

CSS Pakistan Affairs: ideology, identity and society

This note is written for the compulsory Pakistan Affairs paper of the Federal Public Service Commission's Competitive Examination (CSS). It follows the paper's usual syllabus order: the ideology of Pakistan, including the Two-Nation Theory and its intellectual roots in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Allama Iqbal; the historical background of Hindu-Muslim relations on the subcontinent from the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 CE to independence in 1947; and Pakistan as a state — its geography, political history, economy and society. Eight CSS-style questions with model answer outlines follow the notes, together with a glossary and a quick-check test. This note covers Ideology, historical background and country overview only; the syllabus's Foreign Policy and Current & Contemporary Issues sections are covered in a separate note.

1. The Ideology of Pakistan

The "ideology of Pakistan" is the set of ideas used to justify the demand for, and later the existence of, a separate Muslim state in South Asia. Its central claim is the Two-Nation Theory; its main intellectual precursors are Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal; and its principal constitutional expression is the Objectives Resolution of 1949. Historians differ sharply over how much weight to give religious conviction, as against political bargaining and economic self-interest, in explaining why the demand succeeded. This section sets out the core ideas first and the historiographical debate afterwards.

1.1 The Two-Nation Theory

Two-Nation Theory (definition to learn): the view that the Hindus and Muslims of British India were not two communities within one nation but two separate nations, distinguished by religion, customs, language, social practice and historical experience, and that Muslims therefore required political safeguards, and ultimately a sovereign homeland, rather than absorption into a Hindu-majority successor state.

The theory did not appear fully formed at any one moment. It was built up over roughly eighty years, from Sir Syed's response to the events of 1857 and the Hindi-Urdu controversy of the 1860s, through the organisational politics of the All-India Muslim League after 1906, to Iqbal's 1930 address and the Lahore Resolution of 1940. It combined a religious claim — that Islam is a complete way of life distinct from Hinduism — a cultural claim — a shared Perso-Arabic literary and historical inheritance among Indian Muslims — and a political claim — that representative government on a simple majority basis would permanently subordinate Muslims to a Hindu majority.

1.2 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) is generally treated as the earliest major architect of Muslim separatist thinking in British India, although his immediate aim was social and educational reform rather than a separate state. After 1857 he argued, in tracts such as the *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind* ("Causes of the Indian Revolt"), that British suspicion of Muslims after the uprising was excessive and



self-defeating, and he urged Muslims to acquire English education rather than boycott the colonial state. In 1875 he founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which became Aligarh Muslim University in 1920 and served as the seedbed of the movement that later produced the All-India Muslim League's leadership. Following the Hindi-Urdu controversy of the late 1860s, in which Hindu associations campaigned for Hindi in the Nagri script to replace Urdu in Persian script as the official vernacular of the United Provinces, Sir Syed became convinced that Hindus and Muslims formed distinct political communities with divergent interests, and he opposed Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress after its founding in 1885, on the ground that open political competition on a numerical basis would disadvantage the smaller, and educationally weaker, Muslim community.

1.3 Allama Iqbal and the Allahabad Address, 1930

Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), poet and philosopher, is conventionally described as the spiritual or intellectual father of Pakistan. In his presidential address to the All-India Muslim League's annual session at Allahabad on 29 December 1930, he proposed that the Muslim-majority provinces of north-western India — Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan — be consolidated into a single self-governing unit, within or outside the British Empire, as what he called the final destiny of the Muslims of north-west India. He did not use the word "Pakistan," and he did not explicitly call for full sovereign separation from a future all-India union; the address is therefore read by different historians as either a clear anticipation of Pakistan or as a proposal for an autonomous Muslim bloc within a wider Indian federation. Three years later, in 1933, the Cambridge-based activist Choudhry Rahmat Ali coined the name "Pakistan" in his pamphlet *Now or Never*, as an acronym built from Punjab, Afghania (NWFP), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan.

