

O Level Pakistan Studies 2059: complete summary notes, history and geography

This is a one-document summary of the whole Cambridge O Level Pakistan Studies 2059 course. Part 1 covers Paper 1, History and Culture of Pakistan, in syllabus order. Part 2 covers Paper 2, Environment of Pakistan. A key dates table and a twenty-question quick check follow. Use it in the last weeks before the examination to confirm that you know the facts, the dates and the reasons; it is a companion to our topic-by-topic handouts, not a replacement for them.

Exam tip: how marks are earned in 2059. Paper 1 questions follow a fixed pattern. Question 1 is source-based: two parts on the sources (3 and 5 marks), a "why" part (7 marks) and a judgement part (10 marks). Questions 2 to 5 each have a "describe" part (4 marks) asking for four clear facts, a "why" part (7 marks) asking for explained reasons, and a judgement part (14 marks) asking you to weigh causes or factors and reach a conclusion. Each question carries 25 marks and you answer three. Paper 2 mixes short data-response parts, "describe" and "explain" parts, and a final 6-mark evaluation in which you must take a view and support it. In both papers, a fact earns little on its own; a fact linked to a reason or a consequence earns the mark.

Part 1: History and Culture of Pakistan

Cultural and historical background to the Pakistan movement

The religious reformers

- **Shah Waliullah (1703-1762):** Delhi scholar who believed Muslims had declined because they had drifted from the Quran and from each other. Translated the Quran into Persian so that educated Muslims could read it; his sons later translated it into Urdu. Wrote *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*. Urged Muslims to unite across sects and to live by Islamic principles in trade and social life. Wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan asking him to check the Marathas, which led to the Third Battle of Panipat (1761).
- **Syed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi (1786-1831):** led the Jihad Movement against Sikh rule in Punjab and the north-west, where Muslims were prevented from practising their faith freely. Gathered mujahideen, captured Peshawar in 1830, but lost support of local Pashtun chiefs over tax and marriage laws and was killed at Balakot in 1831. Showed that Muslims would fight for the right to practise Islam, an idea later used by the Pakistan movement.
- **Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840):** founded the Faraizi Movement in Bengal after returning from Makkah, teaching Muslim peasants to perform their obligatory duties (faraiz) and to reject Hindu customs that had crept into their practice. Declared Bengal under British rule to be dar-ul-harb, so Friday and Eid prayers were suspended. His son Dudu Mian (1819-1862) turned the movement into organised resistance to Hindu landlords and British indigo planters.
- Titu Mir (1782-1831) led a similar peasant movement in Bengal and died fighting the British at Narkelberia in 1831.

The decline of the Mughal Empire



- Aurangzeb died in 1707 after a reign of nearly fifty years. He had extended the empire to its greatest size but exhausted its treasury in the Deccan wars and lost the loyalty of Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs through his strict policies, including the reimposition of the jizya tax.
- Later Mughals were weak and short-lived. Wars of succession, court intrigue and the rise of powerful nobles broke the central authority. Provincial governors in Bengal, Awadh and Hyderabad became virtually independent.
- Nadir Shah of Persia invaded in 1739, sacked Delhi and carried off the Peacock Throne and the Koh-i-Noor diamond. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded repeatedly from 1748 and defeated the Marathas at Panipat in 1761, but then withdrew, leaving a vacuum.
- The Marathas controlled much of central India, the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh took Punjab (Lahore 1799), and the East India Company rose from a trading company to a territorial power.
- Reasons for decline that examiners expect: Aurangzeb's policies and the size of the empire; weak successors; the mansabdari system breaking down; foreign invasions; the absence of a navy; British superiority in military organisation, finance and diplomacy; and the division of the Mughals' enemies, which the British exploited.

The East India Company and British expansion

- Trading posts at Surat (1612), Madras (1639), Bombay (1668) and Calcutta (1690). Battle of Plassey (1757): Robert Clive defeated Siraj-ud-Daula with the help of Mir Jafar. Battle of Buxar (1764) defeated the combined forces of Mir Qasim, Shuja-ud-Daula and the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II, who in 1765 granted the Company the Diwani (right to collect revenue) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- Tipu Sultan of Mysore resisted until his death at Seringapatam in 1799. Sind was annexed in 1843 after Miani, and Punjab in 1849 after two Anglo-Sikh wars.
- Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) used the Doctrine of Lapse to take states whose rulers died without a natural heir (Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur), and annexed Awadh in 1856 on grounds of misgovernment. Western education (Macaulay's Minute 1835, English as the official language in place of Persian), railways, the telegraph and missionary activity all spread.

The War of Independence, 1857

- Causes: political (annexations, Doctrine of Lapse, Awadh), economic (land revenue, ruined handicrafts, loss of jobs for Muslims after Persian was replaced), social and religious (abolition of sati 1829, Widow Remarriage Act 1856, fear of conversion, missionaries), military (low pay, the General Service Enlistment Act 1856 requiring overseas service, and the immediate cause, the greased cartridges of the new Enfield rifle, believed to be coated with cow and pig fat).
- Events: Mangal Pandey at Barrackpore (March 1857); the rising at Meerut on 10 May 1857; sepoys marched to Delhi and proclaimed Bahadur Shah Zafar emperor; risings at Kanpur (Nana Sahib), Lucknow (Begum Hazrat Mahal), Jhansi (Rani Lakshmibai) and Bareilly. The British retook Delhi in September 1857; Lucknow fell in March 1858; the fighting ended by mid-1858. Bahadur Shah Zafar was tried and exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1862.
- Reasons for failure: no common aim or single leader; confined mostly to the north; Sikhs, Gurkhas and most princes stayed loyal to the British; superior British weapons, discipline, telegraph and finance; the absence of a plan after the first success.
- Consequences: the East India Company was abolished by the Government of India Act 1858

and India came under the Crown with a Viceroy and a Secretary of State; the Mughal dynasty ended; the army was reorganised with a higher proportion of British troops and recruitment from "martial races"; Queen Victoria's proclamation promised religious tolerance and an end to annexation; Muslims were blamed for the revolt and suffered discrimination in jobs and education for a generation.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and the Aligarh Movement

- Served the Company as a judge; saved British lives at Bijnor in 1857. Wrote *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* (1858), arguing that the rising was caused by British ignorance of Indian feeling, not by a Muslim conspiracy, and *The Loyal Muhammadans of India* to show Muslims had also been loyal.
- Educational work: Scientific Society (1863, Ghazipur; moved to Aligarh 1864) to translate Western scientific works into Urdu; a school at Aligarh in 1875 which became the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877 and Aligarh Muslim University in 1920; the Muhammadan Educational Conference (1886) to spread modern education among Muslims; the journal *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (1870) to reconcile Islam with modern knowledge.
- Political work: urged Muslims to keep out of the Indian National Congress (founded 1885) and to avoid agitation, since they were a minority who would be outvoted in any Western-style democracy; founded the United Indian Patriotic Association (1888). The Urdu-Hindi controversy of 1867, when Hindus of Benares demanded that Hindi in Devanagari script replace Urdu, convinced him that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations; this is the origin of the Two-Nation Theory.
- Criticised by conservative ulema for his religious views and by some for his loyalty to Britain, but his college produced the generation of leaders who built the Muslim League.

Languages of Pakistan

- **Urdu:** grew in the Mughal army camps and markets from a mixture of local dialects with Persian, Arabic and Turkish words. Writers: Amir Khusrau (early), Mir Taqi Mir, Mirza Ghalib, Altaf Hussain Hali, Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Chosen as the national language because it belonged to no single province, was linked to the Pakistan movement, and was widely understood. Jinnah declared it the sole state language at Dhaka in March 1948, which angered Bengalis; the Language Movement of 21 February 1952 in Dhaka led to Bengali being recognised as a second state language in the 1956 Constitution. Promoted since independence through the National Language Authority (1979), Urdu in schools and the media, and the 1973 Constitution's commitment to make it the official language.
- **Punjabi:** the most widely spoken home language. Poets: Baba Farid, Shah Hussain, Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah (*Heer Ranjha*, 1766). Promoted through university departments, the Punjabi Adabi Board and television.
- **Sindhi:** ancient language with its own script; the Quran was translated into Sindhi in the twelfth century. Poets: Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (*Shah jo Risalo*), Sachal Sarmast. Promoted by the Sindhi Adabi Board (1951) and Sindhi as a medium of instruction in Sindh.
- **Pashto:** language of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and parts of Balochistan. Poets: Khushal Khan Khattak, Rahman Baba. Pashto Academy at Peshawar University (1954).
- **Balochi:** oral tradition of epic poetry (Jam Durrak); the Balochi Academy, Quetta (1961), publishes books and dictionaries; radio and television in Balochi.

- Examiners ask why Urdu was chosen, how regional languages have been promoted, and why Bengali speakers objected to Urdu.

Why it matters. The reformers kept Muslim identity alive after Mughal power collapsed and showed that it could be defended by teaching (Shah Waliullah, Haji Shariatullah) or by arms (Syed Ahmad Shaheed). 1857 destroyed what remained of Muslim political power and left Muslims distrusted and backward in education. Sir Syed's answer, modern education with loyalty to Britain and separation from Congress politics, produced the Aligarh generation and the Two-Nation Theory on which the demand for Pakistan rested. Language ran through all of this: Urdu became a symbol of Muslim identity in the 1867 controversy, and after 1947 the choice of a national language became the first great quarrel between East and West Pakistan.

