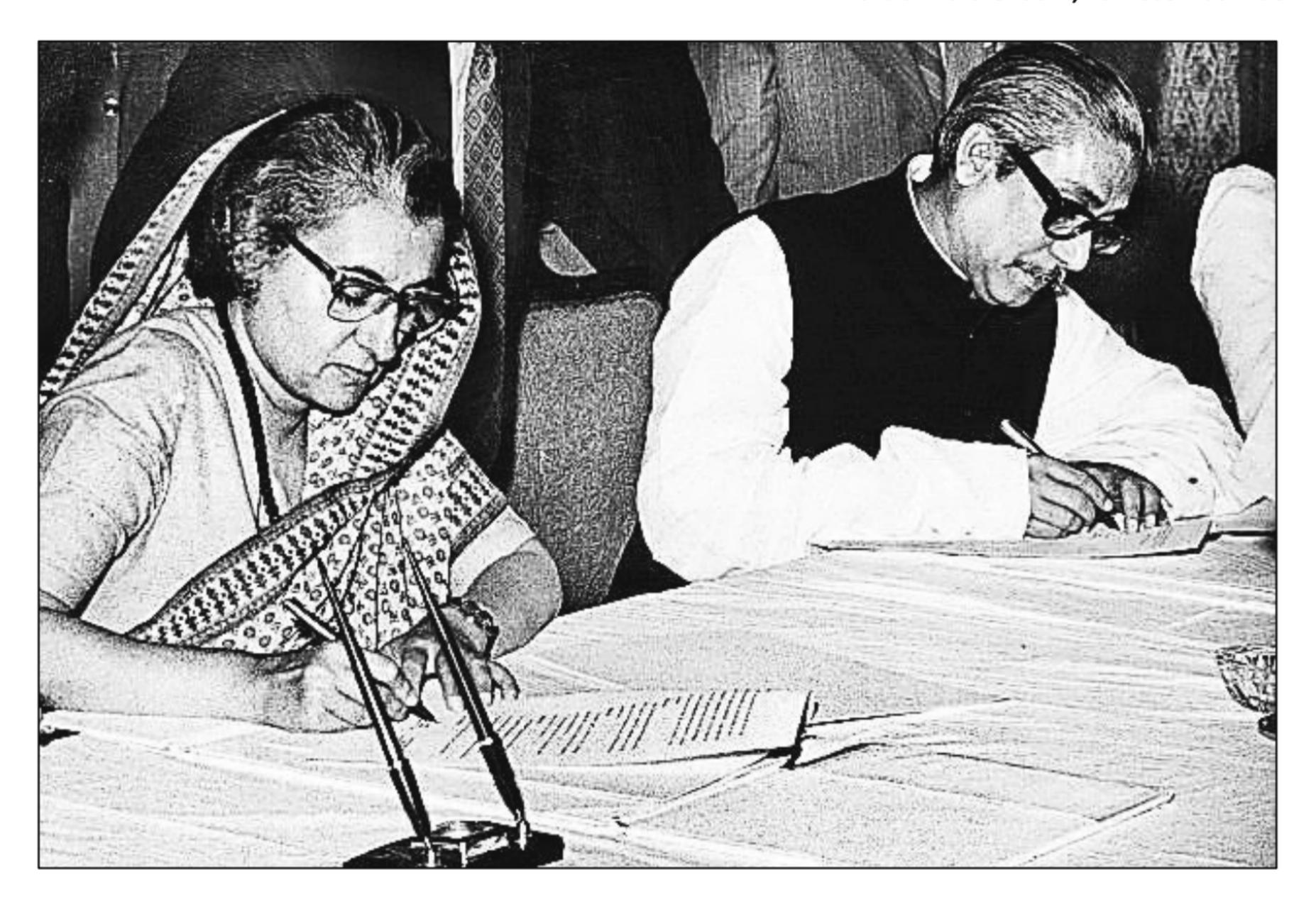
'Whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan to bring the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and for the preservation of ideology of Pakistan, for continuation and consolidation of that process for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.'

Text of Referendum, 19 December 1984

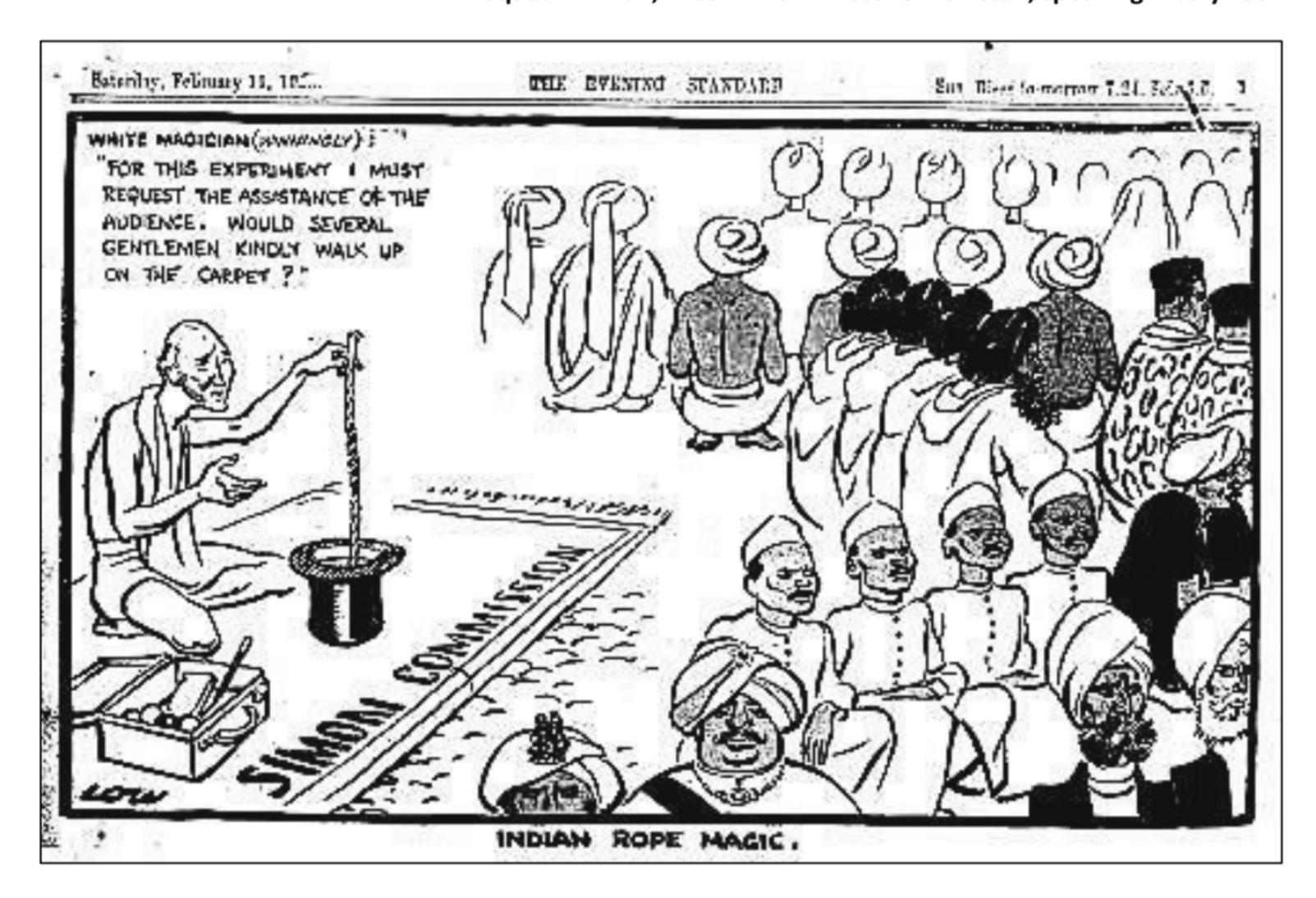


Source B: Bangladesh saluting India: Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and Mrs. Indira Gandhi signing Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in 1972.

- a. What does Source A tell us about the nature of referendum held in 1984?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the relations between Bangladesh and India immediately after the Fall of Dhaka?

"If the Western democracies can enter into pacts to protect their way of life, if the Communist countries can form a bloc on the basis that they have an ideology, why cannot the Muslim peoples get together to protect themselves and show to the world that they have an ideology and a way of life?"

Liaquat Ali Khan, First Prime Minister of Pakistan, speaking in July 1951



Source B: Protest against Simon Commission. A British Political cartoon from 'The Evening Standard'. Saturday, February 11, 1928

- a. What does Source A tell us about the nature of Foreign Policy by the founding fathers of Pakistan?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the reaction of Indians to Simon Commission?

