurangzeb's successors and decline of Mughal Empire

Aurangzeb himself had gained the control of the Empire by overcoming his brothers. He was determined to avoid such a war after his death so he divided the empire between his three sons but it proved in vain. Fighting broke out between them and eventually **Prince Muazzam** established himself as emperor. He survived only a few years and then his four sons fought over the throne but the victor **Jahandur Shah** was murdered within a year. In the ten years after Aurangzeb's death, twelve different people claimed to be emperors at one time! The stable Mughal Empire became weak and divided. **Muhammad Shah**, also known as **Shah Alam I** became emperor in **1719** and ruled for almost 30 years but he faced so much opposition that he was really last Mughal Emperor who claimed to be an emperor.

### ❖ Rise of Marathas, Sikhs and other militant groups

Marathas were a much more serious and long-lasting threat to the Muslim kingdoms of the subcontinent. They first appeared in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Western Ghats where they built large fortresses in the mountains that were almost impossible to capture. They emerged under the fierce leader **Shivaji** in Hyderabad Deccan area. They forced the Sultan of Bijapur to surrender in 1659 and even defeated the Mughal army in **1661**. Their influence further grew when they sacked the rich Mughal port of **Surat** in **1664** and were gradually increasing to other parts of India. Aurangzeb now realized the strength of his enemy and sent a huge Muslim army which defeated the Marathas in 1665. They were forced to sign a treaty but that didn't last long. The most costly expedition of Aurangzeb was against Marathas in Deccan. Even 25 years of fighting Aurangzeb had not subdued Marathas. He had almost emptied the royal treasury. During the time of the Early Mughals, Sikhs also organized themselves as militant groups but their power reached to the heights during the time of Aurangzeb and later Mughals. During the time of Aurangzeb, the peasantry, almost throughout the Mughal territories, was under the burden of high taxes. This situation was exploited in Punjab against the Mughal rulers by the Sikh leaders which led to a number of rebellions across the country. The government was soon exhausted in dealing with the rebellions groups and the empire started showing the signs of disintegration.

### ❖ Weak central government and rise of independent regional kingdoms

As the control of the Mughal government was getting weaker, the regional administrators declared their independence in the Afghan region, Kashmir, Oudh and Bengal. Many other regional kingdoms refused to pay tribute to the Mughal government by breaking the Mughal authority and weakening their Empire. It was during the rule of the later Mughals that **Bengal (1720), Deccan (1724) Bihar and Orissa (1748)** declared their independence. Another sign of Mughal weakness appeared when in **1738** the Marathas swarmed outside Agra and reached Delhi. Although not successful there, they were able to capture large areas of modern day Madhya Pradesh and southeastern Rajasthan state and west central India.

### ❖ Large size of the Empire

During the time of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire had expanded to reach its maximum size. This vast area had become impossible for any ruler to control and govern from one center without efficient means of communication.

### ❖ Conspiracies in Mughal courts and corruption

Another reason for the crumbling down of the Mughal Empire was the disloyalty of the courtiers who were involved in conspiracies against the Mughal government and sided with the enemies after receiving huge sum of money or land as bribe. Growth of hostile and rival clique in the court also undermined the strength of the government. The degeneration of the rulers had also led to the moral degeneration of the nobility. Widespread corruption in the administration started and taking of bribes became common. This eventually weakened the economic structure of the government leading to its downfall.

## **RELIGIOUS**

Historians are divided about Aurangzeb's attitude towards religion. According to many western and Hindu historians Aurangzeb's religious policy is regarded as a cause for the decline of the Mughal Empire as it led to disunity among the people.

- They say that he was intolerant and wanted to destroy other religions. They pointed out that he reintroduced Jizya tax on Non-Muslims.
- Destroyed a number of Hindu temples and tried to ban some old Hindu practices, such as Suttee.
- Fixed the minimum length of beards and put a ban on dancing and use of alcohol. He also forbade the planting of cannabis.
- He also enforced Islamic law making Hindu and Sikhs live according to Quran.
- He encouraged Islamic scholars and built many schools and colleges. He even copied Quran in his own handwriting twice.

## **MILITARY INEFFICIENCY**

- One of the most potent causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire was the deterioration and demoralization of the military. The military had not only become inefficient but also lacked in training, discipline and unity.
- The army was out-dated in regard to weapons. It consisted of armed groups maintained by various nobles, which were the main source of the army's weakness. As the weakening of the nobles occurred, so did lose its effectiveness. Also, the soldiers were more committed with ethnicity (Persians, Afghans and Central Asians) than India itself.
- The Mughals had not developed navigational techniques and only maintained small ships that were no match for the well-equipped ships of the foreign traders. It was this weakness that the French and the British used to their advantage, and were eventually able to establish their control over India.

## **ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS**

- Agriculture was the main source of income of the Mughal government but its management deteriorated over the years. The landlords hardly adopted any modern methods of cultivation, resulting in insignificant increase in agriculture produce. In order to increase government revenue, heavy taxes on farmers and peasants were imposed increasing their economic burden and thus contributed to the deplorable economic conditions.
- As a matter of fact the state invested neither in agricultural expansion nor in manufacturing or infrastructure to increase production and promote trade. The war of successions, rebellions and luxurious style of living had depleted the once enormous treasury and had led to financial bankruptcy.
- Aurangzeb abolished transport duties (10 percent of the value of goods) and the tax on goods brought into cities for sale. It didn't prove successful in the end. Also, customs duties were re-imposed in 1665 at **5 percent for Hindus and 2.5 percent for Muslims**. This led to many Hindus converting to Islam.
- A grave drawback of Mughal rule was the failure of the Mughal rulers to promote modern education. Whereas the European nations had begun to invest in printing books and public universities, the Mughal rulers demonstrated, at best, a passing interest in the sciences. As a result, even though the Mughal Empire under Aurangzeb had successfully dealt with the expansion of European trading settlements in India, no durable foundation for the scientific advancement in India had been laid. Mughal rule had left India largely incapable of dealing with the challenge of European military and cultural domination.



# FOREIGN INVASIONS

**1738** the Persian leader, **Nadir Shah** invaded the Mughal Empire. He defeated Ahmed Shah's forces in **1739** and captured Delhi. He did not stay in Delhi but emptied royal treasury. Then in **1747**, **Ahmed Shah Durrani** attacked Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore. By **1749** he gained control of Punjab and by 1756 he had had Kashmir and Multan too.

## ❖ The Arrival of the British

The already weakened empire faced further intrusion by the British and the French, which proved to be the last nail in the coffin. The British, who had initially entered as traders, took full advantage of the weakening empire and soon became masters of the whole of India. Although the French had the same intentions as the British that prompted them to support the Nawab of Bengal in the **Battle of Plassey** in **1757**, they were never a match to British supremacy. In **1764**, Shah Alam II suffered defeat at the hands of the British at the **Battle of Buxur**. This led to the British taking control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In **1803**, they occupied Delhi and placed the emperor under British protection. A further expansion towards the South and West was carried out when the British were able to annex Sindh in **1843** and Punjab in **1848**. British were now gaining stronghold in India and the final two emperors ruled in name only. Shah Alam's son **Akbar II** ruled parts of Delhi and his son **Bahadur Shah Zafar II** exiled from Delhi to Rangoon in 1857.

## Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment:

In my opinion, downfall of the Mughal Empire was inevitable due to internal crisis and external factors. As a matter of fact, Mughals could not keep pace with the changing world and remained within their shell when the world was going through a major change in economic, political and social systems. There was agricultural and industrial revolution in Europe that increased the economic power of European nations. On the other hand, India remained backward and followed traditional ways in industry and agriculture.

**MUSLIM RENAISSANCE IN  
THE 18<sup>TH</sup> & 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES  
BY THE  
RELIGIOUS REFORMERS**

## RELIGIOUS REFORMERS

1. Shah Waliullah
2. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi
3. Haji Shariatullah

**Key Question:** How successful were the religious thinkers in spreading Islam in the sub-continent during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries? [14]

### Focus points:

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

### Specified content:

- The religious reforms of Shah Waliullah and his role in the political and religious context
- Syed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi and the Jihad Movement
- Hajji Shariatullah and the Faraizi Movement

### CAIE Exam Questions

1. Who was Shah Waliullah? [4]
2. What was the Battle of Panipat? [4]
3. Why did Shah Waliullah translate the holy Quran into Persian? [7]
4. Who was Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi? [4]
5. Why did the Jihad Movement fail? [7]
6. Who was Haji Shariatullah? [4]

## **Shah Waliullah (1703-1762)**

### **Early Life:**

- Born during the time of Aurangzeb.
- His father Shah Abdul Rahim founded the **Madrassa Rahimiya** in Delhi.
- Started teaching at Madrassa Rahimiyah after his father's death in 1718.
- 1724 went to Arabia to perform Hajj.

### **Reasons for reviving Islam in the sub-continent:**

1. The Mughal Empire was in a state of political decline and Muslims were disunited. A major reason for that was the lavishness that they had been involved in and hence, affected their administration. Many non-Muslim forces like Marathas in Deccan and, Sikhs in Punjab were gaining power. It was feared that if immediate action was not taken, Mughal Empire would fall into the control of Marathas who had stronghold in Southern India. Shah Waliullah believed that reviving true spirit of Islam could only unite the Muslim Community against non-Islam forces.
2. Secondly, Muslims were not only politically weak and disunited but they had also adopted many un-Islamic customs and traditions due to misinterpretation of Islam. He believed that in order to stop the moral degeneration of society and, there had to be moral and spiritual revival of Islam. Very few Muslims could understand Quran because Arabic was not their language. Therefore, he translated Quran into Persian Language.
3. Thirdly, Muslim society was not only experiencing moral and spiritual degeneration but they were also in a state of economic decline. Poor peasants were suffering due to exploitation of rich landlords and there was an economic chaos that the Muslim society was facing at that time. Therefore, he wished that dignity of labor to be valued by following Islamic economic system that ensures economic and social justice.

### Efforts for the revival of Islam in the Sub-continent/Importance of Shah Waliullah's work:

1. He was a role model for Muslim community and had deep knowledge and understanding of Quran, Hadith, Fiqah and Tasawwuf. His personal conduct persuaded many Muslims to follow true spirit of Islam.
2. Translated Quran into Persian language to make it understandable for most of the people in the Sub-continent. It paved the way for further translations of Quran. Later his sons **Shah Abdul Rafi** and **Shah Abdul Qadir** translated Quran into Urdu Language.
3. With the translation of Quran, application of Quran became much easier and Islamic teachings did not remain a monopoly of few people who could understand Arabic and deliver Islamic teachings to people according to their own interpretations.
4. Wrote **51** books on Hadith and Fiqah such as '**Hujjatullah-ul-Baligha**, **Izlat-ul-Akhfa** and an account of first four caliphs. He also tried to reconcile the differences between Shias and Sunnis to bring unity among the Muslims.
5. He tried to revive economic system of Islam by emphasizing on a just distribution of wealth, social justice and dignity of labor.
6. He organized opposition to Marathas who had strong hold in Southern India and who became a real threat to dwindling Muslim rule. He wrote letters to Ulemas and nobles and invited Ahmed Shah Abdali from Afghanistan to crush the power of Marathas at the **Third Battle of Panipat** in **1761**. This was another effort to protect Muslim rule in the sub-continent. Even though Muslims could not unite later and Mughal Empire fell into the hands of British.

## **Syed Ahmed Shaheed (1786-1831)**

### **Early Life**

- He was born in **1786** in Rae Bareli, a small town near Lucknow.
- He got his early education by the sons of Shah Waliullah at Madrassah Rahimiya where he got enrolled in 1806.
- He was a man of action who believed in armed struggle against the non-Muslim oppressors, mainly Sikhs.
- In **1810** he joined the forces of **Amir Khan Tonak** and acquired the modern military training in European style. In **1812**, he joined his army to take part in jihad against the British.
- In 1821 he went to perform Hajj and when he came back he was ready to launch jihad against Sikhs.

### **Reasons for conducting Jihad against Sikhs**

- Ranjit Singh, the great ruler of Punjab had made life miserable for the Muslims in India. Muslims were forbidden to carry out their basic Islamic practices. In some areas even the call for prayers was banned. Now that his rule had extended to NWFP, it was evident that only an armed struggle could put an end to this tyranny. Syed Ahmed, therefore, founded the Jihad Movement also called the **“Mujahideen Movement”** in **1825**.
- Syed Ahmed wanted the Muslims to have a firm control in the areas of Punjab and NWFP as they had Muslim majority there. By controlling these areas he could impose a model ‘Islamic state’ in these two provinces.
- Syed Ahmed himself belonged to the Barelvi school of thought and believed that the un-Islamic practices that had crept into the lives of Muslims should be removed for their moral and spiritual degeneration. He therefore took the title of ‘Imam’ and imposed Islamic shariah in NWFP.

## **Influence / Importance of Syed Ahmed Shaheed's work**

Although Jihad Movement was not successful in achieving its aims to liberate Punjab from Sikh rule but it had left an everlasting influence on the political struggle of the Muslims in later years.

1. Jihad Movement carried on in the hills of NWFP until 1863 when the British had to send an army to deal with it. Even then the movement survived through the determination of its followers. NWFP remained a stronghold of orthodox Islamic movements till the present age.
2. Syed Ahmed Shaheed set an example of conducting Jihad against an oppressive non-Muslim rule in the history of sub-continent.
3. Jihad movement was not for the sake of money or power but it had a much higher aim - reviving the true spirit of Islam.
4. Jihad Movement is also considered as fore-runner of Pakistan Movement. Syed Ahmed Shaheed's efforts were an inspiration to all Muslims in defending their religion, culture and freedom.

## **Reasons for the failure of Jihad Movement**

- Lack of funds, poor war equipment and inadequate military training was one major reason. Also, army comprised of different sects that also included Afghans who were suspicious of others and not ready to cooperate.
- Sectarian propaganda by Sikhs against the reforms introduced by Syed Ahmed Shaheed to create differences between Shias and Sunnis. (Syed Ahmed Shaheed was a strict Sunni Muslim)
- Treachery of a Pathan commander (**Yar Muhammad Khan**) who was bribed by Ranjit Sindh and created chaos in Syed Ahmed Shaheed's army.
- In the **Battle of Balakot in 1831**, a much larger army fought against Syed Ahmed Shaheed and Muslims were unable to resist. Six hundred Mujahideen were killed including Syed Ahmed Shaheed and his commander **Ismail Shah**.

## Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840)

### Early Life

- Born in **1781** in Faridpur district in East Bengal, he belonged to a poor family.
- Influenced by the beliefs of Shaikh Abdul Wahab.
- Performed Hajj in 1799 and on return started Faraizi Movement that emphasized on basic religious obligations such as belief in oneness of Allah, Prayers, Fasting, Zakat and Hajj. Haji Shariatullah believed that Muslim community had moved away from true Islamic practices. In order to reform the society, Muslims should follow up all religious obligations strictly. Faraizi Movement also supported the ideas of Jihad against the non-Muslims who were treating Muslim miserably.

### Efforts for revival of Islam in East Bengal

- Muslims of East Bengal were oppressed by Hindus and the British. They had been given few opportunities in education and employment. As a result, many Muslims remained backward and poor. Haji Shariatullah started Faraizi Movement to improve the economic conditions of Muslims. He asked his people to give up un-Islamic customs and practices and act upon the commandments of religion called 'Faraiz'.
- His simplicity of character and sincere devotion to faith changed the outlook of Muslim masses.
- Haji Shariatullah declared Bengal as **Dar-ul-Harb** (a Muslim area ruled by non-Muslims)
- Haji Shariatullah's movement was a direct Jihad against the false religious practices and oppression of Zamindars. It caused great concern among the Hindus of East Bengal. The landlords did not want Haji Shariatullah creating difficulties for them and were alarmed that Muslim cultivators were uniting in a desire to improve their lives and improve and purify their religion. They drove Haji Shariatullah out to Dhaka where he died in 1840.
- His work, however, was carried out by his son **Mohsinuddin**, who continued to work to improve the position of Muslims in East Bengal and introduced economic reforms.



- Mohsin-ud-din divided the East Bengal into circles and appointed Khalifas to look after economic and social conditions of Muslims.
- He motivated people to oppose heavy taxes imposed by Hindu and British landlords. This created law and order condition in Bengal. He also declared Jihad against the British government.
- Faraizi Movement brought a spiritual change which led to revival of Islam in East Bengal. It united the Muslims against Hindus and British and made peasants of Bengal aware of their rights. This proved to be important in later years as the Muslim demand for their homeland grew. Later on Pakistan Movement thrived in Bengal and resulted in creation of Pakistan

### **Titu Mir (1782-1831)**

**Mir Nisar Ali** (Titu Mir) was one of the greatest freedom fighters of Bengal. He lit the flame of liberation into the hearts of Bengalis and urged them to struggle for political, cultural and economic independence. Titu Mir was born on **January 27, 1782** in a village in Bengal. He studied in a local Madrassa and became a Hafiz of Quran there. He had good command on Arabic, Persian and Bengali languages. He went to Mecca in 1822 to perform Haj. There he met Syed Ahmad Shaheed. He became greatly influenced by Syed Ahmad Shaheed who inspired him to preach the true teachings of Islam and fight for the freedom of Muslims.

Upon returning home he started his struggle against British. He united peasants against the Zamindars who were supported by British. Titu Mir protested levying tax on beard, moustache, mosque and Islamic name of Muslims by local Hindu Zamindars. The Zamindars tried to create division among Titu Mir's followers by labeling him as a Wahabi. However, the Muslims did not pay any heed to their tricks. As a result, they intensified torture on the Muslims.

At last, on **14 November 1831**, the British forces armed with modern weapons attacked the Muslim Mujahideen. The battle at **Narkelbaria** was fought valiantly but they could not withstand with their shields and spears. Titu Mir had built a bamboo fort and kept the British forces at bay but was eventually martyred along with many of his fellow freedom fighters.

## **Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment related to:**

### **Religious Reformers/effort to spread Islam in the Sub-Continent**

In my opinion, Shah Waliullah rendered the most valuable services for the revival of Islam. His works to revive the true spirit of Islam continued to be a source of guidance and inspiration for all the generations to come. The translation of Quran into Persian language by Shah Waliullah has been considered as the most authentic one and it paved the way for further translations of Quran into many other languages. Furthermore, his writings made the Muslims realize the importance of following the true Islamic principles.

On the other hand, Shah Waliullah was partially successful in his mission to revive Islam. Despite of his hard efforts, neither he could not prevent the downfall of the Mughal Empire nor establish the Muslim society on pure Islamic lines. Moreover, harmonious relations between Shi'as and Sunnis remained out of question till present time due to certain fundamental differences between the two sects.

## **East India Company**

### **CIE Exam Content:**

- What role did the East India Company play in the decline of the Empire?
- How successful was British expansion in the sub-continent from 1750 to 1857?

[NB: The two focus points on British expansion do not require detailed teaching, but are essential to provide a full picture of Mughal problems during the period, and are regarded as suitable background and context for British colonial rule of the territory now encompassed by Pakistan, as well as for the War of 1857-58. Candidates may be asked to use this information in questions related to the background to the events of 1857-58]

### **Specified content:**

- Foreign invasions from Persia and Afghanistan
- Reasons for the East India Company's involvement in the sub-continent  
British relations with the later Mughal rulers of Delhi
- British expansion from the 1750s to 1810
- A general overview of the course of, and reasons for, British annexation of the territories which now encompass Pakistan (including the Anglo-Sikh wars and the annexations of Lahore, the Punjab and Peshawar)
- The British search for a 'natural' and 'scientific' NW Frontier
- British policy towards Tribal Territory.

### **CAIE Exam Questions**

1. What was the East India Company (EIC)? [4]
2. Explain why the East India Company became involved in the Indian subcontinent during the 17<sup>th</sup> century? [7]

### **Background:**

- After the discovery of new sea routes to India, European powers such as Portuguese, French, Dutch and British were casting envious eye on India's wealth.
- In **1510** Portuguese established trading base in Goa.
- In **1600** Queen Elizabeth 1 granted permission to a group of merchants to establish EIC.
- EIC had monopoly in trade between Britain and areas east of Africa.
- Dutch had monopoly over spice trade of East Indies (Indonesia), so EIC took control of India.
- EIC landed in Surat in **1608** and in **1612** Shah Jehan granted them permission of trade.

### **Why was EIC interested in India?**

#### **Economic Reasons**

- India was known as 'golden sparrow' because of its resources.
- Profitable trade of spices, silk, indigo, opium etc. They opened trading posts at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta called Presidencies.
- After Industrial revolution British required raw material for their industries in Britain.
- India could serve as a big 'market' for the industrial products of Britain.
- British wanted to capture trade routes of South Asia.
- British could look after their possessions in the Middle East and Far East from their stronghold in India.

#### **Political Reasons**

- EIC was given monopoly in trade between Britain and areas east of Africa. The merchants were hoping to break into spice trade in the East Indies (modern day Indonesia), but the Dutch had already won control of spice trade and would not let another European power share it. So the EIC turned to India as an alternative.
- Weak government in India had divided India into several states ruled by independent rulers. It was now easier to capture the states one by one.

## Religious Reasons

- Spread of Christianity through missionary activities.

## Cultural Reasons

- Indian culture such as festivals, food, dresses, architecture and art had a fascinating effect on British.

## How did the EIC/British capture India by 1857?

- They had just a few trading posts in the beginning.
- In **1664**, they established headquarter in Bombay.
- In **1686**, they fought against the Mughals but got defeated. They were forced to pay a heavy fine.
- By early 17<sup>th</sup> century they had defeated Portuguese and Dutch.
- Rivalry with French - Lord Clive defeated French in the **Battle of Carantic** in **1751** and increased British influence over Bengal and southern India.
- The Battle of Plassey was fought in **1757**. Lord Clive defeated Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Doulah with the help of his general Mir Jaffar who was made Nawab afterwards. British captured the richest province of India.
- In **1764** in the Battle of Buxur, Mir Jaffar's son-in-law Mir Qasim joined with Nawab of Oudh and Mughal emperor Shah Alam II to drive EIC out of Bengal. They lost the battle.
- EIC took control of revenue collection in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and extended its influence to Oudh.
- Through exploitation of Bengal, famine, disease, lawlessness. EIC was only interested in making profits and transferring wealth to Britain.
- EIC continued to trade but British Government took administrative control of India.
- In **1782** Governor General **Warren Hastings** signed a treaty to end war between British and Marathas.
- In **1799**, Governor General **Wellesley** captured Mysore by killing Tipu Sultan.
- In **1799**, Nawab of Oudh was defeated and handed over large territory to British.

- In **1803** British entered Delhi and forced the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam to rule under British protection.
- In **1818** Marathas were defeated and accepted British control.
- The annexations of Sindh **1843** - British were defeated in 1841 in Afghanistan. In order to cover up embarrassment, **Sir Charles Napier** provoked Amirs of Sindh to attack on British Presidency in 1843. He then defeated Amirs and annexed Sindh.
- Annexation of Punjab and NWFP - Ranjit Singh, a strong ruler of Punjab had signed a '**Perpetual Treaty of Friendship**' in **1809** but after his death in 1839, his army attacked British possession, south of River Sutlej. In return British attacked Punjab and defeated the Sikhs in the **First Anglo-Sikh War in 1846**. **Treaty of Amritsar** forced the Sikhs to pay large fines to British for breaking the treaty. Also, the British formalized the sale of Kashmir to **Gulab Sindh Dogra**, who helped British win the battle, for **7,500,000** Nanakshahee Rupees of all the lands in Kashmir that were ceded to them by the Sikhs by the **Treaty of Lahore in 1846**.
- After a revolt against the British, Punjab and NWFP were annexed in **1849**.
- In other areas where British did not have formal control, like Hyderabad Deccan and Oudh, local rulers were allowed to rule but they had to pay large amount of money to British and had to control on foreign affairs.
- **Doctrine of Lapse in 1852** – It was (if a ruler died without a male heir, his state would be annexed to British) introduced by Lord Dalhousie and helped the British gain control of more lands such as Oudh after the death of Nawab in 1856. Jhansi, Nagpur, Satara also fell under the British control.

**Specimen Question:**

**Why did the British Government take control of the affairs of the East India Company in the early nineteenth century? [7]**

British Government took control of the affairs of the East India Company in the early nineteenth century due to a number of reasons:

- Firstly, the volume of trade became so significant that the British government felt it was too valuable an asset to leave in the hands of a private company even though the EIC was now holding its possessions in trust for them.
- Secondly, the fear of Russian expansion in Central Asia worried the government and so Britain decided to shape its foreign policy by further expansion towards Afghanistan to counter this threat. Britain was much concerned of her prestige being at stake especially after the defeat by the Afghans at Kabul in 1842.
- Thirdly, the famine in Bengal, misgovernment, corruption, declining law and order conditions were also the reasons for British government's intervention in the affairs of EIC.

**Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment related to EIC/ control of India**

In my opinion, Indians had been unsuccessful to a great extent to take control of India from the British for more than 100 years despite of a number of attempts mentioned above. However, it is unlikely for any foreign power to retain their control on another country against the will of the people on permanent basis. Moreover, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ideas of democracy, equality, freedom and fundamental human rights became popular in the civilized world including Britain. Being a great supporter of these ideas, they had no other choice but to liberate their colonies. After the Second World War, Britain lost the status of super power and the process of decolonization started that liberated India from more than a century's imperial rule.

**THE INDIAN MUTINY**

**OR**

**THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

**1857**



## **War of Independence 1857**

**Key Question:** What were the causes and consequences of the War of Independence 1857-

58?

**[14]**

### **Focus points:**

- What were the long-term causes of the War?
- What were the immediate causes of the War?
- Why did the War fail?
- What were the immediate consequences of War?

### **Specified content:**

- The immediate and underlying causes of the War
- The course of the War, with particular reference to the roles played by the Muslim rulers and populations of what is now Pakistan
- Reasons for failure
- An assessment of the short-term impact of the War on Muslims in the sub-continent
- British reaction during and immediately after the War (including the major constitutional, educational and administrative reforms which followed)

### **CAIE Exam Questions**

- 1) The decision to make English as the official language of the sub-continent in 1834 was the main reason for the War of Independence of 1857'. Do you agree or disagree?  
Give reasons for your answer. [14]
- 2) Why did the War of Independence of 1857 fail? [7]
- 3) 'The lack of unity and coordination was the main reason for the failure of the War of Independence.' Do you agree with the statement? Give reasons. [14]
- 4) 'War of Independence 1857 achieved nothing'. Discuss in detail. [14]

### **Causes of the War of Independence 1857**

#### **Political**

1. As British extended their control they introduced many ways of grabbing lands like the Doctrine of Lapse in **1852** which was very unpopular.
2. The mistreatment of Mughal Emperor was another cause and when Lord Dalhousie moved the capital from Delhi, it angered many people.
3. English replaced Persian as the official language in **1834**.
4. The single most important cause, Sir Syed stated, was that the Indians were not allowed to take part in the political decisions as the Legislative Council contained only Europeans.

#### **Economic**

1. Economic policies of EIC were designed to crush local industry particularly silk and cotton textile because India served as a market to British industrial goods. EIC earned huge sums of profits through trade with India. They had already taken the hold of the profitable trade of opium as a result of their victory in Anglo-Sino Wars.

2. The British followed a practice of imposing heavy taxation to ensure that they exploited India's wealth to the fullest. Peasants and small landowners found it difficult to pay heavy taxes. So when the rebellion started, they took side of the rebels.
3. Low salaries of Indians sepoys compared to British created unrest in army.

### **Religious and Social**

1. **Disrespect to Indian Culture and Traditions** – British considered their culture superior than the Indian and had shown disregard to local culture and traditions.
2. **Racial discrimination** – Indians were treated as inferior race. British and Indians hardly mixed up and British societies regarded themselves as small cases of culture in a largely uncivilized world.
3. **Spread of Christianity** – Indians feared that Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism were under threat from British rule. Christian missionaries came to India to convert people to and to set up schools. Often it was done forcibly **The Caste Disabilities Removal Act in 1850** was one such example. Under the guidance of a social reformer **Lord Hastings**, a center for Christian missionaries was opened at **Serampore**.
4. **Abolition of Suttee and Child Marriage** - Some of the efforts of the English at the reformation of Indian society were misunderstood by Indians and they misunderstood. For example in **1829**, **Lord William Bentinck** abolished suttee and declared it as capital offense and passed a law allowing remarriage of the Hindu widows. This was taken as interference into religious matters. Later, **Thuggee** (looting the travellers before killing them in the name of goddess **Kaali**) was banned by the **Thuggee and Dacoity Suppression Acts (1836-48)** due to efforts of **General William Henry Sleeman**, as well as Infanticide (killing of young babies) were also banned in **1870** through the **Female Infanticide Prevention Act**.