1.4 The Objectives Resolution, 1949

Objectives Resolution — key points to learn:

- Moved by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 12 March 1949.
- Declares that sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah alone, and that the authority exercised by the state through its people is a sacred trust.
- Provides that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed.
- States that Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.
- Guarantees minorities the freedom to profess and practise their religions and to develop their cultures.
- Provides for the independence of the judiciary and the protection of fundamental rights, including equality of status and opportunity.

The Resolution was placed as a preamble to the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions. Under the government of General Zia-ul-Haq it was inserted into the body of the 1973 Constitution as Article 2A by a Presidential Order of 1985, later ratified by the Eighth Amendment, so that it became a substantive and justiciable part of the constitutional text rather than only an aspirational preamble. Its supporters describe it as the first formal step in giving the Two-Nation Theory constitutional form; its critics, including some minority representatives in the 1949 Constituent Assembly debates, argued at

the time that its religious language sat uneasily with guarantees of equal citizenship for non-Muslims.

1.5 Constitutional legacy

Each of Pakistan's three constitutions carried the Objectives Resolution forward: the 1956 Constitution named the country an "Islamic Republic"; the 1962 Constitution, promulgated under President Ayub Khan, dropped "Islamic" from the title but restored it by amendment in 1963; and the 1973 Constitution, still in force, describes Pakistan as an Islamic Republic, requires the head of state to be Muslim, and establishes a Council of Islamic Ideology to advise the legislature on the conformity of laws with Islamic injunctions. This continuous thread from the 1949 Resolution to the present Constitution is usually cited as the clearest institutional legacy of the ideology of Pakistan.

1.6 Religious or political-economic? Differing scholarly views

CSS answers should present the following interpretations as the views of named writers, not as settled fact or the writer's own opinion.

Historian / school	View	Emphasis
I. H. Qureshi (traditional nationalist historiography)	Pakistan was the natural culmination of a distinct Muslim political and cultural identity stretching back to the Delhi Sultanate.	Religious and cultural continuity
Ayesha Jalal, <i>The Sole Spokesman</i> (1985)	Jinnah used the Pakistan demand chiefly as a bargaining counter for provincial autonomy within a united Indian federation, accepting partition only when that autonomy was refused.	Political bargaining, elite strategy
Paul Brass, <i>Language, Religion and Politics in North India</i> (1974)	Muslim separatism was substantially the product of elite competition for jobs, education and representation, mobilised through religious symbols.	Socio-economic competition
Francis Robinson, <i>Separatism Among Indian Muslims</i> (1974)	Muslim political identity was rooted in genuine religious and associational networks that predated and shaped elite competition.	Religious and associational identity
W. W. Hunter, <i>The Indian Musalmans</i> (1871)	British educational and employment policy after 1857 left Muslims disproportionately impoverished relative to Hindus, feeding later communalism.	Economic backwardness

Candidates are advised not to adopt any one position as objectively correct in an examination answer, but to show awareness that professional historians disagree, and to attribute each view to its author.

2. Hindu–Muslim Relations on the Subcontinent, 712–1947

This section gives a brief, even-handed account of relations between the two communities across more than twelve centuries, from the first Muslim political presence in the subcontinent to the Partition of 1947.

2.1 Arab Sindh and early contact, 712–1206

Organised Muslim rule in South Asia began in 712 CE, when Muhammad bin Qasim, a young general sent by the Umayyad governor of Iraq, Hajjaj bin Yusuf, defeated the ruler of Sindh, Raja Dahir, and annexed Sindh and parts of southern Punjab for the Umayyad Caliphate. Direct Caliphal governance

of Sindh gave way, from around the mid-ninth century, to the local but still Arab-descended Habbarid dynasty, which continued to rule Sindh in increasingly independent form until the Ghaznavid conquest of the region, around 1026 — so Arab or Arab-descended rule in Sindh lasted, in total, into the early eleventh century. This rule is usually described by historians as relatively tolerant, extending the legal status of protected people (*zimmi*) to Hindus and Buddhists in return for payment of *jizya*, a poll tax. From the late tenth century, Turkic and Afghan rulers based in Ghazni and Ghor raided and later conquered further into the Punjab and the Gangetic plain: Mahmud of Ghazni led repeated campaigns between roughly 1000 and 1027, and Muhammad Ghori's decisive victory over the Rajput confederacy led by Prithviraj Chauhan at the Second Battle of Tarain in 1192 opened the way to Muslim political control of Delhi.

