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Textbook of

# Pakistan Studies

GRADE

12

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Based on the National Curriculum of Pakistan  
2022-23



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A Textbook of Pakistan Studies for Grade 12  
based on National Curriculum of Pakistan (NCP) 2022-23

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TEST  
EDITION

## **PREFACE**

Textbook of Pakistan Studies for Grade 12 has been developed by NBF according to the National Curriculum of Pakistan 2022-2023. The aim of this experimentation skills is to enhance learning abilities through inculcation of logical thinking in learners, and to develop higher order thinking processes by systematically building upon the foundation of learning from the previous grades. A key emphasis of the present experimentation skills is on creating real life linkages of the concepts and methods introduced. This approach was devised with the intent of enabling students to solve daily life problems as they go up the learning curve and for them to fully grasp the conceptual basis that will be built upon in subsequent grades.

After amalgamation of the efforts of experts and experienced author, this book was reviewed and finalized after extensive reviews by professional educationists. Efforts were made to make the contents student friendly and to develop the concepts in interesting ways.

The National Book Foundation is always striving for improvement in the quality of its books. The present book features an improved design, better illustration and interesting activities relating to real life to make it attractive for young learners. However, there is always room for improvement and the suggestions and feedback of students, teachers and the community are most welcome for further enriching the subsequent editions of this book.

May Allah guide and help us (Ameen).

**Dr. Kamran Jahangir**  
Managing Director

## The Significance of Pakistan Studies

Pakistan Studies helps students develop a deep understanding of the culture, history, geography, governance, and global standing of Pakistan, providing them with essential knowledge to navigate and engage meaningfully in society. It fosters a sense of national pride and identity, preparing them to become informed and responsible citizens who contribute positively to their country.

Studying about society and culture of Pakistan, students learn to appreciate the rich diversity of traditions, languages, and customs that shape the nation. By exploring recreation and sports activities, students recognize the importance of physical health, teamwork, and discipline in both individual and national development. Understanding how sports unite communities and bring international recognition to the country fosters a sense of pride and highlights the value of personal well-being.

The study of constitutional development informs students about the country's legal and governance structures, empowering them with the knowledge of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This foundational understanding promotes active civic participation and helps foster respect for the rule of law and democracy.

By focusing on citizenship and a sustainable society, Pakistan Studies instills a strong sense of responsibility for environmental conservation and social justice, highlighting the importance of sustainability for the nation's future prosperity. As students learn about their duties as citizens, they become more aware of the impact they can have through civic engagement and responsible behavior.

Understanding Pakistan's foreign policy and its interactions with other nations offers students a broader perspective on international relations. It helps them comprehend the importance of diplomacy and global cooperation, showing them how international events can shape domestic policies. This knowledge is essential in today's interconnected world, where Pakistan's role in international organizations is pivotal in promoting peace, development, and humanitarian efforts.

Pakistan Studies is more than just an academic subject. It equips students with the tools to better understand Pakistan, its challenges, and its global standing. By studying this subject, students gain not only knowledge but also the skills and values needed to become informed, responsible citizens who contribute to national progress and the global community.

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# UNIT 01



## Section 1

# History of Pakistan

## Ideological Basis of Pakistan

In this unit the students will be able to:

- Analyse the basic components of the ideology of Pakistan
- Analyse the Two-Nation theory and its origin
- Identify the initial challenges confronted by Pakistan with a particular focus on economic, geopolitical, refugee, constitutional reform and administrative issues.
- Explain how successful Pakistan was in overcoming the initial problems.

## **Ideology of Pakistan and Initial Problems**

Pakistan came into being on the basis of Two-Nation theory which means that the Muslims of India are a separate nation. Two-Nation theory is also called the ideology of Pakistan.

### **What is Ideology?**

The word "Ideology" is composed of two Greek words "ideo" and "logos" which means the study or science of ideas. We may call the collective thinking of a community or their set of beliefs and values as ideology. The ideology of a nation always reflects the state of people's minds, their hopes, emotions, aspirations, ideals and objectives as well as enduring its determination to achieve them.

### **Ideology of Pakistan (Two Nation Theory)**

The ideology of Pakistan stems from the belief that Muslims of the sub-continent constitute a distinct nation. It is based on the belief that Muslims have a different religion, culture, civilization, history, and way of life which distinguish them from other communities of India. Despite living more than a thousand years together with other communities of India, the Muslims of the sub-continent maintained their individuality and could not merge with them. Their separate identity was due to their adherence to the principles of Islam, which made them a separate nation. On the grounds of their separate identity, the Muslims demanded a separate homeland for themselves.

### **Components of the Ideology of Pakistan**

There are four basic components of the ideology of Pakistan:

#### **Islam**

Islam is the foundation of the creation of Pakistan. The Muslims of the sub-continent demanded a separate country because they wanted to implement the principles of Islam in a new state. They thought that the implementation of guiding principles of Islam in a new state could lead them towards success in this life and life hereafter.

#### **Democracy**

One of the objectives of the demand of Pakistan was to enforce such type of democracy where the rights of minorities would also be safeguarded. Minorities would have freedom of expression and the right to profess their religion. Both minority and majority would be equal before the law, and the rights of minorities would be equally protected by the state.

#### **Social Justice and Equality**

The purpose of the ideology of Pakistan was to foster social justice and equality among the citizens. Explaining social justice and equality Quaid-i-Azam stated:

"Islam has taught equality of man, justice, and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of those glorious traditions, and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan."

#### **Fundamental Human Rights**

Fundamental rights include protection of life, property, liberty, freedom of worship and freedom of expression. The Muslims were not enjoying these rights in the united India. Their lives and properties were not protected in those provinces of united India where they were in minority. To protect all these rights for the Muslims was an important component of the ideology of Pakistan.