## Military

1. **Difference between the salaries of English and Indian soldiers** - this created resentment and discontentment among Indian soldiers
2. **Forced fighting abroad** - Indian soldiers were forced to fight abroad which was unacceptable to Hindus as they did not want to leave 'Mother India'
3. **Greased Cartridges** - A new weapon named **Enfield Rifle** was introduced. It came to be known that the cartridge of rifle was covered with cow and pig fat. It sparked revolt in military when troops refused to load cartridges at Meerut for religious reasons.

## Events of the War of Independence 1857

- In **January 1857** in **Barakpur** near Calcutta, the British announced that they would introduce a new rifle with a paper cartridge covered with grease to keep the powder dry and before the cartridge would be loaded the end had to be bitten off. It had been used effectively during the Crimean Wars against Russia in 1853-54. However, a rumor spread that the grease was made up of Cow and pigs fat. The sepoys were so angry that they refused to use the new rifle.
- In **March**, a sepoy named **Mangal Pandey** defied his British officer and was executed.
- On **May 10th**, sepoys in Meerut refused to touch the new cartridge and were court-martialled by the British C-in-C **General Anson**. But their fellow sepoys freed them and marched to Delhi and captured it. The Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II got the support of Hindus and Muslims both. The War spread and British lost control of Mathura, Kanpur, Jhansi and Allahabad as well as Delhi and Lucknow. This area is now known as Uttar Pradesh. However, British proved to be too powerful and quickly regained the areas they had lost.
- At Kanpur, in **June**, the troops, led by the Maratha leader **Nana Sahib** defied the forces of **General Wheeler** and killed the British soldiers and their families who were first besieged and then allowed a safe passage. This act was barbarianism was matched by

the British when they eventually took over. Massive killings were carried out but Nana Sahib was able to flee to Nepal and his whereabouts weren't known thereafter.

- On **14<sup>th</sup> September** Delhi was regained and Bahadur Shah was put into life time prison. The British said that he was not to be called the Mughal Emperor anymore but the "King of Delhi". Meanwhile, in Lucknow, nearly three thousand people (including loyal sepoys, women and children) were under siege at the Lucknow Residency building, surrounded by thousands of Indians. It took the British five months to rescue them. **Sir Henry Lawrence** was killed after a fierce battle with the sepoys.
- After Lucknow the main opposition came from Jhansi where **Laxmibai**, the Rani of Jhansi was denied adopting an heir to the throne. She and her commander **Tatya Topee** were killed on 17<sup>th</sup> June after they had captured Gwalior.
- Peace was officially declared on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1858 and by August the war was completely over. **Bahadur Shah II** was exiled to **Rangoon**.

### **Jhansi and the role of Laxmibai:**

On **7<sup>th</sup> March 1854**, the British issued a gazette dissolving the State of Jhansi. Rani Laxmibai was enraged due to the injustice and wanted Jhansi to be completely free from the British control. During the battle of 1857, Jhansi was freed from the British rule after three years and it was being noticed that Rani Laxmibai was taking the control of Jhansi and started preparing to defend it from the likely attacks of the British. **Sir Hugh Rose** was appointed by the British to recapture the city of Jhansi. The battle started and Sir Hugh adopting the path of treachery, entered Jhansi, on **3<sup>rd</sup> April 1858** with his army.

### **The Annexation of Oudh (1856):**

Oudh was the only Muslim state which was not annexed by the British till 1856. It was a relic of once powerful Mughal Empire. Lord Dalhousie felt that it should also form part of the British possessions. He instructed **General William Henry Sleeman** to tour Oudh and report on it. Sir

William submitted a report called '**A journey through the Kingdom of Oudh**' in **1855**. In the report Sir William was hard on the Nawab of Oudh and called his administration 'a blot on the name of British India'. He advised Governor-General to annex the state. The report was circulated among members of the British Parliament and with the consent of the British government, Lord Dalhousie annexed Oudh. **Nawab Wajid Shah**, the last ruler was sent as a prisoner to Calcutta. This measure caused widespread discontentment and Oudh took active part in the War of Independence in 1857.

## **Cawnpore**

Cawnpore was an important junction where the Grand Trunk Road and the road from Jhansi to Lucknow connected. Nana Sahib was the adopted son of the last peshwa of the Marathas. Dalhousie discontinued the pension allowed to him and expelled him from his palace in Poona, denying his ownership of the state as he was not a legal heir. Nana Sahib's appeal to the Court of Directors was not accepted. He was exiled to Bithur near Cawnpore. Marathas disliked this as they looked upon Nana Sahib as a successor to their leader. Nana Sahib later turned out to be the bitterest enemy of the British.

## **Battle of Cawnpore**

In 1857 Cawnpore was garrisoned by four regiments of native infantry and a European battery of artillery and was commanded by General **Sir Hugh Wheeler**. When the revolt started, Nana Sahib led the fight in Cawnpore. He was helped by Tatya Topee a Maratha leader. After a fierce battle at Cawnpore, General **Wheeler** surrendered on **June 27, 1857**.

The English men, women and children who fell into the hands of Nana Sahib were assured of safe passage to Allahabad. However, the inhumane treatment meted out to the Indians by **General James O'Neil** at Allahabad and Banaras made the crowd angry who retaliated by murdering British.

After seizing Cawnpore, Nana Sahib proclaimed himself the Peshwa. Later the British defeated Nana Sahib. Though Nana Sahib recaptured Cawnpore in November 1857, they could not hold it for long as **General Campbell** reoccupied it on **6<sup>th</sup> December 1857**. Nana Sahib escaped to Nepal and his whereabouts afterwards were unknown.

### **Reasons for failure of the War of Independence 1857**

1. **Lack of coordination and absence of general plan of War** - Although resentment against the British rule was a single cause for the War but the Indians were not coordinated or united in what they hoped to achieve.
2. **Localization of War**- War was confined to a few places of India like Meerut, Delhi, Cawnpore, Jhansi, Lucknow etc. Punjab, Bengal, Sindh and Southern India remained undisturbed. They not only remained loyal themselves, they rather helped British against the rebels. Some of the Indian princes were interested in restoring their own feudal powers which were supported by the British. The ruler of Kashmir sent 2000 troops to help the Britain win the war.
3. **Diverse interest of Hindus and Muslims**-The rebels joined together with a common feeling of hatred against foreigners - Hindus were fighting this war to save their states, culture and religion. Muslims were keen to see Bahadur Shah regain his power. British saw the War as a 'Muslim Revolt'
4. **Lack of Leadership** – The rebels suffered a lot on account of lack of leadership, **General Bakht Khan** was a brilliant officer but he was not in-charge of all the forces. Rani of Jhansi just fought for her own state. Muslim forces were headed by incompetent and unwilling Mughal princes. The rebels worked without any plan, attacked on enemy like herds and they were defeated.
5. **Deficiency of Modern Weapons** – The rebels fought with primitive weapons. They had no war material at their disposal. They only had with them what they managed to capture. On the other hand, the British had most modern arms and ammunition. British government was constantly sending a large number of troops and arms to fight against rebels.

6. **Strengths of British-** 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 and their troops were highly trained in warfare. They had a good reputation of discipline on the battlefield. That was the main reason for British success against Indians in the Wars.

## **Consequences/Effects/Achievements of the War**

### **End of the EIC Rule**

As the direct result of the revolt of 1857, the Government of India Act 1858 ended EIC's role as a ruling power and India became the direct colony of Britain.

### **Declaration of 1858**

1. No interference in religious beliefs of the people.
2. Pay due regard to ancient property rights and customs.
3. Abide by all treaty obligations.
4. Agree to no further territorial acquisition.
5. Guarantee the right to appoint Indians in public services.

### **Revenge against Indians**

During the war, violent acts were carried out by both British and Indians. For example, when Indians captured Cawnpore, they murdered 200 British women and children. In reaction British killed anyone whom they think was a potential terrorist. In particular, Muslims became a victim of revenge as they were blamed for the war. Around 24 princes were hanged in Delhi in one day. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal king was exiled to Burma (Myanmar) after his sons and grandsons were killed brutally by **Major Hodson**. Muslim property was confiscated and they were mistreated on large scale. Other steps soon followed:

- **Reorganization of Army** – The British were aware of the difficulties they faced due to numerical disproportion in the army. The ratio of 1:5 (45,000 to 232,000) was now brought to 1:2 to avoid any Indian misadventure in future. Also, all the key positions



were in the hands of British and various groups were arranged in such a way to prevent any sentiments of national unity.

- **Economic, educational and social reforms** - The British started building railway, roads, canals and schools in India. They also gave a sound educational, administrative and judicial system of India.
- **Source of Inspiration for Indians in later years** - The war became a symbol of people's determination to free India from foreign rule. Political parties such as Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League started political and constitutional battle for self-rule and eventually in 1947, India achieved independence.

**Specimen Question:**

**Was the Industrial Revolution in Britain the most important reason why the British were able to take control of India between 1750 and 1850? Explain your answer. [14]**

-LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement [1-2]

The British imposed their will on the sub-continent.

-LEVEL 2: Description of identities reasons [3-6]

The Industrial Revolution provided guns for the British army. It also paved the way to British supremacy in the industrial sector not only in India but also in Europe. The British already had their control over the profitable opium trade as a result of victory in Anglo-Sino Wars.

-LEVEL 3: Explains the Industrial Revolution or other reasons [7-10]

-LEVEL 4: Explains the Industrial Revolution and other reasons [9-13]

The Industrial Revolution provided vast wealth and profit but depended upon the import of raw materials. Raw cotton was imported from India and no imports of finished cotton goods were allowed. This had a terrible effect on the cotton industry in India and as a result it collapsed. Britain now controlled the cotton trade making vast profits but none was invested in India. A network of roads and later railways served to reinforce Britain's control of India which was

essential to assist trade and control the land. Moreover, the Opium Wars against the Chinese further allowed the British to grapple the wealth in the region.

In order to further reinforce its control, Britain established an administrative system that took over all duties and responsibilities of the East India Company and imposed government Control through an efficient administrative system, that featured such personalities as Lord Wellesley, Robert Clive and Warren Hastings as Governors Generals, who through their Administrative skills were further able to exert greater control of India.

The conquest of large areas of India further strengthened British control of India. India was not a united nation and the British army did not meet much resistance. The manufacture of weapons in Britain aided this control.

Candidates may also consider such factors as education, religious and social reforms during this time, the Doctrine of Lapse etc. However any of these factors must relate to the nation of control as in the question, in order to reach level 3 or 4.

LEVEL 5: As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation [14]

#### **Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment related to War of Independence 1857 (Causes)**

In my opinion, Indian uprising against the British was due to a number of religious, political, social, military and economic causes. India was a huge country with a vast diversity of population with multiple cultures and religion. Any autocratic rule without understanding the local culture, religion and economic conditions of the population was unlikely to be accepted by the people. Moreover, when the sensitive issues like religion and culture were challenged by the foreign rulers, a revolt was most likely to occur. Social and economic discrimination between the foreign rulers and the native population added fuel to the fire. Independent states were threatened by EIC's annexation policy in the form of Doctrine of Lapse. It was primarily British policy to India which was responsible for a massive revolt against the British.

**Reasons for failure**

Primarily the War failed due lack of organization, poor military planning and diversities of aims between Hindu and Muslim population. This could have only been successful if Indians would have united under a political party and integrated leadership and with the level of military skills equal to British.

**Achievements of WOI**

Apparently the War failed to achieve its basic aim that was to drive British out of India but it had an everlasting impact on Indian history and politics. It created awareness among Indians about their legal and constitutional rights over their lands and exposed the corruption and exploitation of EIC. It was a landmark in the history of freedom movement because it proved to be a starting point in the future political struggle. Despite of the negative impact on Indian politics and economic resources, British rule over India proved to be beneficial in many aspects; such as modernization of India by the British in economic, political and cultural areas.

**Specimen Question**

**Was the work of the Christian missionaries the most important reason why the Indians opposed British attempts to westernize them between 1750 and 1850? [10 marks]**

**-LEVEL 1:** Simplistic statement [1-2]

Only facts are given like they converted people to Christianity

**-LEVEL 2:** Description/identification reasons only related to Christianity like Christianity was taught in schools [3-4]

**-LEVEL 3:** Explains the work of Christian missionaries OR other reasons [5-7]

**-LEVEL 4:** Explains the work of Christian missionaries AND two other reasons [6-9]

**-LEVEL 5:** As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation [10]

### **1<sup>st</sup> paragraph (about Christian missionaries)**

Facts about Christian missionaries to be written: Activities like Christian missionaries came to India to convert the local population as well as to set up schools. In these schools the missionaries taught Christianity and expected local religions to be given up which was resented by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs alike. One such school was opened in Serampore in Bengal that became the center of missionary work. One missionary there, William Carey, translated the Bible into Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Assamese and Sanskrit and parts of it into 29 other languages and dialects. The British efforts gained momentum and caused resentment amongst the Indian ranks.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Paragraph (At least two reasons to be discussed)**

However, there were other reasons why the Indians opposed the British attempts to westernize them. The replacement of Persian and Sanskrit by English as the official language in the 1834 deeply upset both the Muslims and Hindus. This had the potential to threaten their languages. A number of social reforms had been imposed by the British without consultation or care for local feeling which caused much unrest. Indians had to send their children to co-educational schools which was hated since it appeared to impose the British system on the Indians without due regard to their religious and cultural feelings.

They were also forced to abandon purdah which had been an Indian custom for centuries. A number of social reforms had been imposed by the British without consultation or care for local feeling. In **1795, Infanticide**, the killing of baby daughters was declared to be murder and by **1870** it was altogether abolished. **Suttee**, the ritual burning of Indian women on the funeral pyres of their husbands was also banned by the British, first in Bengal in **1829** and then in the rest of the country. Likewise, **Thuggee** was banned by mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the British had been reluctant to get involved in banning this practice, there was little opposition to the outlawing of it.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Paragraph (another reason)**

Educational Reforms also contributed to hurt Indian feelings. Thomas Macaulay's 'Minutes of Education Policy' introduced schools across the country to teach Western ideas using English language. He believed that European ideas of education were vastly superior to anything coming out of India and, as a result, the British imposed a system of education that promoted western values on a people who resented this interference. The British also introduced the telegraph, railways and steamships to assure that nowhere was cut off from progress.

### **4<sup>th</sup> Paragraph (Judgment)**

In my opinion conversion of Hindus and Muslims to Christianity by missionaries was the most important reason because religion is always the most sensitive issue of any community and people try to defend their religion at all costs.

### **How to answer source based question?**

**Nawab Siraj-ud-Doula** opposed the growing British power in Bengal in 1757. Robert Clive, commander of the British East India Company's troops that had just retaken Calcutta from the Nawab, began to re-establish control of Bengal. Clive was heavily outnumbered by the Nawab's forces, but persuaded Mir Jaffar, the Nawab's commander, to switch sides and not fight when the two armies met. The Nawab opened the Battle with heavy gunfire which went on until it started to rain heavily. Clive's troops covered their cannon and muskets to protect them from the rain, whilst the Nawab's troops did not. When the rain cleared, Clive attacked. The Nawab's troops retreated. 22 of Clive's soldiers were killed and 500 of the Nawab's soldiers were killed.

**From Seven years' War: Battle of Plassey by Kennedy Hickman**

According to Source A, what reasons are suggested for the British victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757?

[3]

3 reasons for British victory needed. You need to change phrasing of sentences to answer the questions.

- Clive persuaded Mir Jaffar to switch sides.
- Nawab's opening gunfire was ineffective.
- The Nawab didn't cover their cannon and muskets when it rained.
- English soldiers knew how to prepare for battle in the rain better.
- Nawab's muskets were useless due to the wet powder.
- Mir Jaffar's men unwilling to fight against the British Jaffar had turned traitor.
- Nawab had 500 casualties to Clive's 22.

**SOCIAL REVIVAL &  
EDUCATIONAL AWARENESS  
IN INDIA BY SIR SYED  
AHMED KHAN**

## **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898)**

**Key Question: How important was the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to the development of the Pakistan Movement during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century?** **[14]**

<p><b><u>Focus points:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• What was his contribution to education, politics and religion?</li><li>• How important was his 'Two Nation' Theory?</li><li>• What was the Hindi-Urdu Controversy?</li><li>• How successful was the Aligarh Movement?</li></ul>	<p><b><u>Specified content:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• His contribution to the education of Muslims and the revitalization of their national consciousness: an overview of his main educational works and their importance</li><li>• An understanding of his social and political theory, and of its origins</li><li>• The impact of his work on Muslims and the western world</li><li>• His relations with the British and the Ulemas</li><li>• The reasons for the foundation of Aligarh College</li><li>• His role in the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League</li><li>• The meaning and origin of his 'Two-Nation' Theory and the Hindi-Urdu controversy</li></ul>
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### **CAIE Exam Questions**

- 1) Was the attempt to achieve a better understanding with the British the most important contribution that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made to the Muslim cause during the nineteenth century? Explain your answer. [14]
- 2) Why did Sir Syed Ahmed Khan try to improve relations between the Muslims and the British? [7]
- 3) Why did Sir Syed Ahmed Khan develop the Two Nation Theory? [7]
- 4) Which of the following was the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in restoring the position of Muslims in the Sub-Continent:
  - Attempts to achieve a better understanding between the British and the Muslims
  - Education
  - PoliticsExplain your answer with reference to all three of the above [14]
- 5) Why did Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wish to develop a better understanding between the Muslims and the British? [7]
- 6) Was the development of Western education system the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in developing the cause of Muslims during the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Explain your answer. [14]
- 7) Were the educational developments the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in his attempts to improve relations between the Muslims and the British? Explain your answer. [14]
- 8) Political beliefs of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were more important than his other beliefs. Do you agree? Explain your answer. [14]

## **Introduction**

- He belonged to a wealthy Muslim family.
- He was skilled in Arabic, Persian, Mathematics and Medicine – He was a prominent writer and scholar.
- Worked as a judge in Delhi.
- Wrote a book on archeology '**Aathar-ul Sanadeed**'.
- During the 1857 revolt, he saved the lives of British women and children in Bijnaur. He refused to accept the gift (estate and money) from the British.
- Appointed as Chief Justice at Muradabad, Ghazipur and then Aligarh.
- He was knighted in **1888**.
- Retired in 1876 and died in 1898.

## **Conditions of Muslims after War of Independence 1857**

**Economic** - low income, worked as peasants, exploited by Hindu tax collectors, not qualified for government jobs due to illiteracy, manual workers like peons, labors etc.

**Social** - low social status due to lack of money, racial discrimination.

**Political** - lost political power after the end of Mughal Empire, blamed solely for instigating the WOI, hardly any participation in government jobs, no political say in the government.

Educational hatred towards British education, focused on either religious education or learning

## **Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's Efforts**

### **Aligarh Movement**

Aligarh Movement is considered as 'Muslim Renaissance' that means an improvement in economic, social political position of Muslims through spread of western education. It also aimed at improving British Muslims relations to get benefits from the British. As a result the Muslims benefitted.

<b>1.Improving British Muslim Relations</b>	<b>2.Encouraging Western Education</b>
<b>3.Political Services/Increasing political awareness</b>	<b>4.Social and Literary Services</b>

## **1. Improving British Muslim Relations**

### **Reasons:**

- i. Muslims were blamed for the War of Independence 1857 and the British carried out harsh treatment towards Muslims. Hindus were considered as loyal and started assisting the British. This opened up opportunities for them in the administration. Muslims, on the other hand, lagged behind in all the fields. Sir Syed wanted to correct this false view so that British should not take revenge from Muslims. Moreover, to gain political favors from British, Muslim-British relations required improvement.
- ii. Muslims hated British due to the western culture and religion; they believed that British would turn them to Christian. Christianity and western ideas were not in line with Islam. Sir Syed wanted to correct this belief that was creating problems in the progress of Muslim population. Due to this belief, Muslims closed all sources of western education to them that affected negatively on their economic conditions too. By creating better relations with British, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wanted to improve economic conditions of Muslims
- iii. Sir Syed was aware of the fact that British rule was a reality and Muslims should accept it. Improving British Muslim relations could open up opportunities in employment and education for Muslim population. And he was right because in later years British funded Muslim educational institutions and granted many political favors to Muslims in Simla Deputation 1906 and Partition of Bengal 1905.

### A. Convincing British.

- Writing a book '**Loyal Mohammadans of India**' that gave a detailed account Muslim services for the British.
- Wrote a pamphlet '**Causes of Indian Revolt**' that blamed a British policy for the uprising such as lack of participation of Indians in civil service, poor management of Indian army and forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity. This pamphlet was well circulated and copies were sent to members of British parliament in England.
- Explained the word '**Nadarath**' to British that means 'a helper' and not an enemy.

### B. Convincing Muslims

- Corrected errors on a book written on life of Prophet by a British, proved his credibility in the eyes of Muslims.
- Wrote a book '**Tabayin-ul-Kalam**' pointed out the similarities between Islam and Christianity.
- Convinced Muslims that western culture may not be against Islam.
- Established '**British Indian Association**' to improve British Muslim communication.

## 2. Encouraging Western Education

### Reasons:

- Hindus started learning English language and western education much before Muslims; they projected themselves as loyal to British and gained favors from them.
- No entry into government jobs without learning English language.
- Muslim education system revolved around religious knowledge, Persian, literature etc. No modern subject like sciences technology and social sciences were taught. Hence, they could not complete with changing world.
- Western education would have helped improve economic status of Muslims and they might regain their lost respect

### **Educational Services**

- Convincing religious Ulemas that learning western education was not against Islam.
- Set up Urdu journal called '**Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq**' to develop a new approach towards education.
- In 1863, a Scientific Society at Ghazipur was founded that translated scientific work into Urdu, Persian or Arabic. It helped to spread modern education.
- In 1866, he issued a journal '**Aligarh Institute Gazette**'.
- In 1869, he opened a school at Muradabad.
- In 1869, he travelled to England and visited Oxford and Cambridge Universities. He started with setting up a school at Aligarh that was a blend of western and religious education.
- In 1875, **Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental School** was set up. In 1876 it was raised to the status of **Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College** and in **1920** to **Aligarh University**.
- In 1886, he set up **Mohammadan Educational Conference** to raise educational standards of Muslims. It held conference across the country which attracted famous orators and writers.

### **Impact of educational services**

- a. Produced a number of educated Muslims such as Liaquat Ali Khan, Ayub Khan who played an important role in later Pakistan Movement.
- b. Many Muslims qualified for government jobs and had a say in political decision-making.
- c. Present day education system of Pakistan is based on Sir Syed's ideas, a blend of religious and western education. Also, Muslim renaissance in India was achieved.

### **3. Political Services/Increasing political awareness**

#### **Reasons**

- To gain a respectable status for Muslims in society.
- Muslim should be able to understand the intentions of Hindus and British.
- To gain political representation for Muslims.

## Political Services

- In order to increase political awareness, efforts were made to Improve British Muslim Relations.
- Writing a book '**Loyal Mohammadans of India**' that gave a detailed account Muslim services for the British.
- Wrote a pamphlet '**Causes of Indian Revolt**' blamed British policy for the uprising such as lack of participation of Indians in civil service, poor management of Indian army and forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity.
- Asked Muslims not to join Indian National Congress formed in 1885 as it turned out to be a Hindu dominated body to protect the rights and interests of Hindus only.
- Opposed political representation on the basis of Western Democracy; that meant rule of majority or rule of Hindus.
- Criticized Competitive Examination System which selected candidates for government jobs on merit. Muslims were far behind than Hindus in the field of education. In order to apply this system, equal education opportunities should have been provided to all.

## TWO-NATION THEORY

### Reasons for introducing

- a. Pro-Hindu Policies of Indian National Congress harming the interests of Muslims. He wanted Muslims to have their separate political ideology for the protection of their rights. He refused to attend its meeting and organized an alternative body, **United Patriotic Alliance** that became **Mohammadan Defence Alliance** in **1893**.
- b. Hindus and Muslims were two different nations on the basis of their culture, religion, language, way of life etc.
- c. Attitude of extremist Hindus was very offending for Muslims.
- d. **Hindi Urdu Controversy in 1867** that showed the enmity of Hindus towards Muslims.

During the last days of the Muslim rule, Urdu emerged as the most common language of the northwestern provinces of India. It was declared the official language in 1825. In 1867,

some prominent Hindus started a movement in Banaras in which they demanded the replacement of Urdu with Hindi and the Persian script with the Deva Nagri script as the court language in the northwestern provinces. The movement grew quickly and within a few months spread throughout the Hindu population of the north western provinces of India.

This situation provoked the Muslims to come out in order to protect the importance of the Urdu language. The opposition by the Hindus towards the Urdu language made it clear among the Muslims of the region that Hindus were not ready to tolerate the culture and traditions of the Muslims.

The Hindi-Urdu Controversy had a great effect on the life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Before this event he had been a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and was of the opinion that the **“Two Nations are like two eyes of the beautiful bride, India”**, but this movement completely altered his point of view. He put forward the Two-Nation Theory, predicting that the differences between the two groups would increase with the passage of time and the two communities would not join together in anything wholeheartedly.

### **Social and Literary Services**

- Writing of magazine **‘Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq’** to raise moral standards of Muslims.
- Bringing a revolution in Urdu literature by writing with a purpose of reforming Muslim society.
- He wrote **Asar-us-Sanadid** in **1847**. This book contained classic archaeological account of the monuments and environs of the pre-colonial city of Delhi.
- He wrote a book **Tabyin-ul-Kalam** to point out the similarities between Islam and Christianity.

### **Evaluation, Analysis and Judgment related to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan' Efforts for the uplift of Muslim society**

In my opinion, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan contributed to a great deal in restoring the position of Muslims in the sub-continent after the WOI. His efforts consisted of:

- Improving British-Muslim relations.
- Focusing on western education for by launching the Aligarh Movement.
- Providing guidance to Muslims regarding politics after the formation of INC in 1885. He advised Muslims them not to join INC because it only protected the interests of Hindu population. It also demanded western democracy that means Hindu majority would dominate Muslim minority in India. Moreover, competitive examinations for government jobs which again ensured the benefit for the Hindu population who were more advanced in education than Muslims.

All these efforts were equally valuable in restoring economic and political status of Muslims. However, focusing on western education helped Muslims a great deal in improving their relations with the British. Learning English language bridged the communication gap between British and Muslims. Learning western education also helped to raise social and economic status of Muslims. It opened up job opportunities for the Muslim population and revived separate political identity of Muslims. As a matter of fact, Muslim community moved towards modernization and scientific progress due to the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.



**THE ROLE OF NATIONAL &  
REGIONAL LANGUAGES IN  
BRINGING UNITY AND THE  
ROLE OF GOVERNMENT FOR  
THEIR PROMOTION SINCE  
1947**

## **Introduction:**

Language plays an important role in the development and progress of a nation in every field of its activity. It is a symbol of human consciousness and intellect. Collective ideology and interests can only be understood and safeguarded by the help of common language.

# **URDU**

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and enjoys an important role. It is almost 300 years old and got evolved during the times of Mughals. The blending of Arabic, Persian and Turkish gave birth to a new language called Hindi, Hindustani, Shahjahani and finally as Urdu. Hence it also called **Lashkari** language. The army camp in Turkish is called **Ordoo** which means horde and is derived from the word **Orda** from the Mongolian language. Under the Persian influence the word Ordoo became softer as **Urdu**. Basically, Urdu is a **Tartar** word and it is written in **Nastaliq** script while Hindi in **Devanagri** script.

## **Urdu as the national language:**

When in 1947 Pakistan came into existence there was a need for a symbolic language that could act as a unifying symbol amongst all the provinces in Pakistan, thus creating harmony. It was the only language that was easily spoken and understood in all the provinces of Pakistan. It was due to this very reason that the Quaid chose Urdu as the national language but there were other reasons too...

## **Urdu and the Pakistan Movement:**

Urdu played an active role during the Pakistan Movement. The emphasis was laid by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan when the Hindi-Urdu Controversy occurred. It was evident that the future of the language was at risk, so Sir Syed actively defended Urdu. It was due to his efforts that in **1900** the **United Provinces Government** declared that Hindi and Urdu were to be treated equally. Later on in 1930's the Muslim League discussed making Urdu their official language, an idea that was opposed by the Muslims in Bengal. Yet in 1937 the league went ahead with its decision and all the efforts were then made keeping in view this aspect. The role of students' union can't be ignored too.

## **The Rich Literary Background:**

One important reason was the work of eminent poets and writers who played a significant role in its development. **Amir Khusrau** adopted it for his poetry. Later on the work of **Shibli Nomani**, **Allama Iqbal**, **Nazir Ahmed**, **Hali** and **Ghalib** adopted this language in their poetry and writings.

