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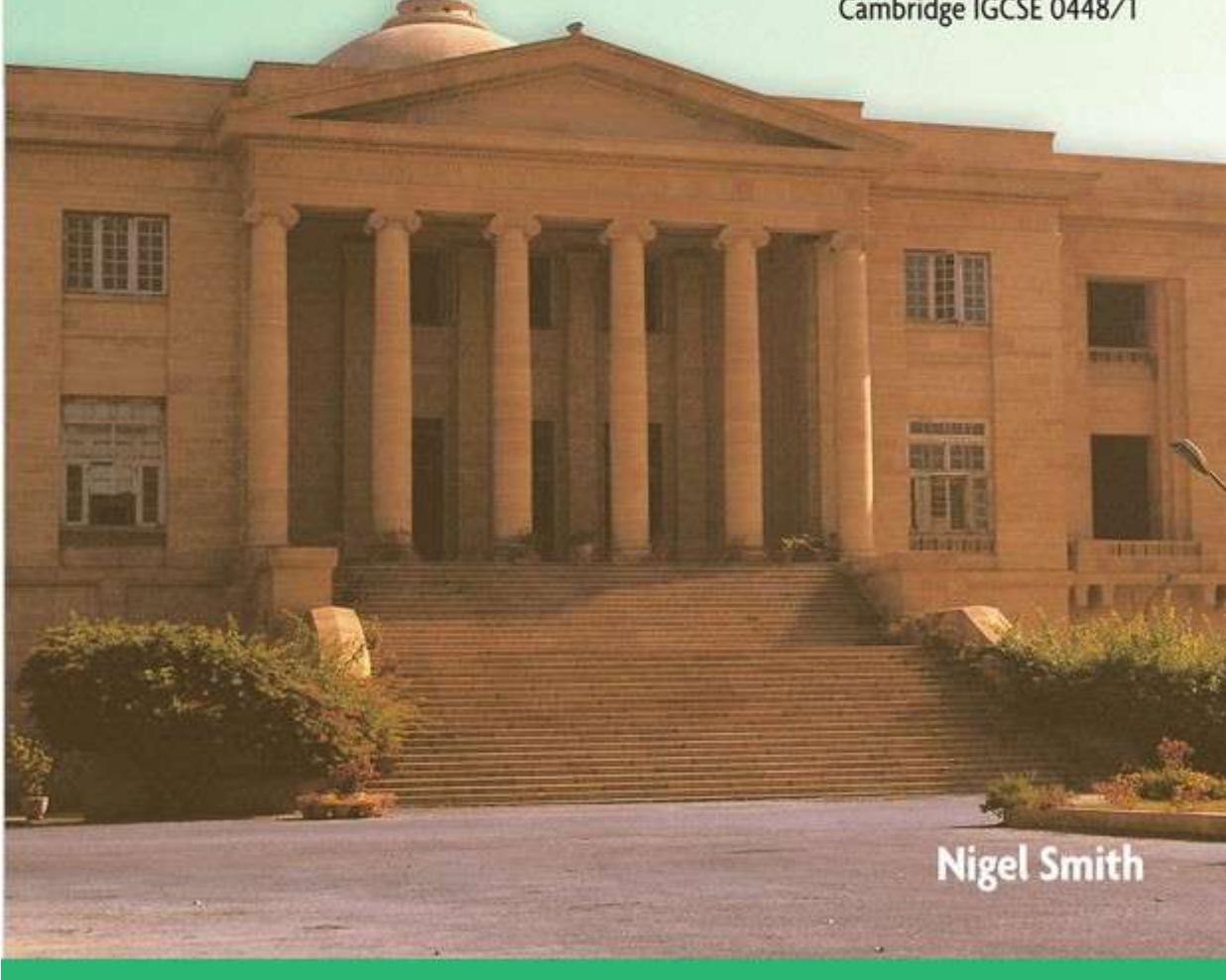
CAMBRIDGE
International Examination

O LEVEL TEXTS

PAKISTAN

History, Culture, and Government

For Cambridge O Level Syllabus 2059/1 and
Cambridge IGCSE 0448/1



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PAKISTAN

History, Culture, and Government

For O level Syllabus 2059/1

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PAKISTAN

Historic Cities and Countries

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INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a relatively new political entity. However, the story of Pakistan begins hundreds of thousands of years ago. 300,000 years ago the first Pakistanis were Stone Age hunter-gatherers. Much later, 5000 to 2000BC, during the Bronze Age, urban civilizations flourished at Mehrgarh in Balochistan and Kot Diji in the Khairpur district. About 3000BC another great civilization thrived in the Indus Valley, including at Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro in Sindh. Successive invasions have stamped and moulded the land of Pakistan. In 327BC the Greek ruler Alexander the Great led his Macedonian army into northern Pakistan, successfully conquering this area. Alexander only stayed two years but left a lasting influence on the region. His rule was followed by the Mauryan Empire, the first Indian empire which, at its height, dominated nearly all of the Indian subcontinent.

By the seventh century AD Hinduism was the dominant religion and it was around this time that the first Muslims came to India. Arab traders and sailors were frequent visitors to Indian ports. In the eighth century, with Mohammad Bin Qasim's conquest of Sindh, Islam was brought to the subcontinent. This introduction of Islam was of great historic significance.

FOUNDING FATHER

'Present-day Pakistan, holding the values of Islam and Arabism in such high esteem, should look upon the young Arab conqueror, Mohammad Bin Qasim, almost as a distant founding father, a hero of Indian (subcontinental) Islam.'

The opinion of an Italian scholar, F. Gabrieli

Following the Arab conquest, an era of trade in goods and exchange of knowledge began between Indian kingdoms and the Arabs. It was also the time when many people of Quraishi and Sayyid descent, from Syria, Iraq, and Persia, sought asylum in the subcontinent. The period from 998 to 1526 was one of invasions from the north and west, and the establishment of various sultanates. The rulers were equally diverse, from Mahmud Ghaznavi to Razia Sultana to Sikander Lodhi and, during the Mughal era, a non-Mughal—Sher Shah Suri. Missionaries and Sufis (mystics) swarmed into northern India and made thousands of converts to Islam. For many poor Indians, oppressed by the caste system, belief in a faith that stressed the equality of people was a great spiritual revelation.

The Mughal Empire, under its first six emperors, from 1526–1707, was for Indian Muslims a period of glory. The emperors set up a sophisticated imperial government that laid the foundations for the administration of India and Pakistan. Their forts, walled cities, mosques, and tombs, were magnificent buildings many of which remain standing today as their splendid legacy.

Your study of the history of Pakistan begins with the decline of the Mughal Empire following the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the great emperors. From that period you will trace the progress of Muslims in India, asserting their faith, seeking leadership and, eventually, achieving not only independence from Britain but their own nation state. It is a turbulent history but it will be a strange student who does not find it fascinating.

THE AIMS OF YOUR COURSE

Pakistan Studies: History and Culture of Pakistan, 2059/1

The examination board (UCIE O level) sets out three aims of your course.

1. Ability to demonstrate knowledge of the material specified in the syllabus

This means that you have to learn and be able to recall a lot of facts about people and events. You will need to know what happened and when it happened. When you answer questions you must put in as many relevant facts as you can. That is how you demonstrate that you have the knowledge. It is not as hard as it might seem. Because the history of Pakistan is exciting and important you will easily grasp the facts that you need to know.

2. Ability to show understanding of the historical and cultural development of Pakistan

As well as knowing what happened, you also need to know why things happened. Historians are always interested in the causes of events. You also need to understand the consequences of events and peoples' decisions. This is the *why* of history. It makes history even more interesting trying to work out why people did certain things at a particular time. After all being a historian involves detective work.

3. Ability to analyze and evaluate differing interpretations and points of view relating to the material specified in the syllabus

People do not always agree with one another about events and the role of individuals. Political history is full of confrontation and opposition. People take sides. As an historian you have to recognize differing opinions. Historians give different views of the same events. You will have to recognize those differences and try to understand why they arise.

USING HISTORICAL SOURCES

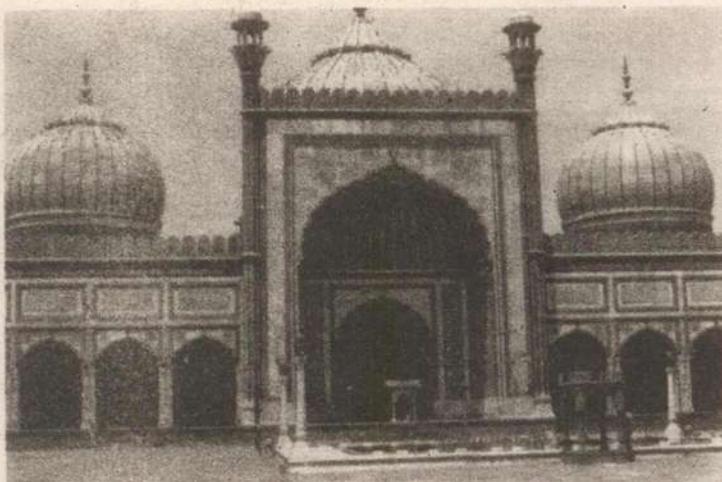
Historians often use sources to find out about the past. Historical sources that you will use in this book include speeches, newspaper reports of events, government documents, and memoirs of people who took part in important events.

When you use a source there are a number of questions you need to ask:

- Why was this source produced?
- How accurate is this source?
- What can I learn from this source?
- What other information might help me to understand whether or not this source is true?
- Does the source fit in with what I already know about this topic?

When historians use sources to back up statements we call it evidence. Finding out more about people and events in the past is an interesting and enjoyable way of studying history. We call this *research* and it is a vital part of an historian's work. You will find new sources of information on the Internet.

Sometimes a source may be biased. That means it presents a point of view which other people might disagree with. Such a source can still be useful just so long as we recognize the bias.



Jama Masjid, Delhi—built by Shah Jahan

Delhi, the Mughal capital

- Shah Jahan established Delhi as the Mughal capital in 1638. He built a whole new walled city with the largest mosque, Jama Masjid, in India. He gave the city the name Shahjahanabad, and in the 17th century it had a population of about 400,000 people.

SOURCE B: THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS

'When you have an enemy to destroy, spare nothing rather than fail: neither deception, subterfuges, nor false oaths, for anything is permissible in open war.'

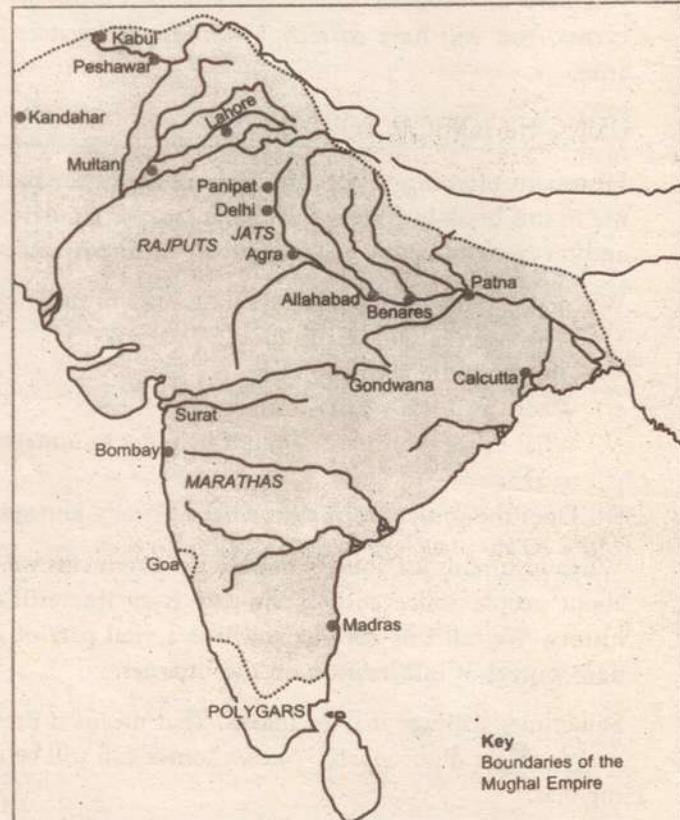
Letters of Aurangzeb

WHY DID THE JIZYA TAX PROVOKE AN ANGRY REACTION FROM HINDUS?

This tax was a deeply disliked differential tax levied on non-Muslims. Originally, *jizya* had been levied on non-Muslims, from the earliest Islamic period, instead of their being required to join the Muslim army, and as such, could be termed a tax for protection or defence. It had been ended by the Emperor Akbar more than a hundred years earlier. In 1679 Aurangzeb reintroduced this controversial tax. Protests and disturbances followed the announcement but the emperor was determined; some opponents claimed he was trying to force Hindus to convert to Islam, while others saw it as a means to support the long-drawn wars. It should also be kept in mind that Aurangzeb had earlier abolished a large number of other tolls and taxes that were applicable to the whole population.

Quick questions:

- What important beliefs did Aurangzeb hold?
- What do Sources A and B tell us about him as a leader?



The Cultural and Historical Background of the Pakistan Movement

part ONE

Chapter One

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

- A: Aurangzeb (1618–1707): expansion at the cost of power
- B: The decline and fall of the Mughal Empire

Chapter Two

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM

- A: Shah Wali Ullah's reform movement
- B: Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi: struggle for a righteous cause
- C: Haji Shariat Ullah and the Faraizi Movement
- D: Titu Mir and the uprising in Bengal

Chapter Three

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

- A: The East India Company
- B: Colonial rule
- C: The violent events of 1857

Chapter Four

REALISM AND CONFIDENCE

- A: Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement
- B: The languages of Pakistan

KEY WORDS

bigotry: intolerance of people with different beliefs

theologian: a person who studies religion

orthodoxy: holding a conventional religious point of view

exile: to be sent away from one's country as a punishment

diplomat: someone who negotiates with another country on behalf of their own country

The decline of the Mughal Empire

A:

Aurangzeb (1618–1707): expansion at the cost of power

Key Questions:

- ◆ How successful an emperor was Aurangzeb?
- ◆ To what extent was Aurangzeb to blame for the decline of the Mughal Empire?

Aurangzeb was the last great Mughal emperor. He spent a great part of his life fighting against the Hindu chieftains, Rajputs and Marathas, as he wanted to emulate the Tughlaqs and expand the boundaries of the Empire into the Deccan in the south. Aurangzeb was a controversial figure during his lifetime. He remains a subject of dispute as historians try to assess the nature of his rule and the extent to which he was responsible for the eventual decline of the Mughal Empire.

HOW DID AURANGZEB GAIN POWER?

Victory in battle gave Aurangzeb the power to move ahead. In 1657 his father, the Emperor Shah Jahan, fell ill and was thought to be dying. His four sons had been posted as governors of large provinces and possessed powerful armies. All four were keen to succeed their father and there being no law of primogeniture among the Mughals, the strongest contender came to the throne. Shah Jahan favoured Dara as his successor. In Bengal, Shah Shuja declared himself to be the new emperor. At first Aurangzeb supported Murad, the youngest son. In the end both Shah Shuja and Murad proved too weak and dropped out of the struggle for power. Only Dara stood between Aurangzeb and the throne. On 28 May 1658 their two armies fought at Samugarh near Agra. During the fierce battle Dara's elephant was killed under him and his soldiers, assuming that Dara had also been killed, gave up the fight.

Dara fled to Punjab where he had previously been the governor, but the Punjabis were terrified of Aurangzeb and refused Dara entry into Lahore. In desperation he sought refuge in Afghanistan, but his guide, an old friend, betrayed him. Dara was captured and paraded through the streets of Delhi. Soon afterwards, he and his son were executed; Dara's head was cut off and taken to Aurangzeb as proof of his brother's death.

By now, to everyone's surprise, Shah Jahan had recovered from his illness. But it was too late to recover his power and he quietly surrendered to his own son. From 1659 he was imprisoned in the Agra Fort, overlooking the Taj Mahal, where he lived until his death in 1666.

1658:	Aurangzeb deposes Shah Jahan to become emperor
1680s:	Marathas begin to threaten Mughal power
1707:	Death of Aurangzeb; Maratha territory extended to the gates of Delhi and the southern Deccan
1738–9:	Persian invasion led by Nadir Shah
1747:	First of several Afghan invasions led by Ahmad Shah Abdali
1761:	Maratha army destroyed at the Battle of Panipat by the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali

Aurangzeb

- born 3 November 1618 at Dahod
- youngest son of Shah Jahan
- commanded troops against Uzbeks and Persians, 1646–7
- viceroy of Deccan kingdoms, 1636–44, 1654–8
- deposed his father and became emperor, 1658
- died aged 89 in 1707



Aurangzeb in his last days



Aurangzeb in court, from a miniature painting

WHAT KIND OF MAN WAS AURANGZEB?

Aurangzeb was industrious, self-disciplined, and deeply religious. He was ambitious for power but he had no particular desire for wealth or comfort. His clothes were plain and simple. His faith was important to him and he spent a great deal of time writing out copies of the Quran. He could be ruthless to his enemies, even his own kith and kin, but probably no more than was usual for rulers at the time. However, he never shed blood unnecessarily and he often showed kindness to those around him. But those who stood in his way were eliminated. He instilled fear in his enemies to help him maintain his rule throughout the country. No one could doubt his courage in battle.

SOURCE A: HUMANITY AND KINDNESS

'Aurangzeb's humanity and kindness was such that the severest punishment was reduction of dignity, and this even was soon restored through the intercession and kind offices of men high in office.'

KHAFI KHAN, a supporter of Aurangzeb

Quick questions:

- Who did Aurangzeb have to overcome in order to become emperor? *His brothers*
- What were his motives and beliefs? *His motive was to gain power.*

WHAT KIND OF RULER WAS AURANGZEB?

Aurangzeb was a determined ruler and a strict Muslim. He tried to organize the empire strictly in accordance with Islamic law. His religious policies towards non-Muslims were highly controversial and are still a source of argument. He tried to control peoples' moral behaviour by enjoining good deeds and by stopping them from acts forbidden under Islamic law. As a ruler, he tried to enforce the prescribed practices of the faith amongst Muslims. He went back to the use of the Islamic calendar. A council of theologians was appointed to produce the *Fatawa-al-Alamgiriya*, an important book of Islamic law.

His main ambition as ruler was to expand his authority over all of India. To achieve his goals Aurangzeb believed it necessary and right to use any means.

Aurangabad:

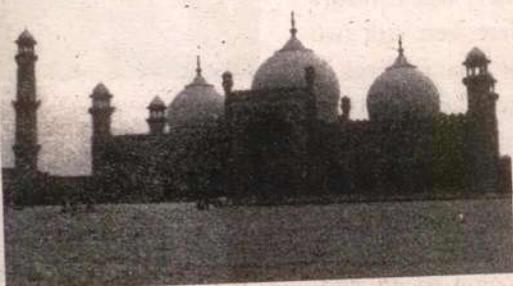
- The Indian city of Aurangabad in the Deccan takes its name from Aurangzeb. He used it for many years as his base from which to direct his armies.

DID AURANGZEB WEAKEN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE?

Aurangzeb extended the Mughal Empire to include all but the very southern area of India. He accomplished this by fighting long, costly wars. His policy of heavy taxes to pay for his armies caused hardship to his people. He was frequently away from his capital and his grip on government steadily weakened. In the end, the civil service deteriorated as corruption grew. Although he conquered vast areas of India, Aurangzeb had trouble actually governing his empire: simply keeping in contact with every part of it was a daunting problem. At the time of his death, in 1707, his authority was threatened by revolts from Sikhs in the Punjab and the Marathas in central India. Aurangzeb's main misfortune was that in spite of his undoubtedly strong qualities, he ruled millions of people in increasingly difficult times. Aurangzeb's great empire had weaknesses which, after his death, contributed to the beginning of Mughal decline.

10/02/13

- By 1707 Aurangzeb had built up the largest-ever Mughal Empire.
- Muslims admired his achievements.
- He was deeply religious and a determined ruler.
- Resentment and opposition to Mughal rule had increased and strengthened.
- Revolts weakened his rule and undermined the Empire.



The Badshahi Masjid, Lahore—built by Aurangzeb

LOOKING AHEAD

Aurangzeb had given Muslims in India a strong sense of identity, but with his death the Mughal Empire faced enormous strains. The power of Muslim rulers was never to be so strong again. Arguments over succession and a lack of confidence and ability in later emperors ensured the decay of the empire that Aurangzeb had built up. Increasingly others, especially the British, would be able to fill the gap left by the decline of Mughal power. Muslims faced an uncertain and unhappy time.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- What were Aurangzeb's main achievements?
- Why did people dislike the *jizya* tax?

Extended essay:

- Use the information and sources to explain whether Aurangzeb deserves to be called 'a great Mughal emperor'.

B:

The decline and fall of the Mughal Empire

KEY WORDS

guerrillas: soldiers who are not organized in a proper army but usually fight in small groups and launch surprise attacks

irregulars: soldiers such as guerrillas who are not part of the regular army

peshwa: the Hindi name given to the leader of the Marathas

Key Questions:

- ◆ What were the long- and short-term causes of the decline of the empire?
- ◆ What effect did the collapse of the empire have on Muslims?
- ◆ Who would replace the power of the Mughals?

For two centuries the Mughal Empire had unified most of India. Muslim values had prevailed in a land where the majority were Hindus. For the wealthy and important people it was Mughal standards that dictated their way of life. The empire could claim important successes. Under the Mughals, literature, art, and architecture flourished. The ability of the Mughals to rule for more than two hundred years was in itself a great achievement. Their system of government and administration ensured a considerable degree of peace and stability in an otherwise divided land. At the peak of Mughal power, India was far more advanced in many ways than Europe. But although the Muslim values of the Mughals dominated the empire, they did not undermine the beliefs and attitudes of the Hindus, and Hinduism remained the faith of the majority. There were still two major groups of people with differing values and beliefs living largely separate lives in the same land. As the empire declined during the eighteenth century, one important question was 'Who would replace the power of the Mughals?'



Bahadur Shah Zafar

WHAT CAUSED THE EVENTUAL BREAK-UP OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE?

Such a great empire did not simply collapse over a short period of time. It actually took 150 years from the death of Aurangzeb for the empire to finally come to an end. Different reasons contributed over many years to its disintegration. With the break-up of the Mughal Empire, India reverted to being a collection of small kingdoms. As you have learned, the empire was facing difficulties at the end of Aurangzeb's life in 1707. Following his death, the tensions and problems simply got worse.

Quick questions:

- a In what ways was Mughal rule successful?
- b Why did two major groups of people lead separate lives?
- c How secure was the empire in 1707?

The Last Emperor

- The title 'emperor' survived until 1858. Bahadur Shah II was the last 'emperor', but he had no empire. As King of Delhi he lived on a pension from the British.

After the violence of 1857, the British arrested and imprisoned him at the age of 82, and then exiled him to Burma (Myanmar), where he died and is buried. His sons were also killed.

THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE

We can identify some significant reasons for the downfall of the Mughal Empire:

Rebellion

- Local leaders challenged Mughal power
- Previously loyal princes rebelled against Mughal authority
- Mughal provincial governors declared independence
- The Maratha factor

Invasion

- Invasions from Persia and Afghanistan
- Start of European conquests

Problems in Delhi

- Failure of leadership
- Self-indulgence and pleasure-seeking among the Mughal nobility
- Difficulty collecting revenue and shortage of funds
- Military strength grew weaker

WHO REBELLED AGAINST MUGHAL RULERS?

• Local leaders challenged Mughal power

As the empire grew, it became harder to keep a close eye on every town and village. People with local roots and knowledge and the respect of their neighbours, sometimes became powerful. Some of them were *zamindars* (landlords) who had accumulated wealth and built up their own private armies. After the death of Aurangzeb, they were increasingly unwilling to accept the rule of any new emperor or to make any payments to the government in Delhi.

• Princes rebelled

Mughal rule had relied on local princes loyally obeying the emperor. In return for this loyalty they kept both their status and administrative control of their lands. As Mughal control weakened they seized the chance to rebel and simply rule as they pleased. Often these princes controlled areas that were quite difficult to reach and it was impossible for the emperor to defeat such defiance. Independence meant they no longer had to pay any tribute to the central government.

• Mughal provincial governors declared independence

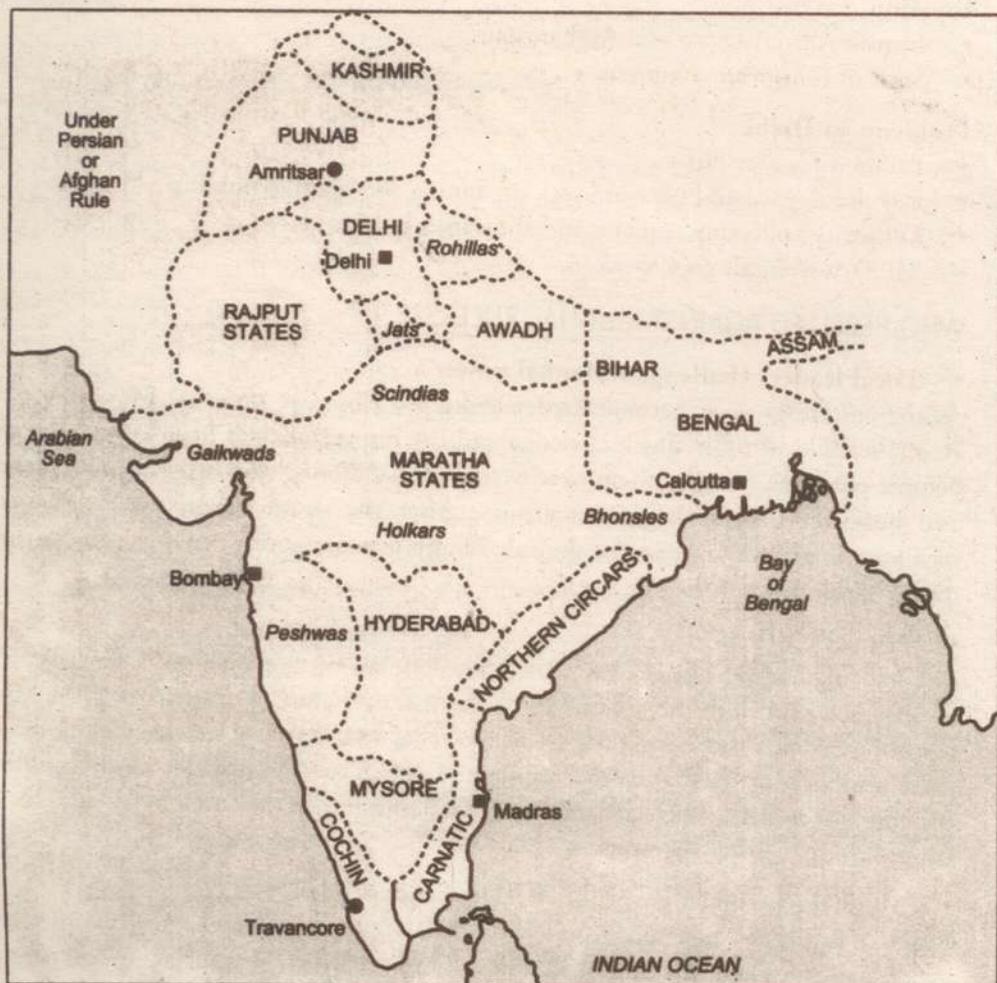
Mughal rule had depended on local officials carrying out the instructions of the government in Delhi. In time these officials, especially the provincial governors, known as *nawabs*, became very important. As they grew more powerful their loyalty weakened and often they only paid lip service to the empire. During the 1720s the *nawabs* in the provinces of Awadh (Oudh) and Bengal simply broke away from imperial control. They too stopped sending revenues to the government.

• The Marathas

The most serious challenge to Mughal authority came from the Marathas. At the time of his death, Aurangzeb had failed to crush the Marathas who lived in the Deccan and were a constant thorn in his side. The Marathas were known for their skills as guerilla fighters and their devotion to Hinduism. During the seventeenth century, under their

daring and ruthless leader Sivaji, Maratha influence spread. In the eighteenth century they were ideally placed to fill the vacuum left by the Mughal decline. Maratha power expanded across central India. In 1737 they defeated a Mughal army outside Delhi and in the following year overran the strategically important town of Malwa. This established a gap through which they could stream eastwards as far as Bengal. By the middle of the century they were the most powerful people in India. In 1760 they even occupied Delhi. Nothing, it seemed, could stop their advance.

SOURCE A: MAP OF INDIA c.1730



Map 1.2: India c.1730

HOW WERE THE MARATHAS DEFEATED?

But as their conquests spread problems arose. As a group, the Marathas controlled more territory, had greater wealth, and more soldiers than any other ruler. But, as with the Mughals who they had replaced, they found it hard to keep control over their expanding territory. Gradually, Maratha families began to show loyalty to local rulers rather than to the main *peshwa* in the Maratha capital of Pune. Then, at the height of their importance, came a decisive defeat at the battle of Panipat in January 1761 at the hands of an invading army from Afghanistan.

Koh-i-Nur

- Among the treasure stolen from Delhi by the Persians was the Koh-i-Nur, a 105.6 carat diamond from the Golconda diamond mines in the Deccan. Emperor Shah Jahan gave it that name, which means 'mountain of light'. The diamond was later passed to rulers in Kabul and, from them to a ruler in Punjab. It came into British possession in 1849 after they took over the Punjab. Queen Victoria added it to Britain's royal crown jewels and it has appeared in various royal crowns. Nowadays it is displayed to the public at the Tower of London.

A huge number of soldiers, for those times, fought and inflicted terrible casualties on each other. The Afghan army was made up of 41,800 cavalry supported by 38,000 infantry and probably some other fighters. The Marathas were equipped with 55,000 cavalry with 15,000 infantry and thousands of irregulars. Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan leader also known as Ahmad Shah Durrani, was a military genius. It was his tactical skills that achieved victory. For the Marathas it was dreadful day: their army was totally destroyed and thousands of them were killed. Among the dead were many important Maratha leaders including the *peshwa*'s heir, and the *peshwa* himself died soon afterwards as a result, so it was said, of the shock of defeat. The battle of Panipat ended the ambitions of the Marathas.

Ahmad Shah Durrani, however, was unable to make the most of his victory. His followers mutinied, demanding two years' arrears of pay and forced him to give up any idea of an Indian empire; instead, he returned to Kabul.

Quick questions:

- d Name any two groups who turned against the Mughals; why did they rebel?
- e Identify two facts that describe the Marathas.
- f How does Source A help explain the problems of the Mughals?
- g Why did the Afghans win the battle of Panipat?
- h What was the main consequence of the battle?

HOW DID INVASIONS WEAKEN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE?

An empire that is divided within itself is open to invasion and conquest by others. This was certainly the case for the Mughal Empire as it decayed. The first armed invasions came from the Persians and the Afghans. For most of the Mughal period the land that is now Afghanistan was shared between Persia and the Mughals. The Persians launched an invasion in 1738–9 under Nadir Shah. They took advantage of the weak state of the Mughal army and sought to capture some of the empire's wealth. It was no more than a successful looting expedition. Delhi was captured and gold, jewels, and anything else of value was plundered, including the famous Peacock Throne. The Persians then returned home with their loot. Between 1747 and 1769, the Afghan leader, Ahmad Shah, led ten invasions into northern India. As we have seen, it was his army that defeated the Marathas, but the Afghan occupation was short-lived as Ahmad Shah's army also went home.

Seeking India

- In 1492 Christopher Columbus set off westwards from Spain seeking a new route to India. When he stumbled on the Americas he thought he was close to India and so he called the natives that he met Indians. To his dying day he believed he had reached Asia.

WHY WERE THE EUROPEANS INTERESTED IN INDIA?

At first Europeans were seen as business partners rather than as any threat. The splendour and wealth of the Mughals attracted Europeans. The opening up of sea routes to the East in the fifteenth century made direct trade possible. They were keen to trade in spices, cotton, cloth, and even opium. Diamonds and gold were in great demand in Europe and products of Indian metalworkers were highly valued. In the sixteenth century many European adventurers believed that reaching India would bring them wealth and fame. The Portuguese, Dutch, and French all established trading posts and, to protect their interests, military outposts as well. Local rulers and Mughal emperors were happy to cooperate with this trade that produced profits for everyone. In the 1750s the British

and French were the main competitors for trade in India, but finally it was the British East India Company that achieved supremacy. The decline of the Mughals and, after 1761, the end of Maratha power prepared the way for the eventual British takeover of India.

WHY DID RESPECT FOR MUGHAL RULE DECLINE?

As the empire declined, members of the Mughal dynasty argued and plotted against one another. The officials in Delhi paid less and less attention to the needs of the empire. Between the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712 and the accession of Mohammed Shah in 1719 there were five emperors and they were quite unable to exert any authority. One of them, Jahandar Shah, has been described by historians as a 'frivolous and drunken fool'. Another, Shah Jahan II, perhaps fortunately, died after only three months due to physical and mental debility. Wealthy Mughal families seemed more interested in enjoying themselves than in understanding the problems of their country. They squabbled and fell out with one another. People were not impressed by this kind of behaviour, and popular support and respect for them soon faded.

WHAT EFFECT DID ALL THIS HAVE ON MUSLIMS?

The effective end of Mughal rule put Muslims at a disadvantage. In many cases their local rulers were now Hindu. Not only were Muslims a minority in terms of population, but they began to feel like one. No longer could they count on occupying senior posts. Their status had changed and some of them drifted from their faith and failed to follow their religion as they had done before. Disheartened by the failings of their own nobility and shocked by the advance of the Marathas, many Muslims favoured the idea of Afghan rule. A Muslim outsider was preferable to the non-Muslim Marathas. They were disappointed when Ahmad Shah went back to Afghanistan.

Quick questions:

- i What did the Persians hope to gain by invasion?
- j Why did some Muslims want Ahmad Shah Durrani to remain in Delhi?
- k Divide a page into two columns. Write 'cause' at the head of one and 'consequence' at the head of the other. Under these headings list the causes of Mughal decline and their consequences.

- The Mughal Empire already had problems before the death of Aurangzeb.
- There was no one capable of uniting the Mughal Empire.
- The empire was undermined by rebellion, invasion, and internal disagreements.
- This was the end of Muslim rule over most of India.
- In spite of considerable success, neither the Marathas nor the Afghans could establish long-lasting rule.
- Lack of any national government opened the way for Britain to take over India.

LOOKING AHEAD

Weakness and division among Indians meant that the British would be able to take over. In time, their ideas, ways, and westernization would challenge traditional Indian faiths and customs. Preserving the best of their traditions was going to become a great challenge for both Muslims and Hindus.

Questions:

- 1 What was the most important reason why the Mughal Empire eventually disappeared?
- 2 How did others benefit from the decline of the Mughal Empire?
- 3 How successful were the Marathas?
- 4 By 1761 India was ripe for a foreign takeover. Do you agree with this view?

Extended essay:

1. Using the information in this section, explain why the Mughal Empire disintegrated.

Key words

legacy: something that is passed on to people in the future

infidels: people who have no faith or belief in religion, in this context, Islam

The Influence of Islam

A:

Shah Wali Ullah's reform movement

Key Questions

- ◆ Why were Shah Wali Ullah's teachings so important to Muslims?
- ◆ How significant was he in preserving the identity of the Muslim community in the eighteenth century?

By the end of Aurangzeb's reign the authority of the Mughal emperors was facing decline. Although Muslims were pleased by Aurangzeb's rule according to Islam, it provoked anger and revolt from other religious groups, especially the Hindus. After his death, Muslim power and influence over India, which had been so strong, began to disintegrate.

Shah Wali Ullah was born shortly before the end of Aurangzeb's reign and grew up at a time when Muslims felt increasingly threatened and helpless. He came from a deeply religious family and his father had been a religious adviser to the emperor. Whilst studying in Arabia, Shah Wali Ullah believed that he had been blessed with a vision of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and felt inspired to organize and give spiritual leadership to Muslims in his homeland.

Quick questions:

- a Why were Muslims worried after Aurangzeb's death?
- b Why did Shah Wali Ullah believe he should speak up for Islam?

WHAT DID SHAH WALI ULLAH BELIEVE SHOULD BE THE ROLE OF ISLAM?

Shah Wali Ullah believed that Islam should direct every aspect of life. Political, economic, and social behaviour should all be guided by Islamic values. He emphasized the importance of the Islamic ideals of social justice and equilibrium and believed that Muslims could not have a successful life if they departed from the principles of their religion. The decline of Muslim influence and the poor conditions in which many people were living were the result, he believed, of divisions amongst the Muslim community and a weakening of their convictions. Only by reviving their faith could they hope to restore their fortunes. It was, wrote Shah Wali Ullah, the only way in which the Muslim community could survive and flourish in the face of their enemies.

WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS FACING MUSLIMS?

As Muslim rule declined, Shah Wali Ullah identified a number of problems facing Muslims.

SOURCE A: MUSLIMS SUFFERING POVERTY AND MISERY

distressed very unhappy

'...the Muslim community is in a pitiable condition. All control of the machinery of government is in the hands of Hindus, because they are the only people who are capable and industrious. Wealth and prosperity are concentrated in their hands; while the share of Muslims is nothing but poverty and misery.'

Letter from Shah Wali Ullah to Ahmad Shah Abdali, the King of Afghanistan

Quick questions:

- c According to Shah Wali Ullah, how important was Islam to people's lives?
- d Why, according to Source A, were Hindus successful? How reliable is Source A?

HOW DID SHAH WALI ULLAH INFLUENCE MUSLIMS?

Shah Wali Ullah promoted his message through his writings and education. He trained a number of students and sent them out to promote the message of harmony and unity among all Muslims. He wrote a large number of books including a translation of the Quran into simple Persian, the main language used by educated Muslims. This made it possible for millions more people to understand and follow the teachings of their holy book. His purpose was to awaken Muslims to the importance of their faith and to unite a disparate people whose only common link was their religion. Shah Wali Ullah's sons later translated the Quran into Urdu, which was becoming the main literary language in northern India. As the Mughal Empire disintegrated from attacks and revolts, Shah Wali Ullah urged all Muslims, including those in neighbouring countries, to unite in military action to defeat their enemies.

SOURCE B: MUSLIMS UNDER THREAT

'If, God forbid, domination by infidels continues, Muslims will forget Islam and within a short time become such a nation that there will be nothing left to distinguish them from non-Muslims.'

Shah Wali Ullah expressing his fears to the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali

WHY IS SHAH WALI ULLAH AN IMPORTANT FIGURE IN PAKISTAN'S HISTORY?

At a time when Muslims were divided, disorganized, and demoralized, Shah Wali Ullah restored their confidence by reaffirming the traditional values of their faith. At the time when Mughal Emperors commanded little respect, his views provided an alternative reason for pride and optimism in the Muslim community. The price of failure, he argued, would be the destruction of their identity. He gave a voice and a reason for the instinct of Muslims that their identity, culture, and interests were quite different from those of other peoples on the same continent. Shah Wali Ullah also promoted harmony within the fold of Islam, and stressed the importance of understanding and following the teachings of the Quran.

Quick questions:

- e How did Shah Wali Ullah spread his message?
- f What was the reaction of Muslims to his teachings?
- g What is the link between Shah Wali Ullah and the Pakistan Movement?

- Shah Wali Ullah lived at a time when Muslims felt threatened.
- He urged Muslims to rely on their religion.
- He taught the importance of faith to preserve the Muslim identity.

LOOKING AHEAD

Shah Wali Ullah's legacy was that his ideas had motivated Muslims at a desperate time in their history and his influence extended long after his death. His long-term importance is that many supporters of the Pakistan Movement, who later took up the cause of 'Two Nations' with a distinct Muslim state, believed they were building on his ideas.

Questions:

- 1 How did Muslims benefit from the life of Shah Wali Ullah?
- 2 Discuss the influence of Shah Wali Ullah's life on the Muslims.

B:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi: struggle for a righteous cause

KEY WORDS

jihad: a struggle in support of the Muslim faith and its principles; striving for improvement of self and society

Shariat rule: rule according to the laws of the Quran and Sunnah

martyr: someone who suffers or dies for their beliefs

Key Questions

- ◆ How did Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi try to further the Muslim cause?
- ◆ How important was his influence on future events?

HOW DID SYED AHMED DEVELOP HIS IDEAS?

Syed Ahmed Bareilvi, who came from a Syed family of Rae Bareilly, near Lucknow, had been influenced by the teachings of Shah Wali Ullah. After graduating from the latter's madrassah in Delhi, Syed Ahmed joined a Pathan military force as a prayer leader, but he also trained in the use of European weaponry. Later, he went for Hajj and stayed in Arabia from 1821 to 1823, where he studied religion under Shaikh Abdul Wahhab and was strongly influenced by him. He returned committed to the idea of *jihad*. His aim was to replace Sikh and British rule in India with Muslim rule. He continuously thought and planned how to carry forward his ideas.

WHAT ACTION DID SYED AHMED TAKE?

The Punjab and North West Frontier were ruled by the Sikhs. Muslims living there were under restrictions on the practice of their faith, and faced other humiliations. In 1826 Syed Ahmed set about gathering an army to overthrow Sikh rule. It was a volunteer army known as the Mujahideen, meaning 'fighters for the faith—Islam'. Many ordinary Muslims felt heartened that they could take some practical action on behalf of their faith.

Syed Ahmed Bareilvi

- popularly known as Syed Ahmed Shaheed when he was martyred in battle
- born 1786 in northern India, in Rae Bareilly
- educated at Madrassa Rahimiyya in Delhi
- killed fighting in 1831, in Balakot
- buried in Balakot

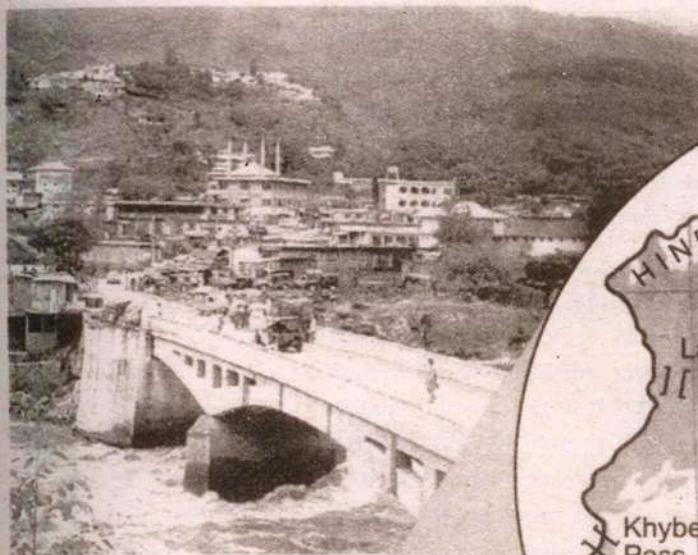
part ONE

The Cultural and Historical Background
of the Pakistan Movement

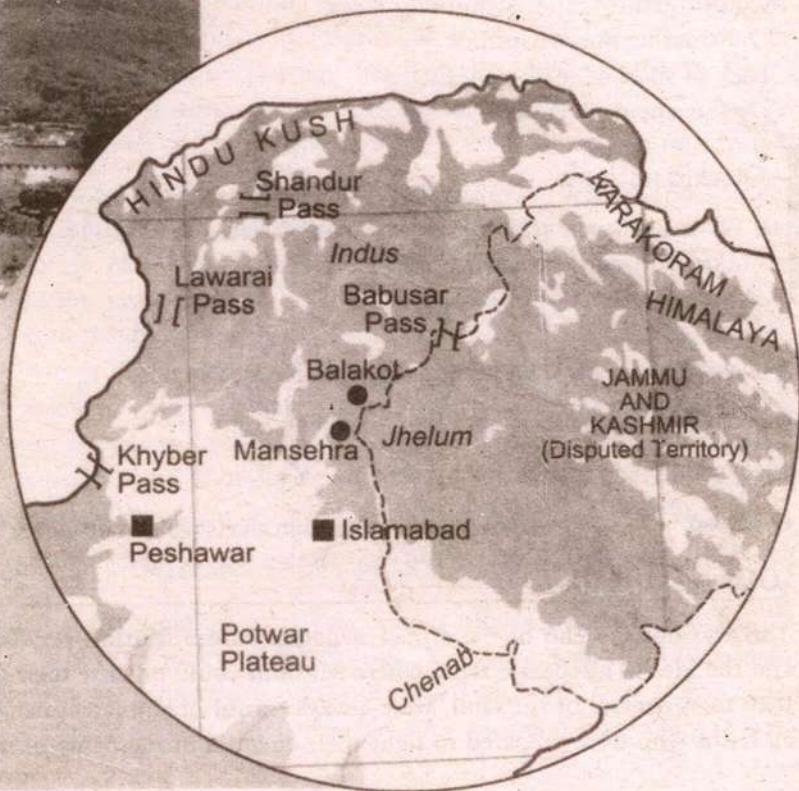
and rallied to his cause. They were mostly weavers or craftsmen who were experiencing hard times. Syed Ahmed fought the Sikhs first at Okara and later captured Peshawar. Here he tried to establish a Muslim state under Shariat rule, but it lasted for less than two months.

Quick questions:

- a What is significant about Syed Ahmed's education?
- b Why was military training important to him?
- c Why did many people volunteer for his army?
- d Where did Syed Ahmed set up a Muslim state?



A view of Balakot, where Syed Ahmed Bareilvi is buried



Map 2.1: Balakot, Mansehra District

C:

Haji Shariat Ullah and the Faraizi Movement

Key Questions:

- ◆ Why did many people support the Faraizi Movement?
- ◆ Why did Hindus and the British fear the Movement?

HOW DID HAJI SHARIAT ULLAH PERSUADE PEOPLE TO RETURN TO THEIR RELIGION?

Haji Shariat Ullah

- born 1781 in Faridpur, Bengal
- lived in Arabia 1799–1818
- led the Faraizi Movement in East Bengal 1818–40
- died in 1840

Muslims, living in poor conditions in East Bengal, were greatly encouraged by the leadership of Haji Shariat Ullah. Until the 1750s they had been the ruling class, but then their status declined as the British took over, working closely with the *zamindars*—landowners—and tax collectors, who were, by the 1800s, nearly all Hindu. The Muslims were mistreated by their British rulers and oppressed by the *zamindars*. Their miseries were increased by the cyclones and famines that frequently affected East Bengal. The Faraizi Movement emerged to confront both the British and the Hindus, as both were considered to be the enemies of the Muslims and were blamed for their misfortune.

Haji Shariatullah, who had spent nearly twenty years away in Arabia, and was deeply influenced by the teachings of Sheikh Mohammad Abdul Wahab, returned to Bengal and founded the Faraizi Movement. He urged Muslims, especially those in rural areas, to give up non-Muslim practices, such as Hindu superstitions and ideas, and instead strictly follow the commandments of their religion known as *faraiz* or duties. They could thus resist the growth of Hindu influence as well as the spread of British and Christian ideas, and once more be worthy of respect and be able to improve their lives. It was a peaceful movement. The many Muslims who followed his teaching became known as Faraizis. A major concern was that under British rule, which he likened to a state of war, it was not possible for Muslims to practise Eid and Friday prayers properly.

WHY DID THE FARAIZI MOVEMENT CAUSE ALARM?

There is no doubt that the rapid growth of the Faraizi Movement alarmed and angered Hindu landowners as well as worrying the British. They recognized that the Movement was stirring up opposition against them. To the depressed Muslims the Movement offered a solution to their problems and awakened a desire for an independent Muslim state.

Quick questions:

- a Where did Haji Shariat Ullah live for twenty years?
- b Why was it called the Faraizi Movement?
- c Who were worried by the Movement?
- d What were Faraizis supposed to do?

- Haji Shariat Ullah founded the Faraizi Movement.
- He called on Muslims to follow closely the teachings of their religion.
- This gave hope to Muslims living under Hindu and British control.
- Muslims began to hope for their own nation.

LOOKING AHEAD

As the morale and commitment of Muslims increased it was inevitable that, sooner or later, with the right leadership some Muslims would take part in more agitation against the British. It was clear that the Muslim identity in India would continue to gain strength.

Questions:

- 1 Explain the purpose of the Faraizi Movement and why it upset some people.
- 2 From the point of view of a Faraizi, explain why you would support Haji Shariat Ullah.

D:

Titu Mir and the uprising in Bengal

Key Questions:

- ◆ Why is Titu Mir seen as a martyr?
- ◆ What is his importance to Pakistan?

Mir Mithar Ali, who came to be known as Titu Mir, was a disciple of Syed Ahmed. He too was a man of action and believed that fighting one's enemies was the best course of action. He is respected as another important figure in the history of the Pakistan Movement, inspiring his community to take a stand in defence of their religion and way of life. On the other hand it can be argued that he was doomed to fail because he provoked the British.

HOW DID TITU MIR TRY TO HELP MUSLIMS?

In the 1830s Titu Mir was horrified by the sufferings of Muslim farmers in West Bengal. He organized many of them to take a stand against their oppressive Hindu landlords, the *zamindars*, who were being supported by the British. One of these *zamindars*, Krishna Deva Rai, enraged Muslims when he imposed on them a tax on beards. Titu Mir advised Muslims to refuse to pay this spiteful tax. Muslim peasants saw this as a means to free themselves from their hated landlords. Using the village of Narkelbaria, near Calcutta, as his headquarters, Titu Mir set up his own rule and quickly gathered a small army to defend the community. But he had provoked the British, who saw this declaration of independence as a challenge to their power, and were worried that his rebellion might spread. A detachment of 100 British soldiers supported by 300 sepoys were sent to Narkelbaria and Titu Mir was killed in battle in 1831.

SOURCE A: 'AWAKENED THE MUSLIMS'

'He (Titu Mir) had, however, done his work in that he had awakened the Muslims of West Bengal.'

Historian S.F. Mahmud, *A Concise History of Indo-Pakistan*, OUP [1988]

Quick questions:

- a Where did Titu Mir organize the farmers?
- b Which tax set off his rebellion?
- c Why did many local Muslims support him?
- d How did Titu Mir die?
- e Why, according to Source A, was Titu Mir an important man?

- Titu Mir fought on behalf of poor Muslim farmers of Bengal.
- He was killed fighting the British.
- He reminded Muslims of the need to stand up for themselves.

LOOKING AHEAD

In spite of his defeat, Titu is important because he is another example of a leader defending the rights of fellow Muslims. A body of history was being made that future Muslim leaders would look to, and seek to follow according to the needs of their time.

Points to Remember

Extended essays:

1. Describe the ways in which Muslims and their leaders stood up for themselves after the death of Aurangzeb. Do you think that even though they were defeated, the people should have defended Muslim beliefs?
2. When an important person dies an obituary appears in the newspapers, outlining their life, achievements and failures. Write the obituaries of Shah Wali Ullah, Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Haji Shariat Ullah, and Titu Mir.

Key words

nawab: Urdu word for high-ranking noble

empire: a group of countries controlled by one country

exploitation: taking advantage of people for your own gain

monopoly: exclusive control of something, such as trade, by one group or individual

free trade: a system of trade where there are no barriers or restrictions on trade between nations

plunder: to seize things by force

alliance: a group of states working together

Important dates

The British in India

A:

The East India Company

Key questions:

- ◆ What did the British hope to gain out of India?
- ◆ What effect did British success have on the peoples of India?
- ◆ Why did they take over the territories that make up Pakistan?

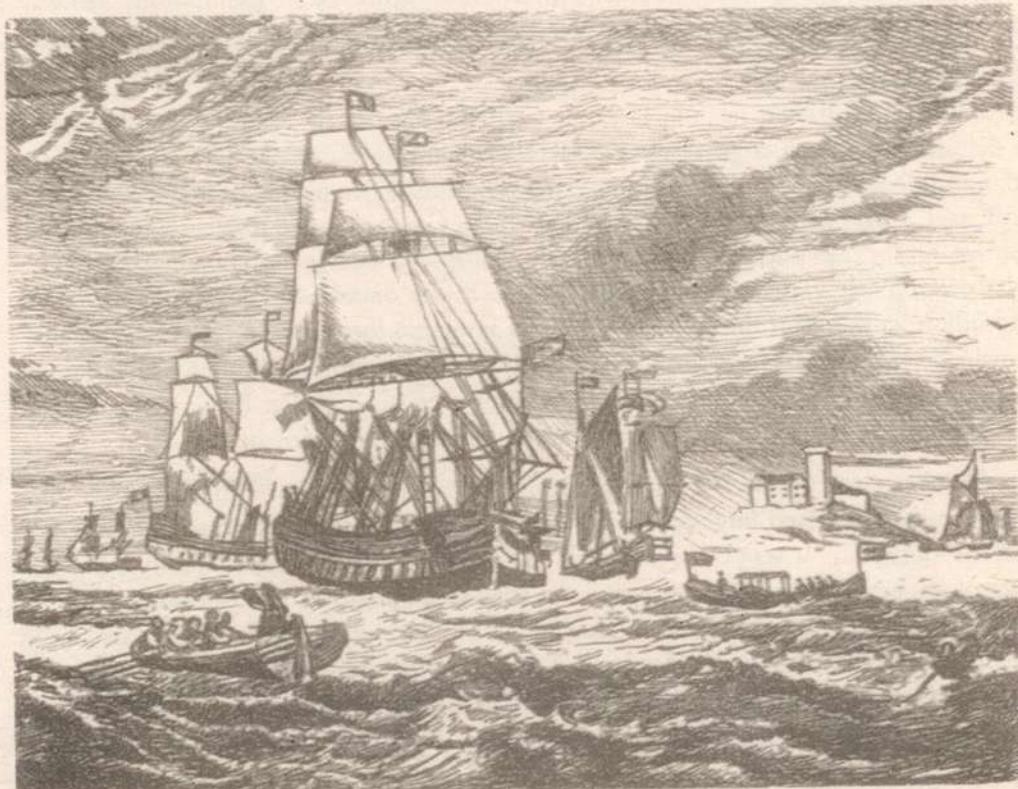
The British first arrived in India in the early seventeenth century. English merchants set up the East India Company in 1600 to trade with the East, not to conquer India. They established trading settlements known as factories. These first settlements were set up at Surat (1612), Madras [Chennai] (1640), Bombay [Mumbai] (1661), and Calcutta [Kolkata] (1690). At first the company was only interested in trade and not in any kind of political control. But the decline of the Mughal Empire, clashes with the Marathas, and the lack of any central government led to conflict between the Company and the ambitions of local princes. The British had to protect themselves against attack from the French. In the end, drawn into the local politics to maintain and enhance their business, the East India Company had the unusual distinction of ruling an entire country.

The Company recruited local men, known as *sepoy*s, into an army to defend their trading posts and the profits they were making. During the eighteenth century the East India Company increasingly interfered in the government of various parts of India. It achieved this by a mixture of force and supporting local princes. Gradually, as the task of government became too great for the Company, the British Government took on more responsibility. By 1850, through a combination of bloody wars and often devious political deals, Britain had gained almost complete control of the Indian subcontinent.

1600	Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to the East India Company
1612	First permanent British trading post at Surat
1615	The 'Merchants' Hope' was the first ship to carry cargo between India and England
1671	East India Company took control of Bombay [Mumbai]
1700	All Bengal trading posts run from Fort William (later Calcutta)
1757	Battle of Plassey—victory for Robert Clive, leading a Company army, over the ruler of Bengal
1773	The Regulating Act was passed making the East India Company accountable to Parliament
1784	The India Act gave British Government overall political authority
1793–1815	Britain-France wars hit the Company's profits
1800	East India Company prohibited export of Indian cloth to Britain
1803	British took Delhi; East India Company lost their monopoly of trade with India
1839–41	First Afghan War
1843	Britain annexed Sindh; first Sikh War
1848–9	Second Sikh War; vast majority of India and Burma controlled by the British
1857	Violent uprising against British rule—The War of Independence
1858	British Government took direct control of India; Queen Victoria's Proclamation
1869	Suez Canal opened
1873	East India Company dissolved

WHY WERE THE BRITISH EAGER TO TRADE IN INDIA?

India was a source of several products that were much sought after by wealthy people in Europe. Trade in spices from southern India, cotton goods and yarn from Gujarat, yarn and sugar from Madras [Chennai], and silks and potassium from Bengal made good profits for the East India Company. Cotton yarn and cloth were particularly in demand, as cotton clothing was much more comfortable than the woollen clothes that most English people wore. The rapid growth and prosperity of the company was impressive. By 1620 the Company operated nearly forty ships out of docks on the Thames at London. They became skilled in dealing with Indian rulers and merchants. In time, this skill and their knowledge of Indian conditions and culture helped the British to gain political control. However, many employees of the company did not enjoy working in India. Englishmen did not like the climate or the illnesses that so many of them seemed to go down with. Dysentery was a frequent misery for many of them.



The East India Company's ships: an artist's impression

WHAT EFFECT DID THE BRITISH HAVE ON THE PEOPLES OF INDIA?

To start with, the Mughals had no problems dealing with the British. Here was an opportunity to trade and profit from the Europeans. There was no reason at first to think that the British had any other desire than simply to trade. Even later, as British control extended, many local rulers were able to profit from deals with the British. No one, including the British, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had any idea that the Indian subcontinent would become a major part of the great British Empire. Indians were often too concerned about differences they had with each other to worry about the possible motives of outsiders.

Quick questions:

- a Why was the East India Company set up?
- b Who were the sepoys?
- c What attracted the British to India?

HOW DID ROBERT CLIVE LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR BRITISH RULE?

The East India Company did not recognize the contribution that their employee, Robert Clive made to their power and profits. In the 1750s the Company began to fortify their important post at Calcutta. This went against an agreement they had made with the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah. An angry Siraj marched on Calcutta and seized the Company's Fort William. It was in June 1756, at the peak of summer, that the tragedy of the *Black Hole* took place, when captured British residents were locked up in a small room and by morning twenty-three of the sixty-four captives were found dead. This was used to whip up anger against Siraj. Later this event was exaggerated by some British historians.

At the Battle of Plassey, in June 1757, an English army led by Robert Clive succeeded in defeating the much larger army of Siraj. Clive had bribed one of Siraj's key men, Mir Jafar, to side with the English. In return, the victorious Clive made Jafar the new *Nawab* of Bengal. It was a great success for the East India Company who now were guaranteed control of the profitable trade in Bengal. Valuable goods including salt, betel nut, tobacco, and saltpetre were shipped to Britain. It was uncontrolled exploitation. Clive and others working for the company amassed immense fortunes. The people of Bengal remained very poor. In 1764 another Bengal ruler, Mir Kasim, made a desperate attempt to stop the British plundering his kingdom. However, his defeat at Buxar made certain that the British, thanks to Clive, were firmly in control of eastern India.

The Company rewarded Clive by appointing him as the first Governor of Bengal. He demanded and received huge payments from the *Nawab* and other princes for himself and the Company. It was Clive who laid the foundations for British rule in India. In spite of his personal wealth as governor, he tried to stop corruption and provided firm government. When he returned to England with his huge fortune, the East India Company showed little gratitude. Instead, some Company directors and members of parliament accused him of taking bribes and governing badly. Clive was interrogated by the British parliament.



Clive of India

ROBERT CLIVE—‘CLIVE OF INDIA’ (1725–74)

Robert Clive is seen as the founder of British rule in India.

He first went to India as a clerk for the East India Company. He hated the work and soon joined their army. Clive distinguished himself in fighting against the French in south India. He commanded the Company's army which defeated the Indian ruler of Bengal. Following that victory the Company controlled Bengal.

He became Governor of Bengal and later, after returning to Britain, Lord Clive of Plassey. He suffered ill health made worse by an addiction to opium. In Britain he was accused of poor government and corruption. Although he was cleared of the charges, he nevertheless committed suicide at the age of 49 by cutting his throat.

Historians disagree about Robert Clive and his methods of doing things.

SOURCE A: RECKLESS AND UNSTABLE

Robert Clive was a reckless, unstable person, whose violence and daring played an important role in the British conquest of the subcontinent. As a boy, he was always in trouble. At one point he is said to have led his classmates into the ditches in a rebellion against school rules. Having been thrown out of several schools, he was sent to India at the age of 18, and found his clerical job there so boring that he tried to blow his brains out with a pistol.

J. Hussain, *A History of the Peoples of Pakistan*, OUP [1997]

SOURCE B: A MAN OF DEFTNESS AND RESOLUTION

Clive was an opportunist not overburdened with scruple, but unlike the others he had diplomatic as well as military qualities of a high order...he moved with deftness and resolution through a maze of uncertainty and intrigue.

Percival Spear, *A History of India*, Penguin [1956]

SOURCE C: A REMARKABLE MAN

There is no doubt that Clive was a remarkable man. He seized his opportunity, and rose to great eminence by dint of personal initiative, resourcefulness and bold enterprise. He saw far ahead of him and planned accordingly. He laid the foundation of British power in the subcontinent and showed unusual qualities of leadership. (But) He was not above taking presents, even bribes, and he could be quite unscrupulous.

S. F. Mahmud, *A Concise History of Indo-Pakistan*, OUP [1988]

Quick questions:

- d What did Clive do for the British?
- e How did Clive die?
- f Using Sources A, B, and C, pick three words that describe Clive favourably and three words which describe him unfavourably.

WHY WERE THE BRITISH ABLE TO TAKE OVER SUCH A VAST LAND?