The emergence of Pakistan, 1906-1947

From the partition of Bengal to the Lucknow Pact

- Partition of Bengal (1905): Lord Curzon divided the huge province for administrative reasons; East Bengal and Assam, with a Muslim majority and its capital at Dhaka, gave Muslims opportunities. Hindu agitation (Swadeshi movement, boycott of British goods, terrorism) led to the reversal of partition in 1911, which taught Muslims that the British would give way to pressure and that they needed their own organisation.
- Simla Deputation (October 1906): a group of Muslim leaders led by the Aga Khan met Viceroy Minto and asked for separate electorates and weightage; Minto was sympathetic.
- All-India Muslim League founded at Dhaka on 30 December 1906 at the Muhammadan Educational Conference, hosted by Nawab Salimullah; Aga Khan first president, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk among the founders. Aims: to protect Muslim political rights, promote loyalty to the British government, and improve relations with other communities.
- Morley-Minto Reforms (Indian Councils Act 1909) granted separate electorates for Muslims, a landmark victory, and enlarged the legislative councils.
- Jinnah joined the League in 1913 while remaining in Congress. The League's aim changed in 1913 to self-government for India.
- Lucknow Pact (December 1916): Congress and the League met in the same city and agreed a joint scheme; Congress accepted separate electorates and weightage for Muslims in minority provinces, while Muslims accepted a smaller share than their population in Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah was called the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity". It was the high point of co-operation and the first time Congress recognised the League as the voice of Muslims.

Reforms, repression and the Khilafat Movement, 1917-1924

- Montagu Declaration (August 1917) promised gradual self-government. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (Government of India Act 1919) introduced diarchy in the provinces: transferred subjects (education, health, agriculture) under Indian ministers, reserved subjects (law and order, finance) under the Governor. Separate electorates were kept, but the reforms disappointed both parties.
- Rowlatt Act (March 1919) allowed detention without trial. Gandhi called a hartal. At Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 13 April 1919, General Dyer's troops fired on an unarmed crowd, killing several hundred. The massacre destroyed Indian trust in British justice.

- **Khilafat Movement (1919-1924):** Indian Muslims campaigned to preserve the Ottoman Sultan as Khalifa and to keep Turkish territory and the holy places intact after the First World War. Leaders: Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali (the Ali brothers), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Gandhi joined it to his Non-Cooperation Movement (1920): boycott of British titles, schools, courts and goods. The Hijrat Movement (1920) saw thousands of Muslims migrate to Afghanistan, only to be turned back and ruined. The Treaty of Sèvres (1920) stripped Turkey of its empire. Gandhi called off non-cooperation after the Chauri Chaura violence (February 1922). Mustafa Kemal abolished the Sultanate in 1922 and the Khilafat in 1924, ending the movement. Results: a mass political awakening among Muslims, experience of agitation, but also a sense that Hindu-Muslim unity had been used and then dropped, and a decline in the Muslim League's standing.

The search for a constitutional settlement, 1927-1935

- **Delhi Proposals (March 1927):** Jinnah offered to give up separate electorates if Muslims gained one-third of the central seats, Sind separated from Bombay, and reforms in NWFP and Balochistan. Congress did not accept.
- **Simon Commission (1927-1928):** a parliamentary commission with no Indian member sent to review the 1919 reforms; boycotted by Congress and by Jinnah's section of the League ("Simon go back").
- **Nehru Report (1928):** the Congress answer to the challenge to draft a constitution; it rejected separate electorates, proposed a strong centre and offered Muslims only reserved seats in the minority provinces. Jinnah's amendments were rejected at the Calcutta Convention (December 1928): "the parting of the ways".
- **Jinnah's Fourteen Points (March 1929):** federal constitution with residual powers in the provinces; provincial autonomy; one-third Muslim representation in the central legislature; separate electorates to continue; protection of Muslim culture, language and religion; Sind to be a separate province; reforms in NWFP and Balochistan; no bill to pass if three-quarters of a community opposed it; Muslims to have an adequate share in services. These became the basis of all later Muslim demands.
- **Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address (December 1930)** to the League proposed a consolidated Muslim state in north-west India, within or outside the British Empire.
- **Round Table Conferences in London:** first (November 1930-January 1931) boycotted by Congress; Muslims and princes agreed in principle to a federation; second (September-December 1931) attended by Gandhi, who claimed Congress represented all Indians and refused to settle the communal question; third (November-December 1932) attended by few and achieved little. The Communal Award (August 1932) by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald kept separate electorates.
- **Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, a student at Cambridge, coined the name "Pakistan" in the pamphlet *Now or Never* (1933):** Punjab, Afghania (NWFP), Kashmir, Sind, Baluchistan.
- **Government of India Act 1935:** provincial autonomy with elected ministries (diarchy abolished in the provinces); a proposed all-India federation including the princely states, never implemented; Sind separated from Bombay and Orissa created (effective 1936), giving eleven provinces; the franchise extended to about 35 million; Governors kept emergency powers. Both parties disliked it but contested the elections under it.

The 1937 elections, Congress rule and the Pakistan Resolution

- In the 1937 provincial elections Congress won majorities in five provinces and formed ministries in eight of the eleven. The League did poorly, winning 109 of the 482 Muslim seats and less than five per cent of the Muslim vote, since Muslim politics was still provincial (Unionists in Punjab, Krishak Praja Party in Bengal).
- Congress refused to form coalitions with the League (demanding that League members join Congress first). Congress rule 1937-1939: the *Bande Mataram* anthem, the Congress flag on public buildings, the Wardha Scheme of education (Hindi, spinning, no religious teaching), the Vidya Mandir Scheme, Hindi promoted over Urdu, cow slaughter restrictions, and Muslims under-represented in jobs. The League's Pirpur Report (1938) and Sharif Report documented the grievances.
- Jinnah reorganised the League (membership fee two annas, provincial branches), and Muslim leaders of Punjab and Bengal (Sikandar Hayat Khan, Fazlul Haq) agreed to support it at the centre through the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact (1937).
- Congress ministries resigned in October-November 1939 in protest at India being taken into the war without consultation. The League observed a Day of Deliverance on 22 December 1939.
- Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution, 23 March 1940, at Minto Park: moved by A. K. Fazlul Haq, it demanded that areas with Muslim majorities in the north-west and east of India be grouped into "independent states" that would be "autonomous and sovereign". It did not use the word Pakistan, which the Hindu press applied to it, and it did not say whether there would be one state or two; its wording was later used by Bengali nationalists.

The war years and the final negotiations, 1940-1947

- August Offer (1940): Viceroy Linlithgow promised dominion status after the war and that no constitution would be imposed on an unwilling minority; both parties rejected it.
- Cripps Mission (March 1942): after Japanese advances, Sir Stafford Cripps offered dominion status after the war with a constituent assembly and the right of provinces not to join. Congress rejected it as "a post-dated cheque", the League because it did not clearly accept Pakistan.
- Quit India Movement (August 1942): Congress leaders were jailed for the rest of the war, leaving the field to Jinnah, who told Muslims to "divide and quit".
- Gandhi-Jinnah talks (September 1944) on the C. R. Formula (Rajagopalachari): a plebiscite in Muslim-majority areas after independence, with defence and communications shared; Jinnah rejected what he called "a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan".
- Simla Conference (June-July 1945): Viceroy Wavell proposed an executive council with equal Hindu and Muslim representation; it failed because Jinnah insisted that only the League could nominate Muslims and Congress refused.
- Elections 1945-1946: the League won all thirty Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and the large majority of Muslim seats in the provinces (around 430 of about 490), forming governments in Bengal and Sind. It was now beyond doubt the voice of Muslim India.
- Cabinet Mission Plan (May 1946): Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Cripps and A. V. Alexander rejected Pakistan but proposed a three-tier union: a weak centre with defence, foreign affairs and communications; provinces grouped into Section A (Hindu-majority), Section B (Punjab, NWFP, Sind) and Section C (Bengal, Assam); and the provinces themselves, with a right to reconsider

after ten years. The League accepted it on 6 June 1946; Congress accepted but Nehru's press statement (10 July) that Congress would not be bound by the grouping led Jinnah to withdraw acceptance on 29 July.

- Direct Action Day, 16 August 1946: the League's protest produced the Great Calcutta Killing, with communal riots spreading to Noakhali, Bihar and Punjab. Wavell formed an Interim Government under Nehru (2 September 1946); the League joined on 26 October, with Liaquat Ali Khan as finance member, whose "poor man's budget" of 1947 showed that Congress and the League could not work together.
- Attlee announced on 20 February 1947 that Britain would leave India by June 1948 and sent Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy (March 1947). The 3 June Plan: India to be partitioned; the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal to vote on partition of their provinces; a referendum in NWFP and Sylhet; Baluchistan and Sind to decide; a Boundary Commission under Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Date advanced to August 1947. Indian Independence Act passed on 18 July 1947.
- Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947 (Jinnah Governor-General, Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister). The Radcliffe Award, announced on 17 August, gave the Muslim-majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Ferozepur to India, giving India a land route to Kashmir; Pakistan regarded it as unjust.

Why it matters. Between 1906 and 1940 Muslims moved from asking for safeguards within India (separate electorates, weightage, the Fourteen Points) to demanding a separate state, because every attempt at agreement failed: the Lucknow Pact was not renewed, the Nehru Report ignored Muslim demands, the Round Table Conferences settled nothing, and Congress rule in 1937-1939 convinced Muslims that a Hindu-majority democracy would not protect them. Between 1940 and 1947 the League turned the demand into reality by winning the 1945-1946 elections, which no settlement could ignore, while the Cabinet Mission, the last chance of a united India, failed on the question of grouping. Partition came in a hurry, with the boundary drawn by a man who had never visited India, and the problems of 1947 flowed from that haste.

Nationhood, 1947-1999

The initial problems of Pakistan, 1947-1948

- Refugees: roughly seven million Muslims crossed into Pakistan and about the same number of Hindus and Sikhs left, amid massacres in Punjab in which hundreds of thousands died. Camps, disease and the absorption of refugees strained a government that had no buildings, furniture or typewriters. Jinnah moved to Lahore to supervise relief.
- Division of assets: Pakistan was to receive 17.5 per cent of the financial assets (750 million of 4,000 million rupees) and about a third of the army's equipment; India withheld the cash until Gandhi fasted in January 1948, and much military equipment never arrived. Pakistan's share of the army was reorganised under British officers and had few ordnance factories.
- Canal water dispute: the headworks of the Ravi and Sutlej canals lay in Indian Punjab; in April 1948 India stopped the flow, threatening Pakistani agriculture, until a temporary agreement was reached. The dispute was finally settled by the Indus Waters Treaty of 1960.
- Princely states: Junagadh (Muslim ruler, Hindu majority) acceded to Pakistan in September 1947, but India occupied it in November and held a plebiscite. Hyderabad (Muslim Nizam, Hindu majority) wanted independence but was taken by Indian troops in September 1948. Kashmir

(Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh, Muslim majority) delayed; a rising in Poonch and a tribal invasion from Pakistan in October 1947 led the Maharaja to accede to India in return for troops; the first Kashmir war followed until the United Nations ceasefire of 1 January 1949, leaving India with two-thirds of the state and the promised plebiscite never held.