Due to these efforts Urdu progressed well and reached almost entire India. A language with such prestigious background was what the nascent country needed at that time.

### **Efforts of the Governments to promote Urdu:**

Urdu has made great progress ever since the independence from the British was achieved. The government has taken steps to foster the growth of Urdu. It is the medium of instruction in many educational institutions in Pakistan. The government has made two federal colleges namely Urdu Science College and Urdu Arts & Commerce College in Karachi with the former now promoted to the status of Urdu University. A dictionary of office terms in Urdu has been published too. The government has established a National language Authority in Islamabad. Moreover, Urdu dramas, movies and songs are very much popular and attract a huge audience.

## **PUNJABI**

It is the regional language of the largest province of Pakistan. It has links with **Prakrit** which was the language of the old Aryans. The Punjabi vocabulary includes words from Arabic, Turkish and Persian language. Some also think that it is a production from the old **Drawari** language. It was given various names during different eras. Famous historian **Masoodi** called it **Multani** while **Al-Beruni** used the name of **Al-Hindi** for it. **Baba Guru Nanak** of Sikhs called it **Zaban-e-Jattan**. In the KPK province it is known as Hindko.

### **Progress & Evolution of Punjabi Language:**

Some ancient Buddhist monks wrote religious and devotional lyrics in Punjabi, which are considered as the earliest pieces of Punjabi literature. The real progress of Punjabi started in 10<sup>th</sup> century with efforts of Hindu ascetics and Muslim mystics. While **Gorak Nath, Pooran Bhagat, Guru Nanak** and **Baba Ratan** were the Hindu ascetics that played a major role in its propagation, there was **Baba Fareed, Amir Khusro, Sultan Bahu, Baba Bhullay Shah, Waris Shah** and others who not only made valuable writings in Punjabi but also preached Islam through their mystical odes and melodious kafis. Moreover, the folk tales like **Sohni-Mahiwal, Sassi-Panhoon** and **Heer-Ranjha** that are written in Punjabi still hold significance in Punjabi literature.

With the advent of 20<sup>th</sup> century Punjabi journalism grew leaps and bounds. Books written on diversified subjects like art, philosophy, history, linguistics, economics, and geography have given the language great emphasis. Today the language is taught as an optional subject in Punjab. There is a department of Punjabi language in the Punjab University. Also, one of the

new literary endeavors was the versified translations of the Holy Quran rendered by **Muhammad Ali Faiq, Ustad Daman, Ahmed Rahi** and **Munir Niazi** is the major exponents of a new wave of Punjabi writing.

## **SINDHI**

It is one of the oldest of languages that is vastly spoken in the province of Sindh and also the Indian province of Rajasthan. Some language experts believe that Sindhi language belongs to old **Dravidian** languages that were spoken in South India. This language has been derived from Sanskrit language. In the beginning it was written in **Marwari** and **Arz Nagari** way of writing but after the invasion of Sindh by the Arabs the language got a new way of being written in Arabic script. Later on when the Mughals invaded India, the language got merged with Persian that was the language of the administration.

### **Progress & Evolution of Sindhi Language:**

The language holds a unique distinction when an Arab ruler of Sindh Abdullah bin Umer Bihari first motivated a scholar Mansoor Akhund Azizullah to translate the Holy Quran. **Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai**, perhaps, was the first Sufi poet whose poetries are a great combination of Islamic lyrics and the description of natural beauty of Sindh. Similarly, the poetry of **Sachal Sarmast** and **Ramzan Qandhar** is deeply influenced by the environmental atmosphere and is considered a valuable contribution towards the development of the language. Later on, the work of **Makhdum Nuh** of Hala and **Qazi Qazan** of Thatta further bolstered the language. The publishing of the journal **Ta'alim AlKashaf-o-Touheed** in the 19<sup>th</sup> century showed that Sindhi was moving in the right direction.

After independence effective steps were taken to promote the language. **Sindhi Literary Board** was set up in **1948** for progress and publishing of the Sindhi content. Besides that, several books have been published on the folk literature. **Bazm-e-Talib-ul-Moula** was set up in **1954** which is rendering meritorious services to Sindhi literature. Similarly, **Dr. Ali Akbar Draz** established **Sarmast Academy** which publishes books in memory of Sachal Sarmast. Add to that, a **Sindhology Department** has been established at Sindh University Jamshoro while Karachi University also has a Sindhi department in it.

# **PUSHTO**

Pushto is the language spoken in the Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa province of Pakistan and also in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and North-West Balochistan. The linguistic experts think that Pashto is a pure Aryan language as the words of Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and Urdu are included in it. Also, many of the words have been taken from Pali, Prakarat, Pehlvi, Arabic and even Greek, German and French.

## **Progress & Evolution of Pushto Language:**

Although Pashto as a language is very old yet the Pashto literature developed very late. Like all the other languages it developed with poetry. **Amir Karoro** is generally regarded as the first Pashto poet. The initial period was all about the exploits of Pashto heroes. The period from 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century is called the first period of Pashto literature. During this period **Bayazid Ansari** wrote on Sufism with his famous work being **Khair-ul-Bian** which is considered as the first book on Pashto Sufism. The second period started from 16<sup>th</sup> century and lasted for a century. During this period **Khushal Khan Khattak** (1613-1689) produced national unity among Pathans through his poetry while **Rahman Baba** (1632-1703) developed religious thoughts.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the foundation of modern literature was laid. Also, during the same period the literature played an important role in creating opposition to the British rule and in the movement of independence. **Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum** worked a great deal in creating awareness among the people of NWFP. After the independence, the language got further boost. By 1951, **Peshawar University** had been established. To make Pashto research possible, **Pashto Academy** was established in 1955 which later got affiliated with Peshawar University in 1962. Today Pashto language has a vast treasure of literary works.

# **BALUCHI**

The language of the province of Balochistan in Pakistan is Balochi. The old relation of Balochi language is linked with the old languages spoken in North-Western parts of Iran and hence, has a close resemblance with the Persian. Today, the Balochi language is spoken in three main dialects **Sulemanki, Makrani & Rakhsani**.

### **Progress & Evolution of Pushto Language:**

The Balochi poetry was started in the period of Rind dynasty (1488-1555). It was the time when many folk tales were also written. The famous poets of this period are **Mir Chakar Khan, Mir Shahdad Khan, Meeran Rind** and **Jam Darang**.

Since 1947 the language started to gain prominence. Radio Pakistan Karachi began broadcasting Balochi while the first Balochi monthly magazine was published in **1952**. Likewise, in **1960**, an official monthly magazine **Olassis** was published from Quetta. In **1962**, **Balochi Academy** was established to promote Balochi language and literature. A number of organizations are working for the promotion of the language, one of them being Balochi Literary Association. Moreover, the Quetta Television broadcasts its programs in Balochi.

### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1 What steps to foster the growth of Urdu have been taken? [4]**
- 2. Why did Pakistan choose Urdu as its national language? [7]**
- 3. How successful has the promotion of local languages in Pakistan been since 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**

# **PAKISTAN MOVEMENT**

**1905-1927**

**Key Question:** How successful was the Pakistan Movement between the years 1909-1919 in the subcontinent? [14]

**Key Question:** How successful was the Khilafat Movement in advancing the cause of the Pakistan Movement? [14]

## **Pakistan Movement 1905-1919 leading to Khilafat Movement**

### **Focus points:**

- What were the aims and origins of the Muslim league?
- How successful was British rule and attempt at constitutional reform during the years 1920-27?(including reactions in India among Muslims and Hindus)

### **Specified content:**

- The partition of Bengal controversy 1905-11
- The Simla Deputation 1906
- Reasons for the establishment of the Muslim League 1906
- The 1906 Manifesto
- The All-India Muslim Educational Conference 1906
- Cooperation of the Muslim League with Congress in the early period and reasons for breakdown of the same
- The Morley-Minto Reforms 1909
- Congress and the Lucknow Pact 1916
- The Rowlatt Act 1918 and the Amritsar Massacre 1919
- The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms 1919 the Non-Cooperation Movement



<p><b><u>Focus Points:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What were the origins, aims and main features of the Khilafat Movement?</li> <li>• Why did the Khilafat Movement fail?</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Specified Content:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reasons for the rise of the movement</li> <li>• The objectives of the Khilafat Conference 1918</li> <li>• The Khilafat Delegation to England 1920 and reasons for failure</li> <li>• The causes, courses and reasons for failure of the Hijrat Movement</li> <li>• The impact of the Khilafat and Hijrat movements on Muslims in the subcontinent.</li> </ul>
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### **Partition of Bengal 1905:**

**Lord Curzon**, the Viceroy of India, sent the proposal to London in February 1905. Hence, the province of Bengal was partitioned and Assam came into being on **October 16, 1905**.

#### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1) 'Bengal was partitioned in 1905 because of geographical factors'. Do you agree with the statement? Explain your answer. [14]
- 2) Why was Bengal partitioned? [7]
- 3) Why did the British decide to reverse the partition of Bengal in 1911? [7]
- 4) 'The reasons for partitioning Bengal in 1905 were more important than those that caused its reversal in 1911'. Do you agree? Explain your answer. [14]

## **Reasons:**

### **Administrative/Geographical**

- **Large Area-** Finding the Bengal Presidency too large for one governor to administer, in 1905 the British decided to redraw its boundaries and divided it into two parts. The provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted so as to form the two provinces of manageable size. In case of any law and order problem, it was now easier to handle.
- **Population Issue-** It was the most densely-populated province. Even after the partition the Western Bengal, with a population of 54 million (42 million Hindus and 12 million Muslims); and Eastern Bengal and Assam with a population of 31 million (12 million Hindus and 18 million Muslims), were not easy to rule.
- **Ill-governance** - Many districts in eastern Bengal had been neglected due to isolation and lack of communication. The condition of peasants was miserable due to absentee landlords. Trade, commerce and education were impaired. The administrative machinery of the province was under-staffed. Organized piracy in the waterways existed. Incidentally, the partition went in favor of the Muslims.

### **Economic/Cultural**

- **Low economic Priority to East Bengal** - Before the partition, Western Bengal, being the first area to come under western influence, was developed and industrialized. Calcutta and its nearby district attracted all the energy and attention of the government.
- It was a striking contrast to the eastern part where the Muslim peasantry was crushed under the Hindu landlords, the river system was infested with pirates, and very few funds were allocated for education. Hindus blamed that British wanted to favor Muslims by providing them economic benefits.
- **Poverty and deploring economic conditions** - The problems of famine, defense and linguistics had at one time or other prompted the government to consider the redrawing of administrative boundaries.

- **Bengali literature and culture-** The partition helped boost Bengali literature and language; efforts were also made towards the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslims. Again this was unacceptable to Hindus.
- The All India Muslim league was founded in 1906 and it also supported the partition.

## Political

- This resulted in a series of unprecedented agitation by the Hindus. They alleged that Lord Curzon had deliberately tried to divide the Hindus and the Muslims by drawing a line between the Hindu and the Muslims halves of Bengal. And by favoring the Muslims by giving them a new province in which they were in a clear majority, had struck a deadly blow to Bengali nationality. They branded him as the upholder of the devilish policy of 'divide and rule'.
- The creation of the new province provided an incentive to the Muslims to unite into a compact body and form an association to voice their own views

### Reaction of Hindus

The Muslims of India welcomed the partition of Bengal, but the Hindu community strongly opposed it. Protests, demonstrations and strikes all over India.

- They launched a mass movement, declaring **October 16** as a **day of mourning** in Calcutta. They started the **Swadeshi Movement** against the British. That meant all the British goods to be boycotted.
- The Swadeshi movement was initiated by **Bal Gangadhar Tilak** and was joined by **Bipin Chandrapal & Lala Lajpat Rai**. The reason behind in initiating Swadeshi movement was to remove the British Empire and improve economic conditions in India. Use of hand-spun cotton cloth was encouraged instead of British cotton.
- In the meantime, the Hindus raised the Band-e-Mataram as the national song and projecting Shivaji as a national hero. This organized a violent movement that took a terrorist turn resulting in communal riots. There was an assassination attempt on Lord Minto, the viceroy of India, by one of the terrorist group.

- Keeping in view the fluid political situation in India and the cult of Hindu revivalism, the British decided to undo their earlier decision to please the Hindus. The provinces were reunited in 1911. This act saddened the Muslims. It was a catalyst in making the Muslims of India realize the need for a separate homeland.

Supporters of Partition among the British thought it would be sensible to divide up the province for administrative convenience. Bengal was very large and producing significant administrative problems. By doing this, the British felt that the province would be easier to administer, especially at the time of a new British government in power.

Many Muslims supported Partition because they believed that it would give them dominance in the new province. Of the 54 million people in pre-Partition Bengal, 42 million were Hindus, but a new separate East Bengal would have a Muslim majority.

### **Reversal of partition - 1911**

Congress argued that Partition was part of the British 'divide and rule' policy which would weaken India and Indian unity. Major protests organized by Congress, supported by many Hindus, were so great that it caused the British to reconsider it. Many Hindus started a mass boycott of British goods under the 'Swadeshi Movement'. A few extreme Hindus adopted terrorist behavior and, among other attacks, attempted to assassinate Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India. Lord Harding succeeded Minto and on 25 August 1911, in a secret dispatch the government of India recommended certain changes in the administration of India. According to the suggestion of the Governor-General-in-Council, King George V at his Coronation Durbar in Delhi in December 1911 announced the reversal of the Partition of Bengal and of certain changes in the administration of India. The capital was shifted to Delhi instead of Calcutta.

### **Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment related to: Partitions of Bengal reasons**

In my opinion partition of Bengal was done mainly due to geographical or administrative reasons because the main aim of the British government was to strengthen their rule in India through efficient administration and controlling law and order situation. It seems unjustified to claim While making scheme of partitioning Bengal, they might have not visualized its political

impact on Hindu population. However, INC's view point on policy of divide and rule also made some sense because later events like success of Simla Delegation 1906 and favour to Muslims by accepting the right of separate electorates and 1/3<sup>rd</sup> seats to Muslim population in Morley Minto Reforms.

### **Simla Deputation 1906**

#### **Exam question**

**Why was Simla deputation 1906 an important turning point for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent? (7 marks)**

#### **Reasons for Simla Deputation**

- Muslims got encouraged with British attitude due to partition of Bengal
- Reactions of Hindus to partition of Bengal created rift between Hindus and Muslims. Now they looked at British for further favors
- Indian National Congress's pro Hindu policies. Feared that Hindi might become an official language
- The representative institutions of the West were inappropriate for India and that their application was raising difficult problems.
- Liberal government's policy of increasing Indian participation in the government through elections Muslim feared the domination of Hindus in local government institutions
- Therefore, to safeguard their interests, the Muslim leaders drew up a plan for separate electorates for their community, and presented it to the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla, on October 1, 1906.

**Demands of Simla Deputation** When Lord Minto was appointed as the Viceroy on India in 1905, a Muslim delegation headed by Sir Aga Khan had a meeting with viceroy at Simla. The deputation demanded that the position of the Muslim community should not be estimated by

its numerical strength alone, but in terms of its political importance and services rendered to the Empire. Higher percentage of seats than their percentage of population

Although, the secretary of state for India John Morley considered the proposals as undemocratic, the Viceroy Lord Minto in his reply to the Simla Deputation address reassured the Muslims that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded.

### **Importance of Simla Deputation**

- Improved British Muslim relations according to Sir Syed's ideas.
- Security of political representation of Muslims in the constitution through separate electorates. The right of separate Electorate was granted to Muslims in Morley-Minto Reforms 1909.
- Endorsed "Two National Theory" and breaking away from Indian National Congress.
- First step towards the formation a political party for Muslims and later on a separate state. The immediate outcome was the formation of All India Muslim League in 1906.

### **Sourced based question**

#### **SOURCE A**

##### **The All India Muslim League meeting in Lahore 1940**

In March 1940, the All India Muslim League held its annual session at Minto Park, Lahore, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah outlined the events of the past few months and presented his own solution to the Muslim problem. He said that the problem of India was not one of an internal conflict between Hindus and Muslims, but mainly an international one. He felt that the differences between Hindus and Muslims were so great and so sharp that their union under one central government was full of serious risks. He said that Hindus and Muslims belonged to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. Hindus and Muslims belonged to two separate and distinct nations and therefore the only chance open was to allow them to have separate states.

*From a website on the history of Pakistan*

**According to Source A, what were the problems facing India in 1940?**

**[3]**

**How to answer the question?**

- Red font shows all problems of India. You need to rephrase 3 of them to answer the question.
- 1. Problem of India an international one and should be treated as such.
- 2. Differences between Hindus and Muslims so great and sharp that union under one central government was risky.
- 3. People belonged to 2 separate and distinct nations.
- 4. They belonged to 2 different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature.

**All India Muslim League 1906: Formation and Working till 1913**

**Exam question Nov, 2001(3b)'Explain the reasons for the formation of AIML in 1906' June 2003 and 2005 (2b)**

**'Why was Muslim League founded in 1906?**

**[7]**

**'The Muslim League was established in 1906 because the Hindus had their own political party'. 'Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**

**Reasons for Formation**

- Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal 1905 and hostility towards the Muslims reinforced the division between Hindus and Muslims, made the Muslims realize that they needed a political party to protect their rights and interest.
- Indian National Congress 1885 failed to satisfy the needs of Muslim population. Its demands of introducing western democracy, competitive exams, and participation of Indians in government services did not suite Muslims. Therefore, a separate political organization was needed.
- The Congress was demanding that India should be treated as a cultural and political whole and Hindi should be declared the official language. It was seen as an organization which would only advance Hindu views. Muslim rights would not be advanced if they

continued to rely on the Indian National Congress. By not organizing a Muslim group they would continue to be disorganized and disunited. They didn't feel that they had the same influence as Congress with the British. Also the Hindus were beginning to protest against the Partition of Bengal and the Muslims saw this as a sign of the influence the Hindus had and they were worried about their own interests. Even more worrying was the growth of extreme Hindu nationalist groups who demanded that Muslims be forcibly converted to Hinduism. Therefore a number of prominent Muslim leaders founded the Muslim League.

- After the success of partition of Bengal and Simla Deputation, they needed a political party to counter the growing influence of Indian National Congress.
- The main motivating factor was that the Muslims' intellectual class wanted representation; the masses needed a platform upon which to unite.

### **Formation**

On **December 30 1906**, the annual meeting of Mohammadan Educational Conference was held at Dhaka under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. Nawab Salimullah Khan presented a proposal for establishing a political party to safeguard the interests of the Muslims; the All India Muslim League. It was led by landowners and princes who were moderate in their views and could help to counter Hindu protests that were growing.

The Headquarters of the All India Muslim League was established in Lucknow, and Sir Agha Khan was elected as its first president.

### **Aims and Objectives**

1. To inculcate among Muslims a feeling of loyalty to the government.
2. To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India to represent their needs and aspirations to the government from time to time.
3. To prevent the growth of ill will between Muslims and other nationalities without compromising to its own purposes.



**Hindu Viewpoint** Many Hindu historians and several British writers have alleged that the Muslim League was founded due to British support. They argue that it was Lord Minto who inspired the establishment of a Muslim organization so as to divide the Congress and to minimize the strength of the Indian Freedom Movement. But these statements are not supported by evidence. Contrary to this, the widely accepted view is that the Muslim League was basically established to protect and advance the Muslim interests and to combat the growing influence of the Indian National Congress.

### **Morley-Minto Reforms - 1909**

#### **CAIE Exam questions**

1. Nov 2004 (2b) Why did the Congress oppose the Morley Minto Reforms? [7]
2. June 2004, Nov 2005 (2c) The Morley Minto Reforms were the most important of the attempts by either the Muslims, Hindus, or the British government seeking a solution to the problems in the sub-continent between 1906 and 1920'. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
3. Nov 2007 (3c) 'The Morley Minto Reforms were more important than any other political development between 1909 and 1919'? Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

*Presented by Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India*

#### **MAIN PROVISIONS**

- The demand for Separate Electorates was accepted.
- The method of election was partly indirect and partly direct.
- Imperial council was enlarged from 16 to 60 members by adding more unofficial members.
- The Secretary State for India was empowered to increase the number of the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay from two to four.
- The Central Legislative Council was increased by adding 60 new members.

- The members of the Legislative Councils were permitted to discuss the budgets, suggest the amendments and even to vote on them. Could not make decision.
- Provincial councils were enlarged to 50 members in larger provinces (Bombay, Madras & Bengal) and 30 members to smaller provinces.

### **Effects of Morley-Minto Reforms:**

#### **Advantage to Muslims**

- To elect the Muslim members for the legislatures from the Muslim constituencies.
- To convey demands and grievances of the Muslims to the British Government through the elected representatives.
- Helped to elect All India Muslim League as a separate political party of the Muslims.
- In later years helped AIML for an independent homeland.

#### **Reactions of Indian National Congress**

#### **Why did the Congress oppose the Morley Minto Reforms of 1909?**

- INC rejected the provision of separate electorates. They called it undemocratic and passed a resolution to end it. However, increased participation of Indians in the councils appeared to give a greater say in the government.
- Criticized excessive British control in legislative and executive councils. The councils had just advisory role, could not change the British policy so all the decisions were made by the British.
- The number of voters was small and only a fraction of population could participate in system of voting so it did not ensure democracy. As a matter of fact, British had no intentions to setup parliament in India, they just wanted to hear Indian demands to avoid law and order problems in future. British wanted to give an impression that Indians are part of the government in order to bring stability. However, Indians could

not be convinced this way. They continued its struggle for democracy and freedom. For India.

### **Lucknow Pact 1916**

**Q: “Do you agree that the Lucknow Pact holds an important place in the event of Indian politics during the time period of 1909-19”? Discuss in detail. [14]**

#### **Gains**

-The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was an agreement between the Muslims and Hindus, which placed a number of political demands to the British government in an attempt to show a united front and produce common aims. For the first time Hindus acknowledged that Muslims had the right to a separate electorate and was therefore seen as a beacon of hope for the future.

- The Morley-Minto Reforms became law in 1909 as the Indian Councils Act. The importance of the Councils, which were enlarged, was to ensure that Indian legislators were given a chance to express their opinions. The British also accepted the right of Muslims to have a separate electorate.

- The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms held out concessions to political parties provided that they accepted the right of the British to remain in control.

#### **Failure**

-The Morley-Minto Reforms were well intentioned but the councils that were enlarged could only give advice, with power remaining in the hands of the British. The Indians objected to this as they wanted more say in their affairs.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms disappointed the Muslims and Hindus as they had hoped for greater concessions. Central Government reserved sweeping powers for itself with only minor concessions for the locals. As the Indians had supported the British during WW1 they felt that the British Government should reward this by giving them more responsibility in running their own affairs.

-The Rowlatt Act of 1919 followed the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and increased the resentment of the political parties by including the right of arrest without a warrant and detention without bail. This was to cause great unrest.

***LEVEL 5: As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation***

## **Background**

### **Reasons for signing Lucknow Pact 1916:**

- Continuous rift between British and the Muslims.
- Minto-Morley Reforms did not give any real power to Indians, even if the right of separate electorate was accepted. Attainment of self-rule for India through joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims was targeted.
- AIML changed its manifesto in 1913. Then its primary goal was freedom for India. This attracted many radicals like Quaid-i-Azam who joined AIML in 1913. He had already joined congress in 1906. He was a member of Congress and AIML in 1913. This led to a successful manipulation of Jinnah as an **‘Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity’**
- Conformity in AIML and Congress’ basic aims.
- In 1912-13 British supported the Balkan states against Turkey in the Balkan wars. Muslims thought that British are fighting against the interests of Muslims at the global level and not actually sincere to them. Muslims thought that cooperation with INC might be a better option than cooperating with the British.
- They just wanted to provide conditional support to British during the First World War.
- The reversal of partition of Bengal 1911 affected British – Muslim relations negatively. Muslim considered it as a betrayal of British. They thought that their loyalty had been rewarded in reversal of partition of Bengal in 1911. To achieve their rights from the British they had to join INC.

### **Provisions of Lucknow Pact 1916**

- ✓ Congress agreed the right of separate electorate for the Muslims in electing representatives to imperial and Legislative Councils.
- ✓ At least half of the members of Legislative council should be elected.
- ✓ Although Muslims were 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the population, reservation of 1/3 seats in the central legislature for the Muslims.
- ✓ 50% seats in Punjab and 40% in Bengal. This was more than their proportion.
- ✓ Provincial autonomy for all provinces.
- ✓ Protection of the rights of minorities.
- ✓ Protection to both the communities in provinces.
- ✓ No act affecting a community should be passed unless  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the members of that community supported it.

### Importance of Lucknow Pact

- It was the first time Hindus and Muslims had made a joint demand to British.
- Congress and Hindus accepted Muslims as a separate nation for the first time.
- 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 the growing belief that Home Rule (self-government) was a real possibility. Two Home Rule campaigns started; one by **Tilak** and other by a woman of Anglo-Indian origin **Annie Besant**.
- British decided to increase Indian participation in all branches of administration in upcoming 'Montague Chelmsford Reforms' in 1919.
- Quaid-i-Azam emerged as an undisputed leader of Muslims.
- AIML was considered as a representative of Muslims.
- A positive turn in Hindu Muslim relationship.
- Short lived show of Hindu Muslim Unity. More communal approach developed after Amritsar Massacre 1919 and Khilafat Movement 1919-1924.

## **Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919**

### **Exam questions**

- 1. June 2003, Nov 2005 (2c) The Morley Minto Reforms were the most important of the attempts by either the Muslims, Hindus, or the British government in seeking a solution to the problems in the sub-continent between 1906 and 1920'. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**
- 2. Nov 2007 (3c) "The Morley Minto reforms were more important than any other political development between 1909 and 1919? Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer**

### **Background**

In 1917 Viceroy of India Lord Chelmsford and Lord Montague, Secretary of State, Lord Montague, carried out a fact finding tour of India and issued a Montague-Chelmsford Report (Montford Report)

Purpose:

To give some responsibility to elected members

### **Provisions**

1. Legislative Assembly will have 145 members, of which 103 will be elected for a period of 3 years.
2. Separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs with 32 seats.
3. The Council of State would have 60 members, 33 members would be elected.
4. A Council of Princes was set up with 108 members to debate matters of importance but some princes did not bother to attend the meeting.
5. Although Indians could make laws but any law could be overruled by Viceroy.
6. 'Diarchy system' introduced in the provinces. All the areas of administration divided into reserved and transferred subjects. Reserved subjects included justice, police, revenue, power resources and press and publications while transferred subjects were local

government, education, public health, public works and forests. Reserved subjects were controlled by provincial governors and his executive council (British or non-elected members). Transferred subjects were controlled by the provincial ministers responsible to provincial legislature and elected by the people. Provincial legislature could be dismissed by the Viceroy under certain circumstances.

7. British claimed that voting right had been extended but only 2% of India's population could vote.

### **To what extent did it solve Indian problems?**

#### **Two main problems of India were:**

1. Demand for increased share in government, self-rule and Dominion status.
  2. Hindu-Muslim differences.
- INC and AIML demanded self-rule for India, this demand was not accepted which made Indians disappointed.
  - It showed some improvement because the provinces were given more powers when Indian ministers were appointed for subjects like education, health, irrigation etc.
  - However, important subjects like police, justice and revenue were given to councilors who were British and were accountable to Governors.
  - In the center, the system of two houses was introduced for law making and the number of elected members was increased. Now the Indians had more say in the government but real power remained in the hands of Governors or Viceroy through the system of "Diarchy".
  - Muslims were given the right of separate electorates which was not acceptable to INC but it rather intensified communal problem because non-Brahmins and Eurasians were calling for the concessions too.

In conclusion, the Montague Chelmsford Reforms was an improved attempt to solve Indian problems in comparison with others but the main problems of India still remained unsolved.

### **Evaluation, Analysis and Judgment related to: Efforts to solve Indian problem (Morley-Minto Reforms and other events)**

In my opinion all the attempts either made by British, Muslims or Hindus to solve the problems in the sub-continent did not produce desired results in the long term. The basic problems of India were:

- a. Self-rule for India by driving British out
- b. Hindu Muslim differences

The solutions given by British in form of constitutional reforms such as Morley Minto, Montague Chelmsford and Rowlatt Act were either not acceptable to INC or AIML. Congress was not happy with the right of separate electorate given to Muslim population and British control over Indian institutions in the form of Diarchy. Muslim attempts such as Simla Delegation and formation of AIML could not get favorable response from the Congress too. However, Lucknow Pact was the only attempt by Hindus and Muslims that apparently seemed to unite Muslims but did not last longer due to the basic differences between the two communities. Eventually in 1919 Rowlatt Act resulted in Amritsar Massacre and tensions in India aggravated. No workable solution to Indian problem could be achieved.