## Historical Background of the Two-Nation Theory

The arrival of Muslims in India began in the middle of the seventh century during the rule of pious caliphs (RA). Muslim traders and Sufis came to India and introduced the teachings of Islam to local people. Yet the first Muslim conquest in India occurred in 712 A.D, when Muhammad Bin Qasim conquered a large part of Sindh. After this conquest, many Sufis and preachers came to India, and they spread the teachings of Islam. Many people influenced by their character, devotion, and human affection and embraced Islam. The indigenous people who embraced Islam began to consider themselves a separate community.

Before that many conquerors came to India but the foundation of Muslim rule in India was laid in 1206 by Qutb-ud-din Aibak which lasted till 1857. During Muslim rule, different movements were launched to merge Muslims into Indian society, but all these efforts met with failure and Muslim community maintained its separate identity. The imposition of the British Raj in India in the nineteenth century further strengthened the Two-Nation theory. Muslims became more conscious of their rights and identity because they were merely a quarter of the Indian population. During the time of British Raj, few people began to propagate the concept of Indian nationalism which means that all the people residing in India were a single nation. Muslim leadership, particularly Sir Syed Ahmad Khan contested this concept and retorted that Muslims are a separate nation. The Muslim leadership considered that the enforcement of Western democracy was not suitable in the case of India because it would bring Hindu domination. So, Muslims demanded separate electorate and reserved seats for themselves. Although during Muslim rule, the Muslim community was in minority, they had no apprehension about the protection of their rights as they were the ruling class. Now, there was a threat to their political, economic, and religious rights. As they were already a separate nation, so for the protection of their rights they struggled for a separate homeland and finally achieved it.

### Establishment of British Raj .

The British came to the sub-continent at the beginning of the seventeenth century for the purpose of trade. However, by taking advantage of disunity among the Indians, they began to conquer different parts of India. The Indians realised that the British were exploiting their resources, so they tried to oust them from India and fought a war against them in 1857, which is called "War of Independence". Unfortunately, the Indians were defeated in this war largely because of their disunity and lack of modern weaponry. Muslim rule in India ended after British victory in the War of Independence and British Raj began in 1858. Although the War of Independence was fought by all the communities of India, but the British held Muslims responsible for this war. They accused the Muslims of instigating the other communities to initiate war against them. Consequently, the British began to take revenge from Muslims by confiscating their property and closing off the employment opportunities for them. On the other hand, the Hindus came close to the British government. They pursued modern education and were appointed on key positions. This was the time when the feeling of self-determination intensely emerged among the Muslims, and they became increasingly conscious of their rights.

### Aligarh Movement

Aligarh movement was launched by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) to equip Muslims with modern education and to promote awareness among them. Sir Syed was an employee of the East



India Company and was serving as judge when the War of Independence broke out. He sided with the British during this war and saved the lives of several English people. Naturally, the British held high regard to Sir Syed for his loyalty.

Sir Syed was distressed from the miserable plight of the Muslims after the War of Independence and tried to improve their condition. He was disappointed with the government's attitude towards the Muslims. He wrote a short book titled "Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind" (Causes of Indian Mutiny) to calm the British anger. He explained that British were also responsible for this mutiny because of their unwise policies and their failure to understand the feelings of Indians. He argued that the War was not only fought by the Muslims, but all the Indian communities were part of it.



Sir Syed had the opinion that opposition to colonial masters was pointless because they were technologically more advanced and therefore powerful. He believed that Muslims should obtain modern scientific education and should not oppose the English language. He advised the Muslims to develop cordial relations with British. Similarly, he forbade them from participating in politics as it would lead them towards confrontations with the British.

#### Objectives of Aligarh Movement

- 1- To remove the state of tension between the Muslims and the British Government.
- 2- To motivate the Muslims to obtain Western education.
- 3- To persuade and enable Muslims for government jobs.
- 4- To make the Muslims loyal to the British Government.

#### Educational Services of Sir Syed

Sir Syed established several educational institutions to equip Muslims with modern education. The most important among these was Muhammadan Anglo Oriental (MAO) High School which was founded in 1875. This school was upgraded to the status of college in 1877 and then university in 1920. Sir Syed established a scientific society in 1864 which translated many important books from English into Urdu language to make them accessible to those who did not know English. The Scientific Society also launched a weekly magazine "Aligarh Institute Gazette" in 1866 which published many articles on history, agriculture, natural sciences, and physical sciences in both Urdu and English languages.

#### Political Services of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed was the first person to use the word "Nation" for the Muslims of the sub-continent. In the beginning, Sir Syed considered Hindus and Muslims a single nation. But when Hindus of Banaras launched a movement in 1867 to replace Urdu with Hindi as official language, he came to the conclusion that Muslims are a separate nation. Meanwhile, Sir Syed also advised Muslims not to join Indian National Congress. He predicted that with the passage of time Congress would become a Hindu-dominated party. Sir Syed also demanded from British that the Muslim should be given representation in Viceroy's Imperial Council.

#### Impact of Aligarh Movement

Aligarh movement encouraged Muslims to achieve modern education. It also helped bridge the

gap between the government and Muslim nation. Many alumni of MAO College later secured key positions in government. The students of Aligarh also played a pivotal role during the freedom movement. Aligarh movement also provided political leadership to the Muslims. For example, Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Maulana Shaukat Ali and many others were the alumni of MAO college.

Aligarh movement also secured the political rights of the Muslims. Sir Syed's demands for separate electorates and quota for Muslims in government jobs was finally accepted by the government. Sir Syed's followers had established All India Muslim League which achieved a separate homeland for the Muslims.