It may seem incredible that Britain, with a population in 1800 of only about 10 million people, should have been able to take over a huge land of 350 million people. Many Indians saw benefits in cooperating with the British. The British trading network meant they could sell their goods not only to Europe but as far as the Americas. To assist trade and control the land, the British built a network of roads and later, thousands of miles of railways. They irrigated 20 million acres of land, and gradually established schools, universities, and hospitals which were greatly appreciated by better-off Indians. But the final, and most important reason, was that India was a much divided land. Not only were there religious divisions but also people were divided by distance, language, customs, and economic circumstances. There was nothing, before the 1850s, to unite enough of them against an outsider.

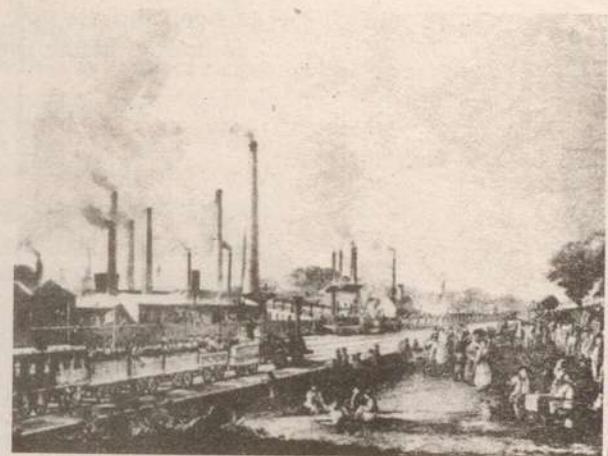
British success in India — three reasons

- Some Indians supported trade with the British and profited from it.
- British brought benefits such as roads, railways, irrigation, and employment.
- Indians were not united as a nation.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Britain was the world's first industrial nation. Starting in the 1780s, the first factories began to churn out mass-produced goods. The development of the steam-engine provided power for machines, and later for railways and steamships. Industrial growth gave some people—businessmen, merchants, and factory owners—the opportunity to accumulate huge profits. The textile industry using imported Indian cotton was very successful. By 1850, Britain had been transformed. Even its physical appearance had changed as new factory towns changed the landscape with their countless chimneys pouring out smoke, and busy railway lines linked every part of the country. Accompanying these great changes the population doubled from about ten million in 1800 to over twenty million by 1850.

Britain was justifiably known as 'The workshop of the world'. Success depended on a steady supply of cheap raw materials and secure markets for her goods. This economic strength meant that Britain became dominant in other ways as well. She could afford to build a huge navy and develop new weapons. From being a small, rural nation, the Industrial Revolution turned Britain into the wealthiest and most powerful country in the world.



A 19th-century factory town in England

HOW DID BRITAIN USE ITS CONTROL OF THE COTTON TRADE?

Britain's Industrial Revolution led to a rapid growth in trade between Britain and India. British factories needed more and more raw materials. British merchants needed to sell to more and more people. Control of the cotton trade was very profitable for Britain. In 1800 the East India Company stopped the export of all cotton cloth from India. Instead, only raw cotton was shipped to England, where it was made into cloth which was then taken back for sale in India. This had a terrible effect on many Indian communities who relied on making and selling cloth. The East India Company was concerned with its own profits and did not provide any economic growth for India. There was no attempt by the British to invest any of their profits in India. As the English textile industry flourished, the Indian industry collapsed. Poverty in India grew and farmers were forced to grow jute and cotton for sale to Britain.

Some historians have described this as a period of *plunder*.

PITT'S INDIA ACT, 1784

This Parliamentary Act was moved by the Prime Minister William Pitt. The India Act of 1784 made the Governor General of India a royal appointment, and replaced the Company's Board of Directors by a Board of Control comprising six men including the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This began a new era, raising the Company from a trading concern to a sovereign body.

part ONE

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HOW DID BRITAIN REINFORCE ITS CONTROL OF INDIA?

In 1798 Lord Wellesley arrived in India as Governor General. He persuaded local princes or rulers to sign *subsidiary alliances*. It was a shrewd way for Britain to consolidate its power in India at very little cost. The local ruler would continue to run the affairs of his state while British soldiers protected him. In return for this protection the ruler had to pay towards the cost of the troops and accept a British resident adviser. At the same time the local rulers were forbidden from making any other alliances. The state of Hyderabad was the first to accept British 'protection' with a subsidiary alliance in 1800. It was followed by Awadh (Oudh) in 1801 and the Maratha *peshwa* in 1802.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY?

In 1773 the British Government had accepted some responsibility for what was happening in India. Under the Regulating Act, the East India Company was made accountable to Parliament. A Governor General was appointed for the province of Bengal. Under him Madras and Bombay were each given a governor. There was a supreme court in Calcutta. Every six months the Company directors had to provide the Parliament in Britain with a report of their activities. From that time the power of the British government in India grew just as the role of the East India Company declined.

In 1813 the East India Company lost their monopoly. Other British companies wanted to share in the profits of India. They said there should be *free trade* with no monopoly for just one organization. It was a serious blow to the Company. Their role in India declined and, after the violent events of 1857, ended altogether. The Company which had opened up the Indian subcontinent to the British, taken so much profit out of India, and had such a powerful long-term influence on events, was finally wound up in 1873.

WARREN HASTINGS

Warren Hastings was the first Governor General of Bengal (1772–85). He had previously worked for the East India Company and had risen through the ranks. His main aim was to increase the power of the government. Unfortunately for him, he did not have the support of his senior officials, who actively tried to undermine him. Hastings tried to get as much money from taxes as he could so that he could send it back to Britain. For a time, he put the positions of tax collectors up for auction. This terrible practice led to the collectors paying huge sums for the position, which they then recouped by forcing the peasants to pay very high taxes. Hastings extended British control of India by wars against the Marathas (1778–82), and Haider Ali of Mysore (1780–4) and his son Tipu Sultan, who fiercely resisted British rule. To finance these military ventures, Hastings took bribes and forced some wealthy princes to give him money. This got him into trouble, and he returned to Britain to face charges of corruption. In the end, after a seven-year trial, he was cleared but his reputation was ruined.



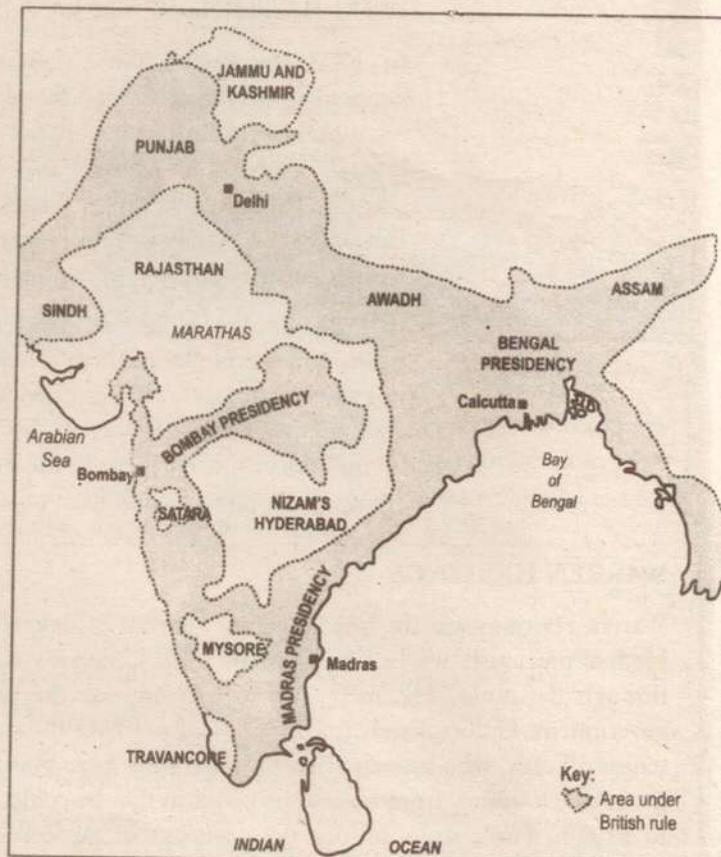
HOW DID THE BRITISH TAKE OVER THE AREA OF PRESENT-DAY PAKISTAN?

The British conquest of India alarmed the people of Afghanistan and the Sikh rulers of the Punjab. Afghanistan stood between Russia and British India. The British, worried that Russia might seek to expand and actually threaten their control of India, made an agreement with Ranjit Singh, the powerful Sikh ruler of the Punjab, that he would keep control of the area north of the River Sutlej. Then, in 1839, the British invaded Afghanistan and installed their own puppet ruler. Two years later, disaster struck when the Afghans rebelled against the new king. Only one British soldier out of a force of 4000 based in Kabul survived to report what had happened.

In 1843 British forces under Sir Charles Napier seized Sindh in order to control the important route through the Bolan Pass into India. It also served to restore British prestige among the Muslims after the terrible loss in Kabul. The British had promised by treaty and agreement with local rulers that they would not invade Sindh. Even in Britain many people were angry at Napier's action.

The British then turned to the Punjab, which included two important trade routes, the Khyber Pass and the River Indus. The British believed that goods moving on camels through the Khyber Pass and the Punjab to India could more easily be shipped down the Indus and then by ship from Karachi. Along the Indus, local rulers were charging hefty fees. The arrival of the first steam-powered riverboats made this route even more attractive.

The Sikhs in the Punjab were worried that the British would invade. Attack, it seemed to them, was the best form of defence. In 1845 they invaded British-controlled India in the First Sikh War. Their main army was destroyed at Sabraon. Later, in the Second Sikh War (1848–9), another Sikh army was almost completely destroyed, after which the victorious British took over the Punjab.



Quick questions:

- g What were the populations of Britain and India in 1800?
- h What was the purpose of subsidiary alliances?
- i What happened to the cotton grown in India?
- j What happened to the East India Company in 1813?
- k Were there any benefits to India from British control?
- l Why did the British invade Afghanistan?
- n Why was the Punjab important to the British?

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- Britain made a great deal of money out of trade with India.
- Protecting that trade led to Britain taking control.
- Differences amongst Indians helped the British to take over.
- British control of trade caused poverty for Indian cloth makers.
- To defend its power Britain seized areas that are now part of Pakistan.

Questions:

- 1 Why were the British interested in India?
- 2 How important was Robert Clive in the British takeover of India?
- 3 According to the historians, Sources A, B and C, what kind of a man was Clive?
- 4 How did Britain's Industrial Revolution affect India?

Extended essay:

1. How did the British take control of India and why were they successful?

B:

Colonial Rule

Key words

trusteeship: looking after a country rather like a parent looks after a child

imperialism: from the root word 'empire'; it means one nation taking over and ruling other countries

puppet ruler: a ruler who is controlled by someone else, just as a puppet has his strings pulled by an operator

blasphemous: going against someone's religious beliefs

Raj: Hindi word meaning rule

westernization: getting Asians to reject traditional values and ways and instead follow western or European ways

white man's burden: bringing western civilization to the rest of the world

Key Questions

- ◆ What changes did the British make to India?
- ◆ Did the changes benefit India?

The British were enormously proud of their empire. They believed that their ways of governing and living were the best and that other peoples of the world would be better off if they accepted them. For the British, India was 'the brightest jewel in the royal crown'. Britain's rule of the subcontinent became known as the British Raj. It is not surprising that the idea of trusteeship towards the Indian people should emerge. Britain would govern India until the time that the Indians had absorbed British ideas and would then be able to govern themselves properly. Whilst this was well intentioned, it was also incredibly arrogant for the British to believe that their ideas were both superior and suitable for India. They failed to grasp the significant cultural differences. Some

Englishmen even argued that they had generously taken on the job of bringing 'civilization' to India! The reality was that it was trade, wealth, and power that motivated the British imperialism rather than consciousness of 'the white man's burden.'

HOW DID THE BRITISH TREAT THE LANDS THEY HAD TAKEN?

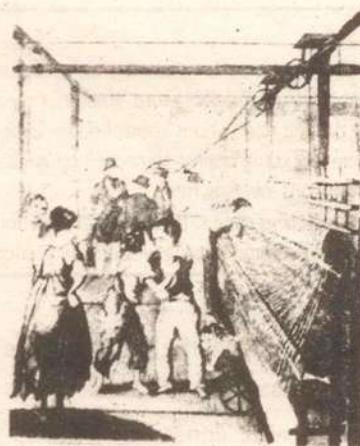
By the 1850s Britain controlled almost all of the Indian subcontinent. Some areas, such as Sindh and the Punjab, were administered directly by the British. Others, such as Mysore and Kashmir, were under local rulers who were entirely obedient to the British. Some territories were seized from their rulers because they were thought to be run inefficiently. Whilst the motive behind all this was trade, profit, and power, the British were also determined to make important changes to people's lives. They were convinced of the need to *westernize* the Indians as much as they could.

WHAT DID THE BRITISH DO ABOUT RELIGION?

To start with, the East India Company had deliberately followed a neutral path over religion. Any threat to Hindus, Muslims, or others could lead to trouble. But this provoked anger in Britain where Christians argued that neutrality was actually supporting blasphemous and sinful beliefs. Christians demanded the right of missionaries to go to India to try to *free* Indians from their own religions by converting them to Christianity. Reluctantly, the Company had to agree in 1833 that any Christian missionary was free to work anywhere in India. The main result was that it strengthened the Christian faith of British people living in India. They believed their Christian values made them superior to the local people. In turn they became more intolerant of Indian traditions and behaviour. The missionaries also spread western knowledge and ways of doing things. However, very few Indians changed their religion.

WHAT WAS BRITAIN LIKE IN THE 1830s?

In Britain only five per cent of the people could vote in elections to the House of Commons. Parliament represented mainly the interests of the wealthy landowners. Life was harsh for the millions of people who laboured on the land or in the new factories and mines. It was normal for children, sometimes as young as five years of age, to work in the mines and factories as shown in the facing picture. So many people were crowded into industrial towns that killer diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and tuberculosis spread rapidly because of infected water, dirty living conditions, and poor diet.



Quick questions:

- What was meant by 'brightest jewel in the royal crown'?
- Why did the East India Company have to allow Christian missionaries to go to India?

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The Cultural and Historical Background
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HOW DID THE BRITISH CHANGE THE INDIAN PEOPLE?

Power together with a Christian sense of duty made it certain that the British would impose changes that would affect everyone. Changes, even for the better, can cause anxiety and opposition. When these changes were introduced by people from a country thousands of miles away, it is hardly surprising that resentment began to grow against westernization.

Female infanticide:

In 1795 the East India Company declared the killing of baby daughters to be murder. It was easily said but hard to enforce. One hundred years later it was still important to check that daughters were still alive several years after their birth.

Suttee:

The Hindu religion seemed to permit the ritual burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. At first the British were reluctant to get involved but the loud demands of Christian missionaries and Ram Mohan Roy, an Indian campaigner for justice, forced the East India Company to outlaw the practice in Bengal in 1829, and then in the rest of the country. In fact, there was very little opposition to this change. Lord Bentinck was the Governor General who took this bold step.

Thuggee:

In central and upper India groups of armed robbers—thugs—claimed they were serving a goddess. They used a ritual way of murdering their victims and people were terrified of them. The East India Company used force to once and for all destroy *thuggee*. In 1830, under Colonel Sleeman's command about two thousand thugs were caught and dealt with. This step was welcomed by all.

English:

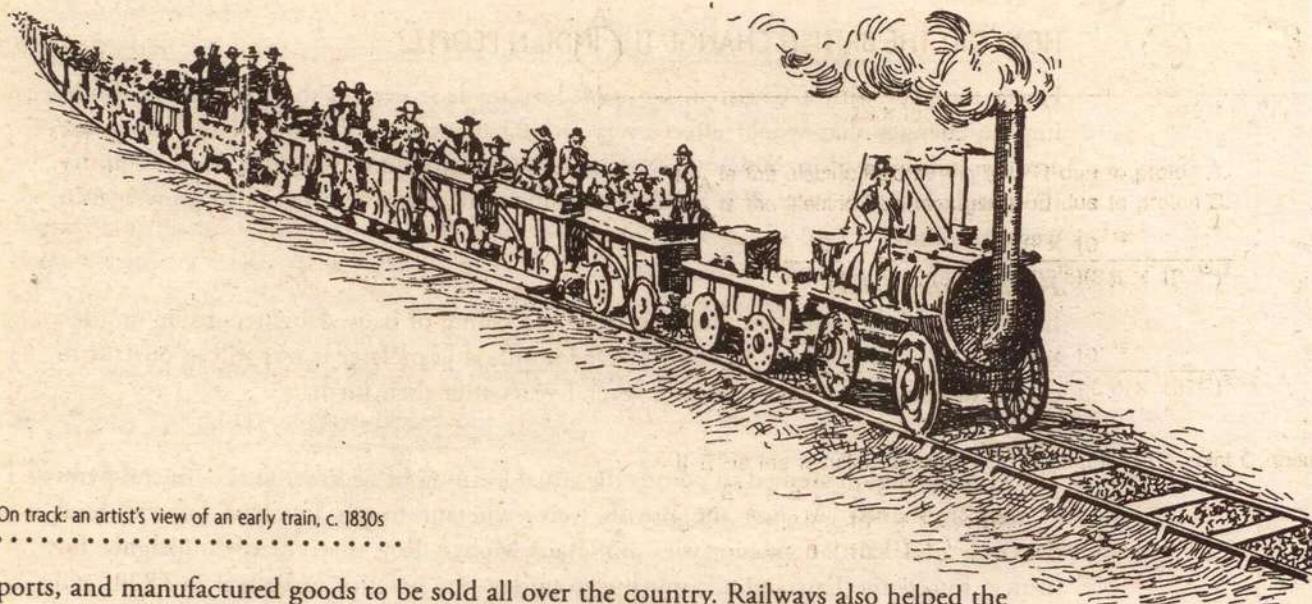
In 1835 English was declared to be the official language. Until then Persian had been the main language for rulers, diplomats, and officials. This had a westernizing effect as it brought educated people into contact with English books.

Schools:

Following the language change, the government set up schools across the country to teach western ideas using the English language. This was the brainchild of Thomas Babington Macaulay. He believed that European ideas were far better than anything that came from India. He aimed to educate a group or class of Indians who would take on western values and help the British to govern the millions of other Indians. Following Macaulay's ideas the British imposed on educated Indians a European culture which was probably not appropriate for them. An important result of all this, however, was that the use of English as a common language began to unite India.

Communications:

The British invented the railway. The first public railway using steam-powered locomotives opened in England in 1825. It was the start of the *Railway Age* as British engineers constructed railways all over the world. They were to transform India. The first public train journey in India took place on 16 April 1853, from Bombay to Thane. For the British, they were yet another means of extending their power and ideas across the subcontinent. They helped British industry to profit by transporting raw materials to the



On track: an artist's view of an early train, c. 1830s

ports, and manufactured goods to be sold all over the country. Railways also helped the British to control the country. Troops were moved speedily to wherever they might be needed. Civil servants and businessmen could journey anywhere quickly and comfortably.

But there were advantages for the Indian people as well. In times of famine, food could be moved more easily. Family visits over long distances as well as pilgrimages became possible. Later on, of course, political organizers and campaigners could also move about easily recruiting people to their causes, including opposition to British rule.

SOURCE A: THE RAILWAY IS A TRIUMPH

[The railway is] a triumph, to which, in comparison, all our victories in the East seem tame and commonplace. The opening of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway will be remembered by the natives of India when the battlefields of Plassey, Assaye, Meanee, and Goojerat have become landmarks of history.

The Overland Telegraph and Courier,
April 1853

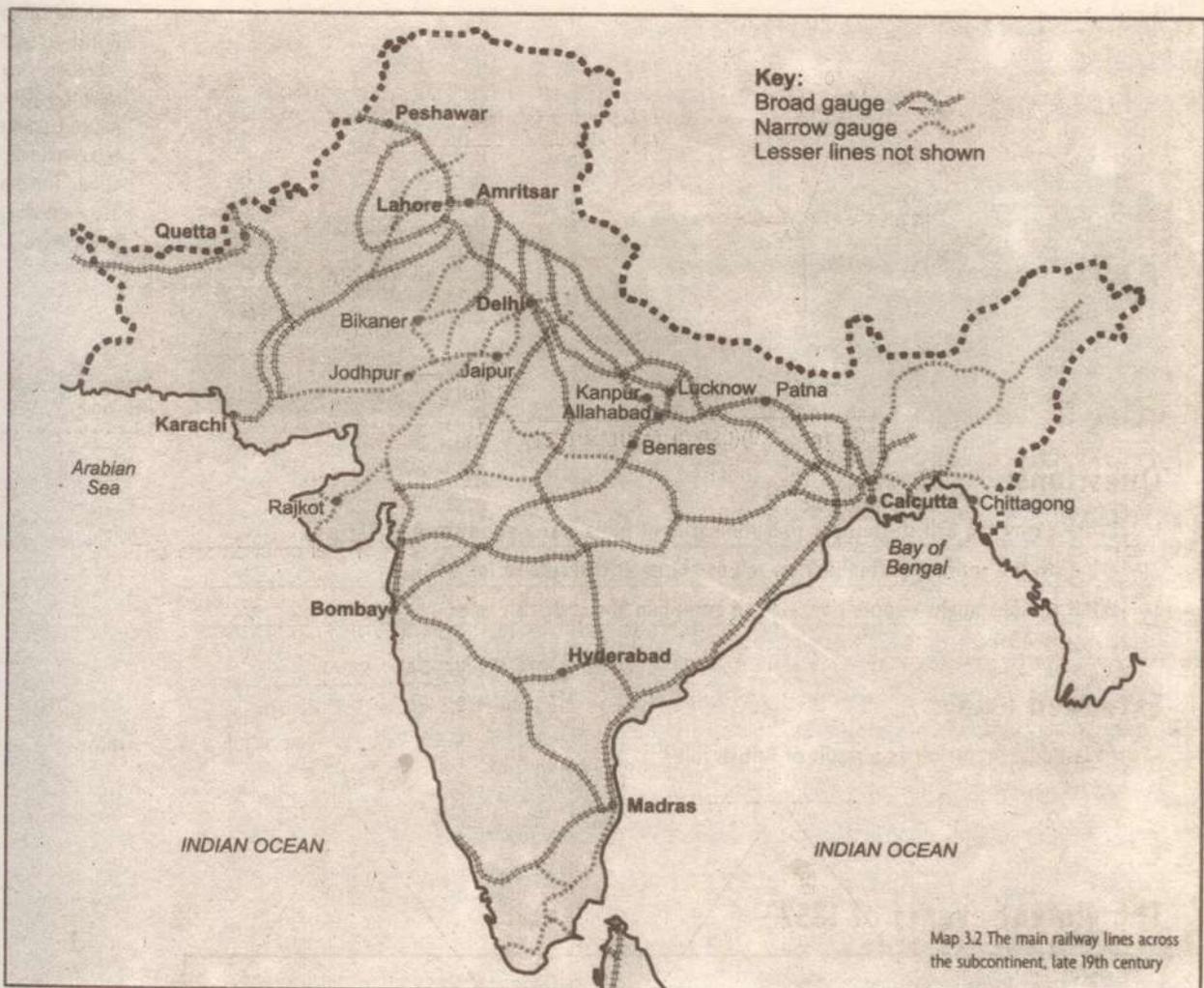
Alongside the railway lines ran telegraph lines by which messages could be sent, helping the British central administration in Calcutta keep in touch with every part of their far-flung domain.

Quick questions:

- c What is meant by westernization?
- d What did Thomas Macaulay do?
- e What were some of the benefits of the railways?
- f Who invented the electric telegraph in (a) India and (b) the USA?

The electric telegraph

- By 1856 the British had completed a 4000-mile Indian telegraph system linking Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Peshawar, and Madras. William O'Shaughnessy had gone to India to work as an assistant surgeon with the East India Company. By 1839 he had devised his own system of telegraphy. He was unaware of Samuel Morse's invention of the telegraph, in the USA, two years earlier. Lord Dalhousie, Governor General 1848–56, saw the potential value of O'Shaughnessy's telegraph. He authorized him to build a system which was completed in just three years. It proved its worth to the British in the violent events of 1857.



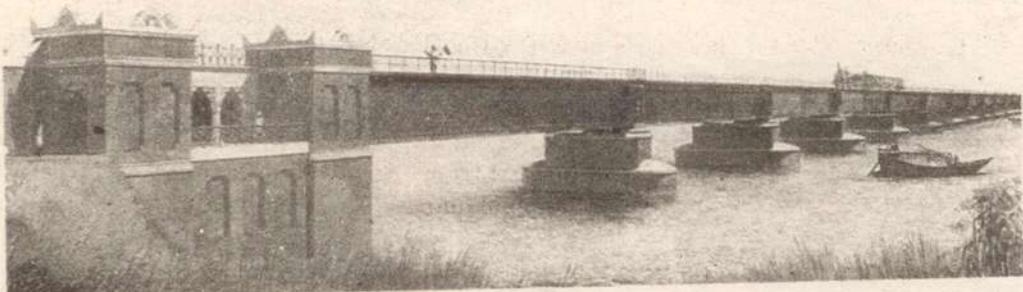
Map 3.2 The main railway lines across the subcontinent, late 19th century

- Westernization — British values and language imposed on India.
- Attempts by missionaries to convert Indians to Christianity failed.
- The British wanted an educated class of Indians with European values.
- The British introduced the railway to India.
- The British brought the telegraph system to India.

LOOKING AHEAD

Sooner or later there were bound to be protests against the foreign rulers. Giving some Indians a western-style education did not guarantee loyalty to the British Raj. Later in the twentieth century both Gandhi and Jinnah, who had studied law in London, led the campaign for independence. In fact, nationalist leaders were nearly always from the educated Indians. They wanted the best of both worlds for their people: freedom for their country, their own religious beliefs and culture, as well as some of the benefits of westernization.

Points to Remember



- The new electric telegraph and the railway helped British to defeat the rebellion. One captured rebel on his way to be hanged, pointed to the telegraph line and bravely cried, 'There is the accursed string that strangles us'.

Railway bridge across the Soan river near Patna

Questions:

- Explain why the British thought that their rule of India was a good thing.
- What do the sources in this section tell us about British rule of India?
- What reasons might people have had to complain about British rule?

Extended essay:

- Was India better off as a result of British rule?

C:

The violent events of 1857

Key words

mutiny: when soldiers refuse to obey orders

rebellion: an uprising against the government.

revolution: people try to change the way their country is governed

sepoy: local men used as soldiers under British command (from Persian 'sipahi')

Key Questions

- What were the causes of the uprising?
- Why did the uprising fail?
- What were the long- and the short-term effects of the uprising?

HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE UPRISEING TO THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN?

By the 1850s the British were confident that their control over the Indian subcontinent was secure. But in 1857 British authority was challenged by a violent uprising. Although this attempt at revolution failed, its legacy was to inspire later generations to seek independence for their own countries. There is a lot of disagreement about the causes and importance of the revolt. Historians cannot even agree what to call it: the British

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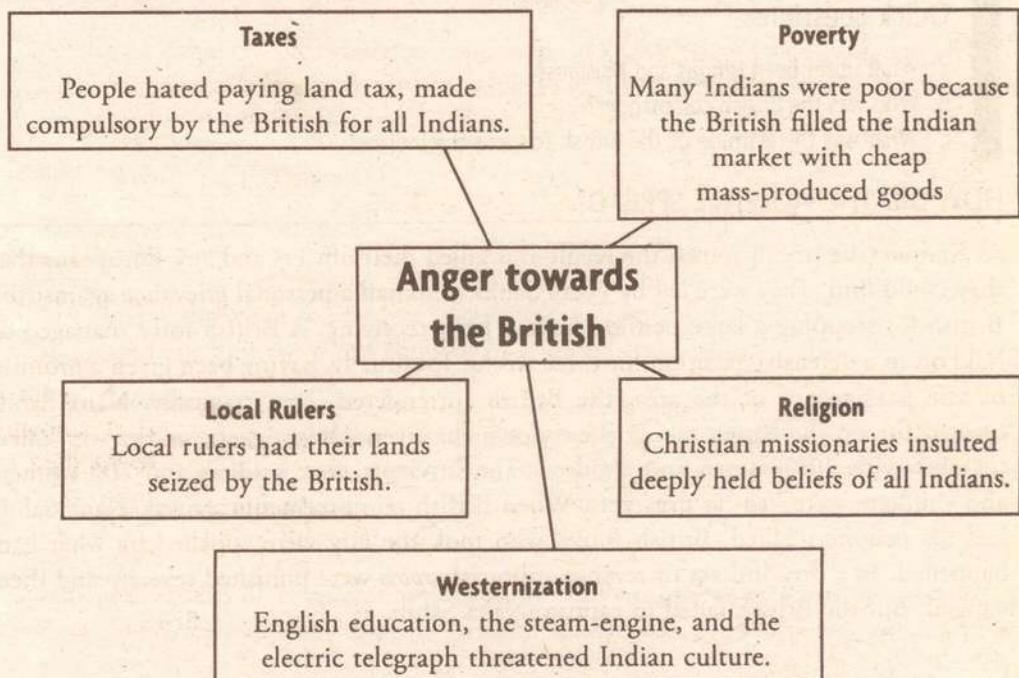
The Cultural and Historical Background
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call this event, *the Indian Mutiny*; Pakistani and Indian historians call it *the Great Revolt*, *the Indian Revolution*, *the National Uprising*, *the Great Rebellion of 1857* or *the First War of Independence*. You should consider which of these terms you think best describes the violent events of 1857.

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE UPRISEING?

Anger over British control of their country had been growing over many years. The poverty of so many Indians was easily blamed on the British who exploited the Indians for their own profits. The destruction of the textile industry to protect the textile manufacturing in England caused great resentment. In promoting the Christian religion western missionaries caused offence by criticizing Hindu, Muslim, and other forms of worship. Muslim anger increased when the teaching of Arabic and Persian was completely excluded from schools. Local rulers were angered when their lands were taken away from them by the British. Under the *Doctrine of Lapse*, any local kingdom without a male heir passed into the hands of the British. A year before the violence, there was outrage when the British seized Awadh (Oudh). Unfortunately for the British, many *sepoy*s in their army came from Awadh.

Added to all this was the land tax that the British forced all Indians to pay. Then there was the army: although they did not seem to realize it, there were growing problems for the British among their soldiers. Most soldiers were local men but the officers who commanded them were British. These officers considered themselves to be racially superior and often did not even speak the language of most of their men. To these important reasons other lesser grievances can be added. Once people have cause to hate their rulers, then almost everything that ruler does will be seen in a bad light.



Quick questions:

- a Make a list of the grievances against the British.
- b Which grievances were economic ones?
- c Which grievances do you think were the most important?

WHY DID THE UPRISING START?

As we have seen Indian people, including the *sepoy*s in the army, had plenty of reasons to dislike British rule. The British seemed unaware of just how serious the situation had become. By 1857 the deep discontent only needed a spark to ignite serious violence against them. That spark came with the introduction of greased cartridges. The newly introduced Enfield rifle used cartridges that had to be ripped open with the teeth before loading. A rumour spread that the grease for these cartridges was made from cow and pig fat. There was outrage among both Hindus and Muslims. The cow is sacred to Hindus whilst the pig is thought to be unclean by Muslims. Immediately, both Hindus and Muslims united against their British masters. At Meerut, near Delhi, a number of *sepoy*s simply refused to use the new cartridges.

The British commander-in-chief, General Anson, was determined to maintain discipline. 'I'll never give in to their beastly prejudices,' he declared. Eighty-five of the *sepoy*s were given long prison sentences of ten years' hard labour on the roads. By setting such a harsh example, the British intended to remind everyone that they were firmly in charge. Just a day after the sentences had been handed out their fellow *sepoy*s mutinied, murdered their officers, freed the prisoners, and marched to Delhi where they joined together with other Indian soldiers. They massacred all the British they could find. Suddenly, British rule in that part of India was under threat.

Quick questions:

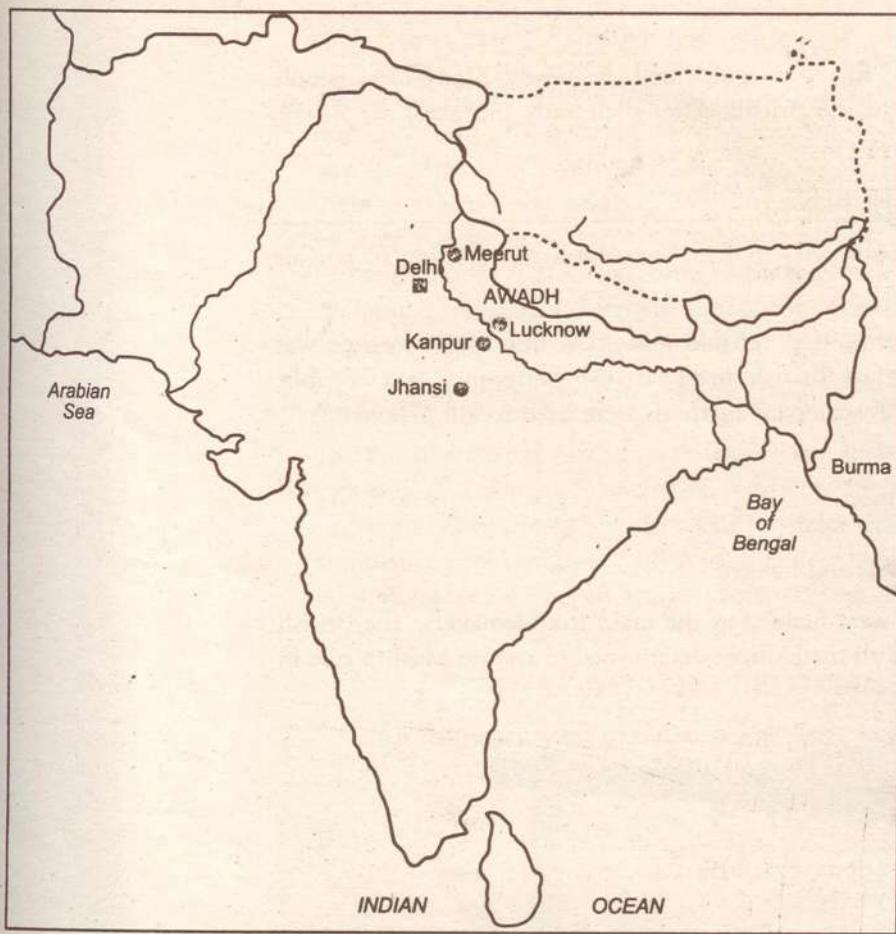
- a What upset both Hindus and Muslims?
- b Who was the British commander?
- c What was the attitude of the British towards the Indians?

HOW DID THE VIOLENCE SPREAD?

At Kanpur, the troops joined the revolt and killed their officers and any Europeans that they could find. They were led by Nana Sahib, who had a personal grievance against the British for stopping a large pension he had been receiving. A British force managed to hold on to a defensive position for three weeks. Eventually, having been given a promise of safe passage out of the area, the British surrendered. But, tragically, Nana Sahib opened fire on the barges taking them down the river. Almost every soldier was killed together with 300 women and children. The survivors, four soldiers and 100 women and children, were kept as prisoners. When British reinforcements arrived, Nana Sahib had his prisoners killed. British forces who took the city were appalled by what had happened. In a dreadful act of revenge captured *sepoy*s were punished severely and then hanged. But the British failed to capture Nana Sahib.

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Map 3.3 The main locations of the uprising, leading to the War of Independence in 1857



A portrait of the Rani of Jhansi: she too fought against the British and died defending Gwalior

Although defiance and violence continued to occur, the 'rebels' suffered a lack of leadership and organization. By the summer of 1858, tough action by the British had brought the rebellion to an end.

WHY DID THE UPRISEING FAIL?

The uprising failed because:

Aims

The aims of the rebels were vague and confused. They mostly wanted to restore their old rulers and customs. Very few thought of a united India ruling itself.

Leadership

No single leader came forward who could command respect and motivate people to join the rebellion. There was no coordination between different areas of unrest and no overall plan of action.

Disunity

Different groups of people of various faiths and in different regions did not set aside their differences and join together to resist the British. Most ordinary people took no part.

British determination

The British would not let go and finally overwhelmed the rebels. Many local people remained loyal and even fought for the British. After their early mistakes, the British had better leadership.

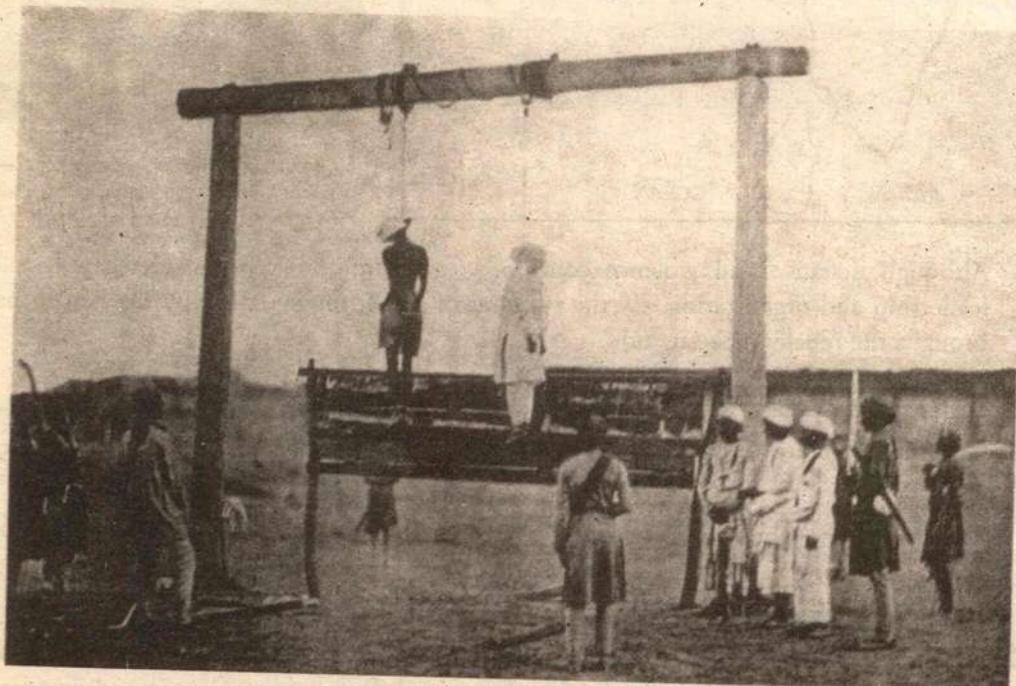
HOW DID THE BRITISH TREAT THE REBELS?

The violence and bloodshed on both sides in 1857 was dreadful, resulting in terrible cruelty on both sides.

It is true that the rebels had committed terrible atrocities, but their violence was exaggerated by an almost hysterical British press. British vengeance was terrible. Punishment was swift and brutal. A variety of methods were used to kill prisoners:

- Hanging
- Shot out of the mouths of cannon
- Burned alive
- Muslims were sewn into pigskins and hanged.

Muslims suffered the worst. They were blamed as the main troublemakers. The British were convinced that their strong faith made them determined to restore Muslim rule in India.



The price of freedom: prisoners being hanged after the War of Independence

Quick questions:

- d Who was the Indian leader at Kanpur?
- e How did the British take revenge against the sepoys?
- f How did the electric telegraph help the British?
- g Why were Muslims treated the worst?

WHAT WAS THE RESULT OF THE UPRISING?

One result was the end of the role of the East India Company. The British Government now took on full responsibility for governing India. But relations between the Indians and the British had worsened. An even deeper gulf than ever before existed between them, and was never bridged. Muslims responded to the harsh treatment against them by simply refusing to cooperate with the British. The long-term presence of the British in their country was never going to be accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Indians. It was only a matter of time before others, using different methods, would seek to gain control over their own country.

HOW DID THE REBELLION AFFECT THE BRITISH?

The uprising gave the British a serious shock: they had not expected it. It also cost them a great deal of money. Restoring their grip on the country cost at least £30 million. Trade and business was seriously disrupted for more than a year. No longer could the British authorities take the loyalty of the Indians for granted. In Britain, a small but growing number of people began to question whether or not they had any right to govern India.

WHAT DO THE HISTORIANS SAY ABOUT 1857?

'If it had been a war of independence, the whole country would have risen with the civilian population joining in as well.'

Norman Lowe, *Modern British History*, Macmillan [1984]

'...people made great sacrifices and waged a heroic struggle to end foreign domination...'

J Hussain, *A History of the Peoples of Pakistan*, OUP [1997]

I think it can be described as a last convulsive movement of protest against the coming of the west...

Percival Spear, *A History of India*, Penguin [1956]

...the Mutiny unreasonably and disastrously hardened British feeling against the Muslims...

Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan*, Faber & Faber [1950]

...the Indians had tried to overthrow the foreign yoke, but they had failed... heavy punishments put a fear of the British in the people's hearts.

S.F. Mahmud, *A Concise History of Indo-Pakistan*, OUP [1988]

...though the upheaval of 1857 failed to drive the British out of India, it succeeded in the limited purpose of making them acknowledge what had gone wrong and made them promise to behave more considerately in the future.

S.M. Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *The British Raj in India*, OUP [1995]

Quick questions:

- h What happened to the East India Company?
- i How did many Muslims react towards the British after the uprising?
- j How much did the uprising cost the British?

- A profitable trade led the British to the subcontinent.
- Trade was carried out solely for the benefit of Britain.
- To protect their trade the British increasingly took control of the subcontinent.
- Poverty and discontent with the British grew.
- The violent uprising of 1857 was ruthlessly put down.
- Muslims were blamed most for the uprising.
- British-Muslim relations were at their lowest after 1857–8.

LOOKING AHEAD

The British were firmly in control again and all Indians, especially the Muslims, faced a difficult and depressing situation. The Muslims were in need of leadership and a practical way of dealing with the British and increasing westernization. In the long-term, a renewed Muslim confidence would lead them to challenge, this time peacefully, British rule.

Questions:

- 1 Explain the causes of the uprising of 1857?
- 2 What were the results of the uprising?
- 3 Which historians show some sympathy with the rebels?
- 4 Was India more difficult to govern after 1857–8?
- 5 What were the short-term effects of the uprising? !
- 6 What were the long-term effects?

Extended essay:

1. Explain the causes and results of the uprising of 1857.

Key words

reformer: someone who wants to change things for the better
 democracy: a system where people choose freely in elections who is to govern them
 nationalist: a person devoted to his/her country

Realism and Confidence

A:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

Key Questions

- ◆ What was the situation for Muslims after 1857?
- ◆ How important was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in revitalizing Muslim culture and hopes?
- ◆ How did his 'two nations' appeal answer Muslim fears?
- ◆ Why was the question of languages so controversial?

The position of the Muslims was worsened by the violent events of 1857. In spite of no real evidence, the British blamed Muslims more than the Hindus for the rebellion. One of the reasons for this was that the Muslims had proclaimed Bahadur Shah Zafar, the Mughal descendant, as their leader and emperor. British opinion hardened against Muslims, who further lost their traditional positions in the police, as lawyers and magistrates, as well as in the army and the civil service. Many Muslim families suffered great hardship: they believed the British were trying to undermine their religion. Many Muslims did not wish to cooperate with the British and their relations with their British rulers were very strained. With the rebellion behind them, the British felt confident in their control of India.



Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India, 1876

Important dates

1862	Sir Syed Ahmed Khan set up the Scientific Society
1869	Suez Canal completed
1875	Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the college at Aligarh
1876	Queen Victoria became Empress of India
1885	Indian National Congress founded
1900	Hindi granted equal status with Urdu

WHAT WAS SIR SYED AHMED KHAN'S MESSAGE TO THE MUSLIMS?

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has been called the greatest Muslim reformer and statesman of the nineteenth century. The events of 1857 shocked him. An eminent Muslim writer and thinker, he was anxious that relations with the British should improve. He wanted the British to appreciate the Muslims and to respect their culture and beliefs. But he also wanted Muslims to accept many of the good things that came from Europe. Muslims were depressed and Syed Ahmed was eager to give them a sense of hope and purpose.

Syed Ahmed had served as a judge and helped save some European lives in Bijnore during the mayhem of 1857. Perhaps because of this consideration, and because of his

balanced and objective approach to the situation, the British were prepared to listen to him. Syed Ahmed wrote a short pamphlet in Urdu, the language of Muslims, titled *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (Causes of the Indian Revolt), in which he outlined the reasons for the uprising and pointed out the faults on both sides, especially on the part of the government, i.e. the British. It turned out to be very influential and was carefully studied by officials in the India Office in London. He blamed the rebellion on the British for failing to understand the feelings of the Indian peoples.

Syed Ahmed admired many of the British ways of doing things. At the same time he held deep faith in the Muslim religion. He knew that many Muslims disliked the British, but he warned them that if they did not build a working relationship with the British then it would be the Hindus who would benefit. The only way forward was to work with their British rulers. He told them that further rebellion or protests would fail. It was a hard message for Muslims to accept. Syed Ahmed was convinced that if the British ever left India the Muslims would be dominated by the overwhelming Hindu majority. Syed Ahmed Khan also told Muslims that the Christian religion need not be feared and that there are similarities between the two faiths. It was possible, he said, to appreciate some European ideas without weakening their Muslim faith.

It is not surprising that some Muslims were unhappy with Syed Ahmed's insistence that they should be friendly towards the British. They were afraid that his support for westernization would gradually weaken Muslim beliefs.

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN (1817-98)

Syed Ahmed was born in Delhi in 1817 to a family that had always served the Mughal emperors. His first employment was with the East India Company. For a time he edited a newspaper published in Urdu, and he was deeply interested in Muslim history and culture; his historical writings earned him an honorary Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. In 1862 he set up a Scientific Society to encourage to Muslims to learn about scientific advances made in Europe. In 1875 he founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which was later known as the Muslim University of Aligarh. After he was knighted by the British in 1876, he was known as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He died in 1898.



WHAT WAS SYED AHMED KHAN'S MESSAGE TO THE BRITISH?

As part of his campaign to bring about better relations between the British and Muslims he wrote an important pamphlet, *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*. He told the British that, in spite of the rebellion, most Muslims were not opposed to them, and he included a list of Muslims who had remained loyal to the British. It was wrong, he wrote, for the British to discriminate against Muslims who were being wrongly blamed for the violence. Horrified by British ignorance of the Muslim faith, Syed Ahmed Khan advised them that they should try to understand and respect Muslim beliefs. He called on the government to consult Indians before taking important decisions.

Quick questions:

- a Why did British opinion harden against Muslims?
- b Why were the British willing to listen to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan?
- c What was his view of the Christian religion?

THE SUEZ CANAL

Work on the Suez Canal, running through Egypt, started in 1859 and was completed ten years later. It was originally a joint French-Egyptian venture, but the British bought out the Egyptians in 1875. Britain had a clear interest in controlling the shortest sea route to India. The canal cut journey times by nearly a half. Not only goods but, very importantly, officials and soldiers could be moved quickly to India, as British control tightened. In 1876 Queen Victoria took the title *Empress of India*. It was perfectly clear in the late nineteenth century that Britain had no intention of ever giving up her Empire.

The drawing shows the Suez Canal, c.1860s.

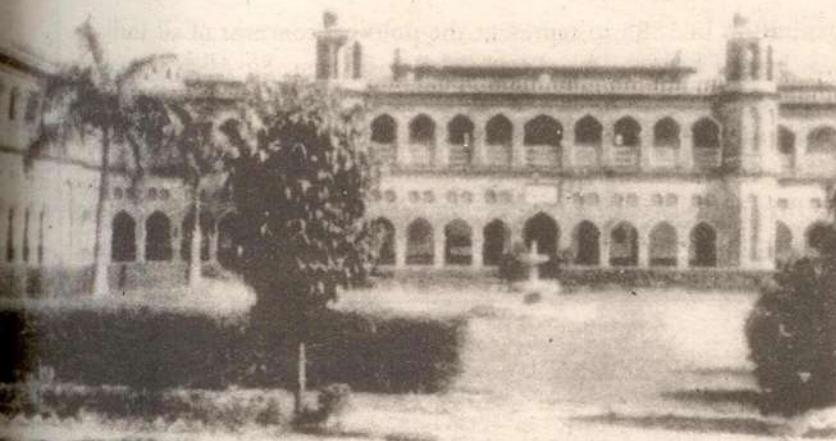


WHAT WAS THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT?

In 1869 Syed Ahmed Khan had visited Britain with his sons, for about a year and a half. He used this time productively, and was deeply impressed by the educational standards of British institutions. In 1875 Syed Ahmed founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in the town of Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh. He felt that Muslims suffered, particularly in relation to the British, because they were poorly educated. The purpose of his college was to give Muslims the kind of education that students in Europe received. Subjects included agricultural science, mathematics and modern scientific developments. At first English books were translated into Urdu, as he thought this would be beneficial; but later Syed Ahmed insisted that students should learn in English. This meant that

they could read English books and communicate easily with British officials. Through education, Muslims would be able to gain their proper status. Educated people would work to improve the condition of all the people and would be respected and serve as leaders, just as educated people did in England. The Aligarh College was a model that Syed Ahmed wanted other schools and colleges to copy. His admirers called him the 'prophet or leader of education'. His detractors decried him as an infidel—a *kafir*.

A view of the Aligarh University



WHAT WAS MEANT BY 'TWO NATIONS'?

Syed Ahmed also wanted the Muslims to have good relations with Hindus. However it seemed to him that many Hindus did not want friendly relations. He understood the move towards democracy taking place in Britain and America. By 1884 most British men were able to vote and in 1888 some women were allowed to vote in local council elections. In India some local government councils were elected. Syed Ahmed knew that the extension of democracy to India would seriously disadvantage Muslims. There was a large Hindu majority and they would win all the elections and the power of government would always be in their hands. If the British ever gave up India then he feared that this domination by Hindus would lead to violence between the two communities.

The answer to this problem was, he said, for the British to treat the Muslims and Hindus separately. Later, after his death, this idea became known as the 'two nation' theory. The two distinct groups, Muslim and Hindu, were so different and lived separate lives from one another that they were really like two separate nations even though they lived in the same land. Syed Ahmed Khan was the first person to express this point of view. For many Muslims this offered some hope against the threat of Hindu control. We can see that Syed Ahmed was anticipating the events that eventually led to the creation of Pakistan.

WHY DID SIR SYED AHMED KHAN NOT SUPPORT THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS?

Educated Indians were increasingly debating the way in which their country was being governed. However, it was a Scotsman, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired civil servant, who called together the first Indian National Congress in 1885. This great nationalist movement he founded is usually known simply as *The Congress*. Hume wanted a more democratic system of government. When seventy-two delegates met in Bombay in 1885, they included only two Muslims. This was mainly because Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was so strongly opposed to the kind of democracy the Congress was calling for: he thought that it was not in the interest of Muslims but was very much in the interest of the Hindus.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

This was set up as a broad-based political organization in 1885 to represent the political concerns of all Indians in their dealings with the British. Its birth was helped by two liberal-minded British men, Sir Allan Octavian Hume and Sir Henry Cotton. From the start, however, it was dominated by the Hindu majority. At first, it concentrated on making suggestions on social issues to the Government, but gradually it became a more political organization. In 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it became a political party and spearheaded the nationalist movement for independence from Britain. But with later developments most Muslims, including Mohammad Ali Jinnah, gave up expecting it to represent all Indians and saw it as the Hindu political voice. It is often known as the Congress Party or simply, the Congress.

SOURCE A: TWO NATIONS

'Now suppose that all the English were to leave India then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances, two nations — the Muslim and Hindu — could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.'

Part of a speech by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1878

Quick questions:

- d Why was the Suez Canal important to British control of India?
- e What was the name of the college founded by Syed Ahmed?
- f Why was Syed Ahmed worried by the spread of democracy?

- The position of Muslims was damaged by the 1857 uprising.
- Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wanted better understanding between Muslims and the British.
- English-style education was advocated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
- Education particularly was the only way the Muslims could rise.
- Hindu and Muslims were like two separate nations.
- Muslims feared majority rule would give too much power to the Hindus.
- Syed Ahmed gave Muslims hope for a stronger future.

LOOKING AHEAD

Muslims in India had regained a sense of identity and a growing confidence. They were now in a much stronger position to protect their interests. Increasingly, this would affect their dealings with their fellow-Indians, the Hindus, as well as with their rulers, the British. By the end of the nineteenth century, Muslims were much more aware of their position and were able to stand up for themselves properly.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- 1 Why do you think Sir Syed Ahmed is described as one of the founding fathers of Pakistan?
- 2 How did the college at Aligarh help to solve problems for Muslims in India?
- 3 What is meant by the 'two nation theory'?

B:

The languages of Pakistan

Key words

globalization: many things such as business and the media functioning on a world-wide scale

nomadic: when people travel from place to place instead of living in just one place

fluent: someone who can speak a language easily without making any mistakes

civil servants: people who work for the government

Key questions:

- ◆ Why was Urdu chosen as the official language of Pakistan?
- ◆ Why is Urdu so important to the development of Pakistan?
- ◆ Why are other languages important to the people of Pakistan?

Language is a very important part of our life. Through communication a native language becomes the social inheritance of all speakers. Language belongs to each one of us. Everybody uses words to communicate. Because we all speak and listen to it, the language we use helps to identify us and makes us feel connected to people whose language we share. In the same way, it separates us from people who speak a different language. Language is also political and often controversial. On the Indian subcontinent there are many different languages, and arguments over language have been intense.

WHAT LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN IN PAKISTAN TODAY?

~~E~~ English

Urdu is the official language of Pakistan. It is an important symbol of Muslim unity. Yet, as you will see in Source A, it is a minority language. By far, the most-spoken language is Punjabi, being the mother tongue of the most populated province in the country. Altogether there are at least seventy-two living languages in Pakistan.

SOURCE A: WHICH LANGUAGE IS NORMALLY SPOKEN IN THE HOME?

Languages spoken in Pakistan	(%)
Punjabi	48.17
Pashto	13.14
Sindhi	11.77
Seraiki	9.83
Urdu	7.6
Baluchi	3.04
Hindko	2.43
Brahui	1.21
Others	2.81

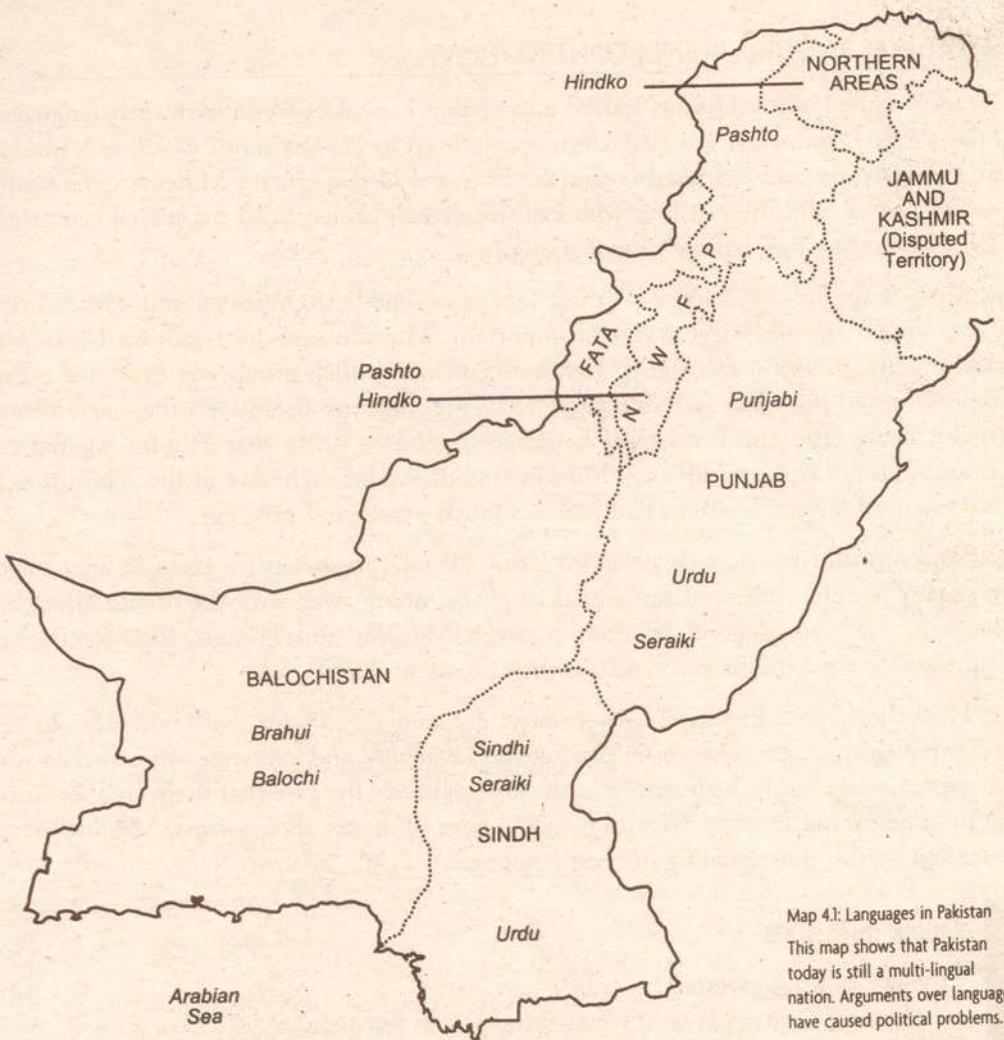
(1981 census)

English is not included because, although used a great deal in public and business life, it is not widely spoken at home.

Kashmiri

- Kashmiri is spoken by about 4.5 million people in the Vale of Kashmir and the surrounding hills.

Kashmiris have a strong attachment to their language to preserve their identity. Their vocabulary shows the influence of other languages including Sanskrit, Punjabi, and Persian. Muslims usually use Arabic and Persian words and write using the Persian alphabet. Kashmiri has a long literary tradition. It has been used by many poets. The earliest literary work that has survived is the poetry of Lalleshvari, a mystic poetess who lived in the fourteenth century. It is also a language used for many proverbs.



Map 4.1: Languages in Pakistan
This map shows that Pakistan today is still a multi-lingual nation. Arguments over language have caused political problems.

HOW DID URDU BECOME AN IMPORTANT LANGUAGE?

NUML

- The National University of Modern Languages (NUML) was founded in Islamabad in 1970 to help people communicate and understand each other in different languages, and to assimilate different cultures.

By the end of rule by the Mughal emperors, Urdu was the most used language in the Muslim-dominated north-western provinces. The language emerged over a thousand years ago. *Urdu* is a Tartar word for military camp; in Turkish it is *ordo*. The language, Urdu, was a result of Turkish, Persian, and Hindu soldiers, and local people mixing together in their camps. Words from all three languages, though mostly Hindi, together with some Arabic and local Prakrit, all went into Urdu. The grammar was mainly based on Hindi. At first it was just a spoken language used in everyday life by soldiers and local people, but educated Muslims and even Hindus still continued to use Persian, especially in formal usage. Urdu is written in the Nastaliq script, like Persian, whereas Hindi is written in the Devanagri script, which Muslims had to learn to decipher. Shah Wali Ullah wrote in Persian but his sons translated the Quran into Urdu. Later poets and writers used Urdu as a literary and formal language. After it became the official language of the Mughal Empire, after Aurangzeb, all the official documents were in Urdu.

WHAT WAS THE URDU-HINDI CONTROVERSY?

In 1867 some leading Hindus started a campaign to replace Urdu with their language, Hindi. Their complaint was that Urdu was written in Persian script which was similar to Arabic script, and that Arabic was the language of the Quran. Moreover, the script was identified with the Muslims who had invaded and ruled India for several centuries. The Hindi campaign rapidly gained strength.

Muslims leapt to the defence of their language. For both Muslims and Hindus the disagreement over language was very important. Muslims saw the attack on Urdu as a threat to their culture and rights. It was a clash over which group was to be the most important and powerful in India. After 1857 the Muslims already felt they were being treated badly. The attack on their language seemed to prove that Hindus wanted to control and perhaps even destroy Muslim traditions and their way of life. Hindus felt that for too long the Muslims had had too much power and privilege.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan actively defended Urdu. He set up a society for Urdu, to encourage the use of simple, clear, and functional language, doing away with the ornate idiom of the past. He wanted good relations between Muslims and Hindus. This would be impossible if the Hindus succeeded in their attack on Urdu.

In 1900 the United Provinces Government declared that Hindi and Urdu were to be treated equally. There were to be two official languages and everyone who worked for the government had to be fluent in both. It was already the case that these civil servants had to understand English. Now they would have to master three scripts. Muslims were horrified by this downgrading of their language.

Quick questions:

- a Why is language important?
- b How many languages in Pakistan have more speakers than Urdu?
- c Why were some Hindus opposed to Urdu?
- d What was Syed Ahmed Khan's contribution to Urdu?
- e What took place in 1900 that angered Muslims?

WHY WAS URDU CHOSEN AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE FOR PAKISTAN?

Urdu was important to many leading Muslims. In the 1930s the Muslim League discussed making Urdu their official language. Muslims in Bengal were firmly opposed: they preferred to retain their own language, Bengali, which also used a form of the Devanagri script. However, in 1937, the League agreed to make all efforts possible to make Urdu their official language. In 1947 Quaid-i-Azam made the decision that Urdu should be the official language of Pakistan.

SOURCE B: ONE STATE LANGUAGE

'Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function.'

Quaid-i-Azam, quoted in Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan – The Formative Phase*, OUP [1978]

SOURCE C: ONE LANGUAGE

'It is necessary for a nation to have one language and that language can only be Urdu and no other language.'

Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan speaking in 1948,
quoted in H. Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan*, OUP [1994]

The aim of adopting a single language was to promote a national Pakistani identity. But it is difficult to impose a new language on people, however good the reason might be. Muslims in Bengal who, from 1947–71, comprised the majority of Pakistan's population, were resentful. People continued to use their own traditional languages. In a left-over from the days of British rule, English remained the language used for official business. Although the Constitution of Pakistan envisages Urdu replacing English, in reality the use of English continues in official and commercial correspondence. Globalization means that it is difficult to get away from English. English has to be used in dealings with many international companies and foreign governments.

Urdu has become the established language of education in state schools, but even so local languages are used in some areas. Well-off parents often send their children to schools where the medium of instruction is English. Language affects people's opportunities. For those Pakistanis who wish to get good jobs in government, business or the media, fluency in written and spoken English and Urdu is essential. Most television and radio programmes and films, and many newspapers, magazines, and books are produced in Urdu, as well as some in the main regional languages. The opening up of new television channels has provided an opportunity for the growth of regional languages.

Quick questions:

- f Why, according to Source B, was it necessary to have an official language?
- g What advantage is there in being fluent in English?

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE OTHER LANGUAGES OF PAKISTAN?

Punjabi

Punjabi is spoken by more people than Urdu. It is the language of the heavily-populated Punjab province. The name Punjabi was first used around 1080, by Hafiz Barkhurdar. There are a number of local idioms such as Multani, Riasati, and Deraweli. Punjabi has produced a huge amount of literature. Many folk romances and legends, which grew up orally in the countryside, have been retold many times by Punjabi writers. They are the basis of Punjabi literature. Sufis used these stories as the basis for their poetry. Heer Ranjha is one famous Punjabi story. Written by Waris Shah, it is based on his sad experience of not being able to marry the woman he fell in love with. Because so many people speak the language, many modern films and books are produced in Punjabi.

Sindhi

Sindhi is spoken in the province of Sindh. It is an ancient language and was very popular with writers and poets in the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. The high point of Sindhi poetry is known as the Kalhora period, 1657–1783. The Kalhora princes were poets. Many legends and stories, most of them tragic love stories, were told in poetry. Later, after the arrival of the British, poetry was replaced by important prose writing.

سنڌ جي ماڻهن جا سونا زيوار ڏايدا سهٽا هوندا هئا. انهن ۾ سون ۽ رنگين مخين سان
جڌيل مختلف قسمن جا هار، واليون ۽ چوٽيون شامل هيون.

A sample of Sindhi script

In Pakistan, Sindhi is written in the Arabic script with several additional letters and diacritical marks to accommodate Sindhi phonetics. Before 1947 most educated people in Sindh were Hindu and their exodus to India undermined the use of Sindhi. After 1947 large numbers of Urdu-speaking refugees were settled in Sindh. Sindhi-speaking people feared their language and culture were being destroyed. After riots in 1972, in support of preserving their language and culture, the Government guaranteed the special importance of the Sindhi language.

Pashto

The first written records in Pashto come from the sixteenth century. They describe Sheikh Mali's conquest of Swat. Pashto stems from languages used in Eastern Iran. Some of its words come from Greek and others from Arabic and Persian. It has long been an important language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Today about 9 million people in Pakistan, in Peshawar, the North-West Frontier Province, and the northern part of Balochistan, speak Pashto. Traditionally, it has been written in the same Persian script that is used for Urdu. Pashto is not taught in schools but people use it in the home and in everyday life. During the past hundred years there has been a rapid growth in popular writing such as journalism and many new words have had to be conceived. In Pakistan, a great many Pashto words have also been lifted from Urdu.

Balochi

Balochi is the language of the province of Balochistan. Today only about three per cent of the Pakistani population speak it. It is an ancient language, probably spread and developed by nomadic tribes. It is mainly oral with poetry and legends passed down by word of mouth. Jam Durrak who lived in the eighteenth century is remembered as an important writer of love ballads.

In 1947 only about 850,000 people lived in Balochistan and it seemed the population would shrink even more. However, the number has grown to over 6.5 million. Many of these people have been refugees and people working for the government and, of course, did not speak Balochi. Action has had to be taken to protect the language. Today there are radio and TV broadcasts in Balochi, as well as several magazines and other publications.

Quick questions

- h Who first used the term 'Punjabi'?
- i Which famous love story was written by Waris Shah?
- j What led to riots in Sindh in 1972?
- k Where is the Pashto language spoken?
- l Why was action needed to protect Balochi?



A Baloch elder



A Pathan from NWFP



A Sindhi musician



A Kashmiri craftsman



An artisan from the Punjab

- Arguments over language were a sign of Hindu-Muslim hostility.
- Pakistan is a multilingual nation.
- Languages reflect cultural diversity and people like to preserve their language.
- Urdu is the official language.
- English remains important in government, business, and education.

LOOKING AHEAD

Languages will remain a controversial issue. Urdu is a common language easily acquired, as it is based on Arabic and Persian in script and also vocabulary. As it also reflects the culture and values of Islam in its prose and poetry, it is greatly valued by Muslims. Nevertheless some people prefer to promote their own particular language. It has been difficult to realize Quaid-i-Azam's hope for a single language to unite all Pakistanis. Use of English will remain important but also controversial. Some religious people believe that it represents values and ideas that differ from their faith.

Questions:

- 1 Briefly describe the main languages in Pakistan.
- 2 Why has it proved difficult to establish Urdu as the official language?
- 3 Do you think a single official language is a good idea for Pakistan?
- 4 Why is it unlikely that the use of English will disappear in government, business, and education?

The Emergence of Pakistan, 1906–47

part TWO

Chapter Five

MUSLIMS ORGANIZE

- A: The Muslim League demands self-government
- B: The British face the rise of nationalism
- C: British determination
- D: The Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Campaign

Chapter Six

TOWARDS PAKISTAN: 1922–40

- A: Jinnah, 1929: The Fourteen Points
- B: Reform and progress
- C: Leadership and Pakistan

Chapter Seven

WAR AND INDEPENDENCE

- A: Forcing the issue
- B: The birth of Pakistan

Key words

sedition: encouraging a rebellion against the government

imperialist: a person who supports their country's rule over other countries as part of an empire

realist: a person who deals with things as they are

idealist: a person with a vision of how things can be better that is often not achievable

durbar: a very grand state reception given by Indian princes and British Governors; royal court

boycott: refusal to use, buy or have any dealing with someone as a protest against them

Muslims Organize

A:

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DEMANDS SELF-GOVERNMENT

Key questions:

- ◆ Why did Muslims become more assertive in the early 20th century?
- ◆ Why did the Muslim League demand 'self-government'?
- ◆ To which British policies did the Muslims show disapproval?

By 1900 resentment against British rule was growing. For their part the British showed no wish to give up their control of this important part of their empire. Lord Curzon, an enthusiastic imperialist, became the new Viceroy in 1898. With an army of 250,000 men at his command he had more power than the rulers of most other countries. But he had little understanding of the concerns and needs of the nearly 400 million people of India. A serious mistake by Curzon set off a chain of events which nearly fifty years later also contributed to the independence of India and the creation of Pakistan.

WHAT WAS CURZON'S MISTAKE?

In 1905 Lord Curzon, believing that the state of Bengal with a population of 54 million was too large to be governed efficiently as a single province, ordered it to be split in two. His aim was also political, as he thought the Muslims of East Bengal would be better off in a separate province governed from Dhaka. The Hindus were furious as they saw it as a deliberate blow against them for leading the movement for Indian self-government. At a stroke, Curzon had succeeded in uniting Hindus against the British. Violent protests swept Bengal. The Indian National Congress, led by Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, a Parsi, swung into action to oppose the decision. Mehta condemned the violence. The Congress organized a boycott of British goods as well as angry protest meetings all over India. In 1906 they added to their protests the demand that India should be self-governing.

Important dates

1899:	Lord Curzon became Viceroy of India
1905:	Partition of Bengal
1906:	All-India Muslim League founded
1909:	Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah takes an active role in the Congress Party
	Morley-Minto reforms –Indian Councils Act
1911:	King George V attends the Delhi Durbar
	Partition of Bengal revoked
1913:	Muslim League agrees on a policy of self-government for India
	Mr Jinnah joins the Muslim League
1914–8:	World War I
1916:	The Lucknow Pact
1917–21	Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy
1917:	Russian Revolution
1918:	Montagu-Chelmsford reforms
1919:	Rowlatt Act—imprisonment without trial
	Government of India Act
1920–2:	Muslim-Hindu cooperation with the Khilafat Movement and non-cooperation with the British movement
1920:	Mr Jinnah resigns from the Indian Congress and the Muslim League
1922:	Mahatma Gandhi imprisoned for six years but released after two years

BOYCOTT

- The term comes from the rejection or boycotting of Captain Charles Boycott, in Ireland in 1880. In a dispute over wages and rent, his tenants and labourers refused to harvest his crops. 1000 soldiers were needed to protect the new workers. Boycott took on. Boycotts were often used by the Irish protesting against British rule. It was a popular tactic of the Indian Congress in their campaign against the British.

Muslims supported Curzon's decision and promised loyalty to British rule. The All-India Muslim League, as it was formed, condemned Congress's boycott and demonstrations. Muslims were for the time being content with British rule.

1906–9: The issues that divided Muslims and Hindus

Congress	Muslim League
opposed separate electorates	welcomed separate electorates
opposed partition of Bengal	supported partition of Bengal
boycotted British goods	opposed boycott of British goods
demanded self-government	no need for self-government
disloyal to Britain	loyal to Britain

IDEALISTS AND REALISTS

Some Muslims wanted to work with the Hindus, as they believed it was possible for both religious groups to work together for everyone's benefit. These were known as *idealists*, and joined with Hindus as members of Congress.

Other Muslims, known as *realists*, thought that the gulf between the two could not be bridged; they urged Muslims to keep away from Congress and to speak up for their own interests. There were far more realists than idealists.

Quick questions:

- Why were Hindus angry with Lord Curzon?
- Explain in your own words the difference between realists and idealists.
- Why is a boycott an effective form of protest?
- What were the reasons for the disagreement between Muslims and Hindus between 1906–9?

WHY WAS THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE SET UP?

Most Muslims had followed the advice of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and kept away from the Indian National Congress which was dominated by Hindus. By 1906, it was clear that Muslims needed their own political organization to protect their interests. In Britain, a new Liberal Government had taken office, and an extension of representative government and elections seemed likely. Muslims needed their own political voice. A deputation of thirty-six Muslims led by the Aga Khan, Sultan Mohammad Shah, met the new Viceroy, Lord Minto, at Simla. In the Simla Declaration they asked for protection for Muslims if representative government was extended. They called for separate electorates so that Muslims and, therefore, Hindus as well could elect their own representatives. This was agreed and later formed part of the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909.

The Simla delegation was a crucial step, as it proved that the efforts of leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for better understanding between Muslims and the British were paying off, and that the British were willing to rebuild relations with the Muslims after the Bengal episode.



Lord Curzon, Viceroy 1899–1905

In 1906, at a meeting chaired by the Nawab of Dhaka, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the resolution was passed to set up the All-India Muslim League. The meeting was organized originally for the Mohammedan Educational Conference, but with so many Muslim leaders present it was decided to settle the matter of having their own political party. This was an important step. Muslims now had their own organization to advance their political aims.

SOURCE A: THE THREE OBJECTIVES OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, 1906

- To promote, among the Muslims of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of its measures.
- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- To prevent, among the Muslims of India, the rise of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909 was the popular name given to the 1909 Indian Councils Act. Morley, head of the India Office, said, 'Reforms may not save the Raj, but if they don't, nothing will.' The idea was to create more of a partnership with moderate Indians. The reforms allowed Indians to sit on the Imperial Legislative Council. Direct elections were introduced for provincial legislative councils. Separate representation for Muslims and other minorities was included. The powers of the councils to vote on policies were extended. But these councils could only give advice and decisions were always in the hands of the British. The reforms were well intentioned but for most Indians they did not go nearly far enough.

Quick questions:

- e What happened at Simla in 1906?
- f Why was the Muslim League set up?
- g Which of the three objectives of the League was the most important?

WHY DID THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DEMAND SELF-GOVERNMENT?

In spite of its commitment to 'feelings of loyalty', it was not long before the Muslim League turned against the British Government. The British had already upset the Hindus over Bengal; their anger and violent protests alarmed the Government. In 1911 it reversed the decision to divide Bengal. Now it was the turn of Muslims to react: they had not expected this turn-about from the British. It seemed to them that protests, boycotts, and violence had gained victory for the Hindus while their own loyalty had been rewarded by betrayal. Muslims felt that they could no longer trust the British.

At the same time there were a number of other actions by the British, which were further resented by Muslims.

Delhi – New Delhi

- There is an ancient saying that when a dynasty moves to Delhi its days are numbered. The British decision in 1911 to move their capital to the old capital of the Mughals upset many Muslims. The British designed a purpose-built new capital city, New Delhi, which was officially opened in 1931. One reason for the change was that it was closer to Simla where the government, with its many British officials, moved during the hot summer months.

The British:

- partly demolished a mosque at Kanpur to make way for a road
- stopped the Muslim college at Aligarh gaining university status
- sided with Italy against Muslim-controlled Turkey
- moved the British capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

In 1913 the Muslim League changed their objectives (Source A). No longer did they promise 'loyalty to the British Government'. Instead they promised 'loyalty to the British Crown' and, for the first time, added the demand for self-government in a way that was 'suitable to India'. This meant that whilst they agreed with the Hindu Indian National Congress that there should be self-government they insisted that the rights of the Muslim minority had to be protected.

WHY DID MUSLIMS NOT DEMAND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN?

Muslims faced a great dilemma. As they became more and more disillusioned with the British, they wanted a role in running their own land. However, the danger for them was that if the British were pressed too hard they might leave India altogether. In that situation the Hindus, with their large majority, would control the country. For many Muslims that situation was unthinkable.

Much later, in 1928, the Nehru Report (Chapter 6, Section A) reinforced Muslims' fears about Hindu domination. The report said there was no need for separate electorates to protect the rights of Muslims. It criticized what it considered to be the *illogical* fear of Muslims that they would be dominated by the Hindus. The report which promoted the idea of a strong central government, controlled mainly by Hindus, was really the end of any chance of Hindus and Muslims working together.

SOURCE B: THE MUSLIM FEAR OF HINDU DOMINATION

'We are numerically one fifth of the other community. If at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, we shall have to live as the subjects of the Hindus, and our lives, our property, our self-respect, and our religion will all be in danger...'

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (1841–1917),
Secretary of the Aligarh College and first president of the Muslim League

Quoted in Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857–1948*, OUP [1978]

So the British knew that, at least for the time being, however angry Muslims were most of them would draw back from calling for an end to British rule, if only because the alternative seemed even worse.

Quick questions:

- How did the British upset Muslims in 1911?
- What was the writer of Source B worried about?

- British actions over Bengal angered Hindus and Muslims.
- Congress (Indian National Congress) represented mostly Hindus.
- Muslim League was set up as a political voice for Muslims.
- Muslims were frightened of being dominated by the Hindu majority.

LOOKING AHEAD

In just six years, from 1905–11, the British had managed to unite both the otherwise separate communities, Muslim and Hindu, in pressing to have their own government in their country. It did not mean that Hindus and Muslims had forgotten their differences. It did mean, though, that they put aside their animosity because they were both so angry with the British. In spite of British self-confidence and a visit to India by King George V himself in 1911, many Indians of all faiths were increasingly questioning Britain's right to rule them. New political leaders were emerging to mobilize Indian opinion. As Europe prepared for war, the British future in India became increasingly uncertain.

Questions:

- 1 Explain the background and reasons that led to the setting up of the All-India Muslim League.
- 2 Why was the question of separate representation so important?
- 3 Explain the role played by the Muslim League between 1906 and 1911?

Extended essay:

- 1 'The setting up of the Muslim League was an important step in Muslim development.' Using your knowledge and the sources discuss whether you agree with this statement.

Further study:

Try reading the novel, *A Passage to India*, by E. M. Forster (1879–1970). Forster wrote this best-selling book in 1924 whilst employed as secretary to the Maharajah of Dewas Senior. The book is interesting because Forster shows the point of view of the ruling classes and their communities, both Indian and British. At the time he was condemned by Indians for showing only the white point of view, and by English readers for showing only the point of view of the Indians.

B:**The British face the rise of nationalism****Key words**

pact: an agreement

self-determination: people in a country have the right to govern themselves

Key questions:

- ◆ How did World War I affect India?
- ◆ How did leaders such as Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi deal with the British?
- ◆ How did the British answer demands for self-government?

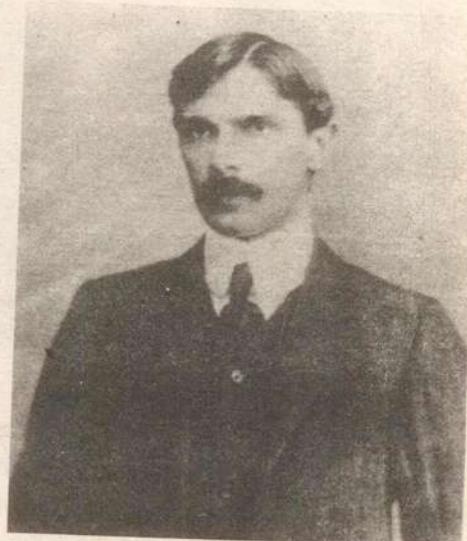
World War I, 1914–8, had a great effect on the political situation in India. It appeared to change Britain's attitude towards India and to open the door to self-government. However, although the British agreed, at least in principle, that Indians should have a far greater say in government, the rate at which they prepared to hand over any power at all was far too slow for many Indians. Impatience with the British led to ever-increasing protests.

HOW DID WORLD WAR I AFFECT INDIA?

After 1911 the British knew they had to make more concessions to Indian opinion if they were to stop the worsening political situation. The Hindu-dominated Congress and the Muslim League were both angry with Britain, and after 1913 the League had joined Congress in calling for self-government in India. By this time the great powers in Europe were preparing for war and Britain counted on support from her empire. She could not afford unrest in India.

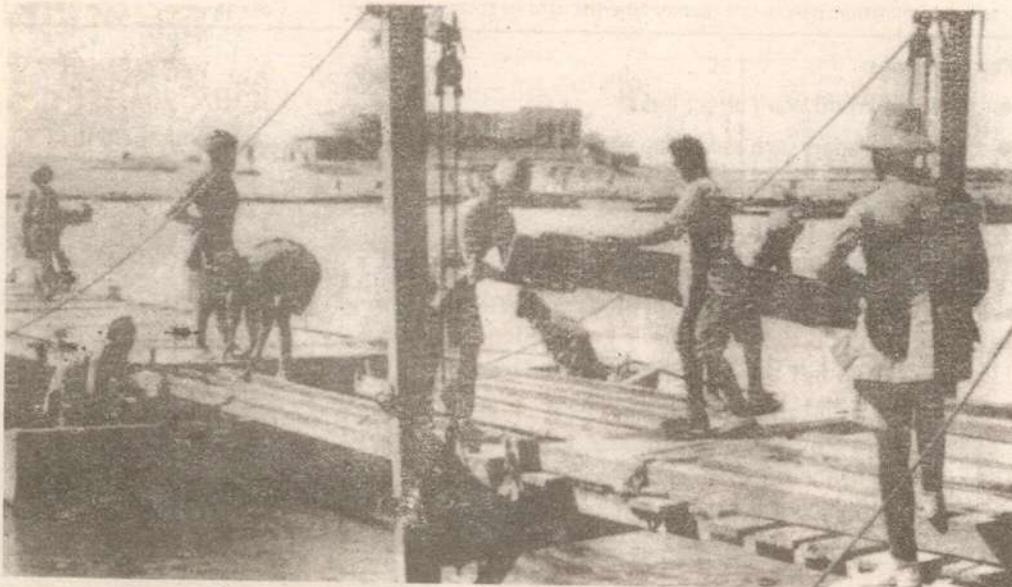
In 1913 a new and brilliant Muslim leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, emerged as an important spokesman for Muslim interests. His political leadership was to prove decisive for Muslims and vital in the eventual creation of Pakistan. You will learn a great deal more about this important leader in later chapters. At this time, Mr Jinnah was a member of both Congress and the Muslim League. To start with he was an *idealist*. He worked to find common ground between Hindus and Muslims so that, in spite of their differences, they could present joint demands to the British. He wanted an India in which all religious groups could live together in harmony. For seven years, before joining the Muslim League in 1913, he had devoted his political work to the Congress. This is evidence of his idealism.

By 1916 Britain was engaged in the terrible conflict of the World War I. She faced stalemate with Germany along the trenches of the Western Front in Northern France.



Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the new Muslim leader

The British Army suffered dreadful casualties. The contribution to Britain's war effort and the sacrifice by Indians was enormous. India's commitment of men and equipment was the single biggest contribution from any part of the British Empire. Most Indian leaders supported Britain in her war. In return it was clear to the British that they were expected to extend more rights to the Indian people. It seemed to many Indian leaders that wartime was the right time to put demands to the British.



India's contribution to World War I

- 1,302,000 men served in the British Army
- casualties 106,594 including 36,696 deaths
- stores and equipment valued at £80,000,000

Sappers of the Indian Army making pontoon bridge across River Tigris, World War I

Quick questions:

- a What problems did Britain face in 1913?
- b Why was Mr Jinnah a member of both Congress and the Muslim League?
- c How did India help Britain fight the war?

WHAT WAS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LUCKNOW PACT IN 1916?

In December 1916 Mohammad Ali Jinnah persuaded the Congress and the Muslim League to meet together in Lucknow. The agreement they reached, the Lucknow Pact, was a giant leap forward for Muslim hopes. Obviously there had to be compromise on both sides. The most important concession came when Congress agreed with the Muslim League that there should be separate electorates for each group. In the All India Legislature that they called for it was agreed that Muslims would have one third of the seats. Mr Jinnah hoped that this agreement would lead to a united Indian nation. Both Congress and the Muslim League hoped that the British would grant their joint call for self-government.

The Lucknow Pact was very important because:

- It was the first (and only) agreement between Congress and the Muslim League on an Indian Constitution
- It was recognition that the Muslim League spoke for Muslims
- Hindus accepted the principle of separate representation for the minority

- Congress agreed to separate electorates
- No law affecting a community could be agreed if three quarters of the representatives of that community opposed it
- Indians agreed to speak to the British with one voice
- It led to Britain making concessions.

Quick questions:

- Who brought about the Lucknow Pact?
- What was the pact?
- What was meant by separate electorates?
- Why did Muslims insist on separate electorates?

THE QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

'Without Jinnah there would never have been a Pakistan.'

That is the view of historians. Sooner or later the British were bound to have given independence to India. But it is by no means certain that Muslims would have gained their own nation, Pakistan, without the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Because of this Mohammad Ali Jinnah later became known as the Quaid-i-Azam which means 'great leader'.

Early life



Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a young barrister

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born in December 1876 in Karachi, where his father was a successful businessman. After Matriculation from Sindh Madressatul Islam, a high school set up in Karachi by Hasan Ali Effendi, he briefly joined his father's company. In 1892 he travelled to London to work for a company that traded with his father's business. However, his growing interest in law led to his enrollment at Lincoln's Inn to study to be a barrister. After being called to the Bar in 1896, Mr Jinnah returned to India, as one of the youngest barristers. By now he had a keen interest in politics. In London, he had frequently attended debates in the House of Commons. Gladstone, a great Liberal reformer, was Prime Minister at the time he arrived in London. There was a great deal of debate about extending people's rights. By the 1890s most working men in Britain were able to vote and there were the first stirrings of the demand for the same rights for women.

Mr Jinnah first involved himself in Indian politics by joining the Indian National Congress in 1906. Although it was dominated by Hindus, he believed that it would help develop a sense of nationhood that would bring together people of all faiths. A committed Muslim, Mr Jinnah had no time for bigotry. He wanted all Indians to work together to achieve the kind of government that the people of Britain had for themselves.

Later, in 1913, he joined the Muslim League when he became convinced that Muslims needed their own voice and that the League was also committed to self-rule for India.

He worked hard to achieve cooperation between the Congress and the Muslim League, and earned the title, *Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity*. His main achievement at that time was the Lucknow Pact.

During the campaign of non-cooperation with the British, Mr Jinnah rejected Congress leader Gandhi's methods. He was sure that they would fail. He was worried that they could result in violence which would undermine their cause. Eventually in 1920, with much disappointment, he left Congress after a serious disagreement with the Hindu majority over their methods of dealing with the British. For a short time he also dropped out of Muslim League activities because of their support for Congress's tactics. Instead he concentrated on trying to unite Hindus and Muslims around a policy of persuading the British to agree to self-government.

Important dates in the early life of Mr Jinnah:

- 1876 Born in Karachi
- 1892 Arrived in England
- 1895 Qualified as a barrister
- 1896 Returned to India to work as a lawyer
- 1906 Joined the Indian National Congress
- 1913 Joined the Muslim League
- 1916 Achieved the Lucknow Pact
- 1918 Criticized the Montagu-Chelmsford Report
Married Ruttie Petit, daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit
- 1919 Birth of daughter, Dina

Quick questions about Mr Jinnah:

- (a) Where did Mr Jinnah complete his schooling?
- (b) Why did he go to London?
- (c) When did he join the Congress Party?
- (d) Why did he join the Muslim League in 1913?
- (e) Why was he known as the *Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity*?
- (f) What worried him about Gandhi's methods?

HOW DID THE BRITISH DEAL WITH THE INCREASING DEMANDS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

The British simply could not ignore the growing demand for self-government. Even during the war agitation continued. The unity of the Muslim League and Congress could not be dismissed. They had to respond to the Lucknow Pact. However, it was very difficult for British politicians, including the Prime Minister Lloyd George, to change their mind and ever begin to think about letting go of India. Slowly, as the war proceeded, the British came round to the view that India would have to be given a measure of self-government. The American President Woodrow Wilson, Britain's wartime ally from 1917, was insisting that once the war was over nations should run their own affairs. He called this '*self-determination*'. It was, he said, to be an important principle after the war to help to ensure that there would be no more wars.



Quaid-i-Azam's birthplace, Wa...
Mansion, is now a nation...
monument. You will find...
balconied, three-storey house...
Newnham Road in Kharadar, one...
the oldest residential areas...
Karachi

Eventually, in 1917, the British House of Commons was told of the Government's intention of giving Indians a much greater say in their government.

SOURCE A: BRITAIN PROMISED INDIANS A SHARE IN GOVERNMENT

'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire.'

E. S. Montagu M.P., Secretary of State for India, House of Commons, 20 August 1917

However, the announcement went on to emphasize that the process would be gradual and that the pace of change would be decided entirely by the British. Not surprisingly Indian nationalists were not satisfied—they feared the British would use delaying tactics.

16th May, 2013

Quick questions:

- h Which world leader supported self-determination?
- i What was the purpose of the statement in Source A?
- j What government position did E. S. Montagu hold?

WHY DID THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT CAUSE SO MUCH ANGER?

Indian fears were correct. In 1918 Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, put forward plans which became the Government of India Act, 1919. For the first time a government document suggested that Indians might one day have self-government. The trouble was that these reforms were very limited and for the immediate future most power was still in the hands of the British Government and its Viceroy.

The Government of India Act provided for:

- National Parliament with two Houses—Council of State and Legislative Assembly
- The Legislative Assembly would have 144 members of whom 103 would be elected
- The two Houses would pass laws and talk about the budget
- The Viceroy—appointed by the British Government—could veto (block) any decision and bring in any law he thought necessary
- Provincial Legislative Councils: the majority of members to be elected
- *Dyarchy*: a system by which some powers were *reserved* and controlled by the Governors of the Provinces appointed by the Viceroy; other powers were *transferred* to the Provincial Legislative Councils
- About 5.5 million wealthy Indians out of 250 million allowed to vote
- Separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims
- A commission to meet after ten years to decide whether India was ready for further concessions.



Lord Chelmsford

Dyarchy: powers that were reserved or transferred

<i>Transferred powers under the control of Indian Ministers</i>	<i>Reserved powers under the control of Viceroy and Executive Councils</i>
education	law and order
health services	finance and tax
agriculture	judges and courts
local government	general administration and civil service
public works	

This was not democracy and it was certainly not the self-government that people had been demanding. The power to make policy decisions stayed firmly in the hands of the Viceroy and his Executive Councils. Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi, bitterly attacked the proposals and the final Act of Parliament that set up the new system. They were furious at the slow pace of the British in giving Indians real power in their government. They had given loyalty and sacrifice to Britain during the war and had expected much more in return. For the Muslims, Mr Jinnah strongly criticized the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. In important respects, the Government of India remained almost the same and the Provincial Governments did not have enough power. But, in spite of their disappointment, he warned against a violent response. Instead, he called on Indians of all faiths to work together to gain further reforms.

In addition to the opposition by the Muslim League and Congress, other religious groups, including Anglo-Indians and Sikhs, demanded that they too should be granted concessions. It was a sign of even further divisions among Indians.

Quick questions:

- k Who were Montagu and Chelmsford?
- l What proportion of Indians was permitted to vote in 1919?
- m Who was the leader of Congress?
- n Explain the term 'dyarchy'.

- India supported Britain in World War I.
- Mohammad Ali Jinnah emerged as the major Muslim political leader.
- He achieved the historic Muslim-Hindu agreement—the Lucknow Pact.
- Indians demanded a speedy move to self-government.
- Montagu made the first mention by the British of possible self-rule.
- The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were too slow for Indian leaders.
- With the end of the war Indians felt let down by the British.

LOOKING AHEAD

There was increasing anger and frustration over the British failure to properly reward India for its loyalty and support during the war. The principle of self-determination that Britain, France, and the USA had promised nations after the war was not applied to India. The British were preoccupied with getting their own lives back to normal after the war and settling the problems of Europe. However, some British politicians, especially in the Labour Party which had emerged as an important political party, were sympathetic to Indian independence. Sooner or later Indian disappointment was bound to lead to further protest and increasing violence. How the British responded to this agitation was to have a serious effect on Indian politics.

Questions:

- 1 What difference did World War I make to Indians?
- 2 What was the significance of the Lucknow Pact?
- 3 What did Mr Jinnah try to achieve through membership of Congress and the Muslim League?
- 4 How useful is Source A in understanding British policy on India?
- 5 How, by means of dyarchy, did the British hope to satisfy Indian hopes whilst at the same time keeping control of the government of India?
- 6 What were the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and why were most Indians disappointed with them?

Extended essay:

- 1 What were Mr Jinnah's aims between 1913 and 1919, and how did he try to achieve them?
- 2 Do you think that Muslims made any political progress between 1913 and 1919?

C:

British Determination

Key words

Communism: an economic and political system proposed by Karl Marx (1818–83) in which all property belongs to the community and each person contributes according to his ability and receives according to his needs. In actual practice, this worked out rather differently.

curfew: a period of time when people are not allowed to go out on the streets

Key questions:

- ◆ How did the British rulers deal with the growing challenge of Muslim demands?
- ◆ Did British policy lead to violence?
- ◆ How did events at Amritsar influence opinion?

Muslims were very upset with the situation that emerged after the war. Many of them were quite prepared to join the Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi, and defy the British. The Lucknow Pact had shown that Hindus and Muslims could work together. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had led to the first communist government. Communism with its rejection of religion, promise of equal treatment, and opposition to colonialism appealed to some Indians. A communist revolution, so they thought, would rid them of the British and create a fair society without any religious divisions. For their part, the British decided that firm action was needed to keep their grip on this important part of their empire. The stage was being set for inevitable violence.

WHY DID THE BRITISH INTRODUCE PRISON WITHOUT TRIAL?

During the war the British had used the Defence of India Act to help them keep order. This Act was due to expire six months after the end of the war. The government was well aware of the growing demands for self-rule. Events in Russia terrified the British. The Communists had overthrown the government, murdered the royal family, and confiscated private property. Communist leaders promised that communism would spread worldwide. Communism appealed to some Indians who believed their country was being exploited by the British. The British were worried that growing unrest would be provoked by communist agitation and could lead to armed struggle.

In 1918 Justice Rowlatt looked at the situation and recommended tough new laws to deal with those who stirred up protests. In 1919 his proposals became law, known as the Rowlatt Act.

Salient features of the Rowlatt Act:

- People could be tried in camera (in private) by three High Court Judges.
- There was no right of appeal.
- People could be ordered to live in a particular place.
- People could be stopped from attending meetings.
- People could be arrested without warrant and kept in prison without trial.

Indians were furious with the new laws. Their opinion was summed up in the popular slogan, '*na appeal, na daleel, na vakeel*' which means no appeal, no argument, no lawyer. Mohammad Ali Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest.

SOURCE A: JINNAH CONDEMNS THE Rowlatt ACT

'In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government...'

Part of the Jinnah's letter of resignation in protest at the Rowlatt Act

S.M.Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *Quaid-i-Azam*, OUP [1997]

SOURCE B: GANDHI WARNED THE BRITISH

'The Government want to show that they can disregard public opinion. We must show that they cannot do so.'

Gandhi in 1919, *Gandhi papers*

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE GROWING VIOLENCE?

In 1919 Indians had two main grievances:

- i) The British had failed to reward Indian support during the war with any real move to self-government
- ii) Britain responded to protests by repressive measures like the Rowlatt Act.

All of this was bound to increase protests. As tempers rose, both the British and the Indians were guilty of violence. The worst incident, at Amritsar, enraged Indians of all faiths and opinions.

Quick questions:

- a Where did the first Communist revolution occur?
- b What law did Britain use to maintain order during the war?
- c Who proposed the new law?
- d Why were many Indians angry with the British?

WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE KILLINGS AT AMRITSAR?

During April 1919 there was a wave of violent protests and some British officials even feared a repeat of the 1857 rebellion. At Amritsar, Sikhs, Muslims, and Hindus had organized a peaceful demonstration against the Rowlatt Act. The British banned the protest but the organizers decided to press ahead with it anyway as a show of strength. A large crowd gathered in an enclosed park, Jallianwala Bagh. To strike fear into the people and as a warning to others, General Dyer ordered his soldiers to seal the exits and fire into the crowd. As the people tried to flee, the soldiers continued firing into their backs until the ammunition ran out. About 1650 rounds in all were fired. In the end, 379 people were killed including 41 children and a six-week-old baby. A further 1200 people were wounded.

Although the army reprimanded General Dyer, he was hailed as a hero by many British newspapers, most Conservative Members of Parliament, and even by a vote in the House of Lords. To be fair, there were others who condemned his actions. Winston Churchill, later to be Prime Minister, was appalled and the Inspector of Infantry in India described Dyer as 'an excitable lunatic'. In that case we might wonder why then the army made him a general.

The effect of all this on Indian opinion was disastrous. Historians argue that this massacre, and the reaction to it by both the British and the Indians, ended any chance for the British to gain the trust of the Indian peoples. For many Indians, the way in which the British behaved towards them in their own country seemed racist. For example, the reaction by so many Britons to the deaths of Indians at Amritsar was proof enough that the British did not see them as their equals. It was now a matter of *when* and not *if* the British would leave.

SOURCE C: TESTIMONY OF GENERAL DYER

Dyer (D): The situation was very, very serious. I had made up my mind that I would do all men to death if they were to continue the meeting.

Question (Q): Does it or does it not come to this: you thought that some striking act would be desirable to make people not only in Amritsar but elsewhere consider their position more correctly?

D: Yes. I had to do something very strong.

Q: And for the reasons you have explained to us you had made up your mind to open fire at the crowd for having assembled at all?

D: Quite right.

Extract from evidence given to the Hunter Committee in 1920,
as they investigated the events at Amritsar

Using Evidence – questions about Amritsar:

- i. How reliable is the testimony of General Dyer in finding out what happened at Amritsar?
- ii. Explain in your own words what, according to his testimony, Dyer's motives were for opening fire.
- iii. Using the information given above, explain the importance of the Jallianwala Bagh incident in British-Indian relations.

WHY DID BRITAIN NOT GIVE INDIA SELF-GOVERNMENT IN 1919?

If Britain had made a serious move towards self-government then the violence and agitation that lasted for the next twenty-eight years would have been avoided. But in London political leaders, supported by middle-class opinion, were determined to hang on to this important part of the British Empire. They were also confident that they could crush opposition.

SOURCE D: BRITISH DETERMINATION TO KEEP INDIA

'Any attempt to challenge the British position in India means then the whole strength of Britain would be put forward to maintain British ascendancy in India. Every section of the population of Great Britain shared that view: a challenge to our position and rule in India would be taken up by the whole country with a strength and resolution that would amaze the world.'

British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, 1919

Summary

Britain wanted to continue ruling India because:

- Britain's power and prestige after World War I had been weakened.
- It would be humiliating if Indian protests forced them to give in.
- India had enormous strategic importance for the Royal Navy and British influence in the region.
- Many British people—businessmen, missionaries, civil servants—lived in India and could not be abandoned.
- Trade with India was still very profitable for Britain.

Quick questions:

- e What do we learn about British policy from Source D?
- f Why is Source D a reliable and useful source?

- Fear of protests led the British to bring in the Rowlatt Act.
- The harsh terms of the Act further infuriated Indians.
- The massacre of protesters at Amritsar caused great anger.
- Indians were deeply offended by British treatment which often seemed racist.
- Agitation for self-government grew.
- Britain showed no wish to let go of India.

LOOKING AHEAD

As historians, with the benefit of hindsight, we can safely say that by 1919 British control of India was doomed but that the British Government did not accept it. The protest movement, spearheaded by men like Gandhi and Jinnah, was quite unstoppable. Before 1914 the nationalist movement had been made up of educated, better-off, middle-class Indians. After 1919 it turned into a mass movement supported by all Indians. Even arguments over forms of protest could not stop the overwhelming demand for self-government. Many of the actions of the British Government simply made matters worse for itself.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- 1 Explain the reasons for the anger and resentment in the Indians in 1918–19.
- 2 How do you think Mr Jinnah reacted to the statement made in Source D?
- 3 Why was British control of India probably doomed after 1919?
- 4 Is there any evidence in this section to indicate British racism towards the Indians?

Extended essays:

1. Describe and explain how the actions of the British after World War I united Indians against them.
2. Using your knowledge of the Lucknow Pact, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Rowlatt Act, describe how the political situation in India changed and developed 1916–9.

- 3 'In spite of reforms and tough measures such as the Rowlatt Act, British control of India was actually weaker in 1919 than it had been ten years earlier.' Explain whether or not you agree with this statement.
- 4 With reference to the Morley-Minto reforms and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, was British policy a case of 'too little, too late'?

D:

The Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Campaign

Key words

dominion: A self-governing nation in the British Empire

Caliph (or *Khalifa*): the head of a Muslim Caliphate (Khilafat). In later times, the term was used for the Turkish Ottoman ruler.

Key questions:

- ◆ What was the Khilafat Movement and why did it emerge?
- ◆ How effective was the Hindu-Muslim campaign of non-cooperation?
- ◆ How did events in Turkey bring an end to the Khilafat Movement?

The idea behind the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms was to win over moderate Indians. The Rowlatt Act was to keep troublemakers under control. For a number of reasons, the British strategy failed.

- The Congress Party boycotted the elections held under the new rules in 1920.
- Hindus and Muslims remained angry over events at Amritsar.
- European colonists in East Africa opposed Indian immigration.
- India had membership of the League of Nations but was still considered inferior to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, which had dominion status.
- Britain used the Indian Army to safeguard its interests in the Middle East.

WHAT WAS THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT?

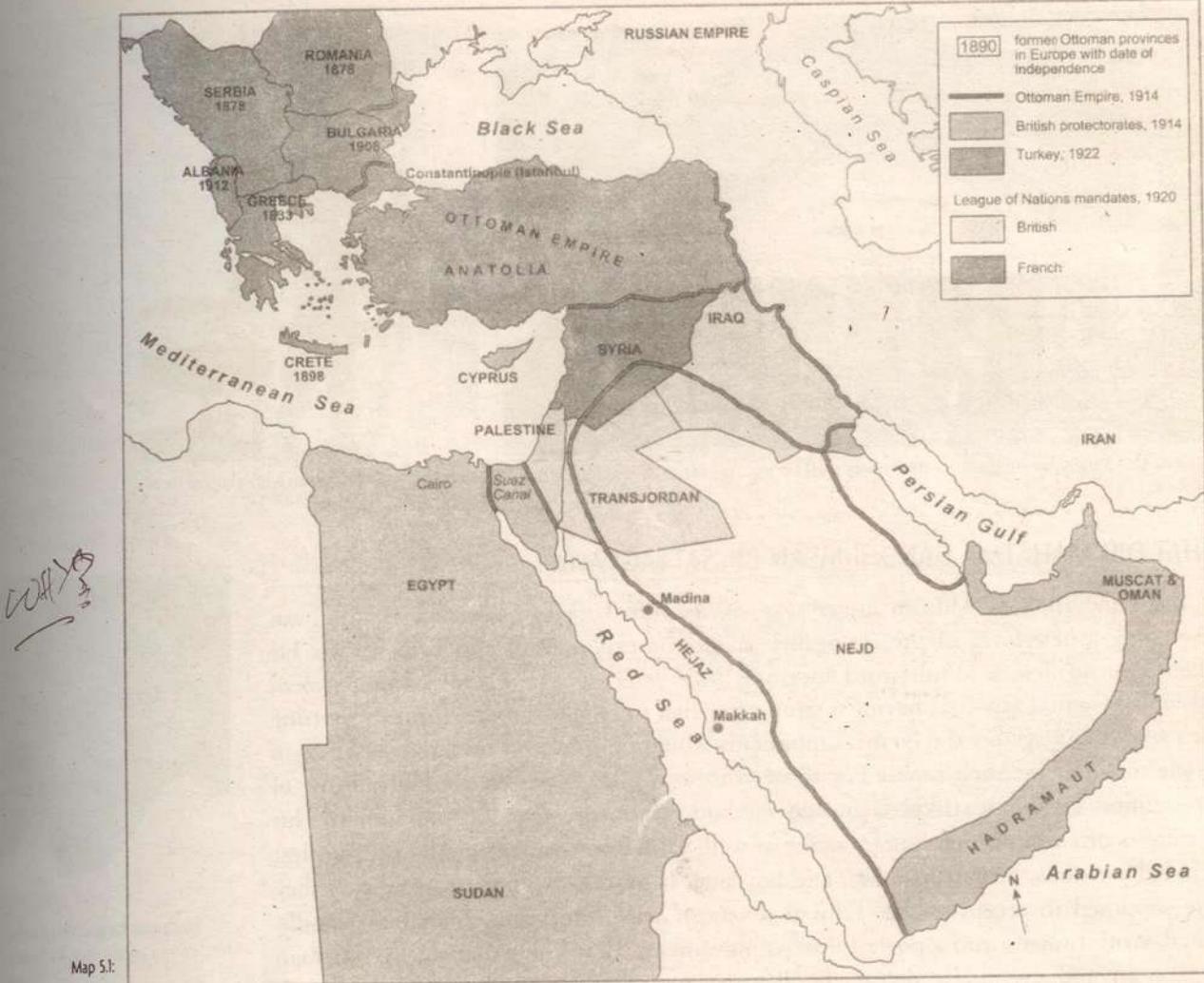
At the end of the war the Muslim rule of Turkey was threatened by the Greeks. Britain and the USA seemed keen to reduce the power of the *Khalifa* or Caliph and even evict his government from Turkey's capital, then Constantinople (now known as Istanbul). It had not helped that Turkey had sided with Germany during the war. At first the British had given assurances that Turkey would be protected, but later on they changed their mind: Britain and her allies were determined to remove the Caliph. The Khilafat Movement aimed at the preservation of the Turkish Ottoman Empire under Muslim rule. Safeguarding the Caliphate was very important to the Muslims. The Movement was also very anti-British and another source of concern to the Government of India.

WHY WERE INDIAN MUSLIMS SO CONCERNED ABOUT TURKEY?

Many years earlier the great Muslim leader and educationalist, Syed Ahmed Khan had told Indian Muslims how important it was that Muslim rule over Turkey should be defended. In 1919 a new Muslim leader, Mohammad Ali Jauhar, warned that Britain was going to force the Muslim ruler out of most of his territory. The Muslims feared

The Ottoman Empire

- The Turkish Ottoman Empire, founded in the late thirteenth century, was the longest ruling Muslim empire. By 1520 the Ottoman Empire controlled most of South-eastern Europe. Ottoman power declined during the nineteenth century. It joined World War I on the side of Germany and Austria. The last ruler was overthrown in 1924 when the Turks accepted Mustafa Kamal Pasha, popularly known as Ataturk, as their leader.



Map 5.1:
The Ottoman Empire
c. 1918

that their holy sites in Arabia, so far under Ottoman rule, would fall under non-Muslim control if the Khilafat collapsed. Mohammad Ali and his brother, Shaukat Ali, called on Muslims to defend Turkey.

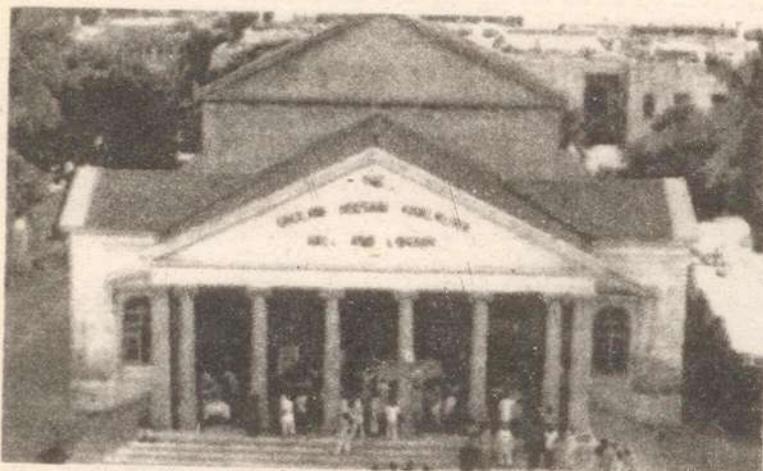
SOURCE A: THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY TO MUSLIMS

'If Turkey is conquered that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam. We are afraid that we shall become like the Jews, a people without a country of our own.'

Syed Ahmed Khan, quoted in Sir John Cumming, *Political India 1832–1932*, OUP [1932]

Quick questions:

- What was the purpose of the Khilafat movement?
- Why were Indian Muslims concerned about Turkey?
- What was Syed Ahmed Khan worried about in Source A?



Khalidina Hall, Karachi, where the Ali brothers were tried for their involvement in the Khilafat Movement



Mohammad Ali (left) seen with a supporter of the Khilafat Movement

WHAT DID MAHATMA GANDHI MEAN BY 'SATYAGRAHA'?

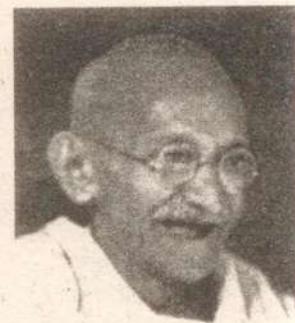
At the same time as Muslim anger was rising over Turkey, Mahatma Gandhi was developing a new form of protest against economic exploitation and British rule. He called it *satyagraha*, a Hindi word meaning *truth-force*. It was a form of non-violent resistance. Gandhi saw it as having a strong spiritual or religious force. It meant putting one's whole soul against the tyrant. Opponents would be won over by the willingness of people to suffer for their cause. For those who took part it required a high degree of self-sacrifice. Sit-down strikes were one method of protest. Gandhi and some of his supporters often went on a hunger strike as well. Other non-violent methods of protest included petitions, protest marches, and boycotts. If protestors were attacked then they were supposed to accept it cheerfully as a way of self-purification. Mahatma Gandhi united many Indians into a powerful mass movement. They knew that he was the man to take on and eventually defeat the British. Soon he was a world-famous figure. Mahatma Gandhi's determination angered the authorities but won him admirers all over the world, including in Britain.

Mr Jinnah did not share the enthusiasm for Gandhi's methods. He was sure that they were bound to fail. In spite of Gandhi's insistence on non-violence, the disorder he created was certain to lead to violence. As tempers flared it was often the Muslims who were the victims of such violence.

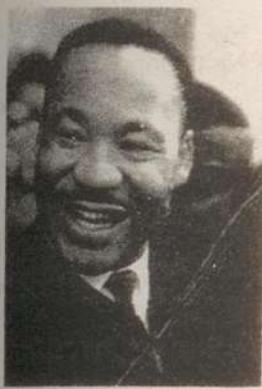
SOURCE B: GANDHI'S BELIEF IN NON-VIOLENCE

'Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law — to the strength of the spirit...It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall...'

Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, OUP [1990]



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, known popularly as Mahatma Gandhi



SOURCE C: GANDHI'S POLICY OF NON-COOPERATION WILL FAIL

'Let me tell you once more, that the weapon (non-cooperation) will not destroy the British Empire...it is neither logical nor is it politically sound or wise, nor practically capable of being put in execution.'

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, addressing Congress in December 1920

SOURCE D: THE DETERMINED MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

'All history teaches us that like a turbulent ocean beating great cliffs into fragments of rock, the determined movement of people incessantly demanding their rights always disintegrates the old order.'

Dr Martin Luther King, *The Social Organization of Non-Violence*, Liberation magazine, 1959

Were Gandhi's methods the right ones?

YES

- Martin Luther King was a great leader of Black Americans in their struggle, in the 1950s and 1960s, to achieve equal rights. He was inspired by Gandhi. Tragically, just like Gandhi, he was killed by an assassin's bullet.
- Brought Indian's demands to public attention at home and abroad
- Made the Government take notice
- Boycott was a form of protest everyone could join in
- Gave all Indians a sense of national pride

NO

- Angered the Government who could not be seen giving in to protests
- Reinforced the British view that Indians were not ready for self-government
- Created disorder and disruption
- Led to violence as tempers rose

Quick questions:

- d What was *satyagraha*?
- e What did Mr Jinnah doubt about Gandhi's methods?
- f Who was Dr Martin Luther King?

HOW DID THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT AFFECT INDIA?

To organize Muslim support for Turkey a conference led by the Ali brothers, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, was held in Delhi in November 1919. A leading member of Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, also attended. He had been to London to try to persuade the British to respect the Caliph. He warned the conference that the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, was determined to punish Turkey for opposing Britain in the war. Mahatma Gandhi also attended. For Gandhi it was the chance to unite Hindus and Muslims in his non-violent campaign against the British. At a second conference, at Amritsar in December 1919, both Congress and the Muslim League agreed to work together with the Khilafat Movement. This unity was an important step. There was to be a boycott of everything British. People refused to pay their taxes. Workers went on strike and students refused to attend British colleges. Former soldiers returned their medals. Hindus and Muslims joined together in this campaign which had two aims:

- i. Support for the Caliph in Turkey.
- ii. Self-government or home rule for India.

For a time the Khilafat Movement became a mass movement that seriously worried the Government. For Indians, here was the opportunity to turn years of frustration into action. Hindus and Muslims alike joined the campaign and took part in the boycott of British goods. For those, like Mr Jinnah and Maulana Azad, who wanted Hindu-Muslim unity it was a terrific opportunity. It was a repeat of the Lucknow Pact. They could work together for a common goal.

As early as 1916, Mr Jinnah had been the first Indian leader to warn Britain of serious consequences if they did anything to damage the position of the Caliph. In 1919 he travelled to London to urge the British Government to respect the Caliphate in Turkey and not to offend Muslim feelings. He warned the British of the terrible repercussions if they went ahead and removed the Caliph from power. 'The reaction in India,' he said, 'would be colossal and abiding.' But the British would not listen. The Prime Minister, Lloyd George, even refused to have a private meeting with Mr Jinnah.

In January 1920, a Khilafat delegation of thirty-five people including the Ali brothers, Mr Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi, and Abul Kalam Azad called on the Viceroy in Delhi. However, there were no reassurances about the fate of this movement. In February 1920, another group was sent to Europe to meet western leaders, including Lloyd George, and convince them of the importance of the Khilafat in Turkey for the Muslims. This group included Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Syed Suleman Nadvi, and Abul Kalam Azad.

Quick questions:

- g Name two members of Congress who attended the Khilafat Conference.
- h Why did Gandhi support the Khilafat Movement?
- i What warning did Jinnah give to the British in 1916?
- j Who refused to meet Jinnah in 1919?

SOURCE E: WHY MUSLIMS CAN NO LONGER TRUST THE BRITISH

'First came the Rowlatt Bill — accompanied by the Punjab atrocities (Amritsar) — and then came the spoilation of the Ottoman Empire (Muslim rule in Turkey) and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our faith....in breach of the Prime Minister's solemn pledges, outrageous terms have been imposed on Turkey...we can no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England to represent India in matters international...'

Mr Jinnah, speaking to the Muslim League on 7 September 1920,
quoted in S.M. Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *Quaid-i-Azam*, OUP [1997]

WHY DID GANDHI CALL OFF THE NON-COOPERATION PROTESTS?

Gandhi's campaign aroused considerable enthusiasm. He burned foreign cloth and called on Indians to wear home-spun Indian cloth. But the crowds and demonstrations got out of hand. In February 1922 a riot at Chauri-Chaura resulted in the murder of twenty-two policemen. Gandhi was appalled. He immediately gave orders calling off the protests. Before they could continue, he said, an atmosphere of peace had to be re-established.

Non-cooperation

- In July 1921 a third and final Khilafat Conference was called in Delhi. People were told not to attend British educational institutions, work in the police, or cooperate with the British in any other way. The leaders were arrested and the main defendant, Mohammad Ali Jauhar was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. His defiant statements during his trial made him a hero among the Muslims.

How then do you come to be in India?

- During the period of non-cooperation Mr Jinnah's wife, Ruttie, was chatting with the Viceroy, Lord Reading. He complained to her that he was eager to visit Germany but wasn't able to. 'The Germans,' he said, 'don't like the British and so I can't go.' To which Ruttie replied, 'How, then, do you come to be in India?'

In March 1922 Gandhi was arrested. He was accused of fomenting hatred or contempt and of attempts to bring about disloyalty to His Majesty's Government in India. Gandhi stood firm in his beliefs and challenged the Judge to send him to prison. The Judge told him that, by his own acts, he had made it impossible for any Government which tried to govern to leave him at liberty to organize against them. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment, but serious illness led to his unconditional release two years later.

HOW DID THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT AND KHILAFAT MOVEMENT COME TO AN END?

A number of events undermined Gandhi's policy of non-violence, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the Khilafat campaign. Mr Jinnah's fears came true.

Tehrik-e-Hijrat (Hijrat Movement), August 1920

About 18,000 Muslims sold their homes and farms, packed up their possessions, and tried to migrate to Afghanistan. This *hijrat*, which means migration, reminded them of the journey of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) from Makkah to Madina. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdul Bari had told them that a true Muslim had to leave *Dar-ul-harb*, i.e. a land under foreign rule (British-controlled India) and live in an Islamic state. But Afghanistan did not want them. They were forced to return to their villages disappointed and penniless. Some died along the way. When they got back they were unable to buy back the homes and land they had sold. The Hijrat Movement was a tragedy.

The Moplah uprising in Malabar, August 1921

A violent uprising by the deeply religious Moplahs (Muslim peasants in South India) led to the deaths of a few thousand Hindus. The Moplahs' anger was directed against Hindu landowners as well as the British. At Tirur nearly 10,000 Moplahs destroyed the police station and seized arms and ammunition. Hindu property was destroyed including temples. In the end British troops suppressed the uprising. More than 4000 Moplahs were killed and many more wounded whilst the British suffered fewer than 100 casualties. But the violence divided Muslims and Hindus.

Other Hindu-Muslim riots followed. Some Hindu groups, who were strongly against cooperation with Muslims, set about converting people and encouraging them to defend themselves. The Hindu-dominated Congress failed to condemn these activities. Gandhi was arrested and given a six-year prison sentence for inciting protests and demonstrations. At Chauri-Chaura, the murder of twenty-two policemen led Gandhi to call off protests. Attacks on Muslims by Hindus raised the old fear of Hindu domination. The tragic failure of the Hijrat Movement divided and demoralized many Muslims. In October 1923, with the backing of Britain, Turkey became a republic. In March 1924 the new Turkish Government led by Muslim President Kamal Ataturk abolished the Caliphate. It was a total defeat for the cause the Khilafat Movement had tried to defend.

Quick questions:

- k What two reasons are given in Source E for the Muslims not being able to trust the British?
- l What was the effect of events at Chauri-Chaura?
- m Why was Gandhi put in prison?
- n When did Turkey become a Republic?
- o What took place in Turkey in 1924?
- p Where did Muslims try to migrate in the Hijrat Movement?

WAS THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT A COMPLETE FAILURE?

The end of the Caliphate in Turkey would seem to prove that the Khilafat Movement was a failure and served no useful purpose. In fact, the Khilafat Movement did a great deal to unite Muslims and to arouse their feelings for their faith and their people. In time that led not just to a demand for the British to leave India but, more importantly, to a desire to have their own nation, Pakistan.

Once again Muslims became aware that they could not trust either the British or the Hindus. They had to organize their own preservation. They had learnt the importance of leadership and political organization. It was a very important lesson for the political events of the following twenty years.

- The Khilafat Movement united Muslims against Britain in support of the Caliph in Turkey.
- There was Hindu-Muslim unity in support of the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements.
- Non-cooperation led to non-violent protests all over India.
- Some protests became violent and Hindu-Muslim riots occurred.
- The Caliphate in Turkey was abolished.
- Hindu-Muslim unity came to an end.
- Muslim convictions were strengthened.

LOOKING AHEAD

Muslim-Hindu collaboration during the Khilafat and non-cooperation campaigns gradually disintegrated. It was the last time that they were able to work together in harmony for a common cause. Friction between the two communities was to increase in what became a struggle for power. Many people were hurt in vicious and pointless violence. Muslim fears over an India dominated by the Hindus continued to grow. In spite of the defeat of the Khilafat, it was nevertheless an important step forward for Muslim political development. Muslim leaders increasingly worked for full provincial autonomy. In that way, provinces with Muslim majorities could run their own affairs without being dictated to by a Hindu-controlled central government. Gradually, but inexorably, Muslims were edging towards the idea of a separate state that was eventually to be Pakistan.

1. Do you think that Gandhi's support for the Khilafat Movement was due to real concern about Muslim rule in Turkey?
2. Why were the British worried by the Khilafat Movement?
3. Briefly explain Gandhi's aims and methods.
4. How do you think that Muslim leaders felt after the defeat of the Khilafat?

Extended essay:

1. What do you think was the most important reason for the failure of the Khilafat Movement?
2. Explain the importance of the Khilafat Movement.

Questions:

Key words

commission: a committee set up to carry out a particular task

Conservative Party: British political party committed to private capitalism, maintaining Britain as a major world power and holding on to the Empire, and thus reluctant to give up India

Labour Party: British democratic socialist party opposed to imperialism and sympathetic to Indian nationalists

Towards Pakistan: 1922–40

A:

Jinnah, 1929: The Fourteen Points

Key questions:

- ◆ Why did the Nehru Committee ignore Muslim views?
- ◆ How did Muslims react to the Nehru Committee?
- ◆ Why were Mr Jinnah's Fourteen Points supported by Muslims?

WHY DID MR JINNAH WORK WITH THE SWARAJ PARTY?

During the Khilafat and non-cooperation protests the Muslim League had taken rather a back seat. Congress and Gandhi had a higher profile. But when the League met in 1923 at Lahore, under the presidency of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, there was heated discussion as to the best way forward. Mr Jinnah argued passionately that progress depended on Hindu-Muslim unity. Following his election in 1923, unopposed, to the Bombay Muslim seat in the Legislative Assembly, he joined with the Parliamentary Swaraj Party. The term *swaraj*, derived from Sanskrit, means self-government. The Swaraj Party had been formed by Hindu leaders, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Dass after Gandhi's imprisonment. Their aim was to use the legislative bodies, set up by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, to work for India's freedom from within. It was a tactic which strongly appealed to Jinnah as an alternative to non-cooperation or violent protest.

WHY DID INDIANS NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE SIMON COMMISSION?

The 1919 Government of India Act had provided for a commission, ten years later, to consider further reforms. In 1927, two years earlier than necessary, a commission was set up. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, wanted an early commission which a Conservative government could control in the hope of obtaining a cautious report. He was worried that if a Labour government took office in the future it would give away too much power. There was opposition to the membership of the commission, under Sir John Simon, as it was entirely British with no Indian representation at all. This was defended by Lord Birkenhead, who explained that if any Indian had been appointed it would not have been possible to reach a unanimous agreement. Birkenhead was also aware of Simon's view that Indian reform should proceed very slowly. The way for the government to influence the outcome of the commission lay in who they appointed. The other members were also carefully selected so that they would be unlikely to come up with anything too favourable to Indian nationalists. These were obvious stalling tactics to defer self-government.

