

Pakistan: History, Culture, and Government

Second Edition

Teaching Guide

Nigel Smith

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

Introduction to the Teaching Guide	2
Introduction (Student's Book)	7
Part 1	
The Cultural and Historical Background of the Pakistan Movement	
Chapter 1 The Decline of the Mughal Empire	9
Chapter 2 The Influence of Islam	11
Chapter 3 The British in India	14
Chapter 4 Realism and Confidence	24
Part 2	
The Emergence of Pakistan, 1906-47	
Chapter 5 Muslims Organize	27
Chapter 6 Towards Pakistan: 1922-40	36
Chapter 7 War and Independence	41
Part 3	
Nationhood: 1947-88	
Chapter 8 The New Nation	48
Chapter 9 The Government of Pakistan	53
Chapter 10 The 1970s	61
Part 4	
Pakistan and the World	
Chapter 11 Pakistan and Asia	68
Chapter 12 Pakistan and the rest of the world	73
Chapter 13 Pakistan: 1988 to date	79
Revision exercises	91
Sample Examination Paper	97
Sample Mark Scheme	100

Introduction to the Teaching Guide

History teachers know very well the importance and pleasure of learning history. Teaching the history of your own nation is particularly satisfying. This history of Pakistan, and the examination syllabus that it serves, will prove attractive to your pupils. Indeed, it would be a strange young person who did not find a great deal to intrigue and stimulate them. So your task should be made all the easier by their natural interest in the events and struggles of their forebears.

This Teacher's Guide aims to provide detailed step-by-step support to the teachers for improving students' understanding of the events and factors leading to the creation of Pakistan and its recent history and to prepare students for success in the O level and IGCSE examinations. Syllabus and assessment requirements are explained; additional sources are given for practice in evaluating historical sources; lesson plans, revision exercises, exemplar responses, sample examination paper and mark schemes are included for teachers' guidance. Some additional factual information is included to supplement the textbook and further inform the teacher. In many cases, both in the guide and the textbook, tasks may be more challenging than the requirements of the examination. Challenging and stretching your students will be of benefit. Thorough understanding of circumstances and events will reinforce recall.

Examiners can award extra marks when knowledge, outside of the syllabus, is shown provided that it is relevant to the question. So the more knowledge and understanding students have, the better their answers will be.

Those teachers who have been teaching this syllabus should be aware of any changes. Examination boards regularly review their syllabuses and methods of assessment. It is the teacher's responsibility to make sure that they have the latest details and advice for the syllabus that their pupils are studying. You should also use past and sample exam papers as well as examiners' reports available from the examination board.

Aims and Objectives of the Textbook and Teaching Guide

The aims of the O level (2059/1) and IGCSE (0448/1) syllabuses are to encourage students to develop a lifelong knowledge and important skills including:

- a balanced understanding of the heritage and history of Pakistan
- an awareness of the challenges and opportunities which Pakistan faces
- how to interpret and analyse a variety of sources of information to evaluate and to reach conclusions In addition, students will
- acquire knowledge and understanding of the human past,
- investigate historical events, changes, people and issues,
- understand and evaluate differing interpretations of the past,
- organise and present knowledge and demonstrate understanding of history,

- develop enthusiasm for history, and gain skills and knowledge as a foundation for further historical study,
- develop an understanding for history of the nature of cause and consequence, continuity and change and similarity and difference.

There are three specific objectives used in Paper 1 to assess pupils' attainment:

1. Ability to recall, select and communicate knowledge and understanding
exam weighting 64%
2. Demonstrate an understanding of the past using explanation, interpretation, analysis and evaluation of key concepts such as causation, consequence, continuity, change and significance within the historical context of Pakistan
26%
3. Use of skills to interpret a variety of historical resources including sources
10%
100%

How to answer questions

There are different types of questions.

Questions answered with historical information are straightforward questions which require facts and detail. With these questions the student is either right or wrong. However, if they do not include enough facts to answer the question fully, that is give a developed answer, they will lose marks.

Questions where historical knowledge and understanding are used to explain the answer. In these questions which often use the word explain, candidates have to show understanding as to why something took place. The answer must be supported by relevant historical facts.

Essay questions where historical knowledge and understanding together with the ability to analyse and evaluate are used to support a conclusion. These questions often require an understanding that there are different opinions about the causes/ reasons for an event or whether something was a success or a failure. These are lengthy answers, probably about two handwritten pages, and will require a conclusion with a judgement or evaluation to achieve the top mark. Students must show that they understand the various arguments. In reaching a conclusion there will not be a right or wrong answer, but whatever is said must be explained and supported by historical fact. Sometimes reasons for an event are not all equally important than the others and explain why. It is with these answers that students show their ability to synthesize information and present answers in continuous and well-organized prose.

*Remember—the purpose of examinations is to find out what pupils know and **not** what they don't know!*

Using historical sources

As well as the narrative of history, it is also important to teach historical skills and the syllabus reflects this, for example, in the use of historical sources. The examination syllabus will, in the future, make more use of historical sources. It is important that pupils are able to evaluate sources properly. Consequently, useful information is included below as well as the Introduction in the Student's Book along with plenty of sources to help them understand how these are to be used.

Some more points on using sources

Pupils could use a framework to help analyze specific sources. The framework can be copied into their books.

Analyzing a source

Source	Content	Context	Do I trust it
<i>Brief details of the source</i> <i>Everybody earned money by using us... They treated us as a colony and used us as a market. They exploited us... but they could not suppress us. We suffered.'</i>	<i>What is the source saying?</i> <i>What is the relevant information?</i>	<i>Who wrote it?</i> <i>When was it written?</i> <i>Why was it written or produced?</i>	<i>Fact or opinion?</i> <i>Many sources are opinions. What opinion is expressed here?</i> <i>What other sources or information will help me to evaluate it?</i>

Here is an example as to how this table can be used for Source A on page 152:

They exploited us

Source	Content	Context	Do I trust it
An extract from Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's speech in 1973	He emphasises that West Pakistanis used East Pakistan as a colony and exploited it for their benefit but failed to suppress their political voice	Sheikh Mujibur Rehman said this when he was refused power as Head of State despite winning the elections	The source is written by the the speaker himself and was recorded in newspapers and broadcast on radio. It is reliable but one-sided and can be self-serving. Was his purpose to encourage public outrage over the elections? Are his words supported, or not, by other knowledge I have? I need to know the role of this speech in starting the Civil Disobedience movement in East Pakistan.

Fact and Opinion

It is important but sometimes difficult to separate fact from opinion. Using the *reliability tests* will help this. It is important to know whether or not a source is reliable. Asking some simple questions will help a pupil to judge its reliability. The three questions, or reliability tests, are included in the *Introduction* to the Student's Book.

Does it sound likely?

In other words, does the information in the source fit in with your knowledge of that person, event or situation? If it sounds likely then it probably is.

In the selection of a picture or photograph or its caption, has the author got any reason to be biased?

Usually the source will have a caption as to who produced it. Often we will recognize the name or organization, and using our knowledge, we will be able to make a judgement about bias.

Are there other sources which agree or disagree with it?

Often sources are presented which give differing views and contradict each other. By assessing the reliability of each source you may be able to give an informed answer as to which is the most useful.

For source-based questions, answers should include relevant quotations from the sources. Often a source question requires comparisons or links to be made between the sources.

Essay questions

Writing essays is a useful skill which helps students to remember and to use information properly. The textbook contains essay questions and teachers can come up with other essay titles. Essays—even short ones—should be planned as essay planning helps the student to recall information and, very important, use it in the right part of the essay. An unplanned essay often has important points tacked on the end that should have been used earlier! As well as mark schemes, this book includes some examples of essay plans. It is sometimes difficult to get started with an essay. Writing frames can help and some examples are also included.

Finding out more

Research is a very important part of studying history. Students should be encouraged to find out more than is possible within a single textbook. History is about people: how they lived in the past, together with their hopes, achievements and failures, and shaped Pakistan. By studying their lives, we can learn a great deal about how and why various decisions were taken. Reading biographies of some of the main figures mentioned in the textbook will prove useful and enjoyable. In this Teacher's Guide, suggestions are made where research will be

productive. As well as using reference and other books, students should learn to use the Internet for research purposes.

Discussion

A stated intention of the syllabus is that students *learn about and discuss issues which face their nation*. There are many opportunities for discussion of historical events which will often allow some reference to contemporary issues. You and your students may not always agree with the author's views and you will certainly disagree with the opinions expressed in some of the sources. History is a subject where your own opinions are important. You are bound to have interesting discussions in class. Discussion skills, especially the ability to listen to and respect others' views, are important for historians. Some topics/suggestions for discussion are given in this guide and some essay questions can also be used as discussion topics.

A good history lesson

What makes a good history lesson? It is not the textbook but the teacher who with knowledge and enthusiasm will spark the interest of the pupils and produce good lessons. History teaching inevitably examines controversial and polemic issues. There are many such issues in the history of Pakistan, especially since 1947. Teachers may feel the need to include more information and opinion than is contained in the textbook. Teachers will deal with these in a prudent manner conscious of the requirement for balanced understanding.

Extra activities

A number of extra activities are given in this guide. There are many ways of enthusing and involving pupils in developing their knowledge and understanding. Role play can be a good way of getting them to understand why a particular person acted in the way that they did.

Some possible activities:

- **Debate**

Pupils could research a topic in a lesson or as an extra task and prepare a speech for or against a particular point of view. At the end of the debate a vote could be taken. Some pupils could take on the role of journalists covering the debate.

- **Quiz**

Pupils could prepare questions for a class quiz.

- **Reverse quiz**

Write a number of answers on pieces of paper—the pupils pick an answer and have to provide the question.

- **Conversation**

Working in pairs pupils write the script of a conversation expressing opposite points of view on a particular issue. They can then perform the script in front of the class.

- **Face the Press**

Pupils research a particular individual. One pupil takes the role of the individual and others take the role of the press in interviewing him about his ideas and actions.

- **60 seconds**

At the end of a lesson pupils have a chance to tell the class in sixty seconds about a particular event, individual or topic. This encourages conciseness!

Finally, keep some of your best ideas for revision lessons. For some pupils revision may be when they finally switch on and realize the importance of learning and achievement in the examination.

Using the textbook

The textbook is not a stand-alone book. It is intended to be used in a classroom with the guidance of a teacher who will explain and, if necessary, develop the information in the text.

Introduction

Pages iv-vi

Introducing the course:

- Teachers will explain the contents of the syllabus to pupils.
- Pupils should have a list of the key topics that they will be covering as well as the aims of the course as set out in this section.
- A lesson should be spent on this including some discussion and explanation of the aims.
- Pakistan's history is intertwined with the history of the subcontinent and the arrival of Islam in India in the eighth century.
- Muhammad bin Qasim is an important, and often overlooked, figure.
- He was the first Muslim leader to conquer part of India, Sindh, which from then on became predominantly Muslim.
- The capture of Delhi by Muhammad Ghori in the 12th century led to the spread of Islam in central India.
- In turn this was followed by the Delhi Sultanates and the growth of the Mughal Empire.
- By 1760 about a quarter of Indians were Muslim.

Further reading

For students or teachers wishing to know more about this earlier history, they should read the chapter, *The Genesis of Pakistan*, in Vincent A. Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, OUP.

Reference to historical evidence

There is a brief introduction to using sources. Pupils are reminded that there is historical evidence all around them and they should be encouraged to seek it out.

The ways in which pupils can undertake their own research will provide good feedback for class discussion and will help them relate more easily to what they are studying. They will see that the events in the book have had a direct effect on their own families and communities. A good starting point: *ask one of your family to tell you about an important event they remember from Pakistan's history and how they felt about it at the time or how it affected them.*

Extra activity

As you start each section of the course ask your pupils to use this checklist which is also included in the textbook.

Checklist for links with the past

- Find out if there are any buildings, street names or other things in your town that make a link in some way with the events being studied.
- Ask members of your families if they have any personal memories of the events that you are studying.
- Look in your library for books about the people and events you are studying. Extra reading can be very useful and enjoyable as well.
- On the anniversary of important historical events look out for special newspaper articles or television programmes.

We have to live with history

This section gives teachers the chance to explain and discuss with pupils why studying the history of Pakistan is important. Through the study of the ebb and flow of Pakistan history your students will get the grasp of how their country works. Educated in history will make them better citizens. At this point it is worth recalling the view of the late historian Arthur Schlesinger: *History, by putting crisis in perspective, supplies the antidote to every generation's illusion that its own problems are uniquely oppressive.*

Extra classroom activity

- Discussion and questions on the usefulness in our lives of learning history.

Key questions

Each section is led by the *key questions*.

- *Key questions* quickly identify the main points that will be explained in the text.
- By the end of the section the student should be able to answer the *key questions*.
- Later these *key questions* will prove very useful in revision.

Although there may be information in the text that goes further than the *key questions*, teachers will nevertheless concentrate on making certain that everyone understands the answers to those questions.

Part 1 The Cultural and Historical Background of the Pakistan Movement

Pages 1-50

Syllabus coverage Section 1: Cultural and historical background of the Pakistan Movement

Chapter 1 The Decline of the Mughal Empire

[A] Aurangzeb (1618-1707) Expansion at the cost of power

Pages 2-5

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Pupils only need the information in this section as background knowledge in order to better understand subsequent events and individuals.

Key topics in this section

- Aurangzeb: a great Mughal emperor who extended the empire
- Aurangzeb's personality—industrious but ruthless
- Aurangzeb's deep Muslim faith

Pupils should consider the value and content of the sources in helping to understand Aurangzeb.

Illustrations

- The paintings on page 3 and the buildings on pages 4 and 5 reflect the artistic and architectural legacy of the Mughal Empire. This legacy is very important and famous, and is highly regarded all over the world. It is evidence of a sophisticated civilization. The Mughal monuments attract visitors to the subcontinent from all over the world.
- The picture *Aurangzeb in his last days* shows him wearing a decorated prayer cap. Towards the end of his life he spent a great deal of time in prayer and embroidering prayer caps.
- Map 1.1, page 4, shows clearly that at its peak the Mughal Empire of Aurangzeb encompassed most of modern-day India and Pakistan.

Extra activities

- Pupils research the life and achievements of Aurangzeb.
- In their research pupils should see if they can find any facts to support this historian's view.

Extra source: *crippled in body and spirit*

'By the end of Aurangzeb's reign it was evident that the Mughal giant

was crippled in body and spirit. The empire was collapsing under its own weight, its vital energy spent, having grown too ravenous, bloated too big, for its own good.'

Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal Throne*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003

- Pupils report their findings to the class.
- Some pupils could take on the role of Aurangzeb and others could then interview him as if at a press conference.

[B] The decline and fall of the Mughal Empire

Pages 6-11

Syllabus coverage Section 1 The decline of the Mughal Empire

Key topics in this section

- Why the empire declined and disintegrated
- The impact on Muslims
- Beginning of European interest in India

This topic provides important background information without which students may not fully understand the topics that follow. In particular it helps to explain why there was an opportunity for Britain to penetrate India.

- This chapter is about the *unmaking* of the Mughal Empire.
- Pupils should understand and evaluate the reasons why this great empire declined, the disasters of Aurangzeb's successors and the growth of European interest in India.
- The map Source A, page 8, shows how disunited India had become. The power of the Marathas is clear.
- This map can be compared with the map of the Mughal Empire on page 4.

Extra activities

- Pupils should copy the map into their books or photocopies should be made that can be pasted into the books.
- Pupils should superimpose on the map the modern boundaries of Pakistan for comparison.

Extra source: *chaos*

After me, chaos! Words of Aurangzeb near the end of his life.

Extra classroom activity

- Discussion topic: How true were Aurangzeb's fears?

Chapter 2 The Influence of Islam

Pages 12-19

[A] Shah Wali Ullah's رحمة الله عليه Reform Movement

Pages 12-14

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه—political and religious context—his religious reforms

Key topics in this section

- Beliefs of Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه
- The importance of Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه to Muslims in the 18th century
- Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه was a *saintly* figure and determined to do all that he could to defend the position of Islam and Muslims in India.
- He had a strong religious commitment.
- He had great importance both in his own time and as an inspiration to the later Pakistan Movement.
- Sources A and B are both Shah Wali Ullah's رحمة الله عليه own words. They provide a reliable insight into his thinking.

Extra information

Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه wrote a total of 51 books—23 in Arabic and 28 in Persian. A constant theme of his writing was that differences of opinion within Islam were petty and unimportant.

- Many Muslims felt inspired by Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه and were helped to regain confidence and pride in their religion.
- He gave a voice to the Muslim identity and encouraged unity which, in time, helped to inspire those who supported the Pakistan Movement.

Extra source: *lasting achievement*

‘To rescue a community’s conscience, belief and faith from the destruction of the 18th century was no small achievement. Shah Wali Ullah رحمة الله عليه achieved even more: a lasting contribution to the field of Muslim thought.’

Farooq Naseem Bajwa, *Pakistan: A Historical and Contemporary Look*; OUP 2002

Extra classroom activity

Research essay or discussion topic: Do you agree with this historian’s view?

[B] Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi—Struggle for a Righteous Cause

Pages 14-16

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi—the revival of Islam in the subcontinent—the Jihad movement and the Mujahideen

Key topics in this section

- The idea of *jihad*
- The Mujahideen
- Reasons for his failure
- Lessons for the future

Syed Ahmed Bareilvi is one of those who is credited with the early stirrings of what was to become the Pakistan Movement.

- Syed Ahmed was passionate in his faith
- He is remembered for creating among Muslims an awareness of the problems they faced.
- This was, together with Shah Wali Ullah's رحمة الله عليه movements, an important stage in the development of Muslim consciousness.
- Syed Ahmed is seen as a martyr—*Shaheed*—for his beliefs.

Illustration

- Map 2.1, page 15, ensures students know where these events occurred. Balakot is at the start of the high mountainous areas of northern Pakistan, the beautiful Kaghan Valley which has been popular with tourists. Unfortunately, this area including Balakot was badly affected by the severe earthquake of 2005.

Extra classroom activity

Discussion topic: What makes a martyr?

Discussion as to what the students understand by *martyr* and *martyrdom* with examples of other martyrs in Pakistan or elsewhere.

Suggested discussion points

A martyr is someone who:

- faces danger and death because of his beliefs
- sticks to his principles and acts on them in spite of threat
- has a strong faith that others attack
- is willing to die if necessary for his beliefs
- follows his conscience however difficult that might be and suffers because of it.
- is killed or suffers in the line of duty, such as soldiers or police officers..

[C] Haji Shariat Ullah and the Faraizi Movement

Pages 17-18

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Haji Shariat Ullah and the Faraizi Movement

Key topics in this section

- The Muslim revival in Bengal
- The importance of the faith in uniting Muslims
- The effect of the Faraizi movement

The Faraizi Movement was a resistance movement.

- The unity of Muslims helped them to deal with the problems they faced from their predominantly Hindu landlords.
- By this time the British controlled Bengal and they would not tolerate such a movement.
- The Faraizi Movement greatly worried both the landlords and the British.
- In reality it did not pose a real threat to their control.
- The importance of the Faraizi Movement is that such a movement existed at all and that it bothered the British.

Sample answer to Question 1, page 18

Explain the purpose of the Faraizi Movement and why it upset some people.

Taken from the textbook, this can be attempted as a type (b) question of 7 marks.

Muslim farmers in Bengal were suffering great hardship and exploitation by their landlords, known as Zamindars. Haji Shariat Ullah's message was that following their Muslim faith closely would give them the strength they needed to overcome these difficulties. It was a straightforward message that for the first time offered some hope to these Muslim people.

But the Zamindars, who were mostly Hindu, were naturally alarmed by any sign of opposition. Similarly the the British, who by this time controlled Bengal, did not welcome any united group challenging them and seeking change and improvements. 7 marks

Comment: This answer shows knowledge of the purpose of the Faraizi Movement, and it is a good top level answer for this type of question. It identifies the need for the Faraizi Movement, how it satisfied that need and helped the Muslims, and finally, it identifies the two groups who did not like it and explains why. Answers like this should be concise.

[D] Titu Mir and the Uprising in Bengal

Pages 18-19

Syllabus coverage Section 1

The revival of Islam in the subcontinent

Key topics in this section

- Titu Mir as the militant embodiment of the views of the previous leaders.
- Titu Mir won respect because he was willing to use force to gain what he believed Muslims were entitled to.

Titu Mir was another important figure who contributed towards the Pakistan Movement.

- He organized opposition.
- Under his leadership Muslim peasants could actually do something.
- He was doomed because the British with their troops were simply too strong.

Extra activities

Discussion topic: Was Titu Mir's use of force a sensible approach given the power of the British and their sepoy troops?

Pupils could be encouraged to look out for obituaries of important people in current newspapers. What important details are included in obituaries?

Chapter 3 The British in India

Pages 20-38

The focus of this chapter is on the enormous change in the British position in India during the 18th century.

