

## **Section III**

### **TOPIC # 21**

## **INITIAL PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN 1947-48**

### **QUESTIONS ON INITIAL PROBLEMS:**

**Question No. 1:** Explain three reasons for the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan. (7) June 2000 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 2:** How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue up to 1988? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov. 2000 Q.4C

**Question No.3:** Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947?

(7) Nov. 2000 Q.4 b

**Question No. 4:** How successful was the government of Pakistan in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer.

(14) June 2002 Q.4.c

**Question No. 5:** Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947?

(7) Nov. 2002 Q.5 B

**Question No. 6:** Why was the division of the armed forces and military assets a problem for Pakistan in 1947?

(7) Nov. 2003 Q.4B

**Question No. 7:** Was the refugee issue the most important problem facing the newly formed government of Pakistan in 1947? Give reasons for your answer.

(14) June 2004 Q. 3 c

**Question No. 8:** How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue between 1947 and 1999? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov. 2004 Q. 4c

**Question No.9:** Why did Pakistan face so many problems in the provision of education between 1947 and 1988?

(7) Nov. 2004 Q.5 b

**Question No. 10:** The government of Pakistan was totally successful in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948. Do you agree? Explain your answer.

(14) June 2005 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 11:** How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov. 2006 Q. 4 c

**Question No.12:** Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947?

(7) Nov. 2006 Q. 4 b

**Question No.13:** Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947?

(7) June 2007 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 14:** The canal water dispute was the most important problem facing the newly established government of Pakistan in 1947. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2007 Q.4c

**Question No.15:** Why did educational reform become such an important issue between 1947 and 1988? (7) Nov 2007 Q.4 b

**Question No. 16:** The low rate of literacy was the most important social problem facing Pakistan between 1947 and 1988. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2008 Q.4 c

**Question No.17:** The formation of a government was the most important problem facing the newly established country of Pakistan in 1947, do you agree? (14) Nov 2009 Q. 4 c

**Question No.18:** What was the Canal Water Dispute? (4) June 2010 Q.4a

**Question No.19:** Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947? (7) June 2010 Q.4 b

**Question No. 20:** Why did many Pakistanis migrate between 1947 and 1999? (7) June 2012 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 21:** The government of Pakistan was totally successful in solving the problems of Partition during 1947 and 1948. Do you agree? Explain your answer. (14) June 2012 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 22:** Describe the refugee problem. (4) Nov. 2012 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 23:** Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947? (7) June 2013 Q.4 b

**Question No. 24:** How successful was the government of Pakistan in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer. (14) Nov 2013 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 25:** Why did Pakistan seek membership of the United Nations in 1947? (7) June 2014 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 26:**  
How successful was Pakistan in solving the problems of Partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer. (14) June 2016 Q. 5 c

**Question No. 27:**  
Explain why the subcontinent was faced with a refugee problem in 1947. (7) Nov. 2017 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 28:** Describe the refugee crisis of 1947. (4) Nov. 2018 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 29:** Why did educational reform become such an important issue between 1947 and 1999? (7) Nov. 2018 Q. 4 b

### **ANSWERS ON INITIAL PROBLEMS:**

**Question No. 1:** Explain three reasons for the canal water dispute between India and Pakistan. (7) June 2000 Q. 4 b

The partition of Punjab was the main reason of the canal water dispute. Had Punjab not been partitioned, this problem would not have arisen.

Besides that the unjust **Radcliffe Award** gave the Muslim majority districts of Gurdaspur and Ferozpur to India. The canal headwork of Madhopur on river Ravi and Ferozpur headwork on river Sutlej were given to India while canals

coming out of these headworks flowed into Pakistan. Had the Muslim majority districts of Gurdaspur and Ferozpur been given to Pakistan this dispute would not have occurred.

Most importantly, India had **promised** not to interfere with the waters of these rivers which were vital for the irrigation of west Punjab. But on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1948 India stopped the supply of water of these canals and the dispute started. India claimed that since the headworks fell in their territory, they had the sole right to use water of these headworks. Pakistan claimed that under international law, Pakistan had the right to use the waters because its agriculture and economy depended upon it.

**Question No. 2: How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue up to 1988? Explain your answer.**

**(14) Nov. 2000 Q. 4 c**

India and Pakistan were not completely successful in the handling of the Kashmir issue.

It was erupted because of the wrong decision taken by its maharaja Hari Singh who decided to accede to India while the population (77%) of the state wished Kashmir to become a part of Pakistan. Maharaja's wrong step brought India and Pakistan confrontation with each other and their armies clashed thrice in 1948, 1965 and 1971 over the Kashmir issue. This disputes stills remained unsolved which is clear proof of the fact that both India and Pakistan have not been successful in resolving the problem. India had taken the Kashmir issue to UN in 1948 but later India refused to accept any resolution of the Security Council or proposals of mediators to resolve the dispute.

In late 1980s the Kashmiri people saw that afghan freedom fighters were able to force the Russian army to withdraw from Afghanistan. The Kashmiri freedom fighters took up arms and started guerrilla war fare. To suppress the guerrilla freedom fighters, India had deployed 700000 troops in Kashmir but without success. India had not accepted the UNO proposals to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. Kashmiri people demand the right of self-determination. Pakistan being weaker in military power than India, cannot occupy Kashmir by force. Pakistan only depends on the hope the world powers would put pressure on India to solve the problem through a fair and free plebiscite and through peaceful negotiations.

But there were some steps taken by both the governments to resolve the issue. Like in 1948 the first Kashmir war was cease fired with this promise that plebiscite would be held in India. In 1966 Tashkent agreement was signed in which both the states tried to overcome trust deficit. Moreover Simla agreement was also signed in 1972 between ZAB and Mrs Indira Gandhi and assurance was given by both the states to resolve the Kashmir between them and it would not be discussed on any international forum like UN.

Thus both India and Pakistan have been unsuccessful in handling the Kashmir Issue.

**Question No.3: Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947?**

**(7) Nov. 2000 Q.4 b**

During 1947, **violence** between Hindus and Muslims increased dramatically. Muslims fearful of being killed were forced to leave all their possessions and cross into Pakistan to seek shelter.

The Boundary Award had made the problems worse between the two. Since Pakistan had become independent so Muslims were leaving India for their homeland, often with little or no possessions.

It was argued that India deliberately made difficulties for the new Pakistani government by forcing Muslims across the border. Hindus and Sikhs, perhaps fearful of reprisals and a genuine desire to live in a Hindu nation, also contributed to the refugee problem by crossing from Pakistan to India.

**Question No. 4: How successful was the government of Pakistan in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer.**

**(14) June 2002 Q.4.c**

**BEST ANSWER ON SUCCESSES & FAILURES:**

The government of Pakistan remained successful in solving the problems of partition during 1947-48. when Pakistan came into existence in 1947 It faces many difficulties. The most important was the formation of the central government. There were no office equipment and no office workers. The central government offices were set in army barracks and hired residential buildings.

The problem **of refugees** was a very big problem; communal riots had started in Indian Punjab and Delhi. Millions of Muslims had to leave their homes and had to run to Pakistan. **Division of assets** was another problem. The division was to be made at ration of 36:64 between the 2 countries. But all big military stores were there at India. The equipment given to Pakistan was obsolete and consisted of unusable machinery and equipment. Pakistan had to suffer a great a loss and had to start from scratch.

In the **division of financial assets** again Indian leaders showed great dishonesty and unfairness. The payments were not only withheld for a long time but out of a sum of rupees 750 million, only 700 million paid in several instalments. 50 million never paid at all. **Canal water** dispute also arose in April 1948 when India stopped the supply of water in the canals coming out of Ravi and Sutlej. Because there head works located in India. A large agriculture area of Pakistan was badly affected.

The **accession of three princely states** of Junagarh, Haiderabad, and Kashmir created great problem for Pakistan .The ruler of Junagarh firmly acceded to Pakistan. The population was mostly non-Muslim. Therefore India occupied the state with the help of armed forces. The state of Haiderabad wanted to remain independent. But in sept. 1948 Indian army forcibly occupied the state. Kashmir had an overwhelmingly Muslim majority population. But the Hindu Maharaja firmly acceded to India against the wishes of people. India had sent its troops and occupied the state capital Srinagar. Kashmir still remained a disputed territory. India doesn't obey the resolutions of UNO which had ordered a free and fair plebiscite. Two wars have been fought between Indian and Pakistan and two agreements were finalized.

However under the guidance of Jinnah and with courage and confidence the difficulties were overcome and the govt. of Pakistan started smoothly. Jinnah and Liaqat ali Khan became the GG and PM respectively. The problem of Kashmir remained unsolved but there had been long debates to resolve the matter.

The Pakistan govt. also set up camps for the refugees and looked after them. They were gradually settled in the new country. Under the guidance Jinnah a new department created for the rehabilitation for the refugees. Besides that after lengthy negotiations canal water dispute problem was solved with the cooperation of World Bank under the Indus water treaty in 1960.

#### **Analysis:**

#### **Question No. 5: Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947?**

**(7) Nov. 2002 Q.5 b**

Pakistan felt that membership of the United Nations would help their conflict with India over Kashmir by drawing the international community's attention to it. Also Pakistan took it upon itself to become a spokesman of many Asian States and movements, especially Muslim countries. Other relevant issues included the World Bank and the Canal Water Dispute.

#### **Question No. 6: why was the division of the armed forces and military assets a problem for Pakistan in 1947?**

**(7) Nov. 2003 Q. 4 b**

**One** of the important problems faced by Pakistan at the time of its emergence was the division of armed forces and military assets. The division of the army was not much of a problem. The Muslim soldiers opted for Pakistan while non-Muslims joined India. But there was a great shortage of army officers because the number of Muslim army officers in British Indian army was very small.

The division of army assets created great difficulties for Pakistan. Large army stores were located on Indian side. India was very unfair in the division of army equipment and supplies. The military equipment which was sent to Pakistan mostly consisted of obsolete, damaged and unusable material. Of the 16 ordnance factories none was given to Pakistan.

**Field Marshal Anchinleck** who supervised the division of assets resigned before completing the job. Pakistan could not get its rightful share and division of assets proved to be a problem for Pakistan. Pakistan experienced serious deficiency in stores, supplies and weapons. Pakistan was on a very weak footing in respect of military strength at the time of partition and had to start from a scratch.

#### **Question No. 7: Was the refugee issue the most important problem facing the newly formed government of Pakistan in 1947? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) June 2004 Q. 3 c**

#### **(BEST ANSWER ON COMPARITIVE QUESTION)**

#### **Refugees and the accommodation crises:**

In the years immediately before partition there was widespread violence between Muslims and the non-Muslims communities across India. The summer of 1947 saw rioting which led to numerous deaths. When the **boundary Award** was announced in August 1947 things became worse. Millions of people found themselves living in the wrong country and became victims of **communal attacks**. That year witnessed the **largest migration** of mankind and also some of the worst scenes of communal violence. Over 20 million people had moved from India to Pakistan or in other direction by Jan. 1948. Many Muslim historians believe that Hindus and Sikhs had an organized programme for the massacre of Muslim refugees. A million men, women and children died as a result of the violence or the rigors of the long journey. Nearly 10 million people were made homeless. Karachi alone received nearly 2 million refugees in 1947. That was impossible for Pakistan to provide accommodations to that mass number of people. In September 1947 the authorities in Delhi had to declare martial law as non-Muslim refugees had begun a slaughter of local Muslims. India and Pakistan were so concerned about the communal violence that they began to cooperate in trying to control it.

### **Geographical problems:**

Pakistan was **split** into two separate parts almost a **thousand miles** apart. East Pakistan comprised of most of Bengal and the Sylhet which voted in a referendum to join Pakistan. West Pakistan comprised of west Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the NWFP. The princely states of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb, Hunza, Gilgit and Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan. These two wings of Pakistan were **separated by about a 1000 miles of land** that belonged to India. There was nothing common between these two wings except religion.

### **Political problems:**

India inherited government buildings, furnishings even officials from the British. Pakistan had none of these. India had officials, members of the Indian national congress, with political experience to take over the government. In Pakistan, the constituent Assembly members were mostly wealthy landlords with little political experience. Pakistan lacked both the administrative and the government machinery to run the affairs of a new country. Quaid-e-azam would need to find a capital, a government and officials to ensure the efficient government of the new state. Perhaps the major problem was that the Quaid-e-azam had suffered from **tuberculosis**.

### **Economic problems:**

Pakistan was underdeveloped with very little industry. Only **Karachi** had the modern port but much of Pakistan had no link to the industrialization that had taken place in central India. Around 90 % people lived in the countryside and only 8 towns had a population of 100,000. Pakistan's agriculture didn't produce enough of a surplus to create the wealth needed for industrialization. **Only jute** export produced the major source of foreign exchange earnings for Pakistan but the problems created by partition are exemplified by the fact that in 1947 Pakistan didn't have a single jute mill. All the jute mills were in the new India.

#### **The percentage of economic assets in Pakistan after partition:**

- Industrial enterprises: 10 %
- Industrial workers : 6.5 %
- Electrical capacity : 5%
- Mineral deposits : 10 %

### **Social problems:**

Pakistan was mainly made up of 5 different regions. Some historians have gone as far as suggesting that really it was 5 different nations. Certainly there were five different population groupings.

- (i) the Pakhtuns in the north
- (ii) the Balochs in the west
- (iii) the Sindhis in the south
- (iv) the Punjabis in the north east
- (v) the Bengalis in the east

These people had different traditions, cultures, languages and lifestyles. Baluchistan and Bengal in 1947 were not completely sure that they now wanted to transfer allegiance to a new Pakistan, where once again the official language Urdu would not be the one they spoke.

#### **The Accession of the princely states:**

Lord Mountbatten gave the right to 462 princely states to choose between India and Pakistan. Their location and their religion made the choice a straightforward one. In 1947 the northern areas of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Amb and Hunza joined Pakistan. Bahawalpur also joined Pakistan; Sylhet in East also joined Pakistan through referendum.

**Hyderabad** was the largest of the princely states with a population of 160 million. It was wealthy with revenue of 160 million rupees. Nizam wanted to join Pakistan but he was pressurized to join India due to non-Muslim population there. In August he filed a complaint before UNO. But before it could be heard Indian troops captured Hyderabad.

**Junagarh** was a small state on the coast, 300 miles south of Karachi. Its prince was Muslim but population was non-Muslim. Prince announced to join Pakistan in 1947. But Lord Mountbatten informed Pakistan that the accession of *Junagarh was an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory*. Ultimately Indian troops surrounded the state and took the control. Pakistan protested to the UNO about the illegal occupation but the matter remains unresolved.

#### **The Kashmir Issue:**

The most serious disagreement between India and Pakistan concerned the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Its boundaries with Tibet, China, Afghanistan and Russia gave it great strategic importance. Most of the 4 million inhabitants of Kashmir were Muslims but the maharaja was Hindu. In September 1947 he started a campaign to drive many Muslims out of Kashmir. Over 200,000 fled to Pakistan and finally the Muslims rose in rebellion. The Maharaja was forced to turn to India for help to crush the Muslims. Indian help came and the Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to accede to India. Pakistan also sent troops to help Kashmir (Muslims). Neither side was strong enough for a long war. So in January 1948 the matter referred to the UNO. A ceasefire was arranged on Jan. 1949 and Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan. India retained the largest area of Kashmir including the capital Srinagar. Indian Prime Minister Nehru agreed that a referendum would be held in Kashmir to determine the wishes of the people, *once the situation has normalized*. This referendum has not been held yet...

#### **The Division of financial and military assets:**

It was agreed that the assets were to be divided on the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. This reflected the relative size and populations of the country. In June 1947 it was agreed that Pakistan would be paid **750 million** rupees of the **4 billion** rupees in the reserve bank. First 200 million rupees were paid but later on India refused to pay the rest saying Pakistan would only use it to buy arms to fight against India. Gandhi

was determined that the division of assets should be fair and took steps to persuade India to pay the due money. He used the threat of a hunger strike and successfully persuaded the Indian government to pay a further 500 million rupees. Armed forces and the military equipment were split 36 % to 64% between Pakistan and India.

The armed forces personnel were given freedom to opt for whichever country they wanted. Muslim regiments went to Pakistan and non- Muslim to India. Pakistan’s army comprising on **150,000 men** and had only 2500 trained Muslim officers. It required 4000 officers; ultimately Jinnah had to hire 500 British officers temporarily. All **16 ordnance** factories were in India, and it refused to hand over any. Pakistan had no factory for making military goods. Eventually India agreed to pay 60 million rupees in lieu of handing over ordnance factories. The military supplies which India agreed to hand over were often old, worn, damaged and obsolete.

#### **The canal water dispute:**

The canal water dispute had its origin in the **partition of Punjab in 1947**. West Pakistan relies upon **irrigation** from a series of canals which draw water from the 3 main rivers in the area, the Indus, the Jhelum, and the Chenab. The problem for Pakistan was that the flow of water was controlled at a series of ‘headwork’s’ lay in the part of east Punjab (India). Soon India and Pakistan indulge into a canal water dispute. Pakistan called for the matter to be settled by international court of justice but **India refused**. In May 1948 a temporary agreement was reached and India agreed to allow water from east Punjab to flow into west Punjab.

#### **ANALYSIS:**

**Question No. 8: How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue between 1947 and 1999? Explain your answer.**

**(14) Nov. 2004 Q. 4c**

#### **BEST ANSWER ON KASHMIR ISSUE:**

India and Pakistan were not completely successful in the handling of the Kashmir issue.

It was erupted because of the wrong decision taken by its maharaja Hari singh who decided to accede to India while the population (77%) of the state wished Kashmir to become a part of Pakistan. Maharaja’s wrong step brought India and Pakistan confrontation with each other and their armies clashed thrice in 1948, 1965 and 1971 over the Kashmir issue. This disputes stills remained unsolved which is clear proof of the fact that both India and Pakistan have not been successful in resolving the problem. India had taken the Kashmir issue to UN in 1948 but later India refused to accept any resolution of the Security Council or proposals of mediators to resolve the dispute.

In late 1980s the Kashmiri people saw that afghan freedom fighters were able to force the Russian army to with draw from Afghanistan. The Kashmiri freedom fighters took up arms and started guerrilla war fare. To suppress the guerrilla freedom fighters, India had deployed 700000 troops in Kashmir but without success.