The members of the Simon Commission:

Viscount Simon, a Liberal member of the House of Lords

Lord Burnham, Conservative member of the House of Lords and owner of the conservative newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*

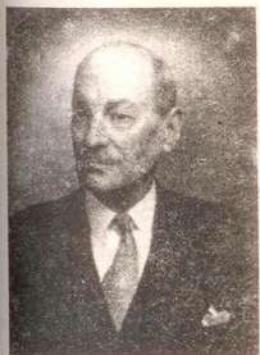
Lord Strathcona, Conservative member of the House of Lords and friend of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin

George Lane Fox, Conservative Member of Parliament and brother-in-law of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin

Edward Cadogan, son of the fifth Earl of Cadogan and a Conservative Member of Parliament

Vernon Hartshorn, Labour Member of Parliament and a former South Wales coal miner

Clement Attlee, Labour Member of Parliament and later Prime Minister at the time of independence in 1947



Clement Attlee

Quick questions:

- a . What was the Swaraj Party?
- b Which seat did Mr Jinnah represent in the Legislative Assembly?
- c Which Secretary of State for India set up the Simon Commission?
- d Which British political party had the most members on the Simon Commission?
- e What was the purpose of the Simon Commission?

WHY DID MUSLIMS OPPOSE THE NEHRU REPORT?

In response to the comments from the British that the Indian parties, despite their criticism of British reforms, could not come up with viable alternatives, a committee was set up by the All-Parties Conference, in 1928, under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, the father of independent India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru.

When the Simon Commission arrived in Bombay they were greeted with black flags bearing the words *Simon go back*. The Congress decided to boycott the commission. The Muslim League was split. Mohammad Shafi of Punjab, President of the Muslim League in 1927, thought it would be best to try to influence the Simon Commission. But following the lead of Mr Jinnah, a boycott was agreed. Instead, the Congress and the League cooperated in a committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru. The job of the Nehru Committee was to come up with constitutional proposals that would be acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims. Then they could present their proposals to the British in the name of both organizations.

The main proposals of the Nehru Committee were:

- Constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights including full freedom of conscience and liberty
- A strong central government responsible for peace, order, and good government with all powers except those specifically given to the provinces
- An all-India Parliament with two houses; universal suffrage for the lower house and also the provincial councils

- No reserved seats for Muslims except in the central Parliament where one quarter would be reserved
- The new constitution envisaged religious liberty, hence no separate electorates so as to bring about national unity.

The views of the Muslim League were ignored.

Mr Jinnah proposed four important changes to make the proposals acceptable to Muslims:

- One third of elected representatives of the central Parliament to be Muslims
- In the provinces of Punjab and Bengal, in the event of adult suffrage not being established, seats should be reserved for Muslims on a population basis
- Residuary powers should be left to the provinces and not with the central government
- Sindh and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to have full provincial status.

The Committee rejected these suggestions. For Mohammad Ali Jinnah it was a calamity. All his political life he had believed that Hindus and Muslims could work together for an independent India. Their refusal to compromise made further cooperation impossible.

WHY DID THE NEHRU COMMITTEE REJECT MUSLIM PROPOSALS?

There is no doubt that the failure of the Nehru Committee to accept any Muslim proposals did great damage to Hindu-Muslim relations. Mr Jinnah had hoped that it would lead to an agreement between the two groups, as important as the Lucknow Pact had been. It would have been impossible for the British to reject a united front. Why did Motilal Nehru refuse to make any compromise?

Perhaps he was not prepared to risk criticism from his fellow Congress members. But he also firmly believed that India should become a single united nation with no political distinction between Muslims and Hindus. Separate electorates and representation would, in his view, have further divided the Indian people. In Britain people did not vote on the basis of how they worshipped. But Motilal Nehru did not take into account the very long-standing and deeply held differences that existed between the two religious communities.

Quick questions:

- f Who proposed that the Muslim League boycott the Simon Commission?
- g What was the purpose of the Nehru Committee?
- h What did Muslims think of the Nehru Committee proposals?

WHAT WAS THE IMPORTANCE OF MR JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS?

In response to the crisis over the Nehru Report, Mr Jinnah prepared his famous *Fourteen Points*, written in March 1929.

Mr Jinnah's Fourteen Points

'The League, after anxious and careful consideration, most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no scheme for the future constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable to Muslims of India until and unless the following basic principles are

given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests.*

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be based on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
5. Separate electorates to continue.
6. Muslim majorities in Punjab, Bengal, and NWFP should not be affected by boundary changes.
7. All religions to have freedom of worship, education, and assembly.
8. No law should be agreed affecting a particular religious group unless three quarters of the members of the legislature belonging to that religion vote for it.
9. Sindh should be a separate province.
10. Reforms should apply to NWFP and Balochistan in the same way as to other provinces.
11. Muslims should have a proper share of the jobs in government service.
12. The Constitution must protect Muslim education, language, religion, and culture, and Muslim charities must receive their fair share of government grants.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the agreement of the States constituting the Indian Federation.'

(*Some of the language used has been changed to make it easier to understand.)

These points, especially the last, became the basis for the demands of the Muslims for the next twenty years, ultimately resulting in the creation of Pakistan.

The Muslim League united in support of these demands. It pushed for them as the British worked out what to do next. At the same time the Congress held firm to the idea of a strong central government with one electorate. In December 1929 the Congress met at Lahore. Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Motilal Nehru, was elected President. The Congress agreed on a policy of total independence for India. Although both the League and the Congress wanted an end to British rule there was no common ground as to what should replace it. When, in April 1930, Gandhi launched another campaign of civil disobedience against the British it was criticized by the Muslim League as it was seen not only as a movement for independence but also for dominance over the Muslims.

SOURCE A: WE REFUSE TO JOIN GANDHI...

'We refuse to join Mr Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the seventy millions of Indian Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha.'

Maulana Mohammad Ali, speaking to the Muslim League Conference in Bombay in April 1930

Quoted in *The Times of India*, 24 April 1930

WHAT DID THE SIMON REPORT PROPOSE?

The Simon Commission eventually reported in May 1930. These were their main points:

- A federal system with more powers going from the central government to the provinces
- Dyarchy to be ended with provincial government in the hands of ministers responsible to elected legislatures
- Governors would choose all ministers from the parties that had majority support
- Provincial Prime Ministers would be free from control by the governor or central government
- NWFP to be given a legislative council but no government, and no decision for the time being on Sindh
- No real change in the central executive
- Council of Greater India to be set up representing India and the individual provinces to discuss matters of all-India concern.

These proposals were unacceptable to both the League and the Congress. But the League held back from attacking them. They were keen to take part in consultation with the British. The League wanted the opportunity to press for their fourteen-point policy.

Quick questions:

- i Why did Mr Jinnah draw up his Fourteen Points?
- j Study Source A. What is the author's view of Gandhi's movement?
- k Why did not the Muslim League publicly attack the Simon Commission proposals?

- The Congress and the Muslim League boycotted Britain's Simon Commission.
- The Congress and the Muslim League set up the Nehru Committee to bring forward constitutional proposals.
- The Nehru Committee completely disregarded Muslim views.
- The Muslim League adopted Jinnah's Fourteen Points to safeguard the rights of Muslims.
- The Congress opposed the Simon Report and Gandhi started another protest campaign.
- Jinnah lost hope of Hindus and Muslims working together.
- The Muslim League looked forward to discussions with the British Government.

LOOKING AHEAD

Because there was no Indian representation on the Simon Commission, the British had promised full consultation over its proposals. This, the Muslim League believed, was the responsible way to deal with these important issues. On the other hand the Congress was proving difficult and said that it would boycott any consultation. But the British Government needed to make some progress and bring in reforms. British public opinion was still not ready to accept real Indian self-government. The *Manchester Guardian*, a liberal English newspaper, summed up Britain's dilemma, 'to devise a constitution that seems like self-government in India, and at Westminster like the British Raj'.

Questions:

- 1 What were the main issues of disagreement between the Congress and the Muslim League?
- 2 Explain why each of the Fourteen Points was an important demand.
- 3 Do you think the Muslim position was stronger in 1930 than in 1927?

Extended essay:

1. Explain the contribution made by Mohammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim cause during the period 1927–30.

B:

Reform and progress

Key words

federal system of government: a system in which a group of states or provinces is controlled by a central government but each state has its own powers

manifesto: a document setting out political policy at an election

autonomy: having a degree of self government

Key questions:

- ◆ How did the British consult the Indian people?
- ◆ What difference did the Government of India Act make to the balance of power?
- ◆ How did Muslim and Hindu leaders respond to political developments in the 1930s?
- ◆ Why was the idea of a separate Muslim state growing?



Delegates at dinner during the Second Round Table Conference in London, 1931

WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES?

In 1930 the Muslim League and Congress remained miles apart in their views. For Mr Jinnah it was the end of his great struggle to reconcile Hindus and Muslims. Hindus had ignored his appeals. He concluded that there was no hope of the two groups working

together. This lack of unity among Indians made it more difficult for the British to know what to do next. Gandhi's campaign made the situation even more precarious and there was always the threat of widespread disorder and violence. The Indians were dealing with a new British Government. In 1929 the Labour Party led by Ramsay McDonald was elected to government. Labour had consistently supported the cause of Indian nationalism.

Since the Simon Commission had been rejected by Hindus and Muslims alike, the British organized a Round Table Conference in London and invited Indian political leaders as well as princes to discuss future constitutional reforms for India. Three such conferences took place.

FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 1930

The Conference took place at the Houses of Parliament in London. 89 delegates attended: 16 from the three main British political parties, 57 from British India, and 16 from the Indian Princes' states. Mr Jinnah attended, but Mr Gandhi did not. The Indian Congress boycotted the Conference, saying that the British were still not promising immediate self-government for India as a dominion. Instead, Gandhi continued with his campaign of civil disobedience and landed up back in prison. Without Congress representing the majority of Indians, the Conference could not make any progress.

SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER – DECEMBER 1931

Once again, with emotions whipped up, Gandhi's campaign ended with rioting. At Kanpur nearly 1000 Muslims were killed. The Viceroy Lord Irwin and Gandhi reached an agreement: in return for the Congress's participation in the talks, the British would release all those arrested on non-violent charges. Gandhi agreed to give up the demand for immediate independence if the British agreed to a federal India, in principle. With the Gandhi-Irwin pact, Gandhi was released from prison and suspended his campaign. He also agreed to travel to London for the Round Table Conference. By this time the Labour Government had collapsed and been replaced by a so-called national government dominated by the Conservative Party. The Conservatives were determined to hang on to India.

On the question of how to protect the interests of minorities, the communal issue, as it was called, prevented any progress. Gandhi stood by the Nehru Report, which, of course, was totally against Muslim interests. He claimed to represent the Congress and to speak for all Indians including Muslims. This infuriated the Muslim representatives, led by Allama Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. All the Conference did was to strengthen the determination of Muslims to protect their position against Gandhi and the Indian Congress. Gandhi's stubborn attitude led to the failure of the Conference. The only definite outcome was that the North-West Frontier and Sindh were to be made provinces with governors.

SOURCE A: THE HINDU ATTITUDE

'I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger, the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity.'

Mr Jinnah, speaking after the Second Round Table Conference

Quoted in M. H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Ashraf [1953]

THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 1932

This conference was a case of the British Government going through the motions of consultation. It had already made up its mind what it was going to do. In April 1932 Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald had announced the Communal Award. It provided for separate electorates for Muslims and other minorities, but the Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal were cut down to minorities.

	% of the population	% of the seats in the legislature
PUNJAB		
Muslims	57	49
Hindus	27	27
Sikhs	13	18
BENGAL		
Muslims	55	48
Hindus	43	43

No one really liked these proposals. Reluctantly the Muslim League accepted them. But Gandhi and the Congress completely rejected them.

The major consolation for the Muslims was the decision on the Bombay presidency: Sindh was removed from its control and made into a separate Muslim province.

It is interesting that Mr Jinnah was not invited to the third Round Table Conference even though he was living in London at the time. The British did not want him there—they considered him to be a trouble-maker. The Muslim delegation was led by the Aga Khan, Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah.

Jinnah did not miss much—the Conference was short-lived and did not make much progress. The best that can be said of this final conference is that, unlike the second conference, it did not make matters any worse.

The British used the disagreements between Congress and the League to argue that India was not ready for self-government.

At this time Mr Jinnah intended to remain in London. He purchased a home in Hampstead only a short journey by underground train from Parliament and the India Office. Mr Jinnah's view was that India's future would be decided in London by the British Government and that he could achieve more by staying there.

SOURCE B: THE CENTRE OF GRAVITY

'I have come to the conclusion that I can be more useful here at any rate for the present. The centre of gravity is here and for the next two or three years London will be the most important scene of the Indian drama of constitutional reforms.'

Part of a letter from Mr Jinnah to Abdul Matin Chowdhry, 25 March 1931

However, many of his Muslim League colleagues were anxious that he should return to India, where his presence would reinvigorate the League. Liaquat Ali

Khan, a leading League member, journeyed to London and persuaded Mr Jinnah that he was needed at home. Early in 1934 Mr Jinnah returned to India and in March was sworn in as the permanent president of the Muslim League. It turned out to be an important turning point for both Mr Jinnah and the League.

Quick questions:

- a Study Source A. Why was Mr Jinnah shocked?
- b Who became British Prime Minister in 1929?
- c Which political party did he lead?
- d Who boycotted the First Round Table Conference?
- e What infuriated Muslim representatives at the Second Conference?
- f Who was prevented from attending the Third Round Table Conference?
- g How does Source B support Mr Jinnah's decision to stay in Britain?
- h Why did Muslim leaders want Mr Jinnah to return to India?

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

Following the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences, the British Government passed the Government of India Act in 1935. This was the last major legislation by the British Government in respect of India prior to independence in 1947. The Act was divided into parts which would take effect in stages by 1937.

The main points of the Act were:

- Provinces were given a proper legal standing, and decision-making power was given to elected representatives. This allowed a measure of provincial autonomy.
- The property qualification for voting was lowered, raising the number of voters to 35,000,000 people, including 5,000,000 women. This was five times the previous number, but still only one fourth of the adults could vote.
- The Government of India was to be federal, with two law-making houses of Parliament with representatives of both the provinces and the states.
- Ministers on the Viceroy's Executive Council would be responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly.
- Eleven provinces were registered, including a new province of Sindh, and North-West Frontier as a full province.
- The system of dyarchy introduced earlier would be removed from the provinces and be transferred to the centre instead.
- The Viceroy remained responsible for defence and foreign affairs, while the appointed governors also had far-reaching authority.

The two most important results of this Act were:

- i) Provincial governments became in effect self-governing and were no longer controlled by the British.
 - ii) Although the British had no intention of giving up India, their power over the provinces was weakening and eventual independence came closer.
- Both Congress and the Muslim League opposed the Act as it did not give India the independence they sought. It did not establish democracy. The Muslim League disliked the proposals for the central government. However, they were more hopeful about the part of the Act giving powers to provinces.

The election results were mixed and disappointing for both Congress and the Muslim League. However, the Muslim League showing was dismal. Out of 489 Muslim seats total of 1585, it only won 26 Muslim seats and represented about five per cent of Indian League. Congress, which claimed to speak for all Indians, captured 711 seats out of a total of 1585.

reprinted in K. P. Bhagat, *A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1937-47*, Popular [1959].
Extract from the Congress Manifesto 1936.

Every party and group that stands aloof from the Congress organization tends, knowingly or unknowingly, to become a source of weakness to the nation and a source of strength to the forces ranged against it. For the fight for independence a joint front is necessary.

SOURCE D: THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

reprinted in K. P. Bhagat, *A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1937-47*, Popular [1959].
Extract from the Muslim League Manifesto, 1936.

and that in the meantime, representatives of the Muslim League will utilize the League structures in order to extract benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in the various spheres of national life;

i that the present provincial constitution and proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government;

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in various legislatures to work will be:

The manifesto protected against the India Act of 1935, and supported the principle of greater provincial autonomy and separate electorates to protect the rights of minorities.

SOURCE C: THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S MANIFESTO

views in support for a separate country.

Mr Nehru was keen to use the elections to show the strength and power of Congress and Britain from a position of strength. Mr Nehru's attitude however hardened Muslims called on Muslims to unite behind the League so that they could deal with Congress only two parties, the Congress and the British. In reply, Mr Jinnah angrily insisted that He rejected the Muslim League as a representative party. There were, he told Indians, Congres and the League produced manifestos setting out their policies.

Although they did not approve of the 1935 Act, both Congress and the Muslim League saw the advantage of contesting the elections in 1937. The League had to organize itself as a political party with local organizations able to campaign and obtain the vote. Both

women, which included 5,000,000 voters altogether there were women who were able to vote. The 1937 election was the first time in India that almost 35,000,000 electors to vote.

Women gain the right to vote

THE 1937 ELECTIONS AND AFTER

! How did Congress and the Muslim League agree about the 1935 Act?

! How many people were eligible to vote?

! How did the provinces gain from the 1935 Act?

Quick questions:

the Muslim League won only 104. It captured a number of seats in the Hindu-majority provinces but fared poorly in the Muslim-majority provinces. In the Punjab, it won only one out of the 86 Muslim seats. Most of the Muslim seats were taken by the Punjab Unionist Party.

The Muslim League was still not as well organized as a political party as Congress. This partly explains its disappointing results. In some areas lack of organization made it difficult to find suitable candidates. The fact that the League did better in areas of Hindu majorities showed that Muslims there were more politically aware and feared Hindu domination.

CONGRESS RULE: WERE MUSLIM INTERESTS SAFEGUARDED?

The election results created more problems than they solved. The British had promised to protect the rights of Muslims. However, the Muslim League became increasingly concerned that those rights were being ignored as the British desperately tried to get the new provincial governments up and running.

Congress was able to form the government in seven, and a year later eight, out of the eleven provinces, but it laid the condition of waiving the governors' special authority to protect minority rights and this was accepted by the British. Mr Jinnah expected Congress to include a few Muslims in the provincial governments. After all it claimed to represent all groups. The 1935 Act seemed to require the inclusion of minority members 'so far as practicable'. Congress refused to include members of the League unless they joined the Congress Party. The British failed to intervene. It seemed to Muslims that their interests were being willingly sacrificed in order to ensure that provincial governments took office.

The Congress used its new power to further upset Muslims. Congress flags flew from public buildings and a Hindu nationalist song, *Bande Mataram*, encouraging the expulsion of Muslims, became the new national anthem. A Basic Education scheme, introduced by Gandhi at Wardha for the Congress ministries, made Hindi the medium of instruction, removed religious education, and made cotton-spinning by hand a part of the curriculum. Muslims living under Hindu government felt harassed—they saw these moves as an attempt to negate their culture and identity. One Local Board in the Central Provinces instructed Urdu schools, attended by Muslim boys, that the pupils should be made to bow to portraits of Gandhi. Even their language was undermined. Here was evidence that even with legal safeguards Muslims could not trust the Congress to protect their rights. The arrogant, hardline attitude of the Congress governments after the 1937 elections convinced more Muslims that Quaid-i-Azam, as Jinnah was now popularly known, was not wrong in his judgement of the threats to them under Congress rule.

Quick questions:

- l** Why is a manifesto produced?
- m** Study Source D. Which group are those comments aimed at?
- n** Why did the League do better in Hindu-majority areas?
- o** What condition did Congress put on Muslims joining provincial governments?
- p** How did Congress provincial governments anger Muslims?

- In spite of its differences with the Congress the Muslim League cooperated with the Round Table consultations.
- The Government of India Act, 1935, provided for provincial autonomy and federal government.
- The Muslim League scored poor results in the 1937 elections.
- Congress refused to include Muslim League ministers in government.
- British Government was unwilling to challenge Congress over treatment of minorities.

LOOKING AHEAD

The move towards autonomy and democratic self-government served to emphasize the serious differences between the League and Congress. Increasingly, Congress's antagonism towards the League dismayed Quaid-i-Azam. Because of its hostile attitude he was now firmly realistic that the two could not cooperate. After a brief time in London, he had returned to India to work full-time for the Muslim cause. The appeal of a separate state altogether was to grow stronger. Pakistan was now on the horizon.

Questions:

- 1 What was the purpose of the Round Table Conferences and to what extent were they successful?
- 2 Explain why the 1935 Act was a turning point.
- 3 Why did relations between the Muslim League and Congress worsen during the 1930s?

Extended essays:

- 1 Using the information and the sources in this chapter, explain how events made the demand for a separate state for Muslims more likely in 1937 than in 1930.
- 2 'The 1930s were a lost opportunity for Hindus and Muslims.' Using the information and sources explain whether or not you agree with this statement.

C:

Leadership and Pakistan

Key words:

partition: splitting something, in this case a country, into two or more parts
 separatism: support for a separate state
 prophet: in this context, someone who is able to predict the future
 repulse: reject
 relinquish: give up
 reproach: express disapproval

Key questions:

- ◆ How important to the Pakistan Movement were leaders such as the Quaid-i-Azam, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali, and Mohammad Iqbal?
- ◆ What is the significance of the name 'Pakistan'?
- ◆ To what extent was the Pakistan Resolution a rallying call?

HOW IMPORTANT IS LEADERSHIP?

In times of crisis, leaders have a very important role to play. Leaders have to develop aims and give their people hope that they can be achieved. People often have to work long hours as well as look after their families and are simply too fatigued to follow every political development. Many others may be poorly educated and not have access to all the information that other people may have. Leaders focus people's attention on a cause; they can explain the issues and rally them behind a particular cause or struggle. Some leaders are intellectual and self-effacing. Others are charismatic and attract mass popular attention. Some, unfortunately, are evil like Hitler and Stalin.

History has many examples of inspired leadership. Even in prison Nelson Mandela kept the hopes of his people alive. Abraham Lincoln persuaded his people that it was right to fight a terrible civil war to free the slaves. Eamon De Valera, quiet and modest, waged a relentless campaign to persuade the British to relinquish Ireland. In Britain, Winston Churchill, an opponent of Indian independence, rallied his own people to preserve their freedom against Nazi aggression. In India, Gandhi served his people well.

Muslims in India were also fortunate that at their time of crisis, leadership emerged to fortify them in their difficulties and to lead them forward to achieve a goal that many believed was impossible.

WHY WAS THE LEADERSHIP OF QUAID-I-AZAM SO IMPORTANT?

The single most important figure in the political development of Muslims was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As you have seen, he worked hard for the unity of all the peoples of India and, to begin with, supported the Congress. But time and time again his efforts at friendship and unity seemed to be repulsed. Even so, right into the 1930s, he still hoped that the two groups could find enough common ground and mutual respect to work together. He was clearly upset at the Second Round Table Conference. But it was the behaviour of the Congress after the 1937 elections that was the final straw. He never trusted Congress leaders again.

SOURCE A: 'JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY'

'Appeals to patriotism, justice and fair play and for goodwill fall flat... Politics means power and not relying on cries of justice or fair play or goodwill.'

Quaid-i-Azam speaking to the Muslim League in Lucknow in October 1937

J. Hussain, *A History of the Peoples of Pakistan*, OUP [1997]

Now, after the experience of Congress rule in several provinces, Quaid-i-Azam knew that political power was vital. Muslims were divided into different groups according to where they lived, their occupation and economic situation. There were even religious differences. Quaid-i-Azam set out to unite all these different people behind the Muslim League. This would force the Congress and the British to treat the League with respect. So, between 1937 and 1940, not only did he abandon the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity, but, at the age of 60, he set about turning the Muslim League into a mass movement. In doing so, he became an enormously popular and influential leader.

Quaid-i-Azam

- The idea for calling Jinnah Quaid-i-Azam, came from the editor of a Muslim newspaper in December 1938. Maulana Mazharuddin Ahmad said that it would reflect his greatness as a leader.

Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Presidential Address, Muslim League, Allahabad, December 1930

...I would like to see the Punjab, North-west Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-western Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-west India.

The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. All determined by a common race-consciousness. Even European democracy different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking perfectly justified....

SOURCE B: ...THE FINAL DESTINY OF THE MUSLIMS...

Sir Mohammad Iqbal



Sir Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938) was the first important Muslim leader to advocate the partition of India to create a separate Muslim state. Because of his foresights, Iqbal is described as the Architect of Pakistan. Giving his presidential address to the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, he called for a separate Muslim state in North-West India. His proposal was not based on any hostility towards Hindus, but simply on the need of Muslims to preserve and protect their own faith and culture. He did not suggest a name for this new state. Because the idea came from such a distinguished leader, separatism was seriously considered by many Muslims during the 1930s. Even so, few people at the time realized that Iqbal's vision would result in an independent nation of Pakistan. It was to take ten years before a separate state became the reality of the League.

PAKISTAN?

WHY WAS MOHAMMAD IQBAL SO IMPORTANT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF

Quick questions:

c Why did Quaid-i-Azam work to turn the Muslim League into a mass movement?

b When did Quaid-i-Azam lose all trust in Congress leaders?

a Name two important non-Indian leaders.

Quaid-i-Azam began to emphasize the importance of the Muslim faith as a political guide. He reminded Muslims that it taught them the belief in *liberty, equality, fraternity* and threatened by the Congress. Increasingly Muslims joined the League and membership rose from a few thousand before the elections to hundreds of thousands during 1938. Quaid-i-Azam stressed that only the League spoke for Indian Muslims. Those Muslims inside the Congress, said Quaid-i-Azam, do not and cannot represent Indian Muslims. Another step forward came at the 1938 annual meeting of the League when a women's subcommittee, led by Fatima Jinnah, was set up. Quaid-i-Azam was eager to involve women in the work of the League.

At the time he made his *Allahabad Address*, Iqbal was a highly respected figure. He had many accomplishments: degrees in Philosophy from the University of the Punjab and Cambridge, and a doctorate from the University of Munich. In London, he studied law and qualified as a barrister. He was also an established poet, writing in Urdu and Persian, and in 1922, he was knighted by the British in recognition of his poetry. During his time in Europe, Iqbal saw much that impressed him. However, he disliked the ruthless competition, man against man, nation against nation, which existed under their capitalist system. It contradicted his Muslim belief in universal brotherhood. He was completely opposed to the British control of India. Conquest of others, he believed, was always wrong and contrary to his faith.

SOURCE C: IQBAL'S VIEW ON TERRITORIAL CONQUEST AND ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRACY

'That Muslim peoples have fought and conquered like other peoples and that some of their leaders have screened their personal ambition behind the veil of religion, I do not deny; but I am absolutely sure that territorial conquest was no part of the original programme of Islam.'

Sir Mohammad Iqbal in a letter in January 1927,
quoted in R. Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan*, Faber & Faber [1950]

He returned to India to work as a lawyer and also to write poetry and teach philosophy. From an early age he was a fervent nationalist and in Lahore became an active politician. During the 1920s his experience of the failure of attempts at Hindu-Muslim unity convinced him that partition was the answer. He served as a member of the Punjab Assembly and attended the Round Table Conferences. But his long-lasting influence was in the Muslim League. He was one of the first to argue that Muslims had to build an effective mass political party. It was this policy which Jinnah adopted so successfully a few years later. The Muslim League became a popular mass political party.

Iqbal's poetry awakened a sense of nationhood among Muslims and urged them to be active and alert in order to make progress. Their progress, he said, should not be along the road of western capitalism, but instead along a distinctive Islamic path of universal brotherhood.

SOURCE D: MUSLIMS MUST AWAKE

'An infidel before his idol with waking heart
Is better than the religious man asleep in his mosque.'



Iqbal's ancestral home in Sialkot. Mohammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot in the Punjab close to the present-day Indian border. His home, a calm and peaceful building, is preserved as a museum. Visitors can climb the stairs, just as many years ago Quaid-i-Azam did to see the room where Iqbal was born.

Today and tomorrow

No claims to the future, its joy or its sorrow
Has he in whose soul no passion burns now;
Unworthy of the tumult and strife of tomorrow
That nation to whose will today does not bow.

Extract from a poem by Sir Mohammad Iqbal

Allama Iqbal

- Allama Iqbal completed PhD at Munich University, in 1905, and in 1922 was knighted in recognition of his poetry and as such is known as Dr Mohammad Iqbal as well as Sir Mohammad Iqbal. In respect of his learning and service to Islam he is commonly known as Allama Iqbal.

SIR MOHAMMAD IQBAL—A POET WHO WROTE FROM THE HEART

Iqbal was a distinguished Urdu poet. He used his poetry to awaken a sense of nationhood among Muslims. He wrote from the heart. A constant theme in his poetry is the idea that Muslims must be proud of their past. Only by being conscious of their identity can they survive. His success as a poet and his commitment to Islamic society led him, almost against his wishes, into political leadership. Through his poetry, Iqbal highlighted the plight of India and expressed the frustrations of many about their politicians as reflected in the extracts below.

Reproach

Your fate, poor helpless India, there's no telling —
Always the brightest jewel in someone's crown;
Your peasant a carcass spewed up from the grave,
Whose coffin is mouldering still beneath the sod.
Mortgaged to the alien, soul and body too,
Alas—the dweller vanished with the dwelling,
Enslaved to Britain you have kissed the rod:
It is not Britain I reproach, but you.

Political Leaders

On political leaders what hopes can we fix?
They are wedded to dust, in the dust play their tricks,
Their gaze always fastened on maggots and flies,
A web like the spider's their ladder to rise.
That caravan's happy whose chief is endowed
With thoughts high as angels', and temper as proud.

All translations by V. G. Kiernan; *Poems from Iqbal*, OUP [2004]

Questions

- What do you think was the purpose of Iqbal's poetry?
- Who is Iqbal blaming in *Reproach* for India's fate?
- What does Iqbal think of politicians in *Political Leaders*?
- Do you think poetry is a good way to get a message across?

SOURCE E: YOU ARE THE ONLY MUSLIM

'You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India.'

Allama Iqbal, in a letter to Mr Jinnah, 21 June 1937

Iqbal's contribution came at a crucial time as the Muslim League reconsidered their policies. The Quaid-i-Azam was greatly stirred and influenced by Iqbal's thinking. During the 1930s he agreed that Iqbal's *Two-Nation Theory* and call for a strong political party was right. Iqbal died nearly ten years before the birth of Pakistan, but he played an important part in the development of the Pakistan Movement. His poetry and political statements provided a valuable inspiration to Jinnah and others in the Muslim League to press ahead in spite of all the obstacles and bring about Pakistan.

SOURCE F: TRUE AND FAITHFUL

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us...He was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) —a Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

Quaid-i-Azam speaking on Iqbal in December 1944

Quick questions

- d What did Allama Iqbal suggest in 1930?
- e What did Iqbal dislike about Europe?
- f Why do you think that Allama Iqbal is often described as a 'prophet'?
- g Study Source D. In your own words explain Iqbal's message to Muslims.
- h How do you think Source E might have influenced the future of Pakistan?
- i Is it helpful to know what Jinnah, Source F, said about Iqbal?

HOW DID THE NAME 'PAKISTAN' COME INTO BEING?

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali came up with the name 'Pakistan'. He grew up in the Eastern Punjab and studied law at the University of Punjab. After winning a case for the Nawab of Mazari, he could afford to go to England's prestigious Cambridge University. In January 1933 he, together with three fellow students, published a short pamphlet, *Now or Never*. They argued in favour of partition and gave the name 'Pakistan' to the new Muslim state that would be created. By the end of 1933 most Muslims knew the name and the important idea that it represented.

SOURCE G: PAKISTAN

- P Punjab
A Afghania (NWFP)
K Kashmir
I
S Sindh
T
A BalochisTAN
N

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali's explanation of how he chose the name in his pamphlet, *Now or Never*, 1933. The *I* was added to make it easier to pronounce.



Chaudhry Rehmat

SOURCE H: PAKISTAN — PURE AND CLEAN

Pakistan is both a Persian and an Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our homelands—‘Indian’ and ‘Asian’...It means the land of the *Paks* — the spiritually pure and clean. It symbolizes the religious beliefs and ethnical stocks of our people; and it stands for all the territorial constituents of our original fatherland.'

Rehmat Ali gave this extra explanation in 1947 in his book, *Pakistan: the Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, Cambridge University Press.

Not everyone agrees about his contribution to Pakistan. Even his claim to have come up with the name is challenged. Aslam Khattak, a fellow student at Cambridge, and a signatory to the pamphlet, *Now or Never*, has said that he invented the name. Rehmat Ali made himself unpopular by criticizing leaders of the Muslim League, including Quaid-i-Azam. In 1947 he attacked Quaid-i-Azam for his agreement with Britain, and accused him of abandoning important Muslim communities such as in Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, as well as accepting a dismembered Bengal. It is interesting that he did not include Bengal anywhere in his acronym, PAKISTAN. The Muslim League considered his ideas quite impractical. For his part, Quaid-i-Azam ignored the attacks on him and concentrated on establishing Pakistan.

Chaudhry Rehmat Ali died in 1951 in Cambridge and is buried there.

HOW DID THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT BECOME AN IMPORTANT FORCE?

At first the vision of Pakistan seemed unrealistic, but by 1940 partition seemed increasingly realistic. Some of the reasons for this change were:

- The behaviour of Hindu provincial governments
- The increasing likelihood of independence from Britain
- Fear of Hindu domination
- Popular support for the Muslim League increased rapidly after 1937
- Muslim League's success in a large number of by-elections

In 1940, at Lahore, the Muslim League agreed on an historic resolution. It was proposed by A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Muslim League Prime Minister of Bengal, and supported by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. Khaliquzzaman was one of several important Muslim League leaders who had been thinking along the lines of some kind of self-government for Muslims. With this resolution, Pakistan began to take shape.

SOURCE I: THE PAKISTAN OR LAHORE RESOLUTION

‘...geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.’

Muslim League Resolution, adopted unanimously on 23 March 1940

The League was now committed to an independent Muslim state. Gandhi claimed that he was *baffled* by the Muslim League's resolution. He refused to accept that Hindus and Muslims had to be so at odds that they could not live together in an independent India.

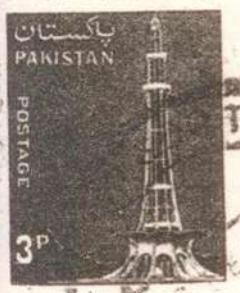


The Minar-e-Pakistan in Lahore commemorates the 1940 Pakistan Resolution. Since 1956, 23 March has been observed as a national holiday, Pakistan Day.

Ideology – vision – genius

‘The ideology of Iqbal, the vision of Rehmat Ali, and the fears of Muslims were thus united by the practical genius of Jinnah to bind Muslims together as never before...’

Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, OUP [1981]



Commemorative stamp for Pakistan Day, 23 March

Quick questions:

- j Why is Pakistan a well chosen name?
- k Which British university did Rehmat Ali attend?
- l What did the Lahore Resolution decide?
- m Why has a monument been dedicated to the Lahore Resolution?

- Quaid-i-Azam was the most important Muslim Leader.
- Allama Mohammad Iqbal was the first important figure to suggest a separate state.
- Quaid-i-Azam was influenced and inspired by Iqbal.
- Chaudhry Rehmat Ali gave a separate state the name, Pakistan.
- Support for a separate state was known as the Pakistan Movement.
- In 1940 the League and the Quaid-i-Azam were committed to a separate state.

LOOKING AHEAD

At the time of the Lahore Resolution, Britain was at war with Germany. World War II was to have an important effect on the movement for Indian independence. Hindu-dominated Congress became increasingly frustrated by the Muslim League's support for partition. As independence for India loomed near, so did Hindu-Muslim friction increase. The situation was developing where in order to satisfy some demands and settle some problems, further divisions and anxieties were going to be created which would prove seemingly impossible to resolve. Thanks to the vision of Iqbal and the leadership of Jinnah, Muslims were more and more convinced that a separate Pakistan was essential.

Questions:

- 1 How did Quaid-i-Azam's views change during the 1930s?
- 2 Why were Allama Iqbal's idea so important in the 1930s?
- 3 How important was Rehmat Ali's contribution to the Pakistan Movement?

Extended essays:

1. How did the idea of a separate Muslim state develop during the 1930s?
2. Explain how each of the sources helps us to understand the development of the Pakistan Movement.
3. Explain the importance of Iqbal to the Pakistan Movement.

Throughout the war the Muslim League gave limited cooperation to the British Government. During the Battle of Britain (1940) and the Blitz (1940–1) there was

considerable admiration among most Indians for the strength

it was widely supported.

December 1939. He called it the 'Day of Deliverance' and Muslims to celebrate the end of Congress rule on 22 December 1939. Muslims were quite pleased to see the end of these governments. The Quaid-i-Azam called on speak for all Indians. Muslims were quite pleased to see the government resign. Once again the Congress claimed to speak for all Indians. In protest at this high-handed action, all Congress provincial units without consulting any political group in India, was done without consultation by war'. This told that the security of India is threatened by war'. This declared that India was at war with Germany. Indians were told that India was at war with Viceroys, Lord Linlithgow, India. On the same day the Viceroys, Lord Linlithgow, Britain counted on support from her empire, including

When war broke out with Germany on 3 September, 1939,

WHAT WAS THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE?

independence. In the war, Indians were equally determined to win War II was an opportunity: with Britain determined to had failed to give them independence. For India, World with Britain, which, since the end of the previous war, most Indians hated the Nazis. But they were also angry enthusiasm for this war. With their belief in democracy, of Indian independence. Indians had little

♦ How did the Day of Deliverance affect Hindu-Muslim relations?

Britain in 1945 make to India?

♦ What difference did the election of a Labour Government in

independence?

♦ How did World War II force the issue of

Key questions:

Important dates

1939	3 September: Britain declared war on Germany—World War II	India would join the war	October: Congress provincial ministers resign	Cripps Mission	The Congress Quit India movement	Famine in East Bengal	Talks between Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi	Simla Conference	Cabinet Mission Plan	Muslim League Direct Action protested	Riots in Calcutta	Mountbatten outlined plan for	Independence of India	
1941	Japanesee attack on Pearl Harbor brought USA and Japan into the war	Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brought	Resolution called for Pakistan	22 December: Muslim League Lahore Day from Hindu rule	23 March: Muslim League Lahore Day from Hindu rule	Chittagong	USA and Japan into the war	Simla Conference	Cabinet Mission Plan	End of the Second World War	Muslim League Direct Action protested	Riots in Calcutta	Mountbatten outlined plan for	Independence of India
1942	Cripps Mission	The Congress Quit India movement	Famine in East Bengal	Talks between Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi	Simla Conference	Cabinet Mission Plan	Mountbatten outlined plan for	Independence of India	Independence of India	Independence of India	Independence of India	Independence of India	Independence of India	Independence of India
1943–4	Famine in East Bengal	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1944	Talks between Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1945	Simla Conference	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1946	Cabinet Mission Plan	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1947	Mountbatten outlined plan for	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1948	Partition	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1949	August: Independence for India	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong
1950	August: Independence for Pakistan	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong	Chittagong

Forcing the issue

A:

War and Independence

bombing of London

Key words

and courage of ordinary British people. There was understandable sympathy for people in France, Holland, Poland, and other countries occupied by the German Army. Muslim League Chief Ministers cooperated with the Government on war issues and members of the Muslim League were free, if they chose, to support the war effort. Muslim soldiers played an important role in the Indian Army. All the League asked was that they should not be used against any enemy Muslim soldiers, but that was not a problem in this war. The Muslim League was firmly opposed to Nazi Germany. Quaid-i-Azam was confident that Britain and her allies would win the war. Congress, on the other hand, organized against the war effort.

SOURCE A: WE DO NOT WANT NAZIS TO WIN THIS WAR.

'We do not want Nazis to win this war. We want Great Britain to win this war. There is no question of our changing the masters. We want to take our freedom from Great Britain.'

The Quaid-i-Azam, speaking to students in November 1940

Quoted in S.M. Burke & Salim Al-Din Quraishi, *Quaid-i-Azam*, OUP [1997]

WHAT WAS THE AUGUST OFFER AND WHY WAS IT REJECTED?

The British were keen to get Indians to support the war effort. In August 1940 the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an offer to the Muslim League. He promised that there would be no final decision on a new constitution for India without the agreement of the Muslims. However, he failed to agree to equal or majority Muslim membership on the proposed Defence Council. The Muslim League turned down the 'August offer' and most of its members resigned their positions in the central and provincial governments.

HOW DID THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AFFECT INDIA?

In August 1941 Winston Churchill met in secret with President Franklin Roosevelt of the USA on a ship off the Newfoundland coast. They agreed to a set of principles known as the *Atlantic Charter*, which defined what these two great democratic countries stood for. The rights of self-determination, self-government, and free speech for all peoples were promised. The charter also called for a fairer international economic system and called on nations to abandon the use of force.

Churchill later explained to the House of Commons that he was really thinking about those countries occupied by the Germans. Labour members of Parliament took up India's cause. Why, they asked, should the principle of self-government apply to other countries and not to India? During the war the Labour Party increasingly supported Indian demands for independence.

Quick questions:

- a What did the Government of India do that upset the Congress?
- b What did the Day of Deliverance celebrate?
- c What is the most important point made in Source A?
- d Why did the Muslim League turn down the August offer?
- e Why was the Atlantic Charter significant to India?

• 'Let there be no hartals, processions or any such demonstrations, but let a spirit of humility and a mood of reflection prevail. There is relief and gratitude in our hearts, not joy and triumph.'

The Quaid-i-Azam, explaining the Day of Deliverance when Muslims expressed their thankfulness that the Congress rule that they hated had ended.

Quoted in I. H. Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Uppal

WHY DID THE CRIPPS MISSION FAIL?



Sir Stafford Cripps sharing a light moment with Mr Gandhi

After their attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the Japanese entered the war and advanced through South-east Asia as far as Burma. India was now directly threatened. The British were even more anxious to build stronger support. In March 1942 a top-level mission, led by the Labour politician Sir Stafford Cripps, arrived in India. Cripps immediately promised independence for India once the war had been won. After a great many discussions both the Congress and the Muslim League rejected these proposals. Gandhi described the proposals as 'a post-dated cheque on a bank that was failing'. The Congress wanted immediate power. The League was insistent that there had to be a firm promise of Pakistan as a separate state. Anything else, such as the constitution-making body Cripps proposed, would lead to the Hindu majority imposing a new Indian Union and denying the rights of Muslims. Stafford Cripps returned to London to report on the failure of his mission.

The Cripps proposals:

- Full and complete independence at the end of the war
- The Constitution of free India to be drawn up by Indians in India by a procedure agreed among themselves
- During the war leaders of Indian political parties to join the Executive Council with control of all government departments except the armed forces.

SOURCE B: QUAID-I-AZAM'S REPLY TO CRIPPS

'If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right for self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present.'

Quaid-i-Azam speaking to the press on 15 April 1942

WHY DID THE MUSLIM LEAGUE CONDEMN THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT?

Gandhi and Congress launched another anti-British civil disobedience campaign, the *Quit India Movement*. The idea was that with enough pressure Britain, engaged in war, would leave India. If anything it increased British determination to remain and to defeat the rebellion. In United Provinces and Bihar, chaos was caused and communications were disrupted. The British lost control of the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. Government buildings, including police stations and post offices, were destroyed. The British reacted with great force and in about six weeks they regained control. Troops and planes crushed the uprising. About 1000 people, many of them women, were killed. A huge round-up of Congress supporters led to 60,000 arrests. Congress leaders were imprisoned until the end of the war three years later. Those who took part saw themselves as freedom fighters.

The Muslim League opposed the Quit India Movement. In their opinion it could not succeed and was bound to provoke British force. Quaid-i-Azam saw this as a ploy by Congress to gain full control once the British left and to compel all other parties to deal with them on Congress terms.

FAMINE IN BENGAL

In 1943–4 there was a serious shortage of rice. The war against Japan meant that food everywhere was in short supply, but in Bengal, where rice is the staple food, it resulted in a dreadful famine. The situation was made worse by the Bengal government being unable to cope with the situation. The British authorities took a long time before they did anything. Altogether more than one and a half million people died from hunger or the illness caused by the famine. The Muslim League angrily demanded action. In the end the British army was deployed to distribute food and enforce a system of rationing to make sure everyone got their fair share. For the first time people were actually pleased to see British soldiers.

Quick questions:

- f What did Cripps promise would happen at the end of the war?
- g To which British political party did Cripps belong?
- h What was needed, according to Source B, for agreement?
- i What was the Quit India Movement?
- j What was the effect of the famine in Bengal?

WHY DID THE TALKS BETWEEN JINNAH AND GANDHI FAIL?

In July 1944 Gandhi wrote to Quaid-i-Azam suggesting a meeting. The Muslim League gave him full authority to negotiate with Gandhi. Many people hoped these two principal Indian leaders could reach a compromise. Between 9 and 27 September Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam met thirteen times and exchanged twenty-one letters. Gandhi argued for India's freedom first. The question of partition could be settled later. For Quaid-i-Azam the priority was agreement between the League and Congress on partition. He told Gandhi, 'By all canons of international law, we (Muslims) are a nation'. But Gandhi would not agree. He still claimed that he spoke on behalf of everyone in India. Quaid-i-Azam told him that it was clear that the only Indians he represented were the Hindus. The talks ended in a stalemate. Quaid-i-Azam had no guarantee that after independence Congress would ever agree to Pakistan.

Reasons for failure

- Gandhi wanted independence first and then consider partition.
- Quaid-i-Azam knew partition must be settled before the British left.
- Gandhi still claimed to speak for all Indians.
- Quaid-i-Azam said Gandhi only spoke for Hindus.
- Gandhi would not accept the two-nation idea of partition.



Quaid-i-Azam and Mahatma Gandhi

Although the talks failed they established that Congress and the League were on an equal footing. The talks increased Quaid-i-Azam's prestige. He had dealt firmly with Gandhi and this gave him more authority to handle any problems within Muslim ranks.

USING SOURCES: The differences between Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam

Source 1

'I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from their parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.'

Gandhi in a letter to Quaid-i-Azam, 15 September

Source 2

'We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambition. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.'

Quaid-i-Azam in a letter to Gandhi, 19 September

Source 3

'The more I think about the two-nation theory the more alarming it appears to me...I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof.'

Gandhi in a letter to Quaid-i-Azam, 22 September

Source 4

'I made every effort all these days and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence to convert you, but unfortunately, it seems I have failed...'

Quaid-i-Azam in a letter to Gandhi, 23 September

Questions:

- i How reliable and useful are these sources?
- ii What can we learn from them about the attitudes of Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam?
- iii In your own words explain the point made in Source 1.
- iv How effective is Source 2 as an answer to Source 1?
- v How does reading Source 3 help us to understand why Source 4 was written?

WHO WAS BLAMED FOR THE FAILURE OF THE SIMLA CONFERENCE?

In May 1945 the war ended in Europe with victory over Germany. Now the question of Indian independence had to be settled. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, called together the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League. Wavell, a former commander-in-chief of the Indian armed forces, knew India well and wanted it to achieve self-government. But the conferences at Simla in June and July 1945 failed to reach any agreement. The

Wavell Plan proposed an Executive Council with an equal number of Muslim and Hindu ministers. The Congress, whose leaders had just spent three years in jail after the *Quit India* protests, argued that they should have a say in the selection of Muslim members. On the other hand, the Muslim League demanded that they should choose all the Muslim members. Their confidence was greater than ever. During the past three years they had won many by-elections for the Assembly. The League now had 25 of the 104 elected members. However, the League was also worried that that other minority representatives on the Council, Sikhs and so-called Scheduled Castes, would usually vote with the Hindu members. In that way Muslims would never be able to share power and the Government of India would be dominated by the Hindus. Quaid-i-Azam continued to insist that Pakistan was necessary.



Quaid-i-Azam addressing a Muslim League meeting, 1946

It seemed to many people that Quaid-i-Azam had single-handedly killed Wavell's sensible proposal. But his position needs to be considered carefully. After years of dealing with the Congress, he no longer trusted it to act fairly towards Muslims. He could not lock himself into a government in which Muslims would always be in a minority and not be able to make a single decision without the support of the Congress members.

The failure of the Simla Conference proved that the gulf of mistrust between Congress and the Muslim League could not be bridged. It was absolutely clear that there was no room for compromise. Congress continued to claim that they alone spoke for all sections of the community. As Quaid-i-Azam said, Pakistan and United India were diametrically opposed to each other.

Quick questions:

- k Who suggested the Gandhi-Jinnah talks?
- l What was the main difference of opinion between Gandhi and the Quaid-i-Azam?
- m What was the purpose of the Simla Conference?
- n Who was blamed for the failure of the Conference?

- Many other non-Muslim Indians resented Congress claiming to speak for them. At Simla, Quaid-i-Azam was asked, as well as representing the League, also to speak for the Indian Christian Association and the South Indian Liberal Federation. In this way he represented more non-Muslims than the Muslims that Congress claimed to speak for.

HOW DID THE STRENGTH OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE GROW?

Unexpectedly the Labour Party won a massive victory in Britain's 1945 general elections. Labour, a democratic socialist party, was opposed to imperialism in principle and eager to promote independence for India. However, it was very pro-Gandhi and the Congress. Its aim was to avoid partition and to give independence to a federal India at the earliest opportunity.

Elections for the Central Assembly in Delhi were held in December 1945. Provincial elections took place early in 1946. Congress won an overwhelming majority of the non-Muslim votes. The Muslim League swept the board with 87 per cent of the Muslim votes. The main issue in the election was Pakistan and the League won on that issue. Altogether nearly 500 Muslim League members were elected to the Central or Provincial Legislature. Quaid-i-Azam was elected to the Central Legislature. It was a massive vote of confidence and further strengthened the League's claim to speak for the Muslims of India.

Provincial election results

Year	1937	seats reserved	1946	seats reserved
Congress	714	---	923	---
Muslim League	109	485	446	495

In March 1946 members of the British Cabinet Mission arrived in India. Their job was to work out with Indian leaders how best to achieve independence for the subcontinent as a federation. The Mission was headed by Sir Stafford Cripps and included Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

Between their arrival and departure in June, the Mission met more than 470 Indian leaders. Quaid-i-Azam made it clear that no settlement was possible without Pakistan. During April deadlock seemed very likely.

SOURCE C: 'FIGHT FOR IT'

'We cannot agree to a single constitution-making body, because it will mean signing our death-warrant, and we cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless the Pakistan scheme is accepted as *sine qua non* (essential). We will fight for it (Pakistan), if necessary die for it; but take it we must — or we perish.'

Quaid-i-Azam, speaking to a meeting of Muslim League elected members in New Delhi on 7 April 1946, quoted in K.P. Bhagat, *A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1934–47*, Popular [1959]

SOURCE D: 'BLOODSHED AND CHAOS'

'We can't leave this country without a settlement of some kind. If we did there would be bloodshed and chaos within a few weeks.'

Stafford Cripps wrote this in his diary on 7 April 1946

The Cripps Commission Proposals, May 1946:

- Union of India to deal with foreign affairs, defence, and communication.
- The Union would have an Executive and a Legislature.
- Other powers would belong to the provinces.
- Provinces were to be organized into three groups, A, B, and C.

Grouping of provinces

Group A: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa

Group B: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind

Group C: Bengal, Assam.

HOW DID INDIANS REACT TO THE 1946 PLAN?

The Congress objected to the grouping of Provinces. They said it was up to each province whether or not to join a group. Quaid-i-Azam was unhappy about the way in which it was proposed to partition the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. The proposals would leave them economically weakened and, as he said, *moth-eaten*. He also opposed removing Calcutta from Bengal. In spite of these concerns, when the Muslim League discussed the plan on 6 June, they agreed to accept it as, 'the foundations of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission's plan by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim provinces'. The League and the British Cabinet said that the grouping had to take place. The Muslim League accepted the proposals so long as the grouping was compulsory. For Congress, Nehru declared that they would not be bound by any agreement and once in power would alter the plan in any way that they wished.

The British moved on and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, set about forming an Interim Government. The Congress refused to join it. Wavell ploughed on and announced the membership of the government. It included members of the Congress, Quaid-i-Azam, and other Muslim League members. But the League refused to join when it learned of the inclusion of a Muslim, nominated by the Congress, who was not a member of the League. In spite of opposition to his plan, Wavell then invited the Congress to form the Interim Government. So on 2 September an Interim Government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru of the Congress took office. It was soon obvious that the League could not leave the government of India in the hands of the Congress. In October five members were appointed by the Muslim League to join the Government. One of the five was a Hindu. It was a clever way of getting the better of the Congress for appointing a Muslim. It also served to show that the Quaid-i-Azam respected Hindus. He knew that there would be a sizeable Hindu population in the new country.

WHAT EFFECT DID DIRECT ACTION DAY HAVE?

During the summer of 1946 the Muslim League became increasingly worried that the British might simply withdraw and leave it to the Indians to sort out the mess that they left behind. It was known that the British were increasingly frustrated at the failure of Indians to cooperate together. It was also known that most Labour Members of Parliament were more sympathetic to the Congress position than to the idea of Pakistan.

On 16 August the Muslim League called for Direct Action Day in an attempt to stop the British Government giving in to the Congress. Wavell's invitation to the Congress



Jawaharlal Nehru

to form an interim government underlined their concerns. Quaid-i-Azam called on Muslims to protest peacefully and in a disciplined manner.

But there was serious rioting on the day, with many deaths. In Calcutta, nearly 4000 people were killed. Each side blamed the other. Some people said it was Wavell's fault for inviting the Congress into government. Sadly, it was a precursor for further violence. Later, in October, many Hindus were killed in East Bengal and shortly afterwards an even greater number of Muslims were killed in Bihar.

Quick questions:

- o Who won the British General Election in 1945?
- p How many seats did the Muslim League win in the 1946 Provincial Assembly elections?
- q Who was the British viceroy in 1946?
- r Why do you think Mr Jinnah appointed a Hindu to the Interim Government?
- s What happened in Calcutta on Direct Action Day?
- t What was Stafford Cripps' fear, Source D?

- The British declared, without consultation with Indian leaders, that India had joined the war.
- In protest the Congress withdrew from Provincial Governments.
- The Muslim League welcomed the end of Congress rule with a Day of Deliverance.
- The Cripps Mission failed.
- Quaid-i-Azam insisted there could be no settlement without partition.
- The Simla Conference failed.
- 1946 Provincial Elections: Muslim League won nearly all Muslim seats.
- The British Cabinet Mission, 1946, led to an interim government.

LOOKING AHEAD

The British feared that protests and riots would lead to a civil war. The Government was determined to achieve independence quickly. If necessary they would have to give Indian leaders an ultimatum. For Congress, Nehru, declared that they would not be bound by any agreement and once in power would alter the plan in any way that they wished. The British did not want partition. On the other hand it was becoming clear that partition was inevitable.

Questions:

- 1 How did World War II affect India's demand for independence?
- 2 How determined was Quaid-i-Azam to achieve partition?
- 3 How do the sources help us to understand Quaid-i-Azam's attitude towards Gandhi?
- 4 What dangers did India face if there was no agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League?

Extended essays:

1. Using the sources and information in this chapter, explain why it was so difficult for the British to reach an agreement.
2. How did Britain try to move towards independence during 1940–6?
3. 'By 1946 there was no other way forward than the creation of Pakistan.' Do you agree with this statement?

B:

The Birth of Pakistan

Key questions:

- ◆ How did Britain finally withdraw from India?
- ◆ Why did Britain agree to partition?
- ◆ How important was Quaid-i-Azam to Pakistan?

The British Labour Government was frustrated that all efforts to move towards independence were obstructed by the refusal of the Congress and the Muslim League to compromise with one another. In February 1947 the Prime Minister told the House of Commons of the Government's intention to leave India no later than June 1948. By setting a deadline he hoped to compel Indian leaders to work together. It was an historic announcement. There was no doubt at all that Britain would finally give up India. Prime Minister Attlee still did not want to agree to Pakistan. But if that was the price for getting Britain out, then he would let partition happen.

SOURCE A: 'RESPONSIBLE INDIAN HANDS'

'His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.'

Clement Attlee, Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons, 20 February 1947

HOW DID THE 3 JUNE PLAN HELP PAKISTAN?

Quaid-i-Azam, 1947

Britain appointed Lord Louis Mountbatten to serve as the final Viceroy and oversee the transfer of power. He arrived in India to start his momentous term of office on 22 March 1947. Almost immediately Quaid-i-Azam told him that there was no alternative but to accept Pakistan.

SOURCE B: 'FIGHTING FOR PAKISTAN'

'I am fighting for Pakistan, which means I am fighting for the freedom of India. I am fighting for Pakistan because it is the only practical solution for solving the problem; and the other ideal of a united India and a rule based on the parliamentary system of government is a vain dream and an impossibility. India is neither a country nor a nation, but is a score of nations.'

Quaid-i-Azam, speaking in Bombay on 27 March 1947,

quoted in K. P. Bhagat, *A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1934–47*, Popular [1959].



SOURCE C: 'REFRAIN FROM ACTS OF VIOLENCE'

'We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and in writing, any incitement to such acts.'

Signed: M. A. Jinnah, M. K. Gandhi; 15 April 1947.

One thing they both definitely agreed on was trying to stop violence and to save lives.

K.P. Bhagat, *A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1934-47*, Popular [1959]

Mountbatten had very little time in which to organize the transfer of power. By this time a united India was simply impossible. On 3 June 1947 he announced the Government's plan for the handover to two separate states — India and Pakistan. But the plan also said that nothing need stop the two communities negotiating for a united India. The Congress, in giving their support to the plan, seized on this. Their view was that partition would not last long. Pakistan, they believed, was simply not realistic and would soon collapse. India would then once again be united under the Congress. The Muslim League accepted the plan. Pakistan was now a certainty.



Quaid-i-Azam with Lord and
Lady Mountbatten

LORD LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN (1900–79)

Lord Louis Mountbatten was a great-grandson of Queen Victoria. At the age of 16 he joined the Royal Navy. Known widely as Dickie, he served with distinction and during World War II was Supreme Allied Commander South-East Asia. Popular at home and highly respected around the world, he seemed a good choice to tackle the difficult process of handing over power quickly in India. On independence he took on the post of Governor General of India. Following India, Mountbatten continued to serve his country in the navy and finally as Chief of the Defence Staff. In 1979 Britons were shocked when he was murdered by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) while sailing in Ireland. The tragedy was made worse as his 14-year-old grandson and a 17-year-old boatman were also killed. Indians observed a week of mourning.

There is no doubt that Mountbatten was strongly biased in favour of Congress. He and his wife Edwina were close friends with Nehru, who by this time was virtually the Prime Minister of India. Mountbatten considered him to be *a really great man*, and was strongly influenced by him. We must remember that the British Labour Government was also sympathetic to the aims of Congress. The British and Congress shared the same aim to keep India in one piece. Mountbatten disliked the idea of Pakistan and was predisposed to dislike Quaid-i-Azam. It was Pakistan's bad luck that Mountbatten was appointed as the last Viceroy. He forced Quaid-i-Azam to accept boundaries that divided the two provinces, Punjab and Bengal. The boundaries were disastrous but Mountbatten threatened that there would be no Pakistan at all unless they were accepted. He then blamed Quaid-i-Azam for the violence and bloodshed that followed partition.

HOW WAS INDEPENDENCE ACTUALLY ACHIEVED?

Transfer of power was hurried and chaotic. The British seemed to be worried that prolonging their departure would simply make matters between the League and the Congress even worse. Indeed, Ministers in London feared that civil war might break out at any moment. On 20 February 1947 the House of Commons had been told that Britain would leave India in June 1948. But on 4 June Mountbatten announced that independence had been brought forward to 15 August 1947. This decision to bring forward the handover caused many problems. So on 14 – 15 August 1947 the Indian subcontinent achieved independence as two separate states. The State of Pakistan came into existence. Both Pakistan and India were members of the British Commonwealth. Even so Pakistan's boundaries had not been finalized. There were serious problems in dividing up the finances and armed forces in a way that was fair to both countries. Pakistan, with its capital in Karachi, had to set up a system of government from scratch. It is remarkable that anyone seriously thought that it could be done in just seven weeks. The rush to independence led to serious disturbances and loss of life and property.

Why did Pakistan come into existence? A summary:

- The Congress leadership failed to understand the extent of the rift between Hindus and Muslims
- Muslim determination to safeguard their own identity
- British refusal to hand over India in the 1920s or 1930s

- Refusal of Congress to include Muslim League members in coalition governments
- The Congress's claim to speak for Muslims even when in 1946 the League was winning most Muslim votes
- Quaid-i-Azam's determination to achieve Pakistan convinced the British that there was no alternative.



Quaid-i-Azam reading a copy of the Muslim League newspaper *Dawn*. Quaid-i-Azam helped to set up the paper in 1942 in Delhi. After partition *Dawn* moved to Karachi.

Quick questions:

- Why is Source A an important statement?
- Who was the final Viceroy?
- Why was Mountbatten's appointment bad for Pakistan?
- What was the 3 June plan?
- How did Mountbatten persuade Quaid-i-Azam to accept the plan?
- What appeal did the Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi make on 15 April 1947?
- When did India and Pakistan achieve independence?
- Who had convinced the British to allow the setting up of Pakistan?

- Britain's Labour Government was determined to grant independence by 1948.
- Viceroy Mountbatten was given the job of handing over power.
- Partition was accepted as unavoidable.
- Handover was brought forward and forced on India and Pakistan in seven weeks.
- 14 August 1947: the new independent state of Pakistan.
- 15 August 1947: independence of India.
- Quaid-i-Azam had created Pakistan in the face of many obstacles.

LOOKING AHEAD

The new government of Pakistan faced great difficulties. The suddenness of the British departure caused many problems for the new nation. The partition led to a refugee crisis and violence that cost the lives of thousands of Hindus and Muslims. Difficulties in setting the boundaries of the new nation created a legacy of hostility that would lead to all-out war. The new India had high hopes that Pakistan would not survive. Congress leaders would never forgive Muslims for the partition of India. Cooperation between the two governments appeared impossible. Other countries, especially Britain and the USA, made no secret of their hope that the two states would join in an Indian federation.