- In 1700 only about a thousand English people lived in trading stations, known as *factories*.
- By 1800 thousands of British soldiers and officials controlled an extensive part of India.

Britain came to be heavily committed to India and this had far-reaching consequences for the peoples of India.

- For more than 200 years decisions taken by the British determined the course of Indian history and the lives of millions of people in the subcontinent.
- The British legacy, for both good and ill, remains very strong today not only in India and Pakistan but also in Britain itself.
- The relationship between Britain and India and Pakistan has turned out to be a two-way activity.

- Large numbers of Pakistanis now live in Britain where they have introduced parts of their culture and the Muslim religion into British society.
- The immigration of Pakistanis to Britain was definitely not anticipated by British imperialists in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[A] The East India Company

Pages 20-27

Syllabus coverage Section 1

The expansion of the East India Company and British colonial rule in Northern and North-western India

Key topics in this section

- The importance of the East India Company
- The purpose of the British
- The concept of Empire and Imperialism

The focus of this section is the importance of the East India Company.

- The East India Company was a private company operating under a Royal Charter.
- The historian, Vincent Smith wrote, *The British came for trade and went into politics to preserve their trade.*
- This led to empire.
- The concept of imperialism is important and whether or not the takeover of countries by another country can ever be justified.

Robert Clive and the foundations for British rule, pages 22-23.

- Clive was a controversial figure, which is brought out in Sources A, B and C.
- Pupils should assess Clive's role in the expansion of British power.
- Robert Clive has gone down in British history as a hero.

The box on the Industrial Revolution, page 24, is included to link British expansion with the changes taking place in Britain.

- India was exploited to assist the growth and profits of industries in Britain.
- There was a two-way link between the Industrial Revolution and empire
- Britain needed raw materials to sustain her economic progress.
- Economic prosperity enabled Britain to have the power to control and defend its empire.
- Map 3.1, page 26, shows the success of the British takeover of India, including Sindh which they had occupied in 1839.

Extra reading

Anyone wishing to know the story of the East India Company should read *The Honourable Company* by John Keay, published by Harper Collins in 1991.

Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities

Key questions

- *What did the British hope to gain out of India?*
- *What effect did British success have on the peoples of India?*

Suggested teaching activities

- Quick recap from previous lessons; ask pupils: *Why was India weak and vulnerable in the 1700s?*
- Identify the key questions, page 20.
- Using the text, pages 20-21, explain how the East India Company became involved in India; identify the reasons and results.

Some useful points include:

- At first the British Government was not directly involved in events in India.
- The East India Company ended up owning land and forming alliances with local rulers in order to protect their trade.
- The East India Company was enormously successful and responsible for establishing British India.
- At its peak the East India Company provided the British Government with 10 per cent of its total revenue.
- There was no grand plan by the British to take over India as part of a great British Empire.

Pupils give written answers to the Quick questions, page 22.

Recap and test *What we have learnt*. Plenary session with oral answers and linking to the *Key questions*.

Homework

The East India Company needs more people to invest in the Company so that it can build more ships to trade with India. Write a letter on behalf of the Company explaining why investing is a good idea.

Sample answers to extended essay, page 27

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

Taken from the text book, this may be attempted and assessed as a type (c) question of 14 marks.

Level 2 answer

The East India Company took control of India for the British. The Company was set up to trade with India. It was very successful. Robert Clive led an English army to a great victory at the Battle of Plassey. This gave the British control of all the trade in Bengal. Many Indian princes and merchants thought that they could make a good profit out of trade with Britain. They helped the East India Company. They also liked some of the benefits that the British brought to India. The British built roads and railways. These also helped Indian merchants in their business. This is how the British took control. 4 marks

Comment: Level 2, 4 marks

This is a limited answer that gives two reasons with very little detail and only a brief explanation of one reason. The conclusion is not explained or adequately supported.

Level 5 answer

The British first came to India to trade in the early 1600s. No one, not even the British, had any idea that they would take over the entire country. By the middle of the nineteenth century the British ruled directly, or through alliances with local princes controlled all of India.

The first British in India were traders. They set up the East India Company in 1600. Its purpose was to develop trade with India. In Europe there was growing demand for cotton, sugar, spices and tea, and the East India Company controlled this profitable trade. To protect their interests and trading posts, called 'factories', they employed local young men as soldiers, known as 'sepoys'. Indian princes and merchants welcomed trade with the British because they too could make a good profit. They had no idea that one day the British would rule their country. By the 1640s the East India Company operated more than forty ships.

By the eighteenth century, however, some Indians were concerned at the growth of power of the East India Company. In their pursuit of profit the Company did not treat local people very well. They broke agreements that they had made with local princes. But when princes resisted the British they were defeated by the Company's armies.

One particular Englishman helped the success of the East India Company. This was Robert Clive who led an English army to victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 against the Nawab of Bengal. In 1764 Clive defeated the Bengal leader, Mir Kassim. These victories meant that the East India Company controlled the eastern part of India. They forced local farmers and producers to sell them goods at very low prices. The Indians could not sell them to anyone else. The East India Company could then sell them in Europe and make a huge profit.

There were some important reasons why the British were able to take over India. Firstly, there were always some Indians who liked to trade with the British. Secondly, India was a divided country. Indian people had different religions and different languages. They were separated by great distances. There was no way of uniting them against the British.

A third reason was that quite a few Indians, particularly the wealthy, accepted British control because they could enjoy some of the benefits. The British were able to convince many better-off Indians, including powerful princes, that they could benefit by British trade. In turn the British provided roads, railways and schools which were welcomed by the better-off. They also provided local rulers with soldiers in return for their loyalty. This was done by subsidiary alliances. These Indians had a great deal to lose if the British left.

The British were successful in taking over India. Perhaps the most important reason was their system of subsidiary alliances. Without help from Indians the British could not have taken over India so easily. The British were clever in using subsidiary alliances so that Indian princes ended up committed to British control. But also, as they had showed under Robert Clive, they could if necessary use force to get what they wanted. The British were helped by the fact that many Indians liked the benefits. But whilst some Indians benefited many poorer people suffered from Britain stopping the export of Indian cloth. But the poorer Indians were powerless to do anything about it. So it was the Indians themselves that really let the British take over the country. **14 marks**

Comment: Level 5, 14 marks

This is a good top mark answer. It shows knowledge and understanding of the three key reasons for British success. Detailed explanation of the reasons is given and supports the concise evaluation in the conclusion.

[B] Colonial Rule

Pages 27-32

Syllabus coverage Section 1

British colonial rule

Key topics in this section

- How did British control affect India?
- The effect of *westernization*

This section deals with the way in which Britain treated India.

- The British rule led to *westernization*.
- Life for most British people in the 1830s was harsh and that power and wealth was concentrated in the hands of only a few people. So, whilst

Britain was exploiting the peoples of India, British industrialists were also exploiting their own working class people.

- Changes by the British led to resentment.

Illustrations

- The picture on page 28 was drawn in the early 19th Century, probably as part of the campaign to end child labour in British factories.
- The early trains, page 30, were quite primitive but rapidly improved.
- The map 3.2, page 31, is evidence of the extent of the rail network. Travelling any long distance before the railways would have been very difficult indeed.
- Railways helped the British to control and rule India

Extra information

Ram Mohan Roy

Ram Mohan Roy is mentioned in the text, page 29, as a campaigner for justice. In fact the official history of the Congress goes much further and calls him *the prophet of Indian nationalism and the father of Modern India*. An admirer of European ideas and education, especially the French Revolution (1789), he espoused the revolutionary ideal of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*. Roy rejected all forms of idol worship which brought him into conflict with many Hindus. He also criticized many other values and ways of Indian life including the caste system, suttee and polygamy. He was an early champion of equal rights for women. His admiration for European ideas led him to leave India in 1830 for England where he died at Bristol in 1833.

Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities

Key questions

What changes did the British make to India?

Did the changes benefit India?

Suggested teaching activities

- Recap by testing pupils' knowledge and understanding of how the British came to be in India.
- Introduction of what we are going to learn; explanation of westernization; pupils copy definition into their books.
- Explanation of *How did the British change the Indian people?* page 29.
- Use the text, page 28, to explain the British and religion.

Pupils make a list of the *changes* and write one sentence describing each change. They will also write one sentence expressing an Indian view of each change.

Class discussion: Is it right for one nation or culture to try and impose its values and behaviour on another nation?

Homework: Role play

Prepare a brief speech in support of *westernization* or expressing resentment against the changes imposed by the British.

Presentations with questioning to be given at the start of the next lesson.

[C] The Violent Events of 1857

Pages 32-38

Syllabus coverage Section 1

The War of Independence, 1857—reasons for the nature of the war—British reaction—consequences for Muslims in the subcontinent

Key topics in this section

- The causes of the uprising
- Why it took place in 1857
- Why it failed
- Consequences of the uprising

This is a topic that can still arouse emotions and argument.

- 1857 was a turning point.
- The events shook the confidence and complacency of the British rulers.
- For the first time native peoples had seriously challenged British imperialism.
- Relations between Muslims and the British worsened.
- At this the point the journey—that was to take exactly 90 years—to create Pakistan, can be said to have started.

Long-term and short-term causes (or triggers)

Long-term and short-term causes lead to events such as the uprising.

Long-term causes include:

- Resentment at growing westernization
- Doctrine of Lapse
- Land tax
- Christian missionaries

Short-term causes include:-

- British seizing Awadh
- Use of new type of greased cartridges
- Long prison sentences for sepoys who refused to use the cartridges.

Illustrations

- Map 3.3 on page 35 shows the relatively small area where the main events of the uprising occurred.
- The picture of Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, is included, page 36, because she became one of the main leaders of the rebels and fought bravely against the British. In June 1858 she was killed in a cavalry battle outside the city of Gwalior.

What do the historians say about 1857?

These extracts are included to show the conclusions of a number of historians. Although they all make different points they do not contradict each other. Students can be asked to write a sentence which includes or links a point made by each historian. For example:

Although most Indians did not take part, those who did showed heroism in their protest against the British, who turned against the Muslims and handed out heavy punishments whilst also promising to treat Indians better in the future.

Sample answers to extended essay, page 38

Explain the causes and results of the uprising of 1857.

Taken from the textbook, this can be attempted as a type (c) question of 14 marks.

Level 2 answer

In 1857 an uprising took place against the British. Many people were killed. The uprising was caused because Indians didn't like the way the British were treating them. They were angry that their textile industry had been destroyed. They did not like the work of Christian missionaries. Most soldiers were Indians called sepoy. Their officers were British. In 1857 the British army ordered the sepoy to use greased cartridges. The sepoy had to rip open the cartridges with their teeth. They believed that the grease was made from cow and pig fat. For Muslims the pig is unclean and for Hindus the cow is sacred. They refused to use the cartridges. When 85 sepoy were harshly punished with ten years hard labour for not using the cartridges other soldiers rebelled and killed their officers. This started the uprising of 1857. One important result of the uprising was that relations between the British and Indians got worse. The way the British punished the rebels was dreadful. Muslims were very angry with the British. 5 marks

Comment: Level 2, 5 marks

This is a weak answer. The answer shows knowledge of only three causes. There is no explanation as to *why* the textile industry had been destroyed or *why* Christian missionaries upset Indians. No reason is given for the introduction of greased cartridges. No explanation is given for the British treatment of the rebels. Only one result of the uprising is given with little detail or explanation. The answer does not evaluate the causes.

Level 5 answer

In 1857 a serious uprising took place against the British. For the first time the British faced violent opposition to their rule. It came as a great shock to the British.

The causes of this uprising had been growing over a long period. There were many long-term reasons why Indians were upset with the British. Since the arrival of the East India Company in the eighteenth century Indians were increasingly concerned at the westernization of their country. The British seemed to be trying to impose their own way of life on India. For example English schools were introduced. These schools using the English language were a means of spreading English ideas and culture. The British did not value Indian culture. The work of missionaries and their promotion of the Christian religion upset both Muslims and Hindus. The introduction to India of the steam-engine, the electric telegraph and other European ideas, also upset people. They worried that westernization would destroy Indian culture and traditions. Local rulers had their land seized by the British under the Doctrine of Lapse. A year before the uprising people had been very angry when Awadh was taken by the British.

Many Indians were poor. The British had made poverty worse by destroying the textile industry in order to protect the British textile industry. Although India produced huge quantities of cotton the Indians were not allowed to turn it into manufactured cloth. The raw cotton was exported to Britain and Indians had to buy the cloth made in British factories. At the same time other cheap mass-produced goods from Britain flooded into India and ruined the livelihood of many Indians. The British made all Indians pay land tax which people hated.

So by 1857 there was growing discontent against the British. The British did not understand how serious dislike of their rule had become. Perhaps that was because they did not speak the local languages. Then the British Army made matters worse and triggered off the uprising.

The short-term cause was the introduction of the Enfield rifle. This used greased cartridges that Indians had not used before. Indian soldiers in the British Army, called sepoys, were ordered to use the new greased cartridges. They had to rip the cartridges open with their teeth before they loaded them. The sepoys believed

the grease was made from cow and pig fat. Hindus considered cows to be sacred and Muslims saw pigs as unclean. The British Army did not respect these strongly held views. When the sepoy refused to use the cartridges, eighty-five were harshly punished with ten years' hard labour. The British commander, General Anson, thought that by making an example of them all the other soldiers would obey his orders. He was wrong. The other soldiers mutinied, killed their officers and the uprising took place.

There were several results of the uprising. Many Indians and British people, including some women and children, were killed. Each side accused the other of atrocities. Indians and the British were very angry with each other.

The main result was that the British could no longer take the Indians for granted. It meant that they could not trust the Indians to always obey their orders. A short-term result was that many rebels were cruelly punished. This made Indians very angry indeed. As a result relations between the British and Indians worsened. The British put most of the blame on Muslims. This made the situation of Muslims even more difficult. Another result of the Uprising was that it cost the British a great deal of money. For the first time some British people began to ask whether or not they should be ruling India. Muslims were particularly upset with the way the British had behaved. They refused to cooperate with the British. A long-term result was that Indians were not going to accept that the British should rule their country for ever.

*We can see the 1857 Uprising as a turning point. It was the first time that British rule had been challenged. Although it took another ninety years, the Uprising contributed to the eventual independence of India and Pakistan. It served as an inspiration to later campaigners against British rule. **14 marks***

Comment: Level 5, 14 marks

This would be an excellent answer. The essay shows clear evidence of knowledge and understanding. The causes are properly described with plenty of detail together with explanation. A number of long-term causes are identified and explained. The causes are linked. The short-term or trigger cause is properly explained. A short-term result and long-term result is described. This demonstrates good analysis and evaluation. The concluding paragraph makes the link with later events.

Extra activity

Find out about the exploits of the Rani of Jhansi and why she was described by the British as *their (the rebels') bravest and best military leader*.

Chapter 4 Realism and Confidence

Pages 39-50

[A] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

Pages 39-43

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement—educational, political and religious developments—Two-Nation theory

Key topics in this section

- The position of Muslims after 1857
- Background and views of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
- The role of the Aligarh Movement
- Understanding the idea of *two nations*

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan played a crucial role in the development of Muslim consciousness.

- Sir Syed gave leadership and hope to Muslims that they needed after the events of 1857.
- He was the first important figure to plant the seed of the idea of two nations.
- His role is evidence of the impact that an individual can make.
- Sir Syed was opposed to the Indian National Congress.
- The setting up of the Indian National Congress, usually known simply as the *Congress*, was the start of political organization in India.
- Source A is important because it is an early statement of a position, the *two nation theory*, which when later taken up by Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and the Muslim League led to the creation of Pakistan.

Illustrations

- The proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, page 39 is evidence of British pride in their possession of India.
- Building the Suez Canal, page 41, showed British determination to hang on to India.

Extra class activity

Students could find out more about Aligarh Muslim University, its history and role today.

They should visit the University website www.amu.ac.in

Extra essay question

How important was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to the history of Pakistan? (This question should be set when the course up to 1947 is complete.)

Sample answer to Question 3, page 43

What is meant by the ‘Two Nation theory’?

This question from the textbook may be attempted as a type (b) question of 7 marks.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan saw the danger to Muslims of Hindu domination as democracy was extended. Because there were more Hindus than Muslims they would always be able to control the government. If the British left India then this would mean that Muslims would be governed entirely by Hindus. Hindu rule would threaten Muslim religion, culture and language. Sir Syed was sure that it would lead to violence between Hindus and Muslims. Neither group would accept domination by the other. The answer was for the British to recognize that Muslims and Hindus were two distinct communities and to treat them separately.

This theory, which became known as the ‘Two Nation theory’, strengthened the Muslims’ sense of identity and hope for the future. Although Sir Syed did not realize it at the time, he was really anticipating the need for a separate state and his ideas later developed into the Pakistan Movement. 7 marks

Comment: Level 3, 7 marks

The maximum mark for this question is 7 marks. This is a good level 3 answer that shows understanding of the issue of Hindu domination and of idea of two separate communities as an answer to that issue. Concise explanation given of the danger of domination by the Hindus and the argument for treating each group separately. For the top mark the answer makes the link between the *Two Nation theory* and the later arguments for Pakistan.

[B] The Languages of Pakistan

Pages 44-50

Syllabus coverage Section 1

Hindi-Urdu controversy—literacy and linguistic background of Muslims in the subcontinent—Urdu as the national language—provincial languages (Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi)

Key topics in this section

- The significance of Urdu as the language of Pakistan
- Urdu-Hindi controversy
- The importance of other languages

This section tackles the controversial issue of language. Pakistan’s rich cultural traditions and regional diversity are reflected in its languages. Although Pakistanis share the faith of Islam, in many other ways they are very varied.

People may feel greater loyalty to their tribal, regional or ethnic group than to the government in Islamabad.

Extra information

Pakistan is not alone in having differences over language. Sometimes these differences can result in serious divisions and conflict. Other countries with divisive language issues include:

Belgium—French and Flemish
Paraguay—Spanish and Guarani
Malawi—Chichewa and English
Spain—Spanish, Basque and Catalan
Turkey—Turkish and Kurdish
Canada—English and French

- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ chose Urdu as the single official language.
- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ spoke Gujarati as well as fluent English. Nevertheless he promoted Urdu in order to unite all Muslims throughout Pakistan. His own use of Urdu was often grammatically incorrect and spoken with an accent. Even so most people appreciated the fact that he endeavoured to speak it.
- It is difficult to displace English as the language of business and government.

Sources

- The statistics in Source A could be presented in either a bar graph or pie chart.
- Source B, page 46, and Source C, page 47, explain very concisely the reasoning behind Urdu as the official language.

Extra class activity

Discussion topic: Use Question 3, page 50, as a discussion topic. Pupils could take notes and write up an account of the discussion.

Extra essay question

How important is the question of language to Pakistan?

Part 2 The Emergence of Pakistan, 1906-47

Pages 51-108

Syllabus coverage Section 2: The Emergence of Pakistan, 1906-47

Chapter 5 Muslims Organize

Pages 52-74

[A] The Muslim League Demands Self-Government

Pages 52-56

Syllabus coverage Section 2

Origins, aims and objectives of the Muslim League—partition of Bengal—Simla Deputation, 1906—All-India Educational Conference, 1906

Key topics in this section

- Understanding the significance of Curzon's *mistake*
- Issues of disagreement between Hindus and Muslims
- The setting up of the Muslim League

Curzon's *mistake*—the partition of Bengal—had serious consequences for the British and for India.

Short-term consequences

- united Hindus against the British violent protests
- Hindu boycott of British goods
- Congress demand for Indian self-government
- Muslim loyalty

Long-term consequences

- Muslims later felt betrayed
- Both communities upset and angry with the British
- Effectiveness of protest and violence seemed proved
- The demand for self-government grew stronger
- Eventually independence was achieved

- Important issues divided Hindus and Muslims.
- Setting up the Muslim League was a very important step.

Sources and illustrations

- The picture of Lord Curzon, page 53, shows him in his Viceroy's robes. These were not his everyday clothes! To us he appears rather ridiculous. Would he have seemed ridiculous at the time? The Viceroy had robes like this to remind Indians that he was the representative of the British monarch; to show how important he was; to try to impress Indians; to show how ownership of India was important to the British.

- Sources A and B are linked.
- Source A is a key stage in Muslim political development that leads to Pakistan. Make sure that the third point in Source A, *The Three Objectives*, is understood. If Muslims were to be denied their rights by a Hindu-dominated government then inevitably anger and resentment among Muslims would lead to hostility towards the Hindu majority.
- Source B is the words of an important Muslim League leader.
- Source B warns of the danger to Muslims as a minority group. This view increasingly influenced the leaders of the Muslim League and justified eventual partition.

Extra class activities

- (1) Prepare a leaflet urging Muslims to join the Muslim League in 1906. Use the information on pages 53-54 as a guide to the text.
- (2) Research project: Find out and describe the position of Muslims in India during the period 1900-14.