2.2 The Delhi Sultanate, 1206–1526

After Muhammad Ghori's death, his Turkic slave-general Qutb-ud-din Aibak founded the Delhi Sultanate in 1206, the first of five successive dynasties — the Mamluk or "Slave" dynasty, the Khalji, the Tughlaq, the Sayyid and the Lodi — that ruled from Delhi until 1526. Historians of this period generally describe a mixed record of conflict and accommodation: Muslim rulers extended patronage to Sufi orders such as the Chishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya, whose shrines attracted both Muslim and Hindu devotees and did much to spread Islam gradually among the population, while military campaigns, episodes of temple destruction, and the levying of *jizya* on non-Muslim subjects produced recurrent friction. Administratively, the Sultanate relied heavily on Hindu revenue officials and local intermediaries, so everyday governance involved continuous Hindu-Muslim cooperation even where court ideology was Islamic.

2.3 The Mughal period, 1526–1858

Zahir-ud-din Babur defeated the last Lodi Sultan, Ibrahim Lodi, at the First Battle of Panipat in 1526, founding the Mughal Empire, which formally lasted until the last emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was deposed by the British in 1858 after the events of 1857. Mughal policy toward Hindus varied considerably by ruler. Akbar (r. 1556–1605) abolished the *jizya* in 1564, married into Rajput ruling families, promoted a policy of *sulh-i-kul* ("peace with all"), and in 1582 proposed a syncretic court order, *Din-i-Ilahi*, combining elements of several faiths, though it attracted very few adherents beyond the court. Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), by contrast, reimposed the *jizya* in 1679, restricted the construction of new temples, and is associated in most accounts with a stricter, more orthodox religious policy, although historians disagree about how far this reflected personal piety, fiscal pressure, or a response to specific political revolts, notably among the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707 the empire weakened rapidly: Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1739 and the gradual rise of regional successor states and of the British East India Company, whose victories at Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) gave it effective control of Bengal's revenue, left the Mughal emperor a figurehead well before 1857.

2.4 Decline of Muslim political power after 1857

The uprising of 1857 began among sepoys at Meerut in May 1857 and spread across northern India, with the aged Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar accepted as nominal leader by many rebels. Its defeat had disproportionate consequences for Muslims: the British held Muslims especially responsible for the revolt because of the Mughal figurehead, formally abolished the Mughal dynasty and exiled Bahadur Shah Zafar to Rangoon, and replaced Company rule with direct Crown rule under the Government of India Act 1858. W. W. Hunter's influential 1871 study *The Indian Musalmans* argued

that British educational and administrative policy after 1857 had left Muslims markedly under-represented in government service and modern education relative to Hindus — a gap that Sir Syed's Aligarh movement was explicitly designed to close.