Questions:

- 1 Describe the events between February and August 1947.

Extended essays:

- 1 Why did relations between the Congress and the Muslim League deteriorate after 1937?
- 2 How did Quaid-i-Azam turn the idea of Pakistan in the 1930s into a nation in 1947?

Nationhood: 1947–88

part THREE

Chapter Eight

THE NEW NATION

- A: Problems facing the new nation
- B: Confrontation over Kashmir
- C: The achievements of Quaid-i-Azam

Chapter Nine

THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

- A: Constitutional problems
- B: Government by bureaucrats
- C: Ayub Khan and the end of the democratic process
- D: The Decade of Development
- E: Modernization and Basic Democracy

Chapter Ten

THE 1970s ONWARDS

- A: The secession of East Pakistan, 1971
- B: The Bhutto Years, 1971–7
- C: General Zia-ul-Haq, 1977–88

Key words

ordnance: military weapons and ammunition

United Nations (UN): an international organization set up in 1945 to settle disputes between countries as an alternative to war

irrigation: the supply of water by a system of ditches, canals, and rivers, mainly for agriculture

The New Nation

A:

Problems facing the new nation

Key questions:

- ◆ What problems did Pakistan have to deal with?
- ◆ What caused the violence and bloodshed?
- ◆ How serious were the disagreements with India?

In 1947 the new nation of Pakistan faced huge difficulties, which threatened its survival as an independent nation. The sudden partition of India left homeless large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan and a large number of Muslims in India. Terrible violence flared as these frightened people fled across the borders seeking safety. The Boundary Commission, under Sir Cyril Radcliffe, produced borders, the details of which were not made known by Lord Mountbatten to the political leaders until 16 August 1947—a lapse that resulted in anarchy and killing, especially in the Punjab. The loss of Calcutta to India undermined the economy of East Pakistan (see Map 8.3). A seemingly endless dispute with India over the territory of Kashmir resulted in constant hostility between the two neighbours and actual wars.

THE FLAG OF PAKISTAN

The white stripe represents peace and honesty and symbolizes the role of religious minorities. The crescent, star, and green background are all traditional symbols of Islam. The green also symbolizes hope, joy, and love. The flag was designed by Quaid-i-Azam.



What were the main problems that Pakistan had to deal with?

- The division of military, government, and financial assets
- The refugee problem
- The accession of princely states
- The water dispute with India

THE DIVISION OF MILITARY, GOVERNMENT, AND FINANCIAL ASSETS

With partition it was necessary to divide up the wealth and military strength of the old India between the two new governments. It was an almost impossible task. Because of the sudden departure of the British, the process was hasty. The final settlement was

Population

- Population of Pakistan in 1948: 80, 260, 000
- Only four countries had more people: China, India, USSR, and USA.

bound to upset everyone. Everything belonging to the old government had to be valued and then shared out. Even the typewriters, office furniture, refrigerators, and cars belonging to the Indian Civil Service had to be shared out. The division of assets between India and Pakistan was to be at the ratio of 17 (India): 5 (Pakistan). Muslims in India and non-Muslims in Pakistan, who worked for the government, were permitted to choose which new government they would work for.

Splitting up the armed forces was incredibly difficult. It was impossible to swap soldiers according to whether they were Muslim or non-Muslim. Because of the growing threat of war over Kashmir, India failed to hand over military equipment which she thought would be used against her. This was unfair and damaging to Pakistan.

Operation Pakistan

- Transferring government employees to Karachi from Delhi proved difficult. After an explosion derailed a train, 26 aircraft were chartered to fly 7000 Muslim civil servants from Delhi to Karachi. Another 17,000 people, with their families, travelled by sea via Bombay. As well as offices, they also needed homes.

MILITARY EQUIPMENT*

	Allocated to Pakistan	Received by Pakistan
Ordnance stores	160, 000 tons	23, 225 tons
Engineering stores	172, 667 tons	1,128 tons
Soft vehicles	1461	74
Armoured vehicles	249	0

*a great deal that Pakistan received was damaged and unusable

In spite of the difficulties Pakistan took command of its own Armed Forces on 1 December 1947. But even then, a shortage of Muslim officers meant that Pakistan had to rely temporarily on British officers remaining in charge. It was not until 1951 that a Pakistani commanded the army and the air force had to wait until 1957. This proved disadvantageous later when General Douglas Gracey, the acting Commander-in-Chief of the army, refused to comply with Quaid-i-Azam's orders over Kashmir.

DIVISION OF THE INDIAN ARMED FORCES

	Pakistan	India
Armoured divisions	6	14
Artillery divisions	8	40
Infantry divisions	8	21

FACTORIES IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

- India before partition: 146,777 factories
- Pakistan after partition: 1414 factories*

*many of these were small-scale factories

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Almost immediately Pakistan faced a cash crisis. The new government had only enough cash to pay one month's salary to their employees. Eventually, an agreement was reached to give Pakistan a fair share of the money belonging to the old government. Even then, there was a further delay as the Indian Government tried to stop the money being handed over. In July 1948 the newly set-up State Bank of Pakistan took over the work of handling currency from the Reserve Bank of India.

After partition, most industry remained in India. Only one of the top 57 companies before partition was actually in Muslim ownership. Important industries were concentrated around Indian cities including Bombay and Calcutta. Pakistan had no steelworks. Only 14 out of more than 390 Indian cotton mills ended up in Pakistan. In East Pakistan, the world's main producer of jute, there was not a single jute mill. Production of electricity was a long-running problem.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Partition and independence were accompanied by history's greatest migration. At first people were confused and anxious about how the partition would affect them. Then came panic: about 17 million people left their homes, land, and businesses, to seek safety. As they fled, violence between Muslims and Hindus resulted in the deaths and abductions of nearly a million people. Nearly 7 million people from India, excluding those from Kashmir, entered West Pakistan. At the same time millions of terrified Hindus fled from Pakistan to India. Attacks on trains and caravans of refugees led to a cycle of violence in which each atrocity was matched by revenge killings. Even those supposed to be protecting people sometimes turned to murder. 1000 people were killed after the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Ambala led an attack on a refugee train carrying Muslims. Resettling the millions of refugees, who had lost everything they had, including friends and relatives, was a difficult and expensive problem for both countries, especially Pakistan.

SOURCE A: APPALLING

To an observer the atmosphere is appalling. In the capital itself order has been restored after the grave riots of a fortnight ago, in which perhaps 2000 people were killed and tens of thousands driven into refugee camps. Even so communal feelings run high and there appears to be no prospect whatsoever of Muslims being able to return to their lawful vocations. But Delhi, disturbed and tense as it is, does not reflect the deplorable conditions prevailing in the surrounding countryside.

Manchester Guardian, a British newspaper, 25 September 1947

SOURCE B: 'SLEEPLESS NIGHTS'

'I cannot explain it, but one day our entire village took off to a nearby Muslim village on a killing spree. We simply went mad. And it has cost me fifty years of remorse, of sleepless nights — I cannot forget the faces of those we killed.'

Harjit, who lived close to Attari, quoted in Urvashi Butalia,
The Other Side of Silence, Viking [1998]

SOURCE C: 'A SPIRIT OF RETALIATION'

'The unending stream of refugees and their harrowing tales of woe had an unpleasant reaction. A spirit of retaliation arose. Thousands of people, who had been living for centuries as neighbours in homes and professions, flew at one another's throats.'

Khushdeva Singh, a Medical Superintendent in Dharampore in 1947,
quoted in Mushirul Hasan, *India Partitioned*, Roli Books [1995]

Refugees crowd into a train leaving India for Pakistan



Quick questions:

- a What were the four main problems facing Pakistan in 1947?
- b What proportion of the assets of the Government of India were supposed to go to Pakistan?
- c Why didn't India hand over the military equipment that Pakistan was entitled to?
- d What is meant in Source C by 'a spirit of retaliation'?

Two serious disputes with India made life difficult for the new Government of Pakistan. These were on the question of accession of princely states and the distribution of water resources.

ACCESSION OF THE PRINCELY STATES

A number of semi-autonomous states had to decide whether to join India or Pakistan. In most cases, the matter was settled easily on the basis of which community made up the majority, but there were problems over some states including Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir.

The Muslim ruler of Junagadh agreed that his small kingdom should join Pakistan but India objected, claiming that Muslims were a minority of the population. Pakistan called for a referendum to be held under the supervision of both countries but India refused and invaded Junagadh: Pakistan was powerless to stop them. India then held their own referendum which, not surprisingly, supported their action.

Hyderabad, the biggest princely state in the subcontinent and even though so far from Pakistan, wished to remain independent, or otherwise, join Pakistan. Again, a referendum of the people was proposed and turned down by the Indians. Hyderabad sought the help of the United Nations (UN) against the threats coming from India, which, after Quaid-i-Azam's death in September 1948, invaded and took over the state. The UN took no action.

Kashmir is the *K* in Pakistan. With a large Muslim majority it seemed beyond argument that it would form part of Pakistan. However, the Hindu ruler, Hari Singh, dithered. Some Muslims, fearing that he would join with India, rose up against him. In return for military help to defeat the rebels, Hari Singh agreed that Kashmir should join India. It was the beginning of a conflict that has divided India and Pakistan ever since. You will study this in more detail in the next section.

THE WATER DISPUTE WITH INDIA

The Canal Waters dispute was yet another cause of Pakistan's frustration and anger towards India. Agriculture in the Punjab depends on a complex irrigation system, using six rivers including the Indus and thirty canals. Cross-border cooperation between the two countries on this vital irrigation system is very important. In spite of their promises, on 1 April 1948, India shut off the waters flowing into Pakistan from the Firozpur headworks in East Punjab, stopping the water supply for Lahore and threatening more than 1.65 million acres of agricultural land. The Indians demanded that Pakistan should pay for the water. They refused Pakistan's request that the matter should be sorted out by the International Court of Justice. The dispute also involved Kashmir, as three rivers—Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab—came through Indian-occupied territory. In the end, some water supplies were reinstated in May 1948. However, new Indian dams and canals frequently restricted supplies. In 1958 a temporary agreement was reached between the two countries and the World Bank, and finally, in September 1959, the Indus Water Treaty was signed and the problem largely resolved.



Map 8.1: This map shows the international boundary dividing the rivers and canals in the Punjab

Quick questions:

- e Which three states faced particular problems over the decision to join Pakistan?
- f What does the K in Pakistan stand for?
- g Why was the Canal Waters dispute so serious?

HOW DID PAKISTAN SURVIVE IN ITS EARLY YEARS?

Even in the best of circumstances, a new nation such as Pakistan was bound to face many difficulties. But the speed of the British handover and the hostility of India increased the problems facing the new government. Nevertheless, there was a strong spirit amongst ordinary people who were keen to see Pakistan succeed. After all, many



Quaid-i-Azam listens to a refugee's problems

of them had dreamed of and worked for this independent nation for a long time. At the same time dealing with such serious problems and facing a neighbour, India, that wanted Pakistan to fail, meant that a strong centralized government was needed. The position and power of the Army was also crucial, though later on this was to have an important effect on Pakistani politics and government. Above all, Pakistan had the inspiring leadership of Quaid-i-Azam.

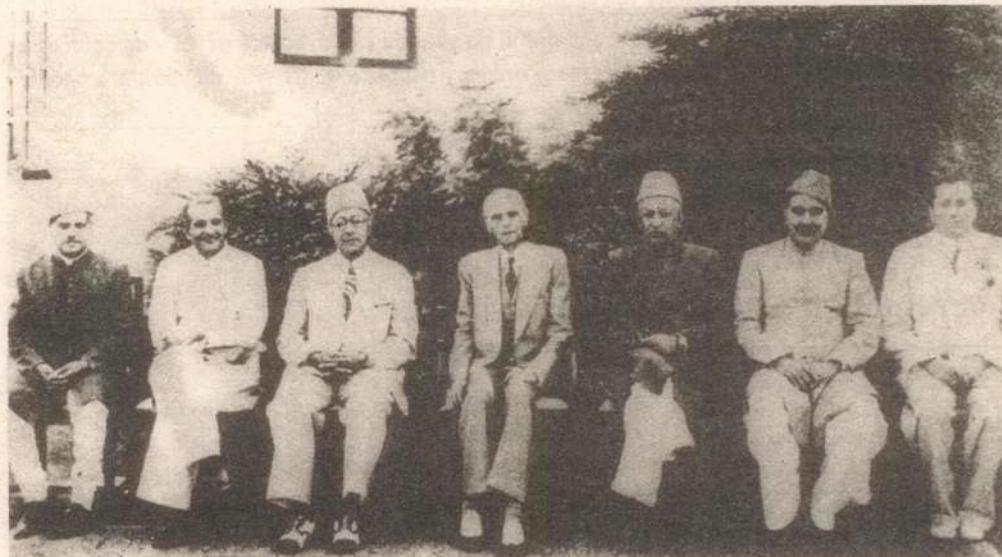
SOURCE D: 'DO NOT BE AFRAID OF DEATH'

'We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings...The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour...Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us always to be prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.'

Quaid-i-Azam, speaking at a mass rally of supporters
at Lahore's University stadium in October 1947

Quick questions on Source D:

- h Explain what was meant by 'unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings'.
- i In what way were Pakistanis victims?
- j Why were the supporters urged not to be afraid of death?
- k How do you think people would have felt after hearing these words?



Quaid-i-Azam
with the first Cabinet, 1947

- Pakistan faced four serious problems in 1947.
- The division of military and financial assets disadvantaged Pakistan.
- The refugee problem left millions homeless.
- The accession of princely states was an issue.
- The Canal Water dispute with India had to be resolved.
- Pakistan survived in spite of these problems and Indian hostility.

LOOKING AHEAD

India's hostility to Pakistan was bound to result in long-term serious problems. Not only was India a neighbour, but it lay between the two parts of Pakistan. Indian leaders desperately wished Pakistan to collapse. But, perhaps, they underestimated the determination of both the people and the leaders of the new nation, who would not submit and instead stood up for themselves in a way that surprised many people around the world. Kashmir was a serious cause of disagreement with India and would lead to armed skirmishes and even war. Pakistan had to wrestle with a dilemma faced by many states. How do you achieve democracy and at the same time have a strong united government with which to face your enemies?

Questions:

- 1 Explain the nature of the serious problems facing Pakistan in 1947. Which of these problems were short-term and which were long-term?
- 2 How serious was Indian hostility to Pakistan?
- 3 Study the sources A-D. How reliable and useful do you think each source is? How do Sources A-C help explain the misery suffered by many ordinary people in 1947? Why do you think people behaved in this way towards each other?
- 4 Why were some people surprised that Pakistan survived?

B:

Confrontation over Kashmir

Key words

The Commonwealth: an association of countries, including Pakistan and India, that used to be ruled by Britain; formerly, the British Commonwealth

plebiscite: a referendum in which everyone is able to vote on whether they agree with an important proposal

Key questions:

- ◆ Why was there a dispute over Kashmir?
- ◆ How did the dispute lead to war with India?
- ◆ What action did the United Nations take?

Of all the disputes with India, the question of Kashmir has been the most difficult and remains unresolved. It is the source of serious friction between India and Pakistan.

Kashmir is also a high profile international problem. Both the Commonwealth and the United Nations have tried and failed to settle the matter. The conflict has led to the deaths of many soldiers and Kashmiris. Since India's occupation, the opinions of the Kashmiris have been ignored.

The Mughal emperor Jahangir, who ruled from 1605–27, extolled the beauty of Kashmir. In his memoirs he writes:

'Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring...a delightful flower-bed...Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields there are all kinds of flowers and sweet-scented herbs...If one was to praise Kashmir, whole books would have to be written.'

HOW DID THE DISPUTE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA OVER KASHMIR START?

For two months after partition in 1947, the State of Jammu and Kashmir remained independent. The ruler, Hari Singh, a Hindu, was undecided about joining Pakistan or India. The majority of the population was Muslim and, given the choice, would have opted for Pakistan. Already there was unrest in Poonch and in October 1947 large numbers of Muslim tribesmen from Ladakh, Gilgit, and Baltistan advanced on Hari Singh at Srinagar. They wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan. Hari Singh's government was effectively overthrown. Panic-stricken he asked India for military help. India agreed, provided that he signed the Instrument of Accession which would make Kashmir a part of India. However, a condition of accession was that a vote would be held for all Kashmiris to make the final choice.

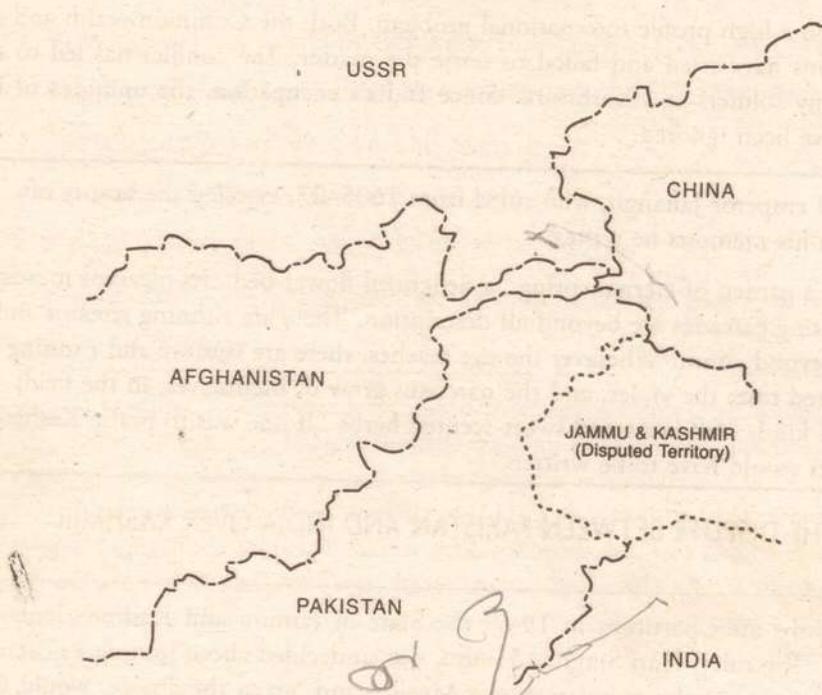
SOURCE A: WISHES OF THE PEOPLE

'...in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State.'

Part of the letter sent by Lord Mountbatten, Governor General of India, on 27 October 1947 to Hari Singh, accepting the accession of Kashmir and telling him there would have to be a plebiscite

The division of the Indian armed forces and equipment had not been completed, but with British cooperation Indian soldiers arrived in Kashmir on 27 October along with the accession papers to be signed by Hari Singh. Although he signed it on that day, he backdated it to the day before the Indian invasion. Both sides, the Muslim fighters and the Indian Army, captured as much territory as they could. When Quaid-i-Azam, Governor General of Pakistan, ordered Pakistan forces to move into Kashmir his orders were blocked by the British 'acting' Commander-in-Chief, General Douglas Gracey.

On 1 November Quaid-i-Azam met his counterpart, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India. He proposed to Mountbatten that both sides be ordered, and if necessary forced, to stop fighting and leave Kashmir. Once law and order had been established, then a plebiscite should be held for Kashmiris to choose between India and Pakistan. Mountbatten put the proposal to the Indian Government but it was rejected.



Map 8.2: Kashmir's strategic importance to the region

Instead, they informed the UN that Hari Singh's agreement to join with India was perfectly legal. Pakistan, of course, disagreed and demanded a vote by all Kashmiris. The UN agreed with Pakistan and ordered both sides to pull out their forces so that a plebiscite could be held.

Quick questions:

- Why do you think the ruler of Kashmir could not make up his mind?
- What conditions did India make for sending troops into Kashmir?
- Why do you think Hari Singh backdated the accession document?
- What is the importance of Source A?
- How did Pakistan propose ending the crisis and why did India reject it?

HOW WAS A CEASEFIRE ACHIEVED?

During 1948 both sides ignored the UN decision and carried on fighting. Some Pakistanis feared that the Indian Army might even cross the border into Pakistan. At last, in May 1948, the Pakistan Army became more actively involved. But they were at a great disadvantage against the much better-equipped Indian troops.

A ceasefire was eventually agreed on 1 January 1949. Both sides seem to have reached a stalemate. In spite of their superiority, the Indians could not drive out the Pakistan forces from the mountainous areas of west and north Kashmir. But Pakistan was disappointed as, by the time of the ceasefire, a great deal of territory had been occupied by India.

Since 1949 the ceasefire line, now called the *Line of Control (LOC)*, has been supervised by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). The people of Kashmir are still waiting for the plebiscite so that they can decide their own future.



The United Nations' emblem

bph WHICH COUNTRY IS IN THE RIGHT OVER KASHMIR?

Two names for the same place

- India calls the area controlled by Pakistan Pakistan-occupied Kashmir or POK.
- Pakistan calls it the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Azad means free.

The key issue is whether or not the accession of Jammu and Kashmir that was signed by Hari Singh and countersigned by the then Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, is legal. India claims it is, and accuses Pakistan of an illegal invasion. India said that the presence of Pakistani forces cancelled the conditions under which the plebiscite was supposed to take place. In Pakistan's view, the Indian claim, in Quaid-i-Azam's words, is based on *fraud and violence*. Hari Singh had been overthrown by his own people—he had no right to sign away Kashmir. India's failure to hold a vote is evidence that it cannot be trusted—it fears the result. It was Pakistan which had been willing for both sides to withdraw and allow a plebiscite to take place. Pakistan's argument is that it only intervened in support of the Muslim majority, and also to protect its own borders against a possible Indian attack.

SOURCE B: THE INDIAN VIEW

'...the cardinal feature of India's position is her contention that she is in Kashmir by right, and that Pakistan cannot aspire to equal footing with India in the contest.'

Report of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, 1952

SOURCE C: THE PAKISTAN VIEW

'It is Pakistan's opinion that her action in lending assistance to the people of Kashmir is far less open to criticism than was India's intervention at the request of an autocratic ruler. Pakistan considers herself as having equal status with the Government of India and entitled as a party to the dispute, to equal rights and considerations.'

Report of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, 1952

Nehru on Kashmir:

- Nehru seems to have had a personal stance towards the Kashmir settlement: being of Kashmiri Brahmin stock, he had an emotional attachment to Kashmir and was loath to relinquish the territory to Pakistan.

'But there are some places where it (nature) charms even those who are unprepared for it.... Among these favoured spots is Kashmir... But my purpose is not to praise Kashmir, though my partiality for it occasionally leads me astray.'

Jawaharlal Nehru in *The Discovery of India*; Asia Publishing House, London, [1961]

WHY WAS THE DISPUTE NOT SETTLED?

Several times it seemed that the ceasefire would be broken and all-out war would break out. During the 1950s, Pakistan's position gained growing support from the USA and Britain. This led to far-reaching but unsuccessful talks in 1963. Wars between Pakistan and India in 1965 and 1971 made a solution to the problem impossible. Protests inside Indian-occupied Kashmir were suppressed. Elections in 1987 were rigged by India in an attempt to show popular support for the occupation. For India giving up Kashmir is inconceivable—it would be a terrible blow to its pride. Other regions of India might then demand their independence. For Pakistan to give way would be a betrayal of their fellow Muslims. There is widespread conviction in Pakistan that Kashmir should rightfully be part of their nation. From time to time tensions have increased with frequent shelling across the LOC. Fears of a new war have been frequent.

THE BRINK OF WAR

Several times confrontation on the 20,000 foot high Siachen glacier has resulted in fighting and the threat of all-out war. Then, in 1999, the Kargil crisis raised the threat of nuclear war between India and Pakistan. Kashmiri fighters infiltrated the Indian controlled district of Kargil. Two Indian fighter planes sent to attack them were shot down after they crossed into Pakistan air space. The crisis escalated after a school in Pakistan territory was fired on, killing ten children. Each side blamed the other for the worsening crisis. India rejected an offer by the UN to intercede. Pakistan was keen to have the international community try to settle the crisis. In the end, following a request from Pakistan, US President Bill Clinton intervened to restore an uneasy peace along the LOC. Nevertheless sporadic fighting continued for many months. The Kashmir conflict seemed no closer to any settlement.

Quick questions:

- f What is the LOC?
- g Explain India's claim to own Kashmir.
- h How does Pakistan challenge India's claim?
- i Why does the Pakistan-controlled area have two different names?
- j How has India dealt with the views of Kashmiris?

- Kashmir is the main cause of the poor relations between Pakistan and India.
- India claims ownership because Hari Singh signed the accession document.
- India promised a plebiscite in Kashmir.
- Indian troops invaded Kashmir.
- Pakistan claims Hari Singh had no right to sign the document.
- The views of the Muslim majority have been ignored.
- India is blamed for not holding a plebiscite.
- The UN organized a ceasefire in 1949.
- International attempts to solve the problem have failed.
- Tension, fighting, and two wars have taken place.
- Pakistan has maintained a consistent stand over Kashmir, and is ready to have foreign observers, which vindicates its position vis-à-vis India.

Questions:

- 1 Compile two lists. Make one list of the arguments in support of India's case. Make a second list of Pakistan's arguments. Using the information from your lists, explain who you think is to blame for the crisis over Kashmir.
- 2 What evidence is there that a vote by all Kashmiris should have been held?
- 3 Why has it proved impossible to resolve the Kashmir crisis?
- 4 How far do Sources B and C explain the difficulty in settling the problem of Kashmir?
- 5 What part did these people play in the Kashmir dispute: Quaid-i-Azam, Lord Mountbatten, and Hari Singh?

Extended essays:

- 1 Which of the problems facing the new government of Pakistan, in 1947–8, was the most serious? Refer to each problem.
- 2 'India was unhappy over Partition and hoped that Pakistan would fail.' How far do you agree with this statement?
- 3 Put yourself in the position of a lawyer at the International Court of Justice. Explain Pakistan's case on Kashmir.

C:

The achievements of Quaid-i-Azam

Key questions:

- ◆ To what extent did Quaid-i-Azam make the single biggest contribution to Pakistan's early survival?
- ◆ How did he tackle the problems facing the new state?
- ◆ How severe a loss to the nation was his death in 1948?

.....

Quaid-i-Azam taking the oath as Governor General; as 'Father of the Nation', Quaid-i-Azam's leadership in 1947 was vital to the survival of Pakistan.



In his early political career Quaid-i-Azam had not wanted partition. For his work for a united and independent India, he earned the title *Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity*. But his experience of dealing with the Congress Party convinced him that its rule would lead to Hindu domination at the expense of Muslim rights. Under his leadership the Muslim League became a mass movement, winning elections, and a powerful voice campaigning for Pakistan. In the face of British opposition, Quaid-i-Azam convinced Lord Mountbatten that partition was absolutely necessary. On independence Quaid-i-Azam took office as the first Governor General of Pakistan. He was over 70 years old and already seriously ill. When his sister, Fatima, urged him to rest he replied, 'Do you know how much is at stake?'

WHAT WERE QUAID-I-AZAM'S AIMS FOR PAKISTAN?

The guiding principles for the achievement of an independent country and its development were 'Unity, Faith, and Discipline'. Quaid-i-Azam maintained that Pakistan should be a progressive democracy based on brotherhood and equality. He liked to say that the Government was *in the hands of the people*.

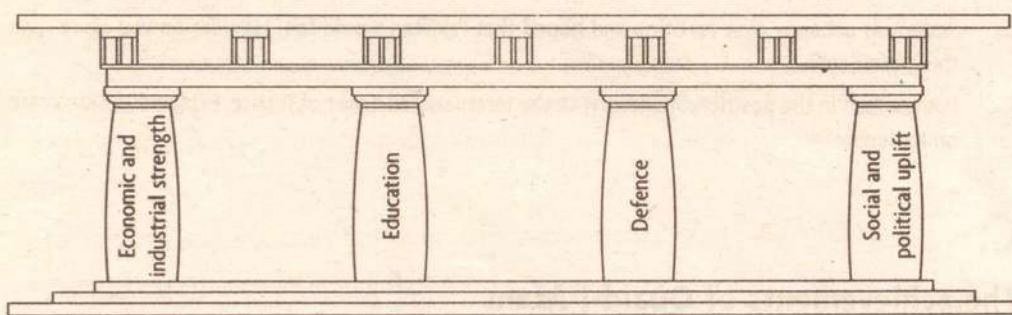
SOURCE A: PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

'Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices.'

Quaid-i-Azam speaking to officers in March 1948,

from *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements, 1947–48*, Karachi [1989]

For Quaid-i-Azam there were four strengths that Pakistan needed. He called them *pillars*.



Pakistan faced great economic problems. Quaid-i-Azam was determined that the condition of Pakistan's poor should improve. Education was important to train people for jobs. There was a shortage of skilled workers. He disapproved of the economic system of Britain and the USA as he believed it had failed to bring about a fair society and was largely the cause of the two World Wars. Instead he proposed an economic system based on the Islamic principles of equality and social justice.

Quaid-i-Azam appointed Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister. Often called the *Architect of Pakistan*, he was committed both to Islam and support for the common people.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (1895–1951)

Liaquat Ali Khan was born in an aristocratic family of Karnal, India, in October 1895. He received early education at the MAO Collegiate School in Aligarh, and in 1919 he graduated from Aligarh University. He left for Oxford the same year to study law, and returned to India in 1921. In 1923 he joined the All India Muslim League, and was an active member, who, gradually but steadily, rose to prominence.

Liaquat Ali Khan was strongly in favour of female education, realizing its impact on the generations to come.

He was instrumental in persuading Mr Jinnah, in 1933, to return to India and lead the Muslims.



SOURCE B: 'FREE FROM WANT'

'Islam has a distinct contribution to make. Islam envisages a society in which social justice is based upon fundamental laws and concepts which guarantee to man a life free from want and rich in freedom.'

Liaquat Ali Khan speaking to the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949

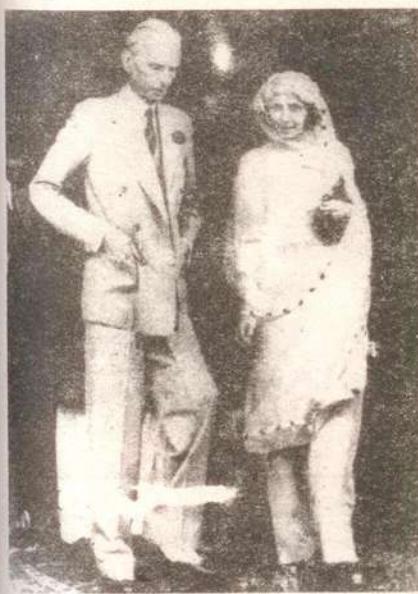
HOW DID QUAID-I-AZAM SEE THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN?

On many public occasions Quaid-i-Azam was accompanied by his sister, Fatima. He often had her sit by his side on the platform at meetings. In this way he challenged some of the traditional attitudes towards women. During the 1930s and 1940s women increasingly supported the Pakistan Movement. This included not just attending meetings but also taking part in demonstrations. Quaid-i-Azam believed that in reality Islam gave women more rights than in the west.

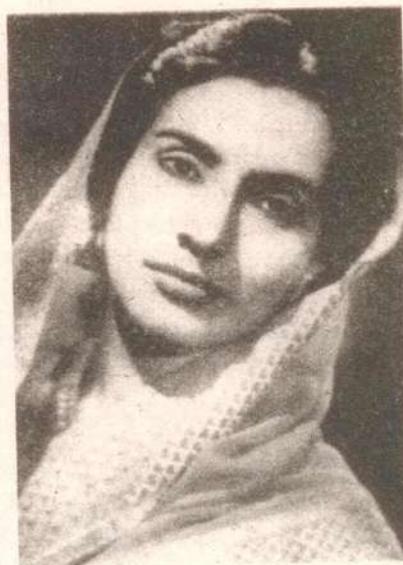
SOURCE C: 'YOUR WOMEN ARE SIDE BY SIDE WITH YOU'

'...your women are side by side with you...It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of western society. You cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up your children properly...Let us not throw away this asset.'

Quaid-i-Azam, quoted in Jamiluddin Ahmad,
Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah, M. Ashraf [1968]



Quaid-i-Azam with Miss Fatima Jinnah



Some women who played a prominent role in Pakistan's early years: (left to right) Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan

MISS FATIMA JINNAH (1894–1967) *Madar-i-Millat*—Mother of the Nation

During his lifetime's work for Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam had invaluable help from his younger sister, Fatima. She gave up her career as a dentist to give support to her brother's work, especially after the death of his wife, Rutie. After his death she continued to make an enormous contribution to the progress of the new nation.

In 1965, at the age of 71, Miss Jinnah stood in the presidential election against President Ayub Khan in an attempt to restore democracy. She had no chance of victory as the electorate was restricted. But wherever she went she was acclaimed by huge crowds. To many Pakistanis she was—and remains to this day—always *Khatoon-i-Pakistan* (First Lady of Pakistan) and *Madar-i-Millat* (Mother of the Nation).

Miss Fatima Jinnah died in Karachi in 1967.



WHAT WAS QUAID-I-AZAM'S VIEW OF RELIGION IN PAKISTAN?

Quaid-i-Azam took his inspiration from Islam, which guarantees the rights of minorities in its lands, and he was totally opposed to religious bigotry. He not only expressed this belief but also put it into action: he declared himself to be the *protector general* of religious minorities. He grieved equally over the deaths of Hindus as well as Muslims in the violence that accompanied partition. About fifteen per cent of Pakistan's population then were non-Muslims. Their voice was heard through their 15 out of the 68 seats in the Constituent Assembly which they held by the system of separate electorates. Quaid-i-Azam's view was that religion was a personal faith and had nothing to do with people's rights as citizens.

SOURCE D: YOU MAY BELONG TO ANY RELIGION

'You are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. ... We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another.'

Quaid-i-Azam speaking on his election as President of the Constituent Assembly in 1947.
This was one of his most important statements about his vision for Pakistan.

WHAT IS QUAID-I-AZAM'S PLACE IN HISTORY?

Quaid-i-Azam, suffering from tuberculosis, died on 11 September 1948 in Karachi, the city where he was born and which was, at the time, the capital of his Pakistan. People were shocked. They had not realized how ill their leader had been. His death was a severe blow to the new nation.

Karachi, the first capital of Pakistan

- In 1959, General Ayub Khan decided to move the capital north, and most of the Government moved temporarily to Rawalpindi, from 1960 onwards. The new city of Islamabad officially became the capital in 1967.



Quaid-i-Azam's
funeral, 11 September 1948

SOURCE E: A LEGEND EVEN IN HIS LIFETIME

In the face of difficulties which might have overwhelmed him, it was given to him to fulfil the hope foreshadowed in the inspired vision of the great Iqbal by creating for the Muslims of India a homeland where the old glory of Islam could grow afresh into a moderate state, worthy of its place in the community of nations. Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr Jinnah. He was a legend even in his lifetime.

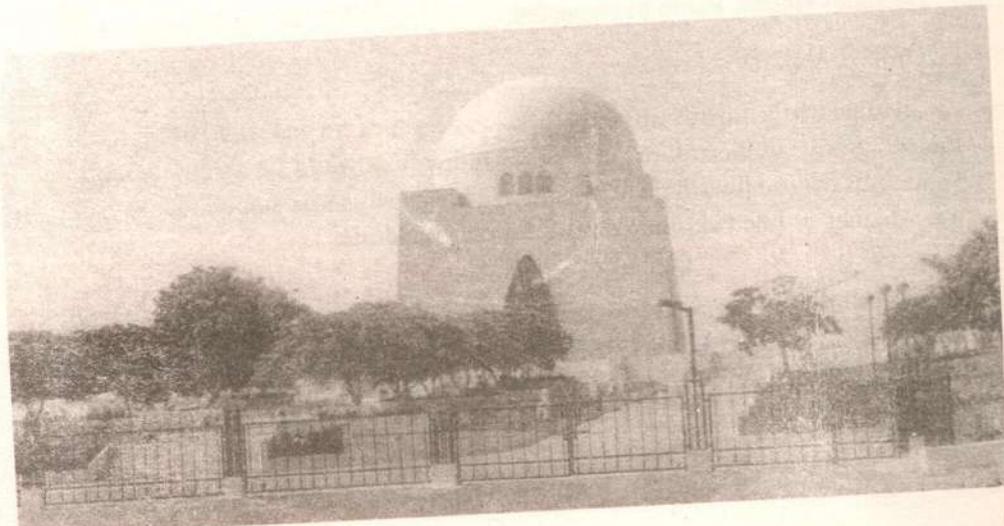
The Times, London 13 September 1948

SOURCE F: 'CREATING A NATION'

Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three.

Professor Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, OUP [1984]

The Residency in Ziarat, where
Quaid-i-Azam spent his last days



Quaid-i-Azam's
mausoleum in Karachi

HOW WELL HAD QUAID-I-AZAM SERVED HIS PEOPLE?

- He had given leadership to Muslims and turned the Muslim League into a powerful political movement.
- He persuaded the reluctant British Government that a united India would not work and that partition was both desirable and practical.
- As first Governor General of Pakistan he directed the government in overcoming the chaotic transition to independence.
- He motivated the new Pakistani population to face up to and overcome the immediate problems.
- He stood firm against Indian hostility and intransigence on issues such as Kashmir and the waters dispute.
- By his actions, Quaid-i-Azam ensured the survival, doubted by many, of the new state of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam was surprised by his own success. As he took office as the first Governor General he said, 'Do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to be very grateful to God for what we have achieved.'

Quick questions:

- a Why did Quaid-i-Azam disapprove of the British and American economic systems?
- b Who became known as the 'Architect of Pakistan'?
- c What were Quaid-i-Azam's views about the role of women?
- d Explain why Fatima Jinnah is known as the 'Mother of the Nation'.
- e Briefly explain Quaid-i-Azam's view of religious rights in Pakistan.
- f Explain why Source E is an important and useful source.

- Quaid-i-Azam was an exceptional leader.
- He persuaded the British that a separate nation, Pakistan, was necessary.
- He wanted an Islamic democracy.
- Everyone's religion was to be respected.

LOOKING AHEAD

At the time of Quaid-i-Azam's death the position of his beloved Pakistan was precarious. The loss of his leadership was a serious blow. No other individual would be able to sustain and motivate the nation as he had. In his speeches he had set out the ideals which he hoped would guide the nation. The question was whether or not Pakistan could follow those ideals.

'Jinnah did not want to create just another state; after all, even in his day there were many Muslim states. His dream was a grand one: what he wanted was nothing less than one of the greatest nations in the world, not just in the Muslim world. Even today the idea of Pakistan is greater than the reality of the country.'

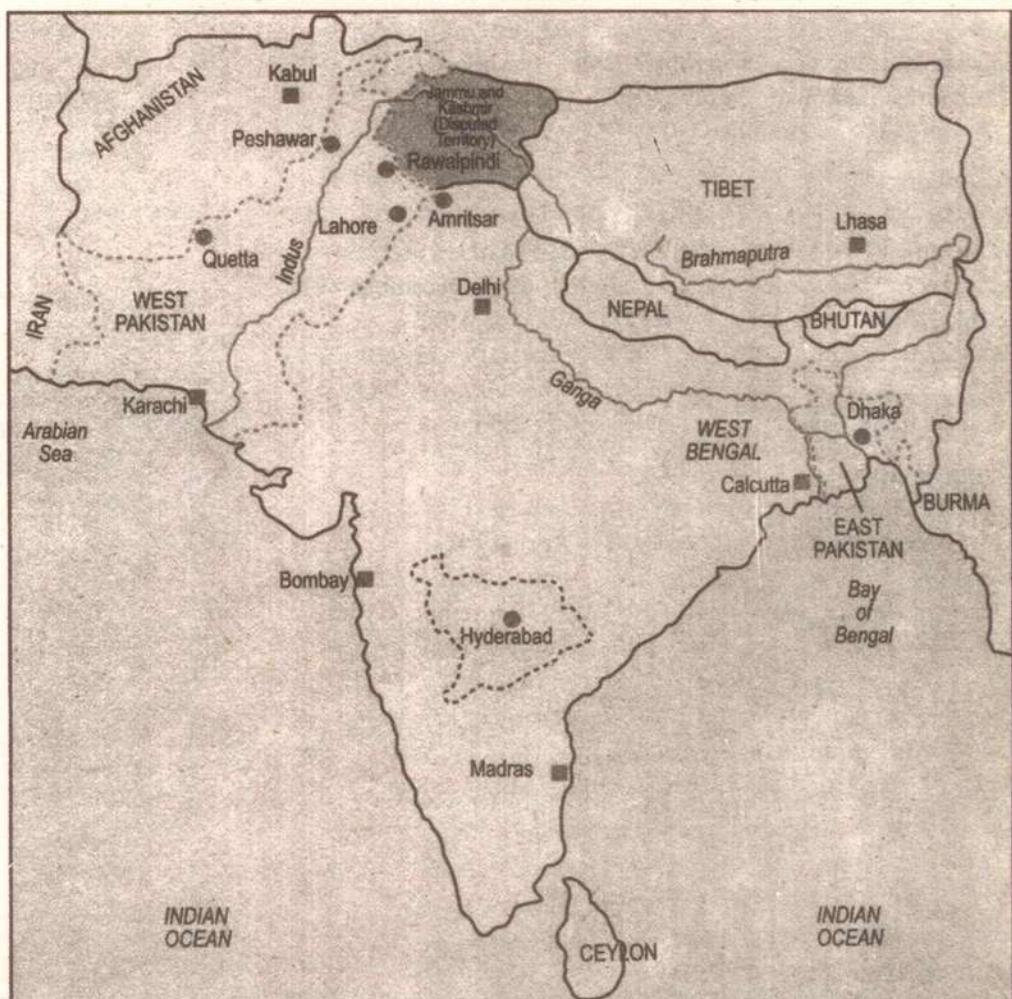
Pakistani scholar, Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, OUP [1997]

Questions:

- 1 Why do you think India and some others thought that Pakistan would collapse after the death of Quaid-i-Azam?
- 2 What were Quaid-i-Azam's aims for Pakistan?
- 3 Study Source D. Explain why you think Quaid-i-Azam made this statement.

Extended essay:

- 1 Explain the importance of Quaid-i-Azam to the existence of Pakistan.



Map 8.3: The partition of the subcontinent by the British, 1947, into Pakistan—West and East—and India

Key words

constitution: the set of rules by which a country is governed

democracy: a system by which people elect their government by free vote and have the right to freedom of speech

The Government of Pakistan

Governors General

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: August 1947 – September 1948

Khwaja Nazimuddin: September 1948 – October 1951

Ghulam Mohammad: October 1951 – August 1955

Iskander Mirza: September 1955 – March 1956

Presidents

Iskander Mirza: March 1956 – October 1958

Mohammad Ayub Khan: October 1958 – March 1969

Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: March 1969 – December 1971

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: December 1971 – August 1973

Fazal Elahi Chaudhry: August 1973 – September 1978

Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq: September 1978 – August 1988

Ghulam Ishaq Khan: August 1988 – July 1993

Prime Ministers

Liaquat Ali Khan: August 1947 – October 1951

Khwaja Nazimuddin: October 1951 – April 1953

Mohammad Ali Bogra: April 1953 – August 1955

Chaudhri Mohammad Ali: August 1955 – September 1956

H. S. Suhrawardy: September 1956 – October 1957

I. I. Chundrigar: October 1957 – December 1957

Feroze Khan Noon: December 1957 – October 1958

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: August 1973 – July 1977

Mohammad Khan Junejo: March 1985 – May 1988

Benazir Bhutto: December 1988 – August 1990

Important dates

1948	Death of Quaid-i-Azam
.....	War with India over Kashmir
1949	UN ceasefire in Kashmir
.....	Objectives Resolution passed
1951	Assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan
.....	Government decision that Urdu to be Pakistan's national language
1952
.....	The four provinces of West Pakistan merged into One Unit
1955	First Constitution of Pakistan
.....	Pakistan becomes an Islamic Republic
1958	Field Marshal Ayub Khan takes power; martial law regime
.....	System of 'basic democracy' introduced
1960
.....	Ayub Khan elected President under the system of 'basic democracy'
1961	Family Law Ordinance restricts polygamy, regulates divorce, and raises the minimum marriageable age for girls and boys
.....
1962	The new constitution of Pakistan
.....
1965	Ayub Khan gains 64% of the votes against Fatima Jinnah in the Presidential election
.....
1967	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto forms the Pakistan People's Party (PPP)
.....
.....	Islamabad becomes the capital of Pakistan
1970	Elections; Awami League successful in East Pakistan; PPP wins the most votes in West Pakistan
.....

A:

Constitutional problems

Key questions:

- ◆ How was the new state to be governed?
- ◆ What was the Objectives Resolution in 1949?
- ◆ Why did it prove difficult to implement the objectives?
- ◆ Why was it difficult to write a constitution?

The new nation of Pakistan had to decide how it was to be governed. On independence, the Government of India Act of 1935

Important dates

1971	India helps rebellion in East Pakistan leading to secession and creation of Bangladesh
	President Yahya Khan hands over power to Z.A. Bhutto who becomes a civilian martial law administrator
1972	Simla Agreement with India signed; Pakistani prisoners of war repatriated; territory returned
1973	Third constitution approved Banks nationalized
1974	Islamic Summit Conference held in Lahore
	India tests its first nuclear weapon
1975	Mujibur Rahman, President of Bangladesh, assassinated in Dhaka
1977	PPP success in elections challenged and followed by protests
	General Zia-ul-Haq seizes power, declares martial law; Bhutto arrested and charged with murder
1979	Hudood Ordinance specifies so-called Islamic punishments Bhutto executed; USSR invades Afghanistan
1983	Women's demonstrations against discriminatory laws; street protests against martial law
1984	Following a 'yes' vote in a referendum on Islamization, Zia claims being elected as President
1986	Benazir Bhutto returns to Pakistan after two years' exile in England, to lead PPP, and demands elections
1988	Zia killed in a plane crash
	PPP win the elections; Benazir Bhutto sworn in as Prime Minister

served as a temporary constitution until a new one could be drawn up. A Constituent Assembly was set up for this purpose and Quaid-i-Azam, President of the Assembly, was also given the title Legal Guide to the constitution-making process. He intended that the new constitution should embody Islamic democracy. However, the new state would not be theocratic—ruled by religious leaders. Their faith taught Muslims of the equality of man, justice, and fair treatment of everyone. Muslims had a duty of love and tolerance towards all human beings. All citizens, whatever their faith, would have equal rights. As a lawyer, Quaid-i-Azam was ideally qualified to lead work on the new constitution and his death was a severe setback to its progress.

WHAT WAS THE OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION?

In March 1949 the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution, *Aims and Objects of the Constitution*. It was a significant step towards the constitution. At the time, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan described it as 'the most important occasion in the life of the country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence.'

SOURCE A: KEY POINTS FROM THE OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION

- The State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;
- The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;
- The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam;
- Adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to freely profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;
- Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;
- The independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured.

Extracted from the resolution, *Aims and Objectives of the Constitution, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, 7–12 March 1949*

In response to the objections raised by some minorities' members, Liaquat Ali Khan reassured them: 'The humblest can rise to the

highest position.' Nevertheless, the *Objectives* made several references to the importance of Islam. Liaquat Ali Khan was well aware of growing demands for an Islamic constitution.

SOURCE B: 'EQUALITY OF ALL MEN'

'When we use the word democracy in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life; it relates to our system of government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men.'

The Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, speaking in the debate on the Objectives Resolution,
Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, 7-12 March 1949



Liaquat Ali Khan

Quick questions:

- a Who held the position of Legal Guide to the constitution-making process?
- b Who was Prime Minister at the time of the Objectives Resolution?
- c What was his opinion of the Resolution?
- d What protection was there in the Objectives for Muslims?
- e Explain the point made by Liaquat Ali Khan in Source B.

WHY WAS IT SO DIFFICULT TO AGREE ON A NEW CONSTITUTION?

Passage of the Objectives Resolution gave hope that a new constitution would be quickly agreed. On 28 September 1950, draft proposals based on the Objectives were put forward by the Basic Principles Committee. A bicameral legislative assembly was proposed, with the two houses having equal powers. The President was to be elected jointly by the two houses. It was also proposed that Urdu would become the official language of Pakistan.

There was immediate opposition to the proposals, especially in East Pakistan, which complained of under-representation in the proposed government. Population-wise, they were the largest but had been given equal representation with each of West Pakistan's four provinces. East Pakistan feared they would become a colony of West Pakistan. The proposal that Urdu become the official national language also concerned them.

Opposition to the constitutional proposals also came from a number of local and provincial politicians. They did not approve of the power that was proposed for the head of state and the central government.

At the same time religious groups worried that the new constitution would not put sufficient emphasis on Islam. They argued that the state should be governed entirely on Islamic principles. Faced with this growing opposition, in November 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan had to withdraw the constitutional proposals.

A year later, on 16 October 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated at Rawalpindi by a former intelligence agent. As he lay dying, he said, 'God protect Pakistan.' His death was another serious blow to the country. The nation still did not have a constitution.

- For his contribution to the Pakistan Movement and his services to the new country, Liaquat Ali Khan was popularly known as Quaid-i-Millat—Leader of the Nation. He was shot dead in October 1951, whilst addressing a public gathering. He is buried in the precincts of Quaid-i-Azam's mausoleum.

RA'ANA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN (1905–1990)

- Some firsts for women:

In 1949 she set up the All Pakistan Women's Association for the hundreds of thousands of women who had been affected by the partition. Following her husband's murder, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan devoted herself to social work but remained active in politics. In 1952 she was appointed as Pakistan's UN delegate. Between 1954 and 1966, she represented her country as the first woman ambassador to Holland, Italy, and Tunisia. In 1973 she took office as the first woman governor of Sindh.



WHAT WAS THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES?

Political parties are an important part of a democratic system of government. Following independence a number of political parties emerged. Most of them spoke for particular ethnic and linguistic groups. These parties were regional and, apart from the Muslim League, there were no proper national political parties. Because the League was led first by Quaid-i-Azam and then by Liaquat Ali Khan, it served to support the power of the central government. Liaquat Ali had little respect for any political parties which undermined the unity of the people of Pakistan.

WHY DID THE 1952 PROPOSALS FAIL TO PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION?



Following the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan the new Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, presented fresh constitutional proposals in December 1952. There were some important changes from the 1949 Objectives which had been the basis of the 1950 proposals.

SOURCE C: REVISED REPORT OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES COMMITTEE, 1952

- (i) The head of state must be a Muslim.
- (ii) In both the Upper and Lower Houses there would be an equal number of members from East and West Pakistan.
- (iii) The Lower House to have power over the budget, money bills, and motions of confidence.
- (iv) Religious minorities to have separate representation.
- (v) Adults over the age of 21 to have the right to vote.
- (vi) The Cabinet to be responsible to the National Assembly and not to the head of state.
- (vii) The head of state to appoint a board of Islamic experts to advise on legislation. In the case of objections on religious grounds the bill to be referred back to the Assembly for a further vote.
- (viii) The Assembly to decide on the official language.

However, once again, the proposals faced strong opposition. The proposed equality of representation was unpopular with both East and West Pakistan. There were fears that the religious advisory board would have a power of veto over new laws. In January 1953 Nazimuddin withdrew the proposals for, as he said, further discussion.

Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin came from West Bengal. Even so he upset Bengalis when he supported Urdu as the national language.

Quick questions:

- f Give two reasons why people in East Pakistan opposed the 1949 and 1952 proposals.
- g What happened to the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan?
- h Why did Liaquat Ali Khan disapprove of some political parties?
- i What was the purpose of the religious advisory board?

- Pakistan needed a constitution.
- Quaid-i-Azam's death delayed the process.
- 1949 Objectives promised democracy, equality, and freedom of worship.
- 1952 Principles were committed to a Muslim head of state.
- Opposition over language issues and representation of East Pakistan prevented agreement.

LOOKING AHEAD

By the mid-1950s Pakistan still did not have a constitution. At the same time the nation was facing great economic problems and considerable hostility from India. In the absence of a new constitution, the power of the government became increasingly centralized. This had started with Quaid-i-Azam, who had established a strong concentration of power as that was the need of the hour, but failure to agree a new constitution made the democratic system that he had wanted increasingly difficult to achieve. Without a new constitution the political parties failed to embrace democratic practices. In the end some people took the view that effective government was more important than democratic ideals.

Questions:

- 1 'Quaid-i-Azam would have approved of the Objectives of 1949'. Do you agree with this statement?
- 2 Why was it difficult to produce a constitution for Pakistan?
- 3 What part did these people play in the preparation of a constitution: Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Khwaja Nazimuddin?
- 4 Study Sources A and C. What kind of government did these documents propose for Pakistan?

B:

'Government by bureaucrats'

Key words

bureaucrat: an administrator, in the case of the government a civil servant

press censorship: controlling what appears in the newspapers, on radio and television

Cold War: a term used to describe the suspicion and hostility short of all-out war that prevailed after World War II between the Western bloc and the Communist countries, notably former USSR and China

Key questions:

- ◆ Why were the governments of Malik Ghulam Mohammad and Iskander Mirza described as 'government by bureaucrats'?
- ◆ How serious was the constitutional crisis of 1954–5?



Malik Ghulam Mohammad preparing to address the nation

Khwaja Nazimuddin served as Prime Minister for two years (1951–3). During his administration, tensions increased between East and West Pakistan. Economic problems and food shortages worsened and there was much discontent across the country. Bengali-speaking East Pakistan was increasingly angry over the language issue. In January 1952 on a visit to Dhaka, Nazimuddin repeated Quaid-i-Azam's commitment that Urdu would be Pakistan's national language. Although Bengalis had been concerned when Quaid-i-Azam had proposed Urdu, there had been little open protest. He hoped that a single language, Urdu, would unite the people of

Pakistan. However, this time the Bengalis, who made up 54 per cent of Pakistan's population, organized protests in which three demonstrators were killed. As a result, support for the Muslim League in East Bengal collapsed. In the end Nazimuddin was dismissed in April 1953 by the Governor General, Malik Ghulam Mohammad, who then became the real power in Pakistan.

WHY WERE THE GOVERNMENTS OF MALIK GHULAM MOHAMMAD AND ISKANDER MIRZA DESCRIBED AS 'GOVERNMENT BY BUREAUCRATS'?

Malik Ghulam Mohammad was the third Governor General of Pakistan. He took over from Khwaja Nazimuddin, after Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination in 1951, persuading Nazimuddin to become Prime Minister. Ghulam Mohammad had worked for many years as a senior official in the Indian Civil Service and had a good reputation as a financial expert. He was an experienced administrator.



General Iskander Mirza

In 1955, due to poor health, he handed the responsibility to General Iskander Mirza, who formally succeeded him in 1956 as Governor General. Neither of these two leaders had much confidence in the politicians or any faith in a parliamentary system. They believed that good public servants, such as themselves, were dedicated to administering for the public good. In their view politicians represented sectional interests and were therefore always quarrelling with one another. The inclusion in the Cabinet in 1954 of General Ayub Khan was further evidence of the influence of non-politicians on the government of Pakistan. Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister 1955–6, was another civil servant with no political experience. Because power slipped away from politicians to the bureaucrats and their military allies, the period 1951–8 became known as the period of *government by bureaucrats*.

WHAT WAS THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF 1954–5?

In April 1953 Ghulam Mohammad dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin's government and appointed Mohammad Ali Bogra as the new Prime Minister. Bogra, from East Pakistan, had little political experience and Ghulam Mohammad expected him to support his

authority and, more or less, do as he was told. But Bogra was determined to press ahead with proposals for the new constitution that brought him into conflict with Ghulam Mohammad. With the support of the Constituent Assembly, Bogra decided to curb the power of the Governor General.

With no constitution Pakistan continued to be governed under the terms of the 1935 Government of India Act. In September 1954 the Constituent Assembly unanimously agreed an important amendment to effectively limit the power of the Governor General. At the time it was passed Ghulam Mohammad was out of the country, unaware that they would try to take away some of his power.

SOURCE A: TERMS OF THE 1954 AMENDMENT TO THE 1935 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

- 1 The Governor General shall appoint a member of the assembly as prime minister who has the confidence of the majority of the Assembly.
- 2 All ministers shall be appointed from the Assembly.
- 3 The Cabinet shall hold office on the confidence of the Assembly.
- 4 The Governor General shall be bound by the advice of the ministers.

This amendment caused a political crisis. Ghulam Mohammad was furious and was not prepared to accept the decision. On 24 October he declared a state of emergency and dissolved the Constituent Assembly. He justified his actions on the ground that the assembly had lost *the confidence of the people*. Press censorship was imposed but he promised to hold new elections to decide the main issues.

Not surprisingly, opponents of Ghulam Mohammad, in particular the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan, challenged his legal right to dissolve the Assembly. After several court hearings the argument reached the highest court in the land. Justice Munir, of the Federal Court, declared on 10 May 1955, that the Governor General did have the legal power to dismiss the Assembly if the situation demanded it. Ghulam Mohammad had won. The Court's decision established in law the opportunity for others to seize power, so long as they could claim to be acting in the *national interest*. This legal decision had important consequences for the future political life of Pakistan.

Following the dissolution of the Assembly, Pakistan experienced an eight-month long period of non-democratic government.

Quick questions:

- a What announcement by Nazimuddin made people in East Pakistan very angry?
- b What was the career background of Ghulam Mohammad and Iskander Mirza?
- c Study Source A. How did the 1954 amendment limit the power of the Governor General?
- d Who challenged Ghulam Mohammad's decision in court?
- e What was the importance of Justice Munir's ruling on 10 May 1955?

WHAT WAS THE 'ONE UNIT' POLICY?

Another unpopular decision by the government, which led to unrest in both wings of the country, was the one to unify the four provinces of West Pakistan into 'One Unit'.

Since independence East Pakistan had been a single province. In 1955 the four provinces and various states of West Pakistan were merged into one unit. But although there was geographical unity as a single province there were many linguistic and ethnic differences.

The decision was taken by Iskander Mirza, then the acting Governor General. Opposition protests were ignored and, in the case of Bahawalpur and Khairpur, their state assemblies were closed down. Troops were used to crush opposition in Balochistan. In 1969 President Yahya Khan annulled the One Unit scheme.

Arguments in support of One Unit:

- Administration of a single province was more efficient and cost-effective
- A single province would bring an end to the differences, prejudices, and rivalries that existed between provinces
- Two single provinces, East and West, would make it easier to establish a constitution for Pakistan.

Not everyone, however, welcomed One Unit or the way in which it was achieved. Opponents were upset at the loss of provincial identities. Leading provincial politicians and political parties feared a loss of power. Even many of those who supported One Unit in principle, turned against it when the Government failed to keep all its promises to provincial leaders. The critics claimed that the Government had failed to deliver better administration and protection of the Sindhi language. People in East Pakistan saw the One Unit of West Pakistan as a device to curtail their majority in the National Assembly. Although East Pakistan had more people, the two provinces of Pakistan were to be given an equal number of seats.

HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE 1956 CONSTITUTION?

On 5 June 1955 parliamentary government was restored. In August 1955 Bogra was sent back to Washington as ambassador and Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, a former finance minister, was appointed Prime Minister. He contributed to the drafting and passing of Pakistan's new constitution in February 1956. This was officially adopted on 23 March 1956, to coincide with the anniversary of the Pakistan Resolution of 1940. Pakistan was now an Islamic republic.

SOURCE B: THE 1956 CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

These were the most important provisions:

- i. Pakistan shall now be known as the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'.
- ii. All citizens shall be equal before the law and the independence of the judiciary shall be guaranteed.
- iii. The president shall be a Muslim over 40 and shall be elected by the Central and Provincial Legislatures. He shall have the right to dissolve the Assembly on the prime minister's advice and shall not be able to serve more than two terms.
- iv. The president shall appoint the prime minister and the Cabinet but only members of the National Assembly can be ministers.
- v. The National Assembly shall have an equal number of seats from East and West Pakistan.

- vi. If a bill is passed by the Assembly, the president shall have to give his consent within 90 days. If he refuses, a two-thirds majority is required to force the president to sign.
- vii. The president shall have the power to pass ordinances when the Assembly is not in session.
- viii. The provinces shall have a Legislative Assembly and a governor appointed by the president.
- ix. Provincial autonomy shall be recognized in most areas except in defence and matters of national interest.
- x. The Constitution shall only be amended by a two-thirds majority in the Assembly.

In addition, it was decided that Pakistan would remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was agreed that both Urdu and Bengali would be the official languages of Pakistan. However, it was also accepted that for the following twenty years English would remain the actual official language.

After many delays, Pakistan finally had a constitution. However, it did not solve the political problems. The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but at the same time the President held the powers to interfere or even to suspend the Assembly. East Pakistan was deeply unhappy at being denied the majority in the Assembly that it believed its majority in the population deserved.

WHY WAS EAST PAKISTAN UPSET OVER THE ELECTORATES ISSUE?

The constitution did not resolve the difficult issue of separate electorates. Before independence the Muslim League had advocated separate electorates to protect the rights of minorities. Because of the distribution of Hindu voters in East Bengal, the Hindus could control about 142 out of 309 seats. Under separate electorates they would only be entitled to 70 seats. When, in April 1957, the National Assembly rejected separate electorates it simply added to the anger and frustration of many East Pakistani politicians.