- Pashtunistan: Afghanistan did not accept the Durand Line (1893) and voted against Pakistan's admission to the UN in September 1947.
- Government: the Government of India Act 1935 was adapted as an interim constitution; Karachi became the capital; Jinnah died on 11 September 1948. Liaquat Ali Khan guided the Objectives Resolution (12 March 1949), which declared that sovereignty belongs to God and that Pakistan's constitution would be democratic and Islamic, and he was assassinated in Rawalpindi on 16 October 1951.

The making of the constitutions, 1949-1962

- The Basic Principles Committee reported in 1950 and 1952 but East and West could not agree on representation, since East Pakistan held a majority of the population. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra's "Bogra Formula" of October 1953 proposed a lower house elected by population and an upper house with equal provincial seats, giving the two wings parity in a joint session.
- Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Prime Minister Nazimuddin in April 1953 and dissolved the Constituent Assembly in October 1954; the Sindh High Court ruled for the Assembly's Speaker, Maulvi Tamizuddin, but the Federal Court under Justice Munir upheld the dissolution, strengthening the executive over elected bodies.
- One Unit (October 1955): the four provinces and states of West Pakistan were merged into a single province to balance East Pakistan and simplify administration; Bengalis and the smaller provinces resented it.
- The 1956 Constitution (23 March 1956): Pakistan an Islamic Republic; a parliamentary system with a president as head of state (Iskander Mirza); a single National Assembly with equal seats for the two wings; Urdu and Bengali as state languages; a Muslim president. It lasted two and a half years amid changing ministries (seven prime ministers in eleven years).
- Martial law: on 7 October 1958 Mirza abrogated the constitution and made General Ayub Khan Chief Martial Law Administrator; Ayub removed Mirza on 27 October and became president.
- The 1962 Constitution (1 March 1962): a presidential system; the president elected by the 80,000 Basic Democrats (raised to 120,000 in 1967), who also elected the National Assembly; no prime minister; the word "Islamic" dropped from the title and restored by the first amendment in 1963.

Ayub Khan, 1958-1969

- Basic Democracies (October 1959): a four-tier system of local councils, half elected and half nominated at the upper tiers; the Basic Democrats confirmed Ayub as president in a referendum (1960) and elected him against Fatima Jinnah, candidate of the Combined Opposition Parties, in January 1965.
- Reforms: land reforms (1959) with a ceiling of 500 irrigated or 1,000 unirrigated acres; the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961) restricting polygamy and regulating divorce; the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (1959) barring many old politicians; refugee rehabilitation; a new capital at Islamabad (planned from 1960).

- Economy: the "Decade of Development" with industrial growth, the Green Revolution (high-yield seeds, fertiliser, tube wells), the Mangla Dam (1967) and the start of Tarbela, the Indus Waters Treaty (1960) and the move of capital to Islamabad; criticised because wealth concentrated in "twenty-two families" and East Pakistan received less.
- Foreign affairs: close to the United States (U-2 flight from Peshawar, 1960) but a boundary agreement with China (1963) and the Karakoram Highway; Rann of Kutch clashes (April 1965); Operation Gibraltar in Kashmir; the war with India of 6-23 September 1965, ending in the Tashkent Declaration (January 1966) brokered by Soviet premier Kosygin, which Pakistanis saw as surrendering gains. Bhutto resigned as foreign minister (1966) and founded the Pakistan People's Party (November 1967) on "Islamic socialism".
- Decline: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six Points (1966) demanded full autonomy for East Pakistan; the Agartala Conspiracy Case (1968) made Mujib a hero; student and worker unrest in 1968-1969 after the "Decade of Development" celebrations; Ayub handed power to General Yahya Khan on 25 March 1969 instead of to the Speaker as the constitution required.

Yahya Khan and the separation of East Pakistan, 1969-1971

- Yahya abolished One Unit (July 1970), restored the provinces, and held the first general election on adult franchise on 7 December 1970 under the Legal Framework Order. The Awami League won 160 of the 162 general seats in East Pakistan (none in the West), and the PPP 81 of 138 in the West; the Awami League therefore had an absolute majority in the 300-seat National Assembly. The Bhola cyclone of November 1970, in which hundreds of thousands died and relief was slow, deepened Bengali anger.
- Bhutto refused to sit in opposition; Yahya postponed the Assembly session due on 3 March 1971; Mujib launched civil disobedience; talks in Dhaka failed; on 25 March 1971 the army launched Operation Searchlight, Mujib was arrested, and Bengali resistance (the Mukti Bahini) began with Indian training and support, while about ten million refugees crossed into India.
- India invaded on 3 December 1971 after Pakistani air strikes in the west; the Pakistan army in the East under General Niazi surrendered at Dhaka on 16 December 1971 and some 90,000 became prisoners of war. Bangladesh was born; Yahya resigned on 20 December and Bhutto became president and civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator.
- Causes of separation for a 14-mark answer: the language issue of 1948-1952; economic disparity (jute earnings spent in the West, lower development spending); political under-representation and One Unit; distance of 1,600 km with India between; a West-dominated army and civil service; the Six Points and the failure to accept the 1970 election result; the military action; and Indian intervention.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 1971-1977

- Simla Agreement (2 July 1972) with Indira Gandhi: the ceasefire line became the Line of Control, the prisoners of war were returned (1973-1974) and the two states agreed to settle disputes bilaterally. Pakistan recognised Bangladesh in February 1974 at the time of the Islamic Summit in Lahore.
- The 1973 Constitution (in force 14 August 1973): parliamentary, with a powerful prime minister; a bicameral legislature (National Assembly and Senate with equal provincial representation); Islam the state religion; both the president and prime minister to be Muslims; Urdu the national language with English allowed for fifteen years; the Council of Islamic Ideology; provincial

autonomy with a concurrent list. It is still the constitution of Pakistan, though heavily amended.

- Reforms: nationalisation of ten basic industries (1972), then of banks, insurance, vegetable ghee and flour and rice mills (1974-1976); land reforms lowering the ceiling to 150 irrigated or 300 unirrigated acres (1972) and 100 or 200 acres (1977); labour laws; nationalisation of private schools and colleges and new universities; the Pakistan Steel Mills at Karachi with Soviet help (begun 1973); a national health scheme and Rural Health Centres.
- Foreign policy: left the Commonwealth and SEATO (1972); the Islamic Summit at Lahore (February 1974); closer ties with China and the Islamic world; started the nuclear programme after India's test in May 1974 ("we will eat grass").
- Problems: the Federal Security Force was used against opponents; the Balochistan government was dismissed (February 1973) and an insurgency followed; the Ahmadis were declared non-Muslim (September 1974); the economy suffered from nationalisation, the 1973 floods and the oil price rise. In the March 1977 election the PPP won 155 of 200 seats, the Pakistan National Alliance alleged rigging and launched the Nizam-e-Mustafa movement; after months of unrest the army under General Zia-ul-Haq took power on 5 July 1977 (Operation Fairplay). Bhutto was convicted of conspiracy to murder and hanged on 4 April 1979.

Zia-ul-Haq, 1977-1988

- Promised elections within ninety days but postponed them repeatedly; political parties were banned, press censored, and opponents flogged or jailed.
- Islamisation: the Hudood Ordinances (February 1979) with Islamic punishments for theft, adultery and drinking; the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance (1980) deducting zakat from bank accounts; the Federal Shariat Court (1980); interest-free (profit-and-loss sharing) banking (1981); the Ehteram-e-Ramadan Ordinance; the Law of Evidence (1984); compulsory prayers in offices; Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies compulsory in education; a nominated Majlis-e-Shoora (1981).
- Politics: the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (1981) and its 1983 agitation in Sindh; a referendum in December 1984 on Islamisation that gave Zia five years as president; non-party elections in February 1985 with Muhammad Khan Junejo as prime minister; the Eighth Amendment (1985), including Article 58(2)(b) allowing the president to dissolve the National Assembly, as the price of lifting martial law on 30 December 1985; Zia dismissed Junejo on 29 May 1988 after the Ojhri Camp explosion inquiry and the Geneva Accords.
- Afghanistan: after the Soviet invasion of December 1979 Pakistan became a front-line state, received more than three million refugees, channelled American and Saudi aid to the mujahideen, and gained a 3.2 billion dollar US aid package (1981), but also suffered an arms and drugs culture and bomb attacks. The Geneva Accords (April 1988) arranged Soviet withdrawal by February 1989.
- Economy: remittances from the Gulf, steady growth, deregulation of some industries; Zia died in an air crash near Bahawalpur on 17 August 1988.

The governments of 1988-1999

- Benazir Bhutto (PPP), December 1988 to August 1990: the first woman to head a government in a Muslim country; faced a hostile president (Ghulam Ishaq Khan), a Punjab government under Nawaz Sharif, a small majority and ethnic violence in Sindh; dismissed under 58(2)(b) on charges of corruption and misrule.