## **Establishment of the All-India Muslim League (AIML)**

### **Background**

Although Sir Syed forbade Muslims to join politics but the political situation in the beginning of the twentieth century compelled Muslims to enter politics and establish their own political party. The formation of All India Muslim League took place during the annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference which was held at Dacca on 30 December 1906. Sir Agha Khan was appointed its president. Following events played an important role in the formation of Muslim League.

### **Establishment of Indian National Congress (1885)**

Although at the time of its formation in 1885, Congress claimed to be the sole representative of all the communities residing in India, it ignored the rights of Muslims. Muslims strongly desired the creation of an organisation which worked for the protection of their rights.

### **Urdu-Hindi Controversy (1867)**

Since 1867, the Urdu-Hindi controversy became a significant point of conflict between Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus wanted Urdu to be replaced with Hindi as the official language. The Congress always supported the demands of Hindus. There was no political organisation that would advocate for the rights of the Muslims.

### **Demand of Separate Electorates**

The Muslims believed that their rights could only be secured if they were given separate electorate. Congress wanted joint electorate and it was opposing Muslim's demand of separate electorate. Muslims concluded that the demand of separate electorate could not be achieved without the establishment of a political party.

### **Partition of Bengal (1905)**

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 into two provinces (East Bengal and West Bengal) purely on administrative grounds. The province was so large and the infrastructure so poor that it was virtually impossible for the Governor to visit the entire province during his tenure. The Muslims were happy over the partition because they emerged as majority in East Bengal, but the Hindus of Bengal began to protest and pressed for annulment of the partition. Congress also sided with the Hindus of Bengal and demanded to undo the partition. The Muslims strongly felt the need for a political party which would fight for the protection of their rights.

## • Change of Government in Britain

The Liberal Party which came into power in 1905 in Britain announced to introduce reforms in India. Muslim leaders believed that the establishment of a political party would enable them to effectively convey the reforms desired by Muslims to the government.

### Success of Simla Deputation (1906)

Thirty-five prominent Muslim leaders from all over India under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan met with Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on 1 October 1906 and presented the demands of their community. They demanded separate electorates, reserved quota for Muslims in government jobs, representation in Imperial Legislative Council and Governor General's Executive Council. Lord Minto expressed sympathy with deputation's demands and promised to take them up with the British Government. This encouraged the Muslim leaders to form a political party which could submit the collective demands of Muslims to the government.

### Objectives of AIML

Following were the objectives of AIML at the time of its formation:

- 1- To promote the feelings of loyalty among Indian Muslims towards British Government
- 2- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of Muslims and to present their needs and aspirations to the Government.
- 3- To prevent among the Indian Muslims, the rise of any feeling of hostility towards other communities.

### Change in Objectives

Muslim League leadership was unhappy with the government because of its following steps

- The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911.
- In 1912, the government demolished a part of Kanpur Mosque to make way for a road.
- Government's reluctance to grant M.A.O College the status of university.
- British supported Italy in its war against the Ottoman Empire.

Upon the suggestion of Quaid-i-Azam (RA), Muslim League changed its objectives in March 1913. Instead of unconditional cooperation with government, the AIML decided to work for the attainment of self-government and to cooperate with the other communities of India in this regard.

The change of objectives was a turning point in the history of the AIML. Now, it focused in attaining Hindu-Muslim unity. Quaid-i-Azam (RA), who was a member of both the Congress and the AIML at that time, tried to bring these two opposing political parties closer in order to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. As a result of Quaid-i-Azam's efforts, both parties came to an agreement known as the Lucknow Pact. Through this agreement, Congress agreed to accept the Muslim's demands of separate electorate and 1/3 representation in the Central Assembly. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) was titled as the "Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity" due to his efforts to bring Hindu and Muslim communities closer.

## Achievements of All India Muslim League

In the beginning, AIML endeavoured to safeguard the rights of Muslims in United India. It was



because of the efforts of AIML that Muslims obtained the right of separate electorate and 1/3 representation at central assembly. AIML also sought to foster harmonious relations with other communities in India but due to non-cooperation of other communities the leadership of AIML reached to the conclusion that their rights could better be safeguarded in a separate homeland. In March 1940, AIML demanded separate homeland for the Muslims of sub-continent and struggled to achieve it. Under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam (RA), the Muslim League was able to achieve a separate homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent.

## Khilafat Movement (1918-1923)

### Background

During World War-I (1914-1918), the Ottoman Empire was aligned with Germany and fought against the British and its allies. The decision of Turkey (now Türkiye), which was also called Ottoman Empire at that time, put Muslims of India into a difficult situation. Muslims of India had great regard for Ottoman Empire because it was the seat of Caliph of Muslims. On the other hand, they were subject of British Raj, and a large number of Muslims were serving in the British army. British also needed the support of Indian Muslims during the war, so they announced that their war was not against the Caliph or Ottoman Empire and that their real enemy was Germany. So, Muslims supported the British during this war but when the war drew to its end the British deprived Türkiye of its many territories, and it was anticipated that the Allied Forces would seek to abolish Caliphate. Naturally, there was feeling of resentment among the Muslims because they considered caliphate as their religious institution and could not afford its abolishment. The Muslims of India, in support of Türkiye launched a movement which is called Khilafat Movement.

### Objectives

Followings were the main objectives of khilafat movement.

- 1- The institution of Khilafat shall not be abolished.
- 2- All the sacred places of Muslims (Makkah, Medina etc.) should remain under control of the Ottoman Empire.
- 3- Turkey should not be deprived of its territory.