You should include:

- Differences between Muslims and Hindus
- Attitude to British policies and decisions
- Role of the Muslim League
- Fears of Muslims
- Early views of Mr Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ

Sample answer extended essay, page 56

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.

This essay requires evidence of *your knowledge* which means that as well as using the information in this chapter students are expected to show knowledge and understanding they have gained from earlier chapters.

This may be attempted and assessed as a type (c) question of 14 marks.

Level 5 answer

In 1906 Muslim realists, as they were known, decided to set up their own political organization, the All-India Muslim League. I agree with the statement that this ‘was an important step in Muslim development’ and I will explain why.

The Indian National Congress had been set up in 1885. It claimed to represent the opinions and needs of all Indians. In fact it was dominated by Hindus and really represented their views. In spite of this some Muslims known as idealists

thought that it was possible for Muslims and Hindus to work together for the benefit of all Indians. But many other Muslims, the realists, thought that Congress would only ever represent Hindus.

In 1878 a very respected and important Muslim leader, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had argued that in India there were really 'two nations'. These were the Hindus and the Muslims. They had separate faiths, culture and language, and even though they lived in the same country Sir Syed believed that their needs were different and that they should be treated separately. He warned Muslims that Hindus were against the use of the Urdu language and were threatening their culture and traditions. Many Muslims agreed that Sir Syed was correct. This view is supported by Source B, the opinion of another important Muslim leader Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. As Secretary of Aligarh College he would have been influential. He pointed out that since Muslims were one fifth of India's population they would be ruled by Hindus and this would threaten their way of life and religion.

Sir Syed advised Muslims not to join the Hindu-led Congress movement and many of them agreed with him. But as opposition to British rule grew there was a need for an organization that could represent Muslim interests. In 1906 Muslims set up the All-India Muslim League. In Britain a Liberal Government had been elected. The Liberals intended giving more people in Britain the right to vote. If they did the same in India then Muslims feared Hindus would gain more power over them. Muslim Leaders met the Viceroy at Simla. They said there should be separate electorates.

Setting up the Muslim League was a very important step. This is because for the first time Muslims had their own political organization. Source A explains the main demands of the League when it was set up. It shows that the League was, at that point loyal to the Government, but it also shows their determination to 'protect and advance' the 'needs and aspirations' of Muslims. This shows that the setting up of the League was an important development. It proved that the Congress did not speak for all Indians. It meant that the British would have to listen to the view of the League. Later on the League's position would change as the situation in India changed. The League would be able to lead and organize Muslim opinion. After 1906 Muslims could look to the League to protect them against both the British and the Hindus. We can see in the League the starting of what was later to become the Pakistan Movement. **14 marks**

Comment: Level 5, 14 marks.

This is a top level answer that uses the sources properly and gives a sound explanation to the background of setting up of the League in 1906. The concluding link to the *Pakistan Movement* is a useful extra point.

[B] The British Face the Rise of Nationalism

Pages 57-63

Syllabus coverage Section 2

British Rule of India and Constitutional Reform: Minto-Morley reforms, 1909—Lucknow Pact 1916—Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

Key topics in this section

- the First World War as an important event on the route towards independence
- the emergence of Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ as a leader of the Muslim League
- the reaction of Britain to this rising demand for self-government

The world was changed considerably by the First World War (pages 57-58) or Great War as it was usually known at the time. People also called it hopefully *the war to end all wars*. One cause of the war was imperialism. The Germans resented Britain's large empire including India. Given the great difficulty faced by Britain and France in opposing the Germans, the role played by Indian troops was important.

Without Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ there would never have been a Pakistan.

- The role of Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ, page 59, in the creation of Pakistan cannot be overstated and the information on his early life and beliefs are important.
- *Without Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ there would never have been a Pakistan.*
- Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ had a great sense of history. Sooner or later the British would quit India. He knew it was important to attempt to bridge the differences which separated the two main religious communities.
- At the stage of his life dealt with in this section, Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was committed to Muslims and Hindus working together. That helps us to understand the importance of the Lucknow Pact for Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ.

The ending of the First World War gave rise to disappointment and frustration for Indians.

- The Montagu-Chelmsford Report caused anger and made conflict between Indians and the British inevitable.
- Revisionist historians now argue that it was a positive achievement of Prime Minister Lloyd George to start off the process, with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, that led thirty years later to Independence.

Extra activity

Places to visit if you are in Karachi...

Page 60 includes the photograph of Quaid-e-Azam's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ birthplace. People living in or visiting Karachi will want to visit this and other places connected with Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ. These include a former home, Flagstaff House, now known as the Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ Museum. The rooms used by Quaid-

e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and his sister Fatima have been superbly recreated so that they give a very good idea of the quite simple life he led at the time of Partition. At the National Museum of Pakistan you will see the table used at the first cabinet of Pakistan's first government. Most important of all is a visit to the mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ on Muhammad Ali Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ Road. Here, besides the Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, his sister Fatima, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar and Nurul Amin are buried.

Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities:

Key questions

- How did the British answer demands for *self-government*?
- Why was the Lucknow Pact important?
- How did Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Gandhi differ over methods of action?

Suggested teaching activities

- Brief recap testing knowledge of effect of World War I and Lucknow Pact.
- Outline what we are going to learn today. Textbook: pages 60-62.
- The situation in 1917 and the British Response; Montagu-Chelmsford Report and Government of India Act, 1919.
- Explain/discuss *self-determination*.
- Pupils complete Quick questions *h-n*.
- Brief oral recap of *What we have learnt* using *Points to Remember*—class quiz.

Discussion: Why should the British have been worried after the 1919 Act?

Homework: Extended essay (2)

[C] British Determination

Pages 64-68

Syllabus coverage Section 2

British rule of India

Key topics in this section

- British determination to keep control of India
- The impact of the Rowlatt Act on Indian opinion
- The events at Amritsar

The syllabus does not specify the Rowlatt Act or Amritsar. They are however important in understanding the situation after the First World War.

- The methods used by the British in their determination to hang on to control of India.
- The Rowlatt Act appalled both Hindu and Muslim opinion.
- The killings at Amritsar and the reaction of many British people in their support for General Dyer made further protest inevitable.

- *Many of the actions of the British Government simply made matters worse for themselves.*

Extra sources

A. Jinnah رحمه الله عليه condemns the Rowlatt Act:

‘Besides, by passing this bill (the Rowlatt Act), Your Excellency’s Government have actively negated every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war...In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called civilized Government.’

Part of Jinnah’s رحمه الله عليه letter of resignation in protest at the Rowlatt Act.

B. Gandhi warns the British:

‘The Government want to show that they can disregard public opinion. We must show that they cannot do so.’ Gandhi in 1919.

Questions

- What were the *principles* referred to by Jinnah رحمه الله عليه in Source A?
- Choose two phrases which prove that Jinnah رحمه الله عليه was angry with the British.
- How is Source B a warning to the British?
- How do these sources help us to understand the feelings of Indians in 1919?

Who was to blame for the killings at Amritsar?

- Amritsar, or the Jallianwala Bagh incident as it is often known, was a tragic event with serious consequences for the British and India.
- Source 3, a *primary* source, is evidence of the intentions of General Dyer in his own words.

The British were determined to hold on to India.

- It was difficult for British politicians to suggest that Britain should give up such an important part of her Empire.
- Lloyd George was a Liberal and keen to promote democracy and self-determination for everyone so long as they were not part of the Empire!

Extra class activity

Discussion topic: What effect do you think the treatment of General Dyer by the British, such as the leniency of his punishment and the opinion of many British people, would have had on Indians?

Extended essays

Because of the importance of the events in this section a number of extended essays are included. There is some overlap in the questions and either teachers or pupils should choose **one** of the questions to be undertaken.

[D] The Khilafat Movement and the Non-cooperation Campaign

Pages 68-75

Syllabus coverage Section 2

The Khilafat Movement in the subcontinent—the Khilafat Conference, 1918—the Khilafat delegation to England, 1920—the failure and results of the Khilafat Movement

Key topics in this section

- The importance of the Khilafat Movement to Indian Muslims
- Gandhi's methods of protest

Further points to include

- Khilafat served to unite Muslims and to strengthen their opposition to the British.
- Prime Minister Lloyd George refused to meet Jinnah رحمته الله عليه. In 1920 he did meet the Khilafat delegation from India but told them plainly that the Government would not alter its view.
- The Treaty of Sevres, 1920, broke up the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

Gandhi's methods

These have gained great respect and have inspired other movements such as the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. That is why Martin Luther King, a keen admirer of Gandhi, is mentioned, page 71, together with his remarks.

Extra activity

Class discussion: Not everyone agreed with Gandhi's methods. Do you think Gandhi's form of protest was the right way to campaign against British rule?

Here are some points that will help a discussion along:

- Is non-violent civil disobedience a good way of protesting?
- Can non-violent protest lead to others using violence?
- Isn't it right to use violence in self-defence?
- Shouldn't people fight for their rights?
- The violent killings of Martin Luther King and Gandhi show that non-violence is often met with violence.

Khilafat

Source E, page 72, shows how the Khilafat affected Indian Muslims. This is an important source and time must be spent on making sure it is properly understood. The Khilafat is important because it was another reason for Muslims to be hostile towards the British. Then, the British reaction further added to their anger. So for Muslims the Khilafat campaign was another step on the journey towards their own independent state.

Extended essay—suggested mark scheme

Question, textbook page 75

What do you think was the most important reason for the failure of the Khilafat Movement?

Although this is suggested as an extended essay teachers may instead use it as representative of a (b) type exam question—*knowledge and understanding*—and follow this mark scheme:

Level 1: Simplistic answer—It wasn't good, badly organized, Britain not interested (1-2 marks). At this level the student shows very little knowledge of the topic.

Level 2: Identifies and describes some reasons.

British were determined to punish Turkey for supporting Germany, Gandhi ended his support after the Chauri-Chaura incident, the Hijrat Movement, Turkey abolished the Caliphate (2-4 marks). At this level, the student shows reasonable to good knowledge of the topic by listing accurate facts but fails to offer any analysis and does not link the facts to each other or to answer the specific question *reason for the failure*.

Level 3: Explains the reasons for failure.

Following the growth of violence (Moplah uprising) and particularly the Chauri Chaura incident with the murder of twenty-two policemen, Gandhi withdrew his support. The Hijrat Movement, Muslim migration to Afghanistan, was a tragic failure when Afghanistan turned them back and they returned home disappointed and homeless. Muslims were very dispirited. With British support Turkey became a Republic (1923) and President Ataturk abolished the Caliphate (1924), and so any further campaigning was pointless (5-7) marks. At this level the student not only knows the facts, as for Level 2, but is able to explain each of them.

If this question is used for an extended essay, perhaps for homework, then it should include evaluation and hierarchy of reasons and explain the role of Britain and consider whether or not this is a further example of British failure to listen to the opinion of Indians: *The British had made up their mind to*

break up the Ottoman Empire and there was no possibility of them changing their mind because of a campaign by Indians. The British did not realise that by their action they were actually helping to unite Muslims and increase the demand for independence by all Indians. In an extended essay, free of exam time constraints and using the textbook, students should be expected to give a much more thorough explanation than can be expected at an examination.

Extra activity

Put yourself in the position of a British official in India in 1921. Write a report to the Government in London describing the situation in India. Use all the information in Chapter 5 to help you.

Calcutta, September 1921

Dear Prime Minister,

It is my duty to report to you on the situation in India. I can tell you...

Project work

Nationalism: How strong was the demand for independence by the early 1920s?

The project should be divided into the following sections:

Introduction

- By the 1920s there was a growing demand for complete independence from Britain.
- Explain that in this project you will be describing the reasons, assessing their importance and showing the strength of nationalist demands by the 1920s.
- Briefly mention the historical background of westernization, 1857 Uprising, economic exploitation.

Indian National Congress and Gandhi

- Describe the purpose of Congress; ideology of Gandhi and his arguments against British rule.

How Indians saw British rule after 1906-14

Congress

- Curzon and Bengal
- Demand for self-government met by repression and arrests
- Boycott of British goods

Muslim League

- At first opposed to self-government
- Worried about Hindu domination
- Angered by British change of decision on Bengal
- A number of anti-Muslim actions
- Muslims joined the demand for self-government

Britain and Indian Nationalism

- Indians support Britain in World War
- Britain refuses independence
- Introduces reforms that cause anger
- Increased repression such as the Rowlatt Act
- Killings at Amritsar

Khilafat

- Describe the Khilafat Movement
- Explain why it was so important to Muslims
- Britain's response

Conclusion

Brief recap of reasons why Indians wanted independence; some assessment as to the relative importance of those reasons; effect of British actions on support for independence; finally your answer as to *how strong was the demand for independence* with reasons.

Bibliography

List the sources that you have used. These will include books and articles but may also include information gained on the internet or from interviews with people.

Chapter 6 Towards Pakistan: 1922-40

Pages 76-94

[A] Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ, 1929: The Fourteen Points

Pages 76-81

Syllabus coverage Section 2

Simon Commission, 1927—Nehru Report, 1928—Fourteen Points of the Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ, 1929

Key topics in this section

- The Simon Commission and resultant Nehru Report
- The deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations
- The importance of Jinnah's رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ *Fourteen Points*

This section deals with a further step towards independence but, perhaps more significant, the important assertion of Muslim rights which directly contributed to the development of partition.

- The importance of Jinnah's رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ *Fourteen Points*, pages 78-79, cannot be overstated. This document gave the Muslim League a programme to unite around. Jinnah's رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ leadership at this time was absolutely crucial.

- By 1930 the gap between Congress and the League was now very great. Maulana Muhammad Ali, Source A page 79, had actually served as the President of Congress, 1923-24, but by 1930 he had changed his opinion of Gandhi as the source shows.

Brief details of the background of members of the Simon Commission are given, page 77, to illustrate that a majority of the members were part of the British Establishment or ruling class. Vernon Hartshorn was the only member to come from an ordinary working class background. However even he was criticized at home by fellow Labour members as being too supportive of British Imperialism. The illustration shows Clement Attlee. Membership of the Simon Commission gave Mr Attlee first-hand experience of Indian affairs. In 1935 he became Leader of the Labour Party, served as deputy Prime Minister under Winston Churchill in the coalition government during the Second World War, and then as Prime Minister, 1945-51.

Extra activities

Imagine you are a journalist going to interview Mr Jinnah رحمه الله عليه about his Fourteen Point Programme. Prepare a set of questions you would ask him.

Discussion topic: What did the *Manchester Guardian* mean by the statement at the bottom of page 80, and what does that tell us about the difficulty faced by British politicians in the 1930s?

[B] Reform and Progress

Pages 81-87

Syllabus coverage Section 2

Three Round Table Conferences, 1930-32—Government of India Act, 1935

Key topics in this section

- The Round Table Conferences
- Jinnah رحمه الله عليه becoming President of the Muslim League
- Government of India Act, 1935
- 1937 elections
- Growing division between Congress and the Muslim League

The importance of the Round Table Conferences is that they didn't achieve anything! It should be pointed out to pupils that this was an effort by the British to make progress towards greater autonomy by agreement. But by now the Congress and League could not agree with one another. For their part the British still refused to consider complete independence.

- The 1935 Act, page 84, weakened British power but did not concede the principle of independence. It simply fired up both Congress and the League to step up their campaigning.

- This situation demanded a strong Muslim League and led to Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ being persuaded to take the leadership.
- Sources A and B, pages 82-83, are useful because they are the actual words of Mr Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ and reliable evidence of his views at that time.
- Reading Source B it is interesting to think what might have happened if Mr Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ had stayed in London instead of returning to India. History is full of *might have beens*.
- Sources C and D are important in that they clearly show the respective positions of the League and Congress.
- Source D shows how Congress still insisted that they represented all Indians. But the election and Congress rule in the provinces showed that they were unable to represent Muslim concerns. Students must understand the purpose of a manifesto.
- The margin note, page 85, explains that some women were able to vote for the first time.

At the end of this section pupils should understand why Pakistan had now become much more likely. However, at the time neither Congress nor the British seemed to realize it!

Extra activities

Discussion topic: *Pakistan was now on the horizon* (page 87). How true is this statement of the position in India after the 1937 elections?

Group work: Divide the class into groups of six. Each group then splits into three pairs. Each pair takes the role of representing the views of one of these groups or individuals; Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ and the Muslim League; Gandhi and Congress; the British Government. The pupils can use the textbook and/or can be provided with additional information sheets. After preparing their point of view, they then meet as a group of six and present their proposals and question the other proposals.

Extended essays

There is some overlap in these essay questions and pupils should only do one at this time. The other can be kept in reserve for revision purposes. Underlying both essays is the idea that during this period any chance of avoiding partition was lost.

[C] Leadership and Pakistan

Pages 87-94

Syllabus coverage Section 2

Allahabad address of Allama Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ, 1930—Rehmat Ali and the Pakistan National Movement—Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution, 1940

Key topics in this section

- The role of leadership
- The leadership of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ
- The important contribution of Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ to Muslim politics and culture
- The origin of the name **Pakistan**
- The Lahore Resolution

Pupils must understand the importance of leadership in motivating people and achieving success.

- The role of individuals is important. Not all leaders are worthy of respect. Some, like Hitler and Stalin, page 88, are seen as having misled their people.
- Opinion is almost always divided over whether a leader is good or bad. Cuba's Fidel Castro is one modern controversial example.
- Teachers should ask their students what qualities they think makes a good leader.
- The leadership of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was most important to the Muslims.
- Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ, pages 89-92, is a greatly respected figure who also made a vital contribution to Pakistan.
- Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was a very gifted poet. Some of his poetry is included in this section.
- The close link between Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ and Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was important.
- Sources E and F are important documents in understanding Iqbal's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ support for Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ.
- In 1937, when Source E was written, Congress was far better organized than the Muslim League and Jinnah's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ leadership was to be crucial.

Extra Source

'one political organization'

'The Indian Muslims should have only one political organization with provincial and district branches all over the country...form youth leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country, under the control and guidance of a central organization.'

Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ, pointing the way forward to the Muslim League in 1934

Quick question: Why was this an important message to Muslims in 1934?

There is some disagreement over Rehmat Ali and this is dealt with in the text. What is really important is knowledge of the basis of the name Pakistan. Pakistan is the only country to have an acronym as its proper name.

The Lahore Resolution confirmed the Muslim League's commitment to partition. There was now no question of Muslims accepting independence without Pakistan.

- The importance of the Lahore Resolution is demonstrated by the monument, Minar-e-Pakistan, illustration page 93.
- The stamp, page 93, is further evidence of the importance Pakistanis give to the Lahore Resolution.
- It was Hindu newspapers who labelled the resolution as the *Pakistan Resolution*.

Extra essay question

A turning point is an event when the course of history appears to change direction in a significant way with important consequences. Explain why the Lahore Resolution was a turning point in the history of India and Pakistan?

Extra source

He (Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ) was a philosopher and his influence over the fortunes of the Muslim people and on Muhammad Ali Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was profound and enduring. Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ met Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ many times in London and they were good friends...he (Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ) admitted later that he had finally been led to Iqbal's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India.

Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ: Creator of Pakistan*, John Murray 1954

Questions

- Which words in the source tell us the importance of Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ?
- What evidence is there that Mr Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ and Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ knew each other well?
- Were Mr Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ and Sir Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ in agreement from the start?
- What is a philosopher?

Extra activity

Pupils to each find an Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ poem not included in the textbook. The poems to be shared with the class and discussed as to the meaning and purpose of each.

Extra reading

For poems written by Pakistani poets, Abbas Hussain, *Poetry from Pakistan: An Anthology*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

Sample lesson plan and teaching activities

Lesson focus

Why was Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ so important in the development of Pakistan?

Suggested teaching activities

- All class to be questioned—what do you already know about Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and why is he known as the *Architect of Pakistan*?
- Study Source B. All class questioning—what did Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ mean and why is it such an important statement?
- Discuss Sources E and F—what do they tell us about the relationship of Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ?
- Pupils give written answers to Quick questions *h* and *i*.
Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ the poet: read *Reproach*. All class questioned—why did he write this poem? Who does he blame for India's situation? Is poetry a good way to get across a message?
- Conclusion—round the class—why was he important? 3-4 reasons

Homework: Page 94, Extended Essay 3. Explain the importance of Iqbal رحمۃ اللہ علیہ to the Pakistan Movement. Students could make a plan of the essay and write it up during the next lesson.

Chapter 7 War and Independence

Pages 95-108

Syllabus coverage Section 2

Day of Deliverance, 1939—Second World war in relation to India and the Quit India Movement—Gandhi-Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ talks, 1944—Lord Wavell and the Simla Conference, 1945—Elections, 1945-46—Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946

[A] Forcing the Issue

Pages 95-103

Key topics in this section

- Impact of the Second World War on India
- The role of the Cripps Mission
- Relations between Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Gandhi
- The Simla Conference
- The Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946
- Direct Action Day

Extra information

The Cabinet Mission Plan or Cripps Commission—Grouping of provinces, page 102.