- Nawaz Sharif (IJI), November 1990 to July 1993: privatisation and deregulation, the Yellow Cab scheme, the Lahore-Islamabad motorway begun, Ghazi-Barotha and other projects, the Shariat Act (1991), support for the coalition in the 1991 Gulf War; dismissed in April 1993, restored by the Supreme Court in May, then resigned along with the president in July under an arrangement made by the army chief.
- Benazir Bhutto, October 1993 to November 1996: economic difficulties, violence in Karachi, the death of her brother Murtaza, and corruption allegations against her husband; dismissed by her own party's president, Farooq Leghari.
- Nawaz Sharif, February 1997 to October 1999: a two-thirds majority; the Thirteenth Amendment (1997) removed 58(2)(b) and the Fourteenth punished floor-crossing; conflict with the Chief Justice and the president, both of whom left office; nuclear tests at Chagai on 28 and 30 May 1998 in reply to India's, followed by sanctions and the freezing of foreign-currency accounts; the Lahore Declaration with Vajpayee (February 1999); the Kargil conflict (May-July 1999); the Fifteenth Amendment (Shariat bill) blocked in the Senate; the dismissal of General Musharraf while he was in the air on 12 October 1999 led to the army taking power the same day.
- Pattern to explain: eleven years, four elected governments, none completing its term, because of 58(2)(b), corruption charges, confrontation between prime minister, president and army, and weak economies.

Foreign relations, 1947-1999

- **India:** Kashmir (wars of 1947-1948, 1965 and the Kargil conflict of 1999), the 1971 war, the Indus Waters Treaty (1960), Tashkent (1966), Simla (1972), the Siachen glacier dispute (from 1984), the nuclear tests of 1998 and the Lahore Declaration (1999).
- **United States:** Liaquat visited Washington in 1950; Pakistan joined SEATO (1954) and the Baghdad Pact, later CENTO (1955), and received military aid; the U-2 affair (1960); the arms embargo of 1965 and the US "tilt" to Pakistan but no help in 1971; aid resumed during the Afghan war (1981 and 1986 packages); the Pressler Amendment cut aid in 1990 over the nuclear programme; sanctions after the 1998 tests.
- **China:** Pakistan recognised the People's Republic in 1950; the boundary agreement (1963), Chinese support in 1965, the Karakoram Highway (opened 1978), the Heavy Mechanical Complex at Taxila, military and nuclear co-operation; relations survived every change of government.
- **Soviet Union:** cool after 1954 and the U-2 affair; Kosygin hosted Tashkent (1966); help for the Steel Mills; hostile during the Afghan war 1979-1989.
- **Afghanistan:** the Durand Line and Pashtunistan; border closures in the 1950s and 1961; refugees and support for the mujahideen after 1979; involvement in the civil war of the 1990s.
- **Iran, Turkey and the Islamic world:** Regional Co-operation for Development (1964, renamed Economic Co-operation Organisation in 1985); the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (1969) and the Lahore summit of 1974; Saudi aid and labour migration to the Gulf; relations with Bangladesh normalised in 1974.
- **Britain and the Commonwealth:** Pakistan left the Commonwealth in January 1972 when Britain and other members prepared to recognise Bangladesh, and rejoined in 1989; Britain mediated during the 1965 war and remains a trade and migration partner. Pakistan joined the United Nations on 30 September 1947 and contributed peacekeepers from 1960.

Why it matters. Pakistan began with no capital city, no cash, a divided army, disputed borders and two wings a thousand miles apart; the way those problems were handled, by a strong executive and a weak legislature, set a pattern. Nine years to agree a constitution, then three constitutions in seventeen years, left a habit of rule by governor-general, president or general. East Pakistan's separation in 1971 was the price of refusing to share power with the majority wing. The 1973 Constitution gave Pakistan a durable framework, but Zia's Eighth Amendment allowed presidents to dismiss four elected governments in eleven years, and the army returned in 1999. In foreign policy the constant threads are the dispute with India over Kashmir, the alliance with the United States that rose and fell with American needs, and the steady friendship with China.

Part 2: Environment of Pakistan

Topography

- Pakistan covers about 796,000 km² (excluding Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan), between latitudes 24° and 37° N and longitudes 61° and 75° E, with a coastline of about 1,000 km on the Arabian Sea. Neighbours: India (east), China (north-east), Afghanistan (north-west) and Iran (west).
- **Northern mountains:** the Himalaya (Nanga Parbat, 8,126 m), the Karakoram (K2, 8,611 m, the second highest peak in the world) and the Hindu Kush (Tirich Mir, 7,708 m). Steep, snow-covered, heavily glaciated (Siachen, Baltoro, Biafo) and cut by deep gorges; mass movement, avalanches and earthquakes. Valleys: Swat, Kaghan, Hunza, Gilgit, Chitral. Passes: Khunjerab (to China), Lowari (Dir to Chitral), Babusar.
- **Western mountains:** the Safed Koh (Khyber Pass to Afghanistan), the Waziristan hills, the Sulaiman Range (Takht-i-Sulaiman, 3,487 m) and the Kirthar Range along the Sind-Balochistan border. Lower, drier and less rugged than the north; passes include the Bolan (Quetta to Sibi), Gomal and Tochi.
- **Balochistan Plateau:** a dry plateau mostly 600-900 m high with east-west ranges (Chagai hills, Ras Koh, Central Makran), inland drainage basins and playa lakes (Hamun-i-Mashkel), and the desert of Kharan. Quetta sits in a basin at about 1,700 m.
- **Potwar Plateau and Salt Range:** between the Indus and the Jhelum, 300-600 m, bounded by the Salt Range to the south; a dissected plateau of ravines and badlands drained by the Soan River, with loess soils, oil and gas fields and rock salt at Khewra.
- **Indus Plain:** the flat alluvial plain formed by the Indus and its tributaries. The upper plain (Punjab) is divided by the rivers into doabs: Bari (between Ravi and Sutlej), Rechna (Ravi and Chenab), Chaj (Chenab and Jhelum) and Sindh Sagar (Jhelum-Chenab and Indus, containing the Thal desert). The lower plain (Sindh) has the Indus flowing on a raised bed between natural levees, with the old and active flood plains, the Kirthar piedmont to the west and the Thar desert to the east; limestone outcrops at Sukkur, Rohri and Hyderabad. The Indus delta, with mangrove creeks, lies south-east of Karachi.
- **Deserts:** Thal (Sindh Sagar doab), Cholistan (south-east Punjab), Thar (eastern Sindh) and Kharan (Balochistan).
- **Coast:** the Sindh coast is low and deltaic; the Makran coast in Balochistan is rugged with raised beaches, cliffs, headlands and small ports at Gwadar, Pasni and Ormara.

Exam tip. Questions on topography usually give a map and ask you to name features, then to explain how relief affects human activity. Link each region to a use and a problem: the northern mountains give hydro-electric sites, tourism and forests but suffer isolation, landslides and short growing seasons; the plains give fertile alluvium and easy transport but suffer floods and waterlogging; the plateaus give minerals but little water.

Climate

- Pakistan has a subtropical continental climate: hot summers, cool winters, low and unreliable rainfall, and great extremes between the mountains and the plains. More than three-quarters of the country receives less than 250 mm a year.
- **Seasons:** cool dry winter (November to February) with western depressions from the Mediterranean bringing rain and snow to the north and west; hot dry season (March to June) with temperatures above 45 °C in Sindh and southern Punjab, dust storms and convectional thunderstorms; the monsoon (July to September) when winds from the Bay of Bengal curve round the Himalaya and bring most of the plains' rain to Punjab and the northern foothills; and a short post-monsoon season (October) with clear skies.
- **Rainfall:** Murree over 1,500 mm; Islamabad about 1,000 mm; Lahore about 600 mm; Peshawar about 400 mm; Quetta about 250 mm (mostly winter); Karachi about 200 mm; Jacobabad under 100 mm; Nokkundi in Chagai under 50 mm. The monsoon weakens from north-east to south-west; western depressions matter most in Balochistan and the north-west.
- **Temperature:** Jacobabad and Sibi record over 50 °C in June; the northern valleys and Quetta fall well below 0 °C in January; Karachi is moderated by the sea with a small annual range; the plains have a large diurnal range in winter.
- **Factors:** latitude, altitude (temperature falls about 6.5 °C per 1,000 m), distance from the sea, the monsoon and western depressions, and the rain shadow of the Himalaya and the mountains of Balochistan.
- **Effects:** agriculture depends on irrigation; floods from heavy monsoon rain and snowmelt (1992, 2010); drought in Balochistan and Thar (1998-2002); heatwaves; dust storms; winter fog disrupting transport. Global warming is increasing glacier melt, glacial lake outburst floods and the variability of the monsoon.

Water resources

- **Sources:** rainfall, snow and glacier melt, rivers and groundwater. The Indus rises in Tibet near Lake Mansarovar and flows about 2,900 km through Gilgit-Baltistan, past Tarbela and Attock (where the Kabul River joins), along the Punjab-KP border and through Sindh to the Arabian Sea. Its eastern tributaries, the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, join to form the Panjnad which meets the Indus near Mithankot. Western tributaries: Kabul, Swat, Kurram, Gomal.
- **Indus Waters Treaty (1960)**, brokered by the World Bank: India received the three eastern rivers (Ravi, Beas, Sutlej) and Pakistan the three western rivers (Indus, Jhelum, Chenab). Pakistan built replacement works under the Indus Basin Project: the Mangla Dam (Jhelum, 1967), the Tarbela Dam (Indus, 1976), barrages, and eight link canals carrying water from the western to the eastern rivers.
- **Dams:** Tarbela (earth-filled, the largest, storing water and generating about 3,500 MW, raised to about 4,900 MW by the 2018 extension), Mangla (about 1,000 MW, raised in 2009), Warsak

(Kabul River, 1960). Silting reduces storage every year. Proposed: Kalabagh (disputed between provinces), Diamer-Bhasha, Dasu and Mohmand.