### **Reactions of Indians**

- Could not fulfill Indian expectation of 'self-rule' or dominion status for India after the First World War.
- Only the moderates in INC welcomed the reforms but they were excluded from the party.
- INC rejected the new set of reforms by calling it 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.



## **Rowlatt Act 1919**

This was a law passed by a committee headed by Justice Rowlatt to curtail basic human rights of Indians and to keep a check on revolutionary activities of the Indians.

### **Reasons for passing this Act**

- Growth of revolutionary activities in India against British Rule.
- British wanted to show their strength to Indians by using force.

### **Main controversial Points:**

1. Arrest without warrant.
2. Detention without bail.
3. It gave the right to provincial government to order people where to live.

### **Indian Reaction**

- Not acceptable. It aroused Indian anger.
- Termed as against basic principles of British justice.
- Jinnah resigned from Imperial Legislative Council.
- Gandhi launched 'Hartal' against the proposal.
- Protests and demonstrations. The Viceroy ignored them and passed the law in 1919.

## **Amritsar Massacre**

### **Background**

- Reaction of Rowlatt Act-protests, demonstration all over India.
- General Dyer banned public meetings and anti-government publications.
- 1919 two nationalist leaders deported.
- Rioting started in Amritsar and two banks attacked and 5 Europeans killed.

### What happened at Jallianwala Bagh?

- 20000 people gathered for a peaceful demonstration against unjust laws.
- General Dyer opened fire without warning on the unarmed crowd of men, women and children.
- Around 400 people were killed and 1200 wounded.
- Later on, General Dyer followed other strict measures to maintain law and order Investigations.
- A special enquiry '**Hunter Committee**' was set up in England to investigate into the matter
- General Dyer explained that he wanted to teach a lesson to people of Punjab that they should obey British rule and he had taken these measures to uphold British glory in India.
- General Dyer was eventually removed from the active service but he was not punished. Many Europeans thought him as a 'hero' who had shown British strengths to trouble makers.

### **Indian Reaction**

- Hunter Committee report considered an insult to Indians.
- Gandhi declared British government as satanic and cooperation with British out of question.

### **Analysis, Evaluation and Judgment related to Important factor in Hindu Muslim Relation:**

In my opinion Lucknow Pact was the most important event that affected Hindu Muslim relations in a positive way. It was for the first and last time in the history of freedom movement that Hindus and Muslims agreed to a constitutional document. INC also accepted right of separate identity of Muslims by accepting the right of separate electorates. AIML was considered as a political party representing Muslims and Quaid-e-Azam as a leader of Muslims and the British were pressurized in the most effective way.

However, the short lived show of Hindu Muslim unity was doomed to be a failure because of the basic differences between the two nations. Montague Chelmsford Reforms had little impact on Hindu Muslim relations. Acceptance of the right of separate electorates by the British rather increased the hatred between the two communities. Eventually the Nehru Report affected the Hindu Muslim relation in the most negative manner referred as 'parting of ways' and increased the gap between the two communities that could never be bridged in the course of Pakistan Movement.

# **KHILAFAT MOVEMENT**

## **Khilafat Movement**

### **CAIE Exam Questions**

#### **Reasons**

1. Explain the reasons for the establishment of Khilafat Movement. 7 marks
2. Why was Khilafat Movement founded? 7 marks
3. 'Was Khilafat Movement founded because the Muslims feared the breakup of Turkey after the First World War'? Explain your answer. 14 marks

#### **Reasons for failure**

1. 'Was the migration to Afghanistan (Hijrat) the most important reason why the Khilafat Movement failed'? Explain your answer. 14 marks
2. 'Was the withdrawal of Gandhi's support from the Khilafat Movement the most important reason for its failure'? Explain your answer. 14 marks
3. Why did Khilafat movement fail? 7 marks
4. 'Was Chauri Chaura incident of 1922 the most important reason for the failure of Khilafat Movement'? Explain your answer. 14 marks
5. Explain why the Khilafat Movement failed by 1924? 7 marks
6. 'Was the abolition of institution of Khilafat in 1924 the main reason for the failure of the Khilafat Movement'? Explain your answer. 14 marks
7. The Khilafat Movement failed by 1924 because of poor leadership. Explain your answer. 14 marks

### **Reasons**

Khilafat Movement was started due to the following reasons:

- In the World War I, the Ottoman Empire had decided to fight alongside the Germany and Austria against Britain France and Russia. Turkish side was defeated at the end of

the war. Peace Treaties were drawn up showing how the defeated nations would be treated. The treaty of Versailles set out Germany's:

- ✓ Armed forces were greatly reduced
- ✓ Colonies taken away and was split in two by the creation of a new country, Poland
- ✓ Was forced to pay huge sums to victorious Allies

These treaties worried Muslims of India as they feared dismemberment of Turkey and end of Khilafat. Under the leadership of the Ali Brothers, Moulana Muhammad Ali and Moulana Shaukat Ali, the Muslims of South Asia launched the historic Khilafat Movement as a protest against the dismemberment of Turkey.

- The ruler of Turkey was considered to be a Khalifa, the head of the world Islamic community. He ruled over an Empire, which included important religious centers such as Mecca, Jerusalem and Medina. Muslims formed Khilafat Movement to protect the holy places of Muslims, the Sultan and their religion.
- The Muslims of India had a strong feeling of identity with the world community of Islam. The general impression among the Muslims of India was that the western powers were waging a war against Islam throughout the world. Afghanistan also suffered as it was a bone of contention between Russia and Britain and was now under the latter's sphere of influence. They had seen the decline of Ottoman Empire as a blow to Muslim power in the world, so in order to protect the interests of Muslims at global level, they launched Khilafat Movement.
- INC declared support for Khilafat Movement too.

### **What happened in Khilafat Movement?**

- A. All India Khilafat Conference 1919** - This conference was held in Delhi. It was decided to send a delegation to Britain to try to persuade the British Government to keep their promise of maintaining the Ottoman Empire. Mahatma Gandhi was also present in the

Conference that meant Hindus and Muslims were united against British. It was also decided to launch non-cooperation movement.

- B. The Second Conference** - It was held in 1919 in Amritsar where Muslim League and Indian National Congress also met. It was decided that these organization will work together to convince British not to divide Turkey. Gandhi also promised to convince British that Turkey will not be punished. However, British were not ready to listen to Indians. British Prime Minister Lloyd George did not respond to Moulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar positively.
- C. Khilafat Delegations** - In January 1920 a deputation asked Viceroy for fairness in the treatment of Turkey. In February, another delegation was sent to England for the same purpose. But while the delegation was in England 'Treaty of Sevres' was announced. The treaty said that Ottoman Empire to be split up. Arabia was made independent. Turkey's other possessions were to put under the control of 'League of Nations' and to be controlled by Britain and France as mandates.
- D. Non-Cooperation Movement** - In June 1920, Muslims of India sent a message to Viceroy that if the terms of Treaty of Sevres are imposed on Turkey, a non-cooperation movement will be launched. Gandhi toured India and announced his support for the cause of Khilafat. It involved:
- ✓ Surrendering of titles and resigning from seats of local bodies
  - ✓ Withdrawing children from government schools
  - ✓ Boycotting British goods
  - ✓ Boycotting British courts
  - ✓ Refusing to join armed forces
  - ✓ Refusing to stand for elections
- E. Protests Demonstrations and Strikes** - Khilafat Movement turned into an anti-British protest across the country. Visits of royal princes were greeted with protests and demonstrations. In order to control the law and order situation, British had to imprison the trouble makers. There were 30,000 prisoners in Indian jails. In riots 53 people were killed in Bombay.

- F. Hijrat Movement-** To many Muslims, Khilafat Movement was not only a protest against British but to protect and foster Islam. During those years, Muslims condemned western culture. Moulana Muhammad Abdul Bari declared India as Dar-ul-Harb (enemy territory). This religious order required Muslims to migrate to another Muslim country. In August 1920, 18000 Muslims set off on Hijrat to Afghanistan. They sold their land and property. They were misguided that Afghan government would welcome them and provide them fertile land to grow crops. But in reality it didn't happen. Afghan government refused entry of such large number of emigrants. They were sent back from the borders. This situation aggravated the problems of poor Muslims. Their property and jobs were taken away by other Muslims.
- G. The Moplah Rebellion –** In 1921 a rebellion broke out in South India among the Moplahs, Muslims who claimed to be descended from Arab settlers. The British blamed the Moplah rebellion on the Khilafat Movement. Moplahs fought the British soldiers and declared a Khilafat kingdom. More trouble followed, during which several Europeans were killed, Hindus were attacked and their houses and temples destroyed. Many were also forced to convert to Islam. The British retaliated in the most critical of ways and killed about 4000 Moplahs. As a result Muslims strongly resented the British.
- H. Chauri Chaura Incident -** Riots spread all over India. Khilafat Movement became a threat to law and order. In 1921 riots spread to Nilambur. At Tirur, a police station was set on fire and arms and ammunition stolen. In 1922 trouble erupted between the police and the demonstrating protesters at Chauri Chaura. The hostile mob set fire to the police station where 22 policemen were burnt alive. Gandhi was so upset that he immediately called off Non-Cooperation Movement doing great deal damage to the entire Khilafat Movement.

#### **Reasons for the Failure of Khilafat Movement**

1. Poor leadership-lack of coordination between Hindu and Muslim leadership, uncontrolled violence.
2. Failure of Hijrat Movement.
3. Calling off Non-Cooperation Movement after Chauri Chaura Incident 1922.



4. Diversity of aims between Hindus and Muslim Self-Rule and Protection of Khilafat.
5. Abolition of the institution of Khilafat by Kamal Atatürk.

**Evaluation, Analysis and Judgment related to Khilafat Movement:**

In my opinion, Khilafat Movement was founded due to religious reasons. According to Islamic teachings, Muslims all over the world are brothers to each other and part of the Muslim ummah. They are required to support each other in difficult times. Moreover, Khilafat was a sacred institution of Muslim with historical links to Holy Prophet (S.A.W). Turkey being a symbol of strength of Muslim power was very dear Indian Muslims. Collapse of Muslim political power in any part of the world was rather a sensitive matter to the entire Muslim world. However, Gandhi's support to Khilafat Movement in form of Non-Cooperation Movement had nothing to do with Khilafat or Khalifa. It was rather a political tactic to pressurize British government by manipulating Muslim religious sentiments and to unite Hindus and Muslims against British.

**Importance of Khilafat Movement****Negatives**

- Muslims could not achieve the basic aims
- Economic losses to Indians due to non-cooperation movement and Hijrat movement (jobs, property, land etc.)
- Calling off non-cooperation movement negatively affected Hindu Muslim relation, more communal riots

**Positives**

- An opportunity to show off Muslim strength and street power
- Muslim religious sentiments conveyed to the British Government
- Congress realized Muslim political power in India and became a part of the movement
- Promoted Muslim unity and separate religious identity of Muslims later on helped in development of Pakistan Movement

# **PAKISTAN MOVEMENT**

**1927-1939**

**Cambridge O Level Pakistan Studies 2059. Examination in June and November 2011**

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

**Focus points:**

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

**Specified content:**

- The Simon Commission 1927
- The Nehru Report 1928
- Jinnah's 14 Points
- Allama Iqbal's Allahabad Address 1930
- The Round Table Conferences
- The Communal Award of 1932
- The Government of India Act 1935
- Rehmat Ali and the Pakistan National Movement
- Congress rule 1937-39, its significance to the Pakistan Movement and the 'Day of Deliverance' 1939

**Timeline of Events (1927-1940)**

1. 1927 Delhi Muslim Proposals
2. 1927 Simon Commission
3. 1928 Nehru Report
4. 1929 Jinnah's 14 Points
5. 1930 Gandhi's Salt March
6. 1930 Allahabad Address
7. 1930-32 The Round Table Conferences
8. 1933 Chaudhry Rehmat Ali's Idea of Pakistan

9. 1935 The Government of India Act 1935
10. 1937 The Elections
11. 1937-1939 Congress Atrocities
12. 1938 League Grown as a Mass Movement
13. 1939 Outbreak of The Second World War
14. 1939 Day of Deliverance – 22 December
15. 1940 August Offer

## **DELHI PROPOSALS:**

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

- Muslims should be given one third of the seats in the Central Legislature through joint electorate.
- Sindh should be given full provincial status
- All British reforms in India should be extended to Balochistan and NWFP.
- The number of seats to be given to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal should be proportional to the Muslim population living there.
- Unless and until the above proposals were implemented, the Muslims would never surrender the right of their representation through separate electorates.
- In addition to provisions like religious freedom, there was to be a further guarantee in the constitution that on communal matters no bill or resolution would be considered or passed if three-fourth of the members of the community concerned were opposed to it.
- These proposals were to be accepted or rejected in total. So, in effect, the Muslims agreed to give up the separate electorates in form of the reservation of seats.

Unfortunately, the Congress first accepted but later rejected the proposals.

## **SIMON COMMISSION:**

The Government of India Act 1919 stated that a commission was to be set up after 10 years to enquire into the working of the reforms set up in 1919. The British Conservative government feared that they might lose to the Labor Party which would be too sympathetic to the Indian nationalism and the party might make too many concessions. The British government appointed a commission under **Sir John Simon** in **November 1927**. The commission, which had

no Indian members, was being sent to investigate India's constitutional problems and make recommendations to the government on the future constitution of India.

The Congress decided to boycott the Simon Commission and challenged Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, to produce a constitution acceptable to the various elements in India.

There was a clear split in the Muslim League. **Sir Muhammad Shafi**, who wanted to cooperate with the commission, decided to convene a Muslim League session in Lahore in December 1927. The other faction led by Jinnah stood for the boycott of the commission. This faction held a Muslim League session at Calcutta, and decided to form a subcommittee to confer with the working committee of the Indian National Congress and other organizations, with a view to draft a constitution for India.

Later on, the commission was considered an insult to India and all the parties protested against it.

**(c) Which of the following was the most important in the development of the Pakistan Movement:**

- (i) Jinnah's 14 Points 1929;**
- (ii) Government of India Act 1935;**
- (iii) Congress Rule 1937-1939?**

**Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above.**

**[14]**

### **NEHRU REPORT 1928:**

Since all the parties did not agree with Simon commission because it was decided only by the British so Nehru produced his own reform which was approved by an All Parties Conference in 1928. Its main demands were:

- Immediate Dominion Status for India.
- Joint electorates in India.

- There should be federal form of government with residuary powers vested in the center.
- There should be bi-cameral legislature.
- The protection of minorities through a system of reserving seats in the two chambers.
- Hindi to be the national language.
- The vote for all men and women.
- Muslims should enjoy one-fourth representation in the Central Legislature.
- Sindh to be separated from Bombay only if the Committee certified that it was financially self-sufficient to bear its expenses.
- The N.W.F.P. should be given full provincial status.

### **Jinnah's 14 Points**

**(b) Why did Jinnah produce his 14 Points in 1929?**

**7**

**(c) 'Was the introduction of Jinnah's 14 points in 1929 the most important factor in the development of the Pakistan Movement between 1928 and 1935?' Give reasons for your answer.**

**14**

### **Reasons for introducing 14 Points**

1. Reactions to Nehru Report's extremist and Pro-Hindu demands such as:
  - Hindi to be made national language.
  - Rejection to the right of separate electorates for Muslims that they enjoyed since 1909.
  - Jinnah proposed three amendments to Nehru Report at an All Parties Conference in Calcutta in 1928:
    1. One third representation in the Central Legislature.
    2. Punjab and Bengal seats on the basis of population for at least ten years.
    3. Residuary powers with the provinces and not with the center.

Jinnah's amendments to Nehru Report were ignored and he had no choice left but to present 14 points to secure the position of Muslims. Nehru Report marked the end of any future cooperation between Congress and League. Congress and the League's leading leaders were disillusioned with the Congress and were never to trust her again.

2. The 14 Points set out the demands of any future negotiations with either Congress or the British Government. Jinnah did not agree to any constitutional reforms which did not incorporate 14 points in later years.
3. The demands were also to form the basis of the Muslims demands for a separate homeland. It also convinced them that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and following 14 points was the only solution to resolve Hindu Muslim differences.

### **JINNAH'S 14 POINTS**

In response to Nehru Report, Jinnah presented his famous 14 points to protect the rights and interests of the Muslims

- Federal system of government.
- Provincial autonomy.
- Adequate representation of minorities in legislatures.
- 1/3<sup>rd</sup> Seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature.
- Separate electorates.
- Liberty of religion and culture.
- Sindh to be separated from Bombay.
- Reforms in NWFP and Baluchistan.
- Adequate share for Muslims in government services.
- 1/3 share in all cabinets.

14 points were made by Jinnah to counter the Nehru Report which was responsible in parting of ways. Although it was accepted by All-Party Conference it asked for too many sacrifices from

the Muslims. It was made to protect the Muslim interests. He made it clear that Hindi will not be the administrative language, election would be with separate electorate and any territorial changes will not affect Muslim majority in Bengal, Punjab and NWFP.

### **GANDHI'S SALT MARCH - 1930**

**After rejection of 14 points and Nehru Report, Gandhi launched a non-cooperation Movement again.**

The Salt March was led by Gandhi from his retreat near Allahabad to the seaside village of Dandi.

- Nehru report rejected by Muslim League and British.
- Congress re-launched his non-cooperation campaign.
- The march was against the unfair salt laws that imposed restriction on Indians about extracting and processing that.
- It was a 24 day march that violated the Salt Laws publicly.
- British goods, shops, schools, colleges were boycotted.
- It gave the opportunities for the Indians to disregard all unfair laws and show opposition to British. At last, both Gandhi and Nehru were arrested.

### **ALLAHBAD ADDRESS - 1930**

**(b) Why was Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal an important influence on the struggle for a separate homeland for Pakistan? [7]**

Allama Iqbal had an important influence on the struggle for a separate homeland due to his following contributions:

- In 1930 Dr. Allama Iqbal was asked to chair a meeting of the Muslim League in Allahabad. In his address he called for the Muslims of the subcontinent to work towards achieving a homeland for their very survival. He argued that Islam had given its followers a system which united the Muslims of subcontinent into one nation. There



would be no peace for the Hindus and Muslim living in the same land because these two communities had different culture, religion, language, outlook to life etc. He also stated that he would like to see Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP into a single state either inside or outside the British Empire. This address is considered important because for the first time a Muslim leader suggested a separate state for Muslims a solution to Indian problem the protection of Muslim rights by demanding a separate State.

- Allama Iqbal was the first Muslim leader to suggest the partition of the sub-continent keeping in mind the two nation theory and has therefore been called the Father of the ideology of Pakistan. Iqbal gave the Muslims a clear objective to work and formed the basis of the Pakistan resolution.
- He invited Jinnah in 1934 to guide Indians. It was a crucial time and there was no dynamic Muslim leader to guide the people and to handle Indian National Congress and British when Government of India Act 1935 was about to release.
- He wrote poems and essays to inspire Muslims of India for a political struggle for a separate homeland.

## **ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES 1930-32**

- |   |
|---|
| <p>1. (b) Why were three Round Table Conferences held between 1930 and 1932? [7]</p> <p>2. (c) How successful were the three Round Table Conferences of 1930-1932? Explain your answer. [14]</p> <p>3. (c) 'The Round Table Conference of 1930 achieved more than those of 1931 and 1932'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]</p> |
|---|

Simon Commission produced a report in 1930. It recommended separate electorates for Muslims but rejected 1/3<sup>rd</sup> seats in central legislature and separation of Sindh from Bombay. In order to discuss these recommendations with Indian Leaders, RTCs were called in London from 1930-32 which would discuss the future constitution of India.

## **Background/Reasons for calling RTCs**

### **Hindu Muslim Disunity**

- Nehru report rejected by Muslims.
- Fourteen points rejected by Congress.

### **Disapproval of Simon Commission Report leading to political instability in India**

- Simon report criticized by major political parties.
- Civil disobedience movement launched by Congress in 1930.
- Political tension in India- No workable political solution for India was agreed upon.

### **To work on constitutional solutions for India with consultation of Indians**

- To discuss the recommendations of the Simon Report.
- To frame a new set of reforms for India with the consent of all political parties

#### **RTCS (1930-32)**

### **1<sup>st</sup> Round Table Conference**

- Began in London on 12<sup>th</sup> Nov 1930.
- Congress boycotted it as it had issued ultimatum that unless Nehru report enforced, it would not participate in further constitutional discussions.
- Muslim delegation included **Jinnah, Aga Khan, Moulana M. Ali Jauhar, Sir Shafi and Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq.**

This RTC was attended by all the parties except Congress as they were busy in their non-cooperation movement. The absence of the largest party meant the conference was bound to fail.

However the conference did make some grounds:

- Federal system of government.
- Princely states to cooperate in the formation of a federation.

- Diarchy to be abolished.
- Dominion status for India.

### **Gandhi Irwin Pact - 1931**

- British government was eager to include Congress in the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTC.
- Government approached Congress for talks.
- Gandhi and Nehru were in jail.
- Lord Irwin, the Viceroy held talks with Gandhi.
- Agreement signed on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1931.
- Congress agreed to end the civil disobedience movement.
- Congress would participate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTC.
- Government to withdraw all ordinances to curb Congress.
- Government to release all prisoners arrested during civil disobedience movement.
- All political charges to be withdrawn.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Round Table Conference**

- Second conference started on 7<sup>th</sup> Sept 1931.
- Congress represented by Gandhi.
- Muslim league represented by Jinnah and Allama Iqbal.
- Two committees set up to do necessary work for minority affairs and federal structure.  
Gandhi was a member of both committees.
- Gandhi refused to accept the rights of minorities.
- Claimed to be the sole representative of all Indians.

### **Reasons for failure**

- The Second RTC also proved failure because of Gandhi's stubborn attitude by claiming there was no minority problem in India and Congress represented all the citizens of India to which everyone objected.

- The second reason for the failure was that the Labor Party had lost power in Britain and the new government was less keen to reach compromise in India. However, it was decided in the conference that NWFP and Sindh would be made provinces.
- Jinnah commented, "India is governed by the old system of divide and rule. We divide, you rule."
- British warned that if agreement could not be reached, they would impose their own solutions to Indian problems.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Round Table Conference**

- Started in London on 17<sup>th</sup> Nov 1932 and ended on 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 1932.
- Congress refused to participate because Gandhi had started his civil disobedience movement again and had been jailed.
- Jinnah did not take part as he was disappointed with the proceedings of first two conferences.

This was held on November 1932 which stood a little chance of success.

- In this conference Congress did not attend it and the new Viceroy Lord Wellington was less prepared to make concessions.
- Moreover, Jinnah had gone into voluntary exile and even though he was in London when the conference was taken place but he was not invited.
- In August 1932 British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald announced the 'Communal Award' to protect the position of minorities.
- Muslims were given weightage in Hindu Majority areas but Muslim majority in Punjab and Bengal was reduced.
- Congress rejected but Muslim League had to accept because it demanded it.

### **Outcome of the conferences**

- Government became aware of the demands of Indian people.
- Abolition of Diarchy in provinces.

- Separation of Sindh.
- Communal Award.

### **First RTC**

#### **Successes:**

- Federal System for India approved.
- Sindh to be given a separate identity and a government.

#### **Failures:**

- Congress boycotted it.
- Deadlock on federal system.
- Minorities' sub-committee couldn't reach a conclusion.

### **Second RTC**

- Gandhi took a hard line and refused to recognize the problems of the minorities.  
Muslims took a hard line against Congress to protect their position. The new British National government was less keen to reach a compromise in India.
- Congress attended.
- Minorities entered into an agreement on their demands.

### **Third RTC**

- Congress absent again.
- Gulf too great between the two political parties. White paper was published in 1933 (a report of the RTCs which was taken to British parliament to decide on the future constitution).

## **CHAUDARY REHMAT ALI**

- He was a student of Cambridge University in 1930s who attended RTCs.
- He believed in partition of India as the solution to Hindu Muslim problem even in 1930s when there was no concept of an independent state for the Muslims.
- He gave the idea of Central South Asian Republics comprising of Muslim majority areas of India, Iran, Afghanistan and neighboring Muslim Countries.
- Wrote a pamphlet 'Now or Never' which gained lot of popularity in 1930s.
- Coined the word "PAKISTAN".
- Pakistan National Movement formed by him.
- He was not supported by Muslim League and Jinnah and his ideas were different from those of Allama Iqbal.
- Presented the idea of Pakistan far ahead of his time.

## **Government of India Act 1935**

1. **Why was the Government of India Act of 1935 so important to the future of the sub-continent?** [7]
2. **(b) Why was there so much opposition to the Government of India Act of 1935?** [7]
3. **(c) which of the following contributed the most to the Pakistan National Movement:**
  - (i) Allama Iqbal's Address of 1930
  - (ii) Chaudhry Rehmat Ali's Scheme of Pakistan
  - (iii) Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Lahore Resolution of 1940

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

After the failure of the Round Table Conferences, the British announced some proposals how India should be governed. As a result of these conferences a white paper report was issued which was presented to the British government. On the basis of that report Government of India Act was introduced which became the constitution of India. It had the following main features:

- India was to be a federation including both the provinces of India and princely states.
- Governor General was Head of the Federation and could exert special powers in the reserved subjects.
- Provincial governors had special power to interfere in the provincial reserved matters.
- Only provincial part of Act was implemented.
- There were to be two houses of parliament at central government level; Upper House (council of state 250 members) and Lower House Assembly 125 members.
- Provincial autonomy was to be granted.
- Diarchy was dropped at provincial level, but introduced at central government level.
- The number of provinces was increased to 11 by giving the NWFP the status of provinces and creating two new provinces. Orissa and Sindh.

### **Reaction of Indians and Reasons for Rejection**

- The act was rejected by both the League and the Congress.
- Nehru called the act “charter of slavery” and “a machine with strong brakes and no engine”.
- To Jinnah it was “unacceptable, thoroughly rotten and fundamentally bad”.
  1. Diarchy system was dropped at provincial level but introduced at center. That means Governor General enjoyed ultimate power on reserved subjects like defense, foreign affairs and administration of tribal areas. Indians wanted complete transfer of power at that time and were not ready to accept the British control.
  2. Provincial governors also had the authority to dismiss ministers and even the right to dismiss the whole administration and proclaim emergency. That gave an impression to Indians that elected representatives had no real authority even in the provinces.
  3. Although the Act increased the number of voters but in actual terms there was limited franchise. The property qualification for voting meant that only 25% population had the right to vote. Indians demanded unconditional complete parliamentary democracy so they rejected 1935 Act. This Act was rejected by Indians because it did not meet the expectations of Indians.

### **Importance of Government of India Act 1935**

- It was the major acting act before and after a few year of independence in both India and Pakistan. Independence Act 1947 was the amended version of 1935 Act. Till 1956 when the first constitution was introduced, Pakistan was governed on the basis of 1935 Act.
- Proper form of democratic parliamentary system was introduced in this Act. Central Assembly and Council of State were enlarged and number of voters increased from 6 million to 30 million.
- Provincial autonomy was allowed to a great extent and new provinces of Orissa, Sindh and NWFP were created.
- For the first time during British rule large proportion of the local population was given an opportunity to exercise some powers and voice their options. However there was property qualification which limited the franchise to 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the population.
- This Act gave a right to princely states to participate politically in affairs which concerned the sub-continent.
- Present day Pakistan's administrative and police structure is a modified form of this Act.

**(c) Was the introduction of Jinnah's 14 Points in 1929 the most important factor in the development of the Pakistan movement between 1928 and 1935? Give reasons for your answer.**

The Nehru Report of 1928 was produced in response to demands for future constitutional reforms and the committee, which drew it up, had minimal Muslim representation. It reported on the future of the sub-continent by looking to dominion status with no need for separate electorates. This totally alienated the Muslims and marked the end of any future co-operation between them and the Congress. However, Jinnah made one final attempt to preserve the relationship in his 14 Points of 1929 in which he proposed three amendments to the report. These proposals were met with refusal and marked what he called –the parting of the ways. The 14 points set out the demands of any future negotiations with either Congress or the British Government. The demands were also to form the basis of the Muslims demands for a



separate homeland. It also convinced them that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and that was to be further developed by Allama Iqbal in 1930. The 1<sup>st</sup> Round Table Conference proposed a federal system for India which was approved. Sind was to be given a separate identity and a provincial govt. However, Congress boycotted it and there was deadlock on the federal system. The minorities' sub-committee couldn't reach a conclusion. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTC Congress attended and minorities entered into an agreement on their demands. However, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> RTC Congress was absent again and the gulf proved too great between the two sides. The Government of India Act of 1935 introduced a federal system of government which was disappointing to the Muslim League who had expected more concessions from the British. However, the increased number of provinces was in line with the Indian demands. The period of the Congress Rule and the associated atrocities ensured that the Muslim League became the focal point for all Muslims. The chief Ministers of Bengal and Assam all joined the Muslim League.