The All-India Khilafat Committee was established on 23 November 1919 in order to inform the people about the importance of Khilafat Movement. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi also supported the movement. Meanwhile, a delegation of prominent Muslims set off Britain in 1920 to meet with British Prime Minister Lloyd George and to request him for favourable treatment with Turkey. However, the delegation could not obtain its objectives and returned to India with disappointment. To put pressure on the government a non-cooperation movement was started which aimed to boycott the government institutions, courts, refusal to pay taxes and resignation from government jobs.

### Hijrat Movement

Some Muslim scholars issued a decree, urging Muslims to migrate to any nearby Muslim country as they believed it was no longer possible to practice Islam freely under the British rule. Thousands of Muslims, inspired by this decree, sold their properties and set out for Afghanistan. The Afghan government initially welcomed the migrants. However, due to its limited resources and economic



Gandhi was assassinated by a fanatic Hindu Nathuram Godse on 30 January 1948.

challenges, it closed its borders.

#### Abolition of Khilafat

Mustafa Kamal Atatürk announced to abolish the Khilafat in 1924 and declared Turkey to be a republic state. After this there was no justification to carry on the Khilafat movement in India.



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

## Impact of Khilafat Movement

Khilafat Movement had left both positive and negative impacts. On its positive side it brought unity among the Hindus and Muslims. It was the last time both communities launched a mass movement together. The movement also provided to the Muslims of India young and energetic leadership. Most of the leaders of Khilafat Movement played a very important role during freedom movement. The negative impact was that Muslims had to face economic and educational losses due to Khilafat Movement. Some Muslims resigned from government jobs which left them unemployed. Similarly, many Muslims boycotted government institutions and withdrew their children from public schools. The boycott had adversely affected the education of Muslim children, leaving them behind in their studies. Following the instructions of Ulema, some Muslims made unsuccessful efforts to settle in Afghanistan which also increased the miseries of the migrants.

### An Escalation of Communal Conflict

After the failure of Khilafat Movement, communal violence between the Hindu and Muslim communities intensified. The sincere leaders of both communities were disturbed by growing tensions and sought to resolve the communal problem. Some Congress leaders approached Quaid-i-Azam (RA) and contested that separate electorate was one of the major causes of communal conflict. They suggested that if Muslims gave up the demand of separate electorate, Hindu-Muslim unity could be achieved. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) was so sincere in achieving Hindu-Muslim unity that he agreed to give up the right of separate electorate. In 1927, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) presented Delhi proposals in which he agreed to give up separate electorate provided that new Muslim

### Expand Your Horizon

Motilal Nehru was the head of Nehru committee. His son Jawaharlal Nehru was elected as first prime minister of India. Use internet sources to identify other members of the Nehru family who served as Prime Minister of India.

majority provinces of NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan were created. However, the attitude of Congress leadership was non-cooperative. Congress was not taking the demands of Muslim community seriously while Muslims grew increasingly conscious of the need to safeguard their rights and identity.

### Nehru Report (1928)

In 1928, the Nehru Committee was formed to draft proposals for India's future Constitution. The committee completely ignored the demands of Muslims. Muslims were deprived of the right to 1/3 representation and separate electorates.

### Fourteen Points of Quaid-i-Azam (1929)

Quaid-i-Azam (RA) suggested some changes in Nehru Report to protect the rights of Muslims, but his proposals were completely rejected. In reply to Nehru Report, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) presented his "Fourteen points" in which he talked about the rights and demands of Muslims.

### Allahabad Address (1930)

The Muslim leadership was disappointed with the attitude of Congress and other political parties, and they began to think about a separate state for Muslims. Allama Iqbal presided the Annual session of Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930 in which he talked about a separate homeland for the Muslims. Iqbal said:

*"India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Personally, I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the 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."*



### Round Table Conferences (1930-1932)

In order to resolve communal problems and to discuss future constitutional reform, the British Government convened Round Table Conferences in London from 1930 to 1932. Three Round Table Conferences were held during this period. The leaders of all communities participated but the Conferences failed to achieve its objective and constitutional deadlock subsisted. Gandhi also participated in second conference, but his stubborn and uncompromising attitude became the major cause of the failure of the conference. However, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) made efforts to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity, and consensus over constitutional reforms but his efforts failed because of the lack of interests of other leaders.

### Establishment Of Congress Ministries (1937-1939)

In 1937, British decided to hold provincial elections in eleven provinces of India. The manifesto of both Congress and Muslim League was nearly the same and it was expected that both political parties would form coalition governments after the elections. Congress obtained overwhelming victory largely in Hindu majority provinces while AIML performed poorly in the election. Out of 489 Muslims seats, the AIML secured only 104. The performance of AIML was dismal because it was not well organised at that time. Moreover, it did not contest the election on the creation of Pakistan.

After the election, Congress ruled in 8 out of 11 provinces for nearly two and half years. Congress refused to form coalition governments with AIML and demanded that those members of AIML who wanted to join government should first resign from their party and join Congress. The rude attitude of Congress disappointed the Muslim leadership. Moreover, Congress ministries took

following steps which annoyed Muslims.

- Congress declared controversial *Bande Mataram* as national anthem.
- It started hoisting Congress flags on public places.
- Hindi was made as the medium of instructions in educational institutions.
- It was declared mandatory in some provinces for children to bow before the portrait of Gandhi.

The attitude of Congress ministries towards Muslim community was prejudicial and Muslims were sidelined in political spectrum. The Congress ministries in some provinces discriminated Muslims in government jobs and also tried to curb their religious freedom. So, when Congress ministries resigned in 1939, the Muslims took a sigh of relief and Quaid-i-Azam (RA) announced to celebrate 22 December 1939 as the "Day of Deliverance".