- **Barrages** divert river water into canals: Sukkur (1932, the largest canal system in the world), Guddu (1962), Kotri (1955), Taunsa (1958), Jinnah at Kalabagh (1946), Chashma (1971), Rasul, Marala, Khanki, Balloki, Sulemanki, Islam, Panjnad.
- **Link canals:** Chashma-Jhelum, Taunsa-Panjnad, Rasul-Qadirabad, Qadirabad-Balloki, Balloki-Sulemanki, Marala-Ravi, Trimmu-Sidhnai, Sidhnai-Mailsi-Bahawal.
- **Irrigation methods:** traditional (shaduf, charsa, Persian wheel, inundation canals that flow only in flood, karez tunnels in Balochistan tapping groundwater at the foot of hills); modern (perennial canals fed from barrages, tube wells, lift pumps, sprinklers and drip irrigation in orchards). Groundwater provides a growing share through more than a million tube wells.
- **Problems:** waterlogging and salinity (seepage from unlined canals raises the water table; evaporation leaves salt; about a fifth of irrigated land affected), tackled by SCARP tube wells (from 1959), lined canals, drains and salt-tolerant crops; silting of reservoirs; floods and drought; falling water tables; pollution from industry and sewage; disputes between the provinces over sharing (the Water Apportionment Accord of 1991 and the Indus River System Authority, 1992); and water disputes with India over Indian dams on the Chenab and Jhelum.
- **Conservation:** lining canals, laser levelling, drip irrigation, rainwater harvesting, small dams in Balochistan and Potwar, treating waste water, and pricing water.

Forests

- Forest cover is officially about 5 per cent of the land area, among the lowest in the world, against the 20-25 per cent regarded as necessary. The main types, by altitude and rainfall:
- **Alpine** (above about 4,000 m): dwarf shrubs, birch and juniper, summer pasture.
- **Coniferous** (1,000-4,000 m, 750-1,500 mm of rain): deodar, chir pine, blue pine, fir and spruce in Murree, Swat, Dir, Chitral, Mansehra and Azad Kashmir; the main source of timber for construction, furniture and sports goods.
- **Sub-tropical dry (scrub)** on the foothills and Potwar: wild olive, acacia, phulai; fuel and grazing.
- **Tropical thorn** on the plains: kikar (babul), ber, tamarisk; most has been cleared for farming.
- **Riverain (bela)** forests on the active flood plain of the Indus in Sindh: shisham, babul, poplar, kept alive by the annual flood.
- **Irrigated plantations:** Changa Manga (1866) near Lahore, Chichawatni, Khanewal; shisham and mulberry grown on canal water for timber, fuel and sports goods.
- **Mangrove** in the Indus delta and along the Karachi coast: *Avicennia marina* growing in salty tidal water; a nursery for fish and shrimps, a barrier against storms and erosion, fuel and fodder for coastal communities.
- **Benefits:** timber, fuelwood, paper, resin and medicines; protection of watersheds, reduction of soil erosion, siltation and flooding; shade, humidity and rainfall; wildlife habitat; recreation and tourism; employment.
- **Deforestation:** cutting for fuelwood by a growing population, commercial felling (the "timber mafia"), clearing for farms, roads, dams and towns, overgrazing, and forest fires. Effects: erosion and landslides in the north, silting of Tarbela and Mangla, flash floods, loss of wildlife, desertification and a hotter local climate.

- **Management:** afforestation and reforestation drives (spring and monsoon tree-planting weeks, the Billion Tree Tsunami in KP from 2014, later Ten Billion Trees), social and farm forestry, alternative fuels (gas, solar), controlled felling, nurseries, national parks and public awareness.

Agriculture

- Agriculture contributes roughly a fifth to a quarter of GDP, employs about 40 per cent of the labour force, supplies raw materials to industry (cotton, sugarcane, hides) and provides most exports directly or indirectly. About 22 million hectares are cultivated, nearly all of it on the Indus Plain and irrigated; land is classed as irrigated, barani (rain-fed, Potwar and the foothills), and non-cultivated (deserts, mountains, waterlogged and saline land).
- **Types of farming:** subsistence (small plots, family labour, food crops); commercial (cash crops for market, cotton, sugarcane, rice, fruit); plantation-style orchards; livestock farming on the plains (buffalo and cattle for milk, meat and draught); nomadic and transhumance herding of sheep, goats and camels in Balochistan and the northern mountains.
- **Seasons:** kharif crops are sown in April to June and harvested in October to December (cotton, rice, sugarcane, maize, millets); rabi crops are sown in October to December and harvested in April to May (wheat, barley, gram, oilseeds such as rapeseed and mustard, tobacco).
- **Wheat:** the staple, grown everywhere but mostly in Punjab and Sindh; needs a cool growing season (10-20 °C), 300-500 mm of water, warm dry weather at harvest, and level, well-drained loam. Sown November, harvested April to May. Yields rose with Mexi-Pak seed, fertiliser and tube wells, but remain below the world average.
- **Rice:** needs 20-30 °C, standing water (flooded fields), heavy clay soils and abundant labour for transplanting; grown in the Kalar tract of Punjab (Gujranwala, Sialkot, Sheikhupura) for basmati and in Sindh (Larkana, Jacobabad) for IRRI varieties. The second largest export crop.
- **Cotton:** needs 25-35 °C, 200 frost-free days, 500-1,000 mm of water (irrigated), sandy loam and dry sunny weather at picking; grown in southern Punjab (Multan, Bahawalpur, Vehari, Rahim Yar Khan) and Sindh (Sanghar, Nawabshah). The basis of the textile industry, the largest industry and export. Threatened by pests (bollworm, leaf curl virus), rain at picking and water shortage.
- **Sugarcane:** needs 20-30 °C, 1,500 mm of water, fertile soil and eleven to twelve months in the ground; planted February to March or September, harvested November to March; grown in Punjab (Faisalabad, Jhang), Sindh (Hyderabad, Thatta, Badin) and KP (Mardan, Charsadda, Peshawar). Supplies sugar mills; by-products molasses and bagasse.
- **Other crops:** maize (KP, Punjab), millets (bajra and jowar in dry areas), pulses, oilseeds (sunflower, canola, cottonseed), tobacco (Mardan, Swabi), fruit (mangoes of Multan and Hyderabad, citrus of Sargodha, apples and cherries of Quetta and Swat, dates of Khairpur and Turbat, apricots and walnuts of Gilgit and Hunza) and vegetables (onion, potato, tomato).
- **Livestock:** buffaloes and cattle in Punjab and Sindh, sheep and goats in Balochistan and KP, camels in the deserts, poultry near cities; milk, meat, wool, hides and skins for the leather industry, draught power and dung for fuel. Problems: poor breeds, disease, lack of fodder and veterinary care.
- **Fishing:** marine fishing from Karachi, Pasni, Gwadar and Ormara in the Arabian Sea (shrimps, pomfret, tuna, sardines) with exports to the Gulf, Japan and Europe; inland fishing in rivers, reservoirs and fish farms (rohu, carp, trout in the north). Problems: over-fishing, small wooden

boats, poor cold storage and processing, pollution of the Karachi coast, and the loss of mangroves.

- **The Green Revolution** (1960s onwards): high-yielding varieties (Mexi-Pak wheat, IRRI rice), chemical fertilisers, pesticides, tube wells, tractors and credit raised output sharply, but favoured larger farmers and increased waterlogging, salinity and pesticide damage.
- **Problems:** small and fragmented holdings (inheritance), tenancy and the zamindari system, waterlogging and salinity, water shortage at sowing, floods, pests and poor seed, low mechanisation, lack of credit and storage, poor roads to market, middlemen, and low literacy. Reforms: land reforms of 1959, 1972 and 1977 (limited effect), consolidation of holdings, support prices, agricultural credit, extension services, drip irrigation and new seed research.

Mineral resources

- Pakistan has many minerals but few in large, high-grade deposits near transport and markets; most lie in Balochistan and the Salt Range. Mining contributes a small share of GDP.
- **Coal:** mostly low-grade lignite and sub-bituminous coal with high sulphur and ash; fields at Lakhra and Sonda (Sindh), Sor Range and Degari (near Quetta), Makarwal and Dandot (Salt Range), and the vast Thar lignite field in eastern Sindh (reserves estimated at about 175 billion tonnes), now mined for power. Used in brick kilns, cement and power stations.
- **Rock salt:** the Khewra mine in the Salt Range, among the largest in the world, with other mines at Warcha and Kalabagh; sea salt at Karachi and the Makran coast.
- **Limestone:** widespread (Salt Range, Daudkhel, Kohat, Hyderabad, Karachi, Rohri), the basis of cement. **Gypsum:** Salt Range, Kohat, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rohri; cement, plaster and fertiliser. **Marble:** Mardan, Swat, Chitral, Chagai and Lasbela, for building and export. **China clay:** Nagar Parkar and Swat, for ceramics. **Fireclay:** Salt Range. **Bauxite:** Muzaffarabad, Loralai and Ziarat.
- **Chromite:** Muslim Bagh (Balochistan) and Malakand, mostly exported. **Iron ore:** low grade at Kalabagh, Chitral and Nokkundi (Chagai), so the Steel Mills imports ore. **Copper:** Saindak (Chagai, mined from 1995 with Chinese help) and the large Reko Diq deposit with gold. **Sulphur:** Koh-i-Sultan. Small deposits of antimony, manganese and gemstones (emeralds at Swat, rubies at Hunza, aquamarine at Chitral).
- **Oil:** first found at Khaur in Potwar (1915); fields at Dhulian, Balkassar, Meyal, Toot, Adhi and Dhurnal in Potwar, and since the 1980s in Sindh (Badin, Tando Alam). Domestic output meets less than a fifth of demand; refineries at Karachi, Rawalpindi (Attock) and Mahmood Kot.
- **Natural gas:** Sui in Balochistan (discovered 1952), Mari, Kandhkot, Uch, Pirkoh, Dhodak, Qadirpur and Sawan; piped to Karachi, the Punjab and Peshawar; used for power, fertiliser, domestic cooking and CNG in vehicles. Reserves are falling and LNG has been imported since 2015.
- **Problems of mining:** remote and rugged locations, lack of roads, water and power, shortage of capital and technology, low-grade ores, dangerous working conditions in small coal mines, insecurity in Balochistan and disputes over provincial royalties.

Power

- Sources of energy: oil (imported), natural gas, coal, hydro-electricity, nuclear and renewables (wind, solar, biogas); fuelwood and dung are still used by many rural homes. Electricity

generation is roughly 60 per cent thermal, a quarter to a third hydro, and the rest nuclear and renewable; the figures change yearly and should be checked against the latest Economic Survey.