### **THE ELECTIONS OF 1937**

- Congress and League opposed the elections because they were planned according to Government of India Act 1935 and this Act was rejected by Congress and League both.
  - Nehru wanted to boycott the elections to show his party's disapproval of the Act. However, later taking part in the elections was seen as an advantage. Through elections, INC could carry its message across India to millions of people.
- Jinnah became life-time president of Muslim league and laid down basic principles as:
- a. India should have self-government.
  - b. They should be given provincial autonomy.
  - c. The rights of minorities should be safeguarded.
- Jinnah and congress believed that they could never work together.

## **Election Results**

- A great disappointment to the League. Congress won absolute majority in 5 provinces and was single largest party in 4 others.
- It was invited to form government in United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Madras, Bombay, Assam and NWFP.
- Muslim League did not do well even in Muslim majority areas of Punjab, Sindh and Bengal.
- Muslim League won only **109** of **482** seats reserved for Muslims. In Punjab, they won just **1** out of **86** Muslim seats and lost badly to **The Punjab Unionist Party**.
- Elections brought success to the Congress.
- League faced defeat which was also beneficial as it helped to correct its image problem, reorganization and get its message across Muslim population of India.
- It was an eye opener to Muslim League because they learned that they have more support in Muslim minority areas where they were threatened by Hindu domination than the Muslim majority areas.
- Muslim League learned the skills of election campaign and had an experience of contesting elections

## **The Congress atrocities 1937-1939**

**(c) 'The main reason why Congress rule (1937-39) was so hated was because of the introduction of the Wardha Scheme'. Do you agree or not? Explain your answer. [14]**

**(b) Why did Muslims object to the rule of the Congress party between 1937 and 1939? [7]**

## **Reasons for Hating the Congress Rule/Observing Day of Deliverance 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1939**

After success in the elections, Congress treated the Muslim with disrespect. The Congress leaders soon introduced some series of measures which totally threatened Muslim culture and identity

## 1. A threat to Muslim Culture and Identity

- **Band-e-Matram** - a nationalist Hindu song, singing of this song was made compulsory throughout India that offended Muslims. It included lyrics which said Muslims should be expelled from India. The song was written by a Bengali novelist **Bankim Chatterjee** in his novel **Anadamath**.
- **The Wardha Scheme** - an educational scheme based on Gandhi's views which banned Islamic studies throughout schools and Hindi were medium of instruction spinning of wheel was made compulsory.
- **Viddhiya Mandir Scheme** - Another attempt was made to erase the Muslim culture by introducing a new educational policy that was aimed at converting all non-Hindus to Hinduism. Under the scheme the students were asked to pay homage to Gandhi's picture every day in their assemblies in the schools by bowing in front of his picture with folded arms in Hindu style of worshipping and singing hymns in his praise. Quite surprisingly, **Dr. Zakir Hussain**, a Congress Muslim who later went on to become the third President of India, was the author of the Scheme.

## 2. Denying Religious Freedom to Muslims

- Children had to bow in front of Gandhi's picture. This was taken as an attack on Muslim culture and religion.
- The Congress Tyranny – It was to erase the Muslim culture, Muslims were forbidden to eat beef, call for AZAAN was banned, attacks were carried out at mosques and anti-Muslim riots took place in which Muslim property and houses were attacked.

## 3. Strong Campaign by All India Muslim League to expose Congress Tyranny

- League became a Mass movement by 1938. They built up support at grass root level.
- The Chief Ministers of Assam, Bengal, Punjab join the League by 1938  
Hindu Muslim relations further declined.

# **PAKISTAN MOVEMENT**

**1940-1947**

## **Outbreak of WWII - 1939**

Britain announced that it was at war against Nazi Germany. India too, was announced to be at war with Germany without any consent.

- Congress demanded a promise of full independence if India were made to fight against Germany.
- British promised dominion status after the war.
- Muslim wanted to end Congress atrocities, coalition with Congress in provincial ministries and legal protection

## **Day of Deliverance – 22 December 1939**

As a protest, Congress resigned from the government. Muslim League observed “Day of Deliverance” as they no more had to bear the Congress atrocities.

## Pakistan Movement 1940-47

### CAIE Exam Questions:

**Key Question:** How successful were attempts to find solutions to the problems facing the subcontinent in the year 1940 to 1947? [14]

**Key Question:** How important were the contribution of Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rehmat Ali to the success of the Pakistan Movement to 1947? [14]

### Focus points:

- How successful were the meetings held during World War II to agree the future of the sub-continent?
- How did the success of the Muslim League in the 1945-46 elections lead to changes in British attempts to solve the problems of the sub-continent?
- How important were Jinnah, Allama Iqbal and Rehmat Ali to the Pakistan Movement?

### Specified content:

- The Second World War (1939-45) in relation to India and the 'Quit India' Movement
- The Pakistan Resolution 1940
- The Cripps Mission 1942
- The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks 1944
- Wavell and the Simla Conference 1945
- The Elections of 1945-46 in India, reasons for Muslim League success and the consequences thereof
- The cabinet Mission Plan 1946
- The 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947
- The Radcliffe Commission and Award 1947
- The Indian Independence Act 1947

### Specified Content:

#### Jinnah as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity:

- His role in the Muslim League, the Pakistan Movement and as negotiator with the British

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His relations with Gandhi, Nehru and the All India Congress [NB: Study should include the evolution of Jinnah's thought and reasons for his change from advocating Hindu-Muslim unity to support for the Pakistan Movement]</li> </ul> <p><b>Allama Iqbal:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Views on Hindu-Muslim future as separate nations, Allahabad Address 1930</li> </ul> <p><b>Rehmat Ali:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Views on a separate Muslim homeland, his pamphlet 'Now or Never 1933 and the name 'Pakistan'</li> <li>• Differences between his views and those of Allama Iqbal</li> </ul>
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#### CAIE Exam Questions

1. Was the Cripps Mission in 1942 the most important factor during the 1940s that led to the partition of the sub-continent in 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
2. Why did the Cripps Mission fail? [7]
3. Was the Simla Conference of 1945 the most important factor during the 1940s leading to the partition of the sub-continent in 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
4. How important was Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Pakistan Movement? Explain your answer. [14]

5. (c) How successful were negotiations aimed at Independence during the Second World War? Explain your answer [14]

6. Which of the following contributed the most to the establishment of a separate homeland for Muslims?

- Gandhi Jinnah Talks 1944
- Simla Conference 1945
- Cabinet Mission plan 1946

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

#### **Timeline of Events (1940-47)**

1. Pakistan Resolution in 1940	7. Elections 1945
2. August Offer 1940	8. Cabinet Mission Plan 1946
3. Cripps Mission 1942	9. Direct Action Day August 1946
4. Quit India resolution 1942	10. 3 <sup>rd</sup> June Plan 1947
5. Gandhi Jinnah talks 1944	11. Radcliffe Award 1947
6. Simla Conference 1945	

#### **Pakistan Resolution (1940)**

##### **Background**

At first, Jinnah was not in its support as he believed that Muslims would live better in a federation where they had political autonomy and a promise of safeguard of their rights, but the Congress rule of 1937-1939 and the growing realization that the British were to leave India, obliged Jinnah to think of a separate Muslim state.



## **Aim**

- Its main aim was to make a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent, namely PAKISTAN.
- The Pakistan Movement officially started after the Muslim League passed the Lahore Resolution in March 1940.

## **Proceedings**

- At the annual session of AIML in March 1940 Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq put forward a resolution “Regions in which Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western zone and Eastern zone of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which would be autonomous and sovereign rule”.
- This became to be known as Pakistan Resolution and this was to become the goal of Muslims.
- Now was the time to work for a separate homeland and the Muslim League was surely the initiator of The Pakistan Movement.

## **August Offer 1940**

The British government wanted the co-operation of Indians during World War II. On behalf of the British government, Lord Linlithgow, the British Viceroy of India made an important declaration in August 1940. The British offered:

- To expand the executive council of Governor General with more Indian members from the political parties. Also, they set up the war advisory council made up of Indians.
- To set up a constitution making body after the war to suggest the new constitution for India.
- The British government made it clear that there would be no transfer of power to any political party at present whose authority was denied by any other large community of India.

Both all India Muslim League and congress rejected the August offer.

## Cripps Mission 1942

After the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War had broken out in 1939, the conditions in India were deteriorating politically. INC and AIML were gaining power insecurity for the British. The Japanese had invaded Far East Asia and were now threatening to attack India via Burma. In March 1942 British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of British Cabinet to seek solution to Indian Problem.

Cripps proposed that after the war an Indian Union would be setup with. Congress wanted British to leave India before the war ended and AIML wanted a separate state. British had still not decided whether their rule in India should end.

The main proposals were:

- Non-Accession Clause (though Individual provinces could opt out of the union and negotiate their own independence) after 10 years.
- After the war a Constituent Assembly should frame a new constitution.
- Elections for the Constituent assembly would be held immediately after the War.

## Reaction

- The Muslim league rejected the proposals immediately, as it did not include anything relating to the establishment of Pakistan.
- Jinnah was at least pleased with the point that any province could opt out of the future Union. It was known as '**Non-Accession Clause**'.
- The Cripps mission was also rejected by the Congress, as it wanted immediate control of India. They could not trust the British anymore and Gandhi called the proposals '**a post-dated cheque on a failing bank**'.
- The Muslim League rejected the plan immediately as it contained no reference to the establishment of Pakistan.

## **Reasons for the failure of Cripps Mission**

### **1. Rejections by INC on the following grounds:**

- Congress wanted immediate dominion status and transfer of power to INC while Cripps Mission proposed dominion status after the war.
- Congress did not agree with the non-accession clause.
- INC wanted to exert political pressure when British wanted Indian support in war.

### **2. Rejection by AIML:**

- After passing Pakistan Resolution, the official policy and major goal of Muslim League was to create a separate state by joining North-Eastern and North-Western Muslim majority provinces of India. This demand for establishment of Pakistan was not accepted in Cripps Mission as it recommended 'Indian Union' so they rejected it.
- However, Jinnah appreciated non-accession clause as it accepted Pakistan indirectly by giving option to provinces to be independent outside Indian Union. But this could be implemented after 10 years.

### **3. Weak position of British in WWII:**

- British were in a terrible position a year into the War. The fall of France had further dented their position in Europe.

## **The Quit India Resolution - 1942**

### **Background**

- In May 1942, Gandhi emphasized on the point that if the British left India, there would be no threat of Japanese invasion, which were gaining power and had reached till Burma.
- On 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942 the All-India Congress Committee passed its 'Quit India Resolution' calling for immediate departure of the British. This was to be Gandhi's last Non-Cooperation Movement.

- To support this campaign, there was to be a widespread struggle without any violence of any kind.
- The key Congress members like Gandhi, Nehru and others were arrested.
- This led to widespread rioting in India and British lost power in some areas.
- The power was only restored by strong measures like the use of military. It claimed a lot of lives.
- The Muslim league did not support the movement as they considered it a Hindu attempt to drive British out of India and gain their own power to practice their own, anti-Muslim wishes.
- Jinnah regarded it as a Hindu 'blackmail' as they were taking advantage of British problems for their own benefits.

## **The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks - 1944**

### **Background**

In May 1944, Gandhi was released from prison on medical grounds. Gandhi showed his desire to have talks with Jinnah who duly accepted it after the permission was sought by the Muslim League. The talks began on **19<sup>th</sup> September 1944** at Jinnah's Bombay Residency and lasted up to **24<sup>th</sup> September**. The talks were a failure for a number of reasons:

- Gandhi wanted the Muslims to give up the idea of a separate Muslim state and to help Congress to drive out the British of the subcontinent.
- Gandhi proposed that the Muslim problem could be solved after they gained independence. Jinnah resented to it as he knew that he had to secure partition before the British left.
- Gandhi also wanted the central govt. to have power over things such as defense and foreign policy whereas Jinnah wanted that these areas to be in the hands of the provinces.

- Gandhi considered himself as the representative of whole India. Jinnah corrected him and reminded that he was the spokesman of only Congress representing Hindu population.
- Gandhi pointed out that he did not support the 'TWO NATION THEORY' which had now become the League's official policy.
- The talks finally ended in a dead lock but Jinnah claimed some sort of success as the Muslim League was now recognized as an important party and that it represented Muslims.

Eventually these talks failed because Jinnah was not ready to give up idea of separate state and Gandhi could not agree to the partition of India before the withdrawal of British. Its failure contributed to the formation of Pakistan.

### **Simla Conference - 1945**

- By the end of 1945 when WWII ended, it was clear that the British intended to leave India. But they wanted to ensure what would happen of India after their departure.
- Lord Wavell proposed that an Executive council should be set up which would contain equal number of Muslims and Hindus and would be dominated by the Indians except the viceroy and a member to control defense.
- A conference was called in Simla in June 1945. The conference was attended by Muslim League, Congress, the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and other groups.
- All parties accepted to the proposal of an Executive council.
- Lord Wavell wanted an equal number of Muslims and Hindus. Jinnah wanted all the Muslim members should be from the Muslim League and not from any other political party.
- Jinnah also made it clear that Muslim League was the only party which represented the Muslims unlike any other party.
- No solution was found in the conference and it also failed. However, had this conference been successful and a solution would have been reached to Indian problem, Pakistan could not be made.

## **Elections 1945-46**

The general elections to the Central and Provincial legislature were held in India in 1945-46. Both the parties took an active part in it because the constitutional future of India was dependent on these elections. The results showed that:

- a. the Muslim League won 87% of the Muslim vote, all the 30 Muslim seats in the Central Legislature.
- b. It won 446 out of 495 seats in the provincial assemblies.
- c. It took control in Bengal and Sindh and was the largest party in Punjab.
- d. Congress won 91% of the non-Muslim vote and took control of other eight states.
- e. The victory of Congress in NWFP was a serious blow to the League.

The elections showed that the Muslim community was supporting the League and rest of the country was supporting Indian National Congress. AIML's performance has improved drastically in 1945-46 because:

- i. It became a force in Indian politics after 1937 elections and launched an effective campaign.
- ii. Atrocities during Congress rule helped AIML to determine its goal of achieving a separate state for Muslims after passing the Pakistan Resolution.

Election further divided Hindus and Muslims and it was clear that no settlement in India was possible without Hindu-Muslim settlement and creation of Pakistan seemed to be the only practical solution.

## **The Cabinet Mission Plan - 1946**

In 1946, the British sent a group of three members (Lord Pathrick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty) of the Cabinet to India to find a solution to the Indian problem. They met the

representatives of the League, Congress, the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha. Sir Stafford Cripps Supported Congress that insisted on a single Constituent assembly while the Muslim League demanded two separate constitution making bodies is set up for framing the separate respective constitutions.

After seeing a wide gap of differences among the Indians, the Cabinet Mission tried to adopt a different approach and produced its final plan in May 1946. It rejected the idea of Pakistan.

It proposed two set of proposals:

- a) Short term setting up an interim government to govern India.
- b) Grouping of provinces
  - India will remain a Union. Foreign affairs, defense and communication would be handled by a Central Indian Union
  - ✓ There would be three parts of India consisting of:
    - Hindu majority areas.
    - Western Muslim provinces.
    - Bengal and Assam.
  - ✓ Each territory would set up its own constitution.
  - ✓ The provinces and states should be the basic units. All subjects other than the ones under the control of Indian union and all residuary powers will remain with the provinces
    - The Muslim league was in favour of this because grouping of provinces indirectly accepted. Congress rejected the whole plan by stating they would not be bound to follow the plan after the British departure. Hence, there was no point of further discussions.
    - Finally the Cabinet mission was also a failure. This plan did not ensure creation of independent Pakistan but at least provided constitutional freedom and protection of Muslim rights in Muslim majority areas. This was the last attempt by the British to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem and keep India undivided.

## **Direct Action Day - 1946**

By late 1946, the Muslims feared that if the British left India without sorting out the Indian problem, the Muslims would be totally at the mercy of the Hindus and would surely suffer, so the Muslim League decided that they had to prove their strength to both; the British and the Hindus.

- On **16<sup>th</sup> August 1946**, the League called for a 'Direct Action Day' to show the strength of Muslim feelings.
- In many places demonstrations were held peacefully except Calcutta where violence occurred and 4,000 people were killed in the '**Great Calcutta Killing**' as it was known.
- For the first time Muslims, under Jinnah, demonstrated their street power that clearly indicated that India was on the brink of civil war if Muslim demands were not accepted.
- Congress and British both got aware that partition of India was inevitable.
- Despite of the violence and failure, the British asked Nehru to form an Executive Council to act as an interim govt. Members were nominated and elections were held for a constituent assembly in 1946.
- However, at first the League opposed it and in retaliation the Congress wanted the League members to resign from the Executive council.

## **The 3<sup>RD</sup> June Plan - 1947**

There were problems going on in India so Lord Mountbatten wanted quick steps to be taken and on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947 a plan was announced.

It stated the following points:

- Two states to be established, India and Pakistan. The constitution of both states would be the Govt. of India Government of Act of 1935.
- Each state was to have a Dominion Status.
- Muslim majority provinces were given the choice of remaining in India or to join Pakistan.



- After the plan was announced Lord Mountbatten announced a date which was to be the date when British rule ended and a lot of work had to be done in just 7 weeks.
- There was a need to draw boundaries.
- The issue of the princely states had to be resolved. Rulers of the states would decide according to the wishes of the population whether to join India or Pakistan.
- Referendum to be held in NWFP and Balochistan whether they like to join India or Pakistan.
- Assets had to be divided.
- On **15<sup>th</sup> July 1947 an Indian Independence Act** was passed by which British India would be divided in Pakistan and India.

### **The Radcliffe Award - 1947**

The boundary award also known as the Radcliffe Award was announced on **16<sup>th</sup> August 1947** to decide the boundaries of Punjab and Bengal (these provinces to be divided between India and Pakistan)

- The award was quite unjust to the Muslims as many Muslim majority areas were not given to Pakistan like Calcutta in Bengal and Ferozepur/Gurdaspur in Punjab. India could control Kashmir through these areas.
- Jinnah called the award as 'wrong, unjust and perverse'.
- As partition had taken place two days earlier so there was nothing to be done.
- Now Pakistan had to deal with great problems to establish it and to prosper.

### **Practice Question:**

- **How successful were negotiations aimed at Independence during the Second World War? Explain your answer.** **[14]**

### **Successes**

- Muslim League's own progress in Day of Deliverance/Lahore Resolution.
- Unity in rejecting Cripps Mission/demands for a separate homeland.

- Muslim political gains in Gandhi-Jinnah Talks.
- Muslim stance at Simla Conference – necessity for new elections.

### **Failures**

- Breakdown of relations between Congress and Muslim.
- Rejection of Cripps Mission's proposals.
- Imprisonment following 'Quit India' protests.
- Failure to reach agreement from Jinnah-Gandhi talks 1944.
- Failure to reach agreement from Simla Conference 1945.
- Failure to persuade Jinnah to agree to safeguards for Muslims in a united India.

**(c) How important was Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Pakistan Movement? Explain your answer. [14]**

- Jinnah started politics in early years when he attended the debates of House of Commons in England.
- 1897 established a successful law practice in Karachi.
- Joined INC in 1906, believed in radical ideas and freedom struggle.
- Joined AIML in 1913-maintained the membership of INC.
- Lucknow Pact 1916.
- Agreed to the cause of Khilafat in 1919 but disapproved Non-Cooperation Movement of Gandhi.
- Resigned from INC in 1920 due to differences with Gandhi over the Satyagraha campaign.
- Believed in Hindu – Muslim unity till Nehru Report 1928 but got disgusted with extremist attitude of INC, rejected Nehru Report and described it as 'parting of ways'.
- 1929 presented his Fourteen Points (An important step towards creation of Pakistan) 1/3<sup>rd</sup> seats in Central Legislature, Federal system of Government, Separate Electorates and protection of Muslim religion and culture.
- 1930s attended first and second RTCs. Represented AIML.
- 1934 returned back to India to guide Muslim population on the insistence of Iqbal.

- 1937 elections, witnessed humiliating defeat of AIML. Jinnah created awareness during Congress rule 1937-39 against Congress atrocities and determined to reorganize AIML at grass root level.
- 1939 - By the end of Congress Rule, emerged as undisputed leader of Muslims acknowledged by both Congress and the British.
- 1940 Lahore Resolution under his leadership - set a goal for AIML to struggle for a separate state for Muslims.
- 1942 – Rejected Cripps Mission and not ready to accept anything less than Pakistan.
- 1944 – In his talks with Gandhi, represented Muslim community. He did not agree to Gandhi's idea of one nation in India.
- 1945 - Rejected Simla Conference. He showed determination to minorities' issues.
- 1946 – asked Muslims to show their solidarity by observing ' Direct Action Day' as a reaction to Cabinet Mission Plan
- 1945-46 - overwhelming victory of AIML in the elections.
- 1947 criticized the 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan but accepted and became the First Governor General of Pakistan.

It is justified to say that creation of Pakistan in 1947 was a direct result of Jinnah's determined leadership, rational approach towards politics and sincerity to the cause of Muslim population in India. It was due to his strong convincing power and diplomatic skills that British and INC had to accept Muslims of India as separate nation who needed a separate state to live according to Islamic laws.

**HOW IMPORTANT WERE THE  
CONTRIBUTIONS OF JINNAH,  
ALLAMA IQBAL & REHMAT  
ALI TO THE SUCCESS OF THE  
PAKISTAN MOVEMENT**

## Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

### Personal Life:

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also known as the Quaid-e-Azam, was born on **25<sup>th</sup> December 1876** in Karachi. His father's name was Jinnah Poonjah and he was a merchant. He went to London to study Law after the completion of his early education.

### Entry into politics:

Jinnah first entered politics in 1906 by taking part in the Calcutta session of the All India National Congress. Jinnah joined Congress because it aimed at securing self-government by adopting constitutional means. Three years later Jinnah was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council. It was the beginning of a long and distinguished political career for Jinnah that led to the creation of Pakistan.

- He was deeply impressed with Krishan Gopal Gokhale, an eminent Congress nationalist leader. Jinnah wanted himself to be considered as **Muslim Gokhale**.
- In 1906, he refused to join the League but joined it in **1913** only after being assured that the League too, was committed to self-rule.
- As an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity he made the Congress and League sign the **Lucknow Pact** in **1916**.
- In **1920**, he resigned from the Congress as he strongly opposed Gandhi's Non Cooperation Movement.
- He was shocked at the split of the League over the issue of opposing the Simon Commission in **1927**. The other group led by **Sir Shafi** joined hands with the Congress in opposing the British.
- In **1928** he parted ways with Congress after Nehru Report was presented
- In **1929**, he presented his famous '**Fourteen Points**' that formed the basis of future Muslim demands.
- In **1929** and **1930**, he represented the League in the Round Table Conferences only to come across the real face of the Hindus.
- In **1935**, he criticized the Govt. of India Act terming it as 'unacceptable'.
- In **1937** he became the '**Life-time President**' of the Muslim League.
- In **1940**, he presided over the historical session of the Muslim League at Minto Park Lahore that passed the resolution for the demand of a separate homeland for the Muslims in India.
- In **1944**, he held talks with Gandhi and clarified the position of Muslims.

- In **1945**, the Simla Conference witnessed Jinnah's political foresight when he rejected the making of an Executive Council.
- **1947** due to his relentless efforts and passionate will the Muslims of India got a separate homeland. Jinnah was the founder of Pakistan.

### **The Quaid's role after the partition:**

After independence was achieved he took over as the Governor-general and also the Chief Executive to make sure the country's progress wouldn't come to a halt. He chaired Cabinet meetings and was the President of the Constituent Assembly.

### **Quaid – The nation builder:**

- He worked towards the unity amongst the different ethnicities that had formed Pakistan. He urged them to think and act as Pakistani. One step in the right direction was declaring Urdu as the national language.
- He opposed religious extremism, provincialism and racialism. The Quaid made sure that effects of the killings of Muslim refugees were not felt by the minorities living in Pakistan. He called himself the 'Protector-General' of religious minorities.
- He announced the establishment of the Relief fund for the refugees on **12<sup>th</sup> September 1947**.
- He made sure Pakistan was inducted into the world community by making Pakistan a member of UNO in **September 1947**.

### **Building the government:**

- Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed the first Prime Minister. The Constituent Assembly was given the task to frame a new constitution.
- Accounts and Foreign Services were introduced and the first Pay Commission was set up in **February 1948**.
- In **May 1948**, Karachi was chosen as the federal capital. Efforts were made to transfer the govt. machinery and the staff to reach there.
- The Civil Services were recognized. In order to run the administration smoothly the Civil Service rules were drafted.
- **Pakistan Fund** was established on **16<sup>th</sup> June, 1947**.

### **Building an Economy:**

- State Bank of Pakistan was established on **1<sup>st</sup> July 1948**.
- He devised Pakistan's Industrial Policy Statement to make sure the industrialists come forward and play their part in the economic progress.

- He reached a compromise with India over the Canal Water Dispute.

#### **Establishing National Security:**

- As a leader of the nascent country that was deprived of its due rights, money & military equipment; he hired British officers to train the Pakistani soldiers. A major step taken was the appointment of **General Douglas Gracey** as the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army.
- Due to the administrative decision-making of the Quaid, the Army fought valiantly against the Indians despite being heavily outnumbered. They were even able to liberate a small portion of Kashmir in **January 1948**.

On **11<sup>th</sup> September 1948** the Quaid breathed his last. The **“Father of the Nation”** had died and the country had lost its leading political figure. Although he survived only a year but he made sure that the country stood on her feet which many had predicted could not survive for more than six months.

### **Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal**

#### **Personal Life:**

Allama Iqbal was born in Sialkot in northern Punjab on **9<sup>th</sup> November 1877**. He was a distinguished scholar who gained a Master’s 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.

#### **Iqbal - literary works:**

- Two books, **Asrar-i-Khudi (1915)** and **Rumuz-i-Bekhudi (1918)**, both in Persian brought him wide fame.
- In **1924** his first volume of Persian poetry, **Bang-i-dara** was published.
- His Urdu volumes in later years included **Bal-e-Jibril (1935)** and **Zarb-e-Kalim (1937)**. Iqbal gained a reputation as the greatest Urdu poet of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- Along with his Urdu and Persian poetry, his Urdu and English lectures and letters have been very influential in cultural, social, religious and political disputes.

## Political career:

- In **1922**, he was knighted by King George V granting him the title "Sir".
- He became the General Secretary of the Muslim League Sir Shafi's group in **1927** and worked towards the organization of its provincial structure
- Later, during the League's **December 1930** session, he delivered his most famous presidential speech known as the Allahabad Address in which he pushed for the creation of a Muslim state in Northwest India

Iqbal died on **21<sup>st</sup> April 1938**. Although he didn't live to see his separate nation come into being, but he was a great influence in the creation of Pakistan.

## Chaudhry Rehmat Ali

### Personal Life:

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali was born on **16<sup>th</sup> November 1897** in a small town Balachaur in Punjab. He received his early education from Islamia College and went to Cambridge University for studying Law which he attained in 1932.

### Political breakthrough:

- During the Round Table Conferences in London he availed the opportunity and met the Muslim League leaders. He urged them to demand nothing less than a separate Muslim state. Jinnah, who was a keen supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity by then, rejected Rehmat Ali's idea. This resulted in a gulf and Rehmat Ali was often seen criticizing Jinnah's moves henceforth.
- He wrote a pamphlet '**Now or Never, Are we to Live or Perish Forever?**' on **28<sup>th</sup> June 1933**. In it he addressed the Muslims of North-West of the subcontinent to stand up for their rights.
- He holds the unique distinction of having coined the name '**Pakistan**'.
- In **1933**, he established '**Pakistan National Movement**' to launch his struggle 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.
- He even criticized Jinnah for accepting the terms of partition in 1947.

Rehmat Ali died on **3<sup>rd</sup> February 1951**. His biggest contribution was the demand of a separate homeland when no one else had believed in such philosophy.



**CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1. Why did Jinnah support the idea of a separate 'Pakistan'? [7]**
- 2. Was the creation of the new state the greatest achievement Jinnah made to the Pakistan Movement? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**

**EARLY PROBLEMS FACED  
BY PAKISTAN AFTER HER  
INDEPENDENCE IN 1947**

## **Problems after partition 1947**

### **Key Question:**

- 1. How successful was the government of Pakistan in solving the problems of Partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer. [14]**

### **Marking scheme extract**

#### **Successes:**

- Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund created to help refugees. He appealed to the people to help the refugees.
- He toured the provinces encouraging and motivating the people.
- He declared himself 'Protector-General' of religious minorities.
- State Bank of Pakistan was set up.
- Karachi was made the capital of Pakistan.
- Civil Services re-organized.
- Joined United Nation as an attempt to draw their attention towards Kashmir problem.