The plan proposed the creation of three groups in India, following the departure of the British. Two groups, B and C, comprised provinces with a Muslim majority, mainly in the west and east. The rest of India, with a large Hindu majority, was group A.

Important points:

- The Second World War effectively made Indian independence a certainty.
- Certainty of independence did not guarantee the creation of Pakistan.
- Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ and the Muslim League had to work hard for the cause of Pakistan.
- The Muslim League accepted the need for Germany and Japan to be defeated.
- The position of Congress was much more ambivalent.
- At the time when Britain was struggling against Nazi Germany and Japanese conquest, Congress was undermining Britain's war effort with the Quit India Movement.
- *Using Sources*, page 99, is evidence of the gulf between Gandhi and Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ.
- The questions will test the students' abilities to use and assess sources.
- Students might speculate on the thoughts behind the smiles in the photograph on page 98.
- Source B, page 97, is firm evidence of Quaid-e-Azam's رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ determination to gain Pakistan.

Extra source

‘“Ninety-four millions of people do not constitute a minority but a nation”. He (Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ) was emphatic. Contending that India was large enough to contain several countries, he cited South America as an example of a continental entity which no one insisted on uniting under one government. Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ asserted that India had never been united.’

Peter and Frances Muir reporting their meeting with Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ,
National Geographic Magazine, April 1946

Questions

- (a) What did Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ mean by the words *minority but a nation*?
- (b) What was his point in referring to South America?
- (c) What is the significance of his assertion that *India had never been united*?
- (d) Who would have strongly disagreed with his view?

Extra information

The British Labour Party had long campaigned against British imperialism so it was natural that, having gained power in 1945, it was eager to grant independence to India. However, there was additional pressure that a British Government of any party had to take notice of. The USA, a wartime ally of Britain, was very much opposed to imperialism by any nation. After all they had fought the British for own independence in 1776! British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, admitted that America could not be ignored in insisting that India should gain her independence as soon as possible. Later, after he had

retired, Mr Attlee claimed that the achievement of which he was most proud was giving India its independence.

Two significant elections, page 101:

- At the end of the war two elections were significant.
- In Britain, Labour's victory presaged the ending of the British Empire.
- The Indian elections, 1945-46, gave the Muslim League the authority it needed at just the right moment in history.
- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was in a very strong position when he spoke the words in Source C, page 101.
- After the elections the Labour Government knew that Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ had a democratic mandate to insist on Pakistan.
- Britain was in a difficult position over the future of India in 1946.

Extra class activity

Design and write the text of an election leaflet for the Muslim League in the 1945-46 elections. Include an election slogan.

[B] The Birth of Pakistan

Page 104-108

Syllabus coverage Section 2

3 June Plan, 1947—Independence Act, 1947

Key topics in this section

- The British agree to partition
- The roles of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Lord Mountbatten

This section of the book covers the culmination of years of argument and campaigning. Independence for India with the creation of Pakistan was a very important event in world history.

- The role of Lord Mountbatten was crucial.
- Mountbatten's role is the subject of a great deal of criticism by historians and many Pakistanis.
- Considerable evidence supports the claim that Mountbatten was hostile to Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ but admired Nehru.
- Because Mountbatten was such an important and respected figure in Britain—a war hero and related to the Royal Family—his version of Indian Independence has influenced western attitudes.
- Lord Mountbatten's wife Edwina accompanied him to India and knew the Indian leaders. Her influence over her husband may have been significant. Teachers who wish to study this further, and perhaps pass on more to their class, should read *Jinnah*, رحمۃ اللہ علیہ, *Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, by Akbar S. Ahmed, published by OUP in 1997.

At the time of the hurried handover of power one Indian declared, ‘The British are a just people. They have left India in exactly the same state of chaos as they found it.’ This expresses the feelings of many Indians in 1947. The Radcliffe Commission page 110

The Commission report was a rushed job and the result was very controversial. Viceroy Mountbatten interfered and, in particular, ordered Radcliffe to alter a boundary so that the Muslim majority area Ferozepur was moved from Pakistan to India. Gurdaspur, which provided a land route to Kashmir, was also a Muslim area that Radcliffe placed in India. This moving of Gurdaspur to India helped seal the fate of Kashmir and is still deeply resented. It should be pointed out to students that the boundaries were unacceptable to both India and Pakistan but they were nevertheless imposed.

It is incredible that the British brought forward the date of their departure by nearly a year and only gave 14 weeks notice of the change. To transfer power in any circumstances in such a short time was clearly very difficult. To do so at the same time as partition of the country was nearly impossible. Criticisms made of partition often include issues that were caused not by partition itself, but by the way in which the British carried it through. You should discuss the possible reasons for such a speedy departure.

Extra class activity

Discussion topic: Why did Britain leave India in such haste? Was this a responsible way to treat India?

Points to consider:

- The Labour Government disliked imperialism and wanted to grant independence quickly.
- Britain was irritated that the Indians could not agree over the future of India after independence.
- Banging heads together! By forcing the issue quickly Britain hoped to make Indians work together.
- Delay might lead to even more conflict between Congress and the Muslim League.
- The British were afraid that if there was a civil war before they could get out then they would be caught up in it.
- Worry over the future of India was not of great concern to the British who were coping with serious post-war economic problems and the start of the Cold War.
- To the British Government, India was simply a *problem* it wished to be rid of.
- Britain did not want partition to succeed.

Extra source

Give them a deadline

‘We weren’t getting anywhere. The only thing that was clear was that if we let the Congress have their way, the Muslims would start a war to get their Pakistan...Both parties were asking for everything and blaming us for not getting anything when they should have been blaming themselves. I decided there was only one thing to do—give them a deadline, and tell them on that date we go out. So you’d better get together right away.’

British Prime Minister Clement Attlee talking to his biographer, Kenneth Harris; *Attlee*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982

Questions

- How reliable do you think this source is?
- How does this source help our knowledge of the handover by the British to Pakistan and India?
- Do you think this was a responsible attitude for the British Prime Minister?

It is with this chapter that the history of the origins and struggle for Pakistan reaches its conclusion. Until this point the course has followed the fortunes of Muslims in India. The events of 1930-47 should be summarized. The extended essays which bring together the key points reinforce knowledge of the creation of Pakistan.

Writing frame for Extended essay, 2, page 108

How did the Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ turn the idea of Pakistan in the 1930s into a nation in 1947?

Introduction: Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ led the campaign to turn the idea of Pakistan into reality. Without him Pakistan might never have been achieved. In this essay I will... *(Now in your own words explain that in this essay you are going to explain how he accomplished it and why he is so important to Pakistan.)*

At first Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ had tried hard to work with the Hindu-dominated Congress. After Congress ignored Muslim opinions Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ put forward his famous Fourteen Points. This was really the start... *(In your own words explain why he decided Muslims could not trust Gandhi and Congress.)*

In the 1937 elections the Congress gained control of eight out of eleven provinces. They used their power... *(In your own words describe what happened next and how this affected Muslims.)*

Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was greatly influenced by... (*Describe how he and other Muslims were influenced by Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ—quote from any relevant sources.*)

In 1940 the Muslim League became committed to an independent Muslim state, Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ told Stafford Cripps... (*Now go on to explain the actions of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ during the war including his relations with Gandhi—use sources.*)

At the end of the war the new Labour Government in Britain was eager to leave India and tried to work out how to hand over power. Neither Britain nor Congress wanted partition but... (*Now explain how in spite of this opposition Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ persuaded Britain to agree to Pakistan.*)

As I have explained in this essay Quaid-e-Azam's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ role in turning Pakistan into a nation was ... (*Now write your evaluation of his role of leadership and your judgement as to how important he was to the creation of Pakistan.*)

Extra activity

Research: Find out about the experience of people in your family or community at the time of independence. What were their thoughts, hopes and actual experiences? Do they remember where they were and what they did on Independence Day? Perhaps some people could visit the class and answer questions about their experiences. Findings can be presented orally to the class or written up. Include visual support wherever possible—old photographs, posters, newspaper headlines.

Project work

The Muslim League: ‘The role of the Muslim League was vital in the creation of Pakistan.’

The project should be divided into the following sections:

Introduction:

- Explain what you intend to describe and examine in your project, whether or not the League was *vital*.
- Briefly explain that the Indian National Congress had been set up but that important Muslim leaders did not think it could ever represent the interests of Muslims.

Formation of the Muslim League, 1906

- Describe why it was set up in 1906.
- Explain its main objectives.

The importance of Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ

- Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ took the leadership as President of the League in 1934.
- The importance of Jinnah's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ leadership.
- The 1937 elections.

The Pakistan or Lahore Resolution

- What the resolution said.
- The impact of the resolution on the League, Muslims and India.
- Rapid growth of the League.

The League and partition

- 1946 success in the elections.
- Relations with Congress and the British.
- The League spoke for all Indian Muslims.
- Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and the League achieve Pakistan.

Conclusion

Briefly summarize the role of the League and its leadership and discuss its effectiveness in persuading the British to agree to partition. Consider how Muslims might have fared without the League. Finally, agree or disagree, giving reasons whether or not the League was *vital*.

Bibliography

List the sources that you have used. These will include books and articles but may also include information gained on the Internet or from interviews with people.

Part 3 Nationhood: 1947-88

Pages 109-172

Chapter 8 The New Nation

Pages 110-127

Syllabus coverage Section 3

Problems of partition and nascent Pakistan state

[A] Problems facing the new nation

Pages 110-116

Syllabus coverage Section 3

Problems facing the new nation: Canal Water Dispute—Accession of Princely States—Division of assets—Refugee and accommodation crises—Security for the newly formed state

Key topics in this section

- The division of assets
- The refugee problem
- Accession of the princely states
- Water dispute with India

The flag of Pakistan: pupils could find other flags which share some similarities with the Pakistani flag, such as the flags of Algeria, Mauritania, Maldives, and Turkey. Why are there similarities?

Problems facing Pakistan

- The difficulties of partition and unfairness to Pakistan are illustrated by the three tables on page 111.
- The tragedy of the refugee crisis and the death of hundreds of thousands of people is a key issue.
- There is no definitive figure for the casualties (see below). Communal violence had occurred many times before partition. The rush to partition made matters worse. People were confused and frightened. The forces of law and order were unprepared and in a state of flux.
- As well as the dreadful suffering the violence was a further reason for the hostility between India and Pakistan.

Sources

- Sources A-C are graphic descriptions of the violence. You may well have additional descriptions. Many families will have their own memories of that tragic period.

- Source D is a short extract from a very important speech. The source is included as evidence that Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was distressed and angry over the deaths, but also steadfast. Remind pupils that Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ was under enormous pressure of work and worry at this time.

Extra information

Estimates of lives lost as a consequence of partition: various sources and historians give differing figures.

- Lord Mountbatten, speech in London, November 1947: 100,000 deaths
- Sir Penderel Moon, *Divide and Quit*, 1961: estimates 200,000 deaths
- Ian Stephens, *Pakistan*, 1963: estimates 500,000 deaths
- V.M. Hewitt, *The International Politics of South East Asia*, 1992: 2,000,000 deaths
- Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 1993: estimates 1,000,000 deaths

Discussion topic: Why are there such variations in the estimates of those who died as a result of partition?

[B] Confrontation over Kashmir

Pages 116-121

Syllabus coverage Section 3

The Kashmir issue

Key points in this section

- The cause of the dispute over Kashmir
- The points of view of India and Pakistan
- Role of the UN
- Attempts to settle the issue

Because the issue of Kashmir remains unsettled and is still a serious cause of hostility between the two neighbours, this section is important and interesting. Some brief mention of the purpose and work of the UN will be necessary, although this will be dealt with in more detail later on. The question of Kashmir will also be looked at again in the section, *Pakistan and India*. Pupils must consider the reasons for the deadlock.

- Whatever the faults of the British and India, it was Hari Singh's determined refusal to grant the Muslim majority their wish to join Pakistan in the first place that initiated this calamitous situation.
- Source A, page 117, is an important and reliable document that supports Pakistan's stand on Kashmir.
- The source shows clearly that according to Lord Mountbatten himself, and he was apparently no friend of Pakistan, there should have been a vote by the Kashmiri people.

The Brink of War, page 120, concerning the 1999 crisis is included to provide a link between the events of 1947 and recent times. Teachers will be able to discuss more recent events underlining the great difficulty in achieving peace and justice for the Kashmiri people.

Arguments in support of India’s case

The ruler, Hari Singh, signed to join India.

Hari Singh asked for the Indian Army to enter Kashmir.

Invasion by Pakistan cancelled the requirement for a vote.

Elections held in 1987 showed support for Indian rule.

They occupy Kashmir so it is theirs.

Arguments in support of Pakistan’s case

Hari Singh had been overthrown and had no right to make an agreement with India. Mountbatten said there should be a vote by Kashmiris.

A majority of Kashmiris are Muslim.

Pakistan entitled to invade because of the illegal presence of Indian troops.

Elections held by India in 1987 were rigged

India has not allowed the UN to seek a solution.

The UN has said that a vote should take place.

Extended essays

In tackling questions 1 and 2 students will need to refer to knowledge gained from the previous chapter as well as Chapter 8, Section A pages 110-116, together with information from this section.



Map showing the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir

Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities

Lesson focus

Confrontation over Kashmir

Suggested teaching activities

- What we are going to learn in this lesson
 - how and why the dispute started
 - why it was not settled
 - who is to blame
- Using the text, page 117-118, events timeline:
 - 14 August 1947, partition: Kashmir remained independent under Hari Singh
 - October 1947: Muslims *overthrow* Hari Singh
 - 27 October: Indian troops invade Kashmir
 - Mountbatten tells Hari Singh there must be a plebiscite (Source A)
 - 1 November 1947: Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ proposes a plebiscite
 - April 1948: United Nations calls for a plebiscite.
- Discuss the significance of Source A.
- Answer Quick questions *a-e*.
- Pupils work in pairs for a short time to assess *which country is in the right over Kashmir?* One of each pair should prepare the Indian case and the other the Pakistan case and present it as the script of an argument which they can play out to the class.
- Final discussion and recap using the *Points to remember*; pupils can be asked to give orally one sentence to the class about each point.

Homework: Extended essay (3)

Extra class activity

Further research: Find out about *Operation Gibraltar* and the war of 1965.

[C] The Achievements of the Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ

Pages 121-127

Syllabus coverage Section 3

Achievements of the Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ as Governor-General

Key topics in this section

- Quaid-e-Azam's رحمۃ اللہ علیہ aims for Pakistan
- *Four pillars*
- Role of women
- Place of religion
- His place in history

This section gives some idea how Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ hoped Pakistan would develop.

- The role of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was crucial to the creation of Pakistan. His death was a dreadful blow to the new state.
- Source A emphasizes his faith in democracy. The Four Pillars diagram should be copied into students' books.
- Two other important individuals at the birth of Pakistan were Liaquat Ali Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah.
- Miss Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهَا, page 124, is important as she was a constant source of support for Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ and symbolized the new role of Muslim women that he advocated.
- Miss Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهَا also came to represent the democratic spirit that Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ had advocated, when she stood in the 1965 election.
- Pictures, page 123, of other leading women are included to underline the important role they played in the government and politics of Pakistan.
- Source B expresses the view that Islam was committed to social justice and welfare.
- Source D concisely explains Quaid-e-Azam's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ attitude to religion. This is a short extract from his 11 August 1947 speech which is sometimes described as the Quaid's Gettysburg Address. Teachers and some pupils may wish to read the whole speech, which tackles a number of important issues and emphasizes his hopes for Pakistan.
- In the speech, as well as religion, he tackled bribery and corruption, emphasized the importance of the Legislative Assembly, the need to improve the lot of the poor, and his opposition to any kind of discrimination or bigotry.
- Professor Wolpert's judgement, Source F, is much quoted and is included here because it neatly sums up the Quaid's significance. Wolpert is a distinguished American historian who specializes in Indian and Pakistan history.

On his death Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ had left a great deal for Pakistanis to live up to. Akbar Ahmed's comment, page 126, is included to set pupils thinking as to how well Pakistan has so far lived up to the Quaid's vision.

Map 8.3 on page 127 shows Pakistan at the time of partition. Any such map is a clear reminder of the difficulty of governing a nation divided into two parts separated by hundreds of miles across the territory of a hostile government that wanted Pakistan to fail.

Extra activities

Discussion topic: Quaid-e-Azam's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ motto for Pakistan is *Unity, Faith and Discipline*. Why is that motto good advice to a nation?

Chapter 9 The Government of Pakistan

Pages 128-150

Syllabus coverage Section 3

Government and Constitution of Pakistan—Khwaja Nizamuddin—Liaquat Ali Khan—Objectives Resolution, 1949

The different administrations, their leaders and dates, can be confusing. For that reason a chronology of Governors-General, Presidents and Prime Ministers, together with the important dates of constitutional and political events, has been included on pages 128-129.

[A] Constitutional Problems

Pages 128-132

Key topics in this section

- The Objectives Resolution
- Problem of constructing the constitution
- Consequences for the political process

Pupils need to understand the following points:

- The purpose of a constitution and why it was important for Pakistan to have one: because of its importance, it is very difficult for a new nation to create a constitution that everyone agrees with.
- How Liaquat Ali Khan tried to carry forward Quaid-e-Azam's رحمة الله عليه aims, Sources A and B—Quaid-e-Azam رحمة الله عليه had called him his right-hand man.
- The Government faced difficulty in getting both wings of Pakistan to work together cooperatively.
- The meaning of *democracy*, defined on page 128.
- The idea of equality is fundamental to democracy as set out in Source B, page 130.
- The problem of political parties: responsible political parties are an essential part of any democratic government. In many democracies, such as Britain and the USA, the political parties emerged gradually as democracy developed. Only the Muslim League had followed this model.

The problems outlined here help to explain the difficulty in creating a Pakistani identity.

Some of the issues that divided Pakistan in the 1950s:

- differences over language
- East Pakistan with the majority of people opposed equal representation with West Pakistan
- arguments over whether or not Pakistan should be defined as an Islamic state

- many political parties were regional and failed to have a national point of view
- the failure of the politicians to agree on a constitution.

These differences help to explain why agreement could not be reached on the proposals, Source C, page 131.

Extra activity

- Research: find out about the life of Liaquat Ali Khan.
- Explain why Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ called him his 'right-hand man'.

[B] 'Changes in the government'

Page 132-136

Syllabus coverage Section 3

The syllabus specifically refers to Khwaja Nazimuddin, Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza. It includes constitutional changes and, importantly, the reasons and principles on which they were based, especially with reference to Islamic principles.

Key topics in this section

- Political and constitutional crises, 1954-58
- *One Unit*
- 1956 Constitution
- Increasing division and instability

This section describes the failure to establish a stable, democratic parliamentary system of government. Serious disagreements and other problems made it impossible to create a unified and democratic nation. A number of reasons are described. They include:

- Unrest caused by food shortages
- Bengali opposition to Urdu as the official language
- Failure of politicians to work together
- Disagreements over the proposed constitution
- Provincial disagreement with the *One Unit* policy
- East Pakistan opposition to the *One Unit* policy
- Arguments over the issue of separate electorates
- Rise in influence of civil servants and the military

In turn the legal challenge to Ghulam Muhammad's action was defeated and the Supreme Court effectively legitimized his seizure of power. Their ruling that it was lawful so long as he was acting in the *national interest* is known in law as the *doctrine of necessity*.

Extra information

The Doctrine of Necessity

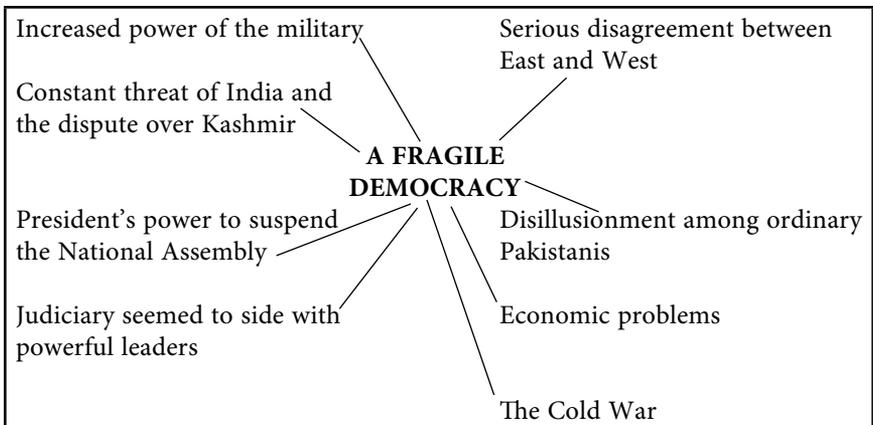
According to the *doctrine of necessity*, certain actions by politically powerful people created situations where legal remedies simply would not work. Had the Court gone against the Governor-General, there would have been political chaos and the government would have been paralysed. Instead it tried to force him back on to the constitutional path by ordering him to reconstitute the Constituent Assembly. This ruling suited the Governor-General who used the opportunity to remove representatives who opposed him. The trouble was that this ruling was going to be used later to give legal backing to military takeovers and other unconstitutional acts by leaders. It also seemed to mean that Pakistan's judiciary was to a great extent under the control of the executive.