India had not accepted the UNO proposals to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. Kashmiri people demand the right of self-determination. Pakistan being weaker in military power than India, cannot occupy Kashmir by force. Pakistan only depends on the hope the world powers would put pressure on India to solve the problem through a fair and free plebiscite and through peaceful negotiations. The status quo was largely maintained until 1989 when pro-independence and pro-Pakistan guerrillas struck in the Indian Kashmir valley. They established a reign of terror and drove out almost all the Hindus from the valley before the Indian army moved in to flush them out. Meanwhile Indian and Pakistani troops regularly exchanged fire at the border.

India and Pakistan both tested nuclear devices in May 1998, and then in April 1999 test-fired missiles in efforts to perfect delivery systems for their nuclear weapons. But, all hopes of diplomacy disappeared once the cross-LOC firing in Kargil began during the mid-1990s. The death toll, including both soldiers and civilians, was more than 30,000. In the first week of August 1998 Indian and Pakistani troops exchanged artillery fire, described by locals as heavier than that of the 1948 and 1965 wars put together. An estimated 50,000 rounds of ammunition were expended and a large number of soldiers and civilians killed. In the summer of 1999 hostility in Kargil went far beyond the now familiar annual exchange of artillery fire. When India began patrolling the Kargil heights that summer, it found to its horror that many key posts vacated in the winter were occupied by infiltrators. A patrol was ambushed in the first week of May 1999. India belatedly realised the magnitude of the occupation - which was around 10 km deep and spanned almost 100 km of the LOC - and sent MiG fighters into action on May 26. India contended that the infiltrators were trained and armed by Pakistan, and based in "Azad Kashmir" with the full knowledge of the Pakistani government - and that Afghan and other foreign mercenaries accompanied them. Pakistan insisted that those involved were freedom fighters from Kashmir and that it was giving only moral support.

But there were some steps taken by both the governments to resolve the issue. Like in 1948 the first Kashmir war was cease fired with this promise that plebiscite would be held in India. In 1966 Tashkent agreement was signed in which both the states tried to overcome trust deficit. Moreover Simla agreement was also signed in 1972 between ZAB and Mrs Indira Gandhi and assurance was given by both the states to resolve the Kashmir between them and it would not be discussed on any international forum like UN.

Zia also tried to create good relations through cricket diplomacy but couldn't resolve Kashmir problem. In the later years Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, set out to Lahore by bus on February 20, 1999, inaugurating the four times a week Delhi-Lahore-Delhi bus service, the world felt that such a genuine effort at friendly neighbourhood relations would lower the tension along the Line of Control in Kashmir.

But both the countries are failed to resolve the Kashmir problem.

**Question No.9: Why did Pakistan face so many problems in the provision of education between 1947 and 1988?** (7) Nov. 2004 Q.5 b

**BEST ANSWER ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS:**

A large number of people are illiterate and many children simply do not go to school at all. An illiterate society means a poor economy and a poorly educated workforce. The major problem is the lack of government investment. This is because the military expenditure is excessively high for a country such as Pakistan and therefore there is little room for spending on education. Education is expensive in Pakistan. Children are expected to buy their own books and many children drop out of schools.

Govt. has never bothered to reserve the amount for school which are greatly needed for an ever increasing population which has grown five times since independence .there is no money left to spend on research, training and development. Primary education was more neglected than secondary and higher education. The result is that about 50% of the children of school going age are not enrolled.

Frequent changes in government have been another important factor. With the change in government the previous plans are discarded and new ones are introduced. Junejo government introduced NAI ROSHNI SCHOOLS in 1985. But the scheme was scratched when new govt. of Benazir came in power in 1988. Infact educational polices are neither properly executed nor implemented. Important educational policies were framed in 1951, 1959 and 1979. But their recommendations were never enforced earnestly.

Besides that the poverty and ignorance of parents is also an important factor. In poor families children are made to work and earn money for the family at the age of 6-7 years instead of going to school. Illiterate parents do not feel the necessity of education and female education is all the more neglected.

Dropout rates are very high. Nearly half of the children leave school before finishing primary education. Dropout rate is higher among girls. It is also difficult to arrange female teachers for rural areas. Private schools in urban areas are run on commercial basis charging high fees making it beyond the reach of common man .on account of these reasons education in Pakistan is still in backward state and literacy rate was about 30% by 1988 and 48% at present.

**Question No. 10: The government of Pakistan was totally successful in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948. Do you agree? Explain your answer. (14) June 2005 Q. 4 c**

**Successes:**

Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund created to help refugees. He appealed to the people to help the refugees, He toured the provinces encouraging and motivating the people.

Declared himself ‘Protector-General’ of religious minorities

State Bank of Pakistan set up Karachi made capital of Pakistan

Civil Services re-organised

Joined United Nations and attempted to draw their attention to Kashmir problem

**Failures:**

Kashmir and other Princely States issues not resolved

Canal Water Dispute not resolved until 1959

Millions made homeless or died as a result of Partition

**Question No. 11:How successful did India and Pakistan handle the Kashmir issue between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. (14) Nov. 2006 Q. 4 c**

**Successes:**

A cease-fire was arranged in January 1948 leaving Kashmir divided between India and Pakistan. From 1949 an official cease-fire line was agreed between India and Pakistan and was to be patrolled by UN troops. Pakistan kept up pressure on India by appealing to the UN whenever Indian moves tried to integrate Indian occupied Kashmir into India. In 1957 the UN reconfirmed that Kashmir was a disputed territory and that a final solution should be settled by a UN supervised plebiscite. India promised to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine its future.

**Failures:**

War has broken out on at least 4 occasions between the 2 countries. Plebiscite still not been held. Continues to be a source of conflict between the two nations.

**Question No.12: Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947? (7) Nov. 2006 Q. 4 b**

During 1947, violence between Hindus and Muslims increased dramatically. Muslims fearful of being killed were forced to leave all their possessions and cross into Pakistan to seek shelter.

The Boundary Award had made the problems worse between the two. Since Pakistan had become independent so Muslims were leaving India for their homeland, often with little or no possessions. It was argued that India deliberately made difficulties for the new Pakistani government by forcing Muslims across the border. Hindus and Sikhs, perhaps fearful of reprisals and a genuine desire to live in a Hindu nation, also contributed to the refugee problem by crossing from Pakistan to India.

**Question No.13: Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947? (7) June 2007 Q. 4 b**

Pakistan felt that membership of the United Nations would help their conflict with India over Kashmir by drawing the international community's attention to it. Also Pakistan took it upon itself to become a spokesman of many Asian States and movements, especially Muslim countries. Other relevant issues included the World Bank and the Canal Water Dispute.

**Question No. 14: The canal water dispute was the most important problem facing the newly established government of Pakistan in 1947. do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2007 Q.4c**

The Canal Water Dispute was one of the most serious problems since India now controlled the water supply to Pakistan – this brought tensions to a head between the two countries as Pakistan had to depend on India for its water supply. The problem dragged on until 1959.

However there were other problems. Some Muslims in India had been submitted to terrible atrocities and so thousands fled to Pakistan. They needed food and shelter and placed great strain on the new government. It was essential following the creation of Pakistan to have a new government immediately. Besides that there was a shortage of properly qualified and experienced personnel which made the task of running government departments extremely difficult. The new government was also short of money.

Pakistan had been awarded 750 million rupees under the final settlement but only received 200 million at first. This put enormous strain on the new government.

This was also the case with the division of the armed forces and military assets. Many of the assets awarded were obsolete or out of order.

**Question No.15: Why did educational reform become such an important issue between 1947 and 1988?**

**(7) Nov 2007 Q.4 b**

Some 70% of the population have been illiterate and many children simply did not go to school at all. An illiterate society means a poor economy and a poorly educated workforce. The major problem was the lack of government investment. This is because the military expenditure was excessively high for a country such as Pakistan and therefore there is little room for spending on education. Education has been expensive in Pakistan. Children have been expected to buy their own books and many children dropped out of schools.

**Question No. 16: The low rate of literacy was the most important social problem facing Pakistan between 1947 and 1988. do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) June 2008 Q.4 c**

Estimates suggest that the literacy rate in Pakistan is less than 30% and that female literacy is the worst amongst the population – about 14%. This mainly due to the lack of financial investment in education by successive governments who have viewed defence as being more important. Less than 3% of Pakistan’s budget has been spent on education. A major problem has faced primary education with serious under-funding compared to secondary and higher education. Little money remains for non-staff costs to spend on the primary sector. Drop-out rates particularly affect the primary sector with estimates suggesting that half the children joining primary school leave within 5 years and one third of girls drop out within a year. In the secondary sector many private schools have been formed which have been for the more wealthy parts of the population which further emphasises the gap between the rich and the poor.

**Note:** Candidates may also refer to other social problems such as: cultural differences, refugee problems, medical issues, language problems, population growth, age expectancy, infant mortality rates etc.

**Question No.17: The formation of a government was the most important problem facing the newly established country of Pakistan in 1947, do you agree?**

**(14) Nov 2009 Q. 4 c**

It was essential following the creation of Pakistan to have a new government immediately. However there was a shortage of properly qualified and experienced personnel which made the task of running a government department extremely difficult. Pakistan had been awarded 750 million rupees under the final settlement but only received 200 million at first. This put enormous strain on the new government since they were unable to use the money appropriately.

It was also the case with the division of the armed forces and military assets. Much of the assets awarded were obsolete or out of order.

However there were other difficulties such as the problem of coping with the Muslim refugees from India. These refugees had been submitted to terrible atrocities and so thousands fled to Pakistan. They needed food and shelter and placed great strain on the new government.

The Canal Water Dispute was one of the most serious problems since India now controlled the water supply to Pakistan which brought tensions to a head between the two countries as Pakistan had to depend on India for its water supply. The problem dragged on until 1959.

The accession of the Princely States and especially Kashmir was a problem. The population of Kashmir was largely Muslim and wanted to join Pakistan whereas the ruler was Hindu and wanted to join India. The border was uncertain between India and Pakistan with respect to Kashmir and this inevitably caused problems.

**Question No.18: What was the Canal Water Dispute?**

**(4) June 2010 Q.4a**

Threatened agriculture in the Punjab, irrigation system depended on 6 rivers and 30 canals, some of which were in India. April 1948 India shut off waters flowing into Pakistan from Ferozpur headwork, threatening millions of acres of agricultural land in Pakistan. Some waters reinstated in May 1948 but not permanently until 1959 and Indus Water Treaty.

**Question No.19: Why did Pakistan join the UN in 1947?**

**(7) June 2010 Q.4 b**

Pakistan felt that membership of the United Nations would help their conflict with India over Kashmir by drawing the international community's attention to it. Also Pakistan took it upon itself to become a spokesman of many Asian states and movements, especially Muslim countries. Other issues included the World Bank and the Canal Water Dispute.

**Question No. 20:**

**Why did many Pakistanis migrate between 1947 and 1999?**

**(7) June 2012 Q. 4 b**

**BEST ON MIGRATION:**

Britain needed lots of workers after World War Two, especially unskilled workers and offered well paid jobs which Pakistanis wanted as they were reliable, hardworking and ambitious to succeed. Many Pakistanis were displaced after partition in 1947 and as a result moved to Britain.

Thousands of Pakistanis were displaced from the Mangla and Terbella Dams area in the 1960s and some used compensation money to move to Britain to join relatives and seek work. The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 introduced a voucher scheme which gave Pakistanis in Britain the opportunity to arrange jobs and vouchers for friends and family to move here.

Many Pakistanis went to work in the Middle East where jobs were becoming freely available during times of economic growth especially in the construction and service industries. Many Pakistanis went to work in USA and Canada for nationality and green card to earn benefits.

**Question No. 21: The government of Pakistan was totally successful in solving the problems of Partition during 1947 and 1948.’ Do you agree? Explain your answer. (14) June 2012 Q. 4 c**

LEVEL 4: Explains successes and failures in terms of solutions

[9–13]

**Successes:**

Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund created to help refugees. He appealed to the people to help the refugees. He toured the provinces encouraging and motivating the people.

Declared himself ‘Protector-General’ of religious minorities.

State Bank of Pakistan set up.

Karachi made capital of Pakistan.

Civil Services re-organised.

Joined United Nations and attempted to draw their attention to Kashmir problem.

**Failures:**

Kashmir and other Princely States issues not resolved.

Canal Water Dispute not resolved until 1959.

Millions made homeless or died as a result of partition.

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

**Question No. 22: Describe the refugee problem.**

**(4) Nov. 2012 Q. 4 a**

Summer 1947 saw rioting and many deaths because of violence between Muslim and non-Muslim communities across India. After the Boundary Award, things got worse with millions of people in the ‘wrong’ country. The largest migration then took place with Muslims moving into Pakistan and non-Muslims moving into India. 10 m people were involved in this migration accompanied by violence and mass slaughter in some places. 1 m may have been killed and 20 m people made homeless. Karachi received 2 m refugees alone.

**Question No. 23**

**Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947?**

**(7) June 2013 Q.4 b**

**BEST ANSWER ON REFUGEES:**

**[Escaping Hindus’ Atrocities]**

Many parts of India had already seen worst scenes of Hindu-Muslim riots just before partition in 1947. The Hindus and Sikhs in Eastern Punjab were particularly fully charged with anti-Muslim sentiments. In such areas, a large number of Muslims were ruthlessly killed; entire Muslim villages were destroyed. Women were disrespected and even children were slaughtered. There were reports that local Indian authorities were also supporting the violent Hindu mobs. Under such circumstances, the Muslims had no option except to seek refuge in a safe place and therefore they migrated to Pakistan on large scale to escape the brutalities of Hindus.

**[Unjust Demarcation]**

The boundary demarcation was unjust; a number of Muslim-majority areas like Gurdaspur and Ferozpur were given to India where the Muslims were not feeling secure. They were now vulnerable to the barbarities of Hindus and Pakistan was unable to help them across the border. They therefore left their homes, land and businesses and joined the migrating caravans towards Pakistan.

**[Princely States]**

When the Muslim Ruler of Junagadh, a Hindu-majority area, decided to join Pakistan, India forcibly took over its territories putting the Muslims at risk to communal violence. Similarly, Kashmir had about 85% Muslim population but when its Hindu maharajah decided to join India, fighting broke out against him. These incidents further intensified the movement of refugees to Pakistan.

**[Willing Migration]** Since partition was made on the religious lines, a number of Muslims migrated willingly to Pakistan. They could manage to move some of their belongings along with them. They liked to live in a Muslim country.

**Question No. 24: How successful was the government of Pakistan in solving the problems of partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer. (14) Nov 2013 Q. 4 c**

LEVEL 4: Explains success and failures [9–13]

**Successes:**

Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund created to help refugees. He appealed to the people to help the refugees  
He toured the provinces encouraging and motivating the people. Declared himself ‘Protector-General’ of religious minorities

State Bank of Pakistan set up

Karachi made capital of Pakistan

Civil Services re-organised

Joined United Nations and attempted to draw their attention to Kashmir problem.

**Failures:**

Kashmir and other Princely States issues not resolved

Canal Water Dispute not resolved until 1959

Millions made homeless or died as a result of partition

Only 200 million rupees received at first instead of 750 million under the final settlement

There was a shortage of properly qualified and experienced personnel

Much of the military assets awarded were obsolete or out of order.

**Question No. 25: Why did Pakistan seek membership of the United Nations in 1947? (7) June 2014 Q. 4 (b)**

- World’s largest peacekeeping organization
- India already joined it
- Pakistan India confrontation over Kashmir and Canal water
- To support Palestinian cause
- To be recognized by the International community
- To take financial and economic support

**Question No. 26: How successful was Pakistan in solving the problems of Partition during 1947 and 1948? Explain your answer. (14) June 2016 Q. 5 c**

**Successes:**

The Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund was created to help refugees. Quaid-e-Azam toured the provinces encouraging and motivating the people. He appealed to the people to help the refugees. He declared himself ‘Protector-General’ of religious minorities. The State Bank of Pakistan was set up. Karachi was made capital of Pakistan. The Civil Services were reorganised. Pakistan joined the United Nations and attempted to draw their attention to Kashmir issue.

**Failures:**

The Kashmir and other Princely States issues were not resolved. The Canal Water Dispute was not resolved until 1959. Millions were made homeless or died as a result of partition.

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

**Question No. 27: Explain why the subcontinent was faced with a refugee problem in 1947.**

**(7)No.2017 Q. No. 5 b**

• In 1947, violence between Hindus and Muslims increased dramatically. Many Muslims in India feared being killed crossing into Pakistan to seek shelter, often with few or no possessions. Partition left people of different religions in the country they felt would not support their freedoms. The Boundary Award increased the problems between Pakistan and India.

**Many** Muslims were forced across the border making it difficult for the new Pakistan government to manage such a large number of refugees.

Pakistan was a new country and lack of resources meant it struggled to cope. Hindus and Sikhs, perhaps fearful of reprisals and with a genuine desire to live in a Hindu nation, also contributed to the refugee problem by crossing from Pakistan to India.

**Question No. 28: Describe the refugee crisis of 1947.**

**(4)Oct No. 2018 Q. 4 a**

Level 1: One mark for each relevant point, two marks for a developed statement 1–4 e.g.

- Summer (1947) saw rioting and violence between Muslim and non-Muslim communities across India
- After the Boundary Award, millions of people found themselves in the ‘wrong’ country and vulnerable to attacks
- Migration then took place with Muslims moving into Pakistan and non-Muslims moving into India
- Over 10 million people were involved in this migration
- Communal violence led to many deaths
- Up to 1 million people may have been killed as a result of the migration or attacks
- 20 million people were made homeless
- Karachi received 2 million refugees.

**Question No. 29: Why did educational reform become such an important issue between 1947 and 1999?**

**(7)Nov. 2018 Q. No. 4 b**

- A large proportion of the population was illiterate and many children did not go to school at all. Improving literacy through education will ultimately be of benefit to the economy / nation, e.g. higher GDP, higher growth, less unemployment, reduced poverty
- One challenge was the amount of government investment. Successive governments prioritised defence over education. Therefore there was less money available for spending on education.
- Spending on education takes years to prove effective. Many saw Pakistan’s problems as being immediate and in need of solution then rather than in years’ time.

