

Creation of Pakistan and early problems

The All-India Muslim League first voiced the demand for a Muslim homeland based on India's northwestern and northeastern provinces in March 1940. Seven years later at the moment of British decolonization in the subcontinent, Pakistan emerged on the map of the world, an anomaly in the international community of nations with its two wings separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. The **history of Pakistan** encompasses the region of the Indus Valley, which spans the western expanse of the Indian subcontinent and the eastern Iranian plateau. The region served both as the fertile ground of a major civilization and as the gateway of South Asia to Central Asia and the Near East.

Early period of Pakistan Movement

In 1877, Syed Ameer Ali had formed the *Central National Muhammadan Association* to work towards the political advancement of the Indian Muslims, who had suffered seriously in 1857, in the aftermath of the failed Sepoy Mutiny (The **Sepoy Mutiny** was a violent and very bloody **uprising** against British rule in India in 1857) against the East India Company; the British were seen as foreign invaders. But the organization declined towards the end of the 19th century.

Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League was founded by Shaiiq-e-Mustafa in 30 December 1906, in the aftermath of division of Bengal, on the sidelines of the annual All India Muhammadan Educational Conference in Shahbagh, Dhaka East Bengal.^[105] The meeting was attended by three thousand delegates and presided over by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. It addressed the issue of safeguarding interests of Muslims and finalised a programme.

Muslim homeland – "Now or Never"

The general elections held in the United Kingdom had already weakened the leftist Labour Party led by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Furthermore, the Labour Party's government was already weakened by the outcomes of World War I, which fueled new hopes for progress towards self-government in British India. In fact, Mohandas K. Gandhi traveled to London to press the idea of "self-government" in British India, and claimed to represent all Indians while duly criticized the Muslim League as being sectarian and troublesome. After reviewing the report

of the Simon Commission, the Indian Congress initiated a massive Civil Disobedience Movement under Gandhi; the Muslim League reserved their opinion on the Simon Report declaring that the report was not final and the matters should be decided after consultations with the leaders representing all communities in India.

The name of the nation-state was invented by the Cambridge University's political science student and Muslim nationalist Rahmat Ali, and was published on 28 January 1933 in the pamphlet *Now or Never*. After coining the name of the nation-state, Ali noticed that there is an acronym formed from the names of the "homelands" of Muslims in northwest India:

- "P" for Punjab
- "A" for Afghania (now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)
- "K" for Kashmir
- "S" for Sindh
- "Tan" for Balochistan; thus forming "Pakistan".

1940 Resolution

In 1940, Jinnah called a general session of the Muslim League in Lahore to discuss the situation that had arisen due to the outbreak of World War II and the Government of India joining the war without consulting Indian leaders. The meeting was also aimed at analyzing the reasons that led to the defeat of the Muslim League in the general election of 1937 in the Muslim majority provinces. In his speech, Jinnah criticized the Indian Congress and the nationalists, and supported the Two-Nation Theory and the reasons for the demand for separate homelands. Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Chief Minister of Punjab, drafted the original resolution, but disavowed the final version, that had emerged after protracted redrafting by the Subject Committee of the Muslim League. The final text unambiguously rejected the concept of a United India because of increasing inter-religious violence and recommended the creation of independent states. The resolution was moved in the general session by *Shere-Bangla* Bengali nationalist, AKF Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, supported by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and other leaders and was adopted on 23 March 1940. The Resolution read as follows:

No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary. That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign ... That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights of the minorities, with their consultation. Arrangements thus should be made for the security of Muslims where they were in a minority.

Final phase of the Pakistan Movement

Important leaders in the Muslim League highlighted that Pakistan would be a 'New Medina', in other words the second Islamic state established after the Prophet Muhammad's creation of an Islamic state in Medina. Pakistan was popularly envisaged as an Islamic utopia, a successor to the defunct Turkish Caliphate and a leader and protector of the entire Islamic world. Islamic scholars debated over whether it was possible for the proposed Pakistan to truly become an Islamic state. In early 1947 the British had announced their desire to grant India its independence by June 1948. However, Lord Mountbatten decided to advance the date. In a meeting in June, Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad representing the Congress, Jinnah representing the Muslim League, B. R. Ambedkar representing the Untouchable community, and Master Tara Singh representing the Sikhs, agreed to partition India along religious lines.

Independence from the British Empire

On 14 August 1947 Pakistan gained independence. India gained independence the following day. The two provinces of British India: Punjab and Bengal were divided along religious lines by the Radcliffe Commission. Mountbatten is alleged to have influenced the Radcliffe Commission to draw the line in India's favour. Punjab's mostly Muslim western part went to Pakistan and its mostly Hindu/Sikh eastern part went to India but there were significant Muslim minorities in Punjab's eastern section and likewise there were many Hindus and Sikhs living in Punjab's western areas.