'Mr Rajiv, you want to attack Pakistan, go ahead and do it. But keep in mind that after this the world would forget Halagu Khan and Genghis Khan, and will only remember Zia-ul-Haq and Rajiv Gandhi because this will not be a conventional war but a nuclear war. In this situation, Pakistan might be completely destroyed but Muslims will still be there in the world and with destruction of India, Hinduism will vanish from the face of Earth.'

Zia-ul-Haq speaking to Rajiv Gandhi in 1987...

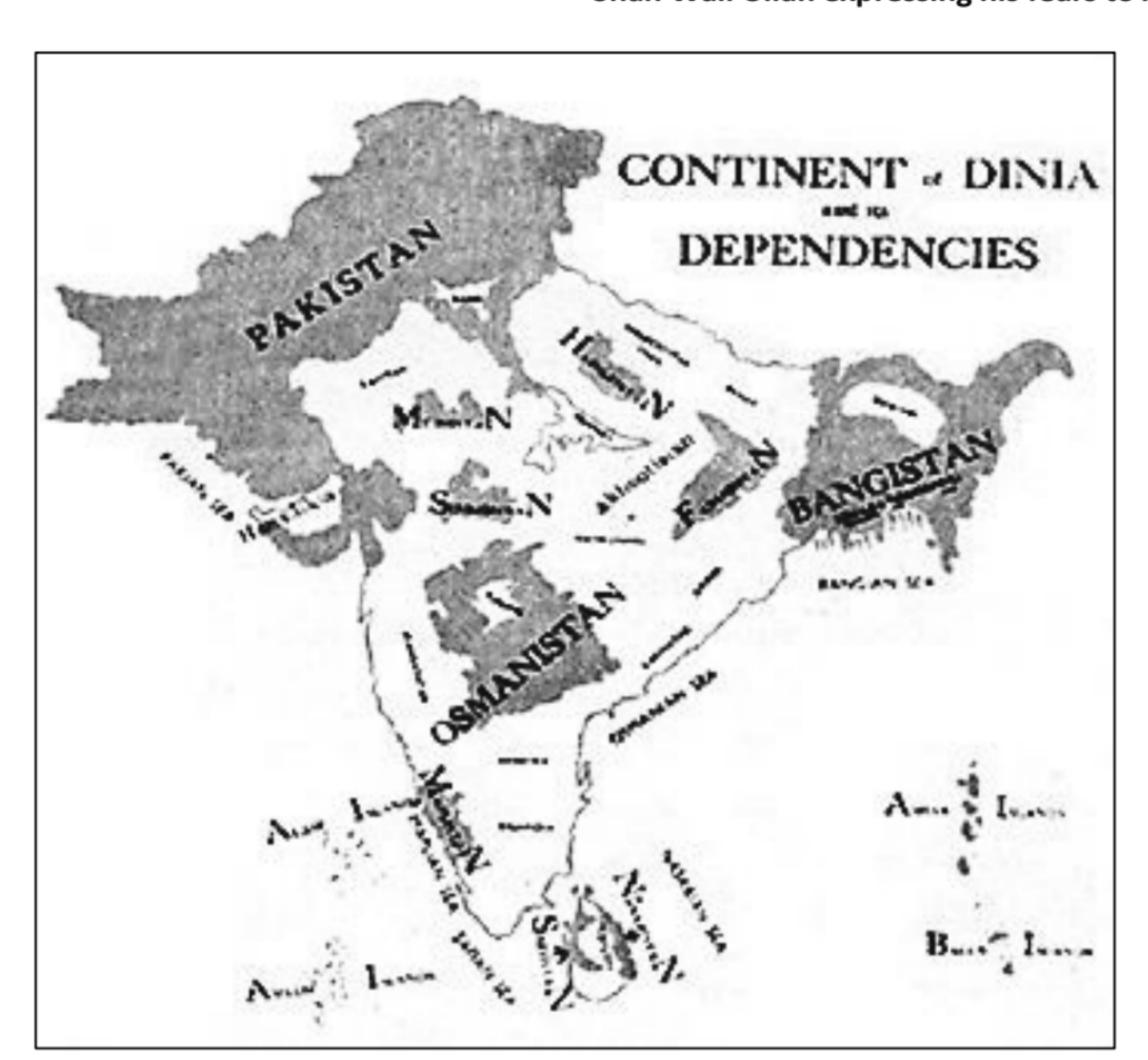


Source B: The year 1942...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about diplomacy of Zia-ul-Haq?
- b. What does **Source B** depict about the situation of India in 1942?

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

Shah Wali Ullah expressing his fears to Afghan King, Ahmad Shah Abdali



Source B: 1933: The Continent of Dinia (Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's proposed name for the Indian subcontinent) and its dependencies by Chaudhary Rahmat Ali...

(Coloured area belongs to Muslims)

- a. What does Source A tell us about the fears Shah Wali Ullah had due to Maratha Conquests?
- b. What does Source B tell us about Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's plans of division of India?

"...hope that Kashmir dispute will be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan."

Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, speaking during his visit to Pakistan, February 1964



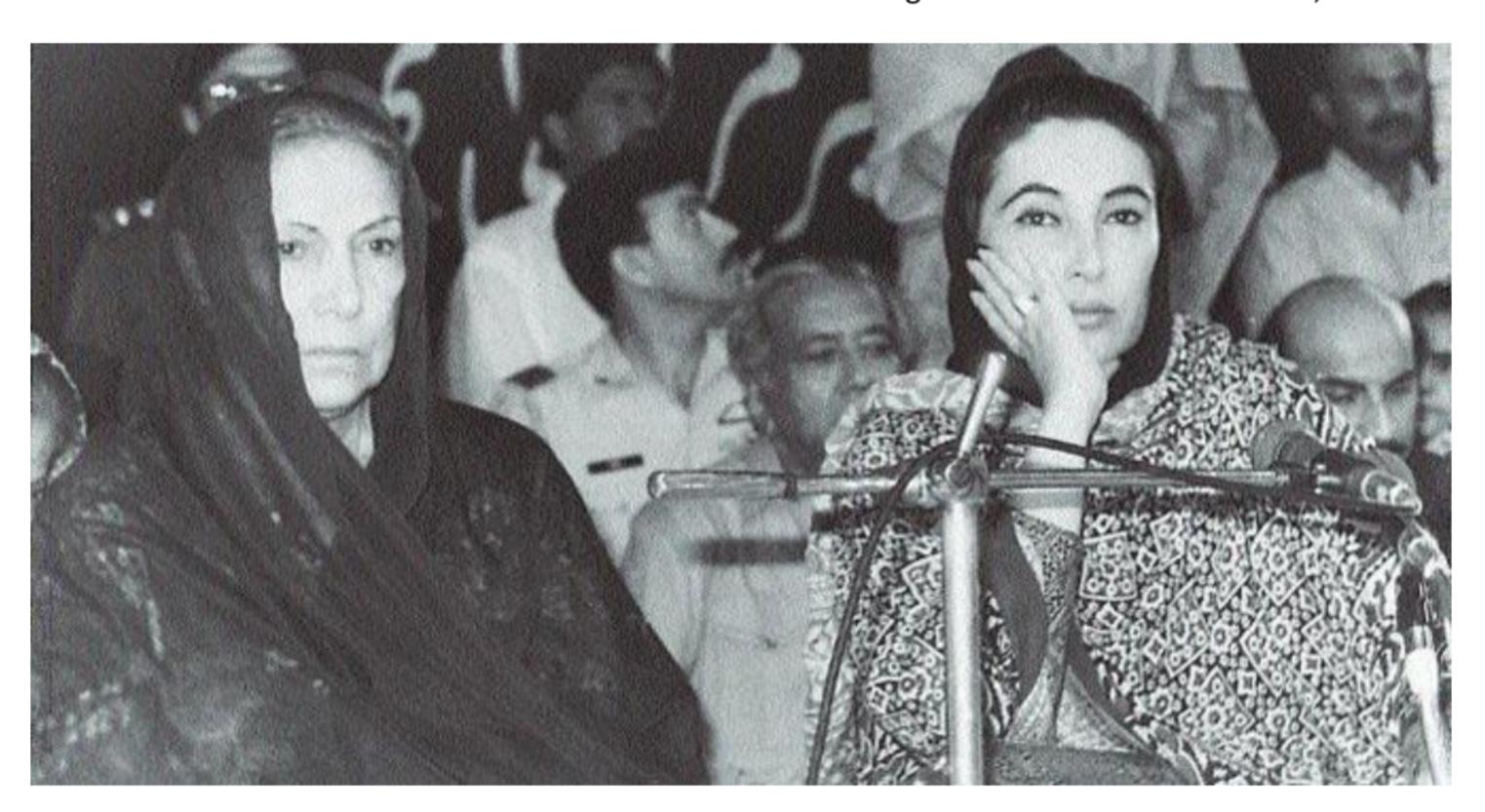
Source B: A Pakistani Cartoon showing Pakistan, Uncle Sam and China...