## Topic# 22

### EARLY YEARS 1947 -1958

#### QUESTIONS ON EARLY YEARS:

**Question No. 1:**

Why the mid-1950s, Pakistan still did not have a constitution. At the same time the nation was facing severe economic problems and much hostility from India. In the absence of a new constitution, the power of the government was more centralised and the political

Parties failed to accept democratic principles. A constitutional crisis was inevitable and came about in 1954.

(a) Describe the constitutional crisis of 1954–55.

(4) June 2012 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 2:**

Who of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies between 1948 and 1958:

(i) Liaquat Ali Khan;

(ii) Malik Ghulam Muhammad;

(iii) Iskander Mirza?

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

(14) June 2013 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 3:**

The recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee presented to the Assembly in 1950 regarding a future constitution was so unpopular that they were withdrawn for further consideration. Attempts to improve these in 1952 were also unpopular and were heavily criticised. As a result further changes were not forthcoming largely due to the political uncertainty at the time. However, a new constitution was unveiled a few years later.

(a) Describe the 1956 Constitution?

(4)Nov. 2013 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 4:**

Why were there so many governments between 1951 and 1958?

(7) Nov. 2014 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 5:**

Why was there a constitutional crisis between 1954 and 1955?

(7) Nov. 2015 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 6:**

What was the ‘One Unit’ Scheme?

(4)June2016 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 7:**

Which of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies between 1948 and 1958?

(i) Khwaja Nazimuddin

(ii) Malik Ghulam Muhammad

(iii) Iskander Mirza

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

(14)June2017 Q.4 c

**Question No. 8:**

Explain why there was a constitutional crisis in 1958.

(7)June 2018 Q.5 b

**Question No. 9:**

Why were there so many governments between 1951 and 1958?

(7)June 2019 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 10:**

Explain why there were changes of government between 1951 and 1958.

(7)June 2021 Q. 5 b

## **ANSWERS ON EARLY YEARS:**

### **Question No. 1:**

**Why the mid-1950s, Pakistan still did not have a constitution. At the same time the nation was facing severe economic problems and much hostility from India. In the absence of a new constitution, the power of the government was more centralised and the political Parties failed to accept democratic principles. A constitutional crisis was inevitable and came about in 1954.**

**(a) Describe the constitutional crisis of 1954–55.**

**(4) June 2012 Q. 4 a**

M.A. Bogra the PM had little political experience, and GG Ghulam Mohammad expected him to support his authority – do as he was told. Bogra wanted to curb power of GG. GM out of country so Bogra introduced an amendment to 1935 Gol Act, trying to take away some power. Caused a political crisis, GM declared state of emergency and dissolved Assembly. Legal challenges were made against GG who eventually won through.

### **Question No. 2:**

**Who of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies between 1948 and 1958:**

**(i) Liaquat Ali Khan;**

**(ii) Malik Ghulam Muhammad;**

**(iii) Iskander Mirza?**

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

**(14) June 2013 Q. 4 c**

#### **BEST ANSWER:**

**Liaquat Ali Khan's** contributions to the struggle for independence were numerous. After independence, he was thus the natural choice for the premiership. Liaquat Ali Khan was appointed as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. Being the first Prime Minister of the country, Liaquat Ali Khan had to deal with a number of difficulties that Pakistan faced in its early days. He helped Quaid-i-Azam in solving the *riots* and *refugee* problem and in setting up an effective administrative system for the country. He established the groundwork for Pakistan's foreign policy. He also took steps towards the formulation of the *constitution*. He presented The **Objectives Resolution**, an introduction to future constitutions, in the Legislative Assembly. The house passed it on March 12, 1949. Under his leadership a team also drafted the first report of the **Basic Principle Committee** and work began on the second report.

During his tenure, India and Pakistan agreed to resolve the dispute of **Kashmir** in a peaceful manner through the efforts of the United Nations. According to this agreement **a ceasefire** was affected in Kashmir in January 1948. It was decided that a free and impartial plebiscite would be held under the supervision of the UN. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, he tried to fill the vacuum created by the departure of the Father of the Nation. Liaquat Ali Khan met Nehru to sign the **Liaquat-Nehru Pact in 1950**. The Liaquat-Nehru Pact was an effort on his part to improve relations and reduce tension between India and Pakistan. An important event during his premiership was the establishment of **National Bank of Pakistan** in November 1949, and the installation of a paper currency mill in Karachi.

Malik Ghulam Muhammad as Governor General was responsible for the 6 Year Plan for Pakistan that covered agriculture, power, industry and transport. It played an important part in bringing about economic development in Pakistan.

However there were severe problems in Pakistan that hampered development at this time such as food shortages and a drought. Rioting followed and the government found difficulty in dealing with these matters and resulted in many changes in personnel. Little constitutional development could take place because of these problems. Malik Ghulam Muhammad resigned in 1955 due to ill health.

Iskander Mirza became Governor General and introduced the new Constitution in 1956, under which he was able to become President. However its introduction was short lived as he scrapped it in 1958 and declared Martial Law. He did

introduce the One Unit policy in 1955 which he claimed would bring about greater efficiency and development in West Pakistan. In introducing this policy he prevented East Pakistan gaining a majority in the Assembly. His rule became increasingly unpopular and lost the support of many leading politicians despite declaring Martial Law and having appointed Ayub Khan as PM in 1958, he was forced to resign by Ayub Khan.

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

**Question No. 3:**

**The recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee presented to the Assembly in 1950 regarding a future constitution was so unpopular that they were withdrawn for further consideration. Attempts to improve these in 1952 were also unpopular and were heavily criticised. As a result further changes were not forthcoming largely due to the political uncertainty at the time. However, a new constitution was unveiled a few years later.**

**(a) Describe the 1956 Constitution?**

**[4] Nov. 2013 Q. 4 a**

- Written and Rigid Constitution.
- Islamic Republic of Pakistan
- The objective resolution was included as a preamble of the constitution.
- The constitution provides for a federal system in the country. Powers was divided between the centre and the provinces.
- The legislature would consist of a single house.
- Both the wings of the country were given representation in the National Assembly.
- Parliamentary system was adopted, according to it the president was the head of state and the Prime Minister the head of government.
- The President - required to be a Muslim of at least forty years of age.
- The Prime Minister - He was to be the leader of the Parliamentary group
- Provincial Autonomy - provided
- No law would be passed against the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.
- An independent judiciary in the country.
- Fundamental Rights - included freedom of movement, freedom of speech and expression, freedom to choose profession and freedom to profess religion. Right to life, liberty, and property.
- Language - Urdu & Bengali

**Question No. 4:**

**Why were there so many governments between 1951 and 1958?**

**(7)Nov. 2014 Q. 4 b**

**BEST ANSWER:**

Just one year after the independence of Pakistan, Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, and Liaquat became the nation’s new leader. In 1951, three years after the tragic death of the “Father of Pakistan,” Liaquat was assassinated and **Khawaja** Nazimuddin came to power as the next Prime Minister and **Ghulam Muhammad** became the governor-general. Later, in October 1953, due to violence in relation to religious conflict between those of Islamic and Ahmadiyya faith (a religion, contradictory to Islam) and efforts by the assembly to limit his power, Governor-general Ghulam Muhammad declared a state of emergency, dissolving the elected body of the Constituent Assembly. Ghulam then appointed **Muhammad Ali Bogra** to be Prime Minister and formed a new cabinet called “Ministry of Talents.”

In 1955, Ghulam resigned as governor-general out of health concerns, and was replaced by **Major General Iskander Ali Mirza**. Mirza, feeling that Pakistan was not ready for true democracy, dismissed Bogra and the national assembly and replaced him with a new Prime Minister, **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali**. One of Chaudhry’s major acts as Prime Minister was the Constitution of 1956 was established, being the first

Pakistani Constitution. The constitution set up a parliamentary government with the Legislative Assembly replacing the Constituent Assembly and the position governor-general became president. This new constitution solved the issue of unequal representation and gave equal seats to both East and West Pakistan in the Legislative Assembly.

After a series of Prime Minister Power changes from 1956 to 1957, **Malik FeroZ Khan Noon** became the Prime Minister and was able to stabilize the government and calm the political chaos. President Mirza, despite his fame, felt threatened and declared martial law. Muhammad Ayub Khan became chief martial law administrator and the constitution of 1956 was suspended, democratic assemblies dissolved, upcoming elections cancelled, and the Muslim League was disbanded. Mirza and Ayub Khan had power disputes and in the end, Ayub Khan had Mirza arrested and named himself president.

**Question No. 5:**

**Why was there a constitutional crisis between 1954 and 1955?**

**(7) Nov. 2015 Q. 5 b**

- Jinnah had died in 1948 and Khan Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951.
- The country was struggling to establish itself without these two figures.
- The problems of running a new country were very difficult to overcome and joint assets had not been shared.
- There was a lack of stability which led to many different governments being formed during these years.
- In 1953 Nazimuddin’s government was dismissed and replaced with Bogra who lacked experience.
- An example was in the passing of the amendment to Government of India Act in 1954 while Ghulam Muhammad was abroad to limit his powers causing a crisis. When he returned he dissolved the Assembly and declared a state of emergency stating that Bogra had lost the confidence of the people.
- This was challenged in court but Ghulam Muhammad prevailed.
- besides that the One Unit Policy was also unpopular, causing unrest.

**Question No. 6:**

**What was the ‘One Unit’ Scheme?**

**(4) June 2016 Q.4 a**

Iskander Mirza (Acting Governor-General) introduced it in 1955 to unify all of West Pakistan. He claimed it would bring about greater efficiency and enable more rapid development. West Pakistan politicians and administrators feared their influence may be challenged if they did not do this, especially as there were 10 million more people in East Pakistan. By unifying West Pakistan and making West Pakistan and East Pakistan official with equal representation in the Assembly, the One Unit Scheme prevented East Pakistan from gaining a majority in the Assembly. This was very unpopular in East Pakistan.

**Question No. 7:**

**Which of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies between 1948 and 1958?**

**(i) Khwaja Nazimuddin**

**(ii) Malik Ghulam Muhammad**

**(iii) Iskander Mirza**

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

**(14) June Q.4 c2017**

**Level 5: Explains with evaluation**

**BEST ANSWER:**

**Sir Khawaja Nazimuddin** (19 July 1894 – 22 October 1964) was a conservative Pakistani politician and statesman. Born into the Dhaka Nawab Family, Nazimuddin was educated at M.A.O. College and later at Cambridge. After the establishment of Pakistan, he became the second Governor-General of Pakistan in 1948, following the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, Nazimuddin assumed office as the second Prime Minister of Pakistan. He made **Objectives Resolution** in 1949. It focussed on the principles of Islam and human rights. It was criticised from religious leaders who wanted the new state to be more Islamic. He drafted a constitution, which attracted much criticism as it was seen by many as being insufficiently Islamic. He kept the economy going and produced surplus budgets for the new state. His government lasted only two years, but saw civil unrest and foreign challenges that led to their final dismissal.

On 17 April 1953, Nazimuddin was dismissed and forced out of the government; he was succeeded by another statesman from Bengal, the Bengali **Muhammad Ali Bogra**. After a long illness, Nazimuddin died in 1964 at the age of 70, and was given a state funeral. He is in his hometown of Dhaka.

**Malik Sir Ghulam Muhammad** (20 April 1895 – 12 September 1956) was a Pakistani civil servant who served as the third Governor-General of Pakistan from October 1951 until his dismissal in August 1955. He previously served as the country's first Finance Minister in the cabinet of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. Educated at Aligarh Muslim University, Ghulam Muhammad worked as a chartered accountant before joining the Indian Railway Services as an auditor for India's Finance Ministry. He opted for Pakistan following independence, and was appointed the new country's first Finance Minister. He drafted **Five-Year Plans** for the economy in 1948, but was unable to implement them due to lack of staff and sufficient materials. He also organized the **International Islamic Economic Conference** held at Karachi from November 26 to December 6, 1949, and called for forming a pan-Islamic economic bloc of the Muslim countries. Appointed Governor-General by Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin in 1951, he handled unsuccessfully with the Kashmir dispute with India and unrest in East Pakistan. Following **anti-Ahmadi riots in Lahore in 1953**, he declared martial law in the city under Lieutenant General Azam Khan. After the army controlled the riots, Ghulam Muhammad sacked Nazimuddin's government, helping **Muhammad Ali Bogra** replace him as Prime Minister.

When Bogra attempted to lessen the powers of the Governor-General's office via parliament, Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Constituent Assembly as well in 1954. Affected by paralysis, he took a leave of illness in 1955, and was himself dismissed by acting Governor-General Iskander Mirza. He died in Lahore the following year.

**Iskander Ali Mirza**, (13 November 1899 – 13 November 1969), was the **first President of Pakistan**, serving from 1956 to 1958. Prior to that, Mirza was the last Governor-General of Pakistan from 1955 to 1956. A great grandson of Mir Jafar, Mirza was a British Indian army officer, having reached the higher rank of major-general in Military. After a brief period in the British Indian Army, Mirza joined the Indian Political Service. He became the Joint Defence Secretary of India in 1946. After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan appointed Mirza as the first Defence Secretary, one of the most important government positions. He supervised the Indo-Pakistan war of 1947, and the Balochistan conflict in 1948. Serious disorder and civil unrest sparked in East Pakistan as a result of the Bengali Language Movement in 1952, prompting Prime minister Khawaja Nazimuddin to appoint him as the Governor of the province.

He oversaw the success of the **One Unit programme** in East Pakistan in 1954, and succeeded Malik Ghulam Muhammad as the governor general in 1955. After successfully promulgating the **1956 constitution**, he became the **first president**. His presidency saw great political instability, challenges in foreign policy, and the ousting of four prime ministers in two years. He finally imposed martial law in 1958 after suspending the constitution and dissolving democratic institutions, including the Pakistan Parliament. Mirza has the distinction of being the first to bring in military influence in national politics after he appointed his army chief (Ayub) as chief martial law administrator of the country. After only 20 days of martial law, Chief Martial Law Administrator General Ayub Khan forced him out of the presidency. He was exiled to London. Iskander Mirza was buried in Iran.

Iskander Mirza contributed the most important for Pakistan, at least the first constitution was enforced by him in 1956.

**Question No. 8: Explain why there was a constitutional crisis in 1958.**

**(7) June 2018 Q. No. 5 b**

- There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage where Ayub Khan felt the army should take control until stability had been restored.
- Previous governments endured a number of problems that hampered development such as food shortages and a drought, which led to demonstrations of discontent. As successive governments found difficulty in dealing with these matters, there were many personnel changes to try to find a solution. As a result, little constitutional development could take place.
- Iskander Mirza lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed at a plan by Prime Minister Suhrawardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him.

**Question No. 9:**

**why were there so many governments between 1951 and 1958?**

**(7) June 2019 Q. 5 b**

Jinnah died in 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951 without these experienced figures it was more difficult to establish a stable government. • The problems of running a new country were very difficult to overcome, especially as some of the joint assets were withheld after partition. • Relations with India were strained with no agreement on Kashmir. • Food shortages followed a drought 1951-53. This, combined with an economic slump, led to rioting which forced changes in the cabinet. • Resistance to the One Unit Policy from East Pakistan contributed to a loss of support for Iskander Mirza's government.

**Question No. 10:**

**Explain why there were changes of government between 1951 and 1958.**

**(7) June 2021 Q. 5 b**

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had died
- the remaining politicians were inexperienced
- In 1953 there was a severe drought causing food shortages
- there was some discontent amongst the people who were suffering hardship leading to riots
- East Pakistan had faced severe floods causing food shortages in 1955

## Topic# 23

### AYUB KHAN 1958-69:

#### QUESTIONS ON AYUB KHAN:

**Question No.1:** Which of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies:

- Liaqat Ali Khan
- Ayub Khan
- Zia ul Haq

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

(14) June 2001 Q.4c

**Question No.2:** Why was Martial Law declared in 1958?

(7) Nov.2002 Q.4 b

**Question No.3:** Which of the following was the most important contribution of ayub Khan’s government during the Decade of Development between 1958 and 1969.

- Agricultural and economic reforms
- Constitutional reforms
- Foreign policy?

Explain your answer with reference to all three above.

(14) Nov.2003 Q.4 c

**Question No.4:** Why was Martial Law declared in 1958?

(7) Nov.2004 Q.4 b

**Question No.5:** Constitutional Reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan’s domestic policies during the decade of development between 1958 and 1969. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14) June 2005 Q.5 c

**Question No.6:** Why did Ayub declare Martial Law in 1958?

(7) Nov.2006 Q.5 b

**Question No.7:** Ayub Khan’s agricultural reforms were more successful than any other of his domestic policies between 1958-1969. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14) Nov 2007 Q.4 c

**Question No.8:** Why were the years 1958-1969 called the decade of Progress?

(7) June 2010 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 9:** What was the Basic Democratic System of Ayub Khan?

(4) Nov 2011Q.4a

**Question No. 10:** ‘Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan’s domestic policies during the ‘Decade of Progress’ between 1958 and 1969.’ Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14) June 2012 Q. 5 c

- Question No. 11:** Why was Martial Law declared by Ayub Khan in 1958? (7) Nov. 2012 Q. 4 b
- Question No. 12:** why did Ayub Khan come to power in 1958? (7) Nov. 2013 Q. 5 b
- Question No. 13:** were the social reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies during the ‘Decade of Progress’ between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer. (14) June 2014 Q. 4 c
- Question No. 14:** Why was Islamabad chosen as the new capital of Pakistan? (7) June 2015 Q. 4 b
- Question No. 15:** Explain why Ayub Khan introduced Martial Law in 1958. (7) June 2016 Q. 5 b
- Question No. 16:** What were the Basic Democracies? (4) June 2017 Q.4 a
- Question No. 17:** Were the economic reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies in the ‘Decade of Progress’ between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer. (14) JUNE 2019 Q. 5 c
- Question No. 18:** Who was Fatima Jinnah? (4) June 2020 Q. 5 a
- Question No. 19:** Explain why Ayub Khan came to power in 1958. (7) NOV. 2020 Q.4 b
- Question No. 20:** ‘Ayub Khan’s agricultural policies were the most effective of the domestic reforms that took place between 1958 and 1969.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. . (14) June 2021 Q. 4 c

### ANSWERS ON AYUB KHAN:

**Question No.1:** Which of the following contributed the most to Pakistan’s domestic policies:

- Liaqat Ali Khan
- Ayub Khan
- Zia ul Haq

**Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14) June 2001 Q.4c**

Liaqat Ali Khan was the PM of Pakistan from August 1947 till Oct. 1951. In these early years of the creation of Pakistan the newly born country had to face many problems. Liaqat Ali as PM tackled all these problems successfully and got the government of Pakistan running smoothly. The main problems were the establishment of central government offices at Karachi, the accommodation problem, the division of military and financial assets between the two countries, the refugee problem and canal water problem. These problems were so grave that proper attention could not be paid to education, agriculture, industry and transport during these early years.