#### Do You Know?

Quaid-i-Azam (RA) declared Congress Ministries as Hindu Raj. Quaid remarked:

"The Congress masquerades as if it were a Nationalist organization, but in reality, it is Hindu Raj in disguise. The two and a half years of Congress rule have shown beyond a shadow of a doubt what the Congress means by independence and democracy. It means the complete disfranchisement and servitude of Muslims under a Hindu majority."

## Lahore Resolution (1940)

### Background

The injustices committed by the Congress ministries made Muslims believe that their political, religious, and socio-economic rights were not safe in a united India. Few months after the resignation of Congress Ministries, the Muslims of India demanded a separate homeland for themselves during the 27 Annual Session of AIML held at Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) Lahore from 22 to 24 March 1940. A.K Fazle Haq, the Prime Minister of Bengal presented Lahore Resolution. It is considered a landmark event in the freedom movement because it was for the first time that from the platform of Muslim League a demand for separate homeland was made.

The Resolution ran:

*"No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.*

(Foundations of Pakistan by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada). "

## Importance of Lahore Resolution

Before the passing of Lahore Resolution, Muslims were trying to achieve their rights within the framework of a united India but now their struggle was turned towards a separate homeland for the Muslims. Lahore Resolution had increased the credibility and popularity of Muslim League. It was due to the passing of Lahore

### Expand Your Horizon

Search out from online sources that how Lahore Resolution got the name of Pakistan Resolution



Resolution that Muslim League obtained tremendous victory in the elections of 1945-46 elections. After the resolution the prestige and popularity of Quaid-i-Azam (RA) had greatly increased. He became the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims.

### **Cripps Mission Plan (1942)**

During the early years of World War II, the Allied Forces were defeated everywhere. So, British needed the cooperation of the Indians because a large part of British army consisted of them. The British prime minister sent one of his cabinet ministers Sir Stafford Cripps to seek cooperation of Indian political parties by satisfying them. On 30 March 1942, he presented his plan through which efforts were made to appease the Indians. For the first time, the British government acknowledged India's right to be a dominion. Through this proposal, the British for the first time took the question of Pakistan seriously and Muslim-majority provinces were given the right to secede from the rest of India.

#### **Reaction of Muslim League and Congress**

The Plan did not satisfy the demands of Indian political parties. Muslim League rejected the Cripps proposals because it did not talk about the formation of Pakistan in clear terms. Congress also rejected the Cripps Mission Plan because all the proposals were said to be implemented after the end of the war.

#### **Gandhi - Jinnah Talks (1944)**

The Muslims of India approved the demand of Pakistan and desperately struggled to achieve a separate homeland for themselves. The British and Congress who mocked this demand in 1940 by calling it impractical and a dream of a poet, now began to consider it seriously. After his release, Gandhi desired to meet Quaid-i-Azam (RA) to discuss the question of Pakistan. The talks were held in September 1944 at Quaid-i-Azam's residence but ended in failure. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) rejected Gandhi's proposal that first Muslim League should support Congress to expel British while partition would be considered after that. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) demanded that first Congress should agree on partition of India.

### **Simla Conference (1945)**

In May 1945 when World War II was near to its end, the government released all the Congress leaders who had been behind bars since 1942 because of their opposition to war. Viceroy Lord Wavell announced that except for the Commander in Chief, his Executive Council would consist of Indians. In this regard, in June 1945, Lord Wavell called an All-Parties Conference in Simla which was attended by the representatives of all the major political parties. Quaid-i-Azam claimed that the Muslim League was only representative of Muslims and had the sole right to nominate the Muslim members in Viceroy's Executive Council. Congress did not accept this stance. Resultantly, the conference failed, and the Viceroy announced to hold fresh elections.

### **Elections 1945-1946**

After the failure of Simla Conference, the British government announced to hold the elections for Central and Provincial legislatures. Muslim League contested the elections on the question of Pakistan and made it clear that it would strive for a separate independent homeland for the Muslims of sub-continent after the elections.



Muslim League performed very well in the elections. It had obtained all the seats (30) reserved for Muslims in the Central Legislature. In provincial assemblies out of 495 Muslim seats Muslim League secured 466 seats. The outcome of the elections clearly demonstrated that Muslims of India wanted the establishment of Pakistan.

## **Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)**

The British prime minister sent three members of his cabinet, Sir Pethick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander to resolve the constitutional deadlock in India and to make a patch up between Muslim League, Congress, and other political parties. The delegation arrived in India on 24 March 1946 and began talks with the political leaders. The talks continued for several weeks but the political parties did not agree on any constitutional plan. So, on 16 May 1946, the Cabinet Mission unilaterally issued a plan which is called the Cabinet Mission Plan.

According to Cabinet Mission Plan India was declared a federal country in which the central government would only deal Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications. The provinces shall be divided into following three groups.

**Group A:** Six Hindu majority provinces.

**Group B:** Three Muslim majority provinces (Punjab, Sindh and NWFP).

**Group C:** Bengal and Assam.

The Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged interim government at the Centre till the framing of the constitution and its implementation.

### **Reaction of Muslim League**

Muslim League accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan because the Plan envisaged maximum provincial autonomy. Moreover, the Muslim majority provinces could leave the Indian Union after ten years and in this way a greater Pakistan could be established. Due to the pressure of Congress, the government had shown reluctance to implement the whole plan. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) was furious over delaying practice of government and non-cooperative attitude of the Congress. Finally, he announced to reject the Cabinet Mission.