- a. What does Source A tell us about the position adopted by China on Kashmir issue?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the thought of Pakistanis about China and US?

Seven Point Agenda:

- Rebuild national confidence and morale.
- Strengthen the federation, remove inter-provincial disharmony, and restore national cohesion.
- Revive the economy and restore investors' confidence
- Ensure law and order and dispense speedy justice.
- Depoliticize state institutions.
- Devolve power down to the grassroots.
- Ensure swift accountability across

General Pervez Musharraf set out this agenda in a broadcast to nation, 17 October 1999.

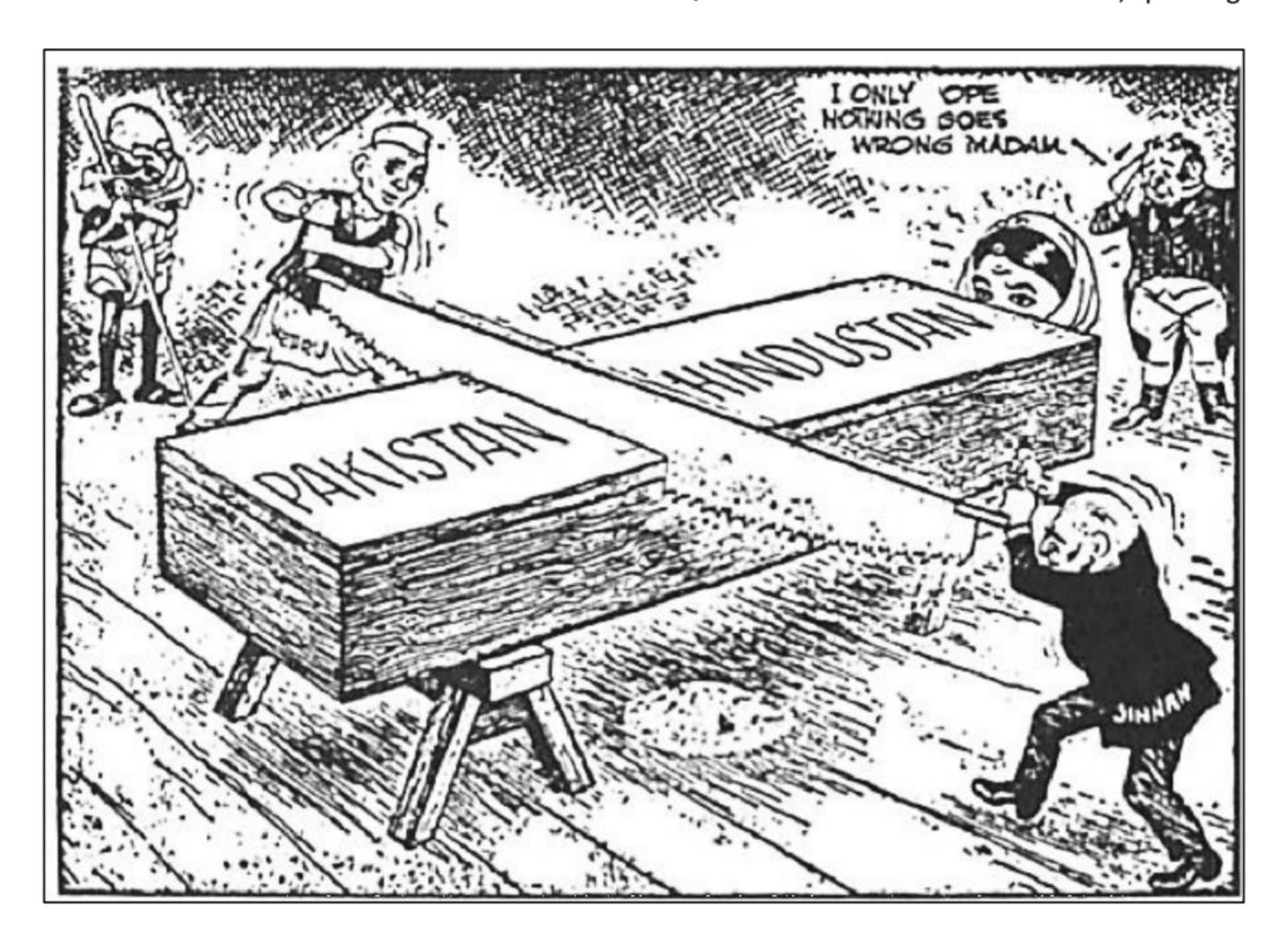


Source B: Benzair Bhutto with her mother Nusrat Bhutto in 1997...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the aims of General Pervez Musharraf on seizing the power from Nawaz Sharif and overthrowing him?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about relations between Benazir Bhutto and her mother in 1997 after death of Murtaza Bhutto?

"The weak and the defenceless in this world invite aggression from others. The best way we can serve peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think we are weak and, for that reason, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us."

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, speaking in 1948

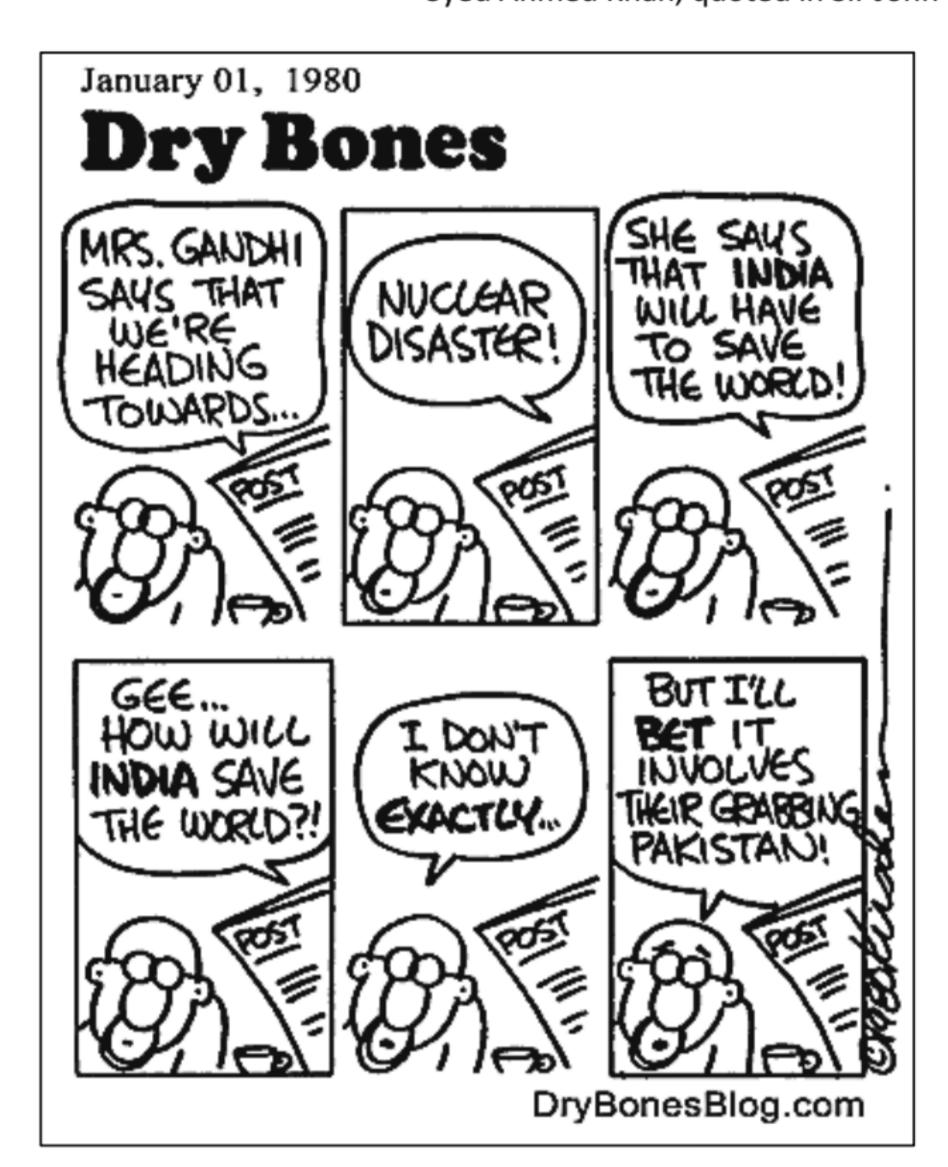


Source B: Splitting the Sacred Cow Mata into a 'land of Muslims' and a 'land of Hindus'...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about Muhammad Ali Jinnah's thought about the defences of Pakistan?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the division of India in 1947?

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

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



Source B: India's aims of saving the world by grabbing Pakistan to stop a future expected nuclear disaster...

- a. What does Source A tell us about the importance of Ottoman Caliphate to the Indian Muslims?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about India's attitude towards Nuclear Pakistan?