2.5 Communal politics and the road to Partition, 1885–1947

The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 as the main all-India political platform; Sir Syed urged Muslims not to join it. The All-India Muslim League was founded at Dhaka in 1906, shortly after a Muslim delegation led by the Aga Khan, known as the Simla Deputation, sought separate electorates from the Viceroy. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 duly introduced separate electorates for Muslims in provincial and central legislatures. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 saw Congress and the League agree common reform demands, with Jinnah at this stage widely regarded as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Khilafat Movement of 1919–1924, led by the Ali brothers, allied Muslim agitation in defence of the Ottoman Caliphate with Congress's non-cooperation campaign, collapsing after Turkey abolished the Caliphate in 1924. The Nehru Report of 1928, chaired by Motilal Nehru, proposed joint electorates and rejected separate electorates, prompting the League's rejection and Jinnah's Fourteen Points of 1929. The Round Table Conferences of 1930–1932, held in London in the same period as — but as a separate, India-based event from — Iqbal's Allahabad Address of December 1930 (see 1.3), failed to agree a constitutional settlement, and the Communal Award of 1932 extended separate electorates further. The Government of India Act of 1935 introduced provincial autonomy, the basis for the 1937 provincial elections. Congress ministries formed in eight provinces from 1937 to 1939 were accused by the League, in the Pirpur and Sharif Committee reports, of majoritarian treatment of Muslims, and their resignation in 1939 over the Second World War was marked by the League as a "Day of Deliverance." On 23 March 1940 the League, under Jinnah, adopted the Lahore Resolution, calling for independent states for Muslim-majority zones of north-western and eastern India, later treated as the founding demand for Pakistan. The Cripps Mission of 1942 allowed provinces to opt out of a future union, implicitly conceding the possibility of partition, while Congress's Quit India campaign that year weakened its wartime bargaining position. In the general elections of 1945–1946 the Muslim League won an overwhelming majority of Muslim seats, claiming a mandate for Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 proposed a three-tier federation, accepted then disputed by both parties, and the League's Direct Action Day on 16 August 1946 was followed by large-scale communal violence in Calcutta. The Mountbatten Plan of 3 June 1947 announced partition; the United Kingdom Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947; and the boundary between the two new states was fixed by the Radcliffe Line, published on 17 August 1947 — three days after Pakistan's independence and two days after India's. Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947 and India on 15 August 1947. Historians such as Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh note that estimates of the human cost of Partition vary widely, with commonly cited figures for deaths ranging from roughly two hundred thousand to over a million, and for cross-border displacement between about ten and fifteen million people — making it one of the largest forced migrations of the twentieth century.

3. Pakistan as a Country: Geography and Administrative Divisions

Location (to learn): Pakistan lies in South Asia, bordered by India to the east, Afghanistan to the west and north-west, Iran to the south-west, a narrow common border with China to the north at the Khunjerab Pass, and the Arabian Sea to the south.

Pakistan's core territory, comprising the four provinces and the Islamabad Capital Territory, covers

approximately 796,096 square kilometres. Including the Pakistan-administered territories of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, whose final constitutional status remains linked to the unresolved Kashmir dispute with India, the commonly cited total rises to around 881,913 square kilometres. The country's physical geography ranges from the high mountain ranges of the north, where the Karakoram, Himalaya and Hindu Kush meet in the Gilgit-Baltistan region and include several of the world's highest peaks such as K2, through the Potohar plateau and the fertile alluvial plains of the Indus river system in Punjab and Sindh, to the arid plateau of Balochistan and the coastal belt along the Arabian Sea.

Area figures vary slightly between sources (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Survey of Pakistan, and others); candidates should quote the figure most current in their examination year.

3.1 Administrative structure

Pakistan is a federation. Below the federal government sit four provinces — Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan — together with the Islamabad Capital Territory, and the two Pakistan-administered territories of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, each with its own local legislature and limited autonomy. The former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) along the Afghan border were merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as regular districts under the Twenty-Fifth Constitutional Amendment of 2018. Within each province, the standard administrative hierarchy runs from divisions to districts, then tehsils (called talukas in Sindh), and finally union councils, the lowest tier of local government.

Province / territory	Capital	Note
Punjab	Lahore	Most populous province; centre of agriculture and industry
Sindh	Karachi	Karachi is Pakistan's largest city and main seaport
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Peshawar	Includes the merged former tribal districts since 2018
Balochistan	Quetta	Largest province by area; least populous; natural gas at Sui, copper and gold at Reko Diq
Azad Jammu & Kashmir	Muzaffarabad	Self-governing territory, not one of the four provinces
Gilgit-Baltistan	Gilgit	Self-governing territory; contains K2 and other high peaks
Islamabad Capital Territory	Islamabad	Federal capital since the 1960s, purpose-built; replaced Karachi as capital, with Rawalpindi serving as the interim seat of government during construction (c. 1959–1963)

4. Political History Since 1947: An Outline

Pakistan's political history since independence has alternated repeatedly between civilian, parliamentary government and periods of military rule, punctuated by four periods of direct military government and, since 2008, the longest continuous run of civilian, elected government since independence.