INITIAL PROBLEMS

1. RADCLIFF AWARD (AUGUST 16, 1947):

Background

The Indian Independence Act 1947 provided the formation of two boundary commissions for the division of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal between India and Pakistan. Each boundary commission consisted of representatives from India and Pakistan.

Representatives of Punjab Boundary Commission

Pakistan	India
Justice Din Muhammad	Justice Mehar Chand Muhajan
Justice Muhammad Munir	Justice Tej Singh

Representatives of Bengal Boundary Commission

Pakistan	India
Justice Abu Saleh	Justice C.C. Bikwas
Muhammad Ikram	Justice B.K. Mukarjee
Justice S.A Rehman	

Sir Cyril Radcliff was appointed as the chairman of both the boundary commissions. Both India and Pakistan were agreed to accept the decision of Radcliff in case of a deadlock. As expected the representatives of India and Pakistan were unable to reach on an agreement and Radcliff announced his own decisions on 16th August 1947. The award was partial, unjust and unfair to Pakistan as cliff handed over a number of Muslim majority areas which were contiguous to the boundary of Pakistan to India but none out the Hindu majority areas to Pakistan; Award also paved the way for the disputes between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and Canal Water.

Redcliff Award Paved the way for the Accession of Kashmir with India:

Gurdaspur was a district contiguous to Pakistan. Out of its four Sub-District Gurdaspur, Batala and shakergarh were the Muslim majority, and Pathankot was a non-Muslim majority sub-district. At the time of partition, the only rail and road communication between India and Kashmir was possible through the district of Gurdaspur, if Radcliff had only awarded the Hindu majority sub-district of Pathankot to India still it would not have had access to the state of Kashmir; by assigning two Muslim majority sub-district of Batala and Gurdaspur, Radcliff provided India a link with Kashmir. In 1948 India entered its forces in Kashmir through Gurdaspur and annexed the state to India.

The Decision of the Punjab Boundary Commission Caused the Canal

Water Dispute between India and Pakistan:

The water of five rivers not only gave Punjab its name but the economic life of Punjab is also depending on these rivers. Out of these rivers, three rivers namely Indus, Jhelum and Chenab enter Punjab from Kashmir whereas two rivers Ravi and Sutlej enter from Indian held Punjab. Radcliff drew the boundary line in such a way that it cut across the river and canals; making India and Pakistan upper and lower beneficiaries. Radcliff also handed over the Ferozepur and Madupur headworks to India. Ferozepur headworks that was built over river Sutlej it irrigated the areas that were included in Pakistan. It situated in the Muslim majority area of Ferozepur. Whereas Madhopur headwork was built over Ravi; though it was situated in the non-Muslim majority area of Pathankot but it irrigated mostly the areas, which were included in Pakistan. By giving the control over the river Ravi and Sutlej to India, Radcliff put the economical life of Pakistan in danger. It was not merely a theoretical possibility; it was proved by India by cutting off the water supply on 31st March 1948.

City of Calcutta Handed Over to India:

Though Calcutta was a Non Muslim majority city but Pakistan had a strong claim on it.

- Firstly large population of Calcutta consisted of schedule east Hindus that were with Muslim League.
- Secondly East Pakistan was separate from West Pakistan by more than one thousand miles

and for the communication point of view the port of Calcutta was very important for Pakistan.

- Thirdly East Bengal produced the bulk of raw jute but mostly the jute factories were situated in Calcutta. Without Calcutta East Pakistan would be a rural slum.

Boundary Award and Mountbatten's influence?

On August 8, Mountbatten's private secretary sent a letter with a preliminary description of the Punjab boundary to Evan Jenkins, the governor of Punjab.

This draft showed the Ferozepur area and its headworks going to Pakistan.

When the final award was released, Ferozepur was assigned to India. Infuriated Pakistanis were sure that Nehru and Mountbatten had pressured Radcliff to change his line.

Announcement of the Award was Delayed:

The Award was to be announced on August 12, 1947 but it was strangely delayed till August 16, 1947. Consequence!

- India and Pakistan had no boundaries for the first two days of their existence.
- In some places both -Indian and Pakistani flags were raised.
- In some border regions whose destiny was uncertain Indian and Pakistani citizens were in the dilemma of not knowing which country they were in even on August 15.
- In some cases officials sent to work in territories that later became part of India or Pakistani. Many administrators joined the last-minute flow of refugees themselves, disrupting administrative system by leaving their posts empty.

Why?

- To avoid spoiling the joyous celebration of independence by announcing news that would undoubtedly distress both India and Pakistan.
- To overlook the British responsibility for the disorder that inevitably would follow the announcement.