"We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect."

Thomas Babington Macaulay, Secretary of Board of Control of India, 1835



Source B: May 14 1946: Attlee announces plan for an independent united India. A British cartoon by Leslie Illingworth depicting India to be at the brink of Civil War for 'Daily Mail'...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about 'Anglicization policy' of Lord Macaulay?
- b. What does Source B tell us about Political condition of India in 1946?

Source B:

"The all India Muslim League calls upon all the Urdu speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interests of their language, in every field of activity, with which the Central and Provincial government were concerned, and where ever the Urdu language is the language of the area, its unhampered use and development should be upheld, and where it is not a predominant language, adequate arrangement should be made for teaching it as an optional subject, and in all government offices, courts, legislature, railways, and postal departments provisions should be made for its use. Efforts should also be made to make Urdu the universal language of India"

All India Muslim League, 25th session, 15 August 1937...



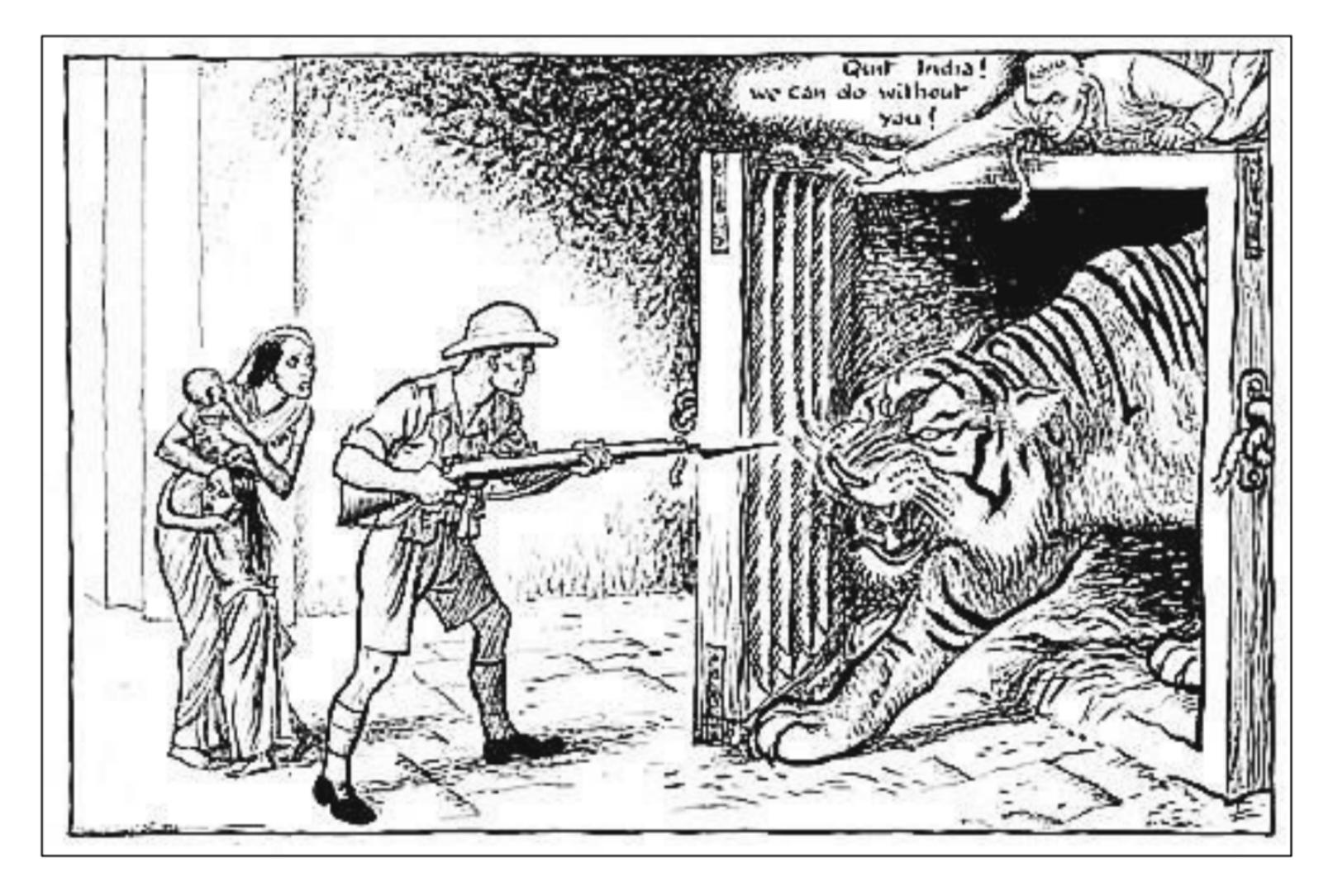
Source B: Nehru rides Indian elephant: Nehru's own Cabinet sworn in... A British political cartoon by Leslie, September 2, 1946 for 'Daily Mail'...

10.

- a. What does Source A tell us about unanimous linguistic interests of AIML?
- b. What does **Source A** tell us about political condition of India in 1946?

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that away from the actual scene of communal strife and in a changed atmosphere, better counsels would prevail and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed, the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated more clearly than ever the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British Democratic sentiments". Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of a problem...To base a constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war... I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, 2015 [Iqbal Academy Pakistan]



Source B: 'But can they?' 17 December 1946: A British Political Cartoon by Leslie Illingworth for 'Daily Mail'...

11.

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about an Indian Muslim's reaction First Round Table Conference?
- b. What does Source B tell us about condition of India by end of 1946?

Allama Iqbal's Statement on Constitution emerging from the Round Table Conferences, issued on 26th February, 1933

As far as Indian Muslims are concerned, it is their duty to organise themselves for the coming elections and scrupulously avoid all causes of action which may lead to sectional difference among themselves. The proposed constitution clearly recognises the principle of protection of minorities. This is the only way of giving the minorities a national outlook. It is now for the minorities themselves, who were parties to the minorities' Pact made in London, to take full advantage of the opportunities given to them.

Whatever else one may say about the results of the Round Table Conferences, nobody can deny that they have given birth to a people who are at once a new and ancient. I believe it to be one of the most remarkable facts of modern history. Not even a farsighted historian can realise the full consequences of the birth of this "new-ancient" people. I only hope that their leaders will remain alert and not allow the growth of self-consciousness among their people to be arrested by external forces, social or political.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal, quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal, 2015 [Iqbal Academy Pakistan]

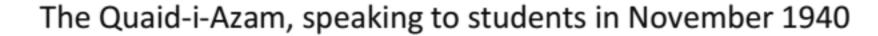


Source B: 1965: While Pakistan, China and India glare at each other...

12.

- a. What does Source A tell us about Iqbal's reaction to the failure of three Round Table Conferences?
- b. What does Source B tell us about Sino-Indo-Pakistan relations in the 1965?

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





Source B: Indo-Pak peace process is interrupted by something every time...

- a. What does Source A tell us about Quaid's view about the Second World War?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about Indo-Pak peace process since partition?