Period	Government	Key developments
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1947–1958	Parliamentary governments	No permanent constitution until 1956; first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan assassinated in 1951; frequent changes of government
1958–1969	General Ayub Khan	Martial law in 1958; 1962 Constitution; second Indo-Pakistan war (1965) and Tashkent Declaration (1966); unrest 1968–1969
1969–1971	General Yahya Khan	First general elections on adult franchise (1970); Awami League majority; 1971 war and secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh
1971–1977	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	1973 Constitution adopted; nationalisation of major industries; disputed 1977 elections
1977–1988	General Zia-ul-Haq	Martial law; Islamisation of laws; frontline role in the Soviet-Afghan war; Eighth Amendment (1985) inserts Article 2A; Zia dies in a plane crash, 1988
1988–1999	Alternating civilian governments	Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif alternate in office; nuclear tests 1998; ends with military takeover, 1999
1999–2008	General Pervez Musharraf	Key partner in the campaign following the 11 September 2001 attacks; elections in 2008 return civilian rule
2008–2013	Asif Ali Zardari, PPP-led coalition	Eighteenth Amendment (2010) devolves powers to provinces and renames NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; first full civilian term completed, 2013
2013–2018	Nawaz Sharif, PML-N	Sharif disqualified 2017 in the "Panama Papers" case; term completed under Shahid Khaqan Abbasi
2018–2022	Imran Khan, PTI	Removed by a vote of no confidence in the National Assembly, April 2022 — the first such successful vote against a sitting Prime Minister
2022–2024	Shehbaz Sharif, coalition government	General elections held February 2024
2024–present	Shehbaz Sharif, PML-N-led coalition (with PPP support)	Government formed after the February 2024 general election; Asif Ali Zardari elected President, March 2024 (candidates should verify the latest composition against a current source nearer their exam date)

5. The Economy in Brief

Pakistan has a mixed, developing economy. Agriculture contributes roughly a fifth of GDP but employs a much larger share — well over a third — of the national workforce, and remains central to exports through cotton and cotton textiles; principal crops include wheat, cotton, rice, sugarcane and maize, with the Indus Basin Irrigation System, one of the largest contiguous irrigation networks in the world, sustaining most cultivation in Punjab and Sindh. Industry, centred on textiles, cement, fertiliser and light manufacturing, and services, including trade, transport, telecommunications and finance, together account for most of the remainder of output, with services the largest single sector by share of GDP. Textiles and textile-made-ups typically supply well over half of merchandise export earnings, leaving the economy heavily exposed to cotton harvests and global demand for low-value-added garments and yarn. Remittances sent home by overseas Pakistani workers, particularly from the Gulf states, the United Kingdom and North America, are a major source of foreign exchange, in many recent years

exceeding the country's earnings from goods exports. The State Bank of Pakistan, established in 1948, is the central bank and issues the currency, the Pakistani rupee. Pakistan has entered more than twenty stabilisation programmes with the International Monetary Fund since the late 1950s, reflecting recurrent balance-of-payments crises linked to low domestic savings, a narrow tax base, energy shortages and high public debt. Since 2015 the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a flagship project of China's Belt and Road Initiative, has brought large-scale Chinese investment and financing for power generation, road and rail infrastructure, and the development of Gwadar port on the Balochistan coast, intended to give China and Central Asia a shorter route to the Arabian Sea.

6. Society: Population, Languages, Provinces and Urbanisation

Pakistan's seventh national population and housing census, conducted in 2023, recorded a population of just over 241 million, making Pakistan the world's fifth most populous country. Population is unevenly distributed: Punjab alone is home to just over half of all Pakistanis, followed by Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, which despite being the largest province by area is the least populous and most sparsely settled. Urdu is the national language and the principal lingua franca, understood across the country, but it is the first language of only a small minority of the population, concentrated among the Muhajir community descended from migrants from India in 1947 and their descendants, chiefly in urban Sindh. English remains an official language, used in higher courts, federal administration and much of higher education, a legacy of British rule. Punjabi, spoken mainly in Punjab, is the largest mother tongue nationally; Pashto is widely spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and northern Balochistan; Sindhi is the majority mother tongue in rural Sindh; Saraiki is spoken across southern Punjab; and Balochi and Brahui are the principal languages of Balochistan. The population is overwhelmingly Muslim, with Sunni Muslims forming the majority and a significant Shia Muslim minority; smaller religious minorities include Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and Ahmadis, the last constitutionally declared a non-Muslim minority by the Second Amendment of 1974. Roughly two-fifths of Pakistanis now live in urban areas, a share that has risen steadily since 1947 and is highest in Sindh, driven above all by the growth of Karachi, the country's largest city, principal seaport and commercial capital.