Sources

- Source A, page 134, is an important document. It sparked a crisis which, as the text explains, led Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad to suspend the Constituent Assembly.
- Source B, page 135, contains the main points of Pakistan's first constitution. Some comparison can be made with the Objectives Resolution, page 129, and the 1952 Basic Principles, page 131.
- The population figures given on page 135 show the extent to which East Pakistan could outvote West Pakistan.

It is an important fact that, by 1958, democracy in Pakistan was in a very shaky position.

A fragile democracy—the diagram below identifies the main reasons why democracy in Pakistan was so fragile in 1958.



Extra activity

Discussion topic: Why do you think so many Pakistanis became disillusioned with the idea of parliamentary democracy?

[C] Rule of Ayub Khan

Pages 137-140

Syllabus coverage Section 3—Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan

Key topics in this section

- Imposition of martial law
- Reasons given by Ayub Khan

This section describes the first *suspension* of parliamentary democracy. The declaration of Martial Law in 1958 was the abandonment of the ideas of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. At Sandhurst (page 138) Ayub Khan had been instructed in the British rule that soldiers should never intervene in politics.

- Source A is Ayub Khan's own words to the Pakistani people. Different people would have felt differing emotions as they heard those words. No doubt many people felt relief and welcomed the takeover
- Sources B and C underline Ayub Khan's opposition to the politicians.
- In Source C he describes the real danger as being *within* Pakistan. This does not mean that he discounted the threat of India. Far from it. He meant that the politicians had weakened Pakistan and made it more vulnerable to its enemies.
- In these sources, A, B and C, there is no mistaking his anger and frustration. Ayub Khan annulled the 1956 Constitution. He did not think that a parliamentary democracy was suitable for Pakistan. The National Assembly was dismissed. Political parties were made illegal. Restrictions were placed on meetings and on the press. Under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) anyone found guilty of corruption or improper behaviour was banned from public office. In this way about 7,000 potential election candidates, mostly those who might have challenged Ayub Khan, were disqualified.

Question 1 will help students to understand that in historical situations people would have reacted in different ways, just as they do today, depending on such things as their circumstances, political views, where they lived and their occupation.

Points that should be included in the answer to Question 1:

- (a) A member of the assembly:
angry at being dismissed; bitter that elected representatives had been sacked;
concerned that there was no representative assembly to express peoples' views;

worried at the possibility of arrest or being disqualified; angry that their political parties were made illegal.

(b) An army officer:

pleased; believed that the army could bring order to Pakistan; glad to see the politicians removed and their parties made illegal; unconcerned at the controls over meetings and the press; new government makes Pakistan stronger in its dealings with India; proud to serve General Ayub Khan.

(c) A businessman:

welcomes the takeover; wants order so the economy can grow strong and his business prosper; glad to see action against corruption; recognizes the need to control the press but hopes those controls can be loosened before long.

(d) A civil servant:

is worried about having to take orders from the army; concerned over possible arrest because of alleged corruption; not too sorry to see the politicians removed.

(e) A journalist:

very angry over the controls on the press; disturbed by the removal of the Assembly; disagrees with the controls on meetings; opposed to closure of political parties.

(f) An ordinary citizen:

fed up with political arguments and hopes that the takeover will bring order; believes Pakistan needs strong government to overcome its difficulties, prevent bankruptcy and bring about progress; looks to Ayub Khan to take action to tackle problems including wages and prices and power cuts; is glad to see corrupt politicians punished; is not worried by the closure of political parties or controls on the press—only reads the sports news anyway.

Extended essay

Discuss the problems of governing Pakistan between Independence and October 1958.

[D] The Decade of Development

Pages 140-150

Syllabus coverage Section 3—‘Decade of Progress’, 1958-69

Key topics in this section

- Achievements and changes made by Ayub Khan
- Effect on the people

This section details some of the achievements that led to the description *Golden Decade* and the so-called *Pakistani miracle*.

- Reference is made to the Second Five Year Plan. The first Five Year Plan (1955-60) had been modest in its aims but even so had failed to meet its targets. Ayub Khan's plan was much bolder in seeking economic growth. The text records its achievements but also describes how little effect all this had on many people and on the overall distribution of wealth.
- Source A is an important quotation providing an authoritative view of the control of industry and banking.
- Source B demonstrates that in spite of some economic growth, additional prosperity had not trickled down to the mass of the people.
- The emphasis on economic growth at the expense of income distribution meant that existing inequalities actually worsened. In particular—and this was to be very serious for the future—the position of the East Wing relative to the West Wing worsened.
- The two stamps, page 143, reflect the image the government of Ayub Khan was trying to present, of a modern go-ahead Pakistan making economic progress.

Extra Source

Pakistan ending long era of chaos

Pakistan wears a new look today. The young Moslem state is rapidly making its way out of the political and economic chaos that had mired it for years. Unhampered by politics...the signs of new prosperity are everywhere. There is a good supply of food and basic consumer goods that are within the reach of everyone; people are better clad than ever before...Pakistan is living within her means; she has given the people a new dignity.

Tony Mascarenhas, *New York Times*, 12 January 1960

Questions

- Who was the leader of Pakistan in 1960?
- What is meant by *unhampered by politics*?
- How does this report support the description *Decade of Development*?
- Do you think this report is reliable?

[E] Modernization and Basic Democracy

Pages 144-150

Syllabus coverage Section 3—Constitution, 1962

Key topics in this section

- The system of *controlled democracy* with the structure of *basic democracies*
- Islamabad chosen as the new capital
- The 1962 constitution and the 1965 election
- Ayub Khan's resignation

Ayub Khan's political approach can be described as benevolent authoritarianism. However, with the Cold War at its height and the USA and its allies promoting ideals of freedom and democracy, Ayub Khan needed to create an impression that the people had some say in their government. Note the final sentence of the first paragraph, page 144. It was a clever system which gave the President legitimacy in foreign eyes.

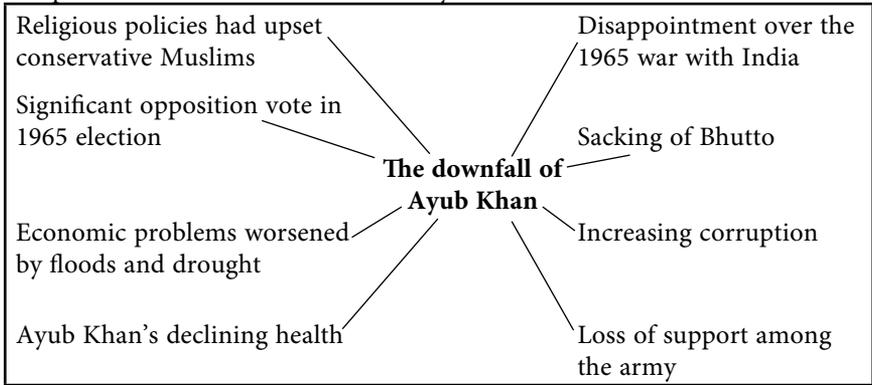
- The Queen's state visit, photograph page 144, took place in February 1961 and lasted sixteen days.
- This is evidence that Britain and the Commonwealth were not concerned at the lack of democracy, ban on political parties and controls on the press, but were keen to have close relations with Pakistan. State visits by the Queen are decided at the highest level of the British Government. Incidentally, the Queen also visited India, so maintaining a diplomatic balance!

Extra information

Although the Queen is a non-elected hereditary head of state, Britain can still claim to be a democracy. This is because the Queen symbolizes Britain and is largely a ceremonial figure with all power held in the hands of the elected House of Commons. The Prime Minister is leader of the largest party in the Commons.

- The source-based exercise, page 145, shows the extent to which Ayub Khan succeeded in persuading American opinion. The *New York Times* is a respected newspaper—a *newspaper of record*—and its views would have been carefully read by the Pakistan Government.
- The construction of Islamabad, page 146, was very ambitious and controversial. We now see the city as a success with its wide roads, spacious parks and elegant government buildings. In the 1960s people were concerned over the expense and questioned its necessity. The new capital was a further cause of discontent for East Pakistan.
- East Pakistan criticized the choice of Islamabad because it was inconvenient to reach from East Pakistan; its climate was unattractive to people from East Pakistan; building the city used up a great deal of government resources.
- The 1962 Constitution, page 147, emphasized a political system that favoured a strong executive and reflected Ayub Khan's dislike of political parties. The constitution continued with an indirect method of electing the President. The diagram enables students to be clear how it worked.
- Ayub Khan and his supporters were astonished and horrified when the opposition groups joined together and persuaded Miss Jinnah رحمة الله عليه to stand in the election.
- Ayub Khan's 1965 election victory revealed a surprising vote, 36%, for his opponent, Miss Fatima Jinnah. She accused him of creating 'an atmosphere laden with fear'.

- The worldwide challenge to established governments in 1968, page 149, could not have helped Ayub Khan's position. Some Pakistanis, seeing demonstrations in other places, might well have said, 'If there can be protests in other countries then why not in Pakistan?'



Bhutto – no loyalty to the President

Zulfikar Bhutto was very critical of the government of which he was a member. He was also extremely popular. With no loyalty to the President, Ayub Khan decided to 'accept' his resignation. Following Bhutto's departure Ayub reshuffled the members of his government.

Extended essay—mark scheme

This is not necessarily an exam-style question. Teachers often need extension work. This exercise is intended to reinforce and develop knowledge and understanding of Ayub Khan and also on how to use information in an historical source, in this case a newspaper report, to answer a question. Consequently the mark scheme is only suggested and does not mirror an exam mark scheme.

Using the information and Source A, explain how Ayub Khan lost power and was compelled to resign.

Level 1: Brief and incomplete statements that the 1965 election undermined his position; people were angry at taxes and prices going up; criticism of the cost of building the new capital; defeat by India. **1-2 marks**

Level 2: Lists some but not all of the reasons and gives some explanation as to why people turned against Ayub Khan. **3-5 marks**

Level 3: Explains most of the reasons and points to opposition from Islamic parties; the opposition result in the election; problems of the economy; military defeat by India. **6-8 marks**

Level 4: Good explanation of the above points; links Source A to the criticisms and weakness of his controlled democracy; recognizes that if everyone had been able to vote, Ayub Khan would probably have lost. **9-12 marks**

Level 5: In addition to the above provides some analysis of the failure controlled democracy and the result of the election; evaluates the importance of the reasons for public opposition; conclusion as to the main reasons for him losing power. **13-14 marks**

Extra activity: Project Work

Title: The life of Miss Fatima Jinnah and her importance to Pakistan.

You should find out and include information under the following headings:

- Birth, early life and occupation, 1893-1929
- Supporting the Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ, 1929-48
- Organizing Muslim women
- Life and work after the death of her brother
- The 1965 Presidential Campaign
- Death in 1967

Conclusion: the importance of Fatima Jinnah's life to Pakistan

Resources: Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ, Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, Oxford University Press, 1997

Altaf Gauhar, *Ayub Khan*, Oxford University Press, 1996

Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ Academy, 1987

Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, 1984

Chapter 10 The 1970s

Pages 151-172

Syllabus coverage Section 3—The creation of Bangladesh

[A] The Secession of East Pakistan 1971

Pages 151-158

Syllabus coverage Section 3

Reasons for the creation of Bangladesh—Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and the Awami League—Six Points of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman

Key topics in this section

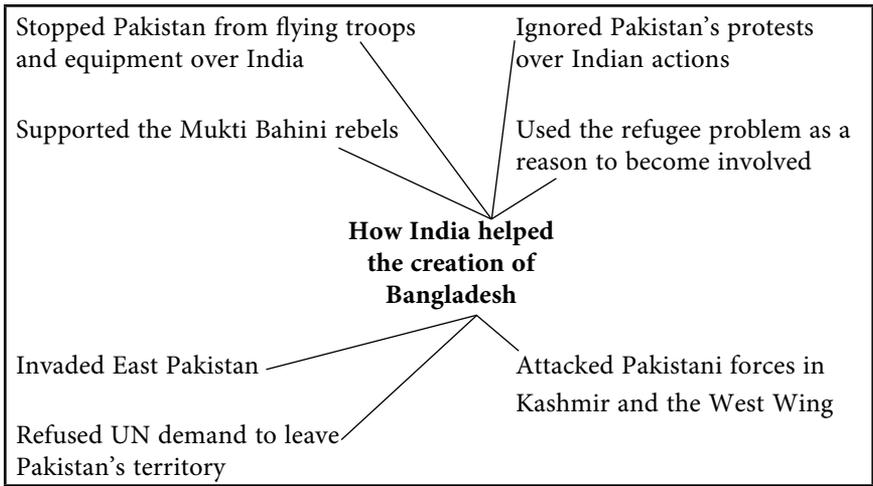
- Complaints of East Pakistan
- Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Six Point Programme
- National Assembly elections
- India's role
- Loss of East Pakistan
- Simla Accord

Pupils need to know the Complaints of East Pakistan.

- They should be aware that by the 1960s many people in the East Wing did not consider themselves as Pakistanis.
- The Six Point Programme was very popular in the East and quite unacceptable to the West.
- Source B, the election results, illustrates the difficulty for the politicians in sorting out the crisis. Perhaps they could not find the solution because there simply was none
- Following these election results Bhutto made a famous and important remark, *a majority alone does not count*.

Illustrations and sources

- The map 10.1 on page 151 is included as graphic evidence of the distance—which was India—between the two wings of Pakistan.
- The pictures on page 152 and 155 would have been seen around the world including, of course, in India.
- Henry Kissinger's photograph is included because of his importance as the key adviser to President Nixon at a time when he was siding with Pakistan.
- The figures for the Indian and Pakistan armed forces, page 156, are included to show just how powerful India was as an enemy.
- Source C expresses the view of the USA, one of the world's two superpowers.
- The photograph on page 157 shows Mr Bhutto with Mrs Gandhi, signing the Simla Accord. Students should consider the many mixed emotions for Pakistanis when they saw this picture in the newspapers.
- Indians take pride in Indira Gandhi's role in bringing about Bangladesh. Pakistanis still hold India responsible for breaking up Pakistan. The memory of the events in both countries is another enduring cause of mutual hostility.



Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities

Lesson focus

Why did East Pakistan break away?

Suggested teaching activities

- Overview *what we are going to learn*—explain the *key question*—look at the map, page 151.
- Put the dates, page 151, on to a timeline.

Using the textbook, pages 152, explain the complaints identify and discuss long- and short-term complaints. Pupils assess the importance of each grievance with a score 1-10.

- Written answers to Quick questions a and b.
- Look at the Six Point Programme, page 153. Pupils to give oral answers as to why each point was important.
- Written answers to Quick questions, c, d and e.
- Recap *What we have learnt*; quiz pupils:
 - Who was President of Pakistan?
 - What position had he held before?
 - Which party won all the seats in East Pakistan?
 - Who was their leader?
 - Who won the most seats in West Pakistan?
 - Who was leader of the PPP?
 - What do the letters PPP stand for?
 - Who was India's leader?
 - In which month did the war start?
 - How long did the war last?

Who replaced Yahya Khan as President?
What happened at Simla in 1972?

Homework: Short essay

What part did India play in the break-up of Pakistan?

The great tragedy

East Pakistan was always very vulnerable to Indian threat and India knew that. Pakistan's ally, the USA, whilst expressing support and sympathy, took no effective action in support of Pakistan. The cease-fire on 17th December 1971 was a very dark day indeed in Pakistan's history. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto called the loss of East Pakistan *the great tragedy*.

Extra source: A soldier's view

'What happened in East Pakistan is the saddest episode in Pakistan's history. The loss of our eastern wing and the creation of Bangladesh was all the result of inept political handling ever since our independence.'

General Pervez Musharraf, in 1971 he commanded a Special Services Brigade.

Extra activity

Discussion topic: How serious was the loss of East Pakistan? Extra reading for history teachers: Dr Rizwan Ullak Kokab, *Separatism in East Pakistan – A Study of Failed Leadership*, OUP 2017. Dr Kokab is Associate Professor of History and Pakistan studies at Government College University, Faisalabad.

[B] The Bhutto Years 1971-77

Pages 158-164

Syllabus coverage: Section 3

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971-77—Constitution, 1973

Key topics in this section

- Leadership of Bhutto
- Policies and actions as President and Prime Minister
- Constitution, 1973
- Islamic Summit, 1974
- Downfall of Bhutto

Mr Bhutto was a very charismatic leader who still arouses controversy and debate. The syllabus requires no more detail than is covered in this part of the text.

- Sources A: page 159, B: page 160, C and D: page 163 help to explain Mr Bhutto's appeal to so many people.
- The election results, page 163, are intended to show that Bhutto commanded considerable support and that there was no need for any electoral fraud to ensure his victory.

- The 1973 constitution, page 161, came into force on Pakistan's 26th anniversary. It established a parliamentary system in which the Prime Minister was responsible to the National Assembly. Islam, declared as the state religion, was given greater emphasis than in the constitutions of 1956 and 1962. The 1973 constitution remained in force for four years. Between 1977 and 1985 it was suspended, but was restored in 1985 with 65 out of its 280 articles amended.
- Nuclear weapons, Bhutto's legacy: the West has always deplored Pakistan's nuclear programme, but for many Pakistanis it is a source of pride and assurance.
- Bhutto has attracted more biographical studies than any other Pakistani leader. Teachers, and students, wishing to learn more about Bhutto should read Stanley Wolpert, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

Suggested lesson plan and teaching activities

Lesson focus

What were Bhutto's political ideas?

How did Bhutto try to change Pakistan?

Suggested teaching activities

Recap loss of East Pakistan and *what we are going to learn today*.

- Bhutto's policies and appeal to the people of Pakistan, pages 159-160. Pupils prepare a small leaflet with Bhutto's slogan.

Read *Actions in government*. Pupils take two points from each section as bullet points. Answer Quick question c, page 161.

1973 Constitution: discuss the purpose and effect of each point. Answer Quick questions f and g.

Conclusion and recap, oral work on *How did Bhutto try to change Pakistan?*

Homework: Prepare a speech that Mr Bhutto might have made in support of his policies.

[C] General Zia-ul-Haq 1977-88

Pages 165-172

Syllabus coverage - General Zia-ul-Haq. This section deals with the return of a military government.

Key topics in this section

- Bhutto's trial and execution
- Islamization
- Effect of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

- Mysterious death of Zia-ul-Haq
- Sources A and B show how General Zia contradicted himself over the execution of Mr Bhutto.
- Source A comes at the start of his regime when he sought to reassure both Pakistanis and the world.
- Source B is a statement made when he was firmly in control and rid of his main opponent.
- Source C is evidence of General Zia's goal of Islamization. He believed that Islam provided Pakistan with a model of statecraft that should be followed.

Pakistan's strategic importance to the Western nations, especially the USA, became even greater after the USSR invaded Afghanistan. Pakistan became a *front-line state* against the expansion of communism and Soviet power.

- One legacy, not mentioned in the text, was the growth in importance of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). ISI helped to shape policy on Afghanistan as well as assisting the *mujahideen* with aid from the USA.
- Source D, text of the 1984 referendum is included so that pupils can read the actual words that people were asked to support. The words show how General Zia used the religious issue and that it was *made difficult for voters to vote against Zia without seeming to vote against Islam*.
- The mysterious circumstances of General Zia's death are very interesting. The strong probability is that he was murdered. However, the USA sticks to its hypothesis of a mechanical failure. Although to this day his *assassins* are unknown, it was a very professional operation involving considerable planning and carried out skilfully.
- The description and photograph of Benazir Bhutto's return to Pakistan in 1986, page 171, was an emotional event for many Pakistanis and a very important part of modern Pakistan political history. Such enthusiastic crowds had not been seen since the days of the Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ.
- The death of Zia in 1988 and the return of civilian government headed by Miss Bhutto seemed to signify, to many, a new democratic era.

Extra Source on the execution of Zulfikar Bhutto

...appeals continued to flood in from heads of state. President Carter of the USA said he would strongly disapprove of the sentence being carried out; China sent two appeals. Brezhnev, speaking for the Soviet Union, called for mercy. The British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, said that he believed the consequences of clemency 'and General Zia is a very wise man' would be more beneficial to Pakistan than carrying out 'the strict application of law'.

Others did not think so. One senior military man was reported as saying, 'Hanging Bhutto will be a danger. Not hanging Bhutto will be a disaster.'

Victoria Schofield, *Bhutto: Trial and Execution*, Cassell 1979.

The Supreme Court upheld the death sentence by a vote of four to three. However, there is little doubt that General Zia could, had he wished, prevented both the trial and the execution.