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

The three objectives of the All-India Muslim League, 1906



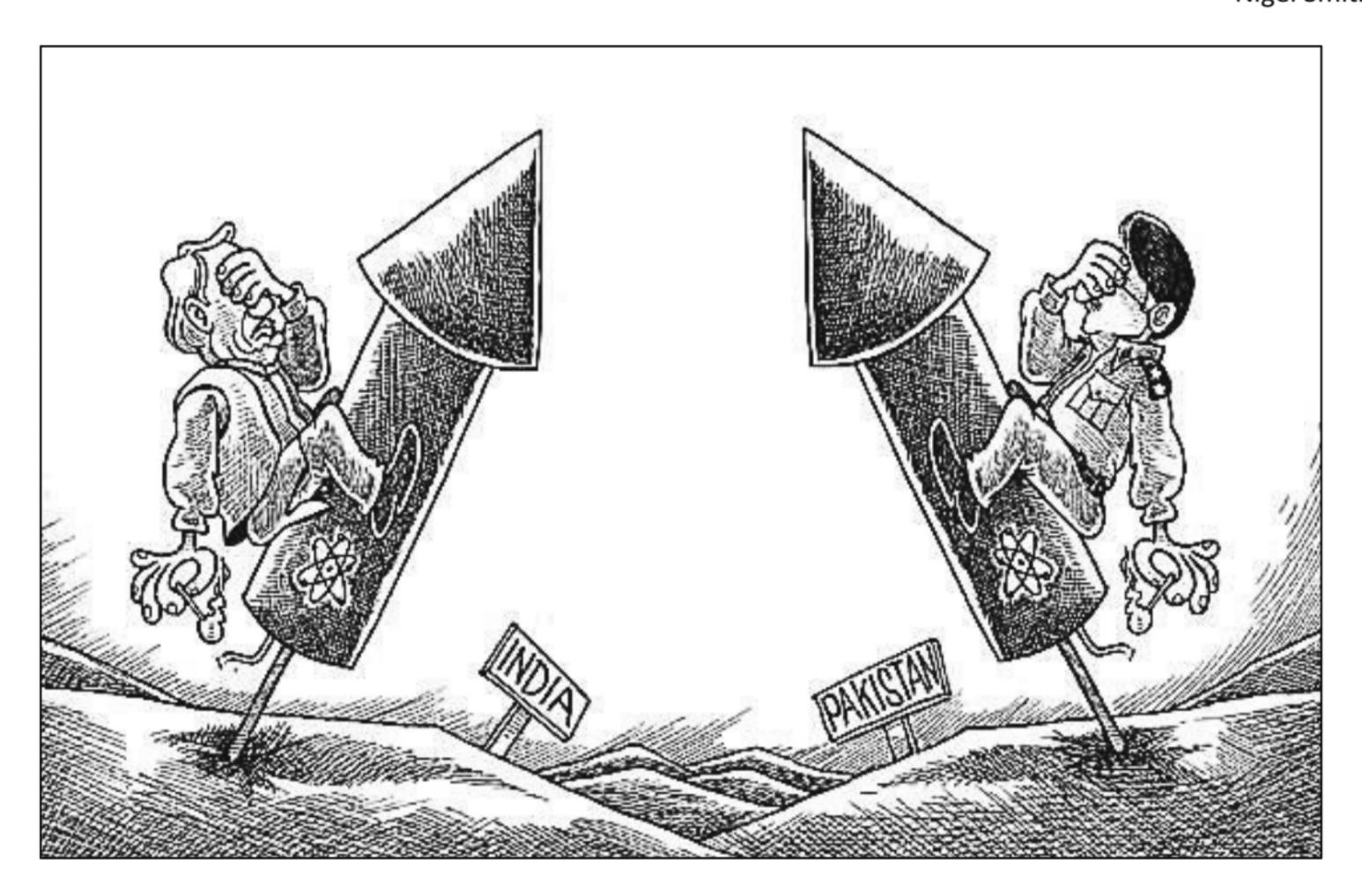
Source B: Nuke: Tension between nuclear neighbours...

- a. What does Source A tell us about the aims of Muslim League at its formation?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the danger when there is tension between the neighbours?

Delhi to New Delhi

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

Nigel Smith



Source B: We don't even know ourselves that what are we heading towards...

- a. What does Source A tell us about importance of Delhi as a Capital city?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the consequences of any nuclear war between Pakistan and India?

'We have received urgent appeal for assistance from the Kashmir government. We would be disposed to give favourable consideration to such a request...(The) security of Kashmir, which must depend on equal tranquillity...is vital to security of India...I should like to make it clear that question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to influence the State to accede to India...question of accession in any disputed territory...must be decided in accordance with wishes of people.'

Nehru's Telegram to British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, 25 October 1947

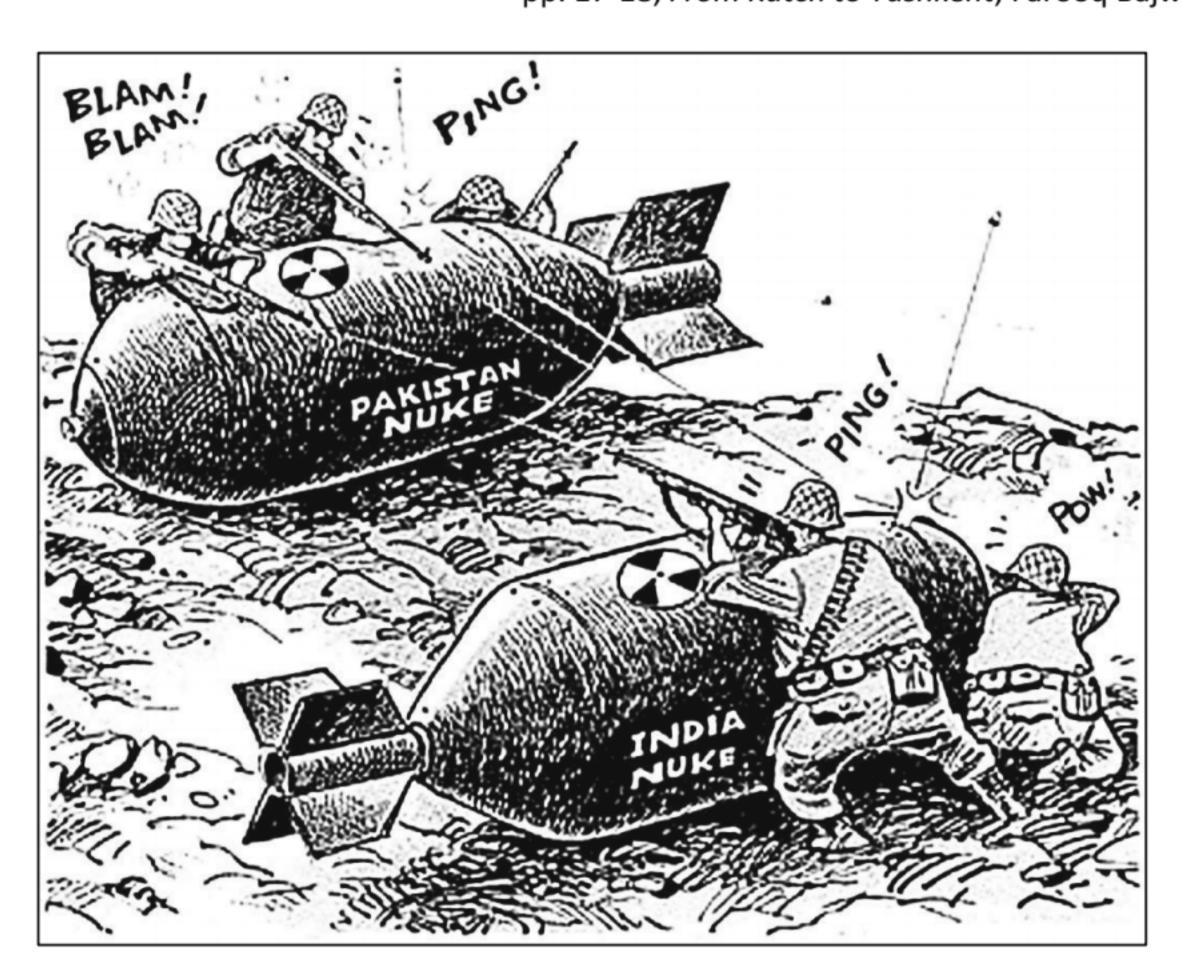


Source B: 1999: The cartoon describes itself...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the point of view of Pundit Nehru on Kashmir issue?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us

The Most Allied Ally

'As Pakistan had come into being as an allowedly Muslim state, it was unsurprising that its first search for allies would be in Muslim world. Pakistan tried to appeal for Islamic solidarity from other Muslim countries but found little or no support on these grounds and soon gave up on this approach. As far as the communist world was concerned, a state formed on religious belief was not going to evince much sympathy or interest from the communist states of USSR or the People's Republic of China (which came into being in 1949). Even if Pakistan had sought help from the Eastern Bloc, it would almost certainly have been met with a cool reception as Pakistan at the time of independence was viewed by the communist world as a state based on religion and therefore naturally reactionary, and Partition as little more than an attempt to divide and rule the Indian subcontinent by the British. That effectively left the United States as Pakistan's main hope. The US had emerged from the debris of the Second World War as the undisputed economic and military victor. In 1945, it had gold reserves of \$20 billion out of the world total of \$33 billion, with more than half the world's manufactured goods being produced there, and it also had half the world's shipping. Militarily, the US was also overwhelmingly dominant with by far the largest navy in the world, with 1,200 warships, more than 2,000 long-range bomber aircraft and monopoly of nuclear weapons. No country in the world could match the American combination of economic and military might and it was an era of world domination by one country that had rarely existed in historical terms; little wonder that the USA was soon dubbed not just another great power but a superpower.



pp. 17-18, From Kutch to Tashkent, Farooq Bajwa, 2014 [ILQA]

Source B: Nuclear-equipped ever-fighting neighbours...

17.

- a. What does Source A tell us about Pakistan's search for allies immediately after the independence?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the nature of any conventional war between nuclear neighbours?

'I wish the Muslims all over India to observe Friday 22 December as the "Day of Deliverance" and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function. I hope that the provincial, district and primary Muslim Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the resolution with such modification as they may be advised, and after Jumma prayers offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime. I trust that public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Musalmans and other minorities.'