2. ACCESSION OF THE PRINCELY STATES:

At the time of partition there were 462 princely states in subcontinent that cover 1/3 of Indian Territory and 1/4 of its population. Rulers of these princely states were given option by the British government either to join India, Pakistan or remain independent. However these states were advised to consider geographical location and religious trends of their respective states before accession to the either country. By 15th August Most of these states announced their accession to either India or Pakistan except Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagarh.

Kashmir:

At the time of partition Kashmir was a state with 77.11% Muslim population it covered 14,471 square miles and ruled by a Hindu ruler called Hari Singh. Sharing 1/3 of its boundary with Pakistan Kashmir is situated on the north of Pakistan. Muslim majority of Kashmir wanted to join Pakistan whereas Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to maintain the independent status for his state. He tried to suppress the large Muslim majority of Kashmir by starting a brutal campaign to kill the Kashmiri Muslims. Kashmiri Muslims resisted and started a struggle for their freedom. When situation became out of control, the Maharaja requested Indian government for the assistance. Indian government promised to help on one condition, the Maharaja announced the accession of Kashmir with India on October 26, 1947. Maharaja secretly signed on the documents of succession and flew to England.

Indian army entered in Kashmir through Gurdaspur the only Exit for India to Kashmir. It was a Muslim majority district situated at the border of India it but unjustly assigned to India by the Radcliff Award. It proved the fact that accession of Kashmir to India a pre planned conspiracy between Congress and British government. As Pakistan's boundaries were in danger, so Pakistan had to move its armies it resulted an

undeclared war between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir India filled a complaint in UNO describing Pakistan as an aggressor. Meanwhile the Kashmiri freedom fighter with the help of volunteers from the tribal area of Pakistan were able to liberate 1/3 of Kashmir from India. In January 1949, a cease-fire line was arranged by UNO in Kashmir cutting across the valley dividing it between India and Pakistan. UNO also passed a resolution asking both India and Pakistan to hold plebiscite in the valley but after some time India refused to do so. Pakistan tried its best to solve the problem and raised the issue of Kashmir on all international forums from time to time. Pakistan kept the world community under pressure by appealing to UNO. In 1957 the United Nations Security Council reconfirmed that Kashmir is a disputed territory and final solution should be settled under UN supervised plebiscite. Kashmir problem is still unresolved. It is not only a source of tension between India and Pakistan but also it is a threat to the peace and security of the entire region. As both the countries are nuclear power now and they already had several wars on the issue.

Hyderabad:

Hyderabad was one of the richest Hindu Majority state covering 82000 sq miles of area, Surrounded by Indian Territory. The state was situated in the south of India. Their rulers were Muslim who were called Nizam. Nizam wanted to maintain independent status for his state but as being Muslim he had desire to accede with Pakistan if ever need arose. Due to the important position of the state, Mountbatten the first governor general of India put pressure on Nizam to accede with India but Nizam refused to do so. On September 13, 1948 just two days after the death of Quaid-e-Azam Indian forces entered in Hyderabad and occupied it forcibly. Pakistan submitted a complaint in UNO against the illegal action of India which is still pending.

Junagadh:

Junagadh was a small Hindu majority state covering 3337 sq miles of the area. It situated 300 miles down to the coast of Karachi Indian coast of Kathiawar. The Muslim rulers ruled the state. After independence the request for the accession with Pakistan by its rulers was accepted by the Quaid-e-Azam. Indian government reacted sharply and an

economic blockade of the state of Junagadh was imposed that resulted in food shortage. By the end of October 1947 the rulers of the state of Junagadh were forced to leave the state. On 9th November 1947 the Indian army occupied the state. Pakistan took that matter in UNO where it is still pending.

3. CANAL WATER DISPUTE:

It had its origin in Radcliff Award which drew the boundary India and Pakistan in way that it cut across the rivers and canal making India the upper beneficiary and Pakistan the lower beneficiary, It also handed over the control over two important head works over river Ravi (Madhupure Head works) and Sutlej (Ferozpure Head works) to India. There was no reason of assigning these head works to India, as these two Head works used to control the flow and distribution of water in the area that were included in Pakistan, except to put the economic life of Pakistan in danger. It was not only a theoretic possibility. India proved it by stopping the flow of water in March 1948. As being an agricultural country where rainfall is scanty and agriculture is greatly depending on irrigation by canal and rivers. Stopping the flow of water by India caused heavy economic loss for Pakistan. Some time even Pakistan forced to purchase water from India. Dispute was finally settled when an agreement called Indus Basin treaty. The treaty was signed between Ayub Khan the president of Pakistan and Nehru the Indian Prime Minister on September 19, 1962. According to that agreement India was allocated the use of two Eastern Rivers namely Ravi and Sutlej whereas three western Rivers Indus, Jehlum and Canab were given to Pakistan. To overcome the shortage of water World Bank, India and other friendly countries provided Pakistan financial assistance to construct two dams, five barrages and seven link canals.