Key terms

Term	Definition
Two-Nation Theory	The doctrine that Hindus and Muslims of British India were two separate nations, not one, by religion, culture and social custom, requiring separate political safeguards and ultimately a separate state.
Objectives Resolution	The March 1949 resolution of the Constituent Assembly setting out Islamic and constitutional principles later carried into all three Pakistani constitutions and, from 1985, into Article 2A.
Zimmi	A non-Muslim subject under classical Islamic law granted protection and religious freedom in return for payment of the jizya.
Jizya	A poll tax historically levied on non-Muslim subjects of Muslim-ruled states; abolished by Akbar in 1564 and reimposed by Aurangzeb in 1679.
Sulh-i-kul	Akbar's policy of "peace with all," extending religious toleration and intermarriage at the Mughal court.

Din-i-Ilahi	A syncretic court order proposed by Akbar in 1582, combining elements of several religions, which attracted few followers beyond the court.
Khilafat Movement	A 1919–1924 Muslim agitation in defence of the Ottoman Caliphate, allied with Congress's non-cooperation campaign.
Separate electorates	An electoral system in which voters of a religious community vote only for candidates of that community, introduced for Muslims by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.
Lahore Resolution	The Muslim League's resolution of 23 March 1940 calling for independent states in Muslim-majority zones, later treated as the founding demand for Pakistan.
Radcliffe Line	The India-Pakistan boundary drawn by Sir Cyril Radcliffe and published on 17 August 1947.
Federation	A system of government dividing sovereign power between a central authority and constituent units — in Pakistan's case, the provinces.
CPEC	The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, a programme of Chinese-financed infrastructure investment launched in 2015.
FATA	The Federally Administered Tribal Areas, merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as regular districts in 2018.
Muhajir	A Muslim migrant to Pakistan from India at Partition, or a descendant of one, concentrated in urban Sindh.

CSS-style questions with model answer outlines

This is a topical practice bank of eight questions spanning the note's full range, not a facsimile of a single exam paper, so the marks shown are not meant to be summed. In the actual CSS Pakistan Affairs paper, candidates attempt five of eight set questions, all carrying equal marks (20 each, 100 in total), typically with one question made compulsory by the examiner.

Question 1. Discuss the ideological basis of the Two-Nation Theory. To what extent do historians agree on its origins? [20]

Outline:

- Define the theory's religious, cultural and political dimensions.
- Trace its build-up: Sir Syed's post-1857 writings and the Hindi-Urdu controversy; the League's founding and separate electorates; Iqbal's 1930 address; the 1940 Lahore Resolution.
- Present Qureshi's traditionalist view that it reflects a genuine civilisational divide, against Jalal's and Brass's view that separatism was substantially driven by elite competition, with religion as mobilising symbol.
- Conclude that historians disagree, and that the theory combines genuine identity with calculation in contested proportions.

Model answer (in full):

The Two-Nation Theory holds that the Hindus and Muslims of British India were not two communities within a single nation but two distinct nations, set apart by religion, language, custom and historical experience, and that this difference required political safeguards and, eventually, a

sovereign Muslim homeland rather than absorption into a Hindu-majority successor state. The theory rested on three intertwined claims: a religious claim, that Islam constituted a complete and self-sufficient way of life; a cultural claim, that Indian Muslims shared a distinct Perso-Arabic literary and historical inheritance; and a political claim, that majoritarian representative government would permanently subordinate Muslims to Hindu numerical dominance.