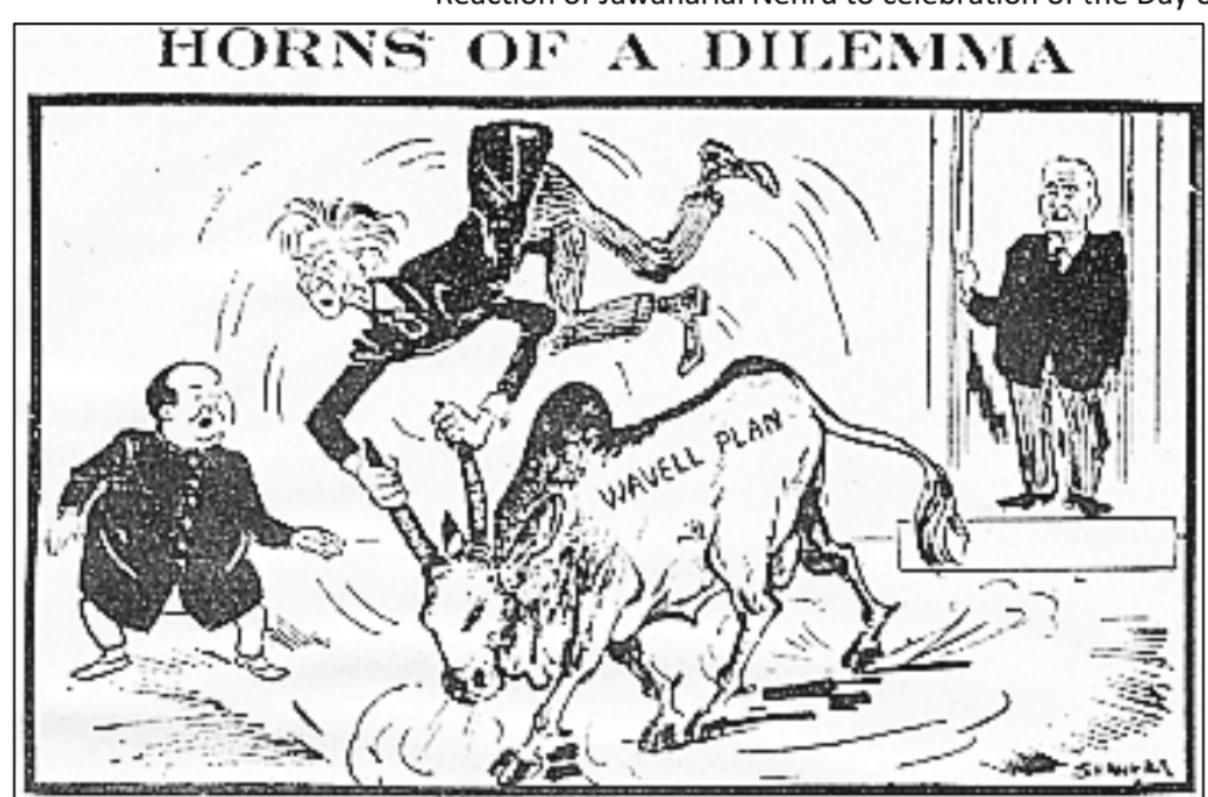
Muhammad Ali Jinnah speaking to Indian Muslims on 22nd December, 1939 for celebrating Day of Deliverance



Source B: A British Cartoon of October, 1857

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the appeal of Quaid-i-Azam for the celebration of the salvation?
- b. How the British are being depicted superior to Indians in the Source B?

I regret to learn this for this means that, apart from communal questions, we differ entirely on purely political grounds. The Congress demand is essentially for a declaration of war aims and more especially for a declaration of Indian independence and the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitutions without external interference. If the Muslim League does not agree to this, this means that our political objectives are wholly dissimilar.



Reaction of Jawaharlal Nehru to celebration of the Day of Deliverance

Source B: June 14, 1945: K. Shankar Pillai, an Indian cartoonist, on the Muslim League reaction to Wavell Plan...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the reaction of the virtual Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to the celebration of Day of Deliverance by the Muslims?
- b. How an Indian cartoonist depicted Muslim League's reaction to the Wavell Plan in Source B?

And now, when the Congress has given up on the government of eight provinces of its own choice and free will, what advice has the League President to offer to the Muslims? It is this that they should march toward the mosques and thank God on their deliverance from Congress ministries which preferred duty to power and have resigned not only on the issue of India's freedom but for the rights of all downtrodden peoples of the East. It is difficult to imagine any group of Muslims, howsoever at loggerheads with the Indian National Congress, would tolerate to be presented to the world in such colors.



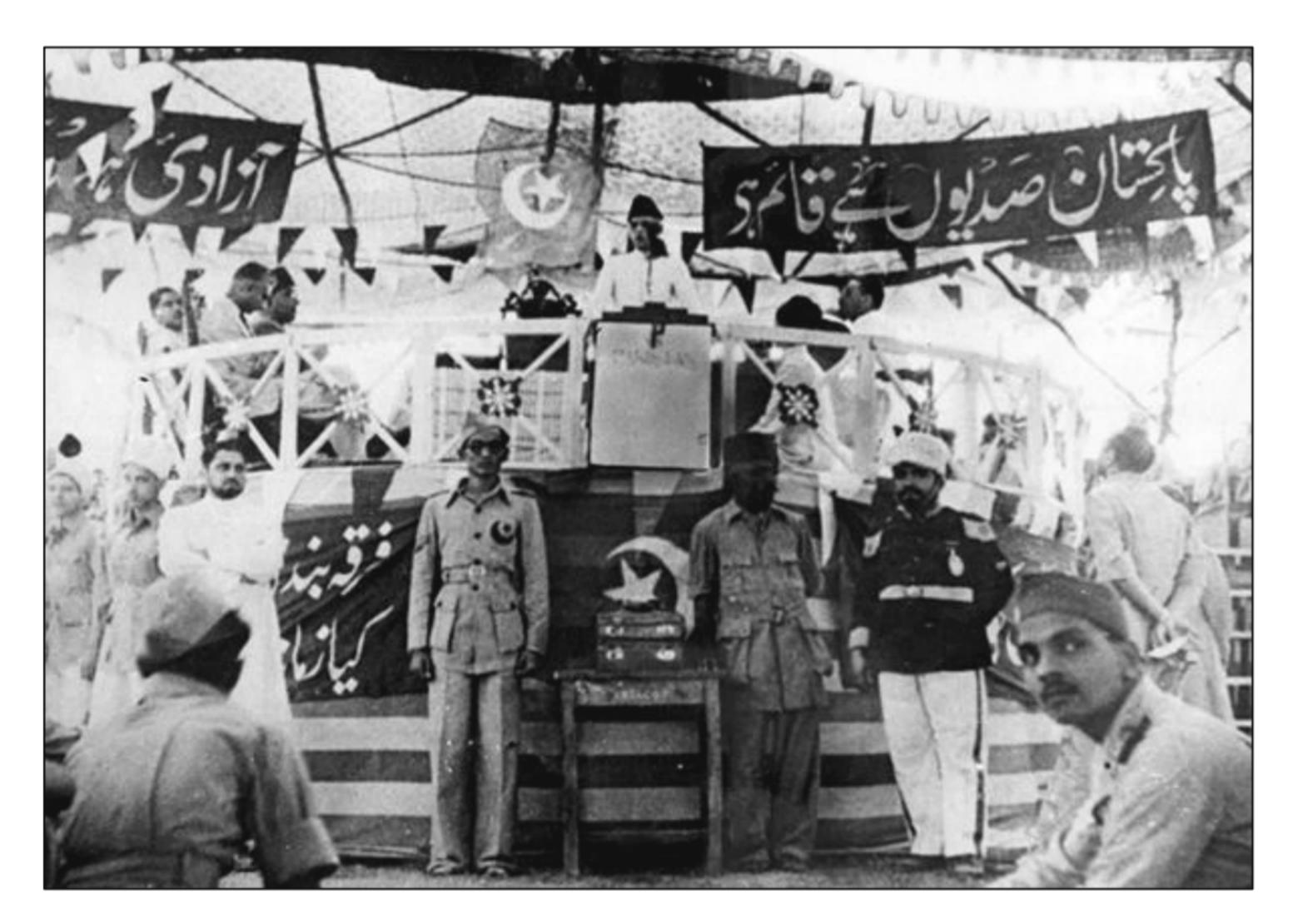


Source B: A rare photo of Bahadur Shah II, Zafar in the days when he was emperor of Red Fort of Delhi...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the reaction of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to the celebration of Day of Deliverance by the Muslims?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the authority of the last emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar?

Many of the mischief-makers were people who would have had idle hands anyhow. If shops and markets had been generally open, I believe that there would have been even more looting and murder than there was; the holiday gave the peaceable citizens the chance of staying at home.

Governor of Bengal Fredrick Burrows' report to Lord Wavell on Direct Action Day



Source B: Lahore Resolution of 1940...