Quick questions:

- f What did One Unit of West Pakistan mean?
- g Why did East Pakistan object to One Unit?
- h Who was Prime Minister at the time of the new constitution?
- i What was the official name of Pakistan in 1956?
- j Why did some people criticize the constitution?
- k Why did the electorates' issue upset East Pakistan?

- One Unit joined together the four provinces of West Pakistan.
- East Pakistan, with more people, was angry at having the same representation as West Pakistan.
- The 1956 constitution made Pakistan an Islamic Republic with a Muslim Head of State.
- Urdu and Bengali were made official languages but English was to remain for 20 years.
- East Pakistan was further angered over the question of separate electorates.

LOOKING AHEAD

Politics in Pakistan in the mid-1950s were confused and fractious. Between 1955 and 1958 there were five prime ministers. In spite of arguments over electorates, and in favour of democracy, there had not actually been any elections for the Assembly since independence. In West Pakistan there were growing demands for regional autonomy. East Pakistan was increasingly resentful. Political instability undermined economic development. It worried countries such as Britain and the USA, who needed a stable ally in such a key part of the world at the height of their conflict, the *Cold War*, with the USSR and China. Increasingly, there were those in Pakistan who took the view that if democracy could not be made to work then a more disciplined system might be better.

Questions:

- 1 'The constitutional crisis of 1955 was an argument over power'. Do you agree with this statement?
- 2 Would all Pakistanis have been pleased with the constitution, Source B?
- 3 Why was East Pakistan increasingly angry towards the government?

C:

Ayub Khan and the end of the democratic process

Key words

martial law: temporary rule by military authorities imposed upon a civilian population

Key questions:

- ◆ How did the democratic system of government end?
- ◆ Why did General Ayub Khan take power?
- ◆ How did martial law affect Pakistan?

By 1958 the government of Iskander Mirza was unpopular and the political situation was chaotic. Between 1955 and 1958 five different prime ministers tried unsuccessfully to establish a stable government. According to the Constitution elections were to be held in 1958; politicians tried to win support by any means. To most Pakistanis and the rest of the world the government seemed corrupt and inefficient. People were in despair as Pakistan faced bankruptcy and chaos. In East Pakistan, severe floods caused food shortages and great distress.

From the start Pakistan had been threatened by its powerful neighbour, India. The dispute over Kashmir emphasized the danger and a strong army was essential. The army had thus attained a very important role in the nation. As Army Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Khan, had become a well known and powerful figure. He had successfully negotiated with the USA for economic and military assistance.

MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN (1907–74)

- He was born in the North-West Frontier Province.
- He was educated at Aligarh College so that he would, in the words of his father, *feel like a Muslim*, and at Sandhurst, a British college for training army officers.
- Commissioned an army officer in 1928, he fought against the Japanese in Burma in World War II.
- In 1951 he became the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief.
- Following his retirement he wrote his autobiography, *Friends Not Masters*.



HOW DID AYUB KHAN TAKE POWER?

On 7 October 1958 martial law was declared by President Iskander Mirza. It was to remain in force until 1962. The constitution was abrogated, and the Laws (Continuance in Force) Order was passed. The jurisdiction of the courts was restored—but no one could question the Chief Martial Law Administrator or those working on his orders. This meant that the army was effectively running the government. General Mohammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, took the role of Chief Martial Law Administrator. On 27 October he removed Iskander Mirza from office and exiled him to England. With Mirza's removal, power was entirely in Ayub Khan's hands and he took on the office of President as well. To his supporters this event was known as the 'Glorious Revolution'. Throughout Ayub Khan's rule, 27 October was officially celebrated as 'Revolution Day'.

WAS AYUB KHAN'S TAKEOVER LEGAL?

Both President Mirza and Ayub Khan were worried that their takeover would be ruled as illegal because it went against the terms of the 1956 Constitution. However, the validity of the Laws Order was questioned before the Supreme Court. On 27 October 1958 Chief Justice Munir of the Supreme Court of Pakistan declared their actions to be legal, with the ruling that the peaceful 'revolution' had succeeded and had therefore ended the constitution. People, the court said, had to obey the new government.

WHY DID AYUB KHAN DECIDE TO TAKE POWER?

He was convinced that by 1958 the system of parliamentary democracy had well and truly failed. General Ayub Khan's dislike of politicians was increased by their frequent criticisms of both the army and his leadership.

SOURCE A: 'BITTER WAR AGAINST EACH OTHER'

'Politicians have waged a ceaseless and bitter war against each other regardless of the ill effects on the country, just to whet their appetites and satisfy their base'

The Rawalpindi Conspiracy

In March 1951 several army officers, disappointed over a cease-fire in Kashmir, plotted to replace the government with a military dictatorship. At that time, the Army Commander-in-Chief, General Ayub Khan, reminded his soldiers that they should not get involved in politics. At Sandhurst, he had been instructed in the British rule that soldiers should never intervene in politics.

demands...no limit to the depth of their baseness, chicanery, deceit, and degradation.

Extract from a broadcast by Ayub Khan on Radio Pakistan, 8 October 1958

REASONS FOR AYUB KHAN TAKING OVER

1. Political chaos
2. Pakistan faced serious economic problems
3. Pakistan was constantly threatened by India
4. The Army was the only properly functioning institution.

Quick questions:

Quick questions:

- a Why was the army important in Pakistan?
- b Where was Ayub Khan educated?
- c Name Pakistan's two presidents in October 1958.
- d What can we learn from Source A?

SOURCE B: AYUB KHAN - IN HIS OWN WORDS

- 'I was certain (in 1947) of one thing: Pakistan's survival was vitally linked with the establishment of a well-trained, well-equipped, and well-led army.'
- 'I concluded (in 1948) that little constructive work was being done by the government and energies were getting diverted into political channels. I would come back (in 1951) from my visits to Karachi depressed and distressed, wondering what was happening to the country. Why were people not attending their work with some honesty of purpose and why could they not evolve some team spirit.'
- 'I wondered (about the Cabinet after the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan) at how callous, cold-blooded, and selfish people could be. It seemed that every one of them had got himself promoted in one way or another.'
- 'Yesterday's (1954) traitors were today's Chief Ministers, indistinguishable as Tweedledum and Tweedledee!'

Extracts from Ayub Khan's autobiography, *Friends Not Masters*, OUP [1967]

SOURCE C: THE REAL DANGER

'Attend to your leaders who are wrecking the country. Don't talk of the external dangers. The real danger is within the country. Can't you see it?'

Ayub Khan speaking to journalists in Rawalpindi in 1958

HOW DID MARTIAL LAW AFFECT PAKISTAN POLITICS?

On taking power Ayub Khan annulled the 1956 Constitution. The National Assembly was dismissed and a huge number of national and provincial politicians were arrested and charged with corruption. Political parties were made illegal and there were strict controls

on people holding meetings and on the freedom of the press. More than 1600 civil servants, screened for 'misconduct', were either dismissed or forced into early retirement.

Determined to rid Pakistan of the politicians he so disliked, Ayub Khan made the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO). Anyone accused of corruption or improper behaviour could choose between either a trial or retirement from public life. Anyone found guilty was banned from public office until 31 December 1966. About 7000 people were dealt with by EBDO. This effectively eliminated many important figures who might have challenged Ayub Khan's rule.

Quick questions:

- e In about twenty words describe Ayub Khan's view of politicians.
- f What were the consequences of Ayub Khan's Martial Law?
- g How did Ayub Khan make sure that he was not criticized?

- Political disagreements made the government unstable.
- Ayub Khan blamed politicians for Pakistan's many problems.
- Ayub Khan seized power to provide strong government.
- Political opposition was effectively prevented.

LOOKING AHEAD

Politicians certainly disliked General Ayub Khan's seizure of power but were powerless to do anything about it. Ordinary Pakistanis, as well as friendly nations, hoped that the general would successfully deal with the many problems facing the country. They hoped he would not be too repressive and would prepare the way for a return to democracy.

Questions:

- 1 What do you think might have been the reaction of the following people to Ayub Khan's takeover?
 - a a member of the Assembly
 - b an army officer
 - c a businessman
 - d a civil servant
 - e a journalist
 - f an ordinary citizen
- 2 Sources A, B, and C are Ayub Khan's own words. How reliable and useful are they in understanding the events of October 1958?
- 3 Using the sources and your own knowledge explain what happened to the government of Pakistan in October 1958.

Extended essay:

1. Discuss the problems of governing Pakistan between Independence and October 1958.

D:

The Decade of Development

Key words

black market: buying and selling things illegally

census: a count of all the people in a country

inflation: prices rise faster than wages

Key questions:

- ◆ Why is the period 1958–68 known as the Decade of Development?
- ◆ What were Ayub Khan's achievements?

Ayub Khan's justification for taking power was that the politicians had failed to govern Pakistan properly. Their behaviour, so he claimed, had prevented Pakistan from making economic and social progress. He claimed concern for what he called the *real people*, the rural classes. He promised to bring about important reforms that were essential to modernize Pakistan. The population of Pakistan continued to increase rapidly, with a corresponding demand for food, jobs, and housing.

WHAT DID AYUB KHAN DO FOR THE PEOPLE?

- Action to stop hoarding, end the black market and action against smuggling

With many shortages of goods there was ample opportunity for some people to make a great deal of money by selling goods on the black market. Some goods were hoarded so that the price would rise and they could be sold at a bigger profit. All this put up the prices of goods that ordinary people had to pay in the shops and markets. Tough action brought down prices. Goods were seized from profiteers and many arrests were made.

- Fixed the price of essential foods

Shortly after taking power, the government fixed the price of milk, vegetables, and ghee to stop traders making too much profit at the expense of the people.

- New housing developments

Thousands of people who had been displaced by partition still lived in dreadful slums. A new and enthusiastic Minister for Rehabilitation, Lieutenant-General Azam Khan, set about tackling the refugee housing problems. A massive new housing development at Korangi provided new homes for refugees living in Karachi.

- Reform of the marriage and divorce laws

In 1961 the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance helped improve the position of women. Divorce by simple repudiation was no longer allowed. Marriages and divorces had to be registered and approved by a court. Further marriages also had to be approved by a court.



Ayub Khan with Altaf Gauhar, during a visit to the National Reconstruction Bureau, Rawalpindi, 1964

The minimum age for marriage was set at 16 for women and 18 for men. Although these laws were difficult to enforce, there is no doubt that they were an important step towards improving the rights of women.

The Decade of Development

Educational reforms

Ayub Khan's efforts at educational reform had mixed results. The wide-ranging *Report of the Commission on National Education* was very important in the development of education in Pakistan. It identified the importance of education as an investment in national growth. As a result education up to Class V was made free and compulsory. Secondary education boards were set up to oversee secondary schooling up to Class XII. University reforms were more difficult. There was great student anger at the decision to extend degree courses from two to three years. So great was their opposition that it had to be scrapped after two years. Progress was made to improve scientific education and research.

Land reforms

Immediately on taking power, Ayub Khan set up the Land Reform Commission. This led to a series of important land reforms aimed at providing security of tenure and fairer distribution and ownership of land. A limit was set for individual landowners of 500 acres of irrigated land or 1000 acres of unirrigated land. Over this limit land, known as resumed land, was taken by the government which paid compensation with interest-bearing bonds. In turn, the resumed land was sold to those tenants who actually farmed it or was sold at auction. Although some people benefited, the powerful landlords managed to hang on to most of their huge land holdings. Quite a bit of the land they gave up was actually very poor land that they were glad to get rid of!

WHY IS THIS PERIOD OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT KNOWN AS THE GOLDEN DECADE?

Economic development was a priority for Ayub Khan. For a long time he had been Chairman of the Planning Commission, and he recruited able economists and advisers, many of whom had been trained in the USA. He particularly admired graduates of Harvard University in Boston. So successful were his policies that businessmen and leaders around the world began to praise the 'Pakistan miracle'. Pakistan achieved faster economic growth than neighbouring India.

Private enterprise was central to Ayub Khan's plans for economic growth. He looked to private investment to build new manufacturing plants and improve agricultural output. Businesses liked stable government. They also liked cuts in taxation such as the abolition of the Business Profits Tax. All this encouraged companies to expand.

During the Second Five Year Plan (1960-5), manufacturing output grew at an annual average rate of around 11.5 per cent. During this period people's incomes went up by an average of 14 per cent. It was an impressive achievement. Unfortunately, most of this improvement took place in West Pakistan and this added to the resentment already felt in East Pakistan. It was also true that many ordinary Pakistanis saw little improvement in their standard of living. Most of the benefits went to those who were directly involved as owners, investors, or managers in the businesses that were expanding. The number of people living in severe poverty actually rose from 8.65 million in 1963 to 9.33 million.

Going decimal

- On 1 January 1962 people had to start getting used to decimal currency. Under the new system, the rupee remained the same in name and value but it was divided into 100 paisa instead of the old 16 annas or 64 paisas or 96 pice.
- The 10 rupee note is still in use but the coins shown below are no longer used.



Population of (West) Pakistan (in millions)

1948	33.5*
1951	35.4
1961	43.7
1981	84.7

*Pakistan Government estimate; other figures from censuses.



Stamps like these were issued to mark the agricultural and industrial growth in the Decade of Development.

by 1968. This was also due to uncontrolled population growth that undercut whatever economic growth there may have been, even in the West Wing.

SOURCE A: CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH

'22 industrial families controlled 66 per cent of Pakistan's industry and 80 per cent of the country's banks and 97 per cent of insurance companies.'

Dr Mahbubul Haq, Chief Economist of the Planning Commission of Pakistan, 1968

LOOKING AHEAD

SOURCE B: HIGH POPULATION GROWTH

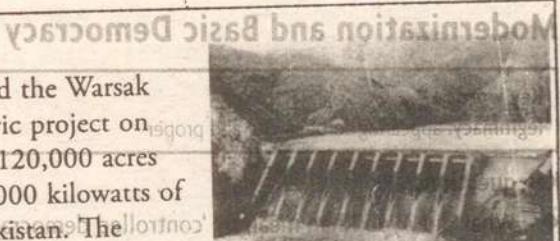
Pakistan's rate of population growth, 2.2 per cent a year, is one of the highest in the world. This meant that despite the slight gain in total national income, per capita income declined during the year. Where national income had been the equivalent of 261 rupees for every man, woman and child in Pakistan a year ago, it was down to 259 rupees in the last year (1963) simply because the number of people here increased faster than national income.

Jacques Nevard writing in the *New York Times*, 13 January 1964

Pakistan received practical aid from developed countries including the USA and Japan. They liked the fact that Ayub Khan was encouraging the private sector and promoting industrialization. They saw the opportunity for their own companies to invest and prosper in Pakistan. Between 1960-5, Pakistan received \$1818.7 million in aid from other countries. Just over half of this aid, 50.9 per cent, came from the USA. A strong and stable Pakistan was just what they wanted.

WARSAK DAM

President Ayub Khan officially opened the Warsak Dam in 1961. This huge hydro-electric project on the Kabul River was built to irrigate 120,000 acres of thirsty land as well as supply 160,000 kilowatts of electricity for a large area of West Pakistan. The project was financed jointly by Canada and Pakistan.



The Third Five-Year Plan was prepared when prospects for the economy were looking very good. The plan proposed to create at least 5.3 million new jobs. The Plan attempted to reduce the economic differences between East and West Pakistan. However, these worthwhile objectives were not achieved. Military conflict with India, rising inflation, food shortages caused by floods and drought, all knocked Ayub Khan's economic plans off course. They also made life difficult for most Pakistanis, who became increasingly disenchanted with the government.

Quick questions:

- What reason did Ayub Khan give for taking over power?
- Explain the importance of the Report of the Commission on National Education.
- How did poor people benefit when Ayub Khan took over?
- Explain the term 'Pakistan miracle'.
- Why did countries such as the USA and Japan want to invest in Pakistan?

- Ayub Khan claimed politicians had failed to govern properly.
- He introduced reforms including control of prices, housing, and women's rights.
- His government achieved good economic growth.
- However, ownership of 66 per cent of industry remained in the hands of 22 wealthy families.

LOOKING AHEAD

Many people had shared Ayub Khan's low opinion of the politicians. Even so, there was a growing expectation in Pakistan and abroad that the nation would begin to move towards a more democratic system of government. The problem for Ayub Khan was how to achieve this without jeopardizing the stability that he thought was essential for economic growth. He would need to find a way of appearing to be democratic whilst not giving the politicians any opportunity to undermine his policies.

Questions:

- 1 How did Ayub Khan change people's lives?
- 2 Do you think that the term Golden Decade correctly describes the period 1958–68?
- 3 Explain how Ayub Khan's opponents could use the evidence in Sources A and B.

E:

Modernization and Basic Democracy

Key words

legitimacy: appearing to be lawful and proper

Key questions:

- ◆ What did Ayub Khan mean by 'controlled democracy'?
- ◆ Why did Islamabad replace Karachi as the capital?
- ◆ How did Ayub Khan try to modernize Islam?

Ayub Khan had seized power because he had no faith in the democratic parliamentary process. But he wanted to show that he did, in fact, have the support of the people. With political parties banned and controls on what the press could print he established a system of *controlled democracy*. At local level, people had the chance to be elected to their local committees that ran their own communities. The important thing was that for all important national decisions power lay with the President and there was no opportunity for any effective opposition. It was a clever system which gave the President legitimacy in foreign eyes.

Queen Elizabeth II on a state visit to
Pakistan, seen with Ayub Khan



WHAT WAS MEANT BY BASIC DEMOCRACIES?

On 27 October 1959, the first anniversary of his takeover, Ayub Khan announced the Basic Democracies Order.

Basic Democracies — the levels of government under the President

Provincial Development Advisory Councils (PDAC) (2)

(members appointed by the President)

To decide national policies such as education, economic and agriculture

District and Divisional Councils (16) (based on population)

(members were civil servants appointed by PDAC)

Extensive powers to adapt national policies to local circumstances

Thana or Tehsil committees (655)

To supervise distribution of resources

Local committees: rural union and urban union committees (7300)

(members elected by the people, known as Basic Democrats (BDs))

To raise local taxes; supervise local services such as sanitation and roads

Those who were elected on to the lowest tier of government, the local committees, were given the title Basic Democrats (BD). There were about 80,000 Basic Democrats, later increasing to 120,000. The first elections for the BDs were held between 26 December 1959 and 7 January 1960. Political parties were not allowed to take part. Then Ayub Khan gave the newly elected BDs the chance to vote in a referendum as to whether or not he should remain as President. About 95 per cent of them voted for him. Ayub Khan, who had seized power, was then able to claim that he had the backing of the people of Pakistan.

SOURCE-BASED EXERCISE: Progress in Pakistan

On rare occasions, in a few places and for a limited time, the firm rule of a dictator can serve a useful purpose. A strong man, straightening out a mess and then seeking and getting a true popular mandate for a term of office, can be a godsend to a country...

Field Marshal Ayub has just received an overwhelming vote of confidence from the electors of Pakistan. Eight thousand village councillors were popularly chosen last November and they have now given the Field Marshal a mandate...

The situation at the time of the military coup in 1958 was appalling. Corruption, black markets, smuggling, tax evasion, inflation, an exchange crisis, extreme poverty, high illiteracy and the bankruptcy of parliamentary democracy had brought an intolerable situation. President Ayub imposed honesty, enforced price controls on basic products, reduced Government expenditures, collected back taxes, spurred industrial production and, in short, transformed the situation in a favorable way in every respect. One cannot wonder that he has now been given voluntarily by the people the right to maintain the position and the power which he seized in 1958.

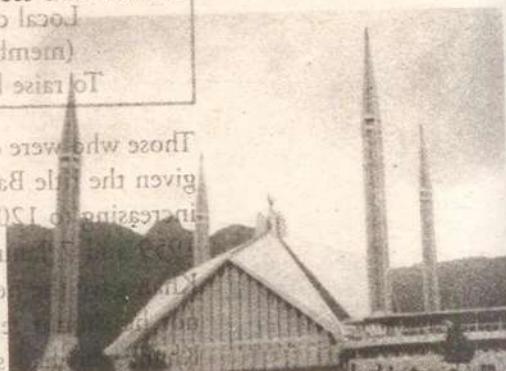
Editorial comments in the *New York Times*, 16 February 1960

Questions on source-based exercise:

- What favourable points are made about Ayub Khan's government?
- What justification does the article give for the rule of a dictator?
- How has Ayub Khan shown that he has support?
- Would everyone have agreed with this article?
- How important do you think this article would be to Ayub Khan?

WHY WAS ISLAMABAD CHOSEN TO REPLACE KARACHI AS THE CAPITAL?

Until 1958 the intention had been (to) build a new capital at Gadap, near Karachi. Instead, in 1960, the government moved several hundred miles from Karachi to the Punjab. Whilst a new capital city, Islamabad, was being built, temporary buildings were used at Chaklala, just outside Rawalpindi. By the end of the 1960s the government was settled in Islamabad. One of the reasons given for the change was that Islamabad was a more favourable location with a better climate. Another important reason was that that government officials would be well away from the commercial influences that were so strong in Karachi. It was also seen as a move to shift the power base from the industrially and commercially developed south to the Punjab in the north. Probably the most important consideration for Ayub Khan was his wish to be close to the army's command headquarters. The change was yet another cause of discontent in East Pakistan. They preferred other sites for the national capital including, of course, in their part of the country. Building Islamabad cost a great deal of money at a time when many Pakistanis were experiencing shortages. This, together with the claim that Ayub Khan's friends in the army and in industry were making fortunes out of land speculation in the new city, caused great resentment.

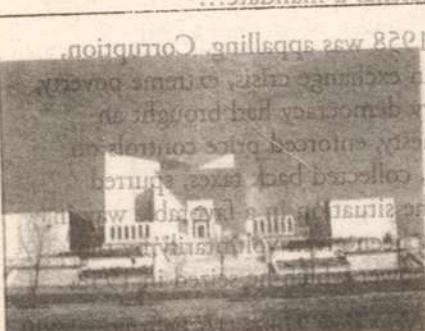


bequeath of Pakistan.

The Faisal Mosque is one of the largest in the world. Its sweeping roofs remind worshippers of a tent in the desert and can accommodate 15,000 people.

SOURCE-BASED EXERCISE

In 1958 a site in the Potohar Plateau, immediately north of Rawalpindi was chosen as the permanent capital. Rawalpindi was designated as the temporary capital. Work on the new capital began during the 1960s. The planning and construction was largely headed by the Greek urban planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis. In 1967, the capital was officially moved from Rawalpindi to Islamabad. Some of the landmark buildings in Islamabad are shown here.



The Supreme Court



The State Bank of Pakistan



The National Assembly

of Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Institute, he was not obliged to subscribe to its recommendations. Although the President appointed an Advisory Council

Quick questions:

- Who had the power in Pakistan under controlled democracy?
- What was the role of the Basic Democrats?
- Explain how Ayub Khan was able to claim that he had the support of the people.
- Give two reasons why a new capital was built.
- What criticisms were made of the new capital?

HOW DID THE 1962 CONSTITUTION WORK?

Ayub Khan appointed a commission to prepare a new constitution. When he did not like their proposals he presented his own! The new constitution of 1962 was an extension of controlled democracy and guaranteed far-reaching powers for the President. It also decreed that he remain as President till a successor was found, because of his election in 1960. Only Basic Democrats would be able to vote in future elections for the National Assembly as well as for the President.

1962 Constitution*

PRESIDENT

(elected by Basic Democrats)

Must be a Muslim

Can make any law he chooses

Can reject laws made by the
National Assembly

Can enact emergency powers

National Assembly

(elected by Basic Democrats)

• Single chamber

• Makes laws subject to presidential
approval

• Controls Supreme & Federal
Courts

Provincial Assemblies (5)

(elected by Basic Democrats)

• Make laws subject to presidential
approval

• Control Provincial Courts

*The Constitution remained in force until 25 March 1969.

HOW DID AYUB KHAN TRY TO MODERNIZE ISLAM?

Some of Ayub Khan's decisions worried some Muslims. In 1962 the term *Islamic Republic* was dropped in favour of simply *Republic of Pakistan*. So great was the outcry that in 1963 *Islamic Republic* was restored. It showed the determination of the Islamic parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), whose leader, Maulana Maududi, was wholly opposed to many of Ayub Khan's actions. Throughout 1962 the JI fired off a series of criticisms of decisions, including the Muslim Family Laws, the building of cinemas, and the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology. Ayub Khan appointed this body to advise him as to whether or not policies and laws were acceptable on Muslim principles. The trouble was that he was not obliged to accept their recommendations. Laws, in Ayub Khan's view, did not necessarily have to be determined by Islam although, in his words, they

should not be repugnant to Islam. Although the President appointed an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and an Islamic Research Institute, he was not obliged to accept their proposals.

HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1965?

On 2 January 1965 Ayub Khan won a decisive 64 per cent of the vote in the presidential election. His victory was no surprise because only BDs, who after all owed their influence to his system, were able to vote. Nevertheless, the size of the vote for his opponent, Miss Fatima Jinnah, was significant. She campaigned on the slogan *Democracy versus dictatorship*. Wherever she went huge crowds cheered her, but they were not able to vote in the election. It was clear to everyone in Pakistan and around the world that in a democratic election Ayub Khan would probably have been defeated. So, in spite of his victory, Ayub Khan's position was actually weakened by the election. In particular the people of East Pakistan, many of whom had supported Miss Jinnah, felt increasingly unhappy with his rule. Most of those who advised him, served in important positions in the government or the army, were from West Pakistan.

SOURCE A: MISS JINNAH SAYS AYUB BREEDS FEAR

Miss Fatima Jinnah, opening her campaign for the Presidency of Pakistan, charged tonight that the Government of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan had created 'an atmosphere laden with fear and reeking with corruption.'

On the eve of her first campaign tour through West Pakistan, the 72-year-old Miss Jinnah urged the people not to permit the nation to drift off the course charted by her brother, the late Mohammad Ali Jinnah who is revered as the founder of Pakistan.

'Come out in the open, work hard and contribute so that Pakistan may live, so that our people may thrive and become prosperous, so that generations after us may breathe freely from the air which is unpolluted by moral and political corruption.'

News report in the *New York Times*, 1 October 1964



Miss Fatima Jinnah's decision to stand as a candidate for the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) was a shock to Ayub Khan. In a free election, with all adults able to vote, she would certainly have won.

HOW WAS AYUB KHAN FORCED TO RESIGN?

For one year, 27 October 1967 to 27 October 1968, the Government celebrated the *Decade of Development* (1958–68). People were angry that millions of rupees were spent on these celebrations at a time when they were experiencing economic difficulties. As you have seen, the period after 1965, the Third Five Year Plan, was one of great difficulty. Taxes were increased, prices went up, and there were many shortages. There was a lot of criticism over the cost of building the new capital city. When the Planning Commission report revealed that only a few families controlled most of the nation's wealth, it added to people's anger. Even those middle class people who had benefited from Ayub Khan's policies were unhappy as they had no political voice.

Pakistan's military defeat at the hands of India in 1965 was also a severe blow. Ayub Khan felt he had to accept a humiliating cease-fire against the advice of his popular Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Opposition politicians were quick to criticize Ayub Khan and demanded a return to democratic politics. In 1966 Bhutto resigned from the government—he was a popular figure and his departure was damaging to Ayub

Khan. In 1967 Bhutto organized a new mass political party, the Pakistan People's Party. The protests they organized soon turned into serious disturbances and Ayub Khan placed his former minister under arrest for several weeks.



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto addressing a public meeting

During 1968 the protests and riots were impossible to stop. Bhutto captured the public mood in West Pakistan with his campaign for *Islamic Socialism*. In East Pakistan Mujibur Rahman's Awami League became a serious threat to the President's authority. In desperation, Ayub Khan again declared martial law on 17 March 1969. For Ayub Khan this was really an admission of defeat in all that he had tried to achieve since taking power in 1958. A week later, on 25 March 1969, he resigned and handed over power to the Army Chief of Staff, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan.

1968 — YEAR OF PROTEST

The year 1968 was the most turbulent year since the end of World War II and not just in Pakistan. The entire post-World War order was challenged in a chain of insurrections, extending from America to Western and Eastern Europe as well as Pakistan.

Serious rioting occurred in: Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Spain, Mexico, Japan, and the USA. In France, the government of General Charles de Gaulle was brought down, and in the USA, Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy were assassinated.

Quick questions:

- f How did Ayub Khan make sure that he kept his power under the 1962 Constitution?
- g Why did some Muslims worry about Ayub Khan's policies?
- h Study Source A. What did Fatima Jinnah mean by 'not to permit the nation to drift off the course charted by her brother'?
- i Who was the Foreign Minister in 1965?
- j Give three criticisms made of Ayub Khan in 1968.
- k What happened in March 1969?

In 1962 Ayub Khan dissolved a new mass political party, the Pakistan People's Party.

- Controlled democracy gave the impression that the people had some say in government.
- Power remained in the hands of President Ayub Khan.
- 1962 Constitution: power was still in the hands of the President; the term 'Islamic Republic' was dropped but reinstated in 1963.
- 1965 election: significant support for Fatima Jinnah undermined Ayub Khan.
- Economic problems and military defeat by India led to increasing protests.
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's campaign in West Pakistan and the Awami League in East Pakistan forced Ayub Khan to declare martial law and then to resign.

LOOKING AHEAD

With the handover to Yahya Khan, Pakistan was still very far from the democratic system that protesters led by Bhutto were demanding. The situation in East Pakistan was deteriorating. Yahya Khan's period of office was to be quite short but saw serious and damaging changes in Pakistan. Perhaps he was simply unfortunate to take office at the wrong time. Other judgements of his presidency, such as foolish or even traitorous, were harsher.

Questions:

- 1 Explain how the system of controlled democracy worked.
- 2 Controlled democracy was a clever system which gave the President legitimacy in foreign eyes.
- 3 Do you agree with this statement?
- 4 How democratic was the 1962 Constitution?
- 5 What part did Fatima Jinnah and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto play in the downfall of Ayub Khan?

1968 — YEAR OF PROTESTS

Extended essay:

- 1 Using the information and Source A, explain how Ayub Khan lost power and was compelled to resign in 1969.

Pakistan:

Source A: In 1968, Ayub Khan faced a series of protests across the country, including strikes and demonstrations. These protests were organized by various groups, including students, workers, and farmers. The most significant protest was the 'March of Millions' in Lahore, where millions of people marched through the city demanding political reforms and an end to corruption. The government responded to these protests by declaring martial law and dissolving the National Assembly. This led to a period of instability and political uncertainty in Pakistan.

Quick questions:

- 1 How did Ayub Khan make sure that he kept his power under the 1965 Constitution?
- 2 Why did some Muslims mostly support Ayub Khan's policies?
- 3 Study Source A. What did Fatima Jinnah mean by 'not to permit the nation to drift off the course charted by her brother'?
- 4 Who was the Foreign Minister in 1965?
- 5 Give three criticisms made of Ayub Khan in 1968.
- 6 What happened in March 1968?

Key words

secede: one part of a country breaks away from the rest

federal: states join under a central authority but are independent in internal matters

universal suffrage: every adult is allowed to vote

civil war: war between citizens of the same country

East Pakistan was much smaller than West Pakistan but it had a larger population.

Although religion divided the two peoples, there were many economic similarities. Government and administration was centralized by

the difference of nearly 1000 miles across India that separated the two provinces. With

the capital in Karachi, there was widespread fear that the Indian government would

turn in the interests of West Pakistan. East Pakistan had little control over its own affairs.

Independence in 1947 Bengal Muslims had tried to become the province of

Bengal prior to independence. The Central Government of India

Centres with its borders and boundaries now to India.

The 1970s Onwards

A:

The secession of East Pakistan, 1971

Key questions:

- ◆ Why did East Pakistan break away?
- ◆ How did Pakistan deal with the crisis?
- ◆ How significant was India's role?
- ◆ Why was the Simla Accord important?

	Important dates
March 1969	Anti-government protests in East Pakistan
November 1969	President Ayub Khan replaced by Yahya Khan; martial law imposed
November 1970	Elections cancelled
December 1970	Cyclone and tidal wave devastate East Pakistan
February 1971	Elections: Awami League scores victory in East Pakistan
3 March 1971	Meeting of Constituent Assembly postponed
25 March 1971	Awami League organizes week-long general strike
6 December 1971	Army mounts operation against protesters
7 – 13 December 1971	India recognizes Bangladesh's government-in-exile
16 December 1971	Indian Army invades and assists East Pakistan to secede
10 January 1972	New state of Bangladesh declared
2 July 1972	India and the USSR recognize the new state
	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman returns to independent Bangladesh as Prime Minister
	India and Pakistan sign the Simla Agreement; the 1971 war formally ends

In 1971 East Pakistan seceded to form the independent state of Bangladesh. This was the culmination of long-running problems and disagreements between the two parts of Pakistan. Intervention by India led to war between the two nations. The United Nations failed to support Pakistan's case after Indian troops invaded East Pakistan.



Map 10.1 In 1947 the province of Bengal was divided between India and Pakistan. Many Bengali-speaking Muslims had hoped that all of Bengal would be included in

East Pakistan.

WHAT GRIEVANCES DID EAST PAKISTAN HAVE AGAINST WEST PAKISTAN?

East Pakistan was much smaller than West Pakistan but it had a larger population. Although religion united the two peoples, there were many economic, social, and language issues that divided them. Government and administration was complicated by the distance of nearly 1000 miles across India that separated the two provinces. With the capital in Karachi, there was widespread feeling that the new state of Pakistan was run in the interests of West Pakistan. East Pakistan had suffered economically from partition which cut it off from trading with neighbouring parts of India. At the time of Independence in 1947, Bengali Muslims had tried hard to prevent the province of Bengal being split between Pakistan and India. They failed and the important city of Calcutta with its factories and port was lost to India.

These were some of their grievances:

- Bengalis valued their own language and resented Urdu as the official language.
- In spite of East Pakistan's larger population, political power rested in West Pakistan.
- Senior government officials and army generals mostly came from West Pakistan.
- The belief that money earned by East Pakistan was used to finance industrial development in West Pakistan.
- People in West Pakistan had higher incomes than those in East Pakistan.
- East Pakistan had been cut off from trading with West Bengal (in India) since 1947.
- Alleged indifference by the government to the 1970 cyclone disaster—it was not the first time they felt let down in times of calamity.
- 1970 elections made the Awami League the largest party but West Pakistan would not let their leader become the Prime Minister.
- Military crackdown in 1971 against Awami Party supporters



Scenes showing street protest in
East Pakistan

SOURCE A: 'THEY EXPLOITED US'

'Everybody earned money by using us—the British, the West Pakistanis, everybody. They treated us as a colony and used us as a market. They exploited us, the British for two hundred years and the West Pakistanis for twenty-four, but they could not suppress us. We suffered.'

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the East Pakistan Awami League, speaking in 1973

Quick questions:

- a What were the economic grievances of East Pakistan?
- b Which grievances were long-term and which were short-term ones?

President Yahya Khan was keen to solve the problem of East Pakistan but he was also prepared to use force, if necessary, to hold together a United Pakistan. He was summoned

HOW DID PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN DEAL WITH THE CRISIS?

Whilst the Six Points rallied many in East Pakistan to support Muhibur Rahman, there were many other people, especially in West Pakistan, who feared they would lead to the break-up of the nation. Pakistan would become a loose federation of states under a weak central government with hardly any power. A divided Pakistan would be weaker than its dealings with India. Those who valued a single nation were determined to resist actions that they believed would lead to separation. As a consequence, real grievances were sometimes overlooked as the argument revolved around whether or not Pakistan would stay together.

WHY DID WEST PAKISTAN RESIST EAST PAKISTAN'S DEMANDS?

- c Which demands were economic?
 - b Which demands were political?
 - a Of Pakistan.

Quick questions:

- A federation with a parliament elected by universal suffrage to make all laws and with power over the central government.
- A federal government in charge of defence and foreign affairs with all other matters being the responsibility of the individual states.
- Each half of Pakistan to control its own financial policies including currency.
- The federal government to have no right to collect taxes; all taxes to be decided by each province.
- Each half to keep its own financial revenue, such as foreign exchange and free trade between each other.
- Each province to control its own armies and police.
- These demands would obviously have led to the end of Pakistan as a single nation, in all but name.

The resentment felt by many East Pakistanis led in the late 1960s to growing support for the Awami League led by Mujibur Rahman. In 1966 he set out his demands in the

WHAT WAS THE SIX POINT PROGRAMME?

Juhibur Rahman, also known as Sheikh Mujib, was a strong believer in self-government for East Pakistan. He helped found the Awami League in 1949 and led it to victory in 1970 with a demand for autonomy. He played a key role in the successful uprising against Pakistan and became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh. However, he was intolerant of opposition and set up a one-party state. In August 1975 he and his wife were murdered in a military takeover.



HEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN (1920-75)

to free elections, but he was not willing to accept domination by East Pakistan with its fifty-five per cent of the total population.

The President ended the One Unit scheme and announced free elections.¹⁶⁹ of the National Assembly's 313 seats were allocated to East Pakistan. It was a risky strategy but he was convinced that the Awami League would win no more than 80 seats. However, in the elections held in December 1970 the Awami League won nearly every seat in East Pakistan. In West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won the most seats. Mujibur Rahman insisted that with a majority of seats in the Assembly he was entitled to form a government. Bhutto argued that *a majority alone does not count*. The PPP, he said, was also entitled to take part in the government. Attempts were made at a compromise. Talks between Bhutto and Mujibur Rahman failed. Bhutto wanted to talk about power sharing whilst Mujibur Rahman wanted to talk about constitutional changes. He wanted his Six Points to become part of the constitution. There was simply too much mistrust between them for any agreement to be reached. The President urged Mujibur Rahman to tone down the Six Points and so save Pakistan from breaking up. But Mujibur Rahman, inspired by the strong support he had won, was unwilling to give way.

YAHYA KHAN (1917–80)

Yahya Khan was Commander-in-Chief of the Army at the time he took over as President in 1969. He was a distinguished soldier and had fought in the British Eighth Army during World War II. His presidency was short and difficult because of the problem of East Pakistan. His failures and misjudged military action led to his resignation. Seen by many as responsible for the debacle in East Pakistan, and because of his unconditional surrender to India, he ended up serving five years under house arrest.



SOURCE B: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS, 1970–1

	West	East	All Pakistan total
Awami League		160	160
PPP	81	—	81
Muslim League (PML)		34	34
Other parties		15	15
Independents		16	16
Total	138	162	300

THE DID WEST PAKISTAN BEST EAST PAKISTAN'S DEMANDS?
Mujibur Rahman at a political rally

The first meeting of the newly elected Assembly was delayed. Bhutto's PPP refused to take part unless they had a guarantee that, together with Mujibur Rahman, they would be part of the central government. Postponing the Assembly provoked outrage in East Pakistan and Awami supporters started a campaign of protest under the slogan *for Bangla—Victory to Bengal*. Mujibur Rahman was now being driven by public pressure to go further than he had originally intended.



Quick questions:

- d Why was it risky to give East Pakistan 169 seats in the Assembly?
- e Do you think Yahya Khan was shocked by the results?
- f What was Bhutto's demand?
- g Why did Mujibur Rahman refuse to agree to Bhutto's demand?
- h Why were Awami League supporters angry at the delay of the Assembly meeting?

HOW DID THE SITUATION GET WORSE IN EAST PAKISTAN?

The protests in East Pakistan became more threatening to the Government of Pakistan. As the situation deteriorated, Mujibur Rahman was arrested and interned in West Pakistan. This, of course, further infuriated his supporters. Violence flared as public support for independence grew. People on both sides of the argument were hurt, including the families of West Pakistan soldiers based in the East Wing. A crackdown by troops, Operation Searchlight, included an attack on the University of Dhaka that left many dead and worsened the situation even more. Many East Pakistanis joined Mukti Bahini—People's Army, an independence movement supported by India—and prepared to fight Pakistan forces. A smaller number of people actively supported the Pakistan forces to prevent the break-up of their country. During 1971 there was considerable bloodshed as the two sides clashed in their struggle to control the country.



Police and protestors in East Pakistan, 1971

One conflict – three names

- There is disagreement on what to call these events.
- Pakistani Civil War – used by the Pakistan Army
- Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 – used by people in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh
- Liberation War of Bangladesh = official name in Bangladesh and India

SOURCE C: THE CRIME WILL NOT GO UNPUNISHED

"The man (Mujibur Rahman) and his party are enemies of Pakistan and want East Pakistan to break completely from the country. He has attacked the solidarity and integrity of this country—the crime will not go unpunished. We will not allow some power-hungry people to destroy this country...I explored every possible avenue for arriving at some reasonable solution."

President Yahya Khan in a radio speech to the people of West Pakistan

WHAT WAS INDIA'S ROLE IN THE BREAK-UP OF PAKISTAN?

The conflict between East and West Pakistan was an ideal opportunity for India to gain advantage over her enemy. From the start India had actively supported members of Mukti Bahini with weapons and training. Millions of refugees fleeing into India after the floods and then to escape the bloodshed, provided the excuse it needed to intervene. Most world opinion, shocked by the exodus of refugees, sided with India. Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, needed to win the war quickly. India needed to avoid losses in the west and to overrun East Pakistan before possible international intervention.

In fact, the war lasted only thirteen days. From 3 to 16 December 1971 Indian forces attacked both East and West Pakistan. Pakistan knew it could not prevent defeat in the east, but was determined to avoid total defeat. After heavy fighting along the uncertain borders of Kashmir and in Punjab, India had gained about 5619 square miles in Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir, while Pakistan had 121 square miles of Indian territory in the same areas. In the east, Indian troops, slowed down by swollen rivers, reached Dhaka. Further bloodshed was only avoided by Pakistan signing an unconditional surrender on 16 December—a dark day, indeed, in Pakistan's history.

Indian and Pakistani Armed Forces, 1971				
	armed forces	tanks	guns	aircraft
India	860,000	1450	3000	625
Pakistan	365,000	820	1100	285

SOURCE D: INDIA HELD RESPONSIBLE

'We believe that since the beginning of the crisis, Indian policy in a systematic way has led to perpetuation of the crisis, a deepening of the crisis, and that India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued.'

US State Department, 6 December 1971



Henry Kissinger was the main national security adviser to President Nixon in 1971. Later he served as Secretary of State and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973.

Quick questions:

- i Why was India almost certain to win any military action in East Pakistan?
- j What was the view of the USA, Source D, of the role of India?
- k Why did India actively support the break-up of Pakistan?
- l Why do you think different names are given to the war?

WHAT EFFECT DID THE LOSS OF EAST PAKISTAN HAVE ON PAKISTAN?

Defeat by India and the loss of East Wing were devastating shocks to Pakistan. Most people in West Pakistan had not realized how serious the situation had been. Confidence in the armed forces was undermined. 93,000 Pakistan troops were Indian prisoners of war. Pakistan had lost half of its navy, a third of its army and a quarter of its air force. The Indians had also occupied over 5000 square miles of territory in West Pakistan.

Defeat led to the immediate resignation of President Yahya Khan. The first task facing the new president, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was to restore confidence in the government and in the armed forces. President Bhutto appointed a commission to investigate the disastrous events of 1971. At the time its report was not officially published. In 2000 the report by the Hamoodur Rahman Commission was declassified and published by the national newspaper *Dawn*. The report reached these conclusions about the causes of the defeat:

- Military action could not replace political settlement.
- No proper dialogue took place with the elected representatives in East Pakistan.
- Excessive military force turned people against the government.
- India was keen to see the break-up of Pakistan.
- Lack of leadership in the army with a loss of the will to fight or to take vital decisions.

HOW DID THE SIMLA ACCORD RESTORE PEACE?

It was difficult to overlook the role that India had played in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Nevertheless, President Bhutto met Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Simla in India to reach a final settlement of the war. The *Simla Accord* was a major step in improving relations between the two nations. Pakistan had to accept its loss but made no concessions over Kashmir. Both sides did agree they wanted 'durable peace' and a 'friendly and harmonious relationship between the two nations'. The agreement was signed on 3 July 1972 and the prisoners of war returned home. In addition, India agreed to return 5191 square miles of captured territory to Pakistan.



Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mrs Indira Gandhi signing the accord at Simla

Quick questions:

- m Why do you think President Yahya Khan had to resign?
- n Why was the Simla Accord important?

- East Pakistan had long-running disagreements with West Pakistan.
- The 1970 election victory by the Awami League strengthened their demands.
- Protests and dealing with protesters became violent.
- India actively assisted the unrest and invaded East Pakistan.
- Pakistan's military were unable to prevent Indian forces taking control.
- Pakistan unconditionally surrendered to Indian forces in December 1971.
- East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh.

LOOKING AHEAD

The end of a united Pakistan was a terrible blow made even worse by the defeat of the armed forces. The dreams of a united Islamic state had come to an end. A weakened Pakistan had to rebuild confidence in the government and the armed forces. Their long-time enemy, India, was jubilant. But in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan had found a strong, charismatic, and sometimes ruthless leader who was capable of leading the nation through this period of crisis.

Questions:

- 1 What part did these people play in the break-up of Pakistan: Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujib, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and Indira Gandhi?
- 2 'The eventual break-up of Pakistan was inevitable.' Do you agree with this statement?
- 3 Using the sources and information in this section explain to what extent economic concerns were the real cause of the setting up of Bangladesh.
- 4 Is it correct to describe the loss of East Pakistan as a 'tragedy'?

Extended essay:

1. Using the sources and your own knowledge explain how East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh.

B:

The Bhutto Years, 1971–7

Key words

socialism: the political belief that everyone should be equal and the state should own industries on behalf of the people

nationalization: government taking ownership of land, institutions, and industry

vested interests: people who stand to benefit because of a particular (government) decision

authoritarian: taking decisions without consulting anyone and demanding total obedience

Key questions:

- ◆ What were Bhutto's political ideas?
- ◆ How did Bhutto try to change Pakistan?
- ◆ What caused his downfall?

On 20 December 1971, four days after the fall of Dhaka, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replaced Yahya Khan as President. Bhutto had already served in various ministerial jobs including the important post of foreign minister. He was leader of the PPP (Pakistan People's Party), the largest group in the now smaller National Assembly. He was the most controversial politician since independence. To his supporters he stood for social justice and dedication to the cause of self-determination for Kashmir. Bhutto inspired great devotion from his supporters, but also hatred from those who opposed him. His opponents saw him as being as dictatorial as any of the martial law governments. Bhutto's execution as a criminal, by General Zia's government in April 1979, ensured that to his followers he became a martyr. He was a courageous and exceptional man with great skills as a speaker, a lawyer, and administrator and, above all, as a politician.

JULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO (1928–79)

Bhutto served Pakistan as Minister of Commerce in 1958; Foreign Minister, 1963–6; Resident and then Prime Minister, 1971–7. Born in Larkana, Sindh, in a wealthy landowning family, he graduated in law from California and Oxford universities. He became well known for his strong criticisms of India and as a campaigner on behalf of the poor. He was recognized around the world and was keen to promote Pakistan's international image. In 1967 Bhutto set up the People's Party of Pakistan (PPP). He proposed a policy of Islamic socialism. After being removed from power by a military coup in 1977, he was found guilty of conspiracy to murder a political opponent. In spite of a worldwide appeal for his life, and serious doubts about the prosecution case, he was executed at Rawalpindi Central Jail. He is buried at his ancestral village, Garhi Khuda Bakhsh, near his family home Al-Murtaza in Sindh. His daughter, Benazir, became Prime Minister in 1988.



WHAT WERE BHUTTO'S POLICIES?

The policies of the PPP were demonstrated by their slogan, *Islam is our faith; democracy is our polity; socialism is our economic creed; all power to the people*. Bhutto described his programme as *Islamic socialism*. In December 1971 Pakistan faced serious difficulties. The loss of East Pakistan created new economic problems, as nearly 80 per cent of the nation's foreign exchange had come from jute and rice exports from East Pakistan. The cotton and textile industry in West Pakistan had depended on sales to East Pakistan.

Roti, kapra aur makan (food, clothes and shelter) had been Bhutto's campaign call in the 1970 elections. He gained great support from millions of poor people in both the towns and the countryside. In many ways he tried to keep that support.

SOURCE A: 'I BELONG TO THE PEOPLE'

'I belong to the people and love them. You have created me. My bond with you must always remain.'

Bhutto speaking to his supporters at an election rally in 1970

SOURCE B: 'THE FLOW OF WEALTH'

'All the levers are so controlled by government that it can direct the flow of wealth into the pockets of whomsoever it pleases. Now those who control the levers can also profit from the system to make themselves rich. "Power is money" means that in order to become rich one must enjoy authority or be favoured by persons wielding authority.'

Bhutto writing in 1968

PRESIDENT BHUTTO'S ACTIONS IN GOVERNMENT

The economy

The Economic Reform Order in January 1972 nationalized more than thirty large firms in the ten most important industries. A Federal Ministry of Production supervised industry. In March 1972 life insurance companies were nationalized. Privately owned banks were nationalized in 1974. Trade unions were recognized.

Bhutto hoped to raise the workers' living standards. Profits from the nationalized companies were to be spent on improving public services such as health and education. The wealth of Pakistan's twenty-two wealthy families would gradually be redistributed in a fairer way. However, allegations were made of mismanagement of the nationalized industries. Foreigners and some well-off Pakistanis, who did not like the socialist policies, took their money out of Pakistan and invested it elsewhere. Certainly, economic growth was slower than Bhutto had hoped for. But there was some success and inflation fell from 25 per cent in 1972 to 6 per cent by 1976.

Land reforms

In 1972 the maximum amount of land that anyone could own was set at 150 acres of irrigated land and 300 acres of unirrigated land. Bhutto had promised that the landless would be given land. He wanted tenants to have security of tenure; they were given the first right to buy the land that they farmed. However, because of the power of the landowners, Bhutto felt he had to act slowly. In reality, little of the land changed hands: landowners found various ways to get round the new regulations, and in some cases they even evicted tenants to stop them getting security of tenure.

Education

Bhutto tried hard to raise the literacy rate and the educational standards. The national literacy rate, at only 25 per cent, was dreadfully low. Less than half the children even went to school; many of them had frequent absences. Bhutto knew that Pakistan could not advance economically, socially, or even militarily, if there was not a rapid improvement. On 1 September 1972 nearly all schools and colleges were nationalized.

The Army

President Bhutto was keen to reduce the political influence of the army which he saw as a threat to his power. After the defeat in East Pakistan people were disappointed with the army. He removed several senior generals and restructured the army so that power was dispersed. He set up the Federal Security Force under his direct command. Critics called it a private army. The new constitution (see below) was intended to stop the military from any political involvement. Members of the armed forces had to take an oath that they would not take part in any political activities.

Quick questions:

- a What did Bhutto call his policy?
- b Explain what you think Bhutto meant in Source A.
- c Identify three things that Bhutto did which would have pleased his supporters.
- d What was the significance of the new oath for the armed forces?
- e How does Source B help us to understand Bhutto's actions?

WHAT WERE THE MAIN POINTS OF BHUTTO'S 1973 CONSTITUTION?

Between 1971 and 1973 Bhutto governed under martial law. He was the first civilian martial law administrator. In 1973, with the introduction of a new constitution, Bhutto became Prime Minister.

Key points of the 1973 Constitution:

- Pakistan to be a federal republic with a parliamentary system of government. The Prime Minister, chosen by the majority party, to be head of the government.
- Pakistan to be an Islamic Republic. Islam, as the state religion, to be emphasized and the Prime Minister and President to be Muslims.
- Fundamental human rights to be guaranteed but subject to reasonable restrictions imposed by law.
- The Supreme Court and High Courts to have the power and responsibility to enforce fundamental rights.
- The President to accept the binding advice of the Prime Minister and all orders of the President to be agreed by the Prime Minister.
- The upper house, the Senate, to be elected by the provincial governments and must not be dissolved.
- In an emergency the federal government to have authority to pass any law and even suspend fundamental freedoms.
- Members of the armed forces to take an oath promising not to take part in any political activities.

One month after the constitution came into force, a law was passed which made anyone found guilty of trying to destroy or damage the constitution punishable by death or a life prison sentence.

Quick questions:

- f Under the 1973 constitution, how did the people's votes at an election lead to a government?
- g Who had more power, the Prime Minister or the President?
- h Does a constitution such as this ensure that democracy cannot be overturned?

HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE ISLAMIC SUMMIT?

In February 1974 Bhutto organized a meeting of 35 Muslim countries and the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lahore. The Summit recognized the PLO leader Yasser Arafat as the genuine voice of the Palestinian people and pledged support for their struggle. In turn this led to the Oslo peace talks and the establishment

of the Palestinian Authority. Bringing together so many Muslim leaders was quite an achievement. The meeting projected Pakistan as a leading Muslim nation.

DECLARATION OF LAHORE

The kings, heads of state and government and the representatives of the Islamic countries and organizations proclaimed:

- 1) Their conviction that their common faith is an indissoluble bond between their peoples, that the solidarity of the Islamic peoples is based, not on hostility towards any other human communities nor on distinctions of race and culture, but on the positive and eternal precepts of equality and dignity of man, freedom from discrimination and exploitation, and struggle against oppression and injustice;
- 2) Their identification with the joint struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for social and economic progress and prosperity of all nations of the world;
- 3) Their desire that their endeavours in promoting world peace based on freedom and social justice will be imbued with the spirit of amicability and cooperation with other faiths, in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

Part of the Declaration agreed by the Leaders at the Islamic Summit in 1974.

Organizing such a successful summit meeting was probably the high point of Bhutto's period in government. Various events and processions linked to the summit allowed people in Lahore to share in the spectacle and feel part of the historic occasion.

WHAT CAUSED BHUTTO'S DOWNFALL?

It is not surprising that Bhutto's policies made him many powerful enemies. Vested interests, such as business owners and landowners, were completely against his economic policies of nationalization. The fact that Bhutto was himself from a wealthy landowning family increased their bitterness and he was attacked as a hypocrite for applying his policies selectively. Middle-class opinion criticized him for his education reforms which, they claimed, undermined academic standards in good schools. Religious groups who wanted pure Islamic laws were opposed to him. He tried, unsuccessfully, to win them over by stopping anti-Islamic activities. In Balochistan, he used the army to crush the opposition (1973–7).

Bhutto's personality and style of government also upset people. He was accused of becoming increasingly authoritarian, ruthless, and dogmatic. To his supporters this was no more than courageous determination as he dealt with challenges and opposition. Nevertheless, by 1977 his popularity was beginning to fade. At the same time his party, the PPP, was no longer the powerful political machine that it had been.

On 7 January 1977 Bhutto unexpectedly called elections. Nine political parties with very little in common with each other, joined together to present a united opposition—the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PNA promised to bring in pure Islamic laws. Bhutto, facing a surprisingly strong opposition, was fighting for his political life. In advance of the election, the PNA leader Asghar Khan, a former head of the Air Force, said they would not accept the results, claiming that they would be rigged. Crowds



The emblem of the historic Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore, 1974

attending PNA rallies were larger than expected. The government introduced restrictions that limited public meetings to no more than five people. Everyone saw this as an attempt to stop the PNA gaining support. Allegations were made of interference with the PNA campaign.

National Assembly Election Results, March 1977

Party	Candidates	Seats won	Vote %
PPP	191	155	58.1
PNA	168	36	35.4
Others	382	9	6.5

Experience of democratic elections was still quite new. It is not really surprising that irregularities should have occurred. Bhutto, so passionate in his cause and aware of the powerful interests ranged against him, could not reconcile himself to the possibility of defeat. Almost certainly some of his local supporters were responsible for malpractices that may have added 30-40 seats to the PPP total. In fact, whatever happened, it is likely that the PPP would still have won a good victory.

The allegations of a rigged election gave Bhutto's opponents all the ammunition that they needed to continue their campaign against him. They refused to accept the result and organized a wave of protests. When these were dealt with harshly by the police, anger against the government grew stronger. Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad were put under martial law. On 20 April, *Operation Wheel Jam* blocked Karachi's streets as thousands of truck and bus drivers went on strike. The PNA refused to negotiate with Bhutto.

In the end the crisis was broken on 5 July 1977 by a military coup, code-named *Fair Play*, headed by General Zia-ul-Haq, Bhutto's Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Zia accused Bhutto of ruining the economy and bringing Pakistan to the brink of civil war. 'Never resist a military coup,' said Bhutto, 'the generals want us dead. We must give them no pretext to justify our murders.'

WHAT DID PEOPLE SAY ABOUT BHUTTO?

SOURCE C: POPULAR

Bhutto remained immensely popular with the urban and rural poor to the end, but in the absence of viable independent political institutions was vulnerable to renewed army intervention on behalf of those interests which had been affronted by his populism.

Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, Hurst & Company [1998]

SOURCE D: BRILLIANT

'Mr Bhutto was charming, exasperating and quite often brilliant...amid signs of genuine progress at home, he began to tighten his grip on Pakistan when it was unnecessary to do so...Despite his wealth, Mr Bhutto retained a deeply felt commitment to the economic development of Pakistan.'

Bernard Weinraub writing in the *New York Times*, 5 April 1979

Quick questions:

- i Give two reasons why some people disliked Bhutto.
- j What did the PNA claim about the elections?
- k Why do you think General Zia called his coup Fair Play?
- l Was General Zia going against the constitution?

- Bhutto took over after the loss of East Pakistan.
- There was strong support for his policy of Islamic socialism.
- He nationalized key industries and introduced land reforms.
- Reforms provoked strong opposition from businesses, landowners, and the middle class.
- The 1973 Constitution established a parliamentary democracy.
- The 1974 Islamic Summit Conference was a triumph for Bhutto.
- 1977 saw the first ever democratic elections in Pakistan.
- The 1977 elections resulted in violent protests amid claims of vote-rigging and led to Bhutto's forced removal by General Zia.

LOOKING AHEAD

The 1977 elections had ended in accusations, political chaos, and the removal of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Although new elections were promised it was clearly difficult to persuade everyone of the value of democracy. Pakistan remained deeply divided and, in the view of many, undisciplined. The new government would have to make choices about the direction in which it led Pakistan. But whatever form of government was chosen it was bound to provoke strong opposition, especially from those who believed that the PPP had been robbed of power. Bhutto's own future was to become a hugely controversial matter that would loom over Pakistan for a long time.

Questions:

- 1 What were Bhutto's aims in government?
- 2 Why were people divided for and against what he was trying to do?

Extended essay:

1. In your own words explain how Bhutto won the election but lost power.

C:**General Zia-ul-Haq, 1977–88****Key words**

ulema: plural of *aalim*, a Muslim religious scholar, respected for his study and knowledge of Islam

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): US intelligence agency that operates with secrecy and has been involved in various subversive activities

Gross National Product (GNP): the amount of wealth earned by a nation, including earnings from abroad

inflation: when prices rise faster than peoples' earnings

Key questions:

- ◆ Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto executed?
- ◆ How did the policy of Islamization affect Pakistan?
- ◆ How did the USSR invasion of Afghanistan affect General Zia and Pakistan?
- ◆ Did General Zia intend to liberalize his regime?

On seizing power in July 1977, General Zia tried to reassure Pakistanis, as well as the world, about his intentions. He promised elections for October 1977 and said that he hoped that Bhutto and the PPP would participate. He also said that he had no wish for Bhutto to be put on trial. He wanted to give the impression that his rule was a temporary measure, say for 90 days, simply to restore law and order. 'I will never,' he told an American reporter, 'accept a political office.' In fact, there were no elections and it was not long before he was President. His coup began an eleven-year period of military rule.



High Court building in Lahore, where Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was convicted and sentenced to death

WHY WAS BHUTTO EXECUTED?

In September 1977 Bhutto was charged with conspiracy to murder. It was an old allegation that had been dismissed by the High Court. But after Zia's takeover the matter was brought up again. It certainly suited Zia to try to discredit Bhutto and remove him from political activity, but the latter continued to command great popular support throughout the country. Bhutto was found guilty on 18 March 1978, at the Lahore High Court, and was sentenced to death. Considerable criticism has been made of the case against him. Part of the trial was held in private. Bhutto refused to defend himself in this secrecy. Later, he refused to plead for his life. The Supreme Court upheld the death sentence by a vote of four to three. In spite of the great affection he was held in by so many people, and a worldwide campaign to save his life, Bhutto was hanged in the district jail at Rawalpindi on 4 April 1979. His supporters called it *judicial murder*. Neither his wife nor his daughter, Benazir, was permitted to attend his funeral. They were detained.

SOURCE A: TOLERANCE FOR THE DEPOSED LEADER

'...the general, during prayers at a mosque, urged tolerance for the deposed leader (Bhutto)...General Zia said, "Before you propose a punishment for someone ask yourself if you would like such punishment if you were in the same predicament."

Associated Press news report, 8 July 1977

SOURCE B: DEATH SENTENCE

'He was tried for murder. I have always believed in the rule of law. And the Supreme Court, the judges he had appointed, passed the sentence. I have never commuted a death sentence.'

General Zia speaking in 1988 to Emma Duncan, *Breaking the Curfew*, Michael Joseph [1989]

Quick questions:

- a How far does Source B agree or disagree with Source A?
- b Did General Zia have any choice over the execution?
- c Why did some people call the execution 'judicial murder'?

WHAT WAS GENERAL ZIA'S POLICY OF ISLAMIZATION?