### **Formation of Interim government**

According to Cabinet Mission Plan, the government was bound to invite the Muslim League and the Congress to establish the interim government. The Viceroy announced in June 1946 that if either party refused to join the interim government, he would form government with the willing party. AIML accepted the Viceroy's offer to form the interim government, but the Congress refused to join. In principle, the Viceroy would have invited Muslim League to form government, but he did not do so and declared that without the presence of Congress, the interim government could not be formed. Later, Muslim League also withdrew its approval and decided to start civil disobedience movement against the policies of British government. Meanwhile, the Congress leadership changed its mind and became ready to join the interim government. On 12 August 1946, the Viceroy invited Congress to form the interim government. Muslim League observed "Direct Action Day" against the attitude of the government and Congress. On this day communal violence broke out in which thousands of people were massacred only in Calcutta. The government felt the gravity of the situation. The British concluded that by ousting Muslim League, the interim government was worthless. So, the viceroy again requested Quaid-i-Azam to

join the interim government. On 26 October 1946, five Muslim League members took oath of different ministries. Liaquat Ali Khan was given the Ministry of Finance.

The AIML made a right decision to join the interim government. During the period of interim government, the Congress also realised that both parties could not work collectively, and it would not be possible to keep India united.

### Third June Plan (1947)

After the end of World War II, the differences between the Muslims and Hindus increased to such an extent that it was very difficult to keep both nations united. Communal riots in Calcutta in August 1946 convinced both Congress and the British Government that partition was inevitable. On 20 February 1947, the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, announced that India shall be given independence by June 1948. He also announced to send Lord Mountbatten as Governor General in India to work on this line.

Mountbatten arrived in India on 22 March 1947 and held meetings with the leadership of all major political parties. These conversations convinced him that partition of India had now become inevitable. Consequently, he also persuaded the leadership of Congress that demand of Pakistan could not be ignored. Finally, Congress also got ready on the partition of India. After getting approval from all major political parties about the partition of India, Mountbatten announced the partition plan on 3 June 1947 stating power would transfer to the newly established states of Pakistan and India on 15 August 1947. The 3rd June Plan was approved by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947 under the "Indian Independence Act". After approval from British Parliament, India was partitioned, and Pakistan won independence on 14 August 1947.

## Initial Problems of Islamic Republic of Pakistan

### Background

During the freedom movement, Quaid-i-Azam demanded that the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab should not be divided. But the government did not agree and decided to include only Muslim majority areas of these provinces. Lord Mountbatten announced to constitute a Boundary Commission to demarcate boundary lines of Punjab and Bengal provinces. Quaid-i-Azam proposed that the provinces should either be demarcated under the supervision of United Nations or the British Privy Council (The Highest Court of Appeal in British). This suggestion was turned down and British government appointed Sir Cyril Radcliffe as a Chairman of the Boundary Commission.

### Radcliffe Award

Radcliffe, a lawyer by profession, had never visited India before and was completely unfamiliar with the region's political and geographical conditions. He demarcated thousands Kilometre long boundary line in just thirty-eight days. Radcliffe announced the demarcation of Punjab and Bengal provinces on 17 August 1947. This is called the Radcliffe Award.

Muslim League strongly reacted against Radcliffe Award because it was based on prejudice and biases. Several areas where Muslims were in majority, and which were very important for Pakistan were given to India.

## **Injustices of Radcliffe Award**

Here are some injustices which were made in Radcliffe Award

- Radcliffe first allotted the Muslim-majority tahsils of Ferozepur and Zira to Pakistan, but on intervention of Mountbatten he handed over them to India. It deprived Pakistan from its control over canal head works.
- Muslims were in majority in District Gurdaspur but three of its tehsils (Pathankot, Batala and Gurdaspur) were included in India just to give it a land route to Kashmir.
- The city of Calcutta, the capital of Bengal province, was the biggest industrial, commerce and educational Centre. Calcutta was awarded to India, ignoring the claim of the Muslims.

## **Impact of Injustices of Radcliffe Award**

Most of the initial problems of Pakistan had stemmed from the injustices of Radcliffe Award. The inclusion of Pathankot in India had created the Kashmir problem. Meanwhile, about 150 million people had been displaced from their homes and one million were murdered at the eve of partition. Had this plan been announced earlier, the lives of many people could have been saved. The Radcliffe Award also deprived Pakistan of the control of headworks. India stopped share of Pakistan's water in 1948 which severely damaged our mature crops.

## **Early Problems of Pakistan**

Pakistan came into being despite the strong opposition of Congress and British government. Both wanted to keep India united. Naturally, when Pakistan won independence, they were not happy and created hurdles for the newly born state. Most of Pakistan's problems in its initial days were either created by the British government or the Congress-led government established in India after partition. Here are some of the major problems Pakistan had faced during its early days.

### **Administrative Problems**

The major administrative problem which Pakistan had to face was the establishment of capital. Before partition, Delhi was the capital which became the part of India. Karachi was chosen as the capital of Pakistan, but it did not have required infrastructure. The shortage of trained and experienced officers was another big problem. Most of the senior officers were Hindus and they moved to India. The Indian government did not cooperate in the transfer of records and equipment to Pakistan. The equipment which was given to Pakistan was out of order.

### **Division of Financial Assets**

The full financial share of Pakistan was not transferred. Pakistan was entitled to receive 750 million rupees as its share from the total sum of four billion rupees. Initially, rupees 200 million were transferred which was not sufficient to meet the expenditures of the newly born state. The Indian government was so reactionary that it tried its level best to block these funds to suffocate the newly born Muslim state as they expected that Pakistan would collapse and rejoin India soon after its birth. They did release 500 million rupees, but the rest of the amount was never given to Pakistan.