#### **Failures:**

- Kashmir and other Princely States issues not resolved.
- Canal Water Dispute not resolved until 1960.
- Millions made homeless or died as a result of partition.

### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1. The government of Pakistan was totally successful in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948. Do you agree? Explain your answer. [14]**

### **Independence Act - 1947:**

The British Government Passed the Indian independence Act 1947 on 15 July 1947. The Act ordered that from 15 August two independent dominions be established by the names of India and Pakistan. These dominions have complete freedom to pass any act or bill and the Government of India act 1935 was to be the provisional constitution until replaced. The princely states were given the option to join one country or the other.

### **Difficulties and problems at the time of establishment of Pakistan**

#### **Pakistan faced a number of problems right after partition in 1947:**

**Formation of Government:** The main problem in the formation of govt. There was the shortage of competent and experienced staff in administration as well as in the technical services. The experienced people were left in India, which caused a great problem in the formation of govt. in Pakistan. There were very few Muslim officers in the Indian Civil Service. A few administrative officers had to form a government without even office buildings. There was no stationary, no furniture and other requirements. Due to lack of buildings the govt. offices were set up in private buildings and army barracks. These caused of burden on Pakistan leadership while it had to face internal crisis and external threats.

#### **Division of Armed Forces and Military Assets:**

For the security and safeguard of its territory Pakistan demanded the immediate division of army assets and personnel. The British had appointed Field-Marshal Auchinleck to monitor the division. The assets were to be divided with a ratio of 36% and 64% between Pakistan and India. At that time 16 ordinance factories were present in India and none was given to Pakistan. Pakistan was given staff college Quetta and corps school Kakul. About the army personnel, it was decided that Muslims should opt for Pakistan and Hindus for India. Pakistan required 150,000 men and 4000 officers while only 2500 officers were present. The equipment that was given to Pakistan was mostly in shabby condition. The machinery was obsolete and out of order. Pakistan got **60 million rupees** and an ordinance factory was established at Wah. This

was one of the main problem because Pakistan faced a major threat from India due to Kashmir crisis and without a strong military, it was difficult to maintain country's security even survival.

### **Division of Financial Assets:**

At the time of partition there was a cash balance of **4 billion rupees** in Reserve Bank of India. Pakistan's share was **750 million rupees**. First installment of 200 million rupees was given but on the advice of **Sardar Patel** the amount was not given to Pakistan due to Kashmir problem. Due to Gandhi's threat of hunger strike 500 million rupees were given to Pakistan and still 50 million rupees have not been paid. So without financial resources, it was extremely difficult to face all the challenges Pakistan faced at the time of partition.

### **Refugee and Accommodation Crisis**

#### **Reasons (why it became a problem):**

- a. Division of Punjab between India and Pakistan- Muslims in India moved to Pakistan and Hindus in Pakistan moved to India- large scale killing took place during the migration.
- b. Partition on religious line spread communal violence.
- c. Weak financial position of Pakistan- little economic resources to cope with the problem.

In the years immediately before partition, there was widespread violence between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities across India. Although AIML and INC asked people to remain calm but deaths could not be stopped.

As the partition was done on religious lines the tension between Hindus and Muslims further increased. Over 10 million people migrated from India to Pakistan or in the other direction till 1948.

At the time of partition the Hindus and Sikhs had chalked out a plan for the massacre of Muslim refugees migrating to Pakistan. The Sikh organized military offensive on the refugees. In eastern Punjab a systematic extermination of the Muslim population carried out. Arms and

ammunitions were provided by the govt. to Sikhs and Hindus for killing the Muslims. The Sikhs attacked the Muslim migrants on their way to Pakistan. They slaughtered the migrants in cold blood. Women were raped and young girls were abducted. When these refugees reached Pakistan they put a burden on its economy.

- Nearly **20 million** people were homeless in both India and Pakistan.
- Karachi alone received 2 million people refugees in 1947.
- It was extremely difficult for people to be accommodated.
- Refugee camps were set up in outskirts of cities.
- There was a shortage of doctors and medicines.

### **Canal Water Dispute:**

In 1947 Punjab was divided into east and west Punjab. The head works were given to India while its drained areas became a part of Pakistan. In 1948, India threatened Pakistan to stop water from these head works causing a dire threat of famine and loss of crops in west Punjab. This problem was not solved till 1960.

This problem was resolved through the mediation of World Bank. In **September 1960** an agreement was signed known as “INDUS WATER TREATY”. Under this treaty Pakistan was given rights of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab and India was given Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. During the transitional period Pakistan was expected to construct two dams, five barrages one gated siphon and eight link canals. The construction cost was to be met by Australia, Canada, USA, UK, Germany and New Zealand. India was also expected to pay some of the cost. The remaining amount was to be met by Pakistan. WAPDA (Water and Power Development Authority) was entrusted to supervise the project. This treaty was very important for Pakistan because it was a newly born agricultural country and it had to meet the growing demand of food due to refugees and other problems. This problem was created because Indians wanted to destroy the economy of Pakistan, create a food crisis and to control water head works. This treaty was more important for Pakistan.

### **The Accession of Princely States:**

At the time of partition there were 562 princely states, which covered 1/3 of territory and quarter population of India. These princely states were ruled by Indian princes who were internally independent but under British govt. for their defense and foreign affairs. Till 15 August 1947 all princely states except **Junagadh, Kashmir and Hyderabad** had joined either Pakistan or India.

**JUNAGADH:** It is 300 miles down the coast of Karachi. The ruler was Muslim but the majority was Hindu and non-Muslims. Manavadar and Junagadh announced their accession with Pakistan but Mountbatten opposed it. Finally, in **November 1947** Indian liberation army of 20,000 men equipped with weapons took over Junagadh.

**HYDERABAD:** Its area was 82,000 sq. miles and population 16,00,000. The ruler was Muslim and called "NIZAM" but the Hindus and non-Muslims were in majority. It was surrounded by Indian Territory so Mountbatten urged Nizam to accede to India but Nizam wanted accession with Pakistan. It was a rich state. In November 1947 an agreement was signed between India and Hyderabad not to accede with Pakistan and in August 1948 Hyderabad filed a complaint in UNO but Indian forces entered Hyderabad and after a brief resistance Hyderabad army surrendered on **17 September 1948**.

**KASHMIR:** Its area was 84,471 sq. miles with a population of 4,000,000 and majority was Muslim. It had boundaries with Tibet, China, Russia, and Afghanistan so having great importance. Dogra ruler Gulab Singh ruled state of Jammu & Kashmir. Dogra dynasty had purchased it from British govt. in 1846 for 7.5 million rupees and was sold to Gulab Singh by the "Treaty of Amritsar". At the time of partition Hari Singh ruled it. He was pressurized by the people to announce accession with Pakistan. He knew that would result in the end of his rule so he started Muslim massacre in which many people were killed & thousands migrated to Pakistan. To control the situation Indian forces landed in Kashmir and Kashmiri & tribal area people liberated part of Kashmir. Then a war started and Pakistan got important posts. Due to this situation India made an appeal to UNO on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1948 and a cease-fire took place on the condition of plebiscite but India rejected UNO proposals in 1949. In 1950, Sir Owen Dickson, an eminent jurist from Australia came to solve this problem but to no avail. Then in 1951-52 Dr.

Frank Graham came with a commission but failed. In 1954 a bogus plebiscite was held and Pakistan refused to accept it. In September 1965 another war broke out on Kashmir issue and it is still unsolved.

### **Consolidation of the newly born Pakistan & Quaid-e-Azam as a Governor General**

Quaid-e-Azam became the first governor general of Pakistan in the first constituent assembly of Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 with Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan.

## **Quaid-i-Azam's efforts to establish a new state**

### **1. Advise to government officials to change their attitude**

Quaid-e-Azam warned the government officials to change their attitude towards the people and to help them with hope and courage in the most difficult days of Pakistan. He also asked them to help them anytime they wanted to. Thus the government officials acted upon the advice of Quaid-e-Azam and changed their behavior towards the people of Pakistan.

Karachi became the capital of Pakistan and central secretariat was set up to run the country. Civil Service rules were draft to run the country.

### **2. Solving Initial Problems**

- Toured the country and stressed the need to work together as Pakistanis in all provinces.
- Protection for minorities. He declared himself as 'Protector General' of religious minorities.
- Set up a 'Relief Fund' to rehabilitate refugees.

### **3. Call to avoid provincialism and racialism**

Quaid-e-Azam discouraged the negative feelings of provincialism. He aroused hope in the people of all parts of the country and reminded them of their reasonability as members of a



free and independent nation. A separate ministry was established for the states and tribal area to look into problems of these areas. He ordered to withdraw forces from areas of tribal territories. He advised the tribesman to look into their affairs by themselves as citizens of free and independent Pakistan.

#### **4. Steps for consolidation of the economy**

The main task of Quaid was to consolidate the economic condition in Pakistan. Thus he looked at this problem with great responsibility and started to work on it. He realized that the amount of the money given to Pakistan by the Reserved Bank of India was not enough to cover the needs of the independent Islamic state. Thus he asked for the funds from other foreign countries and asked the government to set up the State Bank of Pakistan. Thus this problem was solved with great hope and courage. In 1948 Jinnah's Industrial policy made it clear that he wanted to see Pakistan as an industrialized nation. He reached to a compromise with India about canal water dispute.

#### **5. Steps for establishing the foreign relations of Pakistan**

The other main task was to make an efficient foreign policy of Pakistan and establish economic cooperation with them. He formed an effective policy and countries started establishing their embassies in Pakistan. They made good relations with other neighboring countries such as Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Pakistan became member of UNO in 1947.

**EARLY MINISTRIES 1947-58  
& THE EVENTS LEADING TO  
MARTIAL LAW IN PAKISTAN**

## **CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1947-1958)**

When Pakistan was established it had no constitution of its own and in Independence Act of 1947 it was decided that the Government of India Act 1935 would be used as the constitution for both the countries unless they make their own constitution. It could not fulfill the requirements of an independent Islamic state, so Quaid-e-Azam formed a constituent assembly and he himself was its president. The committee was assigned a dual job:

- a. To frame a new constitution
- b. To act as a constituent assembly or parliament till the completion of the new constitution

The committee met in August 1947 to start its work. The constitution committee faced many problems.

**Practice Question: Why was it so difficult to agree on a new constitution in 1950? [7]**

### **Problems in constitution making:**

#### **1. Death of Quaid-e-Azam**

Quaid-e-Azam died on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1948 and it was a blow to the process of constitution making because he was the president of constitutional committee and had a clear idea about the future constitution of Pakistan.

#### **2. Controversy between East and West Pakistan**

At that time there were many problems b/w east and West Pakistan; the people of East Pakistan were more than the people of West Pakistan so they demanded more representative and more seats in federal legislature while the people of west also demanded the same due to better socio-economic condition and a specific role in the state of Pakistan.

### **3. Islamic Concept of State**

Pakistan was established on the basis of Islamic ideology that's why it was essential for a constitution committee go with a due place to the Islam in the constitution.

### **4. Language Problem**

In East Pakistan people used to speak Bengali that's why they demanded that Bengali to be the national language while the people in West Pakistan used to speak Urdu that's why they demanded the same status for Urdu. To choose a national language for the constitution was also a problem.

## **Prime Ministers of Pakistan (1947-1958)**

**Liaquat Ali Khan: (August 1947-October 1951):** He was the first prime minister of Pakistan.

Although he was unable to solve many problems, he wanted to see Pakistan as a developed country. He got popularity after the death of Quaid as he also had played an important role in Pakistan movement. As prime minister of Pakistan he kept the economy working and produced a surplus budget. He could not frame the constitution of Pakistan but "Objectives Resolution" was passed during his govt. in 1949, which was the first step towards constitution making in Pakistan. In January 1951 he appointed Ayub Khan as C-in-C of Pakistan Army after retirement of Douglas Gracey. He was assassinated on 16 October 1951 while addressing a public rally in Rawalpindi. He was given the title of "**Shaheed-e-Millat**".

**Khawaja Nazimuddin (Oct 1951 – April 1953):** He was from East Pakistan. He could not stop the influence of executive branch of govt. in the politics. He was appointed as the 2<sup>nd</sup> Governor General of Pakistan in Sept. 1948 after the death of Quaid. After the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Minister Malik Ghulam Mohammad persuaded him to step down, as the governor-general and become the prime minister and Ghulam Mohammad himself became the governor general. In 1953 Pakistan faced a severe food crisis and economic problems leading to civil unrest, which was exploited by religious elements who wanted Ahmedis to be declared as non-Muslims. The government of Nazim-ud-din was criticized for lacking firmness in law and order

and dealing with economic situation so Malik Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Nazim-ud-din govt. and appointed Mohammad Ali Bogra as the prime minister of Pakistan.

**Mohammad Ali Bogra (Apr 1953-Aug 1955):** He belonged to East Pakistan and had little knowledge about practical politics. He wanted to cut down the power of the governor general which was not tolerated by Malik Ghulam Mohammad who forced Mohammad Ali Bogra to resign from his post but later on he re-appointed him with a chosen cabinet of his own choice including **Iskander Mirza** and **Ayub Khan**. This step was challenged in the court by **Maulvi Tamizuddin** and Sindh High Court declared it illegal but afterwards federal court under **Justice Munir** decided that governor general had the power to take such action in national interests. Iskandar Mirza replaced Ghulam Mohammad as governor general and he dismissed Bogra in August 1955 and appointed Chaudhry Mohammad Ali as the PM of Pakistan.

**Chaudhry Mohammad Ali: (Aug 1955 – Sept 1956):** He was a civil servant and former finance minister. He played an important role in helping to draft and pass the first constitution. In 1956, he had to deal with many problems in East Pakistan both political and economic. A food crisis took place in Bengal due to floods and there was a disagreement among the Bengali political leaders and Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, so he resigned and Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy replaced him.

**Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy (Sept 1956 – Oct 1957):** He was from East Pakistan and he had been the premier of united Bengal. He played an important role in Pakistan Movement and after independence he moved to Pakistan from Calcutta. He was a real politician and wanted to have some control over the govt. machinery but the constitution gave decisive powers to the president so he was asked to resign by Iskander Mirza to hand in his resignation.

**I.I Chundrigar (Oct – Dec 1957):** After the resignation of Prime Minister Suharwardy in 1956, Chundrigar was nominated as the Prime Minister and was supported by Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party, Nizam-i-Islam Party and the Republican Party. However, this coalition of mixed parties weakened him to exercise his authority to run the central government, with reaching a compromise with the Republican Party led by its presidents Feroze Khan and Iskander Mirza to

amend the Electoral College. His tenure of 55 days is the shortest span of any premier in Pakistan.

**Feroze Khan Noon (Dec 1957 – Oct 1958):** He was a landlord from Punjab and managed to oversee one of the chaotic administrations. He kept his govt. going by appointing too many ministers from different parties and they could not agree on most of the matters. This created chaos in the country which was beyond Mirza's control so he was dismissed too. Mirza then invited Ayub Khan as chief martial law administrator. On October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1958 Mirza abrogated the constitution and imposed first martial law in Pakistan. His success, however, was short-lived and 3 weeks later he too was dismissed by Ayub Khan.

### **Governor Generals of Pakistan (1947-1958)**

1. **Quaid-e-Azam (August 1947 - September 1948)**
2. **Khawaja Nazim-ud-din (September 1948 – October 1951)**
3. **Malik Ghulam Mohammad (October 1951- August 1955)**
4. **Iskandar Mirza (August 1955 – October 1958):** He had joined Indian Army but had been sent to political service by the British so he was the perfect bridge between the military and the civil service. He was the 4<sup>th</sup> and last governor general and first president of Pakistan because 1956 constitution declared Pakistan a Republic. On 5<sup>th</sup> October 1955 he introduced "One-unit scheme" which integrated all the areas of West Pakistan into a single province. The main reason for this was given to improve the efficiency but it was criticized by East Pakistan as it affected the number of seats of East Pakistan. During his govt. there was an uncertain political situation and he dismissed many prime ministers. On 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958 he imposed first martial law in Pakistan and Ayub Khan was appointed as chief martial law administrator who later forced Mirza to leave Pakistan for an exiled life in London.

**CAIE Exam Questions:**

**1. (b) Why did General Ayub Khan declare Martial Law in 1958? [7]**

**2. (b) Why was Martial Law declared in 1958? [7]**

**REASONS FOR IMPOSING MARTIAL LAW**

On 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958, Iskander Mirza imposed the first martial law and Field Marshal Ayub Khan became the first Chief Martial Law Administrator. The main reasons behind the imposition of martial law were as follows:

**1. Weakness of political leaders and lack of commitment leading to political crisis**

After Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan could not get sincere leaders and the leaders who came afterwards could not handle the political situation of the country. Even the Pakistan Muslim league had lost its control in various areas of Pakistan as a result of that the govt. became powerless. The political leaders of Pakistan could not manage to perform their duties according to the requirements. They were least concerned with the national interest while they were keen to gain personnel gains. There was great uncertainty during the govt. of Ghulam Muhammad & Iskander Mirza various leaders that led to the dismissal of many a prime minister. Eventually military had to take over.

**2. Delay in framing the constitution and economic crisis**

Various governments that came into power could not frame the constitution of Pakistan after nine years which created great problems for the administrative machinery of Pakistan and proved inefficiency of various ministries. Moreover, Pakistan suffered food crisis in 1953 that further weakened political governments. This condition gave a chance to the military to interfere in the political affairs.

### **3. Role of Ayub Khan**

During this time period military emerged as the most organized and strongest institution in the country. Ayub Khan was an intelligent and talented military officer. He was observing the situation of the country very critically. He was called by various governments to help in controlling the political affairs but he refused. The political situation of the country had become worst and finally Ayub Khan was invited by Iskander Mirza to take over and impose martial law.

#### **Imposition of Martial Law in 1958**

Iskander Mirza called him for the first martial law in Pakistan under the following conditions:

1. The govt. would be dismissed.
2. The constitution of 1956 would be abrogated.
3. Assemblies would be dissolved.
4. Political parties and activities would be banned.
5. Martial law would be imposed until the next govt. was formed.

### **General Ayub Khan (1958-69)**

#### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

1. "Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the 'decade of development' between 1958 and 1969. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
2. Which of the following was the most important contribution of Ayub Khan's government during the decade of development between 1958 and 1969?  
Agricultural and other economic reforms  
Constitutional reforms  
Foreign policies  
Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. [14]
3. Why were the years 1958-69 called 'Decade of Development'? [7]
4. Why did Ayub Khan decline from the power? [7]



## **Imposition of Martial Law 1958**

Liaquat Ali had appointed Ayub Khan as Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army in 1951 after General Douglas Gracey left his job. He was also a Defense Minister from Oct 1958 to Oct 1966. On 7<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1958 Ayub assumed power as first Chief Martial Law Administrator. He immediately announced that:

- A constitution-making body would be formed to frame the new constitution.
- In 1959 he introduced a four-tier “Basic Democracy” System. In December 1959 and January 1960 elections were held for Basic Democrats and they were asked for confidence in Ayub Khan.
- 95% showed support for Ayub and he was sworn in as President in 1960.
- The constitution-making body formed a new constitution in 1962 and martial law was lifted.
- The President was given sweeping powers. The new National Assembly met for the first time in June 1962 and Ayub was sworn in as President according to terms and conditions of the new constitution and ban on political parties was lifted.
- In 1964 elections to Electoral College took place and opposition claimed for rigging. Elections to National Assembly were held in March 1965 using the electoral college of Basic Democrats and Muslim league Conventional (Ayub Khan’s party) won these elections also.
- In 1965 Indo-Pak War broke out. Bhutto was Foreign Minister during this time and Ayub asked Bhutto to resign in 1966, which grew opposition and dissatisfaction in Pakistan.
- In 1968 to despite of growing criticism Ayub celebrated “Decade of Development” in which he highlighted his reforms.
- Foreign Minister Bhutto was removed from his post and was arrested for creating chaos. Strikes and agitation were started in East and West Pakistan. In 1969, eight opposition parties formed “Democratic Action Committee” in Dhaka. On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969 Ayub was forced to resign by C-in-C Yahya Khan, who declared second martial law in Pakistan.

## **Decade of Development (1958 – 68)**

President Ayub Khan's period is said to be an era of reforms, peace and progress. Steps were taken in this period to bring about reforms in various fields. A system of price control was enforced with a view to put an end to the food crisis and saving prices of essential commodities. Suitable measures were taken against the dishonest and corrupt traders and businessmen who used to hoard up food stuff and create artificial scarcity of commodities. As a result of this drastic action corruption and smuggling came to almost a halt. Thus the activity of anti-social elements was curbed. Measures were adopted to collect the arrear land revenue and taxes and as a result the income of the government increased.

## **Domestic Policies**

### **Economic Reforms**

#### **1. Screening Committees:**

Screening committees were set up in different stages of administration with a view to remove corrupt and inefficient officials from the government services.

#### **2. Indus Basin Treaty 1960:**

Due to initiative of the President Ayub the border demarcation between the two countries finalized. In 1960 Indus Water Treaty was signed through the mediation of World Bank. According to his treaty Indus, Jhelum and Chenab were given to Pakistan while Ravi, Sutlej and Beas were given to India. This treaty solved the water dispute between two countries.

#### **3. Rehabilitation of Refugees:**

Effective steps were taken for the rehabilitation of the refugees and for this purpose a committee was formed under General Azam Khan and many cases were solved. Colonies and satellite towns were set up for these homeless refugees.

#### **4. Green Revolution and Land Reforms:**

In Punjab and Sindh the feudal landlords dominated the entire social and political structure. Their influence grew everywhere. Ayub's govt. took a bold step to undertake Agrarian reforms. Landlords were not allowed to have more than 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 acres of un-irrigated land. The division of holdings below an economic level was forbidden and provisions made for amalgamation of already existing uneconomic holding to an economic one.

The productivity of the land increased & agricultural output rose by using modern methods of farming, tube wells, more tractors, more chemical fertilizers, use of HYV's and insecticides. As a result of this a **GREEN REVOLUTION** came in the county with maximum crop output.

#### **5. Industrial Reforms:**

Due to land reforms of Ayub Khan a green revolution emerged and agro-based industries were set up all over the country. He made efforts to make Pakistan an industrialized nation. For that purpose, he created a favorable environment for investment. PIDC and PICIC were set up to provide loans for setting up industries. There was a shift in establishments of consumer goods industries to heavy industries. Industrial growth increased in terms of exports and productivity. He encouraged local and foreign investors by giving them incentives. He also encouraged exports through 'Export Bonus Scheme'. Domestic industries were protected by imposition of tariff on imported goods. Oil refinery set up in Karachi and Mineral Development Corporation.

As a result of these reforms, there was sharp increase in economic growth at the rate of **7%** per year, three times more than India. However, there was little improvement in the conditions of poor people. His industrial policies created class discrimination. 22 families controlled 66% of industrial assets and 80% of banking and insurance companies. Moreover, all these developmental efforts were in West Pakistan and East Pakistan seemed deprived.

#### **6. Shifting of Capital from Karachi to Islamabad**

Ayub Khan shifted capital from Karachi to Islamabad in 1967 after complete construction of a modern city. This would also allow him to stay close to the GHQ in Rawalpindi.

## **Political/Constitutional Reforms**

### **7. Basic Democracy System:**

The idea underlying basic democracies was to guide the people for democracy and political participation. The basic democracies order issued in October 1959 introduced a 4-tier structure of representative bodies, which were:

- i. Union Council in villages**
- ii. Sub-District Council**
- iii. District Council**
- iv. Divisional council**

In this system ordinary people elected Union Council members, who in turn elected district and divisional council members.

These Basic Democrats formed the Electoral College for provincial and central assemblies.

There were total 80000 basic democrats.

### **Constitutional Reforms (Constitution of 1962):**

In Feb 1960 Ayub Khan appointed a constitution commission under Justice Shahab-ud-Din to draft the new constitution of Pakistan. It recommended:

- Pakistan was declared as 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'.
- President could not be removed unless impeached.
- A cabinet of ministers from national assembly.
- Presidential form of government.
- A single house legislature called national assembly elected for 5 years.
- Provincial assembly for each province.
- All legislative, executive and judicial powers in the hands of president.
- An indirect system of elections by the through basic democrats who will form 'electoral College'. 40000 from East Pakistan and 40000 from West Pakistan.

### **Social and educational reforms**

- Ayub introduced '**Family Law Ordinance 1960**' to give protection to women; polygamy was prohibited except under some special cases. It prescribed a marriageable age for females and males. He tried to control high birth rate through population control program called "Family Planning Program".
- Innovations were initiated in civil & criminal legal system.

### **Educational Reforms:**

- Ayub's govt. started an extensive literary program, which involved the building of schools and colleges in several towns.
- Technical and vocational institutes were opened where both research and training were conducted. He appointed a commission for this and primary education was free and compulsory till class eight. He also recommended 3 year degree program and religious education was also emphasized.

### **Military Reforms:**

He made many changes in armed forces according to the demands. He made tours to super powers and defense agreements were signed. Due to his policies Pakistan got military help from China and even we got aircrafts to fight in 1965 Indo-Pak war.

### **Foreign Policy**

- Ayub introduced a friendly foreign policy and he made tours of developed countries and delegates were also sent.
- He got many foreign contracts and loans. Pakistan's industries could not have developed without foreign loans, which were provided by western countries like USA, UK, and Germany.
- In 1964 **RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development)** was signed with Iran and Turkey which improved the relations and trade among the member countries.
- 1960 Indus Water Treaty signed with India.

- Cordial relations with USSR were established by signing Tashkent Declaration in 1966.
- Close military and trade relations with China.

### **War of 1965**

The main cause of 1965 Indo-Pak War was the Kashmir issue. India had occupied the Kashmir valley ever since the partition happened. All efforts for a free plebiscite in the valley had failed. The Kashmiris launched a civil disobedience movement against the Indian government that resulted in further atrocities. Ayub Khan provoked India into war by infiltration of army into occupied Kashmir and in despair Indian troops crossed the cease-fire line and occupied several posts in Pakistan. When Pakistan retaliated a war started between India and Pakistan, which lasted for 17 days. On 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1965 according to the resolution of the Security Council a ceasefire agreement was signed between India and Pakistan.

### **Tashkent Declaration – Jan 1966**

This nine-point declaration was signed between Pakistan and India at Tashkent (USSR). It contained no reference to solve Kashmir problem. Both armies reverted back to their original position. Z.A. Bhutto who was foreign minister at that time protested against this agreement and was sacked by Ayub Khan. Later he became a focal point for opposition to Ayub.

## **Causes of Downfall of Ayub Khan**

The last quarter of 1968 witnessed a popular movement directed against Ayub Khan and shook the region to its roots. The main causes for the downfall of Ayub were as follows:

### **1. Dictatorial Policies of Ayub Khan/Undemocratic rule**

- Ayub Khan introduced several measures to curb the politicians like **EBDO** (Elected Bodies Disqualifications Ordinance). Press freedom was curtailed to a great extent. A systematic victimization of political opponents was carried out. In fact there was an end to civil liberties in Pakistan.
- Restricted Nature of Franchise/Constitution of 1962: According to the constitution of 1962 the method of indirect election by the basic democrats

generated dissatisfaction among the people. People were not allowed to choose their leaders directly. His constitutional reforms gave immense power to the president, which was not liked by the people.

- Corruption in the BD System and Public Services: The members of the basic democrats were enjoying tremendous power; this led to corruption, malpractice, oppression and suppression.

## **2. Economic Policies and unrest In East Pakistan**

During his govt. 22 industrial families were holding 66% of the country's industrial assets and 80% of its insurance and banking services. Most of the wealth was concentrated in West Pakistan. Most of the capital earned by East Pakistan especially from jute industry was shifted to West Pakistan. He also shifted many prosperous industries from East Pakistan to West. As a result East Pakistanis were not satisfied with the economic policies of the Ayub Government. They organized themselves under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and presented their demands for full autonomy in form of **Six Points**. There was also discontentment in West Pakistan due to growing gap between rich and poor people.

## **3. Role of Z.A. Bhutto**

Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, a man considerably popular with the youth gave leadership to the movement and created the feelings of hatred against Ayub Khan and his govt. He organized student's movement against Ayub Khan. There were infrequent clashes between the police and the students, unrest spread throughout Pakistan among the students.

### **Other Reasons**

- Educational reforms could not get the desired results. The students and student unions were against him.
- The religious people criticized family planning system and they protested on ban on polygamy and considered both of these against Islam.
- In 1968 Ayub celebrated "Decade of development" to divert the growing criticism on his government.

### **Formation of Democratic Action Committee**

The major political parties with the exception of the NAP and PPP agreed to form Democratic Action Committee on the basis of eight-point program. This opposition unity was a decisive factor in the history of the movement. Meanwhile, considering the situation serious the president decided to resign on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969.