The theory did not emerge fully formed. Its roots lie in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's response to the trauma of 1857 and to the Hindi-Urdu controversy of the 1860s, which convinced him that Hindus and Muslims had divergent political interests and led him to discourage Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress after 1885. It was carried forward institutionally by the All-India Muslim League after 1906 and by the grant of separate electorates in 1909, and given its most influential intellectual statement in Allama Iqbal's presidential address to the League at Allahabad in December 1930, which proposed consolidating the Muslim-majority provinces of the north-west into a single self-governing unit. It reached its clearest political expression in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940.

Historians disagree sharply about how much weight to give to genuine religious and cultural conviction, as against political calculation. I. H. Qureshi's traditional nationalist historiography treats Pakistan as the natural culmination of a distinct Muslim identity stretching back to the Delhi Sultanate. Ayesha Jalal, by contrast, argues in *The Sole Spokesman* that Jinnah used the Pakistan demand chiefly as a bargaining counter for provincial autonomy within a united India, accepting partition only when that autonomy was refused; Paul Brass similarly emphasises elite competition for jobs and representation, mobilised through religious symbols, while Francis Robinson insists that Muslim political identity was rooted in genuine, pre-existing religious and associational networks.

On balance, most historians today treat the Two-Nation Theory as combining a real, long-developing sense of separate Muslim identity with hard-headed political calculation by the Muslim League's leadership, particularly after 1937; the two strands are better read as intertwined than as rival, mutually exclusive explanations.

Question 2. Trace the evolution of Muslim separatist politics in India from the Aligarh Movement to the Lahore Resolution of 1940. [20]

- Begin with Aligarh College, 1875.
- Cover the Simla Deputation and the League's founding at Dhaka (1906); separate electorates (1909); the Lucknow Pact (1916); the Khilafat Movement (1919–1924); the Nehru Report (1928) and Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929); the Communal Award (1932); the 1935 Act; the Congress ministries of 1937–1939 and League grievances; and the Lahore Resolution (1940) as culmination.
- Conclude that the shift from cooperation to separatism accelerated sharply after 1937.

Question 3. Critically examine the significance of the Objectives Resolution of 1949 in Pakistan's constitutional history. [15]

- Give the context: moved by Liaquat Ali Khan, March 1949.
- Summarise its content — divine sovereignty, Islamic principles, minority and fundamental rights, judicial independence.

- Trace its legacy as preamble to the 1956, 1962 and 1973 Constitutions and its insertion as Article 2A in 1985.
- Discuss the tension between its Islamic provisions and its guarantee of minority rights, noting objections from non-Muslim members of the 1949 Assembly.
- Assess its significance for debates on Pakistan's identity as an Islamic versus a Muslim-majority state.

Question 4. "The creation of Pakistan owed as much to political and economic calculation as to religious ideology." Examine with reference to at least two schools of interpretation.

[20]

- State the two poles: civilisational continuity (Qureshi) against bargaining and interest-based explanations (Jalal, Brass and Hunter).
- Give evidence for the political-economic view: separate electorates as a response to under-representation; Jalal's bargaining-counter thesis; the 1937–1939 Congress ministries as a trigger.
- Give evidence for the religious-ideological view: continuity of Muslim identity since the Sultanate and Mughal periods; the Objectives Resolution's language.
- Conclude that most historians now treat the two strands as intertwined rather than mutually exclusive.

Question 5. Give an account of Hindu-Muslim relations during the Mughal period, with reference to Akbar and Aurangzeb. [15]

- Note Panipat, 1526.
- Discuss Akbar's abolition of jizya (1564), his Rajput alliances, sulh-i-kul and Din-i-Ilahi (1582).
- Note continuity under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
- Discuss Aurangzeb's reimposition of jizya (1679), temple restrictions, and wars against the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs, noting disagreement over whether this reflected piety, fiscal necessity or political circumstance.
- Conclude that Mughal policy toward Hindus varied significantly by reign and region.