### **Military's Division**

In July 1947, the British government finally decided the division of the Indian military between Pakistan and India. A committee under the chairmanship of Field Marshall Auchinleck was



empowered to oversee the process of division of the military personnels and equipment. The government of India did not cooperate with the committee and tried to stop the equipment which was to be transferred in Pakistan. Their shifting was slow and insecure. India sent broken and damaged equipment which was of no use. Pakistan did not get any ordnance factory out of sixteen ordnance factories. Reorganization of the Armed Forces was another tough job and there was no army officer up to the rank of colonel. Due to shortage of experienced officers, Quaid-i-Azam (RA) requested British officers to continue their services. This also accelerated early promotions in the military services to fill the gap which obviously was not in favour of the country.

#### Canal Water Problem

Many canals' headworks including the headworks of rivers Ravi, Sutlej and Beas were given to India as a result of unjust partition. The situation further deteriorated when India forcefully occupied Kashmir because most of the river flow from Kashmir. In April 1948, India cut off water to some canals which was a potential threat to the agriculture. The Indian plans to build water storage on the rivers that are vital for Pakistan's economy worsened the situation. It also showed the traditional anti-Muslim attitude. The World Bank finally settled the problem in September 1960 through Indus Water Treaty. However, India is still violating the agreement and illegally constructing dams on those rivers which are given to Pakistan.

#### Rehabilitation of Refugees

Rehabilitation of Refugees was one of the major problems Pakistan had faced since its early days. Almost 6.5 million people migrated from India to Pakistan. They came to Pakistan without bringing anything with them. It was very difficult to make arrangements for their shelter, food and employment. Quaid-i-Azam (RA) personally looked after the matter and established "Refugee Relief Fund". The people deposited huge sums in this account which was used to redress the problems of refugees. The refugees were largely settled in Punjab and Sindh where they were warmly welcomed by the local population. Pakistan Army played a major role in escorting refugees to and from Pakistan and India.

#### Geopolitical Issue

Pakistan faced internal and external threats to its existence since its inception. The neighbouring countries of Afghanistan and India which shared thousands of kilometres long border with Pakistan tried to destabilise it. There were serious threats of Afghan and Indian invasions which sharply moulded the foreign policy of Pakistan. These countries fuelled the ethnic and separatist movements in Pakistan.

#### Constitutional Issues

After independence, the Govt of India Act 1935 with some adjustment was adopted as interim constitution of Pakistan. The constituent assembly was given the task to frame a constitution according to the aspirations of the people. However, the assembly failed to resolve the basic issues such as distribution of power between the East and West wings of the country, national language and role of religion in the affairs of state. It took nine years to frame the first constitution. Due to delay in constitution making, the political leadership lost the confidence of the masses which brought political instability in Pakistan.



## Problems of Princely States/ Kashmir Issues

### Background

At the time of partition, India had almost 562 princely states, each enjoying a distinct status. While these states had autonomy in their internal affairs, their external affairs were run by the British government. The princely states could not make agreements with each other, neither could they establish foreign relations with any country. The rulers of these states were loyal to the British, and they supported the government during the hours of need. When the independence of India approached, the British advised the rulers of states to join either Pakistan or India, keeping in mind the wishes of their people and geographical contiguity with newly formed dominions. Responding to Mountbatten's advice, the rulers either joined the Dominion of India or Pakistan. However, there were three important states (Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir) which could not decide in time, and they did not join any dominion at the time of partition.



*Indian illegally occupied Kashmir*

Junagarh acceded to Pakistan after independence however, India did annex it with force. India also occupied the princely state of Hyderabad against the wishes of its ruler justifying that the majority population of the state was non-Muslims. The Indian government contended that, as per the partition plan, areas where Muslims constituted the majority should join Pakistan, while regions with Hindu majorities should integrate with India. However, India did not adhere to this rule in the state of Kashmir where Muslims population formed majority. India coaxed Hari Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir, to accede to India against the wishes of Kashmiris. Here we discuss the Kashmir issue in detail.

## Kashmir Problem

### Background

Kashmir was a Muslim majority state which is known for its natural beauty. The state of Kashmir had vast area of 84471km<sup>2</sup> and is contiguous to Pakistan, China, and Afghanistan. However, the state is culturally, religiously, and geographically very close to Pakistan. Many rivers flow from Kashmir to Pakistan and irrigate the lands of Pakistan. According to the census of 1941, the population of Kashmir was 4 million. Almost 77% of the population was Muslim. The Suffering of Muslims began when British sold Kashmir to Dogra Raja Gulab Singh in 1846. The state was run by the successors of Gulab Singh family were always cruel to Muslim population and Muslims were not happy with them.

### War of 1948

The Kashmiris always raised their voices against the atrocities of Dogra rule, and continued

struggle for their rights and freedom. In 1947 when it was announced that Pakistan would come into being, the people of Kashmir were excited to include their state into Pakistan. They started a mass movement, yet they had to face the brutality of Dogra Raja. But this time the Raja failed to suppress the people. Responding to the call of Kashmiri people, Pashtun tribesmen from Pakistan went to Kashmir in their individual capacity to help their Muslim brethren. The Tribal Lashkar along with the people of Kashmir had defeated the Dogra Army and was close to take control of the state. At this time, the Indian army came to rescue the Dogra Raja. India claimed that the Raja had signed on the instrument of accession on 27 October 1947 and now the state of Kashmir was part of India. The people of Kashmir did not accept this unilateral decision of the Raja. On 30 October 1947, the Gilgit Scouts, a local paramilitary force, expelled the Raja's governor and troops from the Gilgit-Baltistan region and requested Pakistan to take control of the administration. Pakistan also sent its troops to Kashmir, and both countries fought for several months. The military fought courageously against well-equipped Indian army and succeeded in liberating some part of Kashmir from India, which is now called Azad Kashmir.