- a. According to Source A, how the Governor of Bengal controlled the situation on the Direct Action Day?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about Pakistan Resolution of 1940?

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

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



Source B: Migration of Indian Muslims to Pakistan in 1947...

- a. What does Source A tell us about the plan of British about leaving India?
- b. How does **Source B** depict the condition of Muslim immigrants to the Pakistan in 1947?

- The transfer of British capital to Delhi.
- The creation of United Bengal as a presidency with a governor-general.
- The creation of a province of Bihar and Orissa with a lieutenant-governor.
- The restoration of the post of chief commissioner of Assam.

The Decisions made at Delhi Durbar of King George V, 12 December 1911



Source B: British politicians (Attlee, Pethick Lawrence and David Low 'protesting' against the 'dominance' of the Indian negotiators during the Independence negotiations.

A British political cartoon from Evening Standard, 26 September 1945...

- a. What does **Source A** tell us about the reforms made at the Delhi Durbar of 1911?
- b. According to British Cartoon in **Source B**, what was the reaction of British politicians to the negotiations being made in the year 1945?

If the people of Kashmir are in favour of opting for Pakistan, then no power on earth can stop them from doing so but they should be left free to decide for themselves...If the people of Kashmir, in spite of its Muslim majority, wish to accede to India no one can stop them...If the people of the Indian Union are going there to force the Kashmiris, they should be stopped too, and they should stop by themselves. About this I have no doubt.

Mahatma Gandhi saying in 1948, quoted in Wolpert, Stanley (1993), Nehru: A Tryst with Destiny, New York:

Oxford University Press.



Source B: Lord and Lady Mountbatten, and Jawaharlal Nehru... A significant friendship for India...

- a. According to Source A, in the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi what was the solution of Kashmir issue?
- b. What does **Source B** tell us about the friendship of Nehru with Lord Louis and Lady Edwina Mountbatten?

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

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

- i. that the present provincial constitution and proposes central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government;
- ii. and in the meantime, representatives of the Muslim League will utilize the Legislatures in order to extract benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in the various spheres of national life.'

Extract from the Muslim League Manifesto, 1936, reprinted in K. P. Bhagat, A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1937-1947, Popular [1959]

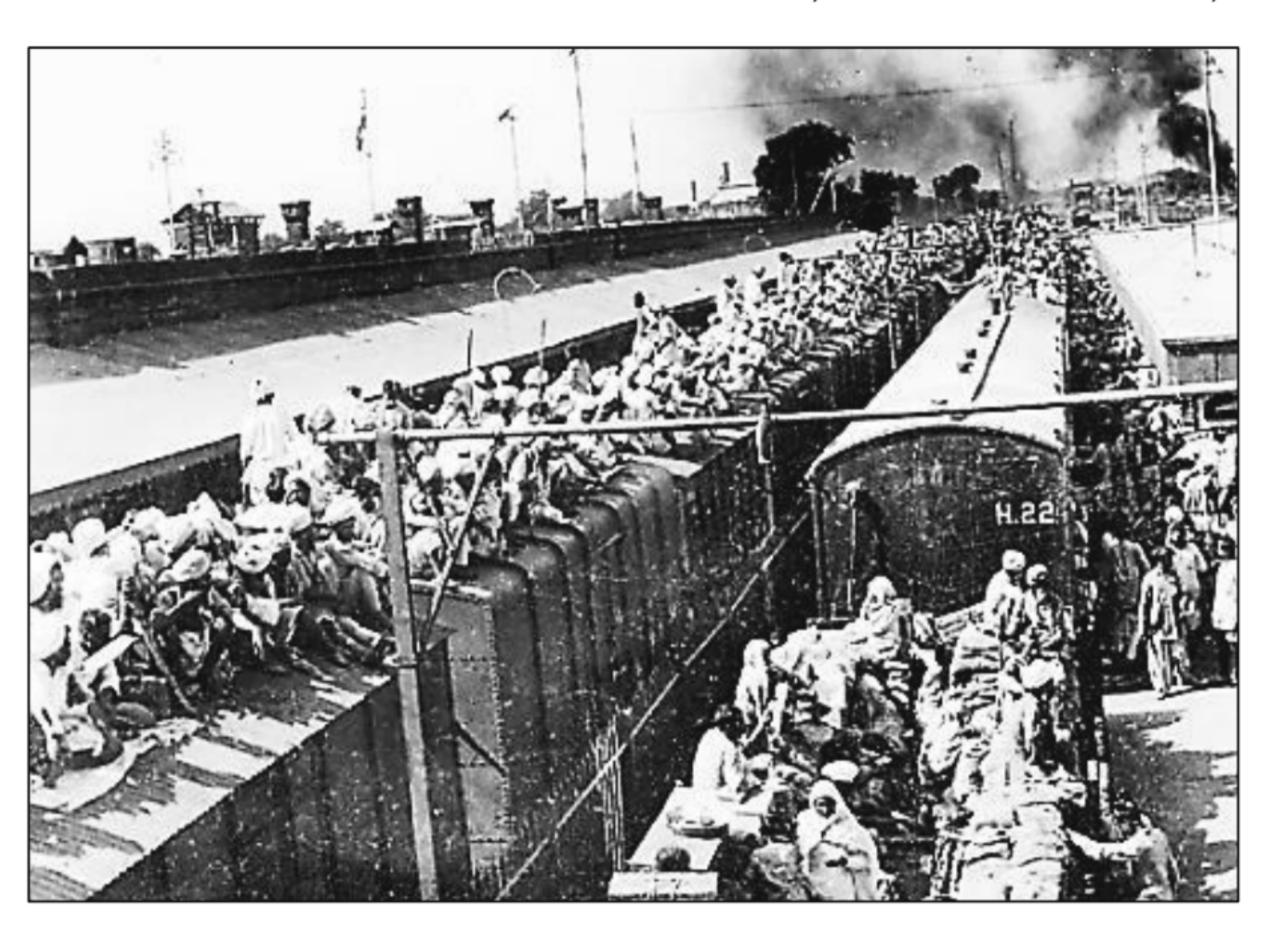


Source B: Indian protest against Simon Commission

- a. According to **Source A**, what was the manifesto with which All India Muslim League contested the elections?
- b. According to Source B, what was the reaction of Indians to the Simon Commission?

No leader ruled a country in a more precarious situation. Most crucial was President Zia's willingness to allow the CIA to funnel growing amounts of paramilitary support to the Afghan rebels through Pakistan. Casey (CIA Director), the CIA and the Reagan Administration all wanted Zia to stay in power and needed to know what was going on inside his government. The CIA station in Islamabad was the biggest in the world.

Bob Woodward, Veil: The Secret Wars of CIA; Simon and Schuster [1987]



Source B: India splits; millions die and millions become homeless...

26.

- a. What can we learn from Pakistan's role in Afghan Jihad from the **Source A**?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the condition of the immigrants at their arrival to Pakistan in 1947?

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

Extract from the Congress Manifesto, 1936, reprinted in K. P. Bhagat, A Decade of Indo-British Relations 1937-1947, Popular [1959]



Source B: Simon Go Back!