**WHY DID EAST PAKISTAN  
SEEK INDEPENDENCE AND  
BREAK AWAY TO FORM AN  
INDEPENDENT STATE OF  
BANGLADESH?**

## **General Yahya Khan (1969-1971)**

### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

1. Why did East Pakistan wish to break away from Pakistan? [7]
2. Why did Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rehman demand Six-Points? [7]
3. 'The Six Points made by Mujib-ur-Rehman and the Awami League was the most important factor in creation of Bangladesh in 1971. 'Do you agree with the statement or not? Give reasons. [14]
4. Were economic factors more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer. [14]
5. 'Geographical position of East Pakistan was the most important reason for the creation of Bangladesh in 1971'. Discuss in detail. [14]

On 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969, Yahya Khan imposed martial law and he declared himself as the president of Pakistan.

- He abrogated 1962 constitution.
- Banned all the political parties and political activities.
- Dissolved national and provincial assemblies.
- Dismissed central and provincial cabinets.

In his address to the nation he announced to protect life, liberty and property of the public. He got the country in a dire situation and tried his best to solve these problems.

### **Legal Framework Order (LFO) 1970**

LFO was a temporary constitution introduced by General Yahya Khan to run the country till elections to be held.

- It was announced on 30 March 1970. LFO meant that many provisions of 1962 constitution would be adhered to.

- He promised to handover the power to the elected candidates of the country.
- He committed himself to elections on the basis of a direct vote by the adult franchise.
- One Unit Scheme introduced in 1955 was abolished and provinces reverted back to their previous position.
- LFO announced to setup a national assembly with 313 seats and out of those 13 was reserved for women.

### **General Elections - 1970**

These were the first elections in which the people were given the chance to choose the candidates according to their desire. All the political parties welcomed these elections and participated with their manifestos. In East Pakistan Awami League was the strongest party led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman. He issued Six Points aimed at separation of East Pakistan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto participated in these elections under the banner of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) with the motto **"Food, clothing and home for everyone"** that attracted the lower class. The elections were held on 7 December 1970. The masses turned out enthusiastically and the voting turnout was 90%. The results of the election showed that:

- PPP got 81 out of 138 seats and got the majority in West Pakistan.
- Awami league led by Mujib-ur-Rehman got 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan which was sweeping majority but he could not get a single seat in West Pakistan.
- General Yahya Khan announced that Awami League and PPP will have a joint session of national assembly that the new national assembly would frame new constitution in 120 days.

### **Emergence of Bangladesh 1971**

This is a very important event in the history of Pakistan. After the general elections of 1970 Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman insisted on his constitutional right to form the government as he had won majority of the seats on the basis and strength of his six-point formula.

### **Six Points**

1. Federal form of government with directly elected Parliament.
2. Federal govt. would be left with only two subjects i.e. Defense and Foreign relations leaving all the subjects to the concern of the provinces.
3. Federal govt. would share in the state taxes but would have no powers of taxation.
4. Separate currencies and fiscal policies for East Pakistan.
5. Right for each province to enter into external trade agreements with other countries and control foreign exchange earnings.
6. Provinces would have their own paramilitary or territorial forces.

This formula was neither acceptable to Mr. Z.A. Bhutto nor Yahya Khan because it was a move towards separation. This situation finally led to the massive mass movement and civil war in Pakistan and resulted in fall of Dacca in December 1971. The main causes responsible for this saga are as follow:

### **Causes for the Separation of East Pakistan in 1971**

#### **Geographical:**

A thousand miles of foreign territory separated East and West Pakistan. As the central government was in West Pakistan, it could not effectively manage the areas, which was too far, so a close contact between the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan couldn't develop. That's why East Pakistan became weak from defensive point of view. The means of communication were not developed at that time and it was difficult to control law and order situation promptly by West Pakistan government.

**Economic Causes:**

There was economic disparity between the two wings because of the following reasons:

- Historically the area of West Pakistan especially of Punjab was more developed because of the fertility of the land and its central position. Irrigation system, transport links were all developed in large areas of West Pakistan.
- Economic policies of Ayub Khan's reign intensified the regional disparity by establishing industries in West Pakistan and making capital at Islamabad.
- The foreign exchange earned through the export of jute from East Pakistan was spent on the development projects of West Pakistan. The issue of economic disparity was further exploited by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman which finally led to separation.

**Cultural and linguistic differences:**

- The cultural and linguistic differences between the two wings were significant.
- People in East Pakistan used to speak Bengali while in West Pakistan Urdu and other regional languages were spoken.
- The style of living such as food, dress, and habits were also different from West Pakistan.

These differences were exploited by a group of politicians and obstructed the development of National unity.

**Representation in Government & Civil services:**

There was marginal representation of the East Pakistanis in the government services. The appointment of West Pakistan civil servants in East Pakistan without the knowledge of Bengali language created a bitter situation. It is also accused that the west Pakistani civil servants looked upon their Bengali colleagues and sub-ordinates as worthless and inferior people.

**Role of Hindu teachers:**

The Hindu teachers who created hatred and discontentment among the students by criticizing the economic policies of the central government dominated East Pakistan's educational institutions.

**Military intervention by India:**

When the movement for autonomy reached its climax, Indian army regiments equipped with the latest and most sophisticated weapons rushed across the border. India and Russia had signed a joint agreement of military and economic cooperation. It is alleged that the arms India acquired from Russia were used to help rebels of East Pakistan. Dacca fell towards the middle of December 1971. The Pakistan army surrendered. Mukti Bahini, a militant force of Bengali rebels was trained in India to fight against West Pakistanis.

**Politicians' lust for power:**

Even though General Yahya Khan wanted to transfer the power to elected candidates and was ready to invite Shaikh Mujib to form the government, it was not acceptable to Bhutto and other politicians from Pakistan. Bhutto refused to attend inaugural session of National Assembly to be held in Dacca. This attitude of politicians created rift between East and West Pakistan and the violence broke out all over East Pakistan resulted in civil war.

**The neutrality of Pakistan's allies – US & China:**

At that time Pakistan was a staunch US ally and had also developed great relations with Communist China. The US had promised a naval fleet to support Pakistan's Navy but it never arrived. China, on the other hand, was not a power yet and couldn't argue USSR who had warned them to stay away from the war. In the end it proved fatal for Pakistan Army.

**Civil War and separation of East Pakistan**

In Jan 1971 Yahya visited East Pakistan and referred Mujib as the next prime minister and tried to tone down his six points. He announced 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1972 for inaugural session of the national assembly but Bhutto apposed this decision and forbade his members to attend that session.

Yahya thus postponed the calling of national assembly for an indefinite period. In East Pakistan violence broke out with strikes, public demonstration and massive civil disobedience. Tikka Khan was appointed as the chief martial law administrator and governor of East Pakistan. When Yahya, Mujib and Bhutto could not find the solution Mujib called the people for supreme sacrifice. In East Pakistan Mukti Bahini was formed, who killed the people not belonging to East Pakistan and those who did not support six points.

During this violence many people migrated from East Pakistan and many were killed. Due to this critical situation Operation Searchlight was launched on 26<sup>th</sup> March. As a result of that Mujib was arrested and the Awami League was banned.

### **War of 1971**

Due to military action against Awami league a lot of rebels fled to India. The massive influx of refugees put a burden on India but also gave her reason to exploit and black mail Pakistan.

Indian Prime minister Indira Gandhi played a negative role in that situation and Indian defense minister declared that he would not send those refugees back to East Pakistan but to Mujib's Bangladesh. The **Indian plane hijacking drama on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1971** gave a reason to India for cutting of airborne supply to East Pakistan so it was difficult for the govt. to supply soldiers and weapons to East Pakistan. In August 1971 India-USSR Defense Pact was signed that gave the Indians the support from a super power. Indira Gandhi demanded withdrawal of Pakistani forces from East Pakistan.

In November 1971, Indian troops started to cross East Pakistan border and on **3<sup>rd</sup> December 1971** a full scale War broke out and India which lasted till 16 December 1971. Pakistani Army surrendered under General Niazi with about 90000 POW's (prisoners of war). The defeat in 1971 war degraded the name of Pakistani army and Yahya Khan had to step down making a way for Bhutto. On 20<sup>th</sup> December 1971 Yahya resigned from his post and Bhutto replaced him as the only civil Chief Martial Law Administrator. On **21<sup>st</sup> December** the Republic of Bangladesh was officially declared. Mujib was released by Bhutto on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1972. He returned to Bangladesh on **10<sup>th</sup> January** and became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

**What was Operation Searchlight?**

**[4]**

Reward each correct statement with 1 mark. 2 marks can be awarded for a developed statement. Candidates might refer to:

A planned military operation carried out by the Pakistan Army to put down the Bengali nationalist movement in East Pakistan in March 1971. Ordered by the central government in West Pakistan, this was seen as the sequel to “Operation Blitz” which had been launched in November 1970. The original plan envisioned taking control of the major cities on March 26 and then eliminating all opposition, political or military within one month. Bengali resistance was not expected by the Pakistani army and led to many atrocities taking place that caused some 10 million refugees to flee to India. These atrocities enraged the Bengalis, who declared independence from Pakistan, and led to the creation of Bangladesh.



**HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS  
PAKISTAN IN THE TWENTY  
YEARS FOLLOWING THE  
'DECADE OF PROGRESS?'**

## **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77)**

### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1. Why did Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto fall from power in 1979? [7]**
- 2. Educational reforms were the most important of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**
- 3. In which of the following did Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto have most success:**  
**Reform and control of the armed forces**  
**Constitutional reforms**  
**Education and health reforms**  
**Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above [14]**
- 4. Constitutional reforms were the most important of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]**
- 5. Why was Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto arrested and executed in 1979? [7]**

On 20<sup>th</sup> December 1971 Bhutto assumed power after Yahya Khan stepped down. He was a civilian chief martial law administrator. He had to deal with many difficult tasks such as:

- A disgraced army,
- A shattered govt.
- A demoralized population

### **Control of armed forces:**

- He was determined to limit the powers of armed forces to protect his government from martial law. He put all the blame of the separation of East Pakistan on Yahya and military.
- Removing the most important army leaders - Bhutto decided to assert control over armed forces and forced C-in-C General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan to resign and he appointed Tikka Khan as chief of the army staff.

- Setting up FSF (Federal Security Force) for his personal use - The idea was extracted, perhaps, from the infamous NKVD that the Communist leader Joseph Stalin had adopted in his heydays. It also showed how much inclined Bhutto was towards socialism. **Haq Nawaz Tiwana**, an officer drawn from the police, was the first director general of the *FSF*; he was soon replaced by **Masood Mahmood**.

### **Simla Agreement - 1972**

The signing of Simla agreement was to solve the problem of POW's, maintain diplomatic relations with India and to resolve the differences and misconception between India and Pakistan according to charter of UN. It was concluded in July 1972 and both countries agreed to withdraw their troops to pre December 1971 position. Bhutto represented Pakistan and Indira Gandhi signed it from India.

## **Domestic Policies**

### **Nationalization Program:**

Bhutto's first step towards a change in the economic condition was nationalization of key industries. In Jan 1972 the government took over 31 industrial units including large and small industries. A board for industrial management was setup to manage nationalized industries. This step was taken to end and exploitation of few industrialists. The second phase started in 1973 to 1976 in which many small industries were also nationalized.

### **Land Reforms:**

It was announced in 1972. The land holding were restricted to 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of un-irrigated land. Later on it was reduced to 100 acres of irrigated and 200 acres of un-irrigated land in 1977.

### **Educational Reforms:**

Bhutto wanted to make the education free and compulsory. In the first phase (1972) education was made free and compulsory up to class 8. In the second phase (1974) education was made

free and compulsory up to class 10. New schools were opened and the private schools were nationalized. **Three universities and five new boards of intermediate and secondary education were set up. UGC was also set up.** The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the educational reforms since it meant a loss of earnings to them. In conclusion educational reforms increased the number of educational institutions but quality of education went down.

#### **Health Reforms:**

- Rural Health Centers and Basic health Units were established.
- Training Colleges for nurses and more medical colleges for doctors were opened up.
- The sale of medicine under brand name was not allowed. This reduced profit of pharmaceutical companies and they started closing down their offices in Pakistan. The reforms did not improve medical services in Pakistan and shortages of doctors and hospitals remained a problem.

#### **Labor Reforms:**

- All the workers of industrial concerns were given medical cover, compensation for injuries at work, compulsory group insurance and safe guard against termination of service.
- The industry and factory owners were made responsible to bear the expenses of the education of at least one child of every worker employed in their factory.
- New rules were announced regarding the bonuses, leave compensation and retirement.
- Social security scheme was applied to all the industries;

## **Constitution Reforms:**

In 1972 martial law was lifted and a new constituent assembly was called. A committee was set up to draft a new constitution. The recommendations of committee received approval of all political parties in the assembly

## **Constitutional of 1973**

It was drafted in on 14<sup>th</sup> August and supported a parliamentary form of government.

1. Pakistan was named as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. PM and President were to be Muslims.
2. Parliamentary system of government - two houses of parliament. National Assembly and Senate.
3. Prime Minister would be the leader of majority party and would choose the cabinet.
4. Federal system of government - adult franchise as well as provincial autonomy.
5. Protection of basic human rights.
6. Islamic Provisions to change existing laws according to Islam.
7. Legislative, emergency and judicial powers given to PM. President had to act according to the advice of PM.

## **Foreign Policy:**

- Bhutto embarked upon the tour of friendly Muslim countries.
- Emerged as a leader of third world countries – he played active role in NAM (Non-Aligned Movement)
- He undertook tours of 22 countries and explained his foreign policy.
- He also visited China and USSR. China provided loans and military aircrafts to Pakistan.
- In 1972, USSR agreed to build Pakistan Steel Mills.
- The second Islamic Summit Conference of OIC was held at Lahore in 1974. It was a great achievement under the leadership of Bhutto, which gave a boost to Pakistan's reputation at international level.

## **General elections of 1977**

Bhutto announced general election in 1977 to seek public mandate for a second term. With the announcement of the general elections 9 political parties joined together to contest elections against Bhutto with an alliance known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA launched a blistering campaign against PPP.

### **The PNA Movement:**

The PNA declared the elections results fake and demanded fresh elections under the judiciary and army. The PNA also demanded the resignation of the Chief Election Commissioner and the PM Bhutto himself. The PNA launched a countrywide movement against the PPP govt. Bhutto rejected PNA's demands. Strikes and processions were held throughout the country which shook the govt. The PNA movement soon turned into a bloody civil war. Government agencies like FSF and Rangers were involved which tried to crush protesters. On April 19<sup>th</sup> 1977 the army was called in Lahore, Hyderabad and Karachi and curfew was imposed. The situation in the country worsened which compelled Mr. Bhutto to start negotiations with PNA delegation but to no avail. Law and order situation deteriorated. Then COAS general M. Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law in the country on July 5<sup>th</sup> 1977 and suspended some parts of the constitution of 1973.

**Practice Question 1: Why did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto fall from power in 1979? [7]**

### **Reasons for the downfall of Bhutto**

#### **Political**

1. **Massive rigging the election of 1977:** The rigging in the elections infuriated the sentiments of the people and provided a chance to the opposition to launch an organized movement against the Bhutto government and led to its downfall.
2. **Dictatorial policies of PPP Government:** PPP Government was the first elected government in Pakistan but it did not follow the democratic way. Opposition was

neglected and mass media communication was monopolized. This made people unhappy and they supported the opposition against Bhutto.

3. **The Baluchistan Crisis:** In 1973 the Baluchistan Government was suspended and Presidential rule was imposed. This started a tribal uprising that needed Iranian support to be dealt with.
4. **The Pakhtoonistan Stunt 1975:** In NWFP there were demonstrations in the favor of a separate autonomous province of Pakhtoonistan. Repressive measures led to the downfall of Mufti Mahmud, the chief Minister of NWFP.

### **Economic**

5. **Nationalization Policies:** It was also a failure because Bhutto could not find the necessary expertise or the right kind of skilled personnel to run the industries. Industrial production dropped and economy went down.
6. **Failure of PPP's Manifesto:** PPP Government failed to provide food, shelter and clothing to the common man; it rather aggravated his miseries. In this way he lost the support of the poor masses.
7. **Deteriorating economic conditions:** Country's economy was seriously dislocated. Production levels fell and exports decreased drastically.
8. **Devaluation of currency:** Since Pakistan's rupee was linked with the US dollar and at that time there was recession in the American economy, the value of the rupee fell gradually. This led to negative balance of payment and a decreased economic growth.

### **Military**

**Degradation of the army and the bureaucracy:** After the fall of Dhaka, Pakistan's army was degraded as it could not defend the territorial boundaries of the country. In order to curb the power of bureaucracy, administrative reforms were introduced. This turned the military and the bureaucracy against Bhutto and martial law was imposed in 1977.

## **Practice Question 2: Why was Bhutto hanged in 1979?**

**[7]**

1. **Murder case against Ahmed Raza Kasuri's father:** Bhutto was implicated in a murder case during his tenure. Ahmad Raza Kasuri was one of the MNAs. He was an active member of the PPP and was very vocal in the parliament. He soon turned against Bhutto and openly criticized the policies adopted by the PPP and its Chairman Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. He turned out to be a deadly opponent of Mr. Z.A. Bhutto. Mr. Bhutto was not used to digest this sort of criticism from one of his party members. He plotted against Ahmed Raza Kasuri and employed his federal security force to quell the outbursts of Ahmed Raza Kasuri. The Federal Security fired on Ahmed Raza Kasuri when he was returning from a marriage function along with his family members. His father **Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan** was killed in the incident. Ahmed Raza Kasuri got an FIR registered against Mr. Bhutto who was sentenced to death along with his four accomplices by Lahore High Court. The Supreme Court followed the decision of Lahore High Court and when President Zia turned down his mercy appeal, Mr. Bhutto was hanged on **4<sup>th</sup> April, 1979**.
2. **Conspiracy against Bhutto:** It is also alleged that Bhutto fell victim to a conspiracy. He was hated by landlords and industrialists, lost support of students, disliked by civil service and lost support of the army. Zia-ul-Haq faced little opposition when the court decided to execute him.
3. **Lack of International Support:**
  - USA not happy because of his pro-USSR policies.

Bhutto's nuclear program was not approved by the west.
4. **Zia wanted to show his power:**
  - In the end it all became a personal issue for Zia who knew he wasn't liked by the masses. Leaving Bhutto imprisoned could have created problems for him.
  - He was considered to be a weak leader in the army too. Since he had been elevated to the highest rank by superseding other generals by Bhutto himself, it was believed he would not turn up against Bhutto.



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

Explain your answer.

**LEVEL 1:** Simplistic statement [1-2]

It was very successful

**LEVEL 2"** Described the constitution/identified successes or failures [3-6]

There were 3 constitutions implemented in 1956, 1962 and 1973

**LEVEL 3:** Explains successes OR failures [7-10]

**LEVEL 4:** Explains both. [9-13]

**Successes:**

The first attempt to set up a constitution came in 1949 with the Objectives Resolution which tried to pave the way towards a new constitution. It attempted to set out a plan to enshrine Islamic principles in an eventual constitution. In 1952 a revised Basic Principles Committee presented a report which made firm steps towards an Islamic constitution by stating that the Head of State should be Muslim and that he would appoint a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic Law

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

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

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

**Failures:**

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was criticized especially by East Pakistan who resented the fact that Urdu, not Bengali was to be the official language despite the much large population. It

also resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly, again due to the size of its population.

The death of Liaquat Ali Khan meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader could be found and had time to settle in

The Basic Principles Committee's report was criticized because of the official language issue was still not settled and East Pakistan was determined to oppose the selection of Urdu. Political uncertainties and change meant that further discussions towards establishing a new constitution were put on hold for a few years until 1956.

The 1956 constitution was heavily criticized since it didn't solve the political problems of Pakistan. The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but whilst the President held the power to intervene or even suspend the Assembly. East Pakistan was very unhappy at not having a majority in the Assembly that it believed its vast population deserved.

The 1962 constitution increased the powers of the ruling elite which happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used force or bribery to influence the results. The constitution also upset the people of East Pakistan as they felt they were going to have little part in the governing of Pakistan and that the power was held by the military and civil officials of West Pakistan

## **General Zia-ul Haq (1977-88)**

### **Practice Questions:**

1. What were the Hudood Ordinances? [4]
2. Why did Zia –ul-Haq introduce his Islamic reforms between 1977 and 1988? [7]
3. How successful have governments been in the Islamization of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. [14]
4. 'Zia-ul-Haq's foreign policy was more successful than his domestic reforms'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

**Marking scheme extract about Islamization program of Zia-ul-Haq**

Zia introduced the Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process because he felt that Pakistan was weaker as a result of these. He therefore, made the Islamic laws very strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code.

He also wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools so as to raise Islamic awareness amongst students. He also wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes.

**Foreign policy**

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 led to the West working very closely with Pakistan and providing military and economic support in return for becoming a base for anti-Soviet activities. Zia's standing in the West increased and he was able with their support to sell military assistance to other Muslim countries. By 1985 there were in excess of 50,000 Pakistanis working in the Middle East as a direct result of this policy.

**Domestic Policies**

In addition to the policy of Islamization, Zia worked on many other fronts. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalization programs were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring all the military actions of him as legal since 1977. The passing of the Eight Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this, martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged and with utmost power.

LEVEL 5: As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation.

## **How did Zia gain power?**

Zia was made the chief of the army staff in 1976 by Bhutto. On 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977 he dissolved Bhutto's government owing to the uncertain situation that had occurred in the aftermath of the Elections 1977. **Operation Fairplay** paved the way to martial law in the country.

## **Important Events of Zia's Rule**

### **Political activities banned**

Zia's ML regime issued Provincial Constitutional Order (PCO) in March 1981 in which it was declared that efforts shall be made to restore democracy as soon as possible. Till then it was announced that political activities would be banned and allowed only by the president. It was stated that only those political parties should be permitted to operate which were registered with the election commission and were declared to be eligible to take part in the general elections by 11 October 1979. All other parties shall stand dissolved.

### **Majlis e Shoora**

A Majlis-e-Shoora (Federal Council) was nominated in 1981. The Majlis-e-Shoora was constituted to assist the government in order to pave way for Islamic judicial system. It consisted of 284 members and was formally established in early 1982. Provincial councils were also set up in the provinces. Moulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, a renowned religious scholar was behind the idea of this system.

### **Zakat Ordinance**

The most important step taken to introduce the Islamic system in the country was the enforcement of 'Zakat and Ushr' ordinance by the government that was promulgated on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1980. It was an important step towards Islamization of the economic system and a big achievement of the government.

Levy of Zakat was to be applicable on the saving accounts and the current accounts were exempted from it. A '**Sahib-e-Nisab**' Muslim was defined as the one, who came under the

category of those Muslims on whom the payment of zakat was compulsory. However, it was necessary that at the time of deduction of zakat there must be a balance of Rs.3000/- lying in the bank account. In addition to this compulsory contribution, Muslims were also expected to pay zakat voluntarily on their assets lying outside the banks.

### **Ushr Ordinance**

‘Ushr’ is a tax which is levied on the yield of agricultural land in. According to this ordinance every owner, plougher and cultivator of an agricultural land will have to deposit with the government 10 percent of the agricultural yield/production of the land under his use in cash or kind as ‘Ushr’. However, the agricultural yield less than 948 kg of wheat was exempted from payment of ‘Ushr’. It was also decided that if the landowner, plougher and cultivator was a poor man and came under the category of those persons who are eligible to receive Zakat, he would be exempted from the payment of ‘Ushr’.

The council consisted of the following:

- a. Central zakat council**
- b. Provincial zakat council**
- c. District zakat committee**
- d. Tehsil zakat committee**

### **Establishment of the Federal Shariah Court**

The establishment of federal shariah court was a highly important and significant step undertaken by the govt. in the Islamization process. The jurisdiction of federal shariah court extended to whole of the country. The federal shariah court decided various issues brought before it in the light of Holy Quran and Sunnah. Any citizen could challenge any law of the country in the shariah court where he had to prove that a certain law was against the injunctions of Islam. The appellant could claim that since a particular law was against the principles of Islam, it may therefore, be declared as nullified. The Federal Shariah Court was authorized to give its decision in order to declare any law of the country as nullified if the law was found and proved as against the spirit of Islam.

## **Interest-free Banking**

“**Riba**” is an Arabic word, which means the rent of the capital borrowed for personal use. It implies that a person, who lends money to another person for the personal use, will take a certain amount from the borrower in the excess of the amount actually lent, as the rent of the lent money, for the period the lent money is kept under use by the borrower.

Banking system in Pakistan was organized on interest basis and the account holders were paid a fixed amount on their deposits on yearly basis as interest. The govt. in order, to streamline the banking system in accordance with Islamic principles, took steps to eliminate the evil interest from the banking system of the country. For this purpose interest free banking system was introduced in the country on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 1981 and in its place the profit and loss sharing system was introduced. According to this system the account holder becomes the partner with the bank in its profit or loss.

## **Compulsory teaching of Pakistan Studies & Islamiyat**

The first step taken in this direction was the teaching of Islamiyat as a compulsory subject on degree level, which aimed at giving Islamic education to the students to a greater extent. Extensive efforts are being made for the teaching and development of Arabic language. Arabic language courses were introduced on Radio Pakistan and Pakistan television besides other program broadcasts in Arabic from other sources. The subject of Pakistan Studies, containing comprehensive information and material on freedom, struggle of the Muslims of the subcontinent and history of Pakistan was introduced for intermediate level and above.

Steps were taken by the govt. which pertained to maintaining the sanctity of the Holy Month of Ramzan-ul-Mubarak. The govt. had issued an ordinance, according to which open drinking and eating during the holy month of Ramzan-ul-Mubarak had been forbidden. Anyone found eating or drinking at an open place in contravention to this Ordinance was liable to three months imprisonment and a fine of Rs.500/-. However, hospitals, railway stations, seaports, bus stands, trains and airports were exempted from this ordinance.

## **Zia's Political Plan:**

General Zia announced his political plan in his address to the Majlis-e-Shoora on 12 August 1983, which was meant for peaceful transition from military to civilian rule. According to the plan general elections were to be held under the constitution of 1973. Zia described his plan as a positive outline of a real Islamic state and system of working.

### **Elections 1983**

Zia attached great importance to the elections in a democratic set-up. He firmly believed that elections should be held on adult franchise basis to restore democracy.

The elections were to be held in two stages in 1983. In the first stage elections to the local bodies were held on non-party basis. In the local bodies elections 71767 members were elected. In the second stage elections to the national and provincial assemblies and the senate were held in 1985.

### **Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD)**

As Zia had monopolized all the parties became angry at his dictatorial style. Zia's tactics could not cool down the irritated politicians. A civil disobedience movement was launched against Zia in the province of Sindh the movement was named as movement of restoration of democracy (MRD) and was aimed at pulling Zia Down from his high position. The movement, to some extent, was successful in developing hatred amongst the people about Zia's dictatorial style.

**Nawabzada Nasrullah** Khan led the movement.

### **National Referendum**

As Zia's political plan did not contain a provision for the election of the president, he believed his position was extremely unsafe due to this missing point. In order to seek constitutional basis for his possessive control of the political authority he issued referendum slogan **"whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by general Muhammad Zia ul Haq, the president of Pakistan for bringing laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the holy prophet (PBUH) and for the preservation of**

**the ideology of Pakistan and for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representative of the people?”**. The question was to be answered either in ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Zia received 97.7 percent of votes. The opposition parties boycotted the referendum.

### **Elections 1985**

After having secured himself through referendum, Zia announced that elections to the assemblies would be held on 28th February 1985 on adult franchise but on a non-party basis. The turnout was 52.93%.

### **Muhammad Khan Junejo as PM**

The joint session of the national assembly and the senate was held on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1985. Zia ul Haq took oath as the president of Pakistan for the next five years. Zia nominated Muhammad Khan Junejo from the province of Sindh, as PM.

### **Ohjri Camp Disaster**

Ohjri camp was an ammunition depot situated in between Rawalpindi and Islamabad. On April 10<sup>th</sup> 1988, the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi received an unexpected and heavy shower of weapons, which included missiles, rockets, bombs and other highly lethal exclusive devices. The blast jolted the entire area. The explosion caused great panic and heavy loss of lives.