- **Hydro-electric power:** needs steep gradients, reliable flow and a dam site with a narrow gorge and strong rock; Tarbela (Indus, about 3,500 MW, about 4,900 MW after the 2018 extension), Mangla (Jhelum), Warsak (Kabul), Ghazi-Barotha (a run-of-river scheme on the Indus below Tarbela, about 1,450 MW, 2003), Neelum-Jhelum (2018) and many small plants in the north. Advantages: renewable, cheap to run, no pollution, dams also give irrigation and flood control. Disadvantages: high capital cost, long construction, silting, displacement of people, output falls in winter and drought, sites far from the main markets, inter-provincial disputes such as Kalabagh.
- **Thermal power:** oil- and gas-fired stations at Karachi, Guddu, Kot Addu, Muzaffargarh, Jamshoro and Hub, with Independent Power Producers from 1994. Advantages: quick to build, located near demand, steady output. Disadvantages: imported fuel is expensive and drains foreign exchange, pollution and greenhouse gases, gas shortages. Coal-fired stations at Sahiwal, Port Qasim and Thar (from 2017-2019) use imported and Thar coal.
- **Nuclear power:** KANUPP at Karachi (1972, Canadian) and the Chashma plants with Chinese help (from 2000), and the larger K-2 and K-3 at Karachi (2021-2022). Advantages: large output from little fuel, no air pollution. Disadvantages: cost, safety, waste disposal, reliance on foreign technology.
- **Renewables:** wind farms in the Jhimpir-Gharo corridor of Sindh; solar at the Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park in Bahawalpur (2015) and on rooftops; biogas from dung in villages. Advantages: clean, local, suitable for remote areas; disadvantages: intermittent, land, initial cost.
- **Problems:** demand grows faster than supply, so load-shedding; line losses and theft; circular debt between generators, distributors and the government; dependence on imported oil; old plants; poor transmission to the north and Balochistan. Solutions: more hydro and Thar coal, renewables, energy conservation, LNG imports, CPEC power projects, and reform of the distribution companies.

Industry

- Industry contributes about a fifth of GDP. Manufacturing is divided into large-scale (textiles, sugar, cement, fertiliser, steel, vehicles, pharmaceuticals) and small-scale and cottage industry (carpets, sports goods, surgical instruments, cutlery, handicrafts, pottery, embroidery), which employs more people with less capital.
- **Factors of industrial location:** raw materials (cement near limestone, sugar near cane), power and water, labour, markets, transport (ports, highways, railways), capital, government policy (industrial estates, tax holidays, Export Processing Zones) and the agglomeration of related industries.
- **Cotton textiles:** the largest industry, about 60 per cent of exports and a large share of industrial employment; spinning, weaving, dyeing, finishing and garments at Karachi, Faisalabad ("the Manchester of Pakistan"), Lahore, Multan, Hyderabad and Gujranwala. Depends on the cotton crop, cheap labour and gas-fired power; suffers from old machinery, power cuts, competition from Bangladesh and Vietnam, and reliance on low-value yarn and cloth.
- **Sugar:** mills in cane areas of Punjab (Faisalabad, Jhang, Rahim Yar Khan), Sindh (Hyderabad,

- Badin) and KP (Mardan, Charsadda), because cane loses sugar after cutting; by-products molasses (alcohol, ethanol), bagasse (fuel, paper) and press mud (fertiliser).
- **Cement:** near limestone and gypsum at Dandot, Daudkhel, Kohat, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rohri, Hyderabad, Karachi and Hub; heavy, so plants are also near markets; exports to Afghanistan and the Gulf.
- **Fertiliser:** urea from natural gas at Daharki, Mirpur Mathelo, Multan and Sheikhpura; phosphates at Haripur.
- **Iron and steel:** the Pakistan Steel Mills at Pipri near Port Qasim (production from 1981, built with Soviet help) uses imported ore and coal; re-rolling mills at Lahore and Karachi use scrap. Engineering: the Heavy Mechanical Complex at Taxila, vehicle assembly at Karachi (Suzuki, Toyota) and Lahore (Honda), tractors at Lahore, Pakistan Aeronautical Complex at Kamra, ship-building at Karachi.
- **Other:** sports goods and surgical instruments at Sialkot (skilled labour, exports); carpets at Lahore and Karachi; cutlery at Wazirabad; leather at Karachi, Kasur and Sialkot; chemicals and pharmaceuticals at Karachi and Lahore; vegetable ghee, cigarettes, paper, glass.
- **Cottage and small-scale industry:** needs little capital or power, uses local raw materials and family labour, keeps traditional skills alive and provides income for women and villages; problems are poor quality control, lack of credit and marketing, and child labour.
- **Problems:** energy shortages, old technology and low productivity, lack of skilled labour and research, high interest rates and smuggling, political instability, poor infrastructure and corruption, narrow product range. Policies: industrial estates (Karachi SITE, Faisalabad, Hattar, Hub), Export Processing Zones (Karachi 1980), privatisation since 1991, Special Economic Zones under CPEC, Small and Medium Enterprise support.

Trade

- **Exports:** cotton textiles (yarn, cloth, bed linen, towels, knitwear, garments) are about 60 per cent; then rice (basmati), leather and leather goods, sports goods, surgical instruments, carpets, chemicals, cement, fruit and vegetables, fish, and petroleum products. Main markets: the United States, China, the United Kingdom, Germany, the United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan and Bangladesh.
- **Imports:** petroleum and petroleum products (the largest item), machinery and transport equipment, chemicals, edible oil (palm oil), iron and steel, electrical goods, tea, pulses, fertiliser and wheat or sugar in shortage years. Main suppliers: China, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, the United States, Kuwait, Japan and Malaysia.
- **Balance of trade:** the value of imports has exceeded exports in almost every year, giving a trade deficit; the balance of payments, which also counts invisible trade (services, remittances from overseas Pakistanis, aid, foreign investment), is kept afloat mainly by remittances from the Gulf, the United Kingdom and the United States.
- **Terms:** visible trade (goods), invisible trade (services), bilateral and multilateral trade, free trade, protective tariffs, quotas, trade blocs, dry ports (inland customs stations at Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, Peshawar, Quetta and Sialkot which clear goods without going to Karachi).
- **Trading arrangements:** SAARC (1985) and the South Asian Free Trade Area (2006), ECO, the World Trade Organisation (1995), GSP Plus access to the European Union (2014), the China-Pakistan Free Trade Agreement (2007) and CPEC (2015).

- **Why the deficit persists:** exports concentrated in low-value textiles and a few markets; weak quality and marketing; power shortages and high costs; dependence on imported oil, machinery and edible oil; smuggling; and a strong demand for consumer imports.
- **Improving trade:** value addition (garments instead of yarn), diversifying products (IT services, engineering goods, processed food) and markets (Africa, Central Asia), trade fairs and quality standards, import substitution (oilseeds, Thar coal, local refining), better ports and dry ports, and stable exchange and tariff policy.

Transport

- **Roads** carry over 90 per cent of passengers and freight. National highways include the N-5 from Karachi through Lahore and Rawalpindi to Peshawar and Torkham (the old Grand Trunk Road), the N-55 Indus Highway on the west bank from Karachi to Peshawar, the N-25 Karachi-Quetta-Chaman, the N-35 Karakoram Highway from Hasan Abdal to the Khunjerab Pass and China (1978), and the N-10 Makran Coastal Highway from Karachi to Gwadar (2004). Motorways: M-2 Lahore-Islamabad (1997), M-1 Islamabad-Peshawar (2007), M-9 Karachi-Hyderabad, and the Lahore-Multan-Sukkur sections built under CPEC. The National Highway Authority (1991) builds and maintains them. Advantages: door-to-door, flexible, cheap for short distances; disadvantages: congestion, accidents, overloading, pollution, poor rural roads and washouts in floods.
- **Railways:** built from 1861 (Karachi to Kotri); Pakistan Railways runs about 7,800 km, with the Main Line 1 from Karachi through Lahore to Peshawar, the Rohri-Quetta-Chaman and Quetta-Taftan (Iran) lines, and the Kotri-Attock line on the west bank. Carries bulk freight (wheat, cement, coal, oil) and poor passengers cheaply, but has lost traffic because of slow speeds, old track and locomotives, accidents, losses and competition from road; ML-1 upgrading is planned under CPEC.
- **Air:** Pakistan International Airlines (1955) and private airlines link the main cities and the Gulf, Europe and the Far East; international airports at Karachi (Jinnah), Lahore (Allama Iqbal), Islamabad (new airport 2018), Peshawar, Quetta, Multan, Sialkot and Faisalabad; vital for the northern areas (Gilgit, Skardu, Chitral) where roads close in winter. Fast but expensive, limited to high-value cargo, weather-dependent.
- **Water:** sea ports at Karachi (the oldest and busiest), Port Muhammad bin Qasim (1980, serving the Steel Mills and industry east of Karachi) and Gwadar (2007, deep-water port built with Chinese help on the Makran coast, the terminus of CPEC). Over 95 per cent of trade by value goes by sea. Inland water transport is negligible because rivers are shallow and seasonal and barrages block them. Pakistan National Shipping Corporation carries a small share of cargo.
- **Pipelines** carry gas from Sui to Karachi, Punjab and Peshawar and oil products from Karachi to Mahmood Kot and the north (White Oil Pipeline).
- **Problems and improvements:** an unbalanced network concentrated in the Indus Plain; poor links to Balochistan and the north; underfunded railways; congestion in cities (Karachi Green Line, Lahore Metro, Islamabad and Peshawar BRT built since 2013); the need for better freight corridors, rail-road integration, dry ports and the Gwadar-Kashgar route.

Population

- **Censuses:** 1951: 33.7 million; 1961: 42.9 million; 1972: 65.3 million; 1981: 84.3 million; 1998: 132.4 million; 2017: 207.8 million; 2023: 241.5 million. Pakistan is the fifth most populous

country, growing at about 2.5 per cent a year, which doubles the population every thirty years.