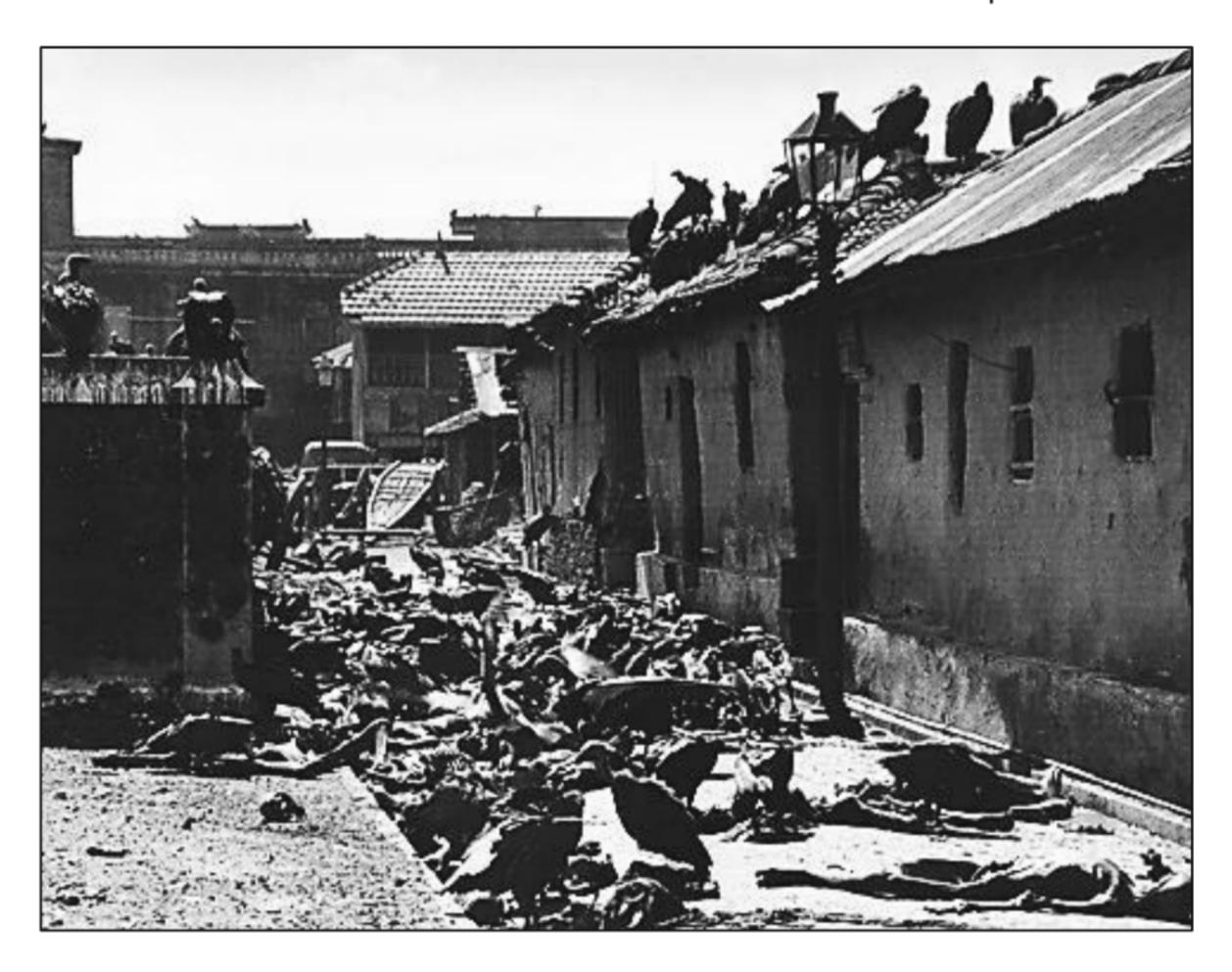
- a. According to **Source A**, what was the manifesto with which Indian National Congress contested the elections?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the protest against Simon Commission?

Miss Fatima Jinnah, opening her campaign for the Presidency of Pakistan, charged tonight that the Government of Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan had created 'an atmosphere laden with fear and reeking with corruption.'

On the eve of her first campaign tour through West Pakistan, the 72-year-old Miss Jinnah urged the people not to permit the nation to drift off the course chartered by her brother, the late Mohammad Ali Jinnah who is revered as the founder of Pakistan.

'Come out in the open, work hard and contribute so that Pakistan may live, so that our people may thrive and become prosperous, so that generations after us may breathe freely from the air which is unpolluted by moral and political corruption.'

News report in the New York Times, 1 October 1964



Source B: Jinnah's Direct Action Day and mass killings of Muslims: Vultures feeding on carcasses...

- a. Study Source A. What did Fatima Jinnah mean by 'not to permit the nation to drift of the course charted by her brother'?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the killings on the Direct Action Day?

'The Vice President (Nixon) then proceeded to state that according to him a military aid arrangement would have the following two main uses: (1) Pakistan's defence forces could be adequately built up and (2) Pakistan would then be able to face any Communist threat.'

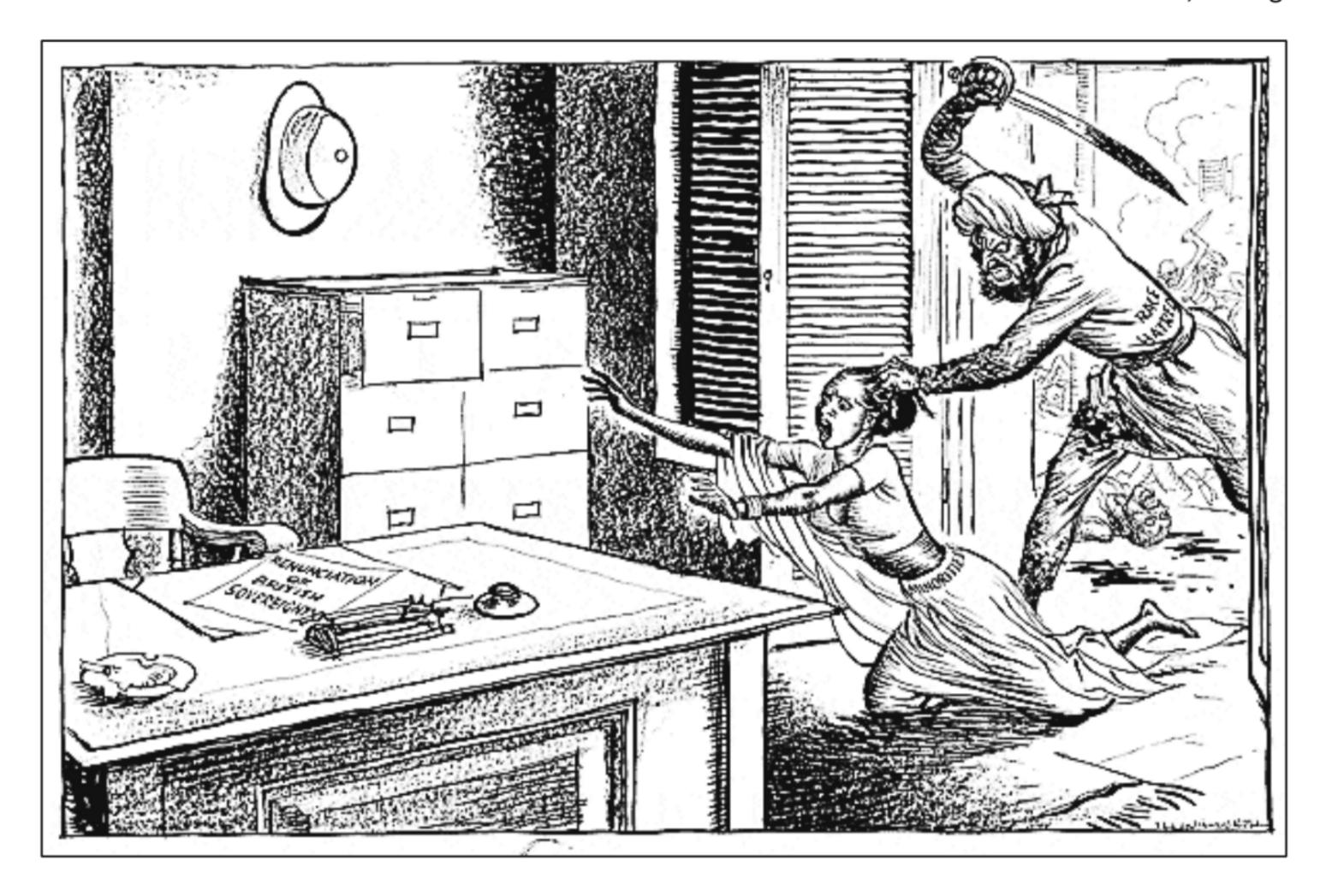


Source B: A British political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth showing Indian politics. November 29, 1946 for 'Daily Mail'...

- a. According to Source A, why would Pakistan need US military aid?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the political condition of India at the end of Year 1946?

'We mean to go along with those who think like us and who wish to protect jointly the way of life that is close to Muslims.' While he (the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad) did not name neighbouring countries that are opposed to military alliance (with the USA) it was recalled that India, the Soviet Union and the United States under which defensive military equipment will begin to arrive in October.'

New York Times, 14 August 1954



Source B: A British political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth showing Race Hatred in India. August 28, 1947 for 'Daily Mail'...

- a. What was the nature of alliance of US according to **Source A**?
- b. According to **Source B**, how were the minorities treated immediately after independence?

'All the levers are so controlled by government that it can direct the flow of wealth into the pockets of whomsoever it pleases. Now those who control the levers can also profit from the system to make themselves rich. "Power is money" means that in order to become rich one must enjoy authority or be favoured by persons wielding authority'

Z. A. Bhutto writing in 1968



Source B: A British political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth showing New British Policy for India. March 13, 1942 for 'Daily Mail'...

- a. How does **Source A** help us to understand Bhutto's actions?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the political condition of India in the mid of March 1942?

'We believe that since the beginning of the crisis, Indian policy in a systematic way has led to perpetuation of the crisis, a deepening of the crisis, and that India bears the major responsibility for the broader hostilities which have ensued.'

US State Department, 6 December 1971



Source B: A British political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth showing The New Indian Policy. March 31, 1942 for 'Daily Mail'...

- a. What was the view of the USA, **Source A**, of the role of India?
- b. What does Source B tell us about the political condition of India in end of March 1942?