### **Junejo’s Government Dissolved**

Prime Minister Junejo appointed a committee to submit a report on the incident of Ohjri camp. The report was submitted on April 24<sup>th</sup> 1988. The report was reviewed by the Cabinet, which held General Akhter Abdur Rehman, the ISI chief and General Hameed Gul (former ISI chief) responsible for the disaster. It became evident that the PM was going to dismiss those army generals on whom the inquiry committee had fixed the responsibility of the disaster. Sensing Junejo’s intentions of dismissing Gen. Akhtar Abdur Rehman and Gen Hamid Gul, Zia pre-empted the move and dissolved Junejo’s Govt. on May 29, 1988 using his powers under the 8<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment,



## **Process of Islamization:**

The Government of president Zia-ul-Haq took a number of steps to introduce Islamic laws in the country, which were as follows:

### **Hudood Ordinance**

Hudood Ordinance was promulgated in the country in 1977. According to Hudood ordinance, different punishments were prescribed for various crimes. The word “**had**” means the punishment, which has been prescribed in the light of the holy Quran and Sunnah.

According to the Hudood ordinance, use of liquor/wine was prohibited and was considered a culpable crime throughout Pakistan. Any person found guilty of the said crime would be liable to punishment of thirty lashes and five years’ imprisonment.

The second Hudood law concerned with the crime of theft. According to this law, to cut the left hand of the person found guilty of theft. If the person commits the crime of theft for the second time his right hand, too, would be amputated. The habitual theft was to be awarded life imprisonment.

The third Hudood law was meant for adultery. According to this law if a person, man or woman, indulged in the act of adultery, he or she would be stoned to death. The first eyewitness would initiate the act of stoning the adulterer. The culprit would then be shot dead during stoning. The law had been enacted in the light of Islam, which means that if a man or woman, not married with each other according to the Islamic way, indulged in adultery, would be stoned to death at an open place.

### **Qazaf Ordinance**

Qazaf means a false allegation on a person, living or dead, to harm his/her reputation. In order to prove this allegation, at least four adult Muslims, known for their truthfulness would be required to bear witness to this fact. If the crime was established a punishment of fine and imprisonment could also be awarded.

## **8<sup>th</sup> Amendment**

President's order known as Revival of 1973 Constitutional Order (RCO) was passed on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1985. It altered the constitution and 65 articles of constitution were amended or substituted or added or modified or deleted. RCO could be called as first and for most part of 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. Important changes brought about by RCO related to the powers of the president included:

1. The president was to act on the advice of the cabinet, the prime minister, or the minister but he could require the cabinet to reconsider its advice.
2. The president could dissolve national assembly in his discretion, where in his opinion appeal to the electorate was necessary and call elections within 100 days of such dissolution.
3. The president to continue in the office until successors entered upon the office of prime minister. A care taker cabinet is appointed till the elections of successors after general elections.
4. The president could in his discretion appoint any member of national assembly as prime minister who in his opinion could command the confidence of the majority of NA members. However, PM had to obtain vote of confidence from NA in 60 days.

8<sup>th</sup> amendment was introduced by Zia-ul-Haq and he wanted the NA and the civilian govt. formed under Junejo to accept the constitutional package under the P.O 14 of the 1985. It was in these circumstances that 8<sup>th</sup> amendment bill was moved. The president's power under the article 58 II B to dissolve the NA in his discretion has since been done 4 times. On all occasions the dissolution was challenged before the courts and Supreme Court decided the matters. The first victim of it was Junejo when Zia dismissed him in 1988. Due to this amendment there is an unstable situation for democracy and it gives initiatives to army to interfere in government matters.

## **End of Zia-ul-Haq:**

On August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1988, a C-130 plane carrying General Zia, General Akhter Abdur Rehman and a number of other very senior army officers and the US Ambassador to Pakistan Mr. Arnold Rafael, blasted near Bahawalpur killing all the persons on board. In a chaotic situation, Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan took over as the president. Elections were announced in three months' time.

### **Practice question 1**

**What difficulties did Zia-ul-Haq find in ruling Pakistan during the late 1980s? 7**

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer [1]

Life became harder

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons [2-4]

There was an increase in violence and drug smuggling

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons [5-7]

Zia-ul-Haq found difficulty in managing the breakdown of law and order. Pakistan became a more violent country with killings commonplace in cities such as Karachi. Drug trafficking grew and there was an increase in levels of corruption in society. The provinces became more difficult to administer. Sindh had regular outbreaks of violence and wanted to break away from Pakistan. It was beginning to be ungovernable. The NWFP was also becoming more critical of the government. The explosion at the arms dump at Camp Ojhri in 1988 led to PM Junejo setting up an inquiry which seemed to blame top army commanders, which Zia found untenable and so dismissed him and dissolved the National Assembly. This led to political crises for Zia and further difficulties.

**HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE  
THE DEMOCRATIC  
GOVERNMENTS AFTER  
ZIA'S MARTIAL LAW  
REGIME?**

## **Benazir Bhutto (1988-90)**

### **CAIE Exam Questions:**

- 1. Why was Benazir Bhutto dismissed from office in 1990? [7]**
- 2. What was the 'Pucca Qila Massacre'? [4]**

### **How did she come into power?**

- Election 1988 – won majority of seats but formed a govt. based on coalition with ANP in the center and MQM in Sindh.
- Became PM while Ghulam Ishaq Khan was President.

### **Initial Problems as PM**

- Nawaz Sharif was a popular leader in Punjab. He attracted masses against her.
- Growing influence of MQM in Karachi.
- Army Intelligence agencies.
- Difficulties in working with Ghulam Ishaq Khan on appointment of military and judicial services.
- Corruption of Asif Ali Zardari.
- Islamic radicalists.

### **Policies**

- Wanted democracy and Islamic political freedom and social and health reforms.
- Ending ban on trade and students unions, releasing political prisoners, rural electrification.

- Foreign policy revised - re-entry into Common Wealth in 1989. Hosted SAARC conference in December 1988.

### **Failures**

- Inflation, unemployment, growing population, burden on education and health.
- Failed to cope with drug abuse.
- Opposition's 'no confidence' motion in October 1989 failed but had damaging effects.
- No new laws were passed for women and Hudood Ordinance not repealed.
- MQM and Sindh- violence in Karachi.
- Operation against MQM - Pucca Qila Massacre in 1990.
- Alleged Corruption-use of family members in government.

The government was dismissed by president Ishaq on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1990 by using the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment.

### **What was the Pucca Qila massacre? [4]**

Reward each correct statement with 1 mark. 2 marks can be awarded for a developed statement. Candidates might refer to **May 1990, in Hyderabad, 40 supporters of MQM killed by police. Women and children included. Such violence led to the President (Ghulam Ishaq Khan) dismissing the government in August 1990.**

## **Nawaz Sharif (1990-93)**

### **How did he come into power?**

- Elections 1990 – won 106 seats / majority of seats.
- Formed a coalition government under the coalition named Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI).

### **Economic Policies / Success**

- Industrialization program.
- Privatization of shipping, electricity supply, airlines and telecommunications.

- Barotha Power Project-Gawadar mini port.
- Employment through yellow cabs.
- Motorway project.
- Shariah Bill passed.

### **Failures**

- Lack of capital-US aid stopped.
- Fall of BCCI in 1991 due to corruption - investor suffered losses.
- Cooperative Societies Scandal.
- Law and order decline.
- Violence and increased use of weapons – spread of “Kalashnikov Culture”.
- No efforts to implement Shariah Bill.
- Clashes in Kashmir.

### **Dismissal in 1993 by President**

- Differences with President Ishaq on the appointment of the COAS led to his dismissal under 58 IIB. Nawaz, however, challenged his dismissal in the Supreme Court which restored him. It led to a deadlock between the ‘Big Two’ and there were chances of an army takeover again. Finally both the PM and President resigned and Wasim Sajjad, Chairman of Senate became President.

## **Benazir Bhutto (1993-96)**

### **Policies/Successes**

- Agenda of Change to improve social service, women and health issues.
- Women police stations and Women development banks were established.

### **Failures**

- Kashmir tensions.

- Opposition demonstrations and prosecution of opposition members.
- Terrorism/bombings.
- Unemployment/inflation.
- IMF concerns following devaluation of the Pakistan rupee.
- Balance of payments problems.
- Unrest in the army.
- Dismissal of the Chief Minister of Punjab Mian Manzoor Wattoo.
- Family feuds.
- Opposition from Nawaz Sharif, train march, strikes and protests.
- Murder of Mir Murtaza Bhutto in which Asif Zardari was accused.

### **Government Dismissed**

- Her government was dismissed on charges of corruption, misgovernment by her own party president, Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari.

## **Nawaz Sharif as PM (1997-99)**

### **Policies**

- Introducing 13<sup>th</sup> amendment to undo the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment.
- Anti-Defection Bill (to prevent horse trading) to control changeover of parties by politicians.
- Increasing repression and check on journalists - Najam Sethi case.
- Nuclear testing 1998, ban on aid from the US and the West.
- Conflict with Supreme Court and dismissal of Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah.
- Conflict with Army led to General Jehangir Karamat's resignation.

### **Failures**

- Undemocratic policies created unrest.



- Economic sanctions from USA Japan on nuclear testing-freezing foreign currency accounts-stock market collapsed.
- Differences with General Pervez Musharraf over Kargil issue – his plane not allowed to land - appointed ISI chief as Chief of the Army Staff.
- Army refused to accept the new chief and imposed martial law in 1999.

### **How did Musharraf come into power?**

1. Kargil conflict increased unpopularity of Nawaz Sharif, 4000 to 6000 army men deaths by India-withdraw of forces from Kargil.
2. Dismissal of Musharraf as C-in-C and appointing of ISI Chief to replace him was not acceptable to army.
3. Plane conspiracy Case - Plane not allowed to land in Karachi - army support

### **CAIE Exam Questions**

#### **Why did Nawaz Sharif fall from office in 1993?**

**[7] marks**

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer [1]

He wasn't liked.

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons [2-4]

He lost out on American aid.

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons [5-7]

He attempted to solve Pakistan's unemployment problem by providing cheap loans to men to buy taxis that he had imported. Few of the loans were repaid which put a strain on the economy. This was made worse when he tried to finance major investment projects that depended upon foreign aid especially from the USA. This aid was in decline and placed a severe strain on Pakistan's finances. The closure of a major bank also made matters worse. As a result of these policies Sharif and his government were blamed. The mismanagement of the Cooperative societies led to millions of Pakistanis losing their money and again the government

was blamed. In particular his family's association with loans that were made led to his image being harmed. Violence in Pakistan that related to drugs and the use of guns led to a strong response from Sharif but his actions were criticized by the opposition parties for being too repressive. Sharif came into conflict with the President over the appointment of an army chief of staff and also with the Eight Amendment. Sharif was dismissed on charges of corruption.

**How successful was Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister of Pakistan in the years 1988-90 and 1993-96? [14] marks**

### **Successes**

#### **1988-90**

- First woman to head a government of a Muslim nation
- Secured transfer of already purchased US weapons
- Ended a ban on trade unions and released political prisoners, restored students' unions
- Pakistan re-joined the Commonwealth and hosted the 4<sup>th</sup> SAARC which ended with Pakistan and India signing 3 peace agreements
- Visited USA.

#### **1993-96**

- Entered into co-operative arrangements with United States re United Nations'
- Peacekeeping operations 5000 troops to Somalia
- Some reduction in Pakistan's trade deficit
- Slight rise in foreign exchange reserves
- Loan and grant assistance from World Bank and IMF
- United States Lifted economic and military sanctions
- Hillary Clinton visited Pakistan.

### **Failures**

#### **1988-90**

- Conflict with Nawaz Sharif and problems with relations with growth of Separatist movements
- Difference over appointment of judges amongst others between Bhutto and President

Ghulam Ishaq

- No confidence motion by opposition – failed but damaging
- Inflation and unemployment
- Drug trafficking
- Use of family members in government
- Problems in Kashmir/India
- Inept visit to Kuwait on eve of Iraqi invasion.

#### **1993-96**

- Kashmir tension
- Family feuding. Bhutto's brother murdered in 1996
- Nawaz Sharif and opposition demonstrations
- Prosecution of opposition members
- Banking scandal
- Terrorism/bombings 1995. 2000 people murdered
- Unemployment/inflation
- Unrest in army/arrest of 40 army officers in 1995
- IMF concerns 1996 follows devaluation of Pakistan rupee. Balance of payments worsened

LEVEL 5: As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation. [14]

**What has been the importance of the Siachen Glacier to both India and Pakistan? [4]**

Reward each correct statement with 1 mark. 2 marks can be awarded for a developed statement. Candidates might refer to :

**1977 Indian Colonel Kumar first climbed the glacier. Returned in 1981. Pakistan discovered that Indians had been there and decided to defend its interest before India claimed the glacier, especially as the border in that part of Kashmir had never been drawn properly. When Pakistan soldiers moved up to the glacier they discovered 300 Indian Troops there. This meant that both sets of troops had to stay there as the glacier was an important symbol to both sides. Pakistan tried several times to remove the Indian troops from there without**

success. In 1987 Musharraf led one of these assaults. In 1989 Bhutto visited the glacier to reinforce Pakistan's view of it. No official figures exist of the death toll on the glacier with estimates between 3000 and 5000, but many of these have probably been due to Avalanches and falls. No settlement has been reached, even though several meetings have been held to discuss the situation since 1989.

# **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**1947-1999**

## **Foreign Relations**

(Brief Notes)

### **Key Question 16: How important has Pakistan's role been in World affair since 1947?**

The study of Pakistan's international relations with other countries should cover economic, social, political and religious aspects. Candidates should study the main features of Pakistan's relations with other countries (listed below), together with the aims of Pakistan's foreign policy and emerging nuclear status.

- How has Pakistan developed as a nuclear power?
- How successful has Pakistan been in its relations with Bangladesh, India, Afghanistan, Iran, China, the USSR/Russia, the USA, the UK, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations?

Early Decisions: East or West?

Two super powers at the time of partition – USSR and USA - Pakistan chose USA because its ideology matched with USA and westernized leadership of Pakistan did not believe in socialism.

### **How has Pakistan developed as a nuclear power?**

After 1971 war with India Z.A Bhutto was determined to make Pakistan a nuclear power to avoid such humiliating defeat from India and for Pakistan's survival.

1. Opening of KANUPP in 1972.
2. 1974 - India had nuclear test at Rajasthan border further incited Pakistan.
3. Establishment of Engineering Research Laboratories in Kahuta - Abdul Qadeer Khan as the key scientist.
4. US persuaded Pakistan to sign Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty but Pakistan denied possession of nuclear weapons.
5. Pakistan announced her readiness for the nuclear tests in 1987 – US concerns.

6. US stopped aid to Pakistan after Afghan War on the pretext of processing nuclear weapons.
7. 1998 - Pakistan tested nuclear devices at Chaghai Hills in Baluchistan and declared as a nuclear power.
8. Both Pakistan and India refused to sign CTBT.

## **India**

1. Hostile relations before 1947.
2. Influx of refugees in both countries after partition - Minorities Pact signed in 1950.
3. Division of assets - injustices to Pakistan - Pakistan protested.
4. 1948 - Cut off of water supply to Pakistan - 1960 Indus Water Treaty signed.
5. Kashmir conflict - 1948 war and ceasefire - Pakistan referred issue to UN Security Council - UN decided to hold a plebiscite but not followed by India - Kashmir declared as a disputed territory - remained a source of tension between India and Pakistan. India signed friendship Pact with China but developed border disputes with China resulting in war in 1962 - Pakistan became friend with China.
6. 1965 War on Kashmir issue - Indian army accepted Pakistan's solution on Rajasthan border - Pakistan got encouraged and sent troops to Kashmir - attacked on Indian Occupied Kashmir - India retaliated from Lahore and Sialkot border - War continued for 17 days.
7. Tashkent Declaration - A ceasefire agreement between India and Pakistan.
8. 1971 War – Civil war in East Pakistan after elections - India sent its troops to East Pakistan to liberate it - Pakistan army fought and surrendered – 93,000 POW's with India
9. Simla Agreement 1972 - release of POW's on condition that Kashmir will not be discussed on International forum.
10. 1972-77 tense relations due to Indian nuclear tests.
11. 1977 onwards little improvement. However India blamed Pakistan for supporting Sikh Movement for a separate state 'Khalistan'.
12. 1987 – Zia –ul Haq's cricket diplomacy – avoided war between Pakistan and India

13. Fluctuations in relation till 1999 - Siachen glaciers.
14. Kargil Conflict - 1999 Muslim Kashmiri guerillas crossed line of control and captured Kargil and Drass. Pakistan got involved - war started at border that horrified international community because both countries were nuclear powers – US put pressure on Nawaz Sharif and he withdrew forces from occupied Kashmir while Pakistan was defeating Indians with ease - relation between Musharraf and Sharif deteriorated and Nawaz Sharif was overthrown.

## **USA**

1. After 1947 Pakistan became a close ally of US due to its capitalist policies.
2. US also established close ties with India.
3. US wanted to use Pakistan against the growth of Soviet influence.
4. 1954 Pakistan and USA signed mutual Defense Assistance Agreement.
5. 1954 - SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) was signed. Pakistan left SEATO in 1972 when US did not help Pakistan in 1965 war and 1971 East Pakistan crisis.
6. 1955 CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) to receive economic and military assistance. This organization silently got dissolved in 1979.
7. Pakistan was known as the most 'allied ally' of US.
8. 1960-70 strained relations.
9. 1962 US helped India against China that offended Pakistan.
10. 1965 war USA and UK imposed arm embargo on Pakistan which was damaging.
11. 1965-Tashkent Declaration offended US.
12. 1971 - No help to Pakistan. The Naval fleet US promised for never arrived.
13. U2 Affair- an American spy plane had taken off from Peshawar and was shot down over Soviet territory.
14. 1970-77 Bhutto was disliked by American for his socialist ideas.
15. Afghan Miracle 1979 – US used Pakistan to fight war against USSR and offered billions of dollars economic and military assistance.



16. Pakistan developed its army and military with US assistance – largest recipient of US aid after Israel and Egypt.
17. Withdrawal of aid after 1987 – it problems for Benazir and Nawaz Sharif.
18. 1993 president Clinton restored relations - softening Pressler Amendment with the Brown Amendment and resumed aid to Pakistan.

## **USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)**

1. Soviet Union was one of the super powers after WWII. Pakistan was more inclined to USA than Communist bloc.
2. 1950 –USSR backed India over Kashmir Issue.
3. Joining of SEATO 1954 and CENTO 1955 by Pakistan annoyed USSR.
4. 1955 – Provided military and economic assistance to India on Kashmir.
5. 1955 – Supported Afghanistan on “Pakhtoonistan”.
6. 1960 - U2 issue paved the way to tense relations.
7. 1960-70 improved relations helped Pakistan in exploring oil – USSR became neutral on Kashmir issue.
8. 1966 - Tashkent Declaration.
9. Pakistan receiving aid from US, China and USSR - annoyed USSR as it wanted Pakistan to quit the US bloc.
10. 1971 – USSR signed ‘Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation’ with India that helped India win the war.
11. 1972- Bhutto built friendly relations with USSR - Provided aid for Pakistan Steel Mills.
12. 1979 - Extremely tense relations due to Afghan War.
13. 1988 - Withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.
14. 1990 – Break-up of Soviet Union into Central Asian Republics.

## **China**

1. China emerged as a socialist country in 1949 under the leadership of Mao Zedong.
2. Pakistan officially recognized Chinese regime in 1950.
3. China was initially not inclined to Pakistan because of its pro-west policies - more inclined to India.
4. 1962 - War with India on border dispute over Aksai Chin area. Pakistan and China became friends as a result of Pakistan's support for China.
5. 1963 - Trade agreement endorsed \$60 million assistance for Pakistan.
6. 1963 - PIA regular flights to China - trade activity increased.
7. 1964 - China started supporting Pakistan on Kashmir issue.
8. 1965 – In the Indo-Pak war China supplied military aid to Pakistan.
9. 1971 - No support to Pakistan because of USSR pressure on China.
10. Support started again after 1971 - loans converted into grants - supply of military aircrafts and tank.
11. 1978 - Opening of Karakoram Highway - trade and military aid continued.
12. 1986 - China and Pakistan signed nuclear cooperation treaty.

## **Britain and the Commonwealth**

1. Complicated relations during independence as Jinnah had objections on partition plan and he also refused to make Lord Mountbatten as first Governor General of Pakistan unlike India.
2. Britain provided military and civil assistance to Pakistan.
3. Pakistan supported Egypt in the issue of Suez Canal against the British.
4. Pakistan became a republic as a result of 1956 Constitution but stayed in the Commonwealth.
5. Britain remained neutral in the 1965 Indo-Pak War. It also imposed an embargo of arms.
6. Pakistan didn't receive aid from Britain in 1971 War with India.

7. Pakistan left Commonwealth as a result of Britain recognizing Bangladesh as an independent nation.
8. Relations restored as a result of USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The British PM, Ms. Margaret Thatcher was the first leader from the West to visit Pakistan and show solidarity.
9. Britain remained main trading partner of Pakistan during 1980's.
10. 1989 - Pakistan rejoined Commonwealth during Benazir Bhutto's regime.

## **Bangladesh**

1. It was part of Pakistan till 1971 and got separated after a fierce civil war.
2. Demanded assets of West Pakistan after separation. It was not accepted by Bhutto.
3. 1974 - Sheikh Mujib-ul-Rehman, PM of Bangladesh was invited at OIC Conference in Lahore and Pakistan officially recognized Bangladesh.
4. Both countries became members of SAARC.
5. Pakistan provided aid to Bangladesh in natural disasters.

## **Afghanistan**

1. Tense relations since 1947-Afghanistan claimed NWFP-supported Pakhtoonistan and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Party called the 'Red Shirt Movement'.
2. Only country that voted against Pakistan's joining of UN in 1947.
3. Pakistan promised to give land-locked Afghanistan access to sea if it dropped stand on Pakhtoonistan. It wasn't accepted by Afghanistan.
4. Afghanistan rejected and signed Trade and Transit agreement with USSR in 1950's.
5. 1955 - Afghanistan attacked and ransacked Pakistan Embassy in Kabul - continued to show opposition to Pakistan.
6. Refused to join RCD in 1964 despite Ayub's offer.
7. Remained neutral in 1965 war.
8. Relations improved during Bhutto's regime.

9. In 1979, 80000 Russian troops entered Afghanistan with Barbrak Karmal as their Leader. Afghans resisted this and war between Afghan Mujahideen and Soviet Forces started.
10. Pakistan helped Mujahideen on behalf of US-Pakistan aid. ISI helped military planning of Mujahideen - Soviet bombed frontier border near Peshawar - Zia continued fighting – it led to the rise of Taliban.
11. Influx of Afghan refugees in Pakistan.
12. Withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1987-88.
13. Disputes between Afghan groups - Taliban came to power - Benazir supported and provided military help - growth of fundamentalism in Pakistan.
14. Drug and Kalashnikov culture spread - militarization of religious parties in Pakistan.

## **Iran**

1. Good relations since independence. Iran was the first country to accept Pakistan.
2. Both signed Baghdad Pact in 1955 to stop Soviet expansion in Middle East Countries.
3. 1964 - RCD was signed between Pakistan Iran and Turkey for economic cooperation.
4. Iran supported Pakistan in 1965 war.
5. The separatist movement in Balochistan was controlled with Iranian help.
6. 1979 - Islamic Revolution in Iran and Shah was overthrown.
7. The new Islamic government was anti-US and became suspicious of Pakistan.

## **Other Muslim Countries**

1. Shared religious and cultural heritage with Turkey, Middle East, and Gulf states - no major disputes with Pakistan.
2. Strong religious bindings but some differences on political matters such as Pakistan supported US who were financing Israel against Arab countries and Suez Canal issue.
3. Pakistan always supported Palestine against Israel and never recognized Kashmir as an independent country - no bilateral relations with Israel.
4. 1969 joined OIC.
5. Hosted OIC meeting in Karachi and 1974 Summit Conference in Lahore.

6. Bhutto liked to be a leader of Muslim countries.
7. Pakistan received more economic assistance from Muslim Countries than US.

## **Gulf States**

- Libya, Qatar, UAE invested in Pakistan's industrial and economic development in oil refining, shipping and banking.
- Saudi Arabia was amongst the first country to recognize Pakistan as an independent country.
- Remittances from overseas Pakistanis working in gulf countries are the second largest source of in foreign exchange in Pakistan.
- Pakistan provided military expertise to Gulf States.
- Pakistan supported Saudi Arabia in Gulf War against Iraq to end Iraq's Kuwait invasion.

## **Turkey**

- Supported Turkey in Khilafat Movement.
- Strong cultural and religious ties.
- Turkey also signed Baghdad Pact in 1955.
- RCD signed in 1964.
- Supported Pakistan in wars with India.

## **United Nations Organization**

- The United Nations was established 24 October 1945 to promote international cooperation.
- A replacement for the ineffective League of Nations, the organization was created following the Second World War.
- At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; there are now 209.

## Aims

- a) To save the world from future wars.
- b) To protect basic human rights.
- c) To help countries in their social and economic development.

## Principal organs of the United Nations

<b>UN General Assembly:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Deliberative assembly of all UN member states<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• May resolve non-compulsory recommendations to states or suggestions to the Security Council (UNSC).</li><li>• Decides on the admission of new members, following proposal by the UNSC.</li><li>• Adopts the budget.</li></ul></li></ul> <p>Elects the non-permanent members of the UNSC; all members of ECOSOC; the UN Secretary General (following his/her proposal by the UNSC); and the fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Each country has one vote</p>	<b>UN Secretariat:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Administrative organ of the UN –<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Supports the other UN bodies administratively (for example, in the organization of conferences, the writing of reports and studies and preparation of the budget).</li></ul></li></ul> <p>Its chairperson – the UN Secretary General is elected by the General Assembly for a five year mandate and is the UN's foremost representative</p>
<b>UN Security Council:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- For international security issues –<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.</li><li>• May adopt compulsory resolutions.</li></ul></li></ul>	<b>International Court of Justice:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Universal court of international law<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Decides disputes between states that recognize its jurisdiction.</li><li>• Issue legal opinions.</li></ul></li></ul>

Has fifteen members: five permanent members with veto power and ten elected members	Renders judgment by relative majority. Its fifteen judges are elected by the UN General Assembly for nine-year terms.
<b>UN Economic and Social Council</b> - For global economic and social affairs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Responsible for co-operation between states as regard economic and social matters.</li> <li>Coordinates co-operation between the UN's numerous specialized agencies.</li> <li>UNESCO pursues its objectives through five major programs: education, natural sciences, social / human sciences, culture, and communication/ information.</li> <li>The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world</li> <li>The World Food Program is the food assistance branch of the United Nations and the world's largest humanitarian organization addressing hunger and promoting food security.</li> <li>The United Nations Children's Fund</li> </ul>	<b>UN Trusteeship Council</b> - For administering trust territories (currently inactive) – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Was originally designed to manage colonial possessions that were former League of Nations mandates.</li> </ul> Has been inactive since 1994, when Palau, the last trust territory, attained independence.

(UNICEF provides long-term humanitarian and developmental assistance to children and mothers in developing countries.	
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### **Pakistan and the United Nations**

- Pakistan joined UNO in 1947.
- Committed to the aims of UNO.
- Raised voice against illegal occupations such as Indonesia by Holland -Palestine by Israel etc.
- Benefited by the UNO - received number of loans from IMF for its economic development.
- WFP helped Afghan refugees.

### **UNO and Pakistan Affairs**

1. 1947 Kashmir issue - ceasefire arranged by UNO to end war – UN decided a plebiscite but could not enforce on India – Indian occupation of Hyderabad in 1948 not resolved.
2. 1965 war-ceasefire arranged by UNO and Tashkent Declaration was signed but Kashmir issue not resolved.
3. 1971 war - UN urged Pakistan to end civil war but no real effort was made to solve the issue - recognized Bangladesh immediately.
4. 1960 Indus Water Treaty - UN played a significant role - provided financial and technical assistance through member countries and World Bank to establish HEP and irrigation projects in Pakistan.



#### **CIE MARKING SCHEME REFERENCE**

**Describe Pakistan's involvement in the U2 crisis. [4]**

**1960, spy flights over USSR, Gary Powers shot down, flown from a US base in Pakistan, USSR angry with Pakistan threatening military action, told USA could no longer use airbase unless destination known of aircraft, showed how close the two countries had become.**

**How successfully did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue between 1947 and 1999?**

**Explain your answer. [14]**

**LEVEL 1:** Simplistic statement. [1-2]

They did not handle it successfully.

**LEVEL 2:** Description of events between 1947 and 1999. [3-6]

The Kashmir issue became a problem on partition, because it had a Hindu ruler of a population which was mainly Muslim.

**LEVEL 3:** Explains successes OR explains failures. [7-10]

**LEVEL 4:** Explains successes and failures. [9-13]

#### **Successes:**

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

#### **Failures:**

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

**LEVEL 5:** As Level 4 – also produces a judgment or evaluation. [14]