General Zia-ul-Haq held the view that Pakistan's *raison d'être*—reason for existence—was to be an Islamic state. Since he had complete power, backed up by the Army, he could ignore the views of others and pursue his ambition. He revived the Islamic Ideology Council to enforce the *Islamization* programme. He hoped that he would win support from the religious groups, particularly Jamaat-i-Islami (JUI), who had opposed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

SOURCE C: CREATED IN THE NAME OF ISLAM

'This country was created in the name of Islam. You take away the ideology of an ideological state and nothing is left.'

General Zia-ul-Haq

During 1979 and 1980 a series of Islamic laws were enacted. A Federal Shariat Court was set up in 1980; it had the power to decide whether or not existing laws were Islamic. Zia insisted that all judges were made to swear allegiance to him. In 1981, for the first time, three *ulema* were appointed as judges to the Federal Shariat Court. Previously they had acted as advisers but now they were full-time judges. Later, starting in 1982, *ulema* were also appointed on to the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court.

The *Hudood* Ordinances, starting in 1977, created an Islamic Penal Code. Punishments that were intended to deter people from crime included public beatings: a Muslim found drinking alcohol faced 80 strokes of the cane. The *Zina* Ordinance impacted particularly unfairly on women. According to the Law of Evidence, 1984, the evidence of one man was taken as equal to that of two women. These Ordinances worried many Pakistanis.

It is important to know that these laws were only a small part of the legal system. For most matters the old Anglo-Indian law continued to be used. Most legal cases were still dealt with in ordinary courts.

Further results of Islamization

- New offence of disrespect for the Holy Prophet (PBUH), was punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both.
- Directives were made including a dress code, covering of the heads of women TV announcers, restrictions on women's sports, and limits on women in certain occupations, including banking and the public service.
- Zakat Ordinance, 1980, followed Islamic principles by imposing a 2.5 per cent tax on all savings above a certain amount. Shia Muslims were exempt because they believe that such giving must be voluntary. The money raised was to be used by local Zakat committees to help the poor.
- Ushr was a similar tax, 5 per cent, on all agricultural income. This, too, was to be used by the Zakat committees.
- Study of Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory in all schools and colleges.
- Candidates in civil service exams were to gain additional marks if they could show they knew the Quran by heart.

These policies damaged the international standing of Pakistan. They aroused criticism from leaders and people in other countries who did not agree with the actions of this military dictator.

Quick questions:

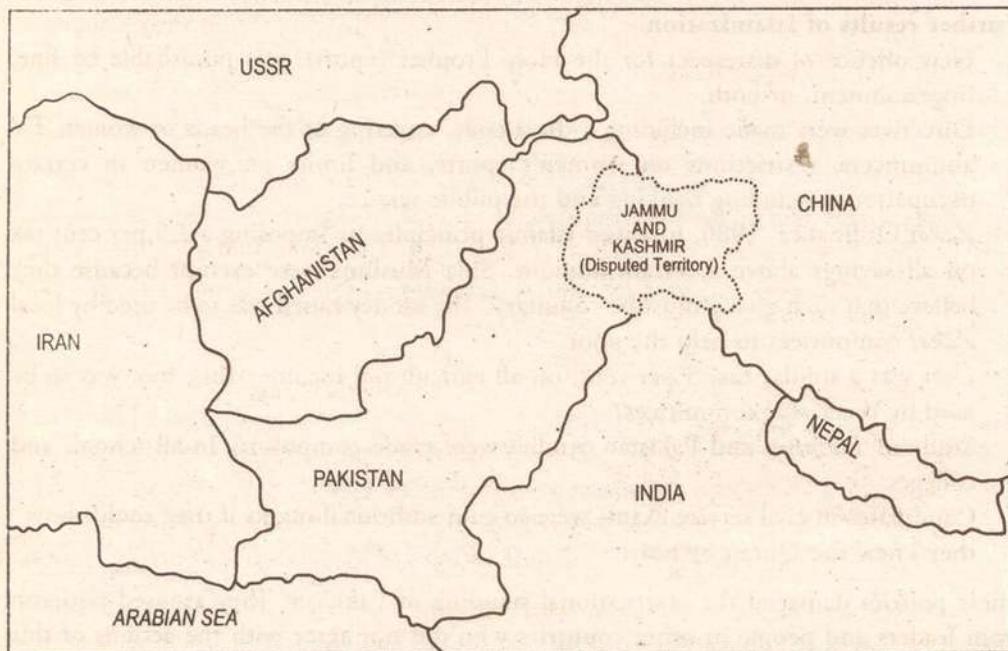
- d What was the role of the Shariat Court?
- e How does Source C help to explain General Zia's aims?
- f Why were General Zia's policies criticized?

HOW DID THE SOVIET UNION'S INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN HELP GENERAL ZIA?

General Zia's position in the world was transformed overnight by the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan on 25 December 1979. Suddenly, Pakistan was a frontline state in halting Soviet aggression and the spread of communism. The USA was willing to ignore General Zia's record on human rights in order to guarantee Pakistan's active support for those Afghans who were fighting back against the USSR. Western pressure on General Zia to return to democracy was dropped just so long as he was on their side in opposing the USSR.

The Afghans had long been guerrilla fighters. Many were already armed and ready to fight an invader, and most of them, as Muslims, disliked the idea of communism being imposed on their country. The mountainous areas of Afghanistan were ideal territory for guerrilla warfare. The long porous border with Pakistan meant that refugees could easily flee, whilst a steady flow of weapons could be shipped across to the resistance fighters. The war in Afghanistan raged for ten years. The USSR was never able to control

the country and suffered terrible losses. The invasion had been a dreadful mistake, and finally, in 1988, the troops began to withdraw. Soon afterwards, during 1989–91, the communist system in the USSR and Eastern Europe came to an end.



Map 10.2: Note Pakistan's location in relation to the neighbouring countries

SOURCE D: ZIA'S WILLINGNESS

No leader ruled a country in a more precarious situation. Most crucial was President Zia's willingness to allow the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) to funnel growing amounts of paramilitary support to the Afghan rebels through Pakistan. (CIA Director) Casey, the CIA and the Reagan Administration all wanted Zia to stay in power and needed to know what was going on inside his government. The CIA station in Islamabad was the biggest in the world.

Bob Woodward, *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA*; Simon and Schuster [1987]

HOW DIFFICULT WAS THE AFGHAN REFUGEE PROBLEM?

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to more than three million refugees fleeing from the fighting into Pakistan. Such a massive and unplanned influx caused many problems. Tensions between the refugees and Pakistanis sometimes led to violence. There was resentment at the large amounts of money being spent on helping the Afghans. Competition over jobs was another cause of ill feeling. The USA gave Pakistan a \$3.2 billion hand-out over six years to help it cope with the largest group of displaced people anywhere in the world.



Afghan children at a refugee camp in NWFP

HOW DID PAKISTAN ACHIEVE A HIGH GROWTH RATE?

Between 1977 and 1986 the average growth rate in the Gross National Product (GNP) was 6.2 per cent, among the highest in the world. An important contribution to this economic growth was made by the large number of Pakistanis working overseas and sending money back to their families. The State Bank of Pakistan estimated that about \$4 billion was sent to Pakistan each year by these workers. Their earnings boosted the standard of living of their families. Unfortunately, it also led to inflation and, with so many men out of the country, some labour shortages.

General Zia tried to build investors' confidence in Pakistan industry. He renounced the nationalization policies implemented under Bhutto. Most nationalized firms were returned to private ownership. The aim was to give foreign and local investors confidence that their money would be safe if they invested in Pakistani enterprises.

Quick questions:

- g Why was Pakistan important to other countries after the USSR invasion of Afghanistan?
- h What can we learn about Pakistan's role from Source D?
- i How did Pakistan benefit from having many of its citizens living and working overseas?
- j Why did the policy of private ownership help economic growth?

DID GENERAL ZIA INTEND TO LIBERALIZE HIS REGIME?

In December 1984 General Zia held a referendum asking Pakistanis if they approved of his policy of Islamization and wished him to remain in office. The way the referendum paper was worded made it difficult for voters to vote against Zia without seeming to vote against Islam. It was reported that 62 per cent of the people had voted with 97 per cent voting *yes*. In fact probably only about 10 per cent voted.

SOURCE E: ENDORSE THE PROCESS

'Whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan, to bring the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and for the preservation of ideology of Pakistan, for the continuation and consolidation of that process for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.'

Text of the referendum, 19 December 1984



Following the referendum, General Zia announced national elections in February 1985. The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), opposed to General Zia, had boycotted the elections, disagreeing with the process, and General Zia himself banned political parties and detained their leaders. Nevertheless, more than 50 per cent voted. A few of Zia's own candidates were defeated, which encouraged people to accept the results as genuine. Zia still won a good majority. So with an election result that most people accepted, and a defeat for the MRD, it was a success for Zia.

Following the elections, General Zia chose Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister. Junejo set about organizing a political party, calling it the Muslim League to link with

Prime Minister
Mohammad Khan Junejo

the memory of Quaid-i-Azam. On 30 December 1985 martial law was finally lifted and political parties could once again organize and campaign. Before he agreed to end martial law, General Zia insisted that the President be given the power to dismiss both the Prime Minister and the National Assembly. Mr Junejo accepted this in order to get rid of martial law. In this way power remained firmly in the President's hands. On 29 May 1988, after disagreements with Mr Junejo, General Zia used this power and dismissed him. He announced the dismissal on the radio before Mr Junejo had even been told. The National Assembly was dissolved and elections for a new one were planned for October 1988. No one was sure that he would stick to that date.

HOW DID GENERAL ZIA DIE?

On 17 August 1988 at 3.46 p.m., General Zia-ul-Haq, accompanied by the US Ambassador Arnold Raphel, took off from an army base at Bahawalpur en route to Islamabad in a four-engined Hercules C-130, PAK-1. They had been inspecting the demonstration of a new American tank. Also travelling with Zia were nine other generals, including the head of the intelligence service. Almost immediately after take-off radio contact with the plane was lost. Villagers at Dhok Kamal watched in horror as the plane lurched up and down in the sky before plunging into the ground. A ball of fire followed as the wreckage exploded. All thirty-one people on board were killed. It was 3.51 p.m.

It was an extraordinary and mysterious end to General Zia's eleven-year government. After investigators could find no other explanation for the crash, the Air Force Board of Enquiry ruled that, *the only possible cause of the accident is the occurrence of a criminal act or sabotage leading to the loss of control of the aircraft*. One theory is that a flask of poison gas may have exploded in the plane causing the pilots to fall unconscious. However, who was to blame for the murder of General Zia remains an unsolved mystery.

HOW DID CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT RETURN?

Following General Zia's death, the Chief of the Army Staff declared that the Army would play no role in politics. The transfer of power took place constitutionally. A civilian, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Chairman of the Senate, took over as acting President. He declared that the elections set for November would take place as scheduled. It was a return to parliamentary democracy with different political parties competing for power. The PPP triumphed in the elections. On 1 December 1988 Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the former Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was appointed Prime Minister of Pakistan. Less than ten years after her father's execution she became, at 35, one of the youngest heads of state in the world and the first woman to lead a Muslim nation in modern times.

Explosion at Ojhri Camp

- On 10 April 1988 a huge arms depot in the suburbs of Islamabad blew up killing at least 93 people. Zia blamed it on sabotage by Soviet-trained Afghans. But the public and politicians blamed Zia for putting it close to people's homes. Prime Minister Junejo promised to root out the truth and punish army officers. Zia was furious with him for making this promise and it was a key reason why he sacked the Prime Minister.

BENAZIR BHUTTO'S RETURN TO PAKISTAN

Benazir Bhutto and her mother Nusrat Bhutto had been confined to house arrest since 1979. They were released and allowed to travel abroad in 1984, and Benazir returned to a tumultuous welcome in 1986.



Benazir's return, Lahore 1986

'There are moments in life which are not possible to describe. My return to Lahore was one of them. The sea of humanity lining the roads, jammed on balconies and roofs, wedged in trees and lamp-posts, walking alongside the truck and stretching back across the fields, was more like an ocean. The eight-mile drive from the airport to the Minar-i-Pakistan in Iqbal Park usually takes fifteen minutes. On the unbelievable day of April 10 1986, it took us ten hours. The figure of one million people at the airport grew to two million, then three million by the time we reached the Minar-i-Pakistan.'



'Hundreds of coloured balloons soared into the sky as the airport gates opened. Rose petals, not tear gas, filled the air, showering onto the truck until they rose above my ankles. Garlands of flowers flew through the air. I saw a girl whose brother had been hanged and threw a garland to her... *Benazir aey gi, inqilab laey gi* – Benazir will come, revolution will come...'

Benazir Bhutto, describing her emotional return from exile, in her book *Daughter of the East*, Hamish Hamilton, 1988. The ecstatic crowds hoped her return would lead to democracy and a better life for Pakistan.

Quick questions:

- k Which words in the referendum, Source E, were there to encourage people to vote yes?
- l How did General Zia make certain that he kept control over the government?
- m Who became Prime Minister in 1985?
- n Why was the death of General Zia extraordinary and mysterious?
- o What was the significance of Benazir Bhutto's appointment as Prime Minister?

- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's supporters and family held General Zia responsible for his execution.
- General Zia failed to hold elections that he had promised.
- The policy of Islamization was unpopular with many people.
- The USSR invasion of Afghanistan made Pakistan important to the USA in opposing communism.
- After lifting martial law General Zia still retained power to dismiss the government.
- Who killed General Zia remains an unsolved mystery.
- Success for the PPP in the 1988 elections led to Benazir Bhutto becoming Prime Minister.

Questions:

- 1 How far does each of the sources help us to understand General Zia's period in power?
- 2 What, do you think, were General Zia-ul-Haq's views about giving up his power and moving towards democracy?
- 3 Write an obituary of General Zia including points that might be made by his opponents as well as those by his supporters.

Pakistan and the World

part FOUR

Chapter Eleven

PAKISTAN AND ASIA

- A: Pakistan and Bangladesh
- B: Pakistan and India
- C: Pakistan and Afghanistan
- D: Pakistan and Iran
- E: Pakistan and China
- F: Pakistan, Turkey, and the Middle East

Chapter Twelve

PAKISTAN AND THE REST OF THE WORLD

- A: Pakistan and the Soviet Union
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Chapter Thirteen

PAKISTAN IN THE 1990s AND THE NEW CENTURY

- A: Pakistan struggles over democracy
- B: In conclusion

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

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Key words

rapprochement: re-establishing of good relations between two nations
 summit: a meeting of nations' leaders

Pakistan and Asia

A:

Pakistan and Bangladesh

Key questions:

- ◆ How was rapprochement achieved?
- ◆ What problems remained between the two states?

It was inevitable that the sad events of 1971, with the loss of East Pakistan, caused a great deal of bitterness towards the new nation of Bangladesh. The united Muslim nation that Quaid-i-Azam had founded after the partition of India had ended. It would take Pakistan time to reconcile to the loss of its eastern half before it could have formal dealings with the new government. As the new leader of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto felt very deeply about what had happened. He called it *the great tragedy*. But he knew that sooner or later Pakistan had to reach an understanding with Bangladesh.

WHEN DID PAKISTAN OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF BANGLADESH?

Following the end of hostilities in December 1971, Pakistan refused to recognize Bangladesh as an independent nation. As far as it was concerned, East Pakistan was in a state of rebellion and still, in law, part of Pakistan. Many Muslims declared *Bangladesh-Na-Manzur* (no recognition for Bangladesh). Mr Bhutto's government threatened to break off diplomatic relations with any country that recognized the new government in Bangladesh. When Britain recognized Bangladesh, Pakistan left the Commonwealth and also quit the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

In July 1972 Mr Bhutto entered a round of talks with the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, in Simla. With the signing of the Simla Accord, Pakistan accepted its post-war position and India withdrew its troops from land it had occupied in 1971. Even so Pakistan did not formally recognize the new state of Bangladesh. In February 1974 Muslim leaders gathered for the Islamic Summit in Lahore. Sheikh Mujib, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, was also invited and attended. It was a significant occasion. There was a sense of pride that Pakistan was hosting the summit meeting, and a desire for Muslim unity. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto seized the opportunity, at a private meeting with Sheikh Mujib, to agree that Pakistan would officially recognize Bangladesh as an independent nation. In return, the few last remaining prisoners held in Bangladesh were returned to Pakistan.



Rapprochement: Z.A. Bhutto and
Sheikh Mujib

WAS RECOGNITION THE END OF POOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES?

Many difficulties still stood in the way of good relations between the two countries. In June 1974 Mr Bhutto visited Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujib raised the question of assets which he argued Bangladesh had a right to. He claimed that as they had been half of Pakistan they were now entitled to half of the nation's assets. Sheikh Mujib also wanted Pakistan to take back all non-Bengalis (Biharis) then living in Bangladesh, whether they wanted to move or not. Pakistan at that point rejected the demand as being quite unreasonable. However, there has been no decision as yet on the status of the Biharis who continue to live in camps in Bangladesh.

Sheikh Mujib was assassinated in a coup in 1975. In 1976 ambassadors were exchanged. This was an important step towards normalizing relations. It became easier to reach agreement and work together on a range of issues including tourism, culture, and trade. By 1986 trade had reached a value of \$40 million a year.

Quick questions:

- a Why was the loss of East Pakistan a great tragedy?
- b Why do you think it took so long to recognize Bangladesh officially?
- c What part did the Islamic Summit play in improving relations?
- d What was the main disagreement between the two countries?

After the break-up in 1971, Pakistan-Bangladesh relations were poor.

Pakistan refused to recognize Bangladesh until 1974.

Agreement over assets made good relations difficult.

Relations improved from 1976.

LOOKING AHEAD

Automatic recognition did not remove the sense of bitterness felt by people in both countries. It was possible for some people to get over their intense disappointment at the failure of a united Pakistan. Adjusting to life in the new Bangladesh turned out to be quite difficult. Some problems resulted from natural disasters, such as monsoons and floods. Others included political instability with assassinations and military law. The economy remained desperately weak. The Bihari minority faced persecution including starvation. In 1974 a terrible famine was to claim at least 15,000 lives.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- 1 How did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto achieve rapprochement with Bangladesh?
- 2 What were the obstacles to good relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan?

B:**Pakistan and India****Key questions:**

- ◆ Why were relations between India and Pakistan so difficult?
- ◆ What issues led to tension and war?
- ◆ Why was there an arms race between the two nations?

Since independence, relations between India and Pakistan have been very poor. India deeply resented partition and the creation of Pakistan. In turn Pakistan feared India's intentions. Arguments and injustices gave rise to constant disagreements. Above all, the question of Kashmir has dominated the troubled relationship of the two nations. Instead of co-operation to tackle the common problems of poverty, natural disasters, and economic difficulties, India and Pakistan have directed a great deal of their energies against each other. Between 1947 and 1971, three wars cost lives and valuable resources.

WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS FACED BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN AFTER PARTITION?

There were three important issues that India and Pakistan had to sort out after partition.

• Religious minorities

Even after the great movement of refugees there were religious minorities in each country. The Minorities Agreement was agreed in 1950 by the Prime Ministers, Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan and Jawaharlal Nehru of India. They agreed to protect minorities in their country and to encourage them to stay where they were instead of becoming refugees.

• Resources

You have read in Part 3, Chapter 1 [A], of the difficulties in sorting out the assets of pre-independence India so that both nations got their fair share. This would have been difficult under any circumstances, but with so much ill-feeling there was bound to be disagreement and resentment over the final settlement. In particular, Pakistan, fearful of Indian attack, felt cheated of important military equipment. The Canal Waters dispute was another example of how damaging arguments could be, and added to the mutual distrust.

1947	Partition of India; creation of independent states, India and Pakistan
.....	First India-Pakistan war in Kashmir
1949	Ceasefire in Kashmir
1950	India and Pakistan agree to protect religious minorities
.....	War between India and China
1962
1963	Pakistan signs a border agreement with China
.....	Second India-Pakistan war in Kashmir
1970–1	Unrest in East Pakistan
1971	Third India-Pakistan war
.....	East Pakistan becomes the independent state of Bangladesh
1972	Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sign the Simla Accord
1974	India tests a nuclear weapon
1979	India supports the USSR invasion of Afghanistan
1984	Fighting occurs on Siachen Glacier in northern Kashmir
1986	Military exercises cause tension on India-Pakistan border
1987	General Zia announces Pakistan's nuclear capability
.....	Elections in Kashmir rigged by India
1988	Revolt in Kashmir against Indian rule

• Kashmir

In Part 3, Chapter 1 [B], you learnt why there was a dispute over Kashmir. It has been the single most important cause of tension between the two countries. Both sides are convinced that they were in the right. Pakistan determined that the four million Kashmiri Muslims rightfully belonged to Pakistan as Quaid-i-Azam had intended. It has proved impossible to settle the issue. Other issues and arguments have taken place against the background of the Kashmir problem.

WHY HAVE THERE BEEN THREE WARS WITH INDIA?

October 1947 – January 1949

In October 1947 India rushed troops to aid the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, Hari Singh, who was under threat from the Muslim majority. During the next few weeks both sides, the Muslim Kashmiris and the Indian Army, occupied as much land as they could. In May 1948 Pakistan forces joined in. Once both sides realized that they could not dislodge each other from the land they had taken, a ceasefire was agreed on 1 January 1949.

September 1965

As India and Pakistan stood on the brink of fighting each other again, the United Nations (UN) tried hard to settle the dispute. Their diplomacy failed. In 1962 India went to war with China over a border dispute in the north, but it suffered a humiliating defeat and turned to Britain and the USA for support. The Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was forced to agree to talks with Pakistan about the future of Kashmir. The talks failed.

Pakistan was frustrated at the lack of progress and, after 18 years, it seemed that only force would drive India out of Kashmir. The Indian Army's dismal showing in the war with China encouraged Pakistan to think it could defeat them as well. They also believed they had China's support for an attack on Indian-held Kashmir. On 1 September Pakistan's forces launched *Operation Grand Slam* against Indian forces in Kashmir. On 6 September, the Indians retaliated by crossing the official border of Pakistan and moving towards Lahore. After only a few days of fighting the United Nations persuaded both sides to agree on a new ceasefire. In January 1966 talks, organized by the USSR in Tashkent, led to both sides agreeing that the question of Kashmir and other disputes would be sorted out by negotiation.

The war had been a waste. Indian control over a large part of Kashmir continued. Even so Pakistan made no apology for its role: Bhutto was absolutely convinced that Pakistan had right on its side. Those who had been killed were described as *shaheed*—martyrs to the cause of freedom.

22 November – 16 December 1971

During 1971 India became actively involved in supporting the independence movement in East Pakistan. It was simply too good an opportunity to miss to undermine the unity of Pakistan. In November 1971 the Mukti Bahini, who were fighting for independence, attacked Pakistan forces in East Pakistan. They were backed up by Indian artillery firing across the border. Angered by Indian involvement, Pakistan hit back with a number of surprise attacks on the Indian Air Force. The Indian Army then invaded East Pakistan, occupied a great deal of territory and reached the capital, Dhaka. Heavy fighting also

occurred along the Kashmir ceasefire line. Pakistan was forced to give up the fight and agreed to a unilateral ceasefire and the surrender of East Pakistan. Following this dreadful defeat, President Yahya Khan resigned and was replaced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

HOW DID PAKISTAN AND INDIA BEHAVE TOWARDS EACH OTHER AFTER 1971?

After independence, an arms race occurred as each country increased its arsenal of conventional weapons. Following the 1971 war, it was clear that India had greater military strength than Pakistan. In 1974 Pakistan was alarmed when India exploded a nuclear device. This persuaded Pakistan to initiate its own nuclear programme. In spite of criticism from other countries, especially the USA, Pakistan simply could not ignore the fact that in a future conflict India could use, or threaten, a nuclear attack. Bhutto, with the full support of the armed forces, gave the order to develop a nuclear bomb. Such development was very expensive but so important to Pakistan's defence, said Bhutto, that it would be done even if *we had to eat grass*. So Pakistan and India now had their own nuclear arms race.

An added tension came with the USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. India refused to condemn the Russians while Pakistan, with US support, was actively helping the Afghan *mujahideen* who were resisting them.

During the 1970s and 1980s India had serious internal problems of her own. In the Punjab, the Sikhs' campaign for a Sikh homeland grew stronger and more violent. The Indian Government was convinced that Pakistan was supporting the Sikhs with weapons and training. In October 1984 the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated by her Sikh guards. People in Pakistan were shocked by this dreadful murder. General Zia declared national mourning in Pakistan. Even so, the new Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi's son Rajiv, blamed Pakistan for stirring up Sikh anger and for indirectly being responsible for his mother's death.

WHAT WAS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SIACHEN GLACIER?

In 1977 an Indian colonel, Narinder Kumar, led a team of climbers up to the Siachen Glacier. In 1981 he returned and walked the length of the glacier. Pakistan realized that the Indians had been there when one of their patrols found a discarded Indian cigarette packet. Pakistan decided it had to defend its interests before India claimed Siachen. The border in that part of Kashmir had never been properly drawn. After all, the glacier region did not seem to be of any use to anyone. But when Pakistan soldiers moved up to the glacier they discovered that 300 Indian soldiers of the Kumaon regiment were already dug into the mountain tops. Once both countries had staked a claim then they had to stay and defend it. Siachen became an important symbol.

Pakistan mounted several attempts to drive out Indian forces. In 1987 Pervez Musharraf, later to become President of Pakistan, led an assault to gain control of Bilafond La Pass. In spite of very heavy fighting and bravery on both sides, the Indians held on. In August 1989 Benazir Bhutto's visit to the remote glacier underlined Pakistan's determination to recover the area. Constant skirmishes and shooting have continued since the 1980s to the present day.

The death toll at the Siachen Glacier is a military secret. Military experts estimate the total death toll for both countries as between 3000 and 5000. In fact, more soldiers have been killed by avalanches and falls than by enemy fire. Temperatures can drop below -55°C and, with a lack of oxygen, it is difficult enough to stay alive, never mind fight an enemy. Nine meetings between India and Pakistan from 1989 and 2005 have failed to reach a settlement on Siachen. All the time there has been the danger that a serious incident on the Siachen Glacier could lead to another all-out war.

SOURCE A: VIEWS OF SIACHEN

The cost of Siachen

- India spends \$438 million each year on Siachen.
- Pakistan spends \$182 million each year on Siachen.

Estimate of an Islamabad political analyst in 2005; could that money be better spent?

'hell on earth'

'It's madness. Total madness. Siachen is hell on Earth. We're fighting the Indians to prevent them from grabbing what we say is our rightful part of hell.'

The opinion of a Pakistani commando officer

We do not want to be here...

'We do not want to be here but the Indians moved in first, and we've sacrificed a lot of blood to keep them from advancing farther into Pakistan.'

A Pakistan Army officer speaking in 2006

HOW DID CRICKET DIPLOMACY AVERT A WAR?

War nearly broke out again in 1987. As well as fighting in the Siachen Glacier, the Indian Army carried out a massive military exercise in the Rajasthan Desert not far from the border with Pakistan. In February General Zia flew to India on the pretext of going to watch a cricket match between India and Pakistan with the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In fact, he seized the opportunity to reduce tension. The possibility of a war faded as the Indians agreed to call off their army mobilization. The press called it the success of *cricket diplomacy*. Pakistan won the cricket match by three wickets.

THE SHARED LOVE OF CRICKET

India and Pakistan have both inherited from the time of British rule a passion for cricket.

The first test series between the two countries were played in India in 1952–3. The teams were well matched. India won two test matches, Pakistan won one and there was a draw in two. In 1954–5 India toured Pakistan and all five test matches were drawn. In 1960–1 the two nations clashed again. Pakistan toured India and once again all five test matches were drawn. Because of growing hostility and the wars in 1965 and 1971, the two teams did not play against each other for 18 years. Then in 1978–9 India travelled to Pakistan. Pakistan came out on top, winning four out of the five games. In spite of many political difficulties, frequent test matches took place between the two nations during the 1980s. Unfortunately, hostility rose to such a level that there was another interruption in cricket between 1989 and 1997. One thing is certain, that despite all the other differences that divide the people of India and Pakistan, the love of cricket is a shared passion.



General Zia-ul-Haq is escorted by Rajiv Gandhi to the India-Pakistan Cricket Match, 1987

Quick questions:

- e When did India first explode a nuclear device?
- f Which Prime Minister was assassinated in October 1984 and who was the successor?
- g What is the point the soldiers are making in Source A?
- h What was 'cricket diplomacy'?
- i Why were there no cricket matches between India and Pakistan from 1989-97?

- Starting with independence and partition, India was hostile to the existence of Pakistan.
- The most serious conflict between them has been over Kashmir.
- Three wars have taken place.
- In 1971 India actively helped East Pakistan to break away.
- After India developed nuclear weapons, Pakistan started a nuclear programme.
- The unresolved issue of Kashmir damages relations between India and Pakistan.

LOOKING AHEAD

The problem of Kashmir was not going to be easily solved. Kashmiris living under Indian control were bound to resist the occupation of their land. In turn, India would not tolerate any resistance, as to do so might cause other groups in India to demand self-rule. But harsh action by India against Kashmiris would inevitably produce strong reaction in Pakistan. Allegations of human rights abuses in Kashmir would damage India's international reputation. Tension has continued and at times, such as 1999 and 2002, brought the two countries to the very brink of war. All the time, the people of Kashmir have suffered a great deal of misery and, for sixty years, their wishes have been ignored.

Questions:

- 1 What are the issues that divided India and Pakistan after 1947?
- 2 'By the 1980s the weight of history was too great for India and Pakistan to become good neighbours.' Do you agree?
- 3 Why were relations between Pakistan and India so poor between 1971 and 1988?

C:

Pakistan and Afghanistan**Key questions:**

- ◆ Why have relations between the two Muslim neighbours been difficult?
- ◆ How did the Pakhtunistan issue strain relations?
- ◆ What was the Pakistan response to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan?

1947 referendum, NWFP

- 289,244 votes in favour of Pakistan
- 2,874 votes in favour of India

With independence in 1947 Pakistan might have expected friendly support from the neighbouring Muslim state of Afghanistan. Unfortunately a border dispute right from the start caused great difficulties for Pakistan. When Pakistan was admitted to the United Nations in September 1947, Afghanistan cast the only vote against it. Later, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan was to have an enormous effect on Pakistan. The fortunes of both countries are closely linked.

WHAT WERE THE BORDER DISPUTES WITH AFGHANISTAN?

In 1947, there was a dispute over parts of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), the majority of whose people belong to the Pathan tribes. It is the world's largest tribal society, and a fiercely independent people. On several occasions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they gave the British a very difficult time. In the 1947 referendum the people of the NWFP voted to join Pakistan. However, some people had wanted to vote for a third option, an independent country to be known as *Pakhtunistan*. The British would not allow this option to be voted on.

The Red Shirts

- In the 1920s a militant group demanding independence for the NWFP had been set up on military lines. Because of the colour of their uniform the British called them 'Red Shirts'.

Afghanistan had sided with those Pathans who wanted either an independent nation or to join with Afghanistan. They still staked a claim to some of the NWFP on the basis that part of it had been captured from them 200 years earlier. The border, known as the Durand Line, that ran through Pathan territory had caused frequent demands for independence. The leader of the separatist movement, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, had called for a boycott of the 1947 referendum. Radio Kabul and the Afghan government did all they could to stir up support for the separatist cause. After the creation of Pakistan, Ghaffar Khan continued his campaign.

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN (1890–1988)

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a Pashtun nationalist who used non-violent methods in his campaign for an independent Pakhtunistan. With the creation of Pakistan he served as a member of the Constituent Assembly but continued to support the cause of Pashtun independence. He was accused of plotting against Pakistan and was imprisoned several times for quite long periods between 1948 and 1964. Abdul Ghaffar Khan commanded great respect from his people but was a constant problem for the Pakistan government. Again, in the 1970s, he was imprisoned as a threat to the government. When he died in Peshawar in 1988, the governments of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India each declared a period of official mourning.

The Soviet Union also became involved and supported both Afghanistan and the idea of Pakhtunistan. For the Russians it was a good opportunity to spread their influence. Afghanistan is landlocked and needed a transit route for its goods. During talks in late 1947 Pakistan offered the Afghans a route through Pakistan. In return, it expected Afghanistan to drop its support for Pakhtunistan. The Afghan Government refused and, instead, signed an agreement with the USSR for a transit route through Russia. It was very disappointing for Pakistan that the Afghans had chosen to cooperate with a Communist government rather than with their fellow Muslims.

During the 1950s the situation worsened as Afghanistan continued to encourage the anti-Pakistan campaign in the NWFP. In March 1955 a mob of Afghans, encouraged by the government, attacked and ransacked Pakistan's embassy in Kabul. Pakistan immediately broke off diplomatic relations and for five months the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan was closed.

WHY WAS IT DIFFICULT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS?

In 1956 President Iskander Mirza travelled to Afghanistan in an attempt to improve relations between the two neighbours. His success was limited to a few agreements and relations deteriorated again. Afghanistan persisted in campaigning in favour of Pakhtunistan. The USSR and, perhaps not surprisingly, India also supported the campaign. In May 1961 armed Afghans were driven back by Pakistani soldiers after they entered the NWFP. Once again Pakistan's diplomats in Kabul were harassed and diplomatic relations were broken off. Even the intervention of US President Kennedy in October 1961 failed to restore diplomatic relations. Eventually, in May 1963, through the efforts of the Shah of Iran, diplomatic relations were resumed. Even so, Afghanistan continued to promote the Pakhtunistan separatist movement. However, Afghanistan did remain neutral during Pakistan's war with India in 1965.

Quick questions:

- a What is meant by Pakhtunistan?
- b What proportion of the votes in the 1947 referendum supported joining Pakistan?
- c Who were the 'Red Shirts'?
- d Why was Pakistan disappointed with Afghanistan?
- e Which overseas leader tried to help in 1963?

HOW DID RELATIONS IMPROVE DURING BHUTTO'S GOVERNMENT?

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President and then Prime Minister 1971–7, was keen to promote good relations with fellow Islamic nations. Only three weeks after taking office Bhutto visited Kabul. In 1973 the Afghan monarchy was overthrown and replaced by a republic. Bhutto worked hard to make friends with the new Afghan leader, Mohammad Daud Khan. His efforts paid off and by 1976 relations between the two countries had improved considerably. Pakistan permitted Afghan aircraft to fly over Pakistan and Afghan trucks to pass through the country on their way to India.

HOW DID PAKISTAN HELP THE 'MUJAHIDEEN' TO DEFEAT THE USSR INVASION?

After General Zia seized power in 1977 he continued to work with Daud and an alliance between the two countries was talked of. However, Daud, together with thirty members of his family, was killed in a violent coup, and replaced by a communist administration. This so-called *April Revolution* in 1978, headed by Nur Mohammad Taraki, was supported by the USSR. The new government introduced a sweeping programme of reform. There was a clash of ideas: Muslims rebelled against the introduction of communist policies. In December 1979, after Taraki was killed by rebels, the USSR intervened with 80,000 Soviet soldiers. Muslims soon organized armed resistance, known as the *mujahideen*, using Pakistan as their main base.

port and politics – 1980 Olympic Games

The 1980 Olympic Games were held in Moscow. In protest at the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan, the USA refused to take part in the Games. Pakistan also joined the boycott. But Britain ignored the boycott and sent British athletes to Moscow.

You have learned in Part 3, Chapter 3 [C] that President Zia was very willing to assist the USA in channelling assistance to the *mujahideen*. The Pakistan Army organized the supply of weapons amongst the various groups. Pakistan's military intelligence service supplied information and practical advice. As a result of their help, Pakistan became a target for Soviet attacks. Border villages were bombed and a number of explosions carried out by USSR-backed Afghans took place across Pakistan. In the end the USSR, one of the world's two super-powers, was simply unable to crush Afghan resistance. Humiliated, the USSR finally admitted defeat in 1988 and withdrew their troops. For the USSR it was their 'Vietnam', further evidence that even a poor nation, with outside support, could defeat a powerful invader. Unfortunately, they left Afghanistan in a state of civil war with many casualties, and the flood of refugees into Pakistan continued.

Quick questions:

- f Who became the leader of Afghanistan in 1973?
- g Which foreign country backed the 1978 revolution in Afghanistan?
- h Why did Pakistan become a target for the USSR?
- i Why did Pakistan not take part in the 1980 Olympic Games?

- Afghanistan was hostile to Pakistan over issues in the NWFP.
- Afghanistan supported those who wanted an independent Pakhtunistan.
- Relations improved in 1973–8 with the Afghan leader Daud in power.
- 1979: Russian invasion of Afghanistan.
- Pakistan supported anti-Russian rebels.
- Pakistan had to cope with a huge number of Afghan refugees.

LOOKING AHEAD

The USSR invasion of Afghanistan gave Pakistan the opportunity to give practical support to fellow Muslims. World opinion was impressed by the humanitarian efforts made by Pakistan in looking after Afghan refugees. Many of those refugees were never to return. Inevitably, the huge influx of weapons into the region created other problems. Illegal arms and ammunition became easily available to criminal gangs. An added problem was the heroin and drugs trade operating out of Afghanistan. During the 1990s there was an increase in armed robberies, kidnappings, and gun-battles between rival criminal gangs. Terrorism has added to the Pakistan Government's worries, and security has become an important preoccupation.

Questions:

- 1 How were the Afghans hostile to Pakistan from 1947–73?
- 2 How and why did relations improve between 1973 and 1978?
- 3 How did the role of the USSR in Afghanistan affect Pakistan?

Points to Remember

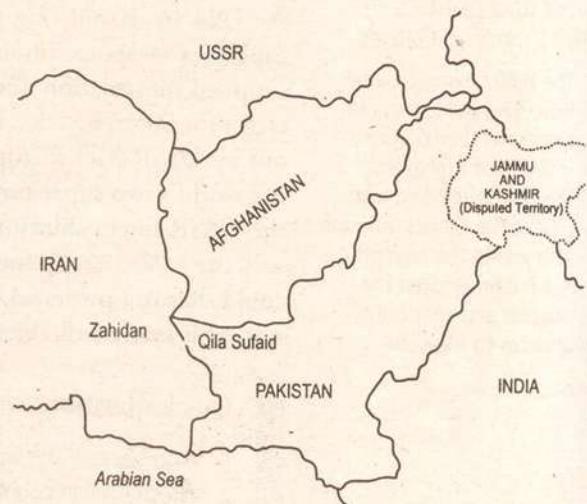
D:

Pakistan and Iran

Key questions:

- ◆ What common interests linked Iran and Pakistan?
- ◆ How did relations with the USA affect Pakistan's dealings with Iran?

There are strong links between the peoples of Iran and Pakistan. Not only are they neighbours, but the Urdu language also shares much with Persian. The border, stretching 590 miles between the two countries, was fixed by the British over 100 years ago. An early dispute between Iran and Pakistan, over ownership of Qila Sufaid, led to violence. Fortunately, this and other disputes were solved quite amicably. In May 1960 agreement on the border was finally reached. Iran gave up 95 miles of territory to Pakistan and in return the town of Zahidan was given to Iran.



Map 11.1 The location of Pakistan and Iran

WHAT COMMON INTERESTS LINKED IRAN AND PAKISTAN?

Since independence in 1947 Pakistan and Iran have had good relations and Iran has always promoted Pakistan's interests to the world community. Defence and trade are important reasons for the two countries working together.

• The Baghdad Pact

In 1955 Pakistan signed the Baghdad Pact, a joint defence agreement with Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. It was intended to deter any Soviet expansion in the Middle East. In 1959, after Iraq quit, the Baghdad Pact became the Central Asia Treaty Organization (CENTO) and was promoted by the USA although they did not join in. Britain was a member. Pakistan was disappointed that CENTO did not have its own military command capable of mobilizing troops to protect a member against attack. CENTO gave Pakistan no protection against India. CENTO was disbanded in 1979 with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran's government.

• Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD)

In 1964 at Islamabad, on President Ayub Khan's suggestion, Pakistan joined with Iran and Turkey to set up the Regional Cooperation for Development. Ayub Khan saw it as a supplement to CENTO. Its purpose was to strengthen economic, technical, educational, and cultural links between the three Muslim countries. It was hoped that trade would improve. However, it was in education and cultural areas that the RCD was most successful. By 1979 the RCD had really come to an end, but in 1985 General Zia revived it. In 1990 this organization was renamed the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and, apart from the founder countries, the newly independent Central Asian States were also inducted as member countries.

WHY DID IRAN NOT GIVE MORE SUPPORT TO PAKISTAN?

At the time of the 1965 war with India, Iran was quick to defend Pakistan and even offered some military assistance. Again in 1973 Iran helped Pakistan tackle the Baloch insurgency. But the Shah of Iran depended very much on the support and goodwill of

the USA. When the USA applied pressure, Iran dropped its offer of practical help. In January 1979 the Shah of Iran was overthrown and replaced by a strongly anti-American government led by Ayatollah Khomeini. Pakistan was one of the first countries to officially recognize the new government, but Khomeini was suspicious of Pakistan because of its previous close relationship with the Shah. Iran was also critical of Pakistan for accepting large amounts of aid from the USA. During the Iran-Iraq war, 1980–8, it was difficult to achieve any close relationship.

Quick questions:

- a When did Pakistan join the Baghdad Pact?
- b Which three countries formed the RCD?
- c Why did Iran not give more help to Pakistan in the 1965 war with India?
- d Why did Ayatollah Khomeini not trust Pakistan?

- Iran is an important neighbour.
- Pakistan had good relations with Iran until 1979.
- Since 1979 Iran has been critical of Pakistan for accepting US aid.

LOOKING AHEAD

Relations between the two countries were going to remain tricky. Trade has been limited mainly to oil exports from Iran to Pakistan. The difficulties of the 1980s were to be followed by quarrels over the political situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan-Iran relations worsened in the 1990s when Pakistan showed support for the Sunni Taliban in Afghanistan. The emergence of Pakistan as a nuclear power also worried Iran. Despite giving the impression of support for Pakistan, Iran has often had quite close relations with India. Following the removal of the Taliban in 2001, Iran suspected Pakistan of cooperating with the USA. Pakistan has made it clear that it remains neutral in any argument between the USA and Iran.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- 1 Describe how Pakistan and Iran cooperated between 1947 and 1965.
- 2 Explain the difference in relations between Pakistan and Iran from 1947 to 1965 and from 1965 to the 1990s.

E:

Pakistan and China

Key words

ultimatum: a demand backed up with a threat of force

Key questions:

- ◆ What differences were there between Pakistan and China?
- ◆ How was friendship between the two nations accomplished?
- ◆ Why are good relations with China important to Pakistan?

At the time of independence for Pakistan, China was engaged in a civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists. In October 1949 the Communist People's Republic of China came into being under the leadership of Mao Zedong. Support for the new Chinese government from India discouraged Pakistan, at first, from recognizing the new government. But China was on the border with Kashmir, and was too important a country to ignore. In January 1950 Pakistan gave diplomatic recognition to the Communist Government of China. The USA was bitterly opposed to the new Chinese Communist rulers.

WHY WERE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND PAKISTAN COOL DURING THE 1950s?

In the early 1950s Pakistan adopted a friendly attitude towards China. With plenty of problems with India and Afghanistan, Pakistan could not afford to have difficulties with another neighbour. In 1952, against opposition by the USA, Pakistan voted for the People's Republic of China to take the United Nations seat still held by the Nationalist Chinese. In 1953 Pakistan objected to an American policy of blockading the Chinese coast, because it interfered with Pakistan's trade with China. However, as Pakistan began to follow an increasingly pro-American policy in the mid-1950s, its relationship with China cooled. Even so, trade with China flourished, and Pakistan emphasized that they had no ill will towards them. But, in 1959, Pakistan voted against China's admission to the United Nations and condemned China's military action in Tibet.

HOW WAS FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS ACCOMPLISHED?

Throughout the 1950s, the precise border between China and Pakistan had not been fixed. Chinese maps showed some Pakistani territory as part of China. In 1959 President Ayub Khan insisted the border issues should be settled. Here was a test, full of potential problems, as to how well China and Pakistan could sort out their differences. In fact, the boundary negotiations proceeded smoothly and agreement was reached in March 1963. In 1961 Pakistan abstained on the issue of China's membership of the UN. Two years later it began to vote in support of China. It was a further sign that relations were improving. Trade, too, was growing. During the 1960s China purchased more and more raw cotton from Pakistan.

A turning point in Sino-Pakistan relations was the 1962 war between India and China. The conflict over their common border led to a Chinese invasion as their forces occupied the land they claimed as theirs. India's humiliation was all the greater because it had formerly been quite friendly with China. Pakistan adopted a policy of *friendship with the Chinese peoples* and was encouraged by the increasing support China gave to Pakistan's position over Kashmir. A number of agreements were signed covering trade and air transport. Britain had refused Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) permission to land in the British colony of Hong Kong. Under the 1963 Air Agreement, China permitted PIA to use any airport on its territory. The USA disapproved of PIA flights to Communist China, and in retaliation the Americans suspended a \$4.3 million loan that was intended to improve Dhaka airport. China provided a \$60 million long-term interest-free loan for the import of machinery. Pakistan could repay the loan over a long period with goods such as raw cotton.



Mao Zedong: China's revolutionary leader and Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party

Friendship was further cemented by increasing numbers of visitors between the two countries. Journalists, businessmen, engineers, and Buddhist pilgrims travelled from Pakistan to China. Scientists, writers, and ping pong players from China visited Pakistan. In 1964 the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, made an eight-day visit to Pakistan. He committed China to supporting Pakistan's proposal for a referendum for the people of Kashmir.



Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai being
met by Mr Bhutto, 1964

SOURCE A: IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

'...hope that the Kashmir dispute will be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.'

Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, speaking during his visit to Pakistan, February 1964

President Ayub Khan acted carefully. Whilst he sought good relations with China he did not want to offend the USA. Nevertheless, he was determined to show that Pakistan would act independently.

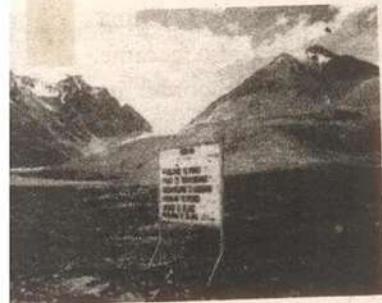
WHAT WAS CHINA'S POSITION DURING PAKISTAN'S WARS WITH INDIA?

China gave Pakistan full support during the 1965 war with India. It sent military support including aircraft. The only problem was that Chinese weapons technology was out of date. As a diversion, China threatened India with an ultimatum to remove various border posts from the Indo-China border. At the same time it mobilized its troops along the border. India agreed and withdrew its troops from the area. China was prepared to help Pakistan defend its western border. Unwilling to see the involvement of China, the USA and USSR demanded that the UN halt the war. It is probable that, because of Chinese support, Pakistan got a better deal over the ceasefire than would otherwise have been the case.

By 1971 the USSR had agreed to support India against China if it ever tried to help Pakistan again as it had in 1965. This ruled out Chinese military support during the 1971 war. In other ways, China did what it could to help Pakistan during that very difficult time. Economic aid was given and loans made during the 1965 war were written off.

WHY ARE GOOD RELATIONS WITH CHINA IMPORTANT TO PAKISTAN?

Much of world opinion has often been partial to India in disputes with Pakistan. China has proved to be a loyal ally during the wars and the economic crises that accompanied them. As a neighbour, China is an important trading partner, and it has also been a vital weapons supplier. In 1978 the friendship between the two countries was cemented by the opening of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) which provided the first road link between the two nations. The border crossing, Khunjerab Pass, at 16,187 feet is the highest metalled international border crossing in the world. The highway opened up huge areas of Pakistan and China to tourism and trade.



Signpost at Khunjerab Pass listing distances

THE KARAKORAM HIGHWAY

Construction on the joint China-Pakistan project started in 1966 and the highway was opened in 1978. It was so difficult and dangerous that it is said to have cost one life for every kilometre of road built. It follows the path once taken hundreds of years ago by the caravan routes of the Silk Road from China. At the Chinese border, traffic heading into China moves from the left- to the right-hand side of the road.



A view of the Karakoram Highway

In 1986 China and Pakistan signed a cooperation treaty concerning the civil use of nuclear power. In fact, other governments were well aware that General Zia was continuing Bhutto's policy in developing nuclear weapons. The western powers have always maintained that China was instrumental in Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Quick questions:

- a What was Pakistan's position on China's joining the UN in 1952, 1959, and 1961?
- b When did a Chinese leader first visit Pakistan?
- c What was China's position on Kashmir?
- d How did China help Pakistan in 1965?
- e What is the importance of the Karakoram Highway?
- f What claim is made about China and Pakistan's nuclear programme?

- Relations between Pakistan and China took a late start but have usually been good.
- China provided practical support during the 1965 war with India.
- China was a major supplier of weapons and, so it is claimed, nuclear technology.
- China has provided substantial aid and is a key trading partner.

LOOKING AHEAD

China was to assure Pakistan in 1999 of its 'deep and abiding interest in and support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and security of Pakistan.' Nevertheless, during the 1990s relations had cooled. China was keen to develop good relations around the world. In particular, it wanted a warmer relationship with India and the two countries signed a peace and tranquillity agreement in 1993. China even seemed to hint that Pakistan should consider a compromise over Kashmir. China also became concerned that some people in Pakistan might stir up the Muslims living just across the border in China.

Questions:

- 1 Do you think that China has been a good neighbour to Pakistan?
- 2 What obstacles have arisen over the years to good relations between the two nations?

F:

Pakistan, Turkey, and the Middle East

Key questions:

- ◆ What relations did Pakistan have with countries in the Middle East?
- ◆ How did Pakistan support the Palestinian cause?

Pakistan has maintained close relations with the Muslim countries in the Middle East. These links were important for religious, strategic, political, and economic reasons. One of Quaid-i-Azam's guiding principles in foreign policy in 1947–8 was to achieve good relations with Muslim countries and to develop a common position on international issues. Unfortunately, a common faith does not mean that nations also have the same political interests. Unity has proved elusive.

WHY DID PAKISTAN SEEK MUSLIM UNITY?

The new Pakistan Government was keen to promote Muslim unity. Quaid-i-Azam sent one of his senior colleagues, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, to visit five Middle Eastern countries: Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. In 1949 Pakistan played host to the World Muslim Conference held in Karachi and attended by delegates from all the Muslim countries. Later, in December 1949, the International Islamic Economic Conference in Karachi brought together finance ministers and economic planners from all the Muslim nations. The trouble with these meetings was that, in spite of speeches of friendship, few actual practical decisions were made. Some people even accused Pakistan of trying to assume the leadership of the Muslim world.

SOURCE A: WHY CANNOT THE MUSLIM PEOPLES GET TOGETHER?

'If the western democracies can enter into pacts to protect their way of life, if the Communist countries can form a bloc on the basis that they have an ideology, why cannot the Muslim peoples get together to protect themselves and show to the world that they have an ideology and a way of life?'

Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, speaking in July 1951

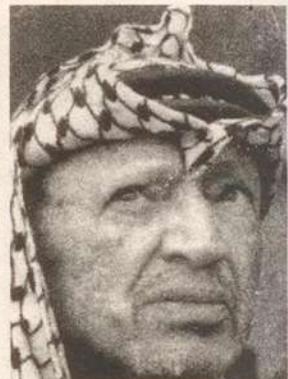
A number of issues affecting Muslim countries encouraged talk of solidarity amongst them:

- conflict between Pakistan and India over Kashmir
- Palestinian conflict with Israel
- Iran's nationalization of its oil industry against Western opposition
- Egypt's struggle to get British troops withdrawn from the Nile Valley.

However, other issues undermined this unity. Saudi Arabia and Egypt opposed Pakistan for signing the Baghdad Pact. In 1956 the failure of Pakistan to support Egypt during the Suez crisis angered many Muslims. Egypt's President Nasser refused to accept Pakistani troops as part of a UN force. Pakistan's increasingly close relationship with the USA during the 1950s also undermined a common approach as the USA was held responsible for the existence and survival of Israel.

HOW DID PAKISTAN SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE?

In 1948 Quaid-i-Azam warned the USA against the partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel. Since then, both the Pakistani people and their governments have strongly supported the Palestinian cause. In 1969, following Israeli attacks on the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, a summit of Muslim countries was held in Morocco. As a result of a suggestion by Pakistan, the summit agreed to set up an organization of Islamic countries, known as the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). In February 1974 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto convened the Islamic Summit in Lahore which was called in response to the Arab-Israeli war in October 1973. Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) attended, along with the leaders from thirty-five Muslim states. This demonstration of Muslim unity reaffirmed their opposition to Israel's occupation of Palestinian land. The summit meeting, held in Lahore, was an impressive display of unity and the importance of Pakistan's leadership in the Muslim world.



Yasser Arafat, the charismatic Palestinian leader

HOW DID TURKEY AND PAKISTAN WORK TOGETHER?

Ever since the Khilafat Movement after World War I, there had been a special significance in relations with Turkey. The Muslims of India had given strong support for the Khilafat. Quaid-i-Azam had tried to persuade the British to safeguard it. Even though the Khilafat had been abolished by Ataturk and, by the 1950s, Turkey was the most westernized of the Muslim states, it was quite willing to have good relations with Pakistan. Both countries, together with Iran, formed the Baghdad Pact in 1955. Later, in 1965, the same three nations formed the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). Turkey supported Pakistan during its 1965 war with India. Because of its close relations with Britain and the USA, Turkey tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to persuade them to help Pakistan. In many ways, Turkey has acted as a bridge between the Muslim world and Europe.

Quick questions

- a What events took place in Karachi in 1949?
- b Explain in your own words the view expressed in Source A.
- c Why did the Suez crisis cause difficulties between Pakistan and Egypt?
- d What has been Pakistan's policy towards the Palestinians?
- e What event led to the calling of the Islamic Summit in 1974?

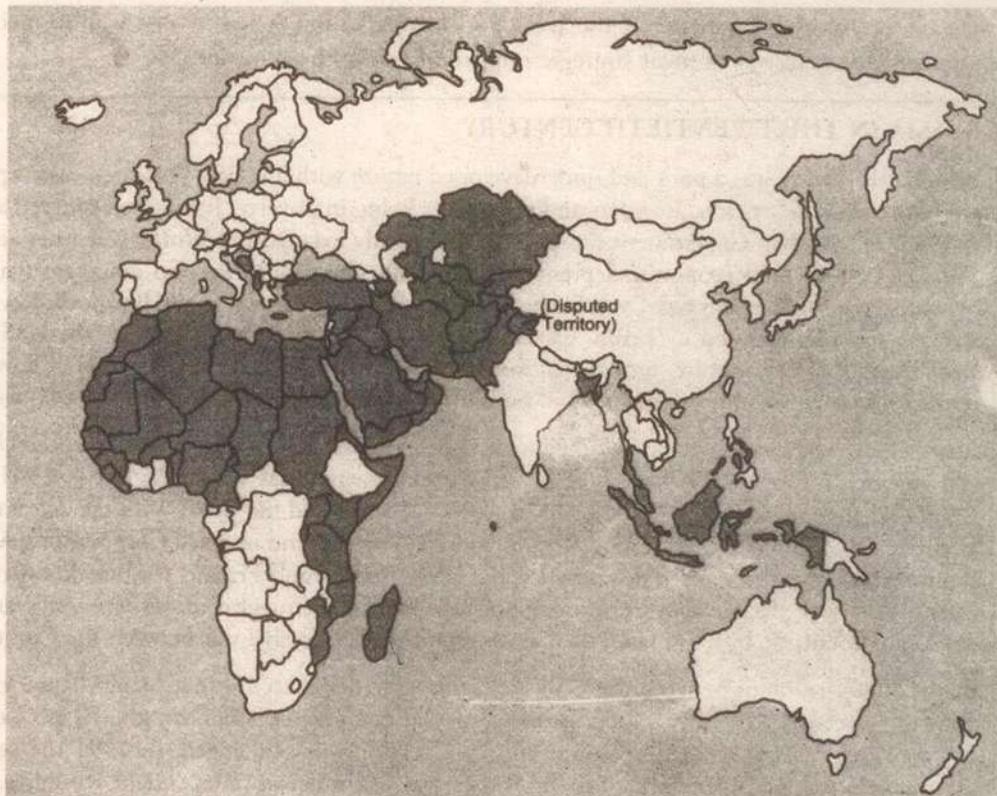
- Quaid-i-Azam was keen to promote Muslim unity.
- Issues of common interest included Kashmir and Palestine.
- Pakistan's relationship with the USA upset some countries.
- Pakistan has been a consistently strong supporter of the Palestinians.

LOOKING AHEAD

Pakistani people, aware of their own struggle for independence from Britain and India, have shown support for other Muslim struggles. There was to be no wavering in support for the Palestinian cause. Pakistan would continue to refuse to recognize Israel. India, on the other hand, granted official recognition in 1992. But the position was not to remain a complete stalemate. During the 1980s and into the 1990s, unofficial liaison between the two governments existed. A meeting between the foreign ministers of Pakistan and Israel in Istanbul in 2005 was hailed as *historic*. Nevertheless, following the devastating earthquake in October 2005, Pakistan refused to accept aid from Israel.

Questions:

- 1 How has Pakistan worked with other Muslim countries?



Map 11.1: Muslim countries
in the 20th century

Key words

imminent: likely to happen very soon

realpolitik: A German word used to describe practical politics where principle is overlooked in pursuit of national, material, or self-seeking interests

Pakistan and the rest of the world

A:

Pakistan and the Soviet Union

Key questions:

- ◆ Did Pakistan pursue an anti-Soviet policy?
- ◆ Why was there tension between Pakistan and the Soviet Union?
- ◆ How did Afghanistan affect relations with the Soviet Union?

The USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), also known as the Soviet Union or simply Russia, was one of the two great superpowers after World War II until its demise in 1991. The Soviet Union's Communist government confronted the USA in the Cold War. Both countries were suspicious of each other's intentions, and each tried to gain the support of other nations. The threat to the world was that at any time the Cold War could become a hot war. The possession of nuclear weapons by both sides heightened the danger. There were a number of crises between the USA and Soviet Union when all-out war seemed imminent. Pakistan was of great strategic importance to both countries.



Vladimir Lenin, the
revolutionary leader

RUSSIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Before 1917 Russia was a poor and underdeveloped nation with a largely illiterate peasant population. There was a wide gap between the few rich landowners and the masses living in poverty. Russia had suffered a humiliating defeat by Japan in 1905. The Russian Government was corrupt and poorly led. During World War I her armies suffered dreadful losses. There was famine and economic depression, and finally the people were so desperate that in 1917 they revolted and overthrew their leader, the Czar, and his government. This was known as the Bolshevik Revolution. In the resulting civil war, the Communists, led by Lenin, gained control and in 1922 Russia became the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The Communists brought all industry and land under the state control and ownership. There were serious restrictions on personal freedoms, and all political parties, except the Communist Party, were banned.

After Lenin's death Joseph Stalin became the dictator of Russia (1924–53) and he ruled the USSR with terrible ruthlessness and cruelty. During World War II, Stalin briefly allied with Nazi Germany, but in 1941, after Hitler's attack on the USSR—Operation Barbarossa—the USSR allied with Britain and the USA. With the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 the USSR seized control of Eastern Europe including East Germany and installed Communist governments, leading to a serious confrontation with the western democracies, the USA, Britain, and France. This was known as the Cold War, a period of great tension with the constant threat of all-out war. Each side struggled to gain economic and political dominance in the developing countries. In some cases, such as Vietnam, this led to civil war between the Communists and their opponents.

By the 1980s, relations between the USSR and the West began to improve. A new Russian leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, came to power in 1985, with an end to the Cold War and greater freedoms, known as *Glasnost*, for the Russian people. For the first time since 1917 the communist philosophy was challenged. In 1991 the communist system was finally replaced and the USSR broke up, leaving Russia and a number of independent republics. The decline of communism in Russia led to the disintegration of communist control throughout Eastern Europe.

SOURCE A: THE AMERICAN VIEW OF RUSSIA'S AMBITION



Russia is often symbolized by a bear. This bear has the Communist red star emblem on his hat!

Cartoon from a US newspaper

HOW DID PRACTICAL CONCERN INFLUENCE PAKISTAN'S POLICY TOWARDS THE USSR?

Pakistan's commitment to Islam meant that it was completely hostile to Russia's communist ideology. Communism's rejection of God was repugnant to all Muslims. Nevertheless, Pakistan had to be realistic and followed a policy of *realpolitik*. Although the USSR failed to congratulate Pakistan on achieving independence, in September 1947 Quaid-i-Azam had warned that Pakistan should try to avoid annoying the USSR. On 1 May 1948, at Pakistan's suggestion, the two countries established diplomatic relations. Pakistan needed trade with the USSR and the communist countries of Eastern Europe. The USSR followed this with an invitation for the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, to visit Moscow. The USA also invited him, but the Prime Minister chose to visit America instead. This snub offended Russia and was a setback to Pakistan-Soviet relations.

HOW DID THE COLD WAR AFFECT PAKISTAN?

By the early 1950s the Cold War between the USA and the USSR had reached a critical point. The USA was worried that Pakistan might come under Soviet influence. For Pakistan, its best interest lay with the USA. Consequently relations with the USSR deteriorated.