### UN Resolution

Seeing the courage and bravery of mujahideen, the Indian government went to the United Nations and requested for a peaceful solution of the issue. The United Nations asked for cease fire and then passed a resolution to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. India knew better that the people of Kashmir would not join it, so it refused to hold plebiscite and forcefully occupied the state. The issue of Kashmir remains unresolved even now.

### Abolishment of Article 370

According to Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, the state of Kashmir was not considered an integral part of India, and it enjoyed some special rights, including its own flag, constitution and considerable autonomy. However, on 5 August 2019, the fascist government of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) revoked the special status of Kashmir, further stripping Kashmiris from limited freedom. It is the only state of India where Muslims are in majority. The BJP government is trying to change the demographic makeup of Kashmir. It has issued domicile certificates to a large number of Hindus in order to reduce the Muslim population to a minority in the region.

Under the BJP government, the Kashmiris are facing human rights abuses, continuous lockdowns and a threat to their culture and religion. However, in spite of all this brutality, India failed to suppress Kashmiris' desire for self-determination.

### Pakistan's support for Kashmir Cause

Pakistan and India have fought three major wars (war of 1948, 1965 and Kargil war in 1999) on the issue of Kashmir. Each year, the people of Pakistan observe 5 February as a Kashmir solidarity day, reaffirming their commitment to the Kashmiri cause. Pakistan considers Kashmir its "jugular vein" and wants to liberate it from the clutches of India.

Pakistan has consistently raised its voice for the people of Kashmir at every international forum. The world should take the Kashmir problem seriously and the people of Kashmir should be given the right to self-determination. India should stop brutality, leave the occupied region of Kashmir and should be ready to resolve the issue according to the UN resolution.

## EXERCISE

Answer the following questions by choosing the best answer A, B, C or D.

- 1- Which High school Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded in 1875:-  
(A) Deoband School (B) Nadvatul Ulama  
(C) Muhammadan Anglo Oriental (D) Aligarh
- 2- The partition of Bengal in 1905 took place during the tenure of Viceroy:-  
(A) Lord Minto (B) Lord Curzon  
(C) Lord Wavell (D) Lord Mountbatten
- 3- Round Table Conferences were held in which city:-  
(A) London (B) Lucknow  
(C) Delhi (D) New York
- 4- The annual session of Muslim League held in 1930 was presided by  
(A) Quaid-i-Azam (RA) (B) Liaquat Ali Khan  
(C) Gandhi (D) Allama Iqbal
- 5- The significant demand of Simla Deputation in 1906 was:-  
(A) Separate homeland (B) Quota for Muslims in jobs  
(C) Separate Electorate (D) Joint Electorate
- 6- Liaquat Ali Khan was given the portfolio of which ministry in the interim government of 1946:-  
(A) Finance (B) Commerce  
(C) Health (D) Defence
- 7- How many times does the word "Pakistan" use in the text of Lahore Resolution  
(A) Once (B) twice  
(C) Thrice (D) Not used
- 8- The Indian Independence Act was passed by:-  
(A) British Parliament (B) Congress  
(C) Muslim League (D) Governor General
- 9- Quaid-i-Azam remained a member of both Muslim League and Congress from 1913 to.....  
(A) 1916 (B) 1918  
(C) 1919 (D) 1920

10- On 16 August 1946, Muslim League observed....

- (A) Day of Deliverance (B) Direct Action Day  
(C) Pakistan Day (D) Quit India Day

Answer the following questions briefly.

1. What is meant by "Two Nation Theory"?
2. Why did Lord Curzon partition Bengal into two provinces in 1905?
3. Why and When Muslim League did change its objectives?
4. Why did Quaid-i-Azam (RA) accept the Cabinet Mission Plan?
5. Why Simla Conference in 1945 met with failure?
6. How does the Kashmir issue affect the relations between Pakistan and India?
7. Explain the positive and negative impacts of Khilafat Movement on Indian Muslims?

Answer the following questions in detail.

- 1- What were the main causes of the establishment of All India Muslim League?
- 2- Analyse the educational and political services of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
- 3- Discuss the background and importance of Lahore Resolution.
- 4- Evaluate the initial problems faced by Pakistan at the time of its inception, and explain how the country endeavoured to overcome these challenges
- 5- Justify that Two-Nation Theory became the basis for the creation of Pakistan.

#### Learning Activities

- Class Discussion on concept of Two Nation Theory.
- Written response in form of classwork/ homework.
- Mock Round Table Conferences
- 1- minutes summary about important leaders who presented Two Nation Theory.

Draw a timeline in the middle of the board and keep on adding the events as the history lessons move on. Encourage students to add on their learning on this board as they cover the subtopics. Actions which supported the Pakistan Movement or were in favour of Muslims can be marked in blue or green colour and could be placed on top of the line, whereas events showing negative impact to Muslim Cause can be placed below the line and in red colours.



## Glossary

- **Award:** A decision of arbitrator.
- **Field Marshall:** A senior military rank equivalent to five star general.
- **Governor General:** The highest British official in India.
- **Khilafat:** Islamic system of government led by a caliph
- **Princely States:** Semi-autonomous regions under British Raj in India ruled by local Rajas.
- **Simla:** The summer capital of British India.
- **British Raj:** The period of British rule over India from 1858 to 1947.
- **Ottoman Empire:** Muslim empire centered in Turkey, lasting from the 13th to early 20th century.

List more words and write their meaning that you find difficult in this unit.