The country faced food shortage after partition. Regional and provincial politicians became stronger and Liaqat could not control them. He was unfortunately assassinated in Oct. 1951 and therefore did not get much time to carry out his domestic plan policies.

On the other hand Ayub Khan came to power after declaring Martial Law in OCT. 1958 and remained as president till March 1969. In these 11 years Ayub contributed the most to the domestic policies. On the agriculture side, the first land reforms were introduced in 1959. Indus water treaty was signed in 1960. The use of chemical fertilizers, HYVs and mechanized farming methods resulted in marked increase in agricultural production which was termed as Green Revolution.

Similarly industrial production doubled during 1960-65. A large number of factories and industrial units were set up. Housing schemes were introduced a number of schools, colleges and universities, medical colleges and polytechnic institutions were opened. New capital Islamabad was built. Ayub's period was termed as a Decade of progress.

Besides that, Zia's period of 11 years from 1977 to 1988 was marked by the process of Islamisation. Under this Haddood Ordinance, Zakat and Usher Ordinance, Interest Free Banking, Shariat Court, teaching of Islamiyat and Pakistan studies were introduced. But most of the reforms were on paper and virtually the old system prevailed.

During Zia's period the invasion of Afghanistan by Russian troops was an important event. It brought evil effects of drugs and use of arms in the country. Zia denationalized the industries which gave a push to industries but his industrial progress was slow.

Of all these periods, the period of Ayub Khan was the most important which had a deep effect on domestic affairs.

**Question No.2: Why was Martial Law declared in 1958?**

**(7) Nov.2002 Q.4 b**

**Martial Law** was declared in Oct.1958 by General Iskander Mirza and he asked General Ayub Khan to act as chief Martial Law Administrator. The reason was that political condition in the country was very unstable during 1956-58. Four (4) PMs were changed one after another during this period. There were coalition ministers in provinces and it was difficult to reach a consensus on most matters of state. Muslim League had lost its importance. New political parties created more confusion than coherence. Merger of 4 provinces and creation of West Pakistan under one unit was disliked by people of Sind and East Pakistan.

Pakistan was having a bad name on international scene. There were political crises in the ruling party and prime ministers and President Iskander Mirza could not work in cooperation. Therefore Martial Law was imposed and all provincial assemblies and the central assembly were dissolved. Ayub Khan eventually became the chief Martial Law Administrator and president.

**Question No.3:**

**Which of the following was the most important contribution of Ayub Khan's government during the Decade of Development between 1958 and 1969.**

- **Agricultural and economic reforms**
- **Constitutional reforms**

- **Foreign policy?**

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

**(14) Nov.2003 Q.4 c**

Ayub Khan called his period a decade of development because of the much needed reforms and development in different fields and sectors especially in agriculture and industry. In agriculture, the land reforms were introduced in which ceiling of 500 acres of irrigated land was fixed for ownership of land. This was done to increase the number of owner cultivated farms and to break the power of land lords. Use of HYVs, chemical fertilizers and machinery was introduced. The Indus water treaty of 1960 helped to provide more water for irrigation. Thus more land was brought under cultivation. The result was that agricultural production was more than doubled during 1960-1970 period.

Similarly a marked industrial growth was observed because incentive was given to industrialist in the form of tax concessions, import of machinery, financial and technical assistance. A large number industrial unit were set up. The result was that industrial production doubled during 1960-65 period. Pakistan moved from the production of consumer goods to the production of capital goods. Industries of cotton, textile, sugar, edible oil, cement showed marked progress. The GNP showed an impressive growth of 7% which was the highest among the countries of south Asia. There was a general belief that Pakistan would manage to come out of poverty cycle if the rate of progress and development was maintained.

Ayub introduced drastic constitutional reforms. He abrogated the 1956 constitution and enforced a new constitution in 1962 with presidential form of government. System of Basic Democracy was also introduced with indirect elections. This system met with much criticism especially in the east wing and by 1969 Ayub agreed to change back to parliamentary system and direct elections. The constitutional reforms were not that much successful.

In foreign policy, Ayub continued the pro west and pro American policy. Pakistan received formidable military and economic aid from USA. Relations with china improved after the India china war of 1962. Ayub visited china where he was given warm welcome. Relations with India remained cool and war with India over Kashmir in 1965 culminated in Tashkent agreement. Relations with USSR didn't improve specially on account of the American spy plane which took off from a base near Peshawar. Relations with Muslim countries remained cordial. Ayub initiated cooperation with turkey and Iran and RCD was founded in 1964.

**ANALYSIS:**

**Question No.4: Why was Martial Law declared in 1958?**

**(7) Nov.2004 Q.4 b**

There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage when Ayub Khan achieved that status that he felt the army should take control until stability had been restored and questions

answered. East Pakistan's politicians wanted more say in the running of the central government which increased tension.

**Question No.5: Constitutional Reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the decade of development between 1958 and 1969. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2005 Q.5 c**

In 1959 Basic Democracies were introduced which a four tier structure of government was allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils which were set up was such that martial law was lifted.

However, there were other factors which were important aspects of his domestic policies. Land was redistributed to farmers with medium sized farms and agriculture was revitalised to such an extent that crop outputs were at record levels. National growth rate rose more than 7% and the economy grew three times faster than any other South East Asian country. However, the new wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and the general population did not benefit.

**Question No.6: Why did Ayub declare Martial Law in 1958?**

**(7) Nov.2006 Q.5 b**

**BEST ANSWER:**

In 1956, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan approved a constitution that ended Pakistan's status of an independent Dominion of the British Empire, to create the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Maj. Gen. **Iskander Mirza**, the last Governor General of Pakistan, simultaneously became the state's first president. However, the new constitution was followed by political turmoil in Pakistan, which saw a succession of four prime ministers - **Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar and Sir Feroz Khan Noon** - in a period of two years. There was already a precedent in Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissing prime ministers, and many viewed Mirza as manipulating the constitution and starting dismissals of governments. The One Unit scheme amalgamating the provinces of Pakistan into two wings - West Pakistan and East Pakistan - was politically controversial and proving difficult to administer. The quick succession of prime ministers fostered the view within the military and in the public that Pakistani politicians were too weak and corrupt to govern effectively, and that the parliamentary system was weak.

On October 7, President Mirza declared martial law in Pakistan. He abrogated the constitution of 1956, describing it as "unworkable" and full of "dangerous compromises." He dismissed the government of Sir Feroz Khan Noon, dissolved the National Assembly of Pakistan and the provincial legislatures. Mirza also proceeded to outlaw all political parties. He appointed General Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistani army as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and nominated him to become the new Prime Minister of Pakistan, charged with administering the country.

On October 27, Iskander Mirza resigned from the presidency, transferring it to Ayub Khan. Both men saw the other as a rival to their respective positions. Mirza believed his own position had become largely dismissed after Ayub Khan assumed most executive powers as chief martial law administrator and prime minister, and acted to assert himself, while Ayub Khan thought Mirza was conspiring against him. It is widely held that Ayub Khan and generals loyal to him forced Mirza to resign. Mirza was later taken to Quetta, the capital of the province of Baluchistan, before being exiled on November 27 to London, England, where he resided until his death in 1969.

**Question No.7: Ayub Khan’s agricultural reforms were more successful than any other of his domestic policies between 1958-1969. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.(14) Nov 2007 Q.4 c**

Land was redistributed to farmers with medium sized farms and agriculture was revitalised to such an extent that crop outputs were at record levels.

However there were other factors which were important aspects of his domestic policies. In 1962 an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation was set up for the exploration of mineral deposits. An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports. National growth rate rose more than 7% and the economy grew three times faster than any other South East Asian country.

However the new wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and the general population didn’t benefit. As a result of these policies economic growth rose sharply.

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

**Question No.8: Why were the years 1958-1969 called the decade of Progress? (7) June 2010 Q. 5 b**

Medical facilities were improved and attempts were made to control the population through a family planning programme. Economic growth was enabled through industrial developments funded by loans from the West. Agricultural reform meant an increase in agricultural production. Ayub Khan also tried to deflect increased criticism of his government by highlighting the reforms which in the main only benefited the wealthy.

**Question No. 9:What was the Basic Democratic System of Ayub Khan? (4) Nov 2011Q.4a**

- The first step in Ayub Khan’s constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies order on **26 Oct. 1959**.
- That was 4 tier systems in which ordinary people elected **union council** members, who in turn elected **tehsil** councilors, **district** councilors and then **divisional** members were elected respectively.
- Later it was stated in the 1962 constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the Electoral College for the election of the **president** and members of the central and provincial legislatures.
- At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the basic democrats for a vote of confidence in him and **on 17 Feb. 1960** he was confirmed as president.
- He then announced the creation of a constitution commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.

**Question No. 10: 'Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the 'Decade of Progress' between 1958 and 1969.' Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2012 Q. 5 c**

**LEVEL 4:** Explains constitutional reforms AND other domestic policies [9–13]

Ayub introduced drastic constitutional reforms. He abrogated the 1956 constitution and enforced a new constitution in 1962 with presidential form of government. System of Basic Democracy was also introduced with indirect elections. This system met with much criticism especially in the east wing and by 1969 Ayub agreed to change back to parliamentary system and direct elections. The constitutional reforms were not that much successful.

However there were other factors which were important aspects of his domestic policies.

Ayub Khan called his period a decade of development because of the much needed reforms and development in different fields and sectors especially in agriculture and industry. In agriculture, the land reforms were introduced in which ceiling of 500 acres of irrigated land was fixed for ownership of land. This was done to increase the number of owner cultivated farms and to break the power of land lords. Use of HYVs, chemical fertilizers and machinery was introduced. The Indus water treaty of 1960 helped to provide more water for irrigation. Thus more land was brought under cultivation. The result was that agricultural production was more than doubled during 1960-1970 period.

Similarly a marked industrial growth was observed because incentive was given to industrialist in the form of tax concessions, import of machinery, financial and technical assistance. A large number industrial unit were set up. The result was that industrial production doubled during 1960-65 period. Pakistan moved from the production of consumer goods to the production of capital goods. Industries of cotton, textile, sugar, edible oil, cement showed marked progress. There was a general belief that Pakistan would manage to come out of poverty cycle if the rate of progress and development was maintained. In 1962 an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation was set up for the exploration of mineral deposits. An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports. As a result of these policies, economic growth rose sharply. National growth rate rose more than 7% and the economy grew three times faster than any other South East Asian country. However the new wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and the general population didn't benefit.

Ayub Khan took action to prevent people from hoarding goods and selling them on the black market at inflated prices. Profiteers had their goods confiscated and many were arrested. As a result this action brought down the prices of many goods. He also fixed the price of milk and other goods to stop profiteering, which also helped families to manage their weekly budget better. The government set about improving housing for refugees. A massive new housing development provided new homes for refugees in Karachi,

which clearly had a beneficial effect on the lives of these people. Women’s rights benefited too from reforms affecting divorce and marriage. Marriages and divorces now had to be registered and further marriage approved by a court. The minimum age of marriage for females became 16.

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

**Question No. 11: Why was Martial Law declared by Ayub Khan in 1958?**

**(7) Nov. 2012 Q. 4 b**

There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage when Ayub Khan achieved that status that he felt the army should take control until stability had been restored and questions answered. East Pakistan’s politicians wanted more say in the running of the central government which increased tension. Iskander Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed at a plan by Suharwardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him. Therefore he turned to AK and the military for help.

**Question No. 12: why did Ayub Khan come to power in 1958?**

**(7) Nov. 2013 Q. 5 b**

There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage when Ayub Khan achieved that status that he felt the army should take control until stability had been restored and questions answered. East Pakistan’s politicians wanted more say in the running of the central government which increased tension. Iskander Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed at a plan by Suharwardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him. Therefore Ayub Khan and the military decided to take over.

**Question No. 13: were the social reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies during the ‘Decade of Progress’ between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer.**

**(14) June 2014 Q. 4 c**

LEVEL 4: Explains social reforms and other reasons [9–13]

**Social and Educational reforms:**

- New curriculum for schools and new textbooks were published.
- Government began an extensive literacy programme, building new schools and colleges.
- Ayub Khan appointed **General Azam Khan** the *Rehabilitation Minister* to settle 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings near Karachi.
- Laws were passed that factory owners had to provide accommodations for their workers at a reasonable rent.
- Family Planning Programmes were also launched (funded by America).
- Medical facilities were also improved.

**Agricultural reforms / the Green Revolution:**

- An experiment of small subsistence holdings had never been efficient.
- A law was passed saying that no farm could be smaller than **12.5** acres or larger than **500** acres (irrigated) or **1000** acres (unirrigated).
- This meant that many smaller farmers found their land was redistributed.
- However the resulting larger farms did produce a steady rise in food output.
- Big landlords were forced to find tenants for parts of their land and this too raised productivity as the tenants and smaller farms were often more efficient than the larger, poorly run farms.
- Four dams were built to help irrigation.
- Loans were also given to farmers to build wells.

- Productivity was further increased due to mechanization.

#### Industrial reforms:

- Industrial development was also considered.
- This was carried out with the help of loans from more industrialized western countries.(USA, Germany, UK)
- In 1962 an *oil refinery* was established in Karachi and a Mineral development Corporation set up for the exploration of mineral deposits.
- In **1964** an Economic union was formed with Iran and Turkey, the Regional cooperation development (**RCD**) (to develop ties in Trade, Commerce and industry).
- An *Export Bonus Scheme* was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.
- The average annual rate by which the economy grew in the 1960 was **7 %**, three times that of India.
  
- **But** the new wealth created, did little to benefit the large numbers of Pakistanis living near the poverty line.
- It was revealed that just **22** families controlled 66 % of Pakistan’s industrial assets.
- The same families also controlled 80 % of Pakistan’s banking and insurance companies.
- A small elite group of wealthy Pakistanis had almost complete control of Pakistan’s wealth.
- All these families belong to West Pakistan.
- Industry was improving rapidly but Pakistan was increasingly dependent on **foreign aid**.

#### Political /constitutional reforms:

- The first step in Ayub Khan’s constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies order on **26 Oct. 1959**.
- That was 4 tier systems in which ordinary people elected **union council** members, who in turn elected **district** and **divisional** members.
- Later it was stated in the 1962 constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the Electoral College for the election of the **president** and members of the central and provincial legislatures.
- At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the basic democrats for a vote of confidence in him and **on 17 Feb. 1960** he was confirmed as president.
  
- He then announced the creation of a constitution commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.
  
- The new constitution was announced on **1 March 1962**.
- Ayub described it as combining “*democracy with discipline*”.
- In reality it set up a presidential form of government.
  
- In Jan 1965 elections were held for the presidency.
- Ayub khan was nominated by a new party , the *Convention Muslim League*
- He believed that the opposition parties were too divided to put up a credible opponent in the elections.
- He was however wrong, the opposition parties all agreed to support the sister and advisor of the Quaid, *Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah*.
- In the election Ayub Khan won **64 %** of the votes, compared to Miss Jinnah’s **36 %**.

- Since partition the **capital** had been Karachi.
- In 1959 the site of Islamabad was chosen to replace Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan.
- In **1967** Islamabad was officially made the capital.

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

**Question No. 14: Why was Islamabad chosen as the new capital of Pakistan? (7) June 2015 Q. 4 b**

Government officials would be moved well away from the commercial districts of Karachi that might have some unwanted influences on them.

It was also seen as an appropriate movement of the power base from the industrially and commercially developed south to the underdeveloped Punjab region in the north.

Ayub Khan wanted to be closer to the army’s command headquarters in the north which he saw as vital in times of martial law.

Karachi had a very warm and humid climate and, as a port, it wasn’t felt that it represented the needs of a capital city as the existing buildings were not adequate in number or up to the standards required by a capital.

The layout and structure of the existing port city did not allow it to take on the functions of a modern capital.

With its position on the coast, it was considered vulnerable to attacks from the Arabian Sea.

The vast influx of refugees intensified the existing problems and created new ones.

**Question No. 15: Explain why Ayub Khan introduced Martial Law in 1958. (7) June 2016 Q. 5 b**

There were a number of Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 and it reached a stage when General Ayub Khan felt the army should take control to restore stability. East Pakistan’s politicians wanted more say in the running of the central government which increased tension. Iskander Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians and was alarmed at a plan by Suharwardy to unite the political leadership of Bengal and Punjab against him.

Therefore he turned to Ayub Khan and the military for help.

**Question No. 16: What were the Basic Democracies? (7) June 2017 Q.4 a**

- The first step in Ayub Khan’s constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies order on **26 Oct. 1959**.
- That was 4 tier systems in which ordinary people elected **union council** members, who in turn elected Tehsil councilors then the **district** and **divisional** members.
- Later it was stated in the 1962 constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the Electoral College for the election of the **president** and members of the central and provincial legislatures.
- At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the basic democrats for a vote of confidence in him and **on 17 Feb. 1960** he was confirmed as president.

**Question No. 17 Were the economic reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies in the ‘Decade of Progress’ between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer. (14) JUNE 2019 Q. 5 C**

**Economic**

- The land of smaller farmers was redistributed to farmers with medium sized farms and agriculture was revitalised to such an extent that crop outputs were at record levels.

- In 1962, an oil refinery was established in Karachi and a Mineral Development Corporation was set up for the exploration of mineral deposits which contributed significantly to the economy.
- An Export Bonus Scheme was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.
- The national economic annual growth rate was 7% and the economy grew three times faster than that of other South Asian countries.
- However, the new wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and did not bring widespread benefits.