Some of the obstacles to good relations were:

- 1950 onwards, the USSR began increasingly to support India over Kashmir and other issues.
- 1954: Pakistan's membership of the South-east Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) a USA-sponsored defence agreement intended to prevent Soviet expansion.
- 1955: Pakistan's membership of the USA- and British-backed anti-communist Baghdad Pact, later called CENTO.
- 1955: Soviet leaders Bulganin and Khruschev visited India and pledged support for its claim to Kashmir, and they also criticized the 1947 partition of India.
- On their way back from India, the Soviet leaders stopped in Afghanistan and openly supported its claim of Pakhtunistan against Pakistan.
- 1956: Pakistan rejected a Soviet offer of aid including the construction of a steel mill; US Vice President, Richard Nixon, visited Pakistan and warned against taking aid from the USSR.
- 1960: the US spy plane, known as the U2, was shot down over the USSR on a flight from Pakistan.
- 1960: Following the row over the U2, Pakistan confirmed that the USA used Pakistani air bases for routine missions.

SOURCE B: WE WILL APPEAR AT YOUR SIDE

'We are so near that if ever you call us from your mountain tops we will appear at your side.'

Soviet Leader, Nikita Kruschev in 1955, on a visit to Srinagar, in Indian-controlled Kashmir, promising support for Indian claims to Kashmir

Quick questions:

- a What was the Cold War?
- b What is the message in the cartoon, Source A?
- c Why was the USSR upset with Liaquat Ali Khan?
- d Give three reasons why Pakistan had poor relations with the USSR in the 1950s.
- e Which leading American visited Pakistan during this time?
- f Study Source B. What does this tell us about the USSR and India?

HOW DID RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION IMPROVE DURING THE 1960s?

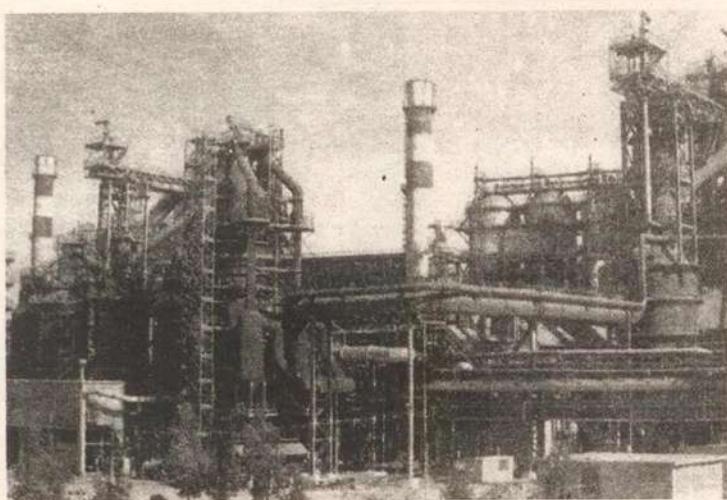
The 1960s saw an improvement in relations between the two countries.

- In 1961 Pakistan accepted Soviet assistance in oil and mineral exploration.
- Pakistan's commitment to SEATO and CENTO declined.
- In August 1963 Pakistan accepted a large loan from the Soviet Union and agreed new trade agreements with the USSR and other Communist governments.
- In 1963 Pakistan established an embassy in Communist Cuba: the Soviet Union was Cuba's main ally. The USA strongly opposed the Communist control of Cuba, which is located only 100 miles off the Florida coast of the USA.
- In April 1965 President Ayub Khan visited the USSR and signed new trade and oil exploration agreements.
- In the 1965 Pakistan-India War, the Soviet Union criticized India for crossing the international boundary.
- In January 1966 the Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin, mediated peace between India and Pakistan at the Tashkent Conference.
- In 1966 the Soviet Union ended support for Pakhtunistan and increased economic assistance to Pakistan.
- From 1968 the Soviet Union began to provide military weapons and equipment to Pakistan.

WHY WERE THERE UPS AND DOWNS IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE 1970s?

In 1971 Pakistan played a key role in helping the USA and China to establish diplomatic relations. This historic step was seen by the Soviet Union as evidence of Pakistani connivance with its two principal enemies, China and the USA. Almost immediately, the Soviet Union signed the 'Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation' with India, which promised India that in the case of war with Pakistan, it could count on Soviet support. Russia then supplied India with tanks, artillery, and Sukhoi-7 fighter-bomber aircraft. This was probably a further encouragement to India to provoke war over East Pakistan. Russia consistently supported the Indian position over East Pakistan at the United Nations.

Following the defeat over East Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto worked to restore Pakistan's relationship with the Soviet Union. He visited Moscow and accepted their offer to build a new steel mill in Pakistan.



Pakistan Steel Mill, set up in Karachi in 1973, with Russian aid

However, relations took a new downturn in 1979 when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan. Pakistan was not only opposed to the invasion but also provided weapons and other support to the *mujahideen* who were resisting the Soviet occupation. Weapons from the USA passed through Pakistan on their way to be used against the Soviet troops. In retaliation, Soviet forces attacked military bases inside Pakistan which they knew were being used to mount attacks against them. One of these Soviet raids in 1984 resulted in 100 deaths. Relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union were extremely hostile until the Soviet Union finally admitted defeat and pulled out of Afghanistan in February 1989.

Quick questions:

- g List three ways in which relations between the USSR and Pakistan improved in the 1960s.
- h How did the USSR help India in 1971?
- i How did Pakistan react to the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan?

- A serious conflict—the Cold War—existed from the 1940s to the 1980s between the USA and the USSR.
- Pakistan's good relations with the USA in the 1950s meant poor relations with USSR.
- The 1960s saw some improvement in Pakistan-USSR relations, including trade and military sales.
- 1979: Russian invasion of Afghanistan.
- Pakistan supported anti-Russian Afghan rebels.
- The Cold War ended in the late 1980s and in 1991 the Communist system dissolved.

LOOKING AHEAD

The defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was also greatly helped by Pakistan. The humiliation of defeat was one of several causes of the collapse of Communism in Russia and the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, and with the end of the USSR system there was no longer any ideological conflict with Russia. The Cold War was over. Even so, the growth of economic and cultural ties between the two nations was to be slow. One reason for this was that Pakistanis could not easily forget Russia's actions in Afghanistan, even though they had been the fault of the previous Communist regime. It was not until 2003 that Pakistan's leader, President Pervez Musharraf, visited Moscow. It was the first high-level visit since Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's trip twenty years earlier.

Questions:

- 1 How successful was Pakistan in its relationship with the USSR during the 1950s and 1960s?
- 2 What role did Pakistan play in the Cold War?

B:

Pakistan and the USA

Key questions:

- ◆ How strong was American support for Pakistan?
- ◆ How did the Cold War affect US-Pakistan relations?
- ◆ What was the significance of membership of SEATO and CENTO?
- ◆ When and why did the USA disapprove of Pakistan's policies?

As the wealthiest, most powerful, and finally most successful of the two superpowers, the influence of the USA was difficult to resist. Relations between Pakistan and the USA, until 1991, grew against the backdrop of the Cold War. As an Islamic nation opposed to the communist ideology, Pakistan had much to offer the USA. In return, Pakistan desperately needed economic aid and military support. Quaid-i-Azam admired the American system of democracy as well as its economic and military might so evident in World War II. Although the USA had been reluctant to see the partition of India, President Truman extended his congratulations to the new state and sent financial aid for the refugee problem.

HOW CLOSE WERE US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS DURING THE 1950s?

During the 1950s the Cold War intensified as the Americans feared communist intrusion and advance in Third World countries. The USA desperately needed allies, and Pakistan needed economic and military aid. After 1954 Pakistan firmly committed itself to the American cause when it signed a number of defence agreements. In return, during 1954–8, Pakistan received about US\$620 million from the USA.

1954: The Mutual Defence Agreement with the USA

Purpose: USA agreed to provide military equipment and training to Pakistan's armed forces.

- 1955: South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO); other members included USA and Britain. Sometimes also called the *Manila Pact*, this was agreed in 1954 but Pakistan did not officially sign up until 1955.

Purpose: to resist Communist advancement.

- 1955: Baghdad Pact (later known as Central Asia Treaty Organization, CENTO) with Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Britain and encouraged by the USA.

Purpose: to prevent Soviet influence and expansion in the Middle East.

There were some disadvantages to this close relationship with the USA. Pakistan's armed forces became very dependent on the USA as their main source of weapons and spare parts. Pakistan did not develop its own weapons industry. Pakistan's tilt in favour of the Americans upset some other Muslim countries, and indeed some Pakistanis too disliked



SEATO was promoted by the USA to halt the spread of Communism. Weakened by American failure in Vietnam, it came to an end in 1977.

American attitudes and values. Although it is true that Pakistan gained a great deal of aid from the USA, it is not surprising that aid from Communist countries declined.

SOURCE A: \$485

'...it cost \$3,515 to maintain an American soldier each year, for a Pakistani the price was \$485.'

President Eisenhower, 1953

SOURCE B: ABLE TO FACE ANY COMMUNIST THREAT

'The Vice President (Nixon) then proceeded to state that according to him a military aid arrangement would have the following two main uses: (1) Pakistan's defence forces could be adequately built up and (2) Pakistan would then be able to face any Communist threat.'

Note of a meeting with Vice President Richard Nixon, 12 June 1953

SOURCE C: THOSE WHO THINK LIKE US

'We mean to go along with those who think like us and who wish to protect jointly the way of life that is close to Muslims.' While he (the Governor General Ghulam Mohammad) did not name neighbouring countries that are opposed to the military alliance (with the USA) it was recalled that India, the Soviet Union and Communist China had objected repeatedly to negotiations between Pakistan and the United States under which defensive military equipment will begin to arrive in October.'

New York Times, 14 August 1954

SOURCE D: WE HAVE SOLD OUR SOULS

'We have sold our souls without caring to obtain any precise idea of the price we are to get for it...it has managed to get Pakistan to underwrite United States' interests in these regions, for all this country is worth in terms of manpower and strategic geographical position.'

Comments in the normally pro-Government *Pakistani Review* in August 1954

WHAT WERE THE VIEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA ON THE DEFENCE AGREEMENTS?

The Mutual Defence Agreement and SEATO came into being as the Cold War intensified and were the subject of a war of words.

SOURCE E: ENSLAVING AGREEMENTS

'...under the pretext of defending the countries of South-east Asia against communism, intensive preparations have been made for the forming of a new aggressive military bloc in that area...they were only able to enrol three countries of that area for the conference—Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan, which are bound hand and foot by enslaving agreements with the USA on military and economic aid.'

Comments by the Soviet Union broadcast on Radio Moscow, September 1954

SOURCE F: CONTRIBUTION TO PRESERVE FREE GOVERNMENTS

'We negotiated as full and equal partners...the only armed attack in the area, which we would regard as necessarily dangerous to our peace and security, would be a Communist armed attack. I believe that the Manila Pact (SEATO) will, in fact, make a substantial contribution to preserve free governments in South-east Asia and to prevent communism from rushing on into the Pacific area, where it would seriously threaten the defence of the United States.'

United States Secretary of State (foreign minister), John Foster Dulles,
speaking on 15 September 1954

Quick questions:

- a Why did the USA want allies?
- b What was the official name of the Manila Pact?
- c How do Sources A and B support each other?
- d How do Sources D and E disagree?
- e Which words in Source E suggests the USA was using Pakistan for its own interests?
- f Which words in Source F challenge the view in Source E or support it?

HOW WAS PAKISTAN INVOLVED IN THE U2 CRISIS?

In 1956 the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) inaugurated a series of spy flights over the Soviet Union by specially built high-altitude aircraft called U-2s. Although the Russians knew about the flights, their aircraft could not reach the altitude of the U-2s and so were powerless to shoot them down. On 1 May 1960, a Russian surface-to-air missile (SAM) shot down a U-2 plane flying on a spy mission over the Soviet Union.

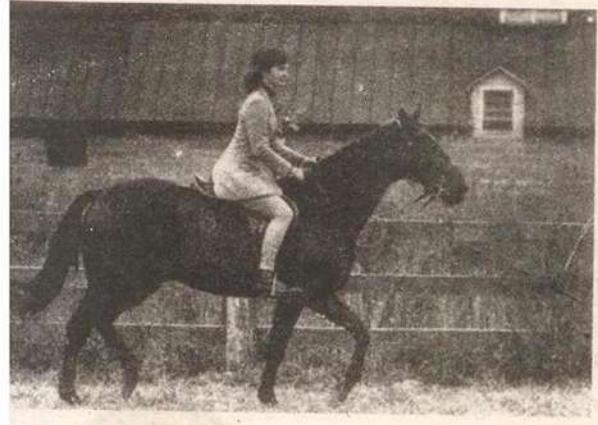
The Russian leader, Nikita Khrushchev, set out to entrap the American President, Dwight Eisenhower. At first the Soviet Union only announced that it had shot down the plane. The USA replied that it was a weather plane that had strayed and there had been no deliberate attempt to fly over the Soviet Union. Only then did Khrushchev announce that the pilot, Gary Powers, was *alive and kicking* together with his spy photos. Powers admitted to the Russians that he had flown from a US base in Pakistan over the Soviet Union en route to Norway. The USSR was furious with Pakistan for permitting the flights, and threatened *retaliatory action*. In its defence, Pakistan claimed that it knew nothing about spy missions. It told the Americans that they could no longer use the airfield unless the destination of all aircraft was notified in advance. The whole incident showed how close the USA and Pakistan had become.

**The News
REDS TO TRY DOWNED
U.S. FLIER AS SPY**

Washington News headline after the USSR captured US pilot Gary Powers

HOW WELL DID THE USA AND PAKISTAN GET ON DURING THE 1960s?

At first Pakistan seemed to get on well with President John Kennedy. In July 1961 President Ayub Khan visited Washington as an honoured ally. He was treated to what has been described as *the most dramatic and assuredly the most famous state dinner in White House history*. The dinner actually took place at the home of the first US President, George Washington. It was a lavish affair with twenty high-ranking Pakistanis amongst the 140 guests. In March 1962 the American First Lady, Jacqueline Kennedy, paid an official visit to Pakistan. She was acclaimed by the crowds during her visits to the



Jacqueline Kennedy riding Sardar

A symbol of goodwill

To show his appreciation after his visit to Washington, Ayub Khan, gave Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy her most treasured gift from a foreign head of state—Sardar, a prize-winning ten-year-old thoroughbred bay gelding. In 1963 Sardar carried out a sad duty. Following the assassination of President Kennedy, Sardar walked in the funeral procession as the symbolic riderless horse.

Shalimar Gardens, the Khyber Pass, Rawalpindi, Karachi, and Lahore. Relations between the two nations and their heads of state could not have been better.

However, US-Pakistan relations deteriorated after September 1962. During the Indo-China war, the USA rushed military equipment to India. Although this considerably disturbed Pakistan, it was only natural that the USA would help any country in its armed struggle against a Communist power. However, the USA had neglected to consult Pakistan as it were supposed to. At the same time, the USA failed to put any pressure on India to resolve the question of Kashmir. President Kennedy was worried when relations worsened and

sent a team of top officials to Islamabad. After his assassination in 1963, the situation became even worse under the new President, Lyndon Johnson.

Pakistan also felt badly let down during the 1965 war with India. The USA adopted a strictly neutral position and imposed an arms embargo on both countries. However, the effect of this action was not neutral and hit Pakistan hard as it was largely dependent on American weapons and spare parts.

At the same time as relations improved between Pakistan and the Communist countries, China and the Soviet Union, they steadily worsened with the USA. The USA would not support Pakistan over Kashmir and in 1964 made a long-term commitment of military aid to India. Pakistan turned down a request from President Johnson to send support for the US war in Vietnam.

SOURCE G: SEEKING FRIENDS NOT MASTERS

"Pakistan is seeking friends and not masters," he told his cheering audience at Islamabad...At several points the President went beyond anything he had said publicly before. He appeared to close the door to any early easing of the increasingly strained United States-Pakistani relations. One departure was his denunciation of the United States as a *power-drunk* country that did not listen to Pakistan's viewpoint.'

Comments by Ayub Khan reported in the *New York Times*, 16 July 1965

Quick questions:

- g What was the purpose of a U-2 plane?
- h Why was the USSR angry at Pakistan over the U-2 incident?
- i What evidence is there that President Kennedy was keen to have good relations with Pakistan during 1961–2?
- j Why did US neutrality in 1965 affect Pakistan badly?
- k What did Ayub Khan mean by his comment, 'friends not masters', in Source G?

HOW DID THE USA BEHAVE DURING THE 1971 WAR?

There were differences of opinion within the US Government as to how to respond to the 1971 conflict over East Pakistan. Most senior American officials believed that East

Pakistan would definitely break away and that America should simply sit back and let it happen. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his adviser on national security, were more supportive of Pakistan. Nixon did not get on well with the Indian leader, Mrs Indira Gandhi. This was to the advantage of Pakistan.

SOURCE H: TILT TOWARD PAKISTAN

'I've been catching unshirted anger every half-hour from the President, who says we're not tough enough. He really doesn't believe we're carrying out his wishes. He wants to tilt towards Pakistan.'

Henry Kissinger in a note from 1971 about Richard Nixon

In spite of President Nixon's support for Pakistan, the US Congress managed to block arms supplies and economic aid. On 10 December 1971 President Nixon ordered the US aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, nine accompanying warships, and 2000 combat-ready marines from Vietnam to the Bay of Bengal. The aim was to warn India against an all-out invasion of West Pakistan and served to deter the Soviet Union from involvement in the war. It was also quite clearly a show of American strength in the region.

DID US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IMPROVE DURING THE 1970s?

The USA did not much care for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's policies. It did not like his efforts to build closer relations with Communist countries, especially China, but also Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The USA was also opposed to Pakistan's intention of having its own nuclear weapons programme. Following the overthrow of Bhutto in 1977, allegations were made that the CIA had been engaged in disrupting his government. Neither his supporters nor historians have been able to find out the truth of these claims.

HOW DID THE USA DEAL WITH GENERAL ZIA'S GOVERNMENT?

President Jimmy Carter, a liberal, did not favour the military government of General Zia. The Americans were concerned over human rights and Pakistan's nuclear programme. In 1979 the US Embassy in Islamabad was attacked by a mob and burned down. The USA accused General Zia of complicity in the attack. The USA recalled all its diplomats and economic and military aid was suspended. But the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 put Pakistan on the front-line against communist aggression. The USA now needed Pakistan as an ally. President Carter offered \$400 million in military and economic aid, but General Zia rejected the offer as *peanuts*. President Carter had once been a peanut farmer!

In 1980 Ronald Reagan was elected President. Reagan was strongly anti-Communist. He referred to the Soviet Union and its satellite countries as the 'evil empire'. He was prepared to overlook General Zia's record on human rights and work with Pakistan to help defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The Americans gave Pakistan huge amounts of economic and military aid. They sold Pakistan their new fighter-bomber aircraft, the F-16, which could also be used against India. President Reagan ignored the resulting protests from India. As a result, Pakistan's armed forces strengthened and so did the economy. In 1986 an American aid package worth \$4.2 billion made Pakistan the third largest recipient of US aid after Israel and Egypt. With the end of the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan's importance to the Americans declined.



The CIA, America's powerful intelligence agency, has often been accused of interference in the affairs of other nations. Its influence in the world is significant, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. The agency's role in the Iran-Contra affair, for example, was a major scandal. It has also been implicated in various coups and assassinations. The CIA's power and influence remain a subject of intense debate and scrutiny.

Pressler Amendment, 1985

- The US Congress proposed a halt to US aid if Pakistan possessed nuclear capability. It was not actioned till 1990, after the defeat of the USSR in Afghanistan, and had a damaging effect on US-Pakistan relations in the 1990s.

Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth noting that at the time of his death General Zia was accompanied by the American ambassador.

Quick questions:

- l What difference of opinion was there inside the US Government in 1971?
- m How useful is Source H to historians?
- n What did the USA think of Bhutto?
- o Why did the USA need Pakistan in 1979?
- p Who became President of the USA in 1980?

- The USA was one of the two world superpowers.
- The USA needed allies to block the spread of the USSR and communism.
- In the 1950s, in return for aid and military support, Pakistan sided with the USA.
- Official support for the USA sometimes upset Pakistani opinion.
- The USA's support for India in the 1960s upset Pakistan.
- President Nixon was sympathetic to Pakistan in 1971.
- The USA distanced itself from Pakistan over concerns for human rights in the 1970s.
- The USA gave strong support for Pakistan after the USSR invasion of Afghanistan.

LOOKING AHEAD

Relations with the USA were going to vary. During the 1990 Gulf War Pakistan supported the USA and Britain, and even sent several thousand troops to the region. The USA, however, would continue to condemn Pakistan for its nuclear weapons. America tried and failed to stop Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998. In March 2000 President Bill Clinton spent six hours in Pakistan on the way home from a state visit to India. He expressed concern over nuclear weapons and the growth of terrorism in the region. Following the 2001 September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, Pakistan was again to be of strategic importance in President George W. Bush's 'War on Terror'. President Musharraf promised America his 'unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism'. In return, the USA and its allies committed huge amounts of financial support and even military assistance to Pakistan. However, many Pakistanis were highly critical of the USA, particularly over the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis demonstrated against the US war in Iraq. Although the Government of Pakistan condemned the war, it held back from strong criticism of the USA. The two states have thus been able to maintain good relations. This is a further example of *realpolitik*.

Questions:

- 1 How and why did the USA support Pakistan up to 1962?
- 2 What evidence is there that the USA was concerned only with its own interests? Quote from the appropriate sources in your answer.
- 3 Do you think that the relationship between Pakistan and the USA was one of equals?
- 4 How can it be shown that relations between the USA and Pakistan have been a case of *realpolitik*?

C:

Pakistan, Britain, and the Commonwealth

Key words

migrant: a person who moves from one place to another

emigration: when people leave their country to live in another one

immigration: when people from another country enter a country to live

census: a count made of all the people living in a country

Key questions:

- ◆ How did independence affect relations with Britain?
- ◆ How have Pakistan and Britain worked together?
- ◆ What part has Pakistan played in the Commonwealth?

On achieving independence in 1947, Pakistan's relationship with Britain was quite difficult. On the one hand, Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League had been forced to campaign hard over many years for independence from Britain and for a separate Pakistan. Pakistanis were bitter over the way that the British Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, had handled the hasty transition to independence. They were unhappy over the way the British had set the boundaries and divided up the resources for the two new nations. Pakistan believed the British were really critical of Pakistan and actually favoured India. On the other hand, the new Government of Pakistan had to rely on senior British officials working for them. For many years they could not afford to lose British military officers. Britain was to remain a major buyer of goods from Pakistan. Until early 1956 Pakistan was a British Dominion, which meant that, although it had its own independent government, the British monarch was technically the head of state. In March 1956 Pakistan became a republic with a president as head of state.

WHY IS THERE A SPECIAL LINK BETWEEN BRITAIN AND PAKISTAN?

During the 1950s and 1960s large numbers of Pakistanis moved to live and work in Britain, cementing even further the link between the two nations. People have emigrated from the Indian subcontinent to Britain since the seventeenth century. Today, Pakistanis are the third largest ethnic minority group in Britain. According to the 2001 Census there were 747,285 Pakistanis living in Britain.

Britain encouraged this emigration from Pakistan after World War II because of a shortage of workers. There were plenty of jobs in reconstruction and expansion of the economy after the end of the war. There was a need for workers in the textile industry. Most Pakistanis who had entered Britain before the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act were men who were keen to work. The early migrants usually planned to return to Pakistan once they had made enough money. Much of their earnings were sent back to their families in Pakistan and this greatly helped the economy. During the 1950s, '60s and '70s such money from abroad was the second largest source of overseas revenue for Pakistan.

- **The Commonwealth** is a association of free nations that were once part of the British Empire. About thirty per cent of the world's people live in countries belonging to the Commonwealth. It is a way of maintaining friendly and helpful relations between a large number of countries.

Top twenty names

- The name Mohammad has become so popular among British Muslims that it now features in the top twenty boys' names for Muslims in the UK. In 1997 British Pakistani, Mohammad Sarwar, became Britain's first Muslim Member of Parliament.

- Pakistanis living in Britain

1951	5000
1961	24,900
1966	119,700
1991	477,000

The total population of Britain in 1991 was 55 million.

By 1996 half of the Pakistani community living in Britain had been born there.

WHY DID PAKISTANI MIGRATION TO BRITAIN INCREASE?

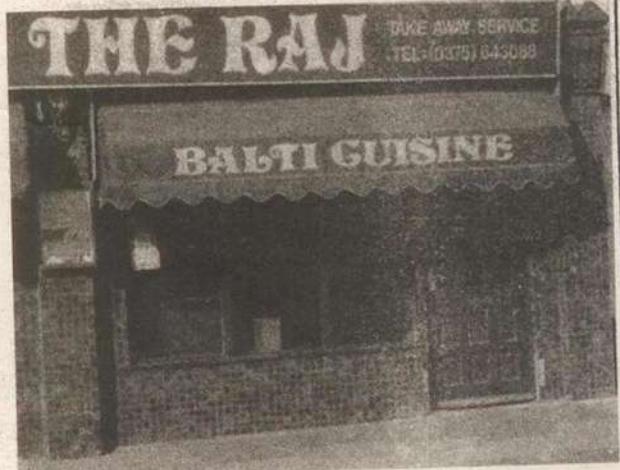
- Britain offered well-paid jobs.
- Many people displaced by partition in 1947 moved to Britain, so becoming migrants twice.
- 100,000 people were displaced from the Mangla Dam area in the 1960s. Some used compensation money to travel to Britain and join relatives.
- Britain's 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act introduced a *voucher system* which gave Pakistanis in Britain the opportunity to arrange jobs and vouchers for friends and family.
- A number of Pakistan travel agencies were set up to assist would-be migrants.

HOW HAS BRITAIN BENEFITED FROM BRITISH PAKISTANIS?

Britain desperately needed unskilled workers. The Pakistani immigrants proved to be reliable, hard-working and ambitious. Today, British Pakistanis are more likely to be self-employed than any other group in Britain. Many of them are taxi drivers. Others run shops and restaurants. British people of all backgrounds enjoy South Asian food. *Balti* restaurants have become very popular.

BALTI CUISINE

Balti Gosht is a hot curry-style meat dish named after the thick flat-bottomed steel or iron pot it is cooked in and served from. It is eaten with *naan* (bread). *Balti* food does not seem to come from Baltistan but was probably introduced in Birmingham by Kashmiris. The influence of the Birmingham accent may have changed the Kashmiri name of the cooking pot from *bati* to *balti*. In England, most *balti houses*, as the restaurants are known, are run by Kashmiri and Bangladeshi Muslims. Both groups dispute the invention of *balti* food.



SOURCE A: FINE TRADITIONS

'I eat at their restaurants. Pakistanis in Manchester reflect the fine traditions of the country they come from. They work hard, they seek to give their children an excellent education and a good start in life, they respect their elders, and they

believe in a sound family life. They observe their religion and they celebrate Pakistan Day and the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). They watch Imran Khan play cricket and they are good Britons, loyal to this country while cherishing their land of origin.'

The words of British Member of Parliament, Gerald Kaufman, House of Commons, 1990

Quick questions:

- a When did Pakistan become a republic?
- b Why did Britain encourage Pakistanis to emigrate?
- c How did Pakistanis working in Britain benefit their home country?
- d When was the voucher system set up?
- e Does Source A prove that British people support the Pakistani community?

WHAT PART HAS PAKISTAN PLAYED IN THE COMMONWEALTH?

The Commonwealth of Nations is a group of countries, scattered all over the world, which were previously part of the British Empire. After 1947, almost all of Britain's colonies gained independence. All the members accept the British monarch, King George VI until 1952 and then Queen Elizabeth II, as Head of the Commonwealth. The Queen has regularly visited the Commonwealth countries including Pakistan. Although there are a great many differences—political, religious, and cultural—between the countries, they have been able to cooperate on many issues including trade, finance, cultural, and sporting matters. The Commonwealth Games, held every four years, are second only to the Olympic Games as a major international sporting event.

However, on a number of occasions Pakistan has been disappointed by the Commonwealth. During 1949–50, it hoped that Britain would use its position in the Commonwealth to insist on a plebiscite to settle the Kashmir issue. In January 1951, Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, even threatened not to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London unless the Kashmir issue was discussed. The Australian Prime Minister proposed that Commonwealth troops should be stationed in Kashmir. Support was given for a plebiscite. But India, also a Commonwealth member, rejected the proposal. The UK government and the Commonwealth subsequently failed to put pressure on India.

The 1955 Baghdad Pact confirmed Britain and Pakistan as allies in opposing any Soviet threat to the Middle East. But the pact did not guarantee the countries would agree on everything. In 1956 Britain invaded the Suez Canal Zone in Egypt. Neither membership of the Commonwealth nor the Baghdad Pact stopped Pakistan from supporting Egypt. Public opinion was strongly anti-British, with demands that Pakistan should withdraw from the Commonwealth.

In 1971, after Britain recognized the State of Bangladesh, Pakistan under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did quit the Commonwealth in protest. Britain had failed to support Pakistan's position over East Pakistan. It said it was up to West Pakistan and East Pakistan to sort the matter out. Once again British neutrality seemed to favour India.

Kabaddi UK

- About 25 years ago Pakistanis introduced Britain the sport of kabaddi, or kauda a Pakistanis often call it is now very popular in British Pakistani communities as well as Sikhs and Indian Punjabis. The game, originating in the Punjab, is more than 4000 years old. It is a team game that takes 40 minutes and requires stamina and except eye-hand-leg coordination. In many ways it combines aspects of wrestling and rugby.



The emblem of the Commonwealth Games, Australia

Quick questions:

- f What is the Commonwealth and who is its head?
- g Why did many people want Pakistan to leave the Commonwealth in 1956?
- h Why did Pakistan leave in 1971?

- Pakistan was unhappy with Britain's dealing over a number of issues surrounding independence.
- The Commonwealth is made up of countries once part of the British Empire.
- Pakistan has felt frustrated at the failure of the Commonwealth to resolve problems with fellow-member, India.
- Many Pakistanis from both the West and East Wings migrated to Britain after independence.
- British Pakistanis play an important part in British life and ensure a special link with Pakistan.

LOOKING AHEAD

By 1990 half of the British Pakistani community had been born in Britain. Today's British Pakistanis cherish the culture, food, and religion of Pakistan but they have British nationality and will remain in Britain. However, it has meant that there will always be a close interest in what happens in Pakistan. By 1980 Britain was quite keen for Pakistan to rejoin the Commonwealth but India secretly objected. On 1 October 1989, under Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan rejoined the Commonwealth. Benazir Bhutto believed that Pakistan had a great deal to gain out of this membership. On this occasion both India and Bangladesh sponsored Pakistan's return to the Commonwealth. But later, in 1999, Pakistan was suspended from the Commonwealth because of a military takeover. In 2004 Pakistan, seen as a key ally against international terrorism, joined the Commonwealth once again.

Questions:

- 1 How have Pakistanis affected life in Britain?
- 2 What disputes have occurred between Pakistan and the Commonwealth?
- 3 Do you think that the relationship between Pakistan and Britain and the Commonwealth during the years 1947–88 has been successful?

D:**Pakistan and the United Nations****Key questions:**

- ◆ What is the role of the United Nations?
- ◆ What part has Pakistan played in the UN?
- ◆ How has the UN intervened in Kashmir?

The United Nations (UN) was set up in 1945 at the end of World War II, with the main aim to bring nations together and prevent further wars. Thus the world has been spared a Third World War, though there have been a number of skirmishes and localized wars.

Pakistan and India have clashed in three such wars since 1947. The UN also tries to sort out these and similar conflicts, with varying levels of success. As well as conflict resolution, it also tries to get nations to cooperate together in tackling poverty, economic problems, and human rights issues. Since 1963 the UN World Food Programme has worked to relieve hunger and poverty for the world's refugees. Many Afghans who fled their country to Pakistan have been helped by this programme, as have victims of natural disasters such as the massive Indian Ocean tsunami in December 2004, and the earthquake in Pakistan in October 2005. The Cold War period made the work of the UN extremely important, but also very difficult.

SOURCE A: WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ARE DETERMINED...

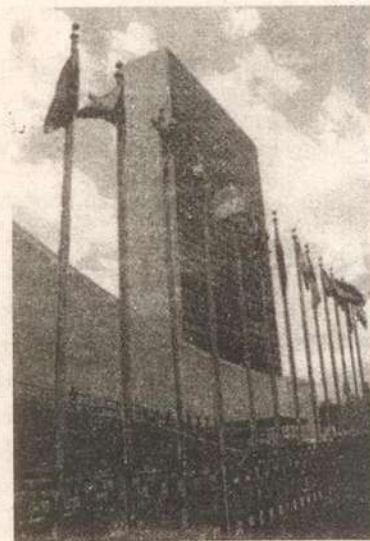
to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours;

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security;

to ensure ...that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest;

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

These aims of the UN are taken from the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations.



The United Nations Headquarters
New York



A view of the UN General Assembly
in session

HOW IS THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZED?

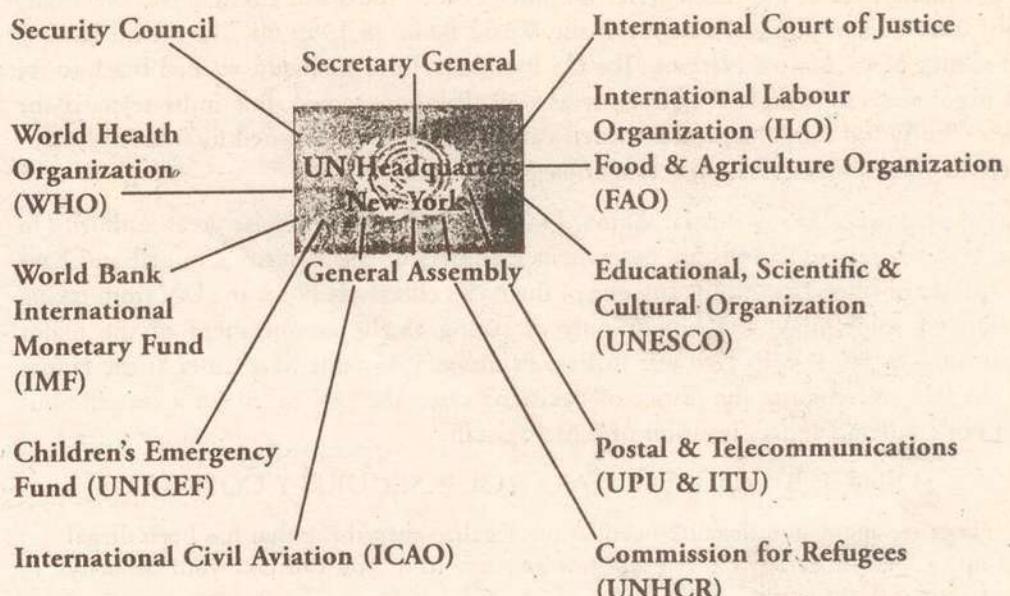
The UN tries to settle disagreements between nations by diplomacy and negotiation. Every member country is represented in the General Assembly, which meets between September and December every year and, if needed, at other times as well. All kinds of issues and problems are discussed and resolutions adopted. The very first UN resolution, passed unanimously by the General Assembly, pledged nuclear states to nuclear disarmament. On 10 December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly.



Kofi Annan from Ghana served as
recent UN Secretary-General, 1997–2006

Some clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- i All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights
- ii Entitled to rights, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin
- vii Equality before the law
- x Right to a fair trial
- xx Right to freedom of peaceful assembly
- xxi Right to take part in the government of one's country



At the heart of the UN is the Security Council. This has fifteen members. Five of them are permanent members: USA, Britain, China, France, and Russia (formerly the USSR). The other members are elected to serve for two years. Pakistan was elected to a two-year term in 1993. It is the Security Council that takes the decisions when there is a crisis that threatens international peace and security.

It is the task of the Secretary-General of the UN and the staff to carry out the decisions of the Security Council and the proposals of the General Assembly. The headquarters of the UN is based in New York City on land donated by the USA.

Quick questions:

- a When and why was the UN set up?
- b Why is the Security Council very important?
- c Explain in your own words the first point of the Declaration of Human Rights.

HOW HAS PAKISTAN WORKED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS?

Pakistan has played an active role in the United Nations which is a forum for nations to appeal to the rest of the world when they feel threatened by stronger powers. Pakistan has repeatedly tried to get the UN to settle the Kashmir issue. On 20 January 1948 the Security Council established the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) which in due course called for the future of Kashmir to be 'determined in accordance with the will of the people'. But the plebiscite called for by the UN and by Pakistan has never taken place. The power of the UN is limited and dependent on the cooperation of other countries—in this case, India. India has distanced itself from attempts at mediation by the UN. Nevertheless, the UN did arrange a ceasefire. Although unable to settle the matter, the UN has patrolled and tried to maintain the peace along the Line of Control. However, since 1972 the Indians have refused to allow UN observers on the Indian-held side. For sixty years Pakistan has used the UN platform to appeal to the world's conscience over the injustice it and Kashmir have suffered.

The difficult issue of the Canal Water Dispute between India and Pakistan was eventually settled by Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, in 1959-60. The World Bank is an agency of the United Nations. The US President, John Kennedy, wanted Black to try to negotiate a settlement for Kashmir as well. Pakistan agreed, but India rejected the idea. The World Bank has also provided Pakistan with much-needed finance for hydroelectric development and soil reclamation programmes.

The superpowers, USA, Russia, China, France, and Britain, exercise great authority in the UN. These five nations are permanent members of the Security Council and have the power of veto. That means any one of them can effectively block the UN from taking action on something. The UN is only as strong as the commitment of the major countries. In 1971, with civil war in East Pakistan, Pakistanis were upset at the failure of the UN to recognize the justice of Pakistan's case. The UN called for a ceasefire but did not condemn India's invasion of East Pakistan.

SOURCE B: 'YOU CAN TAKE YOUR SECURITY COUNCIL'

'Legalize aggression, legalize occupation, legalize everything that has been illegal up to December 15, 1971. I will not be party to it. You can take your Security Council. I am going.'

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, speaking at the United Nations, before he stormed out in protest at the failure of the UN to support Pakistan against India over East Pakistan

SOURCE C: WE FAIL IT

'I do not think, really, in any sense, the United Nations has failed as a concept. I think occasionally we fail it.'

US President John Kennedy, speaking in 1961

Quick questions:

- d What was UNCIP?
- e Why have UN patrols in Kashmir been restricted to Pakistani territory?
- f Which country was Bhutto speaking of when he said, 'aggression and occupation' in Source B?
- g Do you think there is any link between Sources B and C?

Pakistan and the Organization of the Islamic Conference

WHAT IS THE OIC?

In addition to the United Nations, Pakistan is an active member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The OIC works closely with the UN and other international organizations. It is the world's second largest intergovernmental organization after the UN. The UN and the OIC each have reciprocal observer status. The OIC is currently made up of 57 member states together with 3 observer states. It was founded at the first Islamic Summit held in Morocco in September 1969. The aim is to promote solidarity and cooperation among all its member states. It also shares the aims of the UN in promoting peace and racial tolerance. Summit conferences are organized triennially, i.e. once every three years, but three Extraordinary sessions have been held in 1997, 2003, and 2005. The 1974 Islamic Summit held in Lahore demonstrated the importance Pakistan gave to the OIC.

UN peacekeepers

- The UN peacekeeping force along the Kashmir LOC is the second oldest peacekeeping mission in UN history. The first peacekeeping mission was set up in the Middle East in 1948.

Nafis Sadik

- In 1987 Nafis Sadik, a Pakistani woman doctor, was appointed executive director of the important UN Population Fund, with the rank of Under-Secretary-General.



Islamic Summit Conferences

1st	Rabat, Morocco	September	1969
2nd	Lahore, Pakistan	February	1974
3rd	Makkah and Taif, Saudi Arabia	January	1981
4th	Casablanca, Morocco	January	1984
5th	Kuwait City, Kuwait	January	1987
6th	Dakar, Senegal	December	1991
7th	Casablanca, Morocco	December	1994
1st Extraordinary	Islamabad, Pakistan	March	1997
8th	Tehran, Iran	December	1997
9th	Doha, Qatar	November	2000
2nd Extraordinary	Doha, Qatar	March	2003
10th	Putrajaya, Malaysia	October	2003
3rd Extraordinary	Makkah at Mukarramah, Saudi Arabia	December	2005

- The UN was set up at the end of World War II to prevent further wars.
- UN agencies tackle many world problems and issues.
- Pakistan has supported the work of the UN.
- The UN has failed to solve the Kashmir problem.
- Pakistani troops have supported UN peacekeeping missions in other parts of the world.
- Weaknesses in the UN exist because member states cannot reach agreement and because it is underfunded.

LOOKING AHEAD

In spite of its deep disappointments at the failures of the UN over East Pakistan and Kashmir, Pakistan has continued to play its part as a member. Although recognizing the powerlessness of the UN in many situations, Pakistan has continued to use it as an important forum/platform to put its case to the world community. At the same time, Pakistan has also made important contributions to the work of the UN. It has played a highly visible role in UN peacekeeping efforts. In 1994 more than 7000 Pakistani troops took part in the UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia. The UN reflects the best of humanity but, at the same time, is restricted by the practical limitations of every human endeavour. Since we all have arguments and difficulties getting on with people, then it is hardly surprising that nations should disagree with each other. The UN reflects the will of its member states: when they are united the UN is strong, but on many occasions the members of the UN are divided. Even so, the UN remains our best chance for world peace and cooperation.

Points to Remember

Questions:

- How successful has Pakistan been in its relationship with the United Nations?
- Why do you think that the United Nations has, at times, failed to solve problems?

Pakistan in the 1990s and the new century

A:

Pakistan struggles over democracy

WHY HAS IT BEEN DIFFICULT FOR PAKISTAN TO HAVE A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT?

You learned in Chapter 9 that it was the aim of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan to set up a democratic system of government. The important Objectives Resolution of 1949 stated that *the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people*. As you have seen, it proved very difficult to make that ideal work. After the military dictatorship of General Zia, the election of Benazir Bhutto seemed to prove that democratic government could work and was here to stay. But democracy proved fragile and once again was interrupted. Pakistan has always faced many problems including enemies who have threatened its existence. In that situation many Pakistanis believe that strong and effective government is more important than democratic government. That is not to say that they are against democracy, but simply that Pakistan's security takes priority.

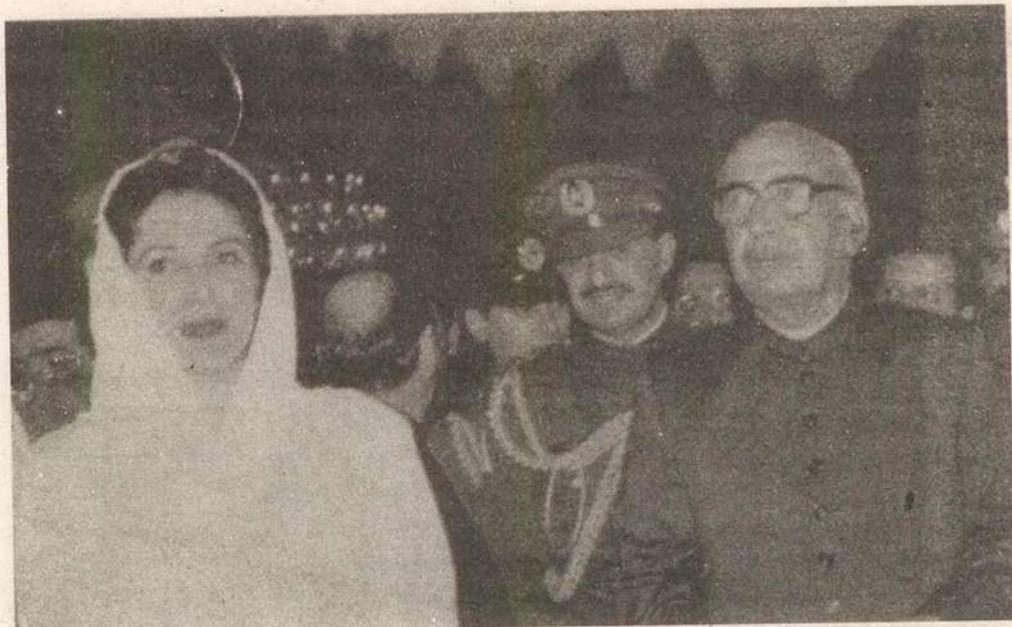
Since 1990 three important figures have dominated political events in Pakistan: Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, and General Pervez Musharraf. By the end of 2000 the two politicians were in exile and General Musharraf was in charge.

BENAZIR BHUTTO—PRIME MINISTER: 1988–90, 1993–6

Benazir Bhutto's election as Prime Minister in 1988 was welcomed as an end to rule by dictatorship. But from the start she faced many problems, including opposition from politicians who wanted to see her fail. Many people accuse her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, of contributing to her downfall. Divisions within her party, the PPP (Pakistan People's Party), weakened Benazir Bhutto's government. Some of the differences were caused by arguments over policy whilst others came from people who were ambitious for themselves. The main opposition party, the IJI (*Islami*

1990	Benazir Bhutto removed from office
1993	Nawaz Sharif takes office as Prime Minister
1993	Benazir Bhutto re-elected as Prime Minister
1996	Benazir Bhutto dismissed by President Leghari
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2001	Al Qaeda attacks on Washington and New York
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2004	USA awards Pakistan status of non-Nato ally outside Nato
	Pakistan rejoins the Commonwealth

Jamhoori Ittehad—Islamic Democratic Alliance), led by Nawaz Sharif, controlled the provincial government of the Punjab. The IJI criticized the government for being too close to the USA.



Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan

Pucca Qila

- On 27 May 1990 forty supporters of the MQM, including women and children, were killed by the police in Hyderabad. It was said that women held copies of the Quran over their heads as they cried out to the police to stop shooting.

Benazir Bhutto came into confrontation with provincial governments. For a time she was forced to work in a coalition with the MQM (Mohajir Qaumi Movement), a party that represented Muslims who had migrated from India to Pakistan and settled mainly in Sindh. This move angered many PPP members in Sindh. At this time, for all kinds of different reasons, violent protests increased all over Pakistan. Angry over the lack of law and order, the MQM abandoned Benazir Bhutto and joined forces with the IJI. It was a fatal blow to her government.

Further violence, including the Pucca Qila massacre in Hyderabad and an attack on a Karachi bus, killing twenty-four people, led President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to dismiss Benazir Bhutto's government in August 1990, on grounds of corruption by PPP leaders and Benazir Bhutto's inability to lead the country. She had, the President said, failed to maintain law and order and allowed the economy to decline. She had only been Prime Minister for seventeen months, and bitterly claimed that the government had been *stolen* from her.

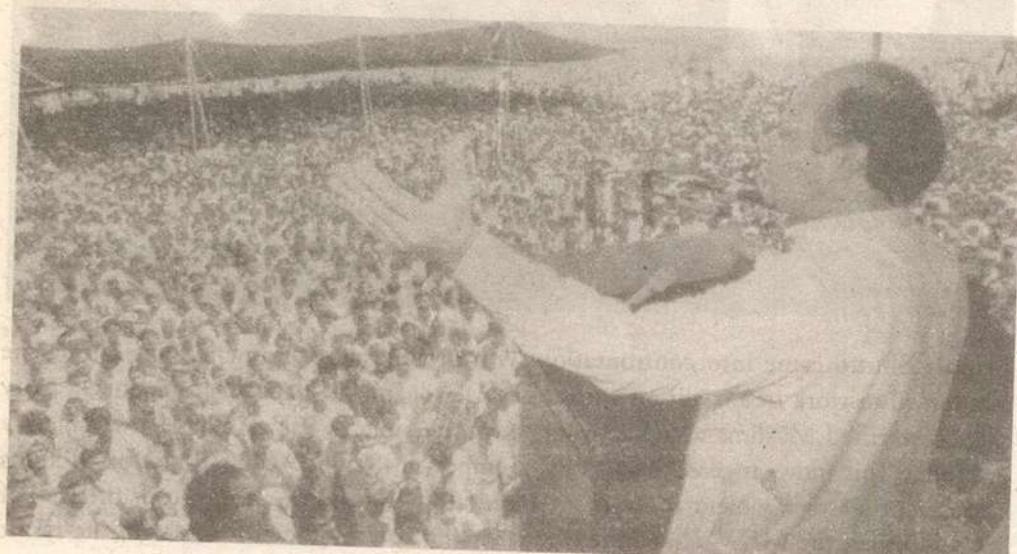
WHY WAS BENAZIR BHUTTO REMOVED FROM OFFICE AGAIN?

In spite of the serious allegations against her in 1990, the 1993 elections returned Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister. It was clear that she commanded a great deal of support. This time the PPP controlled the important province of Punjab. Once again people were hopeful that she would be successful in strengthening democracy. But in November 1996, after further accusations of corruption—some of them involving her husband—and a rising tide of violence, Benazir Bhutto was once again dismissed. President Leghari also used concerns about serious economic problems and other difficulties as further

reasons for removing her from office. Later, she and her husband were arrested and accused of corruption. Benazir Bhutto charged that there had been a conspiracy by her enemies to undermine democracy. Since 1999 Benazir Bhutto has lived abroad in self-imposed exile.

NAWAZ SHARIF—PRIME MINISTER: 1990–3, 1997–9

Following the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto in 1990, Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister. He also faced many problems including a much divided Pakistani people. Supporters of Benazir Bhutto wanted him to fail. To start with, he had the support of religious groups and pursued a more anti-American policy. But he found it difficult to promote economic progress and religious ideas at the same time. American aid virtually stopped. Nawaz Sharif began to lose important support in both the business and religious communities.



Nawaz Sharif addressing a public rally

The military remained extremely powerful, particularly after the Soviet invasion of neighbouring Afghanistan. In January 1993 the Army Commander-in-Chief, General Asif Nawaz, suddenly and mysteriously died. Nawaz Sharif was accused of involvement. He set up a panel to investigate the General's death. In a sensational radio broadcast Nawaz Sharif seemed to suggest that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was involved. The President dismissed Nawaz Sharif. Six weeks later the Supreme Court ruled that the President had acted unlawfully. It was a serious crisis that was only settled when both Nawaz Sharif and the President resigned.

WHY WAS NAWAZ SHARIF REMOVED FROM OFFICE AGAIN?

In 1997, after the second dismissal of Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif was again elected as Prime Minister with a two thirds majority in the National Assembly. In spite of his strong support he faced many serious problems. Pakistan's relations with the USA were damaged by his support for the Taliban in Afghanistan when they refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, suspected of terrorist attacks against US interests. Bin Laden was believed to have been involved in the bombing of the US embassy in Kenya. In retaliation

General Pervez Musharraf

• General Musharraf was born in 1943 in Allahabad. In 1947 the family moved to Pakistan.

He went to St Patrick's High School in Karachi and trained at the Military Academy at Kakul. He was decorated for heroism during the 1965 war with India. During the 1971 war he commanded a commando battalion. In 1998 he was promoted to General and Chief of the Army Staff.

to Indian nuclear tests in 1998, Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons, angering a number of countries, who halted aid as a mark of disapproval.

In May 1999, after a fresh outbreak of fighting in Kashmir, the Pakistan Army was forced to pull back from territory it had gained in Kargil. It was an embarrassing retreat. Prime Minister Sharif tried to blame General Pervez Musharraf, Chief of the Army Staff. But neither he nor his Army colleagues would accept that. After all, they said, it was the Prime Minister who had ordered the withdrawal.

In October 1999, whilst Musharraf was visiting Sri Lanka, Sharif tried to sack the General by not allowing his return to Pakistan. Instead, his Army staff overthrew Sharif's government. General Musharraf returned and once again Pakistan was under military rule. In December 2000 Nawaz Sharif and his family went to live in exile in Saudi Arabia.

GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF—CHIEF EXECUTIVE: 1999–2001; PRESIDENT: 2002—

General Musharraf's rule was from the start quite different from previous military rules. The political parties were allowed to carry on as normal. Newspapers were told that they could publish criticism so long as it did not damage the authority of the government or harm national security. His declared aims for Pakistan were to revive the economy, maintain law and order, root out corruption, and make Pakistanis proud of their country.

At first other countries criticized his takeover. This changed after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001. General Musharraf immediately offered his support for the US-led 'war on terror'. However, this led to widespread criticism inside Pakistan. A number of assassination attempts against him have been blamed on Al-Qaeda and its supporters. In 2002 General Musharraf amended Pakistan's Constitution to prevent any Prime Minister from serving for more than two terms in office. This is rather like the rule in the USA which prevents a President serving more than two terms. In Pakistan, the immediate result is that Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif are barred from becoming Prime Minister again.

GENERAL PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

'...my country needs me. I've put a strong constitutional democratic system in place. That will throw up a successor. I'm a strong believer in democracy.'

General Pervez Musharraf, *The Guardian*
(London), 28 April 2006



In Conclusion

LOOKING BACK

Studying this book you have learned that Pakistan has emerged from the fears and struggles of the Muslims of India. Important figures such as Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam gave leadership and expression to the vision of a Muslim nation. In creating Pakistan they seemed to have achieved the impossible. Since independence Pakistan has faced enormous difficulties and threats greater than any other new nation has had to face. Who can blame people in other countries who, in 1947, expected Pakistan to fail? They were wrong. India, Pakistan's strong neighbour, hoped and worked for Pakistan to fail. It was disappointed.

In its first sixty years Pakistan has struggled to achieve stable and democratic government. Other countries took many centuries to achieve that. Serious problems of poverty, violence, and the constant threat from India were difficult matters for any government to cope with. Politicians found it difficult to agree with one another. Opposing parties have fought bitterly and there has been little willingness for compromise or conciliation. That makes democratic government very difficult. Who can blame people who readily accepted military rule because of corruption, political murders, and endless bitter argument?

As educated citizens of your country you will, if you want to, help to shape the future of Pakistan, the kind of government it has, and the role it plays in the world. Contributing to your country and community is called good citizenship. You, and your generation, will be able to make the difference and make the history of Pakistan that your children and grandchildren will one day learn about.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S ADVICE

'If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.'

Quaid-i-Azam, speaking to the Constituent Assembly, 11 August 1947

Appendix 1

The timeline given below will serve as a useful reference to important events in the history of the Pakistan Movement, the struggle for independence, and the history of Pakistan from 1947 to 2004.

Important dates in the history of Pakistan:

1600	Queen Elizabeth I grants a charter to the East India Company	1940	Two Nation theory put forward by Quaid-i-Azam
1707	Death of Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal Emperor	1942–3	Pakistan Resolution passed at Lahore
1750	Battle of Plassey assures British control of Bengal	1942	Famine hits Bengal
1784	India Act, Britain takes direct control of its Indian possessions	1946	Cripps Mission
1803	Second Maratha War	1947	Britain agrees to partition of India and creation of Pakistan
	British enter Delhi	1947	Independence and partition: 14 August: Pakistan; 15 August: India
1833	Government of India Act ends East India Company's control of trade	1948	Death of Quaid-i-Azam on 11 September
1846	East India Company sells Kashmir to a maharajah for 6 million rupees	1948	War with India
1852	Doctrine of Lapse established	1951	Assassination of Pakistan's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan
1857–8	Indian uprising—the War of Independence	1955	Four provinces of West Pakistan merged into One Unit
1869	The Suez Canal shortens the journey between India and Europe	1956	First Constitution of Pakistan
1876	Queen Victoria becomes the Empress of India	1958–69	Martial law regime of Ayub Khan; abrogation of the 1956 Constitution
	Birth of M. A. Jinnah, now known as Quaid-i-Azam	1961	Family Law Ordinance restricts polygamy, regulates divorce, and raises the age of marriage for girls to 16 and for boys to 18
1885	First meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay	1965	Three-week war with India
1906	Founding of the Muslim League	1970	Elections: Awami League successful in East Pakistan; PPP dominant in West Pakistan
1914–8	World War I	1971	War with India as it supports East Pakistan rebellion leading to creation of Bangladesh
1919	Amritsar massacre	1972	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto becomes President
1920–2	Gandhi's non-cooperation campaign		Nationalization programme under the Bhutto government
1927–8	Simon Commission makes proposals for the government of India		India and Pakistan sign the Simla Accord
1928	Quaid-i-Azam leaves Congress in protest over its constitutional proposals	1973	Pakistan's third constitution
1930–2	Round Table Conferences in London to discuss India's future	1974	Islamic Summit held in Lahore
1932	Muslim League supports women's demand for equal rights	1977	Pakistan officially recognizes Bangladesh
1935	Government of India Act	1977	Bhutto accused of rigging the elections
1939–45	World War II	1979	General Zia ul Haq takes power
			Bhutto arrested and charged with murder
			Hudood Ordinance promulgated
			Bhutto executed
		1987	USSR invades Afghanistan
		1988	Pakistan announces it has nuclear weapons capability
			USSR finally withdraws from Afghanistan
			Revolt in Kashmir against Indian rule

	General Zia killed
1990	Benazir Bhutto elected Prime Minister
	Benazir Bhutto removed from office
1993	Nawaz Sharif takes over as Prime Minister
1996	Benazir Bhutto re-elected as Prime Minister
	Benazir Bhutto dismissed again on charges of corruption
1997	Nawaz Sharif returns as Prime Minister
1999	General Pervez Musharraf seizes power
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Appendix 2

Using the Internet to study history

History is about investigation. Historians seek to find out what happened in history and why it happened. Today the Internet makes it possible to search masses of historical information. Internet means *interconnected network of networks*. It all started in 1969 with the US Department of Defence programme, ARAPNET. It was a secure network linking the computers of all US defence organizations. Soon other computer networks were linked up as well. Since the early 1990s, anyone with a computer has been able to link to the Internet. Using a search engine you will be able to find documents, pictures, and even listen to actual historic speeches. Important organizations mentioned in this book all have web sites. It is worth visiting the official sites of the Commonwealth, the United Nations, and the Government of Pakistan.

Using the Internet for research can be fascinating and extremely useful. Remember, however, that when you use documents and sources on the Internet you must be just as critical as when you use information from other sources. When using historical sources, you should ask the following questions:

- When was the source written or produced?
- Why was it written or produced?
- Who wrote or produced it?
- Could it have been altered?
- Is it biased?
- How useful is it?
- Do I need other evidence to back it up?
- Have I got as much information as I can out of it?

Remember, there is no point in simply downloading and printing information from the Internet. You must analyze it and extract the useful information. Often you will need to summarize the important information and also compare it to other information that you have found.

Internet task 1: Truman sends condolences to Pakistan

In October 1951 a tragic event occurred in Pakistan. Your task is to find out how the US President responded to this event. Log on to the Truman Presidential Library, www.trumanlibrary.org. Type 'Liaquat Ali Khan' into *Search our site*. You will find several interesting references and photographs. Find the message 257 sent on 16 October 1951. Now you are ready to answer these questions.

- (1) Who did the President send the first message to?
- (2) Who did the President send the second message to?
- (3) Why did he send these messages?
- (4) Which words in the messages describe Liaquat Ali Khan?
- (5) What did the President mean by *tragic circumstances and grievous blow*?
- (6) Is there any indication in the messages as to how the USA regarded Pakistan?

Extra task: search the site for a photograph of Liaquat Ali Khan with President Truman. Who is the Pakistani woman in the picture? How useful is the picture as an historical source?

Internet task 2: Quaid-i-Azam

Now visit the Government of Pakistan's official site for Quaid-i-Azam at www.pak.gov.pk/Quaid/quaid.htm. On this site you will learn about Quaid-i-Azam's life and see pictures of him at various stages during his career. You will find the answers to these questions on this site.

- (1) Why did he visit England in 1905?
- (2) Who was elected President of the Home Rule League in 1920?
- (3) Who do you think is standing next to him in the photograph on page 4?
- (4) Find the section titled, *Leader of a Free Nation*. Do you think everyone would agree with the term *treacherous circumstances*?
- (5) What did Quaid-i-Azam say in his final message?
- (6) How reliable do you think that this account of Quaid-i-Azam's life is?

Internet task 3: Historic buildings in Karachi

Karachi was the first capital city of Pakistan. It was also the birthplace of a very important person. There are many interesting historical buildings and museums in this city. If you do not live in Karachi you can still find out about them by using the city council's internet site, www.karachicity.gov.pk/cdgkhist.asp.

- (1) Find the New Sindh Assembly building.
 - (a) How was it used after Independence?
 - (b) What important decisions were taken there in 1954 and 1956?
 - (c) What is the building used for today?
- (2) Which building is used by the State Bank of Pakistan?
- (3) Why is Wazir Mansion an important part of Pakistan's history?

Internet task 4: President Kennedy and Kashmir

Log on to the official website of the Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston, www.jfklibrary.org. Click on *Press Conferences* and then select *News Conference 21, January 24, 1962*. In this press conference President Kennedy dealt with a number of issues including the safety of milk and his brother Teddy! You should look for his reference to the Kashmir issue and answer these questions.

- (1) Who had the President asked to assist over Kashmir?
- (2) Who did this person work for?
- (3) What experience did he have in dealing with problems between Pakistan and India?
- (4) Who had to decide if he should take on this role?
- (5) What does this question and answer tell us about the Kashmir problem and the interest of the USA?

Extra task: Search the site for a photograph of Mrs Kennedy visiting Pakistan. Who else is in the picture? How useful is this picture as an historical source?

Further information using the Internet

You will find useful information about recent political history on the following websites:

www.na.gov.pk This is the website of the National Assembly

www.dawn.com This is the website of *Dawn*, one of the main English-language newspapers.