Unsolved Mystery

Why did the aircraft carrying General Zia crash? At the time many people believed that sabotage had caused the crash.

Extra Source: The Death of General Zia – New Information

Declassified US State Department files reveal that General Beg, in an hour-long address to army officers in Rawalpindi on August 25 (1988), referred to General Zia's death as a conspiracy... he alluded to recent threatening statements by the Soviet spokesmen and Russia... Besides foreign agents, there might be some of our own people involved.

Article in Dawn newspaper, 17 August 2018. General Beg took over as head of the army following the death of General Zia, he endorsed Ghulam Ishaq Khan as President and together they enabled the election which led to Benazir Bhutto becoming Prime Minister.

Extra Reading

Mystery still surrounds Gen Zia's death, 30 years on

Dawn newspaper article 17 August 2018, Dawn.com/Archive

Part 4 Pakistan and the World

Pages 173-225

Syllabus coverage Section 3—Pakistan's international relations up to 1988

The syllabus currently has a cut-off point of 1988 although the National Curriculum has decided to carry the contents forward to the present times. Some later events are referred to in this section for the sake of completeness and to satisfy the curiosity of students. This part of the course is very helpful in understanding the background and context of recent events. Some issues, such as Kashmir, have continued since 1948 and still continue to affect Pakistan's relations with other nations. The impact of events in Afghanistan continues to affect Pakistan and her relationship with the rest of the world.

Chapter 11 Pakistan and Asia

Pages 174-191

[A] Pakistan and Bangladesh

Pages 174-175

Key topics in this section

- Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh
- Relations with the new state

This section takes up the story after the tragic events described in Chapter 10 [A]. It deals with the effective manner in which Mr Bhutto achieved a settlement.

- *Rapprochement* is an important concept.
- A diplomatic agreement—in this case the Simla Accord—cannot remove the sense of hurt and anger that so many people felt. However, the terms wrested by Mr Bhutto from India must be acknowledged.
- Quick question *a*, page 175, would form the basis for discussion rather than a written answer.

Extra activities

Students might consider how successful or otherwise they think the state of Bangladesh has been since the break-up. They can do some research on this topic.

[B] Pakistan and India

Pages 176-180

Key topics in this section

- Issues between the two countries caused by partition
- Three wars—1947, 1965, 1971
- Confrontation at the Siachen Glacier

The relationship between these two great nations has for most of the time been openly hostile and never less than very difficult. It is of enormous importance that students understand the background and the key issues that have caused mutual mistrust and confrontation.

- The problems faced at the time of partition are briefly summarized on pages 176-177. It will be useful to refer back to earlier chapters, as referred to in the text, to reinforce and revise knowledge of the problems created in 1948.
- The causes of the three wars are explained on pages 177-178.
- Siachen Glacier is uninhabitable and yet of enormous symbolic importance. A huge amount of money has been spent by both countries on military operations in the Siachen Glacier.
- It often seems that the question of Kashmir is ignored by the rest of the world, except perhaps if a tourist is kidnapped or a new war threatens.
- The passion for cricket and the advent of *cricket diplomacy*.

Reasons why India and Pakistan do not get along

A number of reasons for hostility between the two countries are dealt with in the text. The most important can be summarized as:

- India's strong opposition to partition
- Bloodshed during the process of partition
- Arguments over division of resources
- In 1947 India blocked payments to Pakistan from the joint sterling account set up by the British for both countries
- Dispute over the rivers' waters, till resolved in 1960 by Indus Water Treaty, through the World Bank
- Conflict over Kashmir including three wars (1947, 1965, 1971)
- Each war has added to the legacy of mutual distrust
- India's support for East Pakistan separatist movement
- India's explosion of a nuclear device in 1974
- Mutual blame for terrorist attacks

The reasons above could be presented as a spider diagram.

Extra activity

This work could be done in small groups.

Make a list of all the reasons that you can think of to explain why relations between India and Pakistan have been so difficult. Now give each of your reasons a score of 1-10 with the top score for the most important. Explain why you have given a high score to the top two or three reasons.

Discussion topic: How could relations between India and Pakistan have been improved?

Question 3 could be used for an extended essay with students encouraged to undertake further research.

[C] Pakistan and Afghanistan

Pages 180-183

Key topics in this section

- Border disputes and *Pakhtunistan*
- Pakistan's support for the *mujahideen* in the war against Russia

The fortunes of both countries are closely linked. This remains true today.

- A long-running dispute over the border—the Durand Line—is described, page 181. This border was drawn by the British in 1893. It was bound to cause trouble as incredibly, the border went straight through the Pathan tribal territory. Pakistan inherited the Durand Line and the problem.
- Students need to understand the issue around *Pakhtunistan* and why it has damaged relations between the two countries.

- The invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR had important consequences.
- Afghanistan is described as the USSR's 'Vietnam'. It was another example of a nuclear superpower suffering defeat at the hands of an apparently undeveloped local population.
- The *mujahideen* were spectacularly successful. They prevented the USSR from gaining control of the whole country and inflicted heavy losses on the Soviet Army.
- Afghanistan inflicted a very heavy economic cost on the USSR, which the Russians simply could not afford. Their failure in Afghanistan contributed to the downfall of the communist system in the USSR.
- Pakistan's role in the defeat of the USSR was significant.

Problems stemming from Afghanistan affect Pakistan today, page 183.

- During the 1990s Pakistan aided and recognized the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan.
- Weapons used in fighting against the USSR later ended up in Pakistan
- With their strong religious faith the Taliban had many sympathizers in Pakistan.
- But as the Taliban became increasingly anti-western and supported Al-Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden, so Pakistan's government began to distance itself from the Afghan Government.
- Pakistan maintained diplomatic relations with the Taliban Afghan Government until 2001.
- After the attacks on New York on 11 September 2001, Pakistan's President General Musharraf assured the USA of his *unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism*.
- The USA has alleged that the border region of Pakistan has been used by Al-Qaeda.
- Pakistan has arrested many alleged terrorists including some of those held responsible for the September 11 attacks.

Extra source

We paid a very heavy price

'Pakistan became a front-line state. We fought the war with the Afghans, the Americans, the Europeans, and the Saudis, and we won. But we paid a very heavy price. Kalashnikovs, mortars, rockets, stinger missiles, and other sophisticated armaments found their way into Pakistan's arms markets. Soon Pakistan was awash in weapons of the most lethal kind, weapons that remain in private hands to this day. Worse, a drug culture soon took root, and it involved heroin, no ordinary drug.'

Pervez Musharraf, writing about the effect of the fighting by the Taliban against the USSR, in his book, *Line of Fire*, 2006, (Simon and Schuster)

Questions

- What is meant by *front-line state*?
- What two bad effects on Pakistan of the war are described?
- Which effect does the writer think is the most serious?

[D] Pakistan and Iran

Pages 184-185

Key topics in this section

- Common interests of the two nations
- Effect of the USA on relations between Pakistan and Iran

Iran and Pakistan have enjoyed fairly good relations. The first foreign head of state to visit Pakistan was the Shah of Iran in 1950. Even so, suspicions have existed between the two nations. This has worsened as a result of American hostility to Iran since the fall of the Shah.

- The role of the USA is important to the relations between the two nations.
- CENTO fitted in with the USA objective of opposing the spread of communism in the 1950s and '60s.
- US influence on Iran under the Shah worked against Pakistan in the 1970s.
- After the Shah, the new Iranian government was critical of Pakistan for having been too close to the US-backed Shah.

[E] Pakistan and China

Pages 185-188

Key topics in this section

- Early difficulties between Pakistan and China
- How the relationship improved
- The importance of good relations with China

The influence of the USA is important in understanding Pakistan's relations with China.

- The USA was totally hostile to Communist China until President Nixon's visit in 1971 heralded a thaw in China-USA relations.
- During the 1950s and 1960s it was difficult for Pakistan to be friendly towards China without upsetting the USA.
- It was not easy or cost-free for President Ayub Khan to cooperate with China after 1963.
- Construction of the Karakoram Highway, pages 187-188, was very important. The Chinese provided assistance to Pakistan's Frontier Works Organization to complete the highway on the Pakistani side.
- China has an important self-interest in being on good terms with both of its neighbours, India and Pakistan.
- Improved relations with India in the 1990s and more recently have been

viewed with concern by Pakistan. Nevertheless, Pakistan has continued to value China as a friend and ally.

Extra activity

Discussion topic: Why is it difficult for other nations, such as China, to have friendly relations with both India and Pakistan?

[F] Pakistan, Turkey and the Middle East

Pages 189-191

Key topics in this section

- Pakistan's efforts for Muslim unity
- Pakistan's support for the Palestinians

This section briefly covers Pakistan's aspiration for Muslim unity and her support for the Palestinian cause.

- At the time of the Suez crisis Pakistan was unwilling to alienate itself from western countries.
- Pakistan did express approval of President Nasser's takeover of the Suez Canal and even condemned the intervention of French and British troops. But she gave Egypt no practical support. For example, Pakistan had no intention of quitting the Baghdad Pact of which Britain was a member.
- Pakistan has been steadfast in its support for the Palestinian cause against pressure from the USA, which has strongly supported Israel. This is despite Pakistan not being an Arab country. Some other Muslim countries, including some Arab nations, have to a certain extent recognized the state of Israel.

Extra source

'community of outlook'

'With these countries we claim a community of outlook based on spiritual and moral affinities. We have the same faith and the same cultural traditions as they have, and, like us, they too are emerging from the sloth of centuries and are becoming increasingly conscious of the important historical role which Islam has to play as a world-unifying force. It is therefore natural that our first cultural links should be with them.'

Statement by the Pakistan Education Minister in 1948 as educational links were established with Turkey, Egypt and Iran.

Questions

- (a) What is meant by *community of outlook*?
- (b) What is it that is a *world-unifying force*?
- (c) Why was it *natural* for Pakistan to work with Turkey, Egypt and Iran?

Chapter 12 Pakistan and the rest of the world

Pages 192-209

Syllabus coverage—Pakistan’s international relations up to 1988

[A] Pakistan and the Soviet Union

Pages 192-196

Key topics in this section

- USSR and Communism
- The effect of the Cold War on Pakistan
- Pakistan’s relations with the superpower USSR

This section describes Pakistan’s relationship with the great communist power. If students have not already learnt about the Cold War, first mentioned on page 132, then it needs to be explained here.

Extra information

Communism

Communism originates from the theories of Karl Marx, a German (1818-83). The central principle of communism is the abolition of private property and the ending of the exploitation of the working class. A communist system would follow the principle of *from each according to his ability to each according to his need*. Such a state would be achieved by revolution and the overthrow of the existing ruling classes. The first communist state was set up in Russia after the 1917 revolution. After 1945 many East European countries, and China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, adopted the communist system.

Differences between Communism and Western Democracies

Western Democracies	Communist Government
Capitalism—private ownership of industries, shops, land and homes	State ownership of all industry, shops, land and homes
Free media—newspapers, radio and TV, permitted to express all kinds of opinions	Controlled media—all newspapers, radio and TV, owned by the government and no criticism allowed
Regular elections for the government with different political parties competing for power, with all adults able to vote	Elections held but with only candidates from the Communist Party
Freedom of religious worship	Religion discouraged and worship often discouraged and prevented
Belief in the superiority of their system and the commitment to halt any spread of communism	Belief in the superiority of their system and the determination to spread communism

- To start with, page 193, relations with the USSR were good.
- Russia chose not to take sides over Kashmir and abstained in early votes in the UN.
- After 1950 the USSR sided with India.
- A number of Pakistani decisions 1950-60, listed on page 193, tilted Pakistan towards the USA and so worsened relations with the USSR.
- It was almost impossible for any country, especially as important as Pakistan, to have good relations with both the USA and the USSR during that period.
- During the 1960s, especially from 1963, Pakistan deliberately sought better relations with the USSR. Eight practical results are listed, page 194.
- In great part, this change of approach to distance Pakistan from the USA came from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who became Ayub Khan's Foreign Minister in 1963. Bhutto did not like America's support for undemocratic governments just so long as they were anti-communist.
- In 1971 the tables were turned when the USSR sided with India over East Pakistan and the USA was more supportive of Pakistan.
- The impact on Pakistan of the 1979 USSR invasion of Afghanistan was enormous. Weapons from the USA passed through Pakistan to be used against Soviet Troops.

Question 2, page 194, could be left until after Section B, *Pakistan and the USA*, has been studied.

[B] Pakistan and the USA

Pages 196-201

Key topics in this section

- Role of Pakistan in the Cold War
- USA failure to support Pakistan over Kashmir
- The USA and General Zia

Since 1945 no nation has been able to ignore the economic, military and political power of the USA. America emerged from the Second World War as a great world superpower. Before 1941 she had pursued a policy of *isolationism* which meant keeping out of world affairs. Since 1945 the opposite has applied. The USA has taken an interest and often interfered in the affairs of every country. There are US bases in many parts of the world. American values and way of life are portrayed as the ideal to which all peoples should aspire. American influence in the media, TV shows and films, rock and pop music, American products such as cars, Coca Cola and MacDonald's have spread the idea of *the American dream*. Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه admired America's democratic system of government. It has been an uneasy relationship. Some Pakistanis feared that their nation was being used by

America in the Cold War against the USSR. Were they acquiescing to the demands and power of the USA simply for economic benefits.

- US policy towards nations such as Pakistan can be summarized as *if you are not with us then you are against us*.
- Arguments for and against Pakistan allying itself to the USA are set out on page 197.
- Source A is evidence that the US President knew it was much cheaper to use Pakistan's soldiers than US soldiers as part of an anti-communist force.
- Source B is evidence of the US policy of using Pakistan's military as a force to resist any USSR attempt at expansion in the region.
- Source C describes the position of Pakistan in support of an alliance with the USA.
- Sources D and E are evidence of the Cold War attitudes of the two superpowers.
- Pakistan was a new nation trying to establish itself in the face of a constant threat from India. So Pakistan was under pressure not to upset the USA.
- Ayub Khan's 1962 visit to Washington was probably the high point of US Pakistan relations during this period. The Washington dinner is evidence of how good relations were and also how important it was to the USA to keep Pakistan inside.

Extra source

85 per cent

'About 85 per cent of her (Pakistan's) exports of 1963 went to the United States, Britain, Western Europe and Japan and 90 per cent of her imports came from the same countries.

Pakistan's trade in 1963 with China, the Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe amounted to less than 5 per cent of her total foreign trade.'

Jacques Nevard, *New York Times*, 13 January 1964

Questions

- (a) How useful is the information in this source?
- (b) How does this source help to explain relations between Pakistan and the USA in the 1960s?
- (c) Why did the USA not want Pakistan to have closer relations with China and the Soviet Union?
- (d) Do you think everyone in Pakistan would have been happy with this situation?

Source E, page 199, shows how poor relations had become by 1965. Events led to the US putting India first. Ayub Khan's comments show his anger and suggest that the USA used its superior power to get its way, whatever Pakistan thought. This use, or *abuse*, of power by the USA has been termed *the arrogance of power* by US Senator William Fulbright in 1966. When one country, such as the USA, is so rich and powerful it is impossible for any other country to have an equal relationship with her.

President Nixon sided with Pakistan in the 1971 war. This is a summary of the reasons mentioned in the text:

- President Nixon personally disliked the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.
- Nixon saw Pakistan as a friend of China and the USA was building better relations with China.
- Nixon saw India as a friend of the USSR, as confirmed by the Soviet-Indian Friendship Treaty of August 1971.
- Nixon feared that India would launch an all-out war on West Pakistan.
- In 1971 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto moved Pakistan away from close relations with the USA. Obviously, the USA disliked this situation. The possible role of the CIA is mentioned and for many historians this remains an open question.
- In 1979 the USSR invasion of Afghanistan transformed relations. The USA needed the support of Pakistan.
- In 1985 US Senator Larry Pressler succeeded in attaching an amendment to a foreign aid bill that stopped all American assistance to Pakistan if there was evidence that Pakistan possessed or was developing a nuclear bomb. However, the President could waive, that is ignore, the amendment if it was in the US interest.
- The Pressler Amendment didn't bite until 1990 when President Bush (Sr.) used the amendment to halt aid. Pakistan was not so vital once the USSR had left Afghanistan. These sanctions hurt US-Pakistan relations severely during the 1990s.

[C] Pakistan, Britain and the Commonwealth

Pages 202-209

Key topics in this section

- Close links between Britain and Pakistan
- Disagreements with the Commonwealth over Kashmir and Bangladesh

Close links remain between Britain and Pakistan. This was inevitable after so many years of British rule. Many Pakistanis favoured British democratic values, education and aspects of their culture.

- British influence can be seen in many ways not least the use of English in government and business.
- The fact that there is a large Pakistani community in Britain ensures that strong links will continue.
- In spite of this, Pakistan has reasons to be critical of its treatment by the British. On a number of issues, such as at the time of partition and Kashmir, Britain has sided with India.
- It was self-interest on the part of Britain that encouraged migration from Pakistan as well as other former colonies. Most members of the Pakistani community, even those born in Britain, still identify strongly with Pakistan and follow many cultural and religious traditions.
- Source A, page 203, emphasizes this. Pakistanis have made a very positive contribution to Britain's multicultural society. This source is from a long-serving and well-respected Member of Parliament. Today Pakistanis make up the single largest Muslim group in the UK.
- Relations with the Commonwealth have been made difficult because of Kashmir. Time and again it has seemed to Pakistan that the Commonwealth has sided with India.
- In recent years Britain, like the USA, has needed the support of Pakistan's government in fighting international terrorism and in trying to establish a western-style democracy in Afghanistan.

Extra information

Number of Muslims in Britain: 1,588,890

Ethnic origin:

43.2% Pakistani

16.5% Bangladeshi

8.3% Indian

32% various, including African, European

Source: UK Office of National Statistics, 2006

Extra activity

Further research: Find out how Pakistan has benefited from membership of the Commonwealth.

[D] Pakistan and the United Nations

Pages 205-209

Key topics in this section

- The role and organization of the UN
- Failure of the UN to support Pakistan over Kashmir or East Bengal
- Strengths and weaknesses of the UN

The United Nations is a very important organization and this section provides an opportunity to learn about its work in general as well as its impact on Pakistan. With many conflicts in the world, the problem of terrorism, the use of force by major powers, such as the USA and Britain in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is important to understand the purpose and weaknesses of the UN.

- One of the main aims of the UN is to *prevent further wars*.
- A large number of wars have taken place since 1945, including those between Pakistan and India. However, this does not mean that the UN has been a continuing failure.
- Source A sets out the key aims of the UN and the diagram, page 207, shows how it is organized to work for those aims.
- Source B, page 208, are the angry words of Mr Bhutto from a dramatic incident in both the history of the UN as well as of Pakistan. Source B is evidence of the frustration felt by Mr Bhutto because the weakness of the UN was clearly working against Pakistan's interests.
- Source C tells us President Kennedy's reason why he thought the UN seemed to fail.
- An organization such as the UN is only as strong and united as its constituent parts, in this case the nations that make up the UN. It can only solve disputes if there is a genuine wish by nations to take part in discussion and a willingness to reach a settlement.

Extra information

Evidence of Pakistan's support for the United Nations

Pakistan is committed to the UN role of peacekeeping.

Pakistan armed forces personnel have taken part in many of the UN's peacekeeping operations.

Start of operation	Location	Contribution
1962	West New Guinea	1500 troops
1992	Combodia	1123 personnel
1992	Bosnia	two infantry division
1993	Somalia	7200 troops [39 martyred]
1993	Haiti	525 troops
1996	Eastern Slovenia	979 troops
1999	Democratic Republic of the Congo	3556 troops
2003	Liberia	2741 troops
2004	Burundi	1185 troops
2005	Sudan	1542 troops

Some important examples are:

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| • 1962 | October 1962-April 1963 | 1500 infantry |
| • Cambodia | March 1992-November 1993 | 1123 personnel |
| • Bosnia | March 1992-March 1996 | two infantry battalions |
| • Somalia | May 1993-March 1995 | 7200 soldiers [39 fatalities] |
| • Haiti | September 1993-December 1997 | 525 soldiers |
| • Eastern Slovenia | May 1996-August 1997 | 979 soldiers |

In addition Pakistan has contributed civilian observers, advisors and police officers to areas of conflict.

As well as evidence of Pakistan's commitment to the work of the UN, these figures are evidence that Pakistani troops are respected internationally.

Extra activity

Students should identify which of the UN aims, page 206, each part of the UN structure, page 207, is intended to deal with, e.g. World Bank/IMF = promotion of the economic advancement of all peoples. (The World Bank and IMF are autonomous organizations that work in close cooperation with the UN.) In this way it will be emphasized how the UN's work goes beyond trying to solve international political and military conflicts. Students should make their own copy of the diagram.

Discussion topics: Students could discuss the meaning and importance of the clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, page 207.