#### Other

- The government set about improving housing for refugees. A massive new housing development provided new homes for refugees in Karachi, which had a beneficial effect on the lives of these people.
- Family Planning Programme used the media to persuade people to limit family size to slow population growth rates. • In 1959, Basic Democracies were introduced. This was a four tier structure of government, allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils was such that martial law was lifted.
- People were prevented from hoarding goods and selling them on at inflated prices. Profiteers had their goods confiscated and many were arrested. As a result, this action brought prices of many goods down and that benefitted people.
- The price of milk and other goods were fixed to stop profiteering which helped families to manage their weekly budget better.

#### **Question No. 18: Who was Fatima Jinnah?**

**(4) June 2020 Q. 5 a**

- The sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah [1], a dentist [1] who gave up her career to support him especially after the death of his wife [1]; • In 1965 [1], aged 71 [1] she stood in the presidential election (against Ayub Khan) [1]; • She was very popular [1] and so is known as Khatoon-i-Pakistan (First Lady of Pakistan) [1], and Madar-i-Millat (Mother of the Nation) [1].

#### **Question No. 19: Explain why Ayub Khan came to power in 1958.**

**(7) NOV. 2020 Q. 4 B**

- There were many prime ministers between 1956–1958 • there was a famine/floods • East Pakistan's politicians wanted more participation in government • the country needed greater stability at that time • Iskander Mirza had lost the support of many of the leading politicians

#### **Question No. 20: 'Ayub Khan's agricultural policies were the most effective of the domestic reforms that took place between 1958 and 1969.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. .**

**(14 )June2021 Q. 4 c**

**May agree** that agricultural policies were the most effective of Ayub Khan’s domestic policies: • land was redistributed • tenant farmers were introduced • farmers were given loans • farming productivity increased • irrigation schemes were introduced • farming mechanisation was introduced Counter-arguments might include: • an oil refinery was built in Karachi • a Mineral Development Corporation was set up • an export bonus scheme was started • economic growth increased • the price of milk was fixed • new houses were built • new schools and a new curriculum were introduced • refugees were found new homes • a family planning programme was established • medical facilities were improved • a new capital was built at Islamabad • a Basic Democracy Scheme was implemented

## **TOPIC # 24**

### **YAHYA KHAN**

**&**

### **CREATION OF BANGLADESH 1969-71:**

#### **Questions ON Bangladesh:**

- Question No.1:** Explain three reasons why Bangladesh was created in 1971. (7) June 2000 Q.5 b
- Question No.2:** Why did Mujib Ur Rehman and Awami League demand six points? (7) June 2001 Q.5 b
- Question No.3:** Why was Pakistan unsuccessful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against India? (7) June 2002 Q.5 b
- Question No.4:** Why did East Pakistan wish to break away from Pakistan? (7) June 2003 Q.4 b
- Question No. 5:** Why was India successful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan? (7) June 2006 Q.4 b
- Question No.6:** The six points made by Mujib urRehman and the Awami League was the most important factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2006 Q.4 c
- Question No. 7:** The geographical position of East Pakistan was the most important reason for the creation of Bangladesh in 1981. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) Nov 2007 Q. 5 c
- Question No.8:** Were economic factors more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer. (14) June 2009 Q.5 c
- Question No.9:** Political factors were more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2011 Q. 5 c
- Question No. 10:** Why was India successful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan? (7) June 2012 Q. 5 b
- Question No. 11:** Explain why East Pakistan wished to become independent of West Pakistan. (7) June 2013 Q. 5 b
- Question No. 12:** Were political concerns more important than economic ones in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer. (14) June 2014 Q. 5 c
- Question No. 13:** What was Operation Searchlight? (4) Nov. 2015 Q. 4 a
- Question No. 14:**

#### **SOURCE A**

The cyclone that broke Pakistan's back Cyclone Bhola hit East Pakistan on 12 November 1970. It wiped out villages, destroyed crops and killed nearly one million people. Nearly 85 per cent of the area was destroyed. Three months after the cyclone, 75 per cent of the population was receiving food from relief workers. Historians believe the devastation caused by the cyclone, the view that the government had mismanaged the relief efforts and West Pakistan's blatant

neglect, all contributed to the high levels of anti-West Pakistan feeling. This led to a sweeping victory for the Awami League, and eventually the breakup of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. The catastrophe happened in Pakistan yet it is felt that few Pakistanis even know of it by name. Fewer still remember that it eventually contributed to Pakistan’s breakup.

From The Express Tribune, 18 August 2010.

According to Source A, what problems were caused by Cyclone Bhola in 1970?

(3) June 2016 Q.1 a

**Question No. 15:**



What does Source B tell us about the outcome of the conflict between East Pakistan and West Pakistan?

(5) June 2016 Q.1 b

**Question No. 16:** Why did the victory of the Awami League in the 1970 elections in Pakistan cause a constitutional crisis?

(7) June 2016 Q.1 c

## ANSWERS ON Bangladesh:

**Question No.1:**

Explain three reasons why Bangladesh was created in 1971.

(7) June 2000 Q.5 b

Political grievances of the people of east Pakistan was one of the most important reasons. The province had a larger population (56%) but their political power was in the hands of west wing politicians. They had the grievances of underrepresentation. They demanded more seats in the central assembly and the greater share in the cabinets because of the larger population. They were always more ministers from the west wing than from east Wing in all cabinets. The long presidential rule of Ayub Khan increased their sense of deprivation. After the election of 1970 when Awami League won majority of seats in the national assembly Mujib was not allowed to become the PM of Pakistan and to form his cabinet.

The other important reason was economic. The export of raw jute from EP was the main source of foreign exchange earnings and revenue to central government. This earning was spent more on the development of the west wing. And the east wing received a small share of development funds. Greater and faster industrial development took place in west wing. The industrial units opened in EP mostly belonged to the industrialist of West Pakistan. The result was that there was the continual transfer of capital from east wing to west wing. Most of the banks insurance companies and big commercial firms had their head offices at Karachi. There was greater prosperity in west wing and more poverty in east wing.

The behaviors of west pak. Administrative officers who were posted in East Pakistan were hateful and humiliating with the Bengalis. Hatred developed between the people of east Pakistani people and west Pakistani people. India’s hostile propaganda also poisoned the minds of the people of EP. In the armed forces Bengalis share was only 10 percent. People of EP felt deprived .East Pakistan’s share in central government services was only 15 percent The language problem was also an important reason. It was a big hurdle in creating solidarity and unity in the Pakistani nation. Indian military intervention became the immediate reason. Indian army attacked and entered in EP from many sides in Nov. 1971. This resulted in surrendered of Pakistani army in 16 Dec 1971 when Bangladesh created.

**Question No.2: Why did Mujib Ur Rehman and Awami League demand six points? (7) June 2001 Q.5 b**

Mujib and AL put forward 6 points because the people of former EP had many grievances. EP had 54% of the population of the country, but had equal number of seats in the NA. Political and economic power was largely concentrated in WP. In the central cabinet there were always more ministers from WP. EP had a small share in govt. services and in the armed forces (10-20%). More development funds were spent on west wing and smaller amount was allocated to east wing. WP saw more and faster industrial development. Industries in EP were mostly owned by West Pakistani industrialists and profit earned from EP was shifted to WP. All banks and big commercial firms had their head offices in Karachi. In view of these grievances the AL demanded its 6 points ***which aimed at directly elected government, separate currencies, provincial autonomy, power of taxation, own troops and foreign trade for east wing.***

six points are as follows.

- (i) ***A directly elected government.***
- (ii) ***The federal government to control defense and foreign policy .all other decisions to be made at provincial level.***
- (iii) ***Separate currencies and financial policies foe East Pakistan, to stop all the money flowing from East Pakistan to West Pakistan.***
- (iv) ***The provinces to tax their people and send a share to the federal government. The federal government not to tax people.***
- (v) ***Each province to set up its own trade agreements with other countries and to control the money spent through this trade.***
- (vi) ***Each province to have its own troops.***

**Question No.3: Why was Pakistan unsuccessful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against India?**

**(7) June 2002 Q.5 b**

On 6<sup>th</sup> September India launched an attack on Lahore which was forcefully repulsed by Pakistan. This full scale war lasted for 17 days and ended on 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept 1965 when both countries accepted a ceasefire resolution of the Security Council. It was followed by Tashkent Agreement in January 1966. The 1965 war was by no means a total defeat for Pakistan but Pakistan gained little in the end and the Kashmir issue remained unsolved.

In 1971, when the talks between Mujeeb, Yahya and Bhutto failed, Yahya Khan ordered military action in East Pakistan on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1971 which was a big mistake. As a result some people crossed into India as refugees. This gave India an excuse to intervene. In Nov. 1971 Indian troops crossed into East Pakistan and helped Mukhti Bahini to launch attacks on Pakistan army. Mukhti Bahini was a Bengali militant group which was equipped, trained and financed by India. They started guerrilla warfare and inflicted heavy casualties on Pakistan army. In West Pakistan full scale war broke out on 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec. 1971. Pakistan forces could not face the Indian strength and surrendered in Dhaka on 16<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1971.

The main cause of Pakistan being unsuccessful was Indian superiority in men and material. After the Indian China war of 1962, India had collected enormous arms supply from the western powers as well as from Russia. Pakistan didn't get any help from the west in spite of the fact that Pakistan was a member of CENTO and SEATO pacts. On the other hand, India had signed a military pact with Russia in Aug. 1971. India received full support and backing from Russia. Pakistan had no such alliance.

**Question No.4: Why did East Pakistan wish to break away from Pakistan?**

**(7) June 2003 Q.4 b**

East Pakistan wished to break away because of a series of grievances which affected the minds of people and they decided to break away.

East Pakistanis had no proper share in political power. They demanded provincial autonomy and more share in central government which were not granted.

Faster industrial and economic development in West Pakistan, disparity in per capita income between the two wings, continuous flow of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan, low representation of Bengalis in armed forces, civil services and judiciary, the language problem, the behaviour of West Pakistani officers, all led the new generation to believe that West Pakistan was ruling over them and exploiting them. East Pakistanis started believing that they would be economically better off without the domination of West Pakistan.

Lastly the results of 1971 elections were not honoured. Mujeeb was not made the PM of Pakistan. Military action by Pakistan army was a big mistake. Invasion of Indian army in support of Bengalis was an important factor. so all these factors led to the separation of East Pakistan.

**Question No. 5: Why was India successful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan?**

**(7) June 2006 Q.4 b**

In 1965 the Pakistan army had never expected a full scale war with India over Kashmir. Their plans to encourage an uprising in Indian occupied Kashmir did not work. Indian troops attacked and Lahore was caught unprepared. By 1971, the Indians had developed a much bigger army and used the civil war in East Pakistan to fight Pakistan. The speed and ease of the Indian victory confirmed the Indian army's superiority.

**Question No.6: The six points made by Mujib urRehman and the Awami League was the most important factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) June 2006 Q.4 c**

The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League won a majority in East Pakistan. Awami League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave EP to control everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect they wanted separation from Pakistan which was becoming more evident due to the clear differences between the two. Briefly speaking Political parties who emerged in both parts believed in regionalism rather than national sovereignty remained one of the important factors for the creation of Bangladesh.

However the demands of the Six Points of the Awami League were rejected by Ayub Khan, and its leader Mujib-ur-Rehman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look inevitable. Most of the wealth of Pakistan was concentrated in the west not only of individuals but also in terms of government expenditure. This caused great resentment in East Pakistan. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in this area which caused further discontent. Also the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again all the benefits went to the west.

**Question No. 7: The geographical position of East Pakistan was the most important reason for the creation of Bangladesh in 1981. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.**

(14) Nov 2007 Q. 5 c

**BEST ANSWER:**

**East Pakistan** was at a distance of 1600 km from the west wing with a large hostile Indian territory in between. Had East Pakistan been contiguous to West Pakistan, the separation would never have taken place.

**Political** grievances of the people of east Pakistan was one of the most important reasons. The province had a larger population (56%) but their political power was in the hands of west wing politicians. They had the grievances of underrepresentation. They demanded more seats in the central assembly and the greater share in the cabinets because of the larger population. They were always more ministers from the west wing than from east Wing in all cabinets. The **long presidential rule of ayub khan** increased their sense of deprivation. After the election of 1970 when Awami League won majority of seats in the national assembly Mujib was not allowed to become the PM of Pakistan and to form his cabinet.

The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League won a majority in East Pakistan. Awami League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave EP to control everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect they wanted separation from Pakistan which was becoming more evident due to the clear differences between the two. Briefly speaking Political parties who emerged in both parts believed in regionalism rather than national sovereignty remained one of the important factors for the creation of Bangladesh.

However the demands of the Six Points of the Awami League were rejected by Ayub Khan, and its leader Mujib-ur-Rehman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look inevitable.

The other important reason was **economic**. The export of raw jute from EP was the main source of foreign exchange earnings and revenue to central government. This earning was spent more on the development of the west wing. And the east wing received a small share of development funds. Greater and faster industrial development took place in west wing. The industrial units opened in EP mostly belonged to the industrialist of West Pakistan. The result was that there was the continual transfer of capital from east wing to west wing. Most of the banks insurance companies and big commercial firms had their head offices at Karachi. There was greater prosperity in west wing and more poverty in east wing. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in this area which caused further discontent. Also the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again all the benefits went to the west.

The behaviors of west pak. Administrative officers who were posted in East Pakistan were hateful and humiliating with the Bengalis. Hatred developed between the people of east Pakistani people and west Pakistani people. India's hostile propaganda also poisoned the minds of the people of EP. In the armed forces Bengalis share was only 10 percent. People of EP felt deprived. East Pakistan's share in central government services was only 15 percent The language problem was also an important reason. It was a big hurdle in creating solidarity and unity in the Pakistani nation.

**Indian military** intervention became the immediate reason. Indian army attacked and entered in EP from many sides in Nov. 1971. This resulted in surrendered of Pakistani army in 16 Dec 1971 when Bangladesh created.

Analysis:

**Question No.8: Were economic factors more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer. (14) June 2009 Q.5 c**

East Pakistan was a long way from West Pakistan and most of the wealth of Pakistan was concentrated in the West, not only of individuals but also in terms of government expenditure. This caused great resentment in East Pakistan. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in the East and this caused further discontent. Also, the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again, most benefits went to the West.

The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League win a majority in East Pakistan. The League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave East Pakistan in control of everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect, the Awami League wanted separation from Pakistan which was becoming more evident due to the perceived differences between the two halves of the country. Some politicians in both East and West Pakistan argued more and more for regionalism. The demands of the Six Points of the Awami League were, however, rejected by Ayub Khan, and the Awami leader Mujib-ur-Rahman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look more possible.

The behaviour of the Pakistan army towards the population of East Pakistan from March 1971 turned most against rule from Islamabad. The intervention of Indian troops in East Pakistan in December resulted in a swift conclusion to the fight and Bangladesh became independent.

**Question No.9:**

**Political factors were more important than any other factor in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2011 Q. 5 c**

The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League win a majority in East Pakistan. The League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave EP to control everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect they wanted separation from Pakistan which was becoming more evident due to the perceived differences between the two. Political parties who emerged in both parts believed in regionalism rather than national sovereignty. However the demands of the Six Points of the Awami League were rejected by Ayub Khan and its leader Mujib-ur-Rehman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look inevitable.

Most of the wealth of Pakistan was concentrated in the west not only of individuals but also in terms of government expenditure. This caused great resentment in East Pakistan. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in this area which caused further discontent.

Also the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again all the benefits went to the west.

**Question No. 10: why was India successful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan?**

**(7) June 2012 Q. 5 b**

In 1965 the Pakistan army had never expected a full scale war with India over Kashmir. Their plans to encourage an uprising in Indian occupied Kashmir did not work. Indian troops attacked and Lahore was caught unprepared.

By 1971, the Indians had developed a much bigger army and used the civil war in East Pakistan to fight Pakistan. The speed and ease of the Indian victory confirmed the Indian army's superiority

**Question No. 11: Explain why East Pakistan wished to become independent of West Pakistan.**

**(7) June 2013 Q. 5 b**

East Pakistan was resentful of the fact that it was under-represented in the Pakistani army and the Civil Service. Due to the distance from the West it felt under political repression and with an undemocratic government. Because it had a weaker industrial base than the West and suffered from floods it resented that it received little attention from the rest of Pakistan.

**Question No. 12: were political concerns more important than economic ones in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971? Explain your answer.**

**(14) June 2014 Q. 5 c**

**LEVEL 4: Explains both. [9–13]**

Political:

The general election of 1970 saw the Awami League win a majority in East Pakistan. The League wanted a federal form of government, which would leave East Pakistan to control everything except defence and foreign policy. It wanted a separate currency and fiscal policy with its own taxation. It wanted to negotiate its own trade agreements with other countries and have its own armed forces. In effect they wanted separation from Pakistan, which was becoming more evident due to the perceived differences between the two. Political parties who emerged in both parts believed in regionalism rather than national sovereignty. However Ayub Khan rejected the demands of the Six Points of the Awami League. Its leader Mujib-ur-Rehman was imprisoned. This caused further discontent and separation began to look inevitable.

Economic:

East Pakistan was a long way from the western half and most of the wealth of Pakistan was concentrated in the west not only of individuals but also in terms of government expenditure. This caused great resentment in East Pakistan. A weaker industrial base and a climate ravaged by regular floods led to even more depression in this area, which caused further discontent. Also the eastern province saw little return for the wealth created by the growing of jute in the area. Again all the benefits went to the west.