- **Vital rates** (approximate): birth rate about 28 per thousand, death rate about 7 per thousand, natural increase about 2 per cent; infant mortality about 55 per thousand live births; life expectancy about 67 years; total fertility about 3.5 children per woman.
- **Structure**: a youthful population with a broad-based pyramid, about 40 per cent under fifteen and only 4 per cent over sixty-five, so a high dependency ratio; more males than females in the count (sex ratio about 105).
- **Distribution and density**: average density about 260 per km² (2017) but very uneven: Punjab holds about 53 per cent of the people on 26 per cent of the area, Sindh 23 per cent, KP about 15 per cent, Balochistan about 6 per cent on 44 per cent of the area. Densest along the irrigated Indus Plain, Karachi, Lahore and the Peshawar valley; sparsest in the deserts, the Balochistan plateau and the high mountains. Reasons: water, fertile soil, relief, climate, jobs and transport.
- **Urbanisation**: about 37 per cent urban (2017) and rising; Karachi about 15 million, Lahore 11 million, then Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Peshawar, Multan, Hyderabad, Islamabad and Quetta. Push factors in villages (small holdings, mechanisation, floods, lack of services) and pull factors in cities (jobs, education, health, lights and entertainment). Effects: katchi abadis (squatter settlements), traffic, pollution, water and sewerage shortages, crime, loss of farmland, but also a larger market and labour force.
- **Migration**: internal from rural to urban and from north and Balochistan to Karachi and Punjab; international to the Gulf, the UK, the US and Europe, sending remittances of over 25 billion dollars a year but causing a brain drain and family separation; immigration of Afghan refugees since 1979.
- **Causes of rapid growth**: a falling death rate because of vaccination, clean water, hospitals and food supply, while the birth rate stays high because of early marriage, large families as security in old age and as farm labour, preference for sons, low female literacy and employment, limited family planning and religious and social attitudes.
- **Consequences**: pressure on food, water, land and housing; unemployment and under-employment; overcrowded schools and hospitals; low literacy (about 60 per cent, lower for women and rural Balochistan); a large young workforce that could be an asset with education and jobs.
- **Policies**: family planning programmes, Lady Health Workers (1994), female education, raising the marriage age, population welfare campaigns on radio and television, and economic development, which lowers birth rates in the long run.

Exam tip for Paper 2 evaluation questions. The last part of each question gives 6 marks for a judgement, for example "To what extent can Pakistan solve its energy shortage by building more dams?" Write one paragraph for the case for (with two or three specific examples), one for the case against (with examples), and a short conclusion that answers the question directly, naming which side outweighs the other and why. A list of points with no conclusion stays in the lower levels.

Key dates table

Date	Event	Why it is important
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1707	Death of Aurangzeb	Start of Mughal decline
1739	Nadir Shah sacks Delhi	Exposed Mughal weakness
1757	Battle of Plassey	British control of Bengal begins
1761	Third Battle of Panipat	Abdali defeats Marathas after Shah Waliullah's appeal
1831	Battle of Balakot	Death of Syed Ahmad Shaheed; Jihad Movement ends
1849	Annexation of Punjab	British rule reaches the Indus
1857	War of Independence	End of the Company and the Mughals; Muslims blamed
1867	Urdu-Hindi controversy	Sir Syed's Two-Nation Theory begins
1875	School at Aligarh founded	MAO College 1877; Aligarh Movement
1885	Indian National Congress founded	Muslims advised to stay out
1905	Partition of Bengal	Muslim-majority province; reversed 1911
1906	Simla Deputation; Muslim League founded (30 Dec)	Muslims organise politically
1909	Morley-Minto Reforms	Separate electorates granted
1916	Lucknow Pact	Congress accepts separate electorates
1919	Rowlatt Act; Amritsar massacre; Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms	Trust in Britain destroyed; diarchy
1919-1924	Khilafat Movement	Mass Muslim politics; ends with abolition of Khilafat
1927	Simon Commission appointed	No Indian members; boycott
1928	Nehru Report	Rejects Muslim demands; "parting of the ways"
1929	Jinnah's Fourteen Points	Basis of later Muslim demands
1930	Iqbal's Allahabad address	Idea of a Muslim state in the north-west
1930-1932	Round Table Conferences	No settlement; Communal Award 1932
1933	<i>Now or Never</i>	Rahmat Ali coins "Pakistan"
1935	Government of India Act	Provincial autonomy; Sind separated
1937	Provincial elections; Congress rule begins	League weak; Muslim grievances 1937-1939
23 March 1940	Lahore Resolution	Demand for separate Muslim states
1942	Cripps Mission; Quit India	Both rejected; Congress leaders jailed
1945-1946	General elections	League wins almost all Muslim seats

May 1946	Cabinet Mission Plan	Last plan for a united India fails
16 August 1946	Direct Action Day	Calcutta killings; partition becomes likely
3 June 1947	Mountbatten (3 June) Plan	Partition agreed
14 August 1947	Independence of Pakistan	Jinnah Governor-General; Liaquat Prime Minister
17 August 1947	Radcliffe Award	Gurdaspur to India; Kashmir route
October 1947	Kashmir war begins	Ceasefire 1 January 1949
11 September 1948	Death of Jinnah	Loss of the founder
12 March 1949	Objectives Resolution	Islamic basis of the constitution
16 October 1951	Liaquat Ali Khan assassinated	Instability begins
21 February 1952	Language Movement, Dhaka	Bengali recognised 1956
October 1955	One Unit	West Pakistan a single province
23 March 1956	First Constitution	Islamic Republic; parliamentary
7 October 1958	First martial law	Ayub Khan in power
1959	Basic Democracies; land reforms	Ayub's political and economic system
1960	Indus Waters Treaty	Canal water dispute settled
1962	Second Constitution	Presidential system
September 1965	War with India	Tashkent Declaration, January 1966
1966	Six Points	East Pakistan demands autonomy
25 March 1969	Ayub resigns	Yahya Khan's martial law
7 December 1970	First general election	Awami League majority not accepted
16 December 1971	Surrender at Dhaka	East Pakistan becomes Bangladesh
2 July 1972	Simla Agreement	Line of Control; prisoners returned
14 August 1973	Third Constitution in force	Still in use
February 1974	Islamic Summit, Lahore	Bangladesh recognised; Islamic world ties
5 July 1977	Zia's coup	Longest martial law; Islamisation
4 April 1979	Bhutto hanged	PPP opposition hardens
December 1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Refugees; US aid; front-line state

1985	Non-party elections; Eighth Amendment	58(2)(b); martial law lifted 30 December
17 August 1988	Zia dies in air crash	Return to elected government
December 1988	Benazir Bhutto Prime Minister	First woman PM in a Muslim country
1990	Pressler Amendment applied	US aid cut
28 May 1998	Nuclear tests at Chagai	Pakistan a nuclear power; sanctions
February 1999	Lahore Declaration	Thaw with India, broken by Kargil
12 October 1999	Musharraf's coup	End of the 1988-1999 civilian period

Quick check

Twenty questions across both papers, written in the style of the examination. Marks are shown in brackets. Attempt each before reading the answers.

1. Describe the work of Shah Waliullah. [4]
2. Why did the War of Independence of 1857 fail? [7]
3. Explain why Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress. [7]
4. Describe the Lucknow Pact of 1916. [4]
5. Why did the Khilafat Movement come to an end by 1924? [7]
6. Describe Jinnah's Fourteen Points. [4]
7. Why did Muslims object to Congress rule between 1937 and 1939? [7]
8. Why did the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 fail? [7]
9. Describe the problems Pakistan faced over the division of assets in 1947. [4]
10. Why did it take until 1956 to agree a constitution? [7]
11. Was the failure to accept the 1970 election result the most important reason for the separation of East Pakistan? Explain your answer. [14]
12. Describe Zia-ul-Haq's Islamisation measures. [4]
13. Why did no elected government complete its term between 1988 and 1999? [7]
14. Name the four doabs of the upper Indus Plain and the rivers that bound each. [4]
15. Explain why rainfall in Pakistan is low and unreliable. [4]
16. Describe the terms of the Indus Waters Treaty and the works Pakistan built as a result. [4]
17. Explain the causes and effects of waterlogging and salinity. [6]
18. State the climatic and soil requirements of cotton and name two growing areas. [4]
19. Explain why Pakistan has a persistent trade deficit. [5]
20. To what extent can hydro-electric power solve Pakistan's energy shortage? [6]

1. Shah Waliullah translated the Quran into Persian so that educated Muslims could understand it directly; he wrote books, including *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*, explaining Islam and calling for Muslims to return to its original teachings; he urged unity among the Muslim sects and criticised the un-Islamic customs that had crept into Muslim life; and he wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali asking him to

fight the Marathas, which led to the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. His sons continued his work by translating the Quran into Urdu.

2. The rising failed first because it had no common aim or leadership: the sepoys wanted the old order, the princes wanted their states, the peasants wanted relief from revenue, and the elderly Bahadur Shah Zafar could not command them, so there was no plan after the capture of Delhi. Second, it was confined mostly to the north; Punjab, Bengal, Sind and the south stayed quiet, and the Sikhs, Gurkhas and most princes (Hyderabad, Gwalior, Kashmir) actively helped the British, giving them fresh troops. Third, the British had better weapons, discipline and finance, could move troops by steamship and send orders by telegraph, and reinforcements arrived from Britain and from the China expedition. Each reason should be explained with the result it produced, such as the recapture of Delhi in September 1857 by a force from Punjab.

3. Sir Syed believed that in any Western-style democracy with one vote per person, Muslims, who were about a quarter of the population, would always be outvoted by the Hindu majority, so Congress's demand for elected councils and competitive examinations would hand power to Hindus. He also saw from the Urdu-Hindi controversy of 1867 that Hindus would not protect Muslim culture, convincing him that the two communities were separate nations. Third, Muslims were educationally backward after 1857 and would lose any open competition for jobs until education caught up; the Aligarh movement had to come first. Finally he wanted Muslims to win back British trust, which agitation against the government would destroy. He founded the United Indian Patriotic Association in 1888 to put this case.