Question 2, page 209, could also be used instead as a discussion topic.

Chapter 13 Pakistan 1988 to 2020

Pages 210–225

Syllabus coverage Section 3: How effective were Pakistan's governments in the final decade of the twentieth century?

Two key features of Pakistani political behaviour during this period:

- Confrontational, with lack of consensus and the refusal of opposing groups or political parties to cooperate with each other;
- Difficult and fractious relationship between provinces and the central government.

Since the late 1980s four individuals, Benazir Bhutto and her husband Asif Ali Zardari, Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf, have dominated Pakistan's politics and government. Although the syllabus ends with 1999,

these leaders continued to dominate throughout the first decade of the 21st century. For that reason it may sometimes be a challenge to separate history from current affairs.

[A] Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister, 1988–90

Pages 210–214

Key topics in this section

- Conflicts with Nawaz Sharif and growing separatist movements
- Difficult relations with President Ishaq
- Successes and failures
- Effect of the No Confidence motion
- Removal from office by the president

This was Pakistan's third attempt at democracy. (The first was 1947–56, second was 1973–77). There were very high expectations when Benazir Bhutto took office. Source A not only describes the mood but tells us that those abroad, in this case France, also had high expectations. Some discussion and explanation should look at the reasons why so many people looked to Benazir Bhutto to achieve a great deal. You should discuss whether or not those expectations were realistic.

The concept of the *Troika* is important and crops up again later. Between 1989 and 1996 there were six *troikas*. Points to emphasize:

- Benazir Bhutto's PPP did not have an overall majority in the National Assembly (92 out of 207 seats).
- The President and chief of the Army Staff (Aslam Beg) were in a strong position to bargain with Benazir Bhutto.
- The 8th Amendment to the Constitution*
- Benazir Bhutto agreed to be 'guided' especially on security issues such as Afghanistan, Kashmir, and nuclear weapons.
- The role of the Troika became established as overseeing decision-making and thus considerable power remained in non-elected hands.

*The 8th Amendment to the 1973 Constitution, passed in March 1985 under General Zia, strengthened the president's position by giving him the power to dismiss the prime minister. It also gave him the power to nominate chief judges and military leaders. In April 1997, under Nawaz Sharif, the 13th Amendment removed the presidential powers granted by the 8th Amendment and so ensured a parliamentary system.

Conclusions about Benazir Bhutto's first term are conflicting.

A negative view

‘The Bhutto Government had comprehensively failed to live up to expectations... This resulted in part from the unrealistic hopes built around it... the Government had in many respects dug its own grave... the politics of patronage and confrontation rather than of principle and consensus.’

Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 1998

A more favourable view

‘Her first term was notable for its focus on human rights and the condition of women. The government took action against drug barons, against terrorism in the cities and banditry in the countryside. An objective assessment of her performance does not leave one with an impression of exceptional wrongdoing and malfeasance.’

Iqbal Akhund, *Trial and Error*, 2000. The writer served as National Security and Foreign Affairs Adviser in Benazir Bhutto’s first government.

These two views may assist you in discussing with your students Benazir Bhutto’s first term of government.

In her own words

Benazir Bhutto complained that the government had been ‘stolen from her.’

Her supporters claimed she was a victim of those traditionalists who would not accept a woman as head of government. Later on, after her loss of office again in 1996, she had this to say about that:

‘...I have been taken aback by the venom of those political opponents who believe a woman’s place is behind four walls. Their attacks have been violent and unforgiving... The elite institutions of the country have found it difficult to accept me as Prime Minister because they believe I usurped a man’s place in an Islamic country.’

This was Benazir Bhutto’s response to questions for the book by Mona Bauwens and Peter Thompson, *Feminine Power: Conversations with the World’s Most Powerful Women in the Fields of Politics, Business and Entertainment*, (Mainstream Publishing 1998) quoted in Victoria Schofield, *The Fragrance of Tears*, (Head of Zeus, 2000)

Extra discussion

‘I do consider myself as a role model.’

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto speaking on the BBC World service, 1989.

Do you agree that Benazir was a role model?

Extra reading

Benazir Bhutto, *Daughter of the East*, 1988. She presents her own view of her first term as Prime Minister,

Knowledge of problems in Kashmir is specified content in the syllabus. Your students will be interested in learning about Kashmir, Afghanistan and the Mujahideen, and you will be able to make the connection between events then and current events. In particular, the significance of Kashmir as an influence on the history of the entire region is one that cannot be ignored in understanding more recent events.

[B] Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister, 1990–93

Pages 214–217

Key topics

- Privatization of state-owned enterprises
- The Gulf War and relations with the USA
- Failures in banking and Cooperative Societies
- Crime and drugs

The syllabus states *privatisation policy encouraged profiteering*. This is a surprisingly loaded statement. Nawaz Sharif has been described as an *ardent capitalist*. He was keen to win popular support for a policy that encouraged private industrial and commercial entrepreneurship. He argued that such a policy would tackle Pakistan's high level of unemployment. There was considerable support for free-market reform and privatization but there was much criticism of the way the policy was carried out.

Critics said:

- Privatization was carried out too quickly.
- Vulnerable groups were not protected.
- Prices of essentials including electricity rose.
- State enterprises were sold off too cheaply.
- Large profits were made out of enterprises and not reinvested in better services.

However, supporters claimed that private ownership led to better efficiency.

The syllabus specifies 'growth of crime and use of drugs'. Karachi, with a population of 6.7 million in 1992, was particularly hard-hit. Drugs, crime and unrest were holding back development of a progressive Pakistan. The controversial MQM were blamed for exacerbating divisions. This further undermined Nawaz Sharif's government.

Extra activity

Class discussion: What happened to crime in the early 1990s?

Points to consider:

- Reasons why there were more firearms
- Effect of refugees from Afghanistan and the drug trade
- Growth of organised crime
- Pakistan became a major exporter of heroin
- Increasing number of heroin addicts in Pakistan
- Problems facing law enforcement
- Introduction of Speedy Courts

Extra source

‘The government also had to contend with rampant crime and terrorism... Kidnappings, bombings and murders persisted...Pakistanis called this state of affairs the Kalashnikov culture* because the flood of available automatic weapons... The arms were largely a legacy from the war in neighbouring Afghanistan.’

Peter Blood, ed. *Pakistan: A Country Study*, Library of Congress, Washington DC, 1994

*The term, *Kalashnikov Culture*, has been used in exam question papers and is expected to be understood.

Now write up the points made during the discussion and answer the question, Why was the growth of crime a difficult problem for Nawaz Sharif, 1990-93?

Pakistan and the USA

After 1990, Pakistan's relations with the USA were defined by her retention of nuclear weapons.

Remember that

- Pakistan was prepared to sign the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons provided India agreed to sign as well.
- Pakistan bore the brunt of America's opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons.
- Effect of the Pressler Amendment

[C] Benazir Bhutto's Second Administration, 1993–96

Pages 217–219

Key topics:

- Tension with India over Kashmir
- Political opposition and violence
- Economic problems

As you work through this section make a list of all the problems that made difficulties for Benazir Bhutto. The first problem was that, once again, she did not command an overall majority in the National Assembly. The syllabus includes another problem, the 1996 banking scandal. Benazir Bhutto attempted to privatise The United Bank (UBL) but the offers received were well below the value anticipated. Even so the government planned to go ahead with the sale. With allegations of wrongdoing this further damaged Benazir Bhutto's government. The sale was halted in 1997 when Nawaz Sharif returned to office.

The attacks on Benazir Bhutto by her opponents were often very personal and this is referred to in the text. That in turn created a mutual bitterness which ensured the continuation of confrontational politics.

Extra Source

Part of the proclamation issued by President Leghari dismissing Benazir Bhutto

'Whereas during the last three years thousands of persons in Karachi and other parts of Pakistan have been deprived of their right to life...Powerful members of the federal and provincial governments, who are themselves accused of crime, influence and control the law-enforcing agencies...The government has sought to undermine the independence of the judiciary...The prime minister and her government have deliberately violated on a massive scale the right of privacy...through illegal phone-tapping...Corruption, nepotism and violation of the rules...has become so extensive that the orderly functioning of the government...has become impossible...Public faith in the integrity and honesty of the government has disappeared.'

Many people believe that Army Chief, General Karamat, played a key part in her dismissal.

[D] The Second Administration of Nawaz Sharif, 1997–99

Pages 220–222

Key topics:

- Supreme Court
- Constitutional changes
- Pakistan's nuclear weapons
- Conflict in Kashmir

You will need to explain the significance of each of the constitutional changes. Since the USA repeatedly punished Pakistan over its nuclear programme through the Pressler Amendment, why did Pakistan press on with it? Source E is very helpful because it is the view of a senior Indian General.

In 1999 clashes occurred between Pakistani and Indian troops in the Kargil region of Indian occupied Kashmir. Many lives were lost. Hostilities ceased and Pakistan was disappointed that they had not achieved more. Once again friends, such as Britain and the USA, had failed to get behind Pakistan in demanding justice for Kashmir. The Army felt let down by the politicians and the chief of the army staff, General Pervez Musharraf, decided it was time to remove Mr Sharif.

Extra source

in the words of General Musharraf

‘It was in dealing with Kargil that the Prime Minister exposed his mediocrity and set himself on a collision course with the army and me.’

Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, Simon & Schuster 2006

Discussion point

What do these few words tell us about the significance of the clashes in the Kargil region of Kashmir in bringing down the government of Nawaz Sharif?

- The 1999 conflict is sometimes referred to as the *Kargil War*. In an examination answer either that term or *Kargil conflict* will be accepted.

Extra source *India had strongly refused*

‘Sharif had asked me to help in Kashmir, saying it was as worthy of my attention as the Middle East and Northern Ireland. I had explained to him then that the United States was involved in those peace processes because both sides wanted us. In this case, India had strongly refused the involvement of any outside party.’

President Bill Clinton in his memoirs, *My Life*, 2004

Discuss why India did not want any ‘outside party’ such as the USA involved in trying to settle the Kashmir issue.

The military takeover by General Musharraf underlined both the fragile nature of democracy in Pakistan and the important power of the army. Also of interest is the fluctuating attitude of the USA and Britain on the issue of democracy and human rights and their growing need after 2001 for Pakistan as an ally in the so-called *war on terror*.

[E] General Musharraf, 1999 – 2008

Pages 223–225

In 1999 with the takeover of power by General Musharraf democracy was once again suspended. The actual events of the takeover in October 1999 are an interesting narrative. . General Musharraf claimed his actions were intended to achieve democracy:

... what Pakistan has experienced in recent years has been merely a label of democracy, not the essence of it ... I shall not allow people to be taken back to the era of sham democracy... This is not martial law, only another path towards democracy.

General Musharraf on taking power in October 1999

Extra source *One of the most difficult jobs in the world*

‘Pakistan is a nation of many parts, rural and urban, rich and poor, highly educated and illiterate. Our 160 million people speak several different languages. Moderation collides with fanatical extremism, and westernization squares off against a conservative traditional culture. Governing Pakistan has been labelled by some as one of the most difficult jobs in the world.’

Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan, *In the Line of Fire*, Simon & Schuster 2006.

- Why, according to the source, is governing Pakistan *difficult*?
- What does Musharraf mean when he writes *Moderation collides...?*
- What is meant by the term *westernization*?

President Musharraf: Controversial issues and problems

- extent and nature of democracy
- role of religion in the state and issue of Islamic laws
- crime and law enforcement
- relationship with the USA’s war on terrorism
- economic and banking problems and role of the state
- corruption
- relations with India & their continued occupation of Kashmir
- Pakistan’s international reputation

Extra source *anti-American feelings*

‘many Pakistanis distrust it (USA) and in the last decade, some have come to regard the US as an enemy...

Firstly, there is a perception that the US is an unreliable friend. It uses Pakistan and then ditches it...

Secondly, there is a perception that the US has been interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs...

There is a third perception that the US is following anti-Islam policies. In particular, its open-ended support for Israel has angered Muslims and has become the single most important cause of anti-American feelings in the Muslim world...

Extracted from an article published in Inpaper Magazine, Dawn (Karachi), 12 February 2011.

Extra source Public opinion in Pakistan, 2007

In August 2007, The Herald, a monthly Pakistan current affairs magazine published an opinion poll:-

Do you think Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ intended Pakistan to be a religious state or a modern democracy?

Religious state 43% Modern democracy 44% Don't know 12% (1101 respondents)

Do you think Pakistan has been harmed by the periods of martial law or has benefited from them?

Harmed 66% Benefited 34%

Do you think democracy is the right political system for Pakistan?

Yes 78% No 21% Don't know 1%

Do you think that religion and politics should be kept separate?

Yes 73% No 27%

Do you think Musharraf has proved to be a better ruler than Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif?

Yes 48% No 52%

Has the economy performed well under Musharraf?

Performed well 43% performed badly 43% don't know 14%

Do you think Musharraf's policies have increased or decreased poverty?

Increased 75% Decreased 25%

Do you think Pakistan stands to gain more from closer ties with the Muslim World or from the developed countries of the West?

Closer relations with Islamic countries 74% with the West 26%

Should Pakistan have agreed to side with the United States in the war on terror?

Yes 34% No 66%

This poll was carried out by AC Nielson, a well-respected polling organisation.

How useful is this opinion poll in understanding the difficulties that President Musharraf had to deal with?

- (a) Under President Musharraf Pakistan was an important ally of the USA. What evidence is there that this position could seriously weaken his grip on power?
- (b) Study Source I (page 223). Using that source and the evidence in the opinion poll, what criticisms might have been made of President Musharraf after nearly 7 years in office?

Extra reading: Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire*, 2006

PROJECT WORK

Democracy: ‘Democracy has been difficult to achieve in Pakistan.’

The project should be divided into the following sections:

Introduction:

- Briefly introduce the project and that you are going to examine the question, *democracy has been difficult to achieve*.
- Explain what democracy is
- Describe the aims of Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ and Liaquat Ali Khan

1958

- Describe the first suspension of democracy
- Explain the reasons given by General Ayub Khan
- Consider the extent to which his form of Basic Democracy was successful

1977

- Explain how and why General Zia took control
- Describe Pakistan’s government under General Zia

1999

- General Musharraf took over
- Explain the reasons he gave
- Describe and discuss General Musharraf’s views on democracy

Conclusion

- Summarize the reasons why democracy has been replaced by military rule
- Discuss and give your opinion whether or not you think those have been good reasons
- Discuss whether or not democracy matters or is good government possible without it
- Finally, give your answer as to the most important reason(s) why *democracy has been difficult to achieve in Pakistan*.

Appendix 1

Pages 226-227

This is a useful chronology which students should be encouraged to use if they are unsure about the order of events.

Appendix 2

Pages 227–228

The Internet plays an important role in research and study. Teachers should take their students through the advice, given on page 227.

Websites and their content change, sometimes quite quickly. The tasks set out on pages 227 – 228 should prove straightforward and worthwhile.

Here are a few more websites that you and your students may find interesting information relevant to the syllabus:

History of Pakistan

www.heritage.gov.pk

www.lahoremuseum.punjab.gov.pk

www.storyofpakistan.com

Newspaper

www.dawn.com

Dawn was founded in Delhi in 1941 by Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ as the newspaper of the Muslim League. (See the photograph on page 107) The Dawn website has an archive section. In the words of journalist and academic, Owen-Bennett Jones, Pakistan is lucky to have a media house so committed to preserving the country's history.

The Government of Pakistan

The official website: www.pakistan.gov.pk

The National Assembly of Pakistan

www.na.gov.pk

The United Nations, Pakistan

www.un.org.pk

Additional ICT work using the Internet:

Go to www.citizensarchive.org

This is the site for the Citizens Archive of Pakistan (CAP).

Some questions/activities for your students:

- (1) Can you identify the building on the home page? It is the Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ Library in Jinnah رحمۃ اللہ علیہ Park, Karachi. It was formerly Frere Hall. Of course websites can change and you should check that the same photo is in place before you ask your students.
- (2) What is the purpose of the Oral History Project?
- (3) When was it launched?
- (4) Why was it important not to delay the project any longer?

Bear in mind the significance of 1947.

- (5) Looking at the information on the website, do you think anyone in your family could be a 'potential contributor'?
- (6) What do you think will be the value of the work of CAP to historians in the future?
- (7) Using the website you will find a number of Projects that CAP are undertaking. Select two of the Projects and explain their value and importance to the history and people of Pakistan.

Index

Pages 230-234

The Index is an important part of any serious book and students should be encouraged to use it to find the information they need.

Maps

A blank map of the Indian subcontinent and a blank map of Pakistan that can be photocopied should be available.

Revision exercises

Part 1 The Cultural and Historical Background of the Pakistan Movement

Complete these sentences.

1. In the eighth century ----- conquered Sindh and brought Islam to India.
2. In 1658 ----- deposed his father and became emperor.
3. The ----- in the Deccan were a serious threat to the power of the Mughals.
4. The British set up the ----- to trade with India.
5. At a time when they were divided and depressed, Shah Wali Ullah gave pride and optimism to ----- and explained why it was important to observe the teachings of the -----.
6. In 1831 ----- was killed in battle at Balakot after trying to set up a Muslim state under ----- law.
7. Haji Shariat Ullah organized the ----- in East Bengal to challenge the British and -----.
8. Muslims in East Bengal were often treated harshly by the landowners known as -----.
9. ----- were Indian soldiers employed by the East India Company.
10. At the Battle of Plassey, an English army led by ----- was victorious against an Indian army led by -----, the Nawab of Bengal.
11. In 1800 around ----- people lived in India.
12. With the Industrial -----, English textile factories needed plenty of raw ----- from India.
13. The English extended their control by persuading local rulers to agree to -----.
14. In 1843 the British, under Sir Charles Napier, seized ----- even though they had promised not to invade it.
15. ----- was the introduction of European ideas and changes.
16. Under the -----, local kingdoms without a male heir were taken by the British.
17. The 1857 Uprising started when sepoys refused to use new ----- cartridges.
18. The British blamed ----- most for the Uprising.
19. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan established ----- for Muslims.
20. Sir Syed did not believe that the ----- would represent the interests of Muslims.

Answers: 1. Muhammad bin Qasim 2. Aurangzeb 3. Marathas 4. East India Company 5. Muslims, Quran 6. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi, Shariat 7. Faraizi Movement, Hindus 8. zamindars 9. Sepoys 10. Robert Clive, Siraj-ud-Daula 11. 350 million 12. Revolution, cotton 13. subsidiary alliances 14. Sindh 15. westernization 16. Doctrine of Lapse 17. greased 18. Muslims 19. Aligarh College 20. Indian National Congress.

Part 2 The Emergence of Pakistan, 1906-47

Complete these sentences.

1. The Simla Declaration was an important step as Muslims called for -----
-----.
2. In 1906 the ----- was organized to represent the Muslims' political aims.
3. Because Muslims were only ----- of the population they feared domination by Hindus.
4. In 1916 the ----- recognized that the ----- represented Muslims.
5. Mr Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ disagreed with Congress and believed that ----- methods would not succeed.
6. The Rowlatt Act and the killings at ----- made Indians angry against the British.
7. Muslims supported the Khilafat Movement to try to stop Britain from destroying the -----.
8. Mr Jinnah's رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ ----- were his response to the Nehru Report.
9. Between 1930 and 1932 three ----- were held to discuss constitutional plans for India.
10. In ----- the Government of India Act gave Indian ----- decision-making power.
11. ----- is described as the ----- because he was the first important Muslim to call for the partition of India.
12. The Muslim League committed itself to a separate state with the -----
----- in 1940.
13. Congress claimed to speak for all Indians and was opposed to the Muslim League's commitment to the ----- of India.
14. In 1944 Gandhi and Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ ----- to reach agreement because Congress would not accept the idea of -----.
15. In December 1939 all the Hindu-controlled provincial governments resigned and Muslims celebrated this as the -----.
16. The election of a ----- Government in Britain meant that -----
for India was a certainty.
17. The British appointed ----- as ----- to preside over the transfer of power to Indians.
18. Although the British favoured Congress, Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ convinced them that there was no ----- to the creation of Pakistan.
19. Unfortunately for Pakistan the British forced Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ to accept
----- that split Punjab and -----.
20. On ----- the state of Pakistan was created with its capital in ---
-----.

Answers: 1. separate electorates 2. All-India Muslim League 3. one fifth 4. Lucknow Pact, Muslim League 5. Gandhi's 6. Amritsar 7. Ottoman Empire 8. Fourteen Points 9. Round Table Conferences 10. 1935, provinces 11. Muhammad Iqbal رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ، Architect of Pakistan 12. Pakistan or Lahore Resolution 13. partition 14. failed, partition/Pakistan 15. Day of Deliverance 16. Labour, independence 17. Lord Mountbatten 18. alternative 19. Boundaries, Bengal 20. 14 August 1947, Karachi

Part 3 Nationhood: 1947-88

Complete the following sentences.