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

**Question No. 13: What was Operation Searchlight?**

**(4) Nov. 2015 Q. 4 a**

A planned military operation carried out by the Pakistan Army to put down the Bengali nationalist movement in East Pakistan in March 1971. Ordered by the central government in West Pakistan, this was seen as the sequel to "Operation Blitz" which had been launched in November 1970. The original plan envisioned taking control of the major cities on March 26, and then eliminating all opposition, political or military within one month. Bengali resistance was not expected by the Pakistani army and led to many

atrocities taking place that caused some 10 million refugees to flee to India. These atrocities enraged the Bengalis, who declared independence from Pakistan, and led to the creation of Bangladesh

**Question No. 14:**

**SOURCE A**

The cyclone that broke Pakistan’s back **Cyclone Bhola** hit East Pakistan on 12 November 1970. It wiped out villages, destroyed crops and killed nearly one million people. Nearly 85 per cent of the area was destroyed. Three months after the cyclone, 75 per cent of the population was receiving food from relief workers. Historians believe the devastation caused by the cyclone, the view that the government had mismanaged the relief efforts and West Pakistan’s blatant neglect, all contributed to the high levels of anti-West Pakistan feeling. This led to a sweeping victory for the Awami League, and eventually the breakup of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh. The catastrophe happened in Pakistan yet it is felt that few Pakistanis even know of it by name. Fewer still remember that it eventually contributed to Pakistan’s breakup.

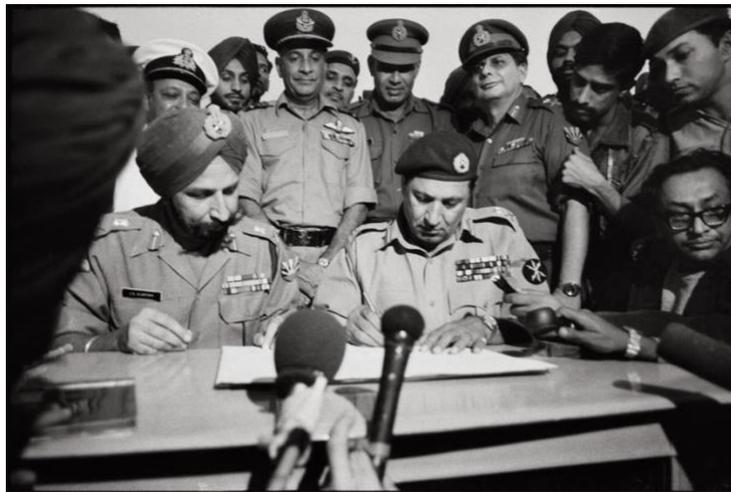
From The Express Tribune, 18 August 2010.

**According to Source A, what problems were caused by Cyclone Bhola in 1970? (3) June 2016 Q.1 a**

Reward each correct statement identified from source with 1 mark, up to a maximum of 3.

It destroyed villages and crops. Nearly 1 million people died. 85% of the area was destroyed. 3 months later 75% of population were receiving food from aid workers. There were ill feelings towards West Pakistan over the amount of aid

**Question No. 15:**



**What does Source B tell us about the outcome of the conflict between East Pakistan and West Pakistan?**

**(5) June 2016 Q.1 b**

LEVEL 1: Identify surface features from the source [1]

It shows a peace treaty.

LEVEL 2: Unsupported inferences [2–3]

It suggests that the ending of the conflict was an important event.

LEVEL 3: Inference(s) supported by detail from the source and/or contextual knowledge [4–5]

It suggests that the ending of the conflict was an important event because there are military men of high rank witnessing the signing of a peace treaty. The source shows that the Indian army had become involved in the conflict. The end of the conflict led to the formation of Bangladesh. The source suggests that this news was important so would be broadcast around the subcontinent and probably the world.

**Question No. 16:**

**Why did the victory of the Awami League in the 1970 elections in Pakistan cause a constitutional crisis?**

**(7)June 2016 Q.1 c**

LEVEL 1: Simplistic answer [1]

It was a popular party.

LEVEL 2: Identifies reasons [2–4]

The politicians of West Pakistan were worried about the consequences of East Pakistan running the National Assembly.

LEVEL 3: Explains reasons [5–7]

President Yahya Khan was not willing to allow the Awami League to take over the National Assembly by forming a government. The Awami League had won a landslide victory in East Pakistan and the National Assembly and was in a position to form a government on its own. The future Prime Minister and the entire cabinet could be formed from the Awami League. Even though Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Pakistan People’s Party had won an overwhelming victory in West Pakistan, it was likely it would have no role in the future government.

The Awami League had won the election on a programme limiting the power of central government over the provinces. The different areas of the country wanted to have control over their foreign exchange earned from trade which would subsequently reduce the funds to the central government in West Pakistan.

OPERATION SEARCHLIGHT -26 MARCH 1971

MUKHTI BHANIS

WAR WITH INDIA

BANGLADESH CREATED

## TOPIC # 25

### ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO 1971-77:

#### QUESTIONS ON ZAB:

**Question No.1:** How successful was ZAB as P.M of Pakistan. Explain your answer. (14) June 2000 Q.4 c

**Question No.2:** Give the reasons why ZAB was executed in 1979. (7) NOV. 2000 Q.5 b

**Question No.3:** In which of the following did ZAB have most success,

- Reform and control of the armed forces
- Constitutional reform
- Education and health reforms?

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14) NOV 2002 Q.4 c

**Question no 4:** Why did ZAB fall from power in 1979? (7) June 2003 Q.5 b

**Question No.5:** Constitutional reforms were the most important of ZAB’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2004 Q.5 c

**Question No. 6:** Social reforms were the most important of ZAB’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2006 Q.5 c

**Question No. 7:** Why was ZAB arrested and subsequently executed in 1979? (7) NOV 2007 Q.5 b.

**Question No.8:** Education reforms were the most important of ZAB’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) NOV 2008 Q. 4 c

**Question No.9:** Why did ZAB come to power in 1971? (7) NOV 2009 Q. 5 b

**Question No.10:** What was the Simla Agreement? (4) NOV 2010 Q.5 a

**Question No. 11:**

In December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. His party had an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and he was determined to introduce radical measures to bring about changes in Pakistan. He established a constitution and introduced a range of domestic measures relating to industry, agriculture, education and administrative, health and social reforms. However, he was unable to stay in power and fell from office before the end of the decade.

(a) Describe Bhutto’s downfall from power. (4)Nov. 2012 Q. No. 5 a

**Question No. 12:**

In December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President with an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. However, India had just defeated Pakistan and East Pakistan had gained independence, so the morale of Pakistan was low. One highlight, however, came in the Simla Agreement.

Describe the Simla Agreement. (4) June 2013 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 13:** Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto executed in 1979? (7) June 2014 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 14:**

In 1962, Ayub Khan introduced a new constitution that was largely made up of his own proposals. The new constitution was aimed at making Ayub Khan's position more secure and guaranteed far-reaching powers for the President. It was disliked by many people, especially those in East Pakistan who felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. As a result within a decade there was a need to introduce a new constitution.

(a) Describe the terms of the 1973 Constitution. (4) Nov. 2014 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 15:** How successful were Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977?

Explain your answer. (14) June 2015 Q. 5 c

**Question No. 16:**

How successful was Pakistan in establishing a new constitution between 1947 and 1973? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov. 2015 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 17:**

Explain why Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rule ended in 1977.

(7) June 2017 Q. 4 b

**Question No. 18:**

**SOURCE A** The aftermath of the High Court Judgement on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto 1978 When the High Court judgement was announced over the radio, people in Pakistan were stunned. Two villagers in Lahore even offered their sons to be hanged in place of Mr Bhutto. There were peaceful protests, demonstrations, strikes and even riots. Hundreds were arrested and some died in the clashes. The country was brought to a virtual stand-still as men and women, young and old sought to bring home to the authorities the strong opposition to the High Court verdict. From *The Trial and Execution of Bhutto, 1978*

1(a) According to Source A, what were the effects of the High Court judgement regarding Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the people of Pakistan? (3) June 2018 Q.1 a

**Question No. 19:**

In which of the following did Zulfikar Ali Bhutto have most success?

- (i) reform and control of the armed forces
- (ii) constitutional reform
- (iii) education and health reforms

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14) Nov 2018 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 20:** To what extent did Pakistan achieve a new constitution between 1949 and 1973? Explain your answer. (14) Nov. 2019 5c

**Question No. 21:** Describe the Security of Tenure scheme. (4) Nov. 2020 5 a

**Question No. 22:** Describe the terms of the Simla Agreement. (4) June. 2021 4 a

## ANSWERS ON ZAB:

### **Question No.1: How successful was ZAB as P.M of Pakistan. Explain your answer. (14)June 2000 Q.4 c**

After the separation of East Pakistan, ZAB was handed over the power in Pakistan. He became the civilian Martial Law Administrator and the president of Pakistan. After the new constitution was enforced in 1973, he became the PM of Pakistan and remained in power till 1977. The people of Pakistan were in a state of shock and were country's pride at home and rebuilt its image abroad.

The first important step taken by Bhutto was the signing of simla agreement with Indian govt. in July 1972 under which 95000 Pakistani prisoners of war were released from Indian war camps. ZAB gave a new constitution which was enforced in Aug. 1973. It was a federal constitution with parliamentary system of government and was Islamic in nature. Bhutto arranged 2<sup>nd</sup> OIC at Lahore in Feb. 1974. It was attended by heads of many Muslim countries. Many important resolutions were passed, all intending to promote Muslim unity and betterment of economic needs of the Muslim world. Bhutto also established good relationship with USSR and china without endangering with USA and European countries.

Massive literacy programmes were launched. Many primary schools were opened. Islamabad University and Allama Iqbal Open University were founded.

Bhutto introduced land reforms in 1972 which reduced the ceiling of landownership. Owners of 12.5 acres of land were exempted from land revenue and concessions were given to small farmers.

But he was not completely successful as PM. He nationalized the industries. Banks and insurance companies were also nationalized. This step proved very harmful to the country in the long run. On political side Bhutto dismissed the Baluchistan govt. at which the NWFP govt. resigned. Unrest started in balochisan. it started tribal uprising which was suppressed with the help of the army.

On the whole, Bhutto was successful as PM. He restored Pakistan's prestige internationally and also started nuclear programme. Most importantly he restored democracy.

### **Question No.2: Give the reasons why ZAB was executed in 1979.**

**(7) NOV. 2000 Q.5 b**

ZAB remained in power from 1972 to 1977. Towards the later part of this period he lost the support of the labour class, the students and the press. He greatly antagonised the army by his remarks and steps. Bhutto also annoyed the west because of his leanings towards Russia. The defence forces were heavily banking upon the west for military supplies.

Bhutto tries to form as Islamic block and suggested the oil producing countries to use oil weapon against the west. His nuclear programme greatly irritated the west and America. Henry Kissinger, the US foreign

secretary clearly threatened Bhutto that US would make a horrible example of him if he didn't give up the nuclear programme.

Bhutto was arrested when ZIA imposed martial Law on July 5<sup>th</sup> 1977. He was soon released but was re-arrested in a **murder case of Nawab Ahmed Khan**. The trial started and continued during the following year. The Lahore high court announced its decision on March 18, 1978 and found him guilty of participating in a conspiracy to murder a political opponent. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of Lahore High Court and Bhutto was executed in Rawalpindi jail on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1979.

**Question No.3: In which of the following did ZAB have most success,**

- **Reform and control of the armed forces**
- **Constitutional reform**
- **Education and health reforms?**

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

**(14) NOV 2002 Q.4 c**

ZAB came to power after the separation of Bangladesh in Dec. 1971. He wanted to control; the army and limit its powers in country's politics. Soon after coming in power, Bhutto removed top 6 military commanders. He demanded resignation from the heads of army and air force i.e. General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan. He appointed General Zia ul Haq as Chief of the army staff although he was junior to several other generals and had no distinguished service record. But in July 1977, Zia enforced Martial Law in the country and all political leaders were taken into the custody and constitution was also suspended. Therefore he was not that much successful in the reform and control of the armed forces.

Bhutto gave the 1973 constitution which was enforced on 14 Aug. 1973. The constitution brought federal, parliamentary system with Prime Minister as the executive head of the government. According to this constitution, Islam was to be the state religion and Pakistan was declared as Islamic Republic. President was to act on the binding advice of the PM. First time, a senate or upper House was to be elected. Urdu was to be the official language of Pakistan. This constitution was agreed upon by all political parties and was passed by a democratically elected assembly. This constitution is still running in the country although many amendments were made in it.

Under the educational reforms, all private school and colleges were nationalized. Several universities were opened including Allama Iqbal Open University. A large number of primary schools were opened. Education was declared compulsory and free, but this could not be implemented on account of lack of funds. The nationalization of institutions did not have a good effect on educational standard. In the health centres and

basic Health Units were opened in rural areas. Medical names were given to medicines instead of brand names in order to reduce prices of medicines. But this scheme failed miserably.

Therefore it can be said that Bhutto was most successful in constitution making and constitutional reforms re-establishing democratic system in the country.

**Question no 4: Why did ZAB fall from power in 1979?**

**(7) June 2003 Q.5 b**

ZAB fall from power in July 1977 when Zia imposed martial Law. The reason was that Bhutto had called an election in 1977. Nine different parties combined to form the Pakistan National Alliance to contest the elections against PPP. When results were announced PPP won 154 seats while PNA got 38 seats out of 200. The PNA was greatly dissatisfied and demanded fresh elections and recount of votes on many seats which ZAB refused. Mass protest was started by PNA and situation became so violent and dangerous that army was to be called in major cities.

The PNA leadership was arrested and lengthy negotiations between ZAB and PNA leaders took place which came to no result. There was danger of wide spread civil disobedience. Zia, the chief of army staff declared martial law in the country on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977. ZAB and all major political leaders were arrested. Later Bhutto was tried for the murder of a political opponent and was sentenced to death in April 1979.

**QuestionNo.5: Constitutional reforms were the most important of ZAB’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977.do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) June 2004 Q.5 c**

The new constitution drawn up in 1973 established a Senate which offered the opportunity for professionals, academics and specialists to work together. It also safeguarded the interests of minority provinces which now had an equal status in the Senate.

However other aspects of his domestic policies were also important. Free primary education was introduced. New schools were to be built and all private sector schools were nationalized. The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards. He also tried to improve the infant mortality and age expectancy rates by introducing Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units.

**Question No. 6: Social reforms were the most important of ZAB’s domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) June 2006 Q.5 c**

#### **Social Reforms:**

- Pakistan had the highest infant mortality rate and life expectancy was very low.
  - In august 1972 Bhutto launched a health scheme designed to correct these anomalies.
- (i) He introduced Rural Health Centre (RHCs) and Basic Health Units (BHUs) in urban areas to provide more widespread healthcare. The plan was to set up 1 RHC for every 60,000 people and 1 BHU for every 20,000 people.
- (ii) Training colleges for doctors and nurses were expected to admit students on merits. Once qualified, doctors had to work the first year wherever the government placed them.

- (iii) The sale of medicines under brand names was also banned which reduced the costs of medicines. Medicines were made available without prescription.

**Problems for health policies:**

- There were always a shortage of doctors and nurses.
- The removal of brand names from medicines also saw a fall in the income of chemists and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan as they could not make profits.

**Education:**

- The standard of education was very deplorable.
- Only 50 % children attending the school and literary rate were 25 %.
- Bhutto’s government outlined 8 ambitious goals.

- (i) to eradicate ignorance
- (ii) Education for all including women, mentally impaired and illiterate adults.
- (iii) To ensure that the curriculum meets Pakistan’s social, economic and political needs.
- (iv) To ensure uniformity of education
- (v) To raise the self-confidence of the common man.
- (vi) To raise aspiration for higher education.
- (vii) To develop each person’s personality and potential.
- (viii) To develop Pakistani culture and identity.

- Government nationalized all private schools and colleges to remove discrepancies.
- More schools were built to provide free primary education for all.

**Problems for new education policies:**

- In remote areas these policies were not implemented effectively.
- Only 13 % budget was allocated for education which was not sufficient.
- Education was free even then rural people couldn’t afford the loss of earnings they faced if they sent a child to school instead of sending it out to work.
- Standard of education was not maintained due to high strength of students.
- Non availability of trained teachers.
- Instead of all the government efforts the literacy rate was not increased more than 1 %.

**POLITICAL REFORMS:**

**Controlling Army:**

- 20 December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and chief martial law administrator.
- The 1970 election however had given the PPP an overwhelming majority in the NA.
- He was determined to **limit the powers of the army** so that it would not intervene to thwart his policies.
- He removed the most important army leaders (29 in Bhutto’s first four months in power).amongst these were the head of the Air Force, Air Marshal Rahim Khan and the C.in-C of the army, General Gul Hasan.
- Appointing his own leaders for example, *General Tikka Khan* was placed in charge of the army in a new post named “Chief of Army Staff”.
- Setting up the **FSF** from October 1972, a government controlled military force set up “assist the police force”.



### The Simla Agreement:

- On **2 July 1972** Bhutto signed the Simla agreement with the Prime minister of India, *Indira Gandhi*.
- India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed directly with India and not in international forums such as UN.
- Bhutto's popularity increased by bringing home the prisoners of war.

### Establishing a new constitution:

- In April 1972 martial law was lifted and a new assembly was called.
- A committee was set up with representatives from different parties in the assembly to draw up a new constitution.
- The committee reported in April 1973 and its recommendations received almost unanimous support in the Assembly.
- On **14 August 1973** the new constitution became law.

### Industrial Reforms:

- (i) Bhutto wanted to Control industrial output and channel investment into industrialization.
- (ii) He wanted to raise the workers living and working standards including the provision of cheap housing. And also allow the workers to set up unions.
- (iii) He wanted to erase the inequalities that had collected most of the industrial wealth into a few hands. 20 industrial houses owned 80 % of Pakistan's large scale industry.
- (iv) He wanted to create the wealth to help fund other government reforms.
- (v) He wanted to raise the popularity of the PPP.
- (vi) Bhutto also wanted to bring down inflation from 25 %.
  - For that he introduced the programme of **nationalization**.
  - The sugar, cotton, vegetable oil and rice industries together with the banking and insurance sectors were taken under the government control.
  - 70 major industrial units were placed under the control of a Federal Ministry of production.

### Problems for nationalization policy:

- (i) Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production.
- (ii) Capable factory owner were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce.
- (iii) The changes took place at a time when the world was going through a recession .the nationalized industries faced a declining demand for their goods across the world and private companies were forced to close.
  - Despite these problems Bhutto's industrial reforms did have some success and inflation fell to just **6 %** in 1976.
  - Economic growth also began to increase.