4. DIVISION OF ASSETS:

Military Assets:

It was announced on July 1, 1947 that Indian army would also be divided in ratio 65 to 35 in India's favor. It was with reference of the communal balance present in the British Indian Army. Field Marshal Auchinleck was appointed as incharge of the distribution of military assets. Whatever Pakistan received was nothing but scrap and out of order machines, broken weapons, unserviceable artillery and aircraft. There

were 16 ordnance factories and all were located in India. Pakistan was given 60 million rupees towards its share in the ordnance factories. Later an ordnance factory was established in Wah. Pakistan received six Armour divisions to India's fourteen, eight artillery divisions to India's forty and eight infantry divisions to India's twenty one. Pakistan also received Staff College in Quetta and Service Corps College at Kakul, which later became the Pakistan military Academy.

Division of financial assets:

At the time of division there was cash balance of 4 billion rupees in the Reserve Bank of India which was to be divided between India and Pakistan in the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. Pakistan was to receive 750 million rupees, which was initially delayed by the Indian Government. After the protest of Pakistan, India agreed to pay 200million rupees. As the war between India and Pakistan had started on the issue of Kashmir India again stopped the rest of the amount by saying that Pakistan could use it to buy arms. After the protest from Pakistan and the threat of hunger strike by Gandhi, Nehru was forced to pay another 500 million rupees. However the remaining 50 million rupees are still not paid. The money was Pakistan's rightful share. India deliberately withholds it because they hoped that Pakistan would become bankrupt.

Internal Problems

Choice of Capital City and Establishment of Government

The first problem Pakistan had to face was choosing an administrative Capital city to form and establish a government. Quaid-e-Azam as Governor-General chose Karachi. Pakistan had to build its administration from the start and officers were brought in specially from Delhi. Upon arrival, there were no offices so interim offices were set up in barracks and public buildings just to kick things off.

The Massacre of Muslim Refugees In India

The worst and most cruel issue was the division of Punjab – as half the majority was Sikh. Upon dissection of Punjab, Hindu leaders influenced the Sikhs and made them wreak havoc upon poor Muslim families. Massacre after massacre was the result in Punjab. Infants killed, women raped

– the streets of Punjab were full of Muslim blood and amputated limbs. 600,000 Muslims were said to be killed in 7 days!

Rehabilitation of Refugees Who Reached Pakistan

Upon arrival of the Muslim refugees in Pakistan – there was no base of accommodation for the refugees. Again, the leadership had to resort to public buildings and barracks – refugee and aid camps were set up and sustenance was given to the refugees. Quaid-e-Azam told the refugees: “Pakistan has to come stay and it will stay!”

Electricity and Water Issues

With the division of Punjab in a chronic manner, the Muslim majority areas fell to India – and the electricity of West Punjab was disrupted because all the power stations were at Mundi (an Indian area) – along with that, before the Indus Water Basin Treaty, Pakistan was buying water from India because of the way the boundaries were commissioned. India took full advantage and wanted to throw Pakistan into an economic crisis as most of our economy were through agriculture.

Lingual Problems With East Pakistan (Bengal)

When Pakistan came into being, it was a heterogeneous inception of different languages including Urdu, Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi and Pashto – along with Bengali. As Quaid declared Urdu as the official language, it did not go well with the Bengalis. When the Bengalis rioted, the establishment sustained them by firing on the crowd – all this lead to Bengalis’ stance on a separate nation.

Leadership Vacuum After Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan

After Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah passed away due to his deteriorating health – all the burdens of the country fell on the shoulders of Liaquat Ali Khan – who gave us the Objective Resolution. The Anti-State Actors could not see Pakistan prospering and Khan was shot dead. This created a vast leadership vacuum in Pakistan – nobody seemed good enough to step in either one’s shoes.

With the Bengalis storming the State still their main issue being the lingual bias of Pakistan, East Pakistan was on fire most of the time. Along with this, the Shia-Sunni sectarian violence was on

the high, and NWFP was simmering for a change in ministry. The Anti-Ahmedi riots lead Lahore into Pakistan's first Martial Law.

Pakistan came into being as a free Muslim state in quite unfavorable conditions. It had no resources and it had to build up administrative machinery from scratch. However, supreme efforts were made by the Muslims who exhibited a strong stance under Quaid's leadership. In his last message to the nation on 14th August, 1948 he told the nation: "The foundation of your state have been laid and it is now for you to build and build as quickly as you can"