1. With partition millions of people fled their homes and became -----.
2. The Government of Pakistan was faced with two difficult disputes with India, the ----- dispute and the -----.
3. The biggest problem with India was over Kashmir when the ruler ----- asked ----- troops to invade.
4. The United Nations stated that a ----- should be held so that the Kashmiris could decide between Pakistan and India.
5. The ceasefire line in Kashmir is known as the -----.
6. Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ became the first ----- of Pakistan with ----- as the first Prime Minister.
7. Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ strongly supported the rights of women and he was often accompanied by his -----.
8. The death of Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ on ----- was a dreadful blow to Pakistan.
9. Pakistan needed a ----- setting out the rules for governing the new country.
10. Pakistan suffered another blow when Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was ----- at ----- in 1951.
11. 1951-8 was known as a period of ----- as civil servants and military figures took power away from the politicians.
12. The decision in 1955 to join the four provinces and states of West Pakistan into ----- angered many Pakistanis including those in -----.
13. In October 1958 came the first military takeover of power when ----- declared ----- and dismissed the -----.
14. Ayub Khan introduced a system of ----- and the 1962 constitution ensured that only ----- were able to vote in National Assembly and Presidential elections.
15. Bhutto had served Ayub Khan as ----- but in 1967 he set up a new political party, -----.
16. In 1971 Pakistan suffered a dreadful blow when East Pakistan, led by ----- and helped by ----- under Prime Minister -----, broke away.

17. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power in ----- with a programme of ----- and the support of ----- of poor people.
18. A military coup with the code name, Fair Play, removed ----- and put ----- in power.
19. In December 1979 the ----- invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan became very important in helping the Afghans to fight the invasion and stop the spread of -----.
20. In December 1988 the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan, -----, took office as one of the ----- heads of state in the world.

Answers: 1. refugees 2. Water, accession of princely states 3. Hari Singh, Indian 4. plebiscite 5. LOC (Line of Control) 6. Governor-General, Liaquat Ali Khan 7. sister Fatima. 8. 11 September 1948. 9. constitution 10. assassinated, Rawalpindi 11. government by bureaucrats 12. One Unit, East Pakistan 13. General Ayub Khan, martial law, National Assembly. 14. controlled democracy, Basic Democrats 15. Foreign Minister, Pakistan People's Party 16. Mujibur Rehman, India, Indira Gandhi 17. 1971, Islamic socialism, millions 18. Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq 19. USSR, communism 20. Benazir Bhutto, youngest.

Part 4 Pakistan and the World

Complete these sentences.

1. Pakistan officially recognized the new state of ----- in 1974 after the ----- in Lahore.
2. There have been ----- wars with India but in 1987 another war was avoided by ----- diplomacy when General Zia flew to India to watch a cricket match with the Indian leader, -----.
3. Ghaffar Khan was the leader of the movement for an independent -----, which was supported by ----- and the USSR.
4. Pakistan was very important in helping the ----- bring about the defeat of the USSR in Afghanistan in -----.
5. Relations between Pakistan and Iran were difficult after the overthrow of the ----- because the new leader, -----, criticized Pakistan for taking aid from the -----.
6. ----- is Pakistan's neighbour and they are linked by the ----- which crosses the border at the Khunjerab Pass.
7. China helped Pakistan develop ----- power and many people believe they helped Pakistan to develop ----- as well.
8. Pakistan is a ----- country and so it is natural that it would seek good relations with countries in the ----- that follow the same religion.
9. Many Pakistanis felt a special link with ----- because of the Khilafat Movement after World War I.
10. After the Second World War, a ----- existed between the USSR and the USA, and Pakistan joined the anti-communist Baghdad Pact, later called -----.

11. In the 1970s Mr Bhutto visited ----- and there were good relations with the USSR until it invaded -----.
12. During the 1950s Pakistan had very good relations with the-----, but this upset other ----- nations.
13. In 1960 the Russians shot down an ----- U2 spy plane over the USSR, which had taken off from -----.
14. President Nixon did not get along with the Indian leader ----- and in 1971 he sympathized with Pakistan over the secession of -----.
15. There is a special --- ----- between ----- and Pakistan and a large number of Pakistanis moved there during the 1950s and 1960s.
16. Pakistan is a member of the United Nations whose headquarters are in -----, and many Pakistani ----- have played an important role in UN ----- operations.
17. Pakistan is an active member of the ----- set up to promote support and unity among Muslim nations and their 1974 Summit took place in -----.
18. In spite of being removed from office in August 1990 Benazir Bhutto was re-elected in -----, but dismissed again in ----- after allegations of -----.
19. Miss Bhutto was not the only Prime Minister to be removed as ----- was dismissed in 1993 and overthrown by ----- in 1999.
20. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were barred from seeking re-election or re-appointment when General Musharraf changed the ----- to stop anyone being Prime Minister for more than -----.

Answers: 1. Bangladesh, Islamic Summit 2. three, cricket, Rajiv Gandhi 3. Pakhtunistan, Afghanistan 4. *Mujahideen*, 1988 5. Shah of Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, USA 6. China, Karakoram Highway 7. nuclear, weapons 8 Muslim, Middle East 9. Turkey 10. Cold War, CENTO 11. Moscow, Afghanistan 12. USA, Muslim 13. American, Pakistan 14. Indira Gandhi, East Pakistan 15. link, Britain 16. New York, soldiers/troops, peacekeeping 17. Organization of the Islamic Conference, Lahore 18. 1993, 1996, corruption 19. Nawaz Sharif, General Musharraf 20. Constitution, two terms.

Examination Advice

As teachers and historians you will have taken many examinations and, in most cases, done well. Even so we must admit that exams are not a very pleasant experience. But if you know and understand the subject that you are answering questions on, then you can be sure of doing well.

Teachers should make use of material and advice from the exam boards. The Cambridge website, www.cambridgeinternational.org, will lead you to past papers and, very useful, the Principal Examiner's Report with their Key Messages.

- As a teacher who has prepared students and set and marked history exams including Pakistan Studies, these are my key points:
- Read and follow the instructions very carefully – it is surprising that some students answer too many or too few questions
- Make sure you understand the question; answer the question you are actually asked and not the question that perhaps you had expected or hoped to be asked!
- Be sure to give specific detailed answers; don't be imprecise, vague or woolly..
- Make sure your answers are well-constructed – you won't lose marks on presentation, punctuation and grammar, but if you take care with those then it will create a good impression with the examiner.
- Take note of the number of marks available – they are shown for a reason – it will guide you in determining how much time to spend on a question and the length and detail of your answer.
- When asked to explain, make sure that you do, with strong evaluation of sources or facts and well-argued explanation. For source-based questions be sure to refer to the specific sources
- Make sure the facts used in an answer are relevant to the topic and to the period the question refers to.
- Every mark counts so make sure you answer all the questions that you have to – even the weakest answer might gain a mark.
- Remember that Examiners want students to do well; they like to read good answers, they mark positively; exams are not trying to confuse you or catch you out; they are intended to give you the opportunity to show your knowledge and skills.
- As well as having that knowledge, practice at using it to answer questions will reduce anxiety and increase your confidence.

Sample Examination Paper

A sample of an examination paper similar to those set for O Level is given below to familiarize students with the assessment style. You are advised to prepare further questions along the same lines, to reinforce students' examination skills. Past papers can also be acquired for practice. Teachers must ensure that they are aware of any changes to the syllabus and/or examinations that the exam boards may make in the future.

Pakistan Studies Cambridge O level 2059/1 & IGCSE 0448/1

Paper 1 The history and culture of Pakistan

1 hour 30 minutes

Answer **three** questions.

Section A

Answer Question 1.

Section B

Answer any **two** questions.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

Section A

Answer the following question

This question is about the Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Resolution, moved by Faizal Haq and agreed unanimously by the Muslim League on 24th March 1940.

Study the sources carefully and then answer the questions which follow.

Sources

Source A The Lahore Resolution (extract)

No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous* units are demarcated into regions which would be so constituted... that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority... should be grouped to constitute Independent States...

Source B Quaid-e-Azam رحمه الله عليه speaking to the Muslim League in March 1940

‘The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry, nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations... To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of the fabric...for the government of such a state.’

Source C Reaction (i)

Pakistan Resolution Passed

The Hindu Press

Source D Reaction (ii)

‘We have said that the passing of the Lahore Resolution was a historic event in retrospect. At the time it was passed its significance was not completely apprehended...In India, of course, there was a hue and cry among the Hindus... it was the Hindu press which ‘dubbed’ the Lahore resolution as a demand for Pakistan.’

The words of Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Pakistani historian, writing in 1965.

Source E the goal is Pakistan

‘We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was groping in the dark, and the goal is Pakistan’

Quaid-e-Azam رحمۃ اللہ علیہ addressing the Muslim League in April 1941

Question 1 This question is about the Lahore Resolution and the demand for partition which, on the independence of India, led to the creation of Pakistan. Study the sources carefully and then answer the questions which follow.

- (a) According to Source E, what was Quaid-e-Azam’s رحمۃ اللہ علیہ purpose? [3]
- (b) What can we learn from Source A about the aim of the Lahore Resolution? [5]
- (c) What was the reaction of Hindus to the Lahore Resolution? [7]
- (d) Why was the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan inevitable after 1940? Explain your answer. [10]

Section B

Answer any **two** questions from this Section.

2. (a) Which movement was led by Haji Shariat Ullah? [4]
(b) Why did the British take control of India? [7]
(c) Were the British to blame for the War of Independence in 1857? [14]
Give reasons for your answer.
3. (a) Why was the All-India Muslim League set up? [4]
(b) Why did the Muslim League demand self-government after 1913? [7]
(c) What were the reasons for British control of India being weakened by 1919? [14]
4. (a) What was the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942? [4]
(b) Explain the proposals, May 1946, of the Cripps Commission. [7]
(c) Was the dispute with India the most serious problem facing Pakistan in 1947? Give reasons for your answer. [14]
4. (a) What was Ayub Khan's system of controlled democracy? [4]
(b) Why did West Pakistan resist East Pakistan's demands? [7]
(c) Why did Ayub Khan resign in March 1969? Explain your answer. [14]

Marking Principles

You should consult the Marking Principles set by the examination board.
Key points in marking:

- Mark positively when students show their knowledge and skills
- Do not deduct marks for mistakes or omissions
- marks may be given when students show knowledge beyond the actual syllabus so long as it is relevant to the topic
- Whole marks are used – no half marks.

Mark scheme for the sample examination paper.

- Question 1**
- | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|------|
| (a) | Level 1 | identifies the goal of establishing Pakistan | 1- 2 |
| | Level 2 | Quaid-e-Azam <small>محمد الله عليه</small> , leader of the Muslim League stating the commitment to Pakistan | 3 |
| (b) | Level 1 | simple statement of Independent States | 1 |
| | Level 2 | identifies basic principle of Muslim majorities | 2-3 |
| | Level 3 | good explanation of parts of the country with Muslim | 3 |

(Rubric for O Level Sample Paper courtesy Cambridge International Examinations)

Mark scheme for the sample examination paper

This is not an actual examination paper and teachers should make use of past and sample papers. Nevertheless, this is a useful exercise if carried out under examination conditions and pupils who do well should succeed in the real examination.

Question 1

(a) *knowledge*

- (i) The Faraizi Movement [1]
- (ii) Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi [1]
- (iii) The British [1]
- (iv) Aligarh or the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College [1]

(b) *knowledge and understanding*

Level 1: Simplistic statement with no explanation.

Britain wanted to protect its trade. [1]

Level 2: Identifies reasons.

Britain wanted to safeguard its trade with India especially cotton, Britain's Industrial Revolution and need for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. Importance of profits for British investors and revenues for the government, Imperialism. [2-4]

Level 3: Explains the reasons—good explanation of trade, wealth and power.

Britain soon discovered that trade with India was profitable. Spices, cotton and yarn, sugar were all in demand in Europe. The British were anxious to protect their trade and preserve their monopoly against other European countries such as Spain, the Netherlands and France.. India was strategically important for trade and power Britain's Industrial Revolution boosted trade. British factories needed a secure supply of cheap raw materials such as cotton yarn. They also needed a secure market for their goods that was closed to other countries. The profits of this trade helped make Britain wealthy and able to pay for new weapons and a large navy so that Britain became the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. She took over India through political and trading agreements with local rulers as well as using her superior military power. This imperialism was motivated mostly by the pursuit of profit. [5-7]

(c) *knowledge and understanding, analysis, and evaluation*

Level 1: Simplistic statement

British made Indian sepoy use greased cartridges [1-2]

Level 2: Description of the Uprising.

In 1857 British power was threatened by the violent Uprising. Indian sepoy in the army turned against their officers and many British including women and children were killed. When the British defeated the mutineers they punished them very brutally including firing some of them out of cannons. [3-6]

Level 3: Explains one factor.

The Doctrine of Lapse angered many local Indian rulers. Any local kingdom without a male heir passed into the hands of the British. In this way the British got more land without paying for it and gained more power. [7-10]

Level 4: Explains at least two factors.

The Doctrine of Lapse angered many local Indian rulers. Any local kingdom without a male heir passed into the hands of the British. In this way the British got more land without paying for it and gained more power.

In this way in 1856 the British seized Awadh and caused considerable anger. Many sepoy in the British Army came from Awadh and were angry at what the British had done. Then, in 1857, this deep resentment boiled over when the sepoy were ordered to use new cartridges which they believed had grease from cow and pig fat. When they refused they were given harsh punishments by their officers. Fellow sepoy rose up, freed the prisoners and marched on Delhi where they killed many Europeans.

[9-13]

Level 5: As for level 4—also produces an evaluation or judgement in answer to the actual question.

[14]

Question 2

(a) *knowledge*

(i) 1906 [1]

(ii) Indian Councils Act 1909 [1]

(iii) King George V [1]

(iv) 1913 [1]

(b) *knowledge and understanding*

Level 1: Simplistic statement with no explanation or evidence of any understanding.

Britain had changed its mind and reversed its decision to divide Bengal. [1]

Level 2: Identifies reasons—one mark for each reason. [2-4]

Level 3: Explains the reasons.

As a result of Hindu Congress-led campaigns and violence, the British changed their mind and reversed the division of Bengal. This made Muslims realise that they needed their own political party to represent their interests. [5-7]

(c) *knowledge and understanding, analysis and evaluation*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.

By 1919 Indians increasingly disliked British rule. [1-2]

Level 2: Description of growing opposition to Britain.

After the First World War Indians increasingly wanted a greater say in governing their country. They disliked the Rowlatt Act, tough new laws against those who organised protests. [3-6]

Level 3: Explains at least one factor. [7-10]

Level 4: Explains at least two factors (must include the Rowlatt Act for maximum marks).

During the First World War Indians had supported the British war effort. They were angry that they were not rewarded after the war with some move towards self-government. It was clear that Britain was determined to hang on to India for their own benefit. The Russian Revolution spread ideas of equality and anti-colonialism that appealed to many Indians. The British brought in the Rowlatt Act which was a repressive measure intended to stop protests. But as anger rose so did violence and at Amritsar 379 people were killed by British troops firing on men, women and children..In this way the British wanted to clearly show to Indians that they were in charge and too powerful to overthrow. [9-13]

Level 5: As for Level 4, but also produces a judgement or evaluation of the degree to which British control of India had weakened. [14]

Question 3

(a) *knowledge*

- (i) 1935 [1]
- (ii) Lahore [1]
- (iii) Stafford Cripps [1]
- (iv) Jawaharlal Nehru [1]

(b) *knowledge and understanding*

Level 1: Simplistic statement—*Jinnah رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was determined to have Pakistan* [1]

Level 2: Identifies reasons. [2-4]

Level 3: Explains reasons.

Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ was determined to establish a separate Muslim state. He did not believe that compromise with Congress was possible and that they would enforce their views, culture and religion on all of India. Muslims and Hindus were, argued Quaid-e-Azam رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ two distinct major nations. The growth of the Muslim League and their success in the 1946 election confirmed mass Muslim support for Pakistan. [5-7]

(c) *knowledge and understanding, analysis and evaluation*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.
India had occupied part of Kashmir. [1-2]

Level 2: Description of at least one of the problems—*Kashmir, water dispute, financial assets.* [3-6]

Level 3: Explains at least one of the *problems.* [7-10]

Level 4: Explains two or more of the *problems.* [9-13]

Level 5: As for Level 4, but includes evaluation and judgement in a supported conclusion in agreement that Kashmir was the *most serious problem.* [14]

Question 4

(a) *knowledge*

- (i) Iskander Mirza [1]
- (ii) Ayub Khan [1]
- (iii) 160 seats [1]
- (iv) British recognition of Bangladesh [1]

(b) *knowledge and understanding*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.

West Pakistan didn't agree with East Pakistan's demands.

[1]

Level 2: Identifies reasons.

West Pakistan would not give up any power, Pakistan would be divided and weak, love of Pakistan as a single nation, West Pakistan would lose money.

[2-4]

Level 3: Explains reasons.

The Government in West Pakistan did not want to give up any power as it believed it would lead to the break-up of Pakistan. A divided nation would be weakened in its dealings with India. India had always wanted Pakistan to fail. West Pakistan would lose an important source of revenue.

[5-7]

(c) *knowledge and understanding, analysis, and evaluation*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.

Ayub Khan lost the election, Ayub Khan resigned.

[1-2]

Level 2: Description of the reasons—election defeat, defeat in the 1965 War, resignation in 1969.

[3-6]

Level 3: Explains at least one of the reasons.

[7-10]

Level 4: Explains two or more reasons (must include '1965 election and 1965 war with India for maximum marks).

Ayub Khan was keen to gain support for Pakistan from the USA and Britain. To satisfy their calls for democratic elections he called a Presidential election for January 1965. However only a small proportion of Pakistanis could vote. These were Basic Democrats who were elected members of local committees. Ayub Khan could expect most of them to support him. He was opposed by Fatima Jinnah who campaigned for 'democracy not dictatorship'. In the election Ayub Khan only received 64% of the votes. His supporters were shocked that so many people voted against him and his position was weakened by the election. Then came defeat of Pakistan by India in the 1965 war. This was a humiliating blow and many people blamed the President, Ayub Khan. At the same time many middle class people were calling for a greater say in making economic decisions. Protests by young people and workers around the world with demands for democracy and greater rights also encouraged Pakistanis to believe that they should also have a democracy where everyone could vote. Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto's new People's Party was gathering mass support and appeared to encourage demonstrations and protests which Ayub Khan could not control or stop. When he declared Martial Law in an attempt to keep control it seemed to be an admission of defeat and it was widely criticised inside and outside Pakistan. Clearly having lost his authority to lead the nation he felt compelled to resign. [9-13]

Level 5: As Level 4, also produces a judgement or evaluation. [14]

Question 5

(a) *knowledge*

(i) Karakoram Highway (KKH) [1]

(ii) 1977 [1]

(iii) Muhammad Khan Junejo [1]

(iv) an explosion killed many people (93) [1]

(b) *knowledge and understanding*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.

The USSR had invaded Afghanistan. [1]

Level 2: Identifies reasons.

Communist USSR invasion/occupation of Afghanistan, Cold War and US policy of containment, Pakistan a front-line state strategic importance, US needed active military support from Pakistan's armed forces. [2-4]

Level 3: Explains the reasons.

Since the 1940s, the USA had been committed to a policy of containment to stop the spread of communism. This had led to a Cold War between the USA and USSR. In 1979 the USSR invaded Afghanistan. The USA could not ignore this aggression and was determined to support those Afghans, including the Taliban, who were resisting the USSR. Pakistan was in a key strategic position and the USA needed their active support. The USA provided huge amounts of military aid to the Pakistan armed forces. Once the war was over American support for Pakistan declined. [5-7]

(c) *knowledge and understanding, analysis and evaluation*

Level 1: Simplistic statement.

Bhutto was accused of rigging the election. [1-2]

Level 2: Description of the removal of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. [3-6]

Level 3: Explains at least one reason why Mr Bhutto was removed from office. [7-10]

Level 4: Explains two or more reasons why Mr Bhutto was deposed.

Many important, well-off and powerful people disliked Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the actions of his government. These opponents accused him of being authoritarian and ruthless. They opposed his education policies and were totally against nationalisation of land and businesses which hurt many wealthy people. But because Mr Bhutto had great support among ordinary people his opponents were unlikely to defeat him at an election. Instead, when the election took place he stood accused of trying to rig the election. He was blamed for the actions of some local officials. His opponents also organised strikes and protests such as Operation Wheel Jam when truck and bus drivers used their vehicles to block the streets of Karachi. These circumstances gave Mr Bhutto's opponents and senior military officers the excuse, that many of them had been looking for, to depose him and seize power for themselves. [9-13]

Level 5: As for Level 4 but includes evaluation and judgement in a supported conclusion in agreement that *his policies had upset many people.* [14]