### Agricultural reforms:

- Bhutto believed that improved technology and better farming methods had raised production.
- So landowners could maintain their income on smaller, more productive, areas of land.
- He therefore **cut the ceiling (top limit) to 250 acres from 500 acres irrigated and 500 from 1000 acres un-irrigated**.
- The surplus land could be sold to the smaller peasant/farmers to make better profits.
- Bhutto also wanted to give tenants security of tenure of the land they farmed.
- The tenants can purchase their farmed land from landlord but cannot sell to a third party who might then evict the tenants.

- Such a measure encouraged tenants to make improvements on their lands as they knew they would not be evicted.
- The cunning big landlords started transferring their holding to their members or to their trusted tenants.
- Bribery and corruption emerged among patwaris.

ANALYSIS:

**Question No. 7: Why was ZAB arrested and subsequently executed in 1979?**

**(7) NOV 2007 Q.5 b.**

One of the main weaknesses of his government was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong the blame was clearly laid at his feet. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the educational reforms since it meant a loss of earnings to them. Bhutto was finally accused of conspiracy to murder a political opponent and was found guilty. He refused to plead for clemency to the President.

**Question No.8: Education reforms were the most important of ZAB's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.**

**(14) NOV 2008 Q. 4 c**

Amongst Bhutto's education reforms, free primary education was introduced. New schools were to be built and all private sector schools were nationalized. Several universities were opened including Allama Iqbal Open University. A large number of primary schools were opened and Education was declared compulsory and free, but this could not be implemented on account of lack of funds. The nationalization of institutions did not have a good effect on educational standard. The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the educational reforms since it meant a loss of earnings to them.

However other aspects of his domestic policies were also important. He also tried to improve the infant mortality and age expectancy rates by introducing Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units. Pharmaceutical companies were banned from charging for a particular medical brand name and so medicines became cheaper. However this did see the profits of chemists fall drastically and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan.

A new constitution drawn up in 1973 established a senate which offered the opportunity for professionals, academics and specialists to work together. It also safeguarded the interests of minority provinces which now had an equal status in the Senate. He produced the 1973 Constitution in an attempt to return to a form of parliamentary democracy and it was important since it is the basis upon which Pakistan has been governed to the end of the 20th Century (apart from when it was suspended due to martial law). The constitution also

brought federal, parliamentary system with Prime Minister as the executive head of the government. According to this constitution, Islam was to be the state religion and Pakistan was declared as Islamic Republic. President was to act on the binding advice of the PM. First time, a senate or upper House was to be elected. Urdu was to be the official language of Pakistan. This constitution was agreed upon by all political parties and was passed by a democratically elected assembly. This constitution is still running in the country although many amendments were made in it. One of the main weaknesses of the new constitution was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong, the blame was clearly laid at his feet. Another important step taken by Bhutto was the signing **of simla agreement with Indian govt. in July 1972 under which 95000 Pakistani prisoners of war were released from Indian war camps. Bhutto also arranged 2<sup>nd</sup> OIC at Lahore in Feb. 1974. It was attended by heads of many Muslim countries. Many important resolutions were passed, all intending to promote Muslim unity and betterment of economic needs of the Muslim world. Bhutto also established good relationship with USSR and china without endangering with USA and European countries.**

Bhutto introduced land reforms in 1972 which reduced the ceiling of landownership. Owners of 12.5 acres of land were exempted from land revenue and concessions were given to small farmers.

ZAB came to power after the separation of Bangladesh in Dec. 1971. He wanted to control; the army and limit its powers in country's politics. Soon after coming in power, Bhutto removed top 6 military commanders. He demanded resignation from the heads of army and air force i.e. General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan. He appointed General Zia ul Haq as Chief of the army staff although he was junior to several other generals and had no distinguished service record. But in July 1977, Zia enforced Martial Law in the country and all political leaders were taken into the custody and constitution was also suspended. Therefore he was not that much successful in the reform and control of the armed forces.

Therefore it can be said that Bhutto was most successful in constitution making and constitutional reforms re-establishing democratic system in the country.

**Question No.9: Why did ZAB come to power in 1971?**

**(7) NOV 2009 Q. 5 b**

The army had been defeated by India and was at low ebb. Yayha Khan had been disgraced and Bhutto took the opportunity to seek power. Pakistan also lost East Pakistan which became Bangladesh and again Yayha Khan and the army were blamed – and Bhutto took advantage.

His programme of reform was attractive and appealed to the electorate. As a result Bhutto's party won an overall majority in the National Assembly. He was also able to establish power by taking control of the army and appointing his own leaders. The FSF (secret police) further established his power base.

**Question No.10: What was the Simla Agreement?**

**(4) NOV 2010 Q.5 a**

An agreement signed in July 1972 between Bhutto and Indira Gandhi. India agreed to return prisoners of war to Pakistan in return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed with India and not

with bodies such as the UN. It improved Pakistan's international reputation and increased Bhutto's popularity by bringing home POWs.

**Question No. 11:**

In December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. His party had an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly and he was determined to introduce radical measures to bring about changes in Pakistan. He established a constitution and introduced a range of domestic measures relating to industry, agriculture, education and administrative, health and social reforms. However, he was unable to stay in power and fell from office before the end of the decade.

(a) Describe Bhutto's downfall from power.

[4] Nov. 2012 Q. No. 5 a

In 1977, rumours of armed government thugs disrupting PNA election rallies in 1977. PPP won election but protests over vote rigging from PNA who demanded fresh election. Bhutto refused and rioting followed. His FSF couldn't stop it and Bhutto had to negotiate with PNP offering concessions and some elections in disputed constituencies. Declared a state of emergency and Pakistan placed under Martial law at same time, PNP leadership arrested and 000s of supporters. Army saw weaknesses in Bhutto and carried out a coup called 'Operation Fairplay'. Bhutto arrested and Pakistan under army control with Zia in charge

**Question No. 12:**

In December 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became President with an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. However, India had just defeated Pakistan and East Pakistan had gained independence, so the morale of Pakistan was low. One highlight, however, came in the Simla Agreement.

Describe the Simla Agreement.

[4] June 2013 Q. 4 a

1972 (2 July), Bhutto signed Simla Agreement with Indira Gandhi of India. She agreed to return prisoners of war in a return for a promise from Pakistan that the Kashmir problem would be discussed with India and not with others e.g. UN. Increased his popularity in Pakistan, international reputation enhanced, not given up on Kashmir

**Question No. 13: Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto executed in 1979?**

(7) June 2014 Q. 5 b

One of the main weaknesses of his government was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong the blame was clearly laid at his feet. Bhutto was accused of conspiracy to murder a political opponent by sending the FSF to kill him and was found guilty. He refused to plead for clemency to the President. Zia wanted to get rid of Bhutto to demonstrate his growing power and his lack of weakness to the army in particular.

**Question No. 14:** In 1962, Ayub Khan introduced a new constitution that was largely made up of his own proposals. The new constitution was aimed at making Ayub Khan's position more secure and guaranteed far-reaching powers for the President. It was disliked by many people, especially those in East Pakistan who felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. As a result within a decade there was a need to introduce a new constitution.

(a) Describe the terms of the 1973 Constitution.

(4) Nov. 2014 Q. 4 a

- (i) There would be two houses, the senate and the Assembly. The assembly would be elected for a period of 5 years and the members of the senate would be nominated in equal numbers from each of the 4 provinces.
- (ii) The leader of the party with a majority in the Assembly would become PM and select a cabinet.
- (iii) The president became largely a figurehead, whose orders had to be signed by the PM.

- (iv) Pakistan was an Islamic Republic and both the PM and president had to be Muslims.
- (v) Pakistan was a federal state. Each province had its own assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage with the majority party forming the provincial government. The national Assembly could only change the political leadership in the provinces by amending the constitution which required at least a 75 % majority in a vote.
- (vi) All fundamental basic human rights were guaranteed.

**Question No. 15:**

**How successful were Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977?**

**Explain your answer.**

**(14) June 2015 Q. 5 c**

LEVEL 1: Simplistic statement [1–2]

They were all successful.

LEVEL 2: Identifies/describes the policies [3–6]

There was a new Islamic constitution drawn up in 1973.

LEVEL 3: Explains successes OR failures [7–10]

LEVEL 4: Explains both [9–13]

**Successes**

A new constitution drawn up in 1973 established a Senate which offered the opportunity for professionals, academics and specialists to work together. It also safeguarded the interests of minority provinces which now had equal status in the Senate. He produced the 1973 Constitution in an attempt to return to a form of parliamentary democracy and it was important since it is the basis upon which Pakistan has been governed to the end of the 20th century, apart from when it was suspended due to martial law.

He also tried to improve the infant mortality and age expectancy rates by introducing Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units. Pharmaceutical companies were banned from charging for a particular medical brand name and so medicines became cheaper.

Amongst Bhutto's education reforms, free primary education was introduced. New schools were to be built and all private sector schools were nationalised. The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards.

**Failures**

One of the main weaknesses of the new constitution was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong, Bhutto was blamed.

Banning pharmaceutical companies from charging for a medical brand and making medicines cheaper did see the profits of chemists fall drastically and as a result many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan.

The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools while new ones were built.

The reforms were not very successful since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive. Many families resented the reforms since it meant a loss of earnings for them.

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

**Question No. 16:**

**How successful was Pakistan in establishing a new constitution between 1947 and 1973? Explain your answer.**

**Oct Nov. 2015 Q. 4 c 14 marks**

**Successes:**

The first attempt to set up a constitution came in 1949 with the Objectives Resolution which tried to pave the way towards a new constitution. It attempted to set out a plan to enshrine Islamic principles in an eventual constitution.

In 1952 a revised Basic Principles Committee presented a report which made firm steps towards an Islamic constitution by stating that the Head of State should be Muslim and that he would appoint a committee of Islamic specialists to ensure that all legislation conformed to Islamic law.

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

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

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

### **Failures:**

The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was criticised especially by East Pakistan who resented the fact that Urdu, not Bengali was to be the official language despite the much larger population. It also resented the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly, again due to the size of its population.

The death of Liaquat Ali Khan meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader could be found and had time to settle in The Basic Principles Committee’s report which was criticised because the official language issue was still not settled and East Pakistan was determined to oppose the selection of Urdu. Political uncertainties and change meant that further discussions towards establishing a new constitution were put on hold for a few years until 1956.

The 1956 constitution was heavily criticised since it didn’t solve the political problems of Pakistan. The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but whilst the President held the power to intervene or even suspend the Assembly. East Pakistan was very unhappy at not having a majority in the Assembly that it believed its vast population deserved. The 1962 constitution increased the powers of the ruling elite which happened because the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies and often used force or bribery to influence the results. The constitution also upset the people of East Pakistan as they felt they were going to have little part in the governing of Pakistan and that the power was held by the military and civil officials of West Pakistan.

As far as 1973 constitution is concerned there are several amendments included in it which make it a fragile and incompetent constitution.

Analysis:

### **Question No. 17:**

**Explain why Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s rule ended in 1977.**

**(7)June 2017 Q. 4 b**

- The focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and with Bhutto in particular, so when things went wrong he was blamed.
- The changes in education were criticised as they led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones were built/the building of new schools/ the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly/was very expensive.
- Many families resented the educational reforms because it meant a loss of earnings for them.
- Opponents alleged that Bhutto and his party manipulated the election in March 1977, which led to protests that were put down by the police.
- Martial law was imposed in Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad and strikes by bus and truck drivers in Karachi (Operation Wheel Jam), caused further problems for Bhutto.
- During Bhutto’s time in office the economy declined which contributed to unrest and reduced support for his government.

### **Question No. 18:**

**SOURCE A The aftermath of the High Court Judgement on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto 1978 When the High Court judgement was announced over the radio, people in Pakistan were stunned. Two villagers in Lahore even offered their sons to be hanged in place of Mr Bhutto. There were peaceful protests, demonstrations, strikes**

and even riots. Hundreds were arrested and some died in the clashes. The country was brought to a virtual stand-still as men and women, young and old sought to bring home to the authorities the strong opposition to the High Court verdict. From *The Trial and Execution of Bhutto, 1978*

**1(a) According to Source A, what were the effects of the High Court judgement regarding Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on the people of Pakistan?** (3) June 2018 Q. No. 1 a

- People were stunned
- There were arrests
- Some people died in clashes
- There was strong opposition
- There were strikes
- There were peaceful protests
- There were demonstrations

**Question No. 19: In which of the following did Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto have most success?**

(i) Reform and control of the armed forces

(ii) Constitutional reform

(iii) Education and health reforms

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

(14) Nov 2018 Q. 4 c

- Bhutto was concerned about the army and decided that he should assert his control. He made the army and air-force chiefs resign. This made his position more secure.
- A new constitution in 1973 established a Senate giving the opportunity for professionals, academics and specialists to work together. It also safeguarded the interests of minority provinces, which now had an equal status in the Senate. It marked the return to a form of parliamentary democracy, the basis upon which Pakistan has been governed to the end of the twentieth century, apart from when it was suspended due to martial law. One of the main weaknesses of the new constitution was that the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership and Bhutto in particular. When things went wrong he was blamed, which made him vulnerable
- His education reforms, introduced free primary education. New schools were planned and all private sector schools were nationalised. The aim was to increase the literacy rate and raise academic standards. The changes in education led to overcrowding in existing schools whilst new ones could be built. The reforms had limitations since the building of new schools and the recruitment of new teachers could not be achieved quickly and was also very expensive.
- His health reforms attempted to improve infant mortality and age expectancy rates by introducing Rural Health Centres and Basic Health Units. Pharmaceutical companies were banned from charging for a particular medical brand name and so medicines became cheaper. However, this did see the

profits of chemists fall drastically and many international drug companies closed down their operations in Pakistan, meaning that Pakistan lost income.

**Question No. 20:** To what extent did Pakistan achieve a new constitution between 1949 and 1973? Explain your answer. (14) Nov. 2019 5 C

e.g. **Able to achieve**

- The first attempt to set up a constitution was the Objectives Resolution in 1949, which set out a plan to enshrine Islamic principles in an eventual constitution; • In 1952 a revised Basic Principles Committee made steps towards an Islamic constitution, stating that the Head of State should be Muslim and appoint a committee of Islamic specialists ensuring all legislation conformed to Islamic law;
- In 1956 the constitution emerged with the declaration that Pakistan was to be an Islamic Republic and that Urdu and Bengali would be the official languages, a conciliatory move towards the people of East Pakistan;
- In 1959 Basic Democracies were introduced by Ayub Khan which was a 4 tier structure of government, allowing elections at various levels. The success of these councils was such that martial law was lifted in 1962 after a new constitution was introduced;
- The 1973 Constitution revived the power of the National Assembly and as a result political parties became more important.

**Unable to achieve**

- The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was criticised by East Pakistan as Urdu, not Bengali was to be the official language despite its larger population. The death of Liaquat Ali Khan meant that constitutional change had to wait until a new leader could be found and had time to settle in; • The Basic Principles Committee’s report was criticised because the official language issue was not settled and East Pakistan was determined to oppose the selection of Urdu. Political change meant that further discussions on a new constitution were put on hold until 1956; • The constitution promised a parliamentary system of government but the President held the power to intervene or even suspend the Assembly;
- The 1962 constitution increased the powers of the ruling elite as the major landlords dominated the elections to the Basic Democracies.

**Question No. 21:** Describe the Security of Tenure scheme.

(4) Nov. 2020 5 a

- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced this scheme • he wanted tenant farmers to have security of tenure • he gave tenant farmers the first right of purchase of the land they worked • landowners could not sell the land to a third party [1] who might then evict the tenant farmers [1] • tenant farmers were encouraged to make improvements on their land [1] as they knew they would not be evicted [1] • many landowners circumvented the scheme [1] to evict their tenant farmers [1] • landowners had too much power and influence to make the scheme work Other relevant responses should also be credited.

**Question No. 22:**

**Describe the terms of the Simla Agreement.**

(4) June. 2021 4 a

- an agreement signed in July 1972 [1] between Bhutto [1] and Gandhi [1]
- India agreed to return imprisoned soldiers [1]
- Both countries promised to discuss the Kashmir issue [1]
- and not with organisations such as the United Nations [1]

## TOPIC # 26

### ZIA UL HAQ 1977-88

#### QUESTIONS ON ZIA:

**Question no.1:** Was the promotion of Islamic values the most important achievement of General Zia between 1977-88? Explain your answer. (14) Nov 2000 Q.5 c

**Question No.2:** How successful have governments been in the Islamisation of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. (14) June 2002 Q.5 c

**Question No. 3:** In which of the following did Zia have most success between 1977 and 1988:

- Islamization
- Economic affairs
- Political affairs

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14) June 2003 Q.4 c

**Question No.4:** Islamic reforms were the most important of Zia ul Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) Nov 2005 Q.5 c

**Question No. 5:** Why did Zia introduce his Islamic reforms between 1977 and 1988? (7) June 2006 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 6:** Zia’s foreign policy was more successful than his domestic reforms. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2007 Q. 5 c

**QuestionNo.7:** Why did ZIA introduce a series of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988? (7) June 2008 Q 5 b

**Question No. 8:** How successful have governments been in Islamization of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. (14) Nov. 2009 Q. 5 c

**QuestionNo.9:** Islamic reforms were the most important of Zia’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2010 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 10:** Why did ZIA introduce his package of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988? (7) June 2011 Q.5 c

**Question No. 11:** ‘Economic reforms were the most important of Zia-ul-Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988.’

Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14) Nov 2012 Q. 5 c

**Question No. 12:**

Zia-ul-Haq wanted to run Pakistan with a strong government based on Islamic values countering the socialist reforms that Bhutto introduced. This would help win the support of the religious elements within Pakistan’s political parties. He also felt that by portraying a strong Islamic country facing up to the invasion of Afghanistan by Russia, he would win support from the West. As a result he embarked on an Islamisation programme.

(a) What were the Hudood Ordinances?