Question 6. Explain the administrative and geographical structure of Pakistan, and comment on the challenges facing its federal system. [15]

- Describe location, borders and the four-province structure, with the Islamabad Capital Territory, Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan.
- Explain the division, district, tehsil and union council hierarchy, and the 2018 FATA merger.
- Discuss challenges: uneven population and resource distribution between provinces; inter-provincial water disputes under the Indus River System Authority; National Finance Commission award disputes; the special status of Kashmir-linked territories.

Question 7. Analyse the major phases of Pakistan's political history since 1947 and identify

recurring causes of constitutional instability. [20]

- Summarise the alternating civilian-military pattern since 1947.
- Identify recurring causes: delayed constitution-making before 1956; weak party institutionalisation; dismissal of elected governments; the military's continuing political role; provincial imbalance, most dramatically the loss of East Pakistan in 1971.
- Note the period since 2008 as the longest unbroken civilian run since independence, though the 2022 no-confidence removal shows continuing volatility.

Question 8. Comment on the structure and principal challenges of Pakistan's economy, and assess the significance of CPEC. [15]

- Outline sectoral structure, contrasting agriculture's employment share with its GDP share, and note dependence on textile exports.
- Identify challenges: a narrow tax base, low savings, balance-of-payments pressure, energy shortfalls, recurrent IMF reliance.
- Explain CPEC's 2015 launch, its scale, power and infrastructure projects, and Gwadar port.
- Assess its significance: it addresses energy and infrastructure bottlenecks and deepens ties with China, while independent economists have raised debt-sustainability concerns.

Quick check

1. Define the Two-Nation Theory.
2. State the year and city of Iqbal's presidential address proposing consolidation of the north-western Muslim-majority provinces.
3. Name the pamphlet in which the word "Pakistan" was coined, and its author.
4. State the date the Objectives Resolution was adopted, and the Prime Minister who moved it.
5. Distinguish between the Lahore Resolution of 1940 and the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946.
6. Explain why the Congress ministries of 1937–1939 alienated the Muslim League.
7. List the four provinces of Pakistan with their capitals.
8. Explain the difference between Punjab's and Balochistan's share of Pakistan's population and of its land area.
9. Discuss two differing scholarly interpretations of Jinnah's demand for Pakistan.
10. Critically evaluate the claim that Partition was inevitable once the Congress ministries took office in 1937.
11. Explain the significance of Article 2A of the 1973 Constitution.
12. Analyse two structural challenges facing Pakistan's economy, and explain how CPEC addresses, or fails to address, each.

Answers:

1. The view that Hindus and Muslims of British India were two distinct nations, not one, by religion, culture and social custom, requiring separate political safeguards and ultimately a

- separate state.
2. 29 December 1930, at Allahabad.
 3. *Now or Never*, by Choudhry Rahmat Ali, 1933.
 4. 12 March 1949, moved by Liaquat Ali Khan.
 5. The Lahore Resolution was a League demand for independent states in Muslim-majority zones; the Cabinet Mission Plan was a British proposal for a single three-tier federation, initially accepted by the League, whose disputed interpretation by Congress led to its collapse.
 6. The League alleged, in the Pirpur and Sharif Committee reports, that Congress ministries favoured Hindu symbols and marginalised Muslim representation, deepening distrust of Congress rule.
 7. Punjab — Lahore; Sindh — Karachi; Khyber Pakhtunkhwa — Peshawar; Balochistan — Quetta.
 8. Punjab has a small share of land area but the largest share of population; Balochistan has the largest share of land area but the smallest share of population.
 9. For example, Qureshi's view of genuine civilisational identity against Jalal's view that Jinnah used the demand as a bargaining counter for autonomy within a united India.
 10. The 1937–1939 period sharply worsened relations, but the Lahore Resolution came a year later and Partition was not agreed until 1947, so most historians treat 1937 as a major turning point rather than proof of inevitability.
 11. It made the 1949 Resolution's principles a substantive, justiciable part of the Constitution rather than only a preamble.
 12. For example: a narrow tax base, which CPEC's financing does not resolve and may add to through debt service; and energy shortfalls, which CPEC's power projects have directly targeted.