[4] Nov 2013 Q. 5 a

**Question No. 13:** was the promotion of Islamic values the most important achievement of General Zia-ul-Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov 2014 Q. 4 c

**Question No. 14:** How does Source B help us to understand the way Zia-ul-Haq governed Pakistan? (5) June 2018 Q. 1 b 5



**Question No. 15:** Why did Zia-ul-Haq introduce his Islamisation reforms?

(7) June 2018 Q. 1 c

**Question No. 16:** How successful was Zia-ul-Haq’s foreign policy between 1978 and 1988? Explain your answer.

(10) June 2018 Q. 1 D

**Question No. 17:** What was the Eighth Amendment?

(4) Nov 2018 Q.5 a

**Question No. 18:** Describe the Zakat Ordinance.

(4) June 2019 Q. 4 a

**Question No. 19:** Explain why it became more challenging for Zia-ul-Haq to govern Pakistan effectively during the late 1980s.

(7) Nov. 2020 5. B

### ANSWERS ON ZIA:

**Question no.1:** Was the promotion of Islamic values the most important achievement of General Zia between 1977-88? Explain your answer.

(14) Nov 2000 Q.5 c

The promotion of Islamic reforms were one of the most important achievements of Zia. It included Hudood Ordinances which recommended Islamic punishments for theft, adultery, false accusation of adultery and use of wine. Zakat and Usher ordinance also enforced in June 1980 meant compulsory deduction of 2.5 % from all bank accounts of Muslims and collection of 10% of all agricultural produce. The zakat Ordinance is continuing and many poor people got help. But the system is full of loopholes. Shariat court also established to decide if

any of the existing laws was against Islam. Interest free banking also introduced on 1<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1981 enforced Profit and Loss sharing system. It was only a change of name; otherwise virtually the old system prevailed. Compulsory teaching of Islamiyat and Pak. Studies was introduced. Teaching of Arabic language was also encouraged. Sanctity of Ramzan was also enforced. Besides above the use of national dress was popularized. But all this didn't bring the desired change in Pakistan society.

The process of Islamisation was therefore not the most important achievement of Zia. Economic reforms were also very successful. In economic affairs Zia announced the policy of denationalization of industries. Some nationalized industries were returned to the owner. Incentives were given in the form of fiscal and monetary concessions, and in import of machinery and raw material. Foreign investment was welcomed and full protection was granted. Industrialization gradually started and Zia's policy was successful. Steel mill was completed and Karakorum highway was built. Industrial and agricultural production showed an increase. Therefore it can be said that Zia had most success in economic affairs.

Besides that he also focused on the political development. Pakistan got the membership of NAM in 1979. Zia attended Havana conference and clarified Pakistan's nuclear policy and other issues. Zia attended the OIC meetings and gave full support to the Arab cause in Palestine. Zia supported the afghan mujahidin against the Russian forces in Afghanistan. With American military and financial help Russian forces were pushed out in 1988. Zia's Afghanistan policy was also a success. Taking full advantage of the situation he strengthened the armed forces and continued the nuclear programme which was very creditable. Besides that Zia promised election within 90 days. But he established a nominated Assembly called Majlis-e – shoora which had limited powers and worked from 1981 to 1985. In 1985 elections were held on non-party basis and re-elected assembly was formed. M. Khan Junejo became the PM and martial law was lifted. But Junejo govt. was dismissed and assembly was dissolved in May 1988. Zia promised fresh elections in Oct. 1988. Passing of 8<sup>th</sup> amendment, peace restoration in Baluchistan, Military courts and induction of Military officers in bureaucracy were some other political developments by Zia.

Analysis:

**Question No.2: How successful have governments been in the Islamisation of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988? Explain your answer. (14) June 2002 Q.5 c**

Government of Pakistan was successful in Islamisation. The first step for Islamisation was taken up in the **Objective Resolution of 1949** which contained those principles which were to be taken for the fulfilment of the basic aim of the establishment of an Islamic society in Pakistan. The Objective resolution declared that the sovereignty of the universe belonged to Allah and that the authority delegated by God was a sacred trust which will be used by the representatives of the people in the light of Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Islamic provisions were introduced in the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973. For example, Pakistan was named Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the head of the state was to be a Muslim and Islam was declared as state religion in 1973 constitution. Also Islamic Advisory council was set up to advise the government for framing

Islamic laws and that no law will be repugnant to Islamic principles. The council would also guide the people to order their lives in accordance with the Islamic principles. But these attempts could not bring any real change.

The main attempts towards Islamisation were made during the time of Zia when Hadood Ordinance was enforced in 1977. Islamic punishments were enforced for thefts, use of liquor, adultery and false allegation. Federal shariat court was set up to see if any law in Pakistan was against Quran and Sunna. Teaching of Islamiyat and pak. studies was made compulsory. In 1980 Zakat and usher ordinance was enforced and interest free banking was introduced in 1981. Hadood ordinance could not be enforced. The Zakat system is continuing but with many loop holes. Shia sect is exempted from zakat. Interest free banking was also not successful.

Analysis:

**Question No. 3: In which of the following did Zia have most success between 1977 and 1988:**

- **Islamization**
- **Economic affairs**
- **Political affairs**

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

**(14) June 2003 Q.4 c**

Zia remained in power from 1977 to 1988. Soon after assuming power he embarked upon a process of Islamisation in all sincerity. In 1979 the Hadood Ordinance was enforced which meant the application of Islamic punishment for several crimes. Like the preparation, transportation and use of liquor were prohibited and were punishable by lashes and imprisonment. Besides that the crime of theft was to be punished by amputation of hand. The punishment of stoning to death was also to be given for the act of adultery. Act of false allegation or Qazaf was punishable by fine or imprisonment.

Zakat and usher Ordinance , interest free banking ordinance, establishment of shariat courts, ordinance for the sanctity of Ramzan and compulsory teaching of Pak studies and Islamiyat were enforced. But unfortunately the measures to Islamise the society proved unrealistic and were not successful. None of the Islamic punishments could be awarded. Only zakat system is continuing but the Shia sect has been exempted. In interest free banking the word interest is now called profit, otherwise there has been no change in the banking system.

In economic affairs Zia announced the policy of denationalization of industries. Some nationalized industries were returned to the owner. Incentives were given in the form of fiscal and monetary concessions, and in import of machinery and raw material. Foreign investment was welcomed and full protection was granted. Industrialization gradually started and Zia’s policy was successful. Steel mill was completed and Karakorum highway was built. Industrial and agricultural production showed an increase. Therefore it can be said that Zia had most success in economic affairs.

Pakistan got the membership of NAM in 1979. Zia attended Havana conference and clarified Pakistan’s nuclear policy and other issues. Zia attended the OIC meetings and gave full support to the Arab cause in Palestine. Zia supported the afghan mujahidin against the Russian forces in Afghanistan. With American military and financial help Russian forces were pushed out in 1988. Zia’s Afghanistan policy was a success. Besides that Zia promised election within 90 days. He established a nominated Assembly called Majlis-e – shoora which had limited powers and worked from 1981 to 1985. In 1985 elections were held on non-party basis and re-elected assembly was formed. M. Khan Junejo became the PM and martial law was lifted. But Junejo govt. was dismissed and assembly was dissolved in May 1988. Zia promised fresh elections in Oct. 1988.

Analysis:

**Question No.4: Islamic reforms were the most important of Zia ul Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) Nov 2005 Q.5 c**

Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalisation programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss The Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged.

**Question No. 5: Why did Zia introduce his Islamic reforms between 1977 and 1988? (7) June 2006 Q. 5 b**

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

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

**Question No. 6: Zia’s foreign policy was more successful than his domestic reforms. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2007 Q. 5 c**

**Foreign policy**

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

### **Domestic policies**

Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalisation programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this, martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged.

### **Question No. 7: Why did ZIA introduce a series of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988? (7) June 2008 Q 5 b**

Zia introduced the Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process because he felt that Pakistan was weaker as a result of these. He therefore made the Islamic laws very strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code. He also wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools so as to raise Islamic awareness amongst students. He also wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes.

### **Question No. 8: How successful have governments been in Islamization of Pakistan between 1947 and 1988?**

**Explain your answer.**

**(14) Nov. 2009 Q. 5 c**

### **Successes:**

Will make comments on the laws passed by Zia e.g. According to Zia, Pakistan needed a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. Thus he introduced the laws. Will make comments on the Islamic provisions of the 1956 and 1973 Constitutions

### **Failures:**

May refer to the 1962 Constitution which failed to establish an Islamic system and follow up the two previous ones. Martial Law was imposed in 1969. Zia’s ultimate failure.

**Question No.9: Islamic reforms were the most important of Zia’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) June 2010 Q. 4 c**

Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government. With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalization programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest.

Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this, martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged.

**Question No. 10: Why did ZIA introduce his package of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988?**

**(7) June 2011 Q.5 c**

When Zia-ul-Haq took the power in his hands, there was a popular conception that every government paid only lip service to Islam and no sincere effort was ever made in this direction; the ruling class had rather resisted the enforcement of Islam. General Zia was aware of such feelings. So, he directed his attention to the taking of practical measure. Thus the following few points can be enumerated in this regard: creation of favourable atmosphere for Islamisation, reforms in information media, ban on obscene adds, contact with Ulama and Mashaikh, eradication of lawlessness, prayer in congregation, respect for Ramazan, better facilities for Hajj, reorientation of education policy, making of International Islamic University Islamabad, enforcement of Hudood ordinance, setting up of Sharia court, sharia bench of Supreme court, Qazi courts, progress towards Islamic economic system, National language and national dress, decisions about Qadianis, enforcement of Sharia ordinance 1988.

These steps brought support from the religious community for him. Through this way he was successful in removing sympathies of the people for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Other Islamic countries particularly Saudi Arabia started supporting his rule. Most importantly USA started considering him as a defender against pagan communist.

Besides that Zia wanted Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process because he felt that Pakistan was weaker as a result of these. He therefore made the Islamic laws very strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code. He also wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Holy Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools so as to raise Islamic awareness amongst students. He also wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes.

**Question No 11: ‘Economic reforms were the most important of Zia-ul-Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988.’ Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14) Nov 2012 Q. No. 5 c**

LEVEL 4: Explains economic reforms AND other domestic policies [9–13]

With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalisation programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries.

However there were other important domestic policies. Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government.

There was also a need for Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged.

**Question No. 12: Zia-ul-Haq wanted to run Pakistan with a strong government based on Islamic values countering the socialist reforms that Bhutto introduced. This would help win the support of the religious elements within Pakistan’s political parties. He also felt that by portraying a strong Islamic country facing up to the invasion of Afghanistan by Russia, he would win support from the West. As a result he embarked on an Islamisation programme. (a) What were the Hudood Ordinances? [4] Nov 2013 Q. 5 a**

Part of his Islamisation programme, 1977 onwards, including Offences against Property, Zina, Qazaf and Prohibition Ordinances. Islamic punishments for gambling, drinking, theft and adultery, e.g. amputation of right hand for theft and 80 stripes of the cane for drinking alcohol. 1980 Zakat Ordinance imposed a 2.5% wealth tax to be given to the poor, Ushr Ordinance 5% tax on agricultural income which supported Zakat.

**Question No. 13: was the promotion of Islamic values the most important achievement of General Zia-ul-Haq’s domestic policies between 1977 and 1988? Explain your answer. (14) Nov 2014 Q. 4 c**

LEVEL 4: Explains promotion of Islamic values and other domestic policies [9–13]

Zia introduced Islamic laws in an attempt to produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values. He ignored the political process and therefore the Islamic laws were very strict in order to produce a strong government.

With regard to economic affairs, efforts to increase investment were met with some success since many of the previous nationalisation programmes were reversed and the private sector was encouraged to re-invest. Between 1977 and 1986, the average growth rate was 6.2%, amongst the highest in the world at that time. Pakistanis working overseas contributed to this growth by sending money home to their families. Zia tried to build up investors. Confidence in Pakistani industry was increased by de-nationalising many firms. This aimed to increase local and foreign investment in industries.

Efforts were also made to increase the efficiency of government-run industries. There was a need by Zia to establish a measure of legitimacy to his presidency by declaring legal all the military actions since 1977. The passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985 gave the President the power to dismiss the Prime Minister of the time. As a result of this, martial law was lifted but Zia remained President, unchallenged.

**Question No. 14: How does Source B help us to understand the way Zia-ul-Haq governed Pakistan? (5) June 2018 Q. 1 b**



Level 3:

Inference(s) supported by detail from the source and/or contextual knowledge

4–5 (Four marks for one supported valid inference, five marks for two or more supported valid inferences)

e.g.

- Zia-ul-Haq is firmly in charge of Pakistan. This can be seen by him wearing a military uniform.
- He is a figure of power / authority / determination / vision / decisiveness / commitment. This can be seen by him raising his arm / pointing his finger.
- He wants to display his power. This can be seen by the decorative surroundings which emphasise the power and majesty of the office of the President.
- He wants his message to be heard / he believes what he is saying is very important / communication is very important. This can be seen by the many microphones in front of him.
- He used martial law to demonstrate control, which was enhanced by the passing of the Eighth Amendment in 1985.

**Question No. 15: Why did Zia-ul-Haq introduce his Islamisation reforms? (7)June 2018 Q. 1 c**

- To produce a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic values.
- He wanted to provide a counter to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s socialist government which he saw as liberal / westernised.
- He made the Islamic laws strict in order to produce a strong government by imposing a strict legal code.

- He wanted to implement laws which punished people for showing disrespect towards the Prophet and ensured that Islamic education was implemented in schools to raise Islamic awareness.
- He wanted to distribute some wealth to the poor and needy by introducing Islamic taxes following Islamic principles.

**Question No. 16: How successful was Zia-ul-Haq’s foreign policy between 1978 and 1988? Explain your answer.**

**(10) June 2018 Q. 1 D**

**Level 5:**

Explains and makes judgement / evaluation 10 (As top of Level 4 plus judgement / evaluation)

**Level 4:**

Explains success AND less success 6–9 (Two explanations, one on success and one on less success, are worth 6 or 7 marks. Additional explanations on the same two factors cannot be awarded more than 8 marks.

Explanation of all success and less success is worth 9 marks)

e.g. Success

- **Pakistan’s relationship with China was strengthened in 1978 with the opening of the Karakoram Highway between the two countries, opening up huge areas of both countries to trade and tourism.**

**CHINA ASSISTED PAK. IN THE COMPLETION OF STEEL MILL AT TAXILA/IN NUCLEAR FIELD (CHASHMA)/BIN QASIM PORT**

- **Pakistan received support from the West to assist Afghan fighters in their conflict with Russia in 1979.**

**The USA gave Pakistan \$3.2 billion over six years to help cope with the influx of refugees from Afghanistan (the Afghan Miracle).**

- **Negotiations between Pakistan and Bangladesh on tourism, culture and trade, brought an extra \$40 billion a year into Pakistan by 1986.**

**RELATIONS WITH OTHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES**

**PAK. JOINED NAM**

**PAK. ATTENDED HAVANA CONFERENCES**

**PAK. ATTENDED OIC MEETINGS**

**CRICKET DIPLOMACY –India**

**Less success**

- Pakistan became a target of Russia as a result of supplying Afghans with arms. Border villages were bombed and a series of explosions happened across the country.
- Threats to law and order as a consequence of the Afghan Miracle.

**Question No. 17: What was the Eighth Amendment?**

**(4) Nov 2018 Q.5 a**

- 1985 • Introduced by Zia, after lifting of martial law
- It confirmed all previous acts of the martial law period with no right of appeal
- President could appoint Prime Minister, Governors of Provinces and other officials
- President could dismiss Prime Minister and National Assembly
- Firmly established Presidential rule.

**Question No. 18: Describe the Zakat Ordinance.**

**(4) June 2019 Q. 4 a**

- In 1980, Zia-ul-Haq imposed a 2.5% wealth tax on savings over a certain amount.
- Money raised was given to Zakat committees in villages and towns for the poor.
- Some Muslim groups protested against this since their view of Islamic law was that giving should be voluntary.
- In 1984, these groups held demonstrations in Islamabad forcing Zia-ul-Haq to accept their objections and exempt them from paying the tax.

**Question No. 19:**

**Explain why it became more challenging for Zia-ul-Haq to govern Pakistan effectively during the late 1980s.**

**(7) Nov. 2020 5. B**

- the provinces became more difficult to administer • there was increasing violence in Sindh • NWFP became critical of the government • there was a surge in arms smuggling • it became harder to maintain law and order • the drug trade grew • greater challenge from Muhammad Khan Junejo • pressure from the MRD • opposition from Benazir Bhutto • an explosion at a weapons dump at Ojhri Camp
- **PAK. had to look after and feed more than three million Afghan refugees that had crossed over to Pakistan. The refugees were a great economic burden on Pakistan. Not only this but, they also caused the problem of drugs and gunrunning in the country.**

**Question No. 20:**

**Describe the main events of Muhammad Khan Junejo's political career. (4)June 2021 5. a**

- Zia-ul-Haq [1] chose him as Prime Minister [1] in 1985 [1]
- Muhammad Khan Junejo worked to develop the new Muslim League party
- he called an all-Party Conference [1] in 1988 [1] to discuss the Afghan situation [1]
- he announced an inquiry into an explosion at the army weapons dump/Ojhri Camp [1] in 1988 [1] promising justice [1]
- he was dismissed from office [1] by Zia-ul-Haq [1] on 29 May 1988 [1]

## TOPIC # 27

### BENAZIR & NAWAZ SHARIF 1988-1999

#### QUESTIONS ON BB & NS

**Question No.1: What was the Pucca Qila Massacre? (4) June 2010 Q.5 a**

**Question No.2: Why did Benazir Bhutto fall from office in 1990? (7) Nov.2010 Q. 5 b**

**Question No.3: What problems did Nawaz Sharif face as Prime Minister during the 1990s? (4) June 2011 Q.5 a**

**Question No.4: Why did General Mushraff come to power in 1999? (7) Nov.2011 Q.5 b**

**Question No. 5:**

Benazir Bhutto described her return from exile in her book published in 1988 as an emotional one. 'Hundreds of coloured balloons soared into the sky as the airport gates opened. Rose petals, not tear gas, filled the air. Garlands of flowers flew through the air. I saw a girl whose brother had been hanged and threw a garland to her ... Benazir will come, revolution will come.'

**(a) What problems did Benazir Bhutto face as Prime Minister of Pakistan? [4] June 2012 Q. 5 a**

**Question No. 6: why did Benazir Bhutto fall from office for a second time in 1996? (7) June 2012 Q. 5 b**