4. At Lucknow in December 1916 the Muslim League and Congress held their sessions together and agreed a joint scheme of reforms: Congress accepted separate electorates for Muslims and weightage, giving Muslims more seats than their numbers in the minority provinces, while Muslims accepted fewer seats than their proportion in Punjab and Bengal; both demanded that no bill affecting a community should pass if three-quarters of that community's members opposed it; and both asked for more elected Indians in the councils. Jinnah, a member of both parties, negotiated it and was named the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

5. The movement ended because the Turks themselves abolished the Khilafat: Mustafa Kemal deposed the Sultan in 1922 and abolished the caliphate in March 1924, so there was nothing left to defend. Second, Gandhi had withdrawn the non-cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura killings of February 1922, removing Hindu support and leaving the Khilafat committees isolated, while the Ali brothers were in prison. Third, the Hijrat Movement of 1920 had ruined thousands of families who sold their land to migrate to Afghanistan and were turned back, discrediting the leadership. Also, the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) gave Turkey an acceptable settlement, removing the original grievance.

6. Jinnah's Fourteen Points (March 1929) were the Muslim reply to the Nehru Report. They demanded a federal constitution with residuary powers in the provinces; full provincial autonomy; one-third Muslim seats in the central legislature; separate electorates to continue unless a community chose otherwise; full religious liberty; no bill to pass if three-quarters of a community's members opposed it; Sind to be separated from Bombay; reforms in NWFP and Balochistan; an adequate Muslim share of government jobs; protection of Muslim culture, language and law; Muslim representation in cabinets; and no change to the constitution without the consent of the provinces.

7. Muslims objected because Congress ministries behaved as a Hindu government. The singing of

Bande Mataram, a song from a novel hostile to Muslims, was made compulsory in schools and assemblies, and the Congress flag flew on public buildings, which Muslims saw as the imposition of a party as the state. The Wardha Scheme of education under Gandhi's influence taught through Hindi, required spinning and reverence for Gandhi and removed religious instruction, while the Vidya Mandir Scheme in the Central Provinces threatened Muslim schools; Muslims feared their children would be Hinduised. Hindi was promoted over Urdu, cow slaughter was restricted and Muslims found it harder to obtain jobs, incidents recorded in the Pirpur Report (1938). Finally, Congress refused coalitions unless League members joined Congress, which proved to Muslims that they would have no share in power in a Hindu-majority democracy, so the Day of Deliverance in December 1939 followed.

8. The plan failed because the two parties read its grouping clause differently. The League accepted it in June 1946 because the compulsory grouping of Punjab, NWFP and Sind (Section B) and Bengal and Assam (Section C) gave the substance of Pakistan within a weak federation. Congress accepted it only in principle and Nehru declared on 10 July that Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly free to change the scheme, meaning the groups could be undone; Jinnah withdrew the League's acceptance on 29 July. Second, the plan left the Interim Government to be formed and the Viceroy first invited Congress alone, so the League felt cheated and called Direct Action Day, after which the Calcutta killings made co-operation impossible. Third, the plan itself was too complicated and relied on trust between parties that no longer trusted each other.

9. Pakistan was to receive 17.5 per cent of the undivided government's financial assets, 750 million out of 4,000 million rupees, but India paid only 200 million at first and withheld the rest in case it was used in Kashmir, releasing it only after Gandhi's fast in January 1948. Pakistan was to receive about one-third of the military stores, but most never arrived or arrived useless, and it inherited no ordnance factory (all sixteen were in India). Office equipment, files and even furniture had to be divided and much was lost; government records in Delhi were not transferred. The armed forces were split, leaving Pakistan with few senior officers, so British officers stayed on.

10. The first difficulty was representation between the wings: East Pakistan had more people and wanted seats by population, while the West wanted parity; the Basic Principles Committee reports of 1950 and 1952 were rejected, and the problem was only resolved by parity in the 1956 Constitution. Second, there was disagreement over the role of Islam, between the ulema who wanted an Islamic state and modernists who wanted a secular democracy; the Objectives Resolution of 1949 was a compromise that still had to be worked out. Third, the language question, Urdu or Bengali, divided the Assembly after 1952. Fourth, political instability: Jinnah died in 1948, Liaquat was assassinated in 1951, Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin in 1953 and dissolved the Constituent Assembly in 1954, a decision the Federal Court upheld, so a new assembly had to start again, and the provinces were merged into One Unit in 1955 before the constitution could be completed.

11. A full answer discusses the refusal to honour the 1970 election and the other causes, then judges. The election was decisive in the short term: the Awami League won 160 of 162 East Pakistan seats and an absolute majority, but Bhutto refused to accept a Six-Point constitution and Yahya postponed the Assembly, which convinced Bengalis that they could never gain power through the ballot; the military action of 25 March 1971 then turned a political crisis into a war. But the election result only mattered because of long-standing grievances: the language decision of 1948 and the deaths of 1952; economic disparity, with East Pakistan's jute earning the foreign

exchange while development spending, industry and the capital went to the West; political under-representation, with One Unit and parity cancelling the eastern majority and Bengalis few in the army and civil service; the distance of 1,600 km across India; and the Six Points of 1966 and the Agartala case, which made Mujib the leader of a separate nation. Indian intervention in December 1971 made separation certain and swift. Conclusion: the election crisis was the trigger, but the underlying cause was the West's refusal over twenty-three years to share power and wealth with the larger wing; without that, the election would have produced a government, not a war.

12. Zia introduced the Hudood Ordinances (1979) with Islamic punishments for theft, adultery, false accusation and drinking; the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance (1980) deducting 2.5 per cent zakat from savings accounts annually and ushr on farm produce; the Federal Shariat Court (1980) to test laws against Islam; profit-and-loss sharing accounts to replace bank interest (1981); the Ehtram-e-Ramadan Ordinance; the Law of Evidence (1984); compulsory prayer breaks and Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies in schools; and a nominated Majlis-e-Shoora in 1981.

13. First, Article 58(2)(b) inserted by the Eighth Amendment allowed the president to dissolve the National Assembly on his own judgement, and it was used against Benazir Bhutto in 1990 and 1996 and Nawaz Sharif in 1993 on charges of corruption and misrule. Second, each government faced a hostile president or a hostile army chief and spent its energy on confrontation: Benazir against Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Punjab government, Nawaz against Ishaq Khan in 1993 and later against the Chief Justice, President Leghari and finally General Musharraf, whom he tried to dismiss in October 1999. Third, corruption, ethnic violence in Sindh, weak economies and small majorities gave presidents and opponents grounds to act and left governments without public defence. Even after the Thirteenth Amendment removed 58(2)(b) in 1997, the Kargil conflict and the quarrel with the army ended the last government by a coup.

14. Bari doab between the Ravi and the Sutlej (with the Beas); Rechna doab between the Ravi and the Chenab; Chaj doab between the Chenab and the Jhelum; Sindh Sagar doab between the Jhelum-Chenab and the Indus, containing the Thal desert.

15. Pakistan lies in the sub-tropical high-pressure belt where descending air is dry, so most of the country is arid. The monsoon arrives from the Bay of Bengal only after crossing India, so it reaches Punjab and the north weakened and barely reaches Sindh and Balochistan; its timing and strength vary from year to year, so rainfall is unreliable. Western depressions bring winter rain to the north and west but are also irregular. The mountains of Balochistan and the Himalaya create rain shadows, and the Arabian Sea branch of the monsoon passes along the coast without rising, giving Karachi little rain.

16. Under the 1960 treaty, signed by Ayub Khan and Nehru with the World Bank, India received the exclusive use of the eastern rivers, the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, and Pakistan the western rivers, the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, with a transition period and funds from India and donor countries. To replace the water lost from the eastern rivers Pakistan built the Mangla Dam on the Jhelum (1967) and the Tarbela Dam on the Indus (1976), new barrages such as Chashma, and eight link canals including the Chashma-Jhelum, Rasul-Qadirabad, Qadirabad-Balloki and Balloki-Sulemanki, which carry water from the western rivers to the canals of the eastern rivers.

17. Causes: seepage from unlined canals and over-irrigation raise the water table until it reaches the root zone (waterlogging); in a hot dry climate the water evaporates from the surface, leaving the salts it carried as a white crust (salinity); poor drainage on flat land and the blocking of natural drainage by canals, roads and railways make it worse. Effects: crops drown or cannot take up

water from salty soil, so yields fall and land goes out of use (about a fifth of irrigated land is affected); farmers lose income and migrate; buildings and roads are damaged; and mosquitoes breed. Remedies include SCARP tube wells that pump out and lower the water table, lined canals, surface and tile drains, eucalyptus planting, gypsum treatment and salt-tolerant crops.

18. Cotton needs temperatures of 25-35 °C, a frost-free period of about 200 days, moderate water of 500-1,000 mm supplied largely by irrigation since it is a kharif crop grown in the hot season, dry sunny weather during picking in October to December because rain damages the bolls, and light, well-drained sandy loam. Growing areas: southern Punjab around Multan, Bahawalpur, Vehari and Rahim Yar Khan, and Sindh around Sanghar, Nawabshah and Mirpur Khas.

19. Pakistan's exports are concentrated in a narrow range of low-value goods, mainly cotton yarn and cloth, rice and leather, whose prices are low and compete with cheaper producers, while imports are high-value items it cannot make, above all petroleum (the largest import), machinery and chemicals. Rising population and incomes increase demand for imported edible oil, tea, vehicles and consumer goods. Power shortages, old machinery and high costs make exports uncompetitive and quality uneven, and exports go to a few markets so that recessions there hurt. Smuggling and under-invoicing reduce recorded exports. Remittances cover part of the gap but the deficit in goods remains.

20. For: Pakistan has large untapped hydro potential in the northern rivers, estimated at tens of thousands of megawatts, and existing plants such as Tarbela, Mangla and Ghazi-Barotha supply cheap, clean power without imported fuel; new projects such as Neelum-Jhelum, Diamer-Bhasha and Dasu would add thousands of megawatts, and dams also store water for irrigation and control floods. Against: dams take ten to fifteen years and billions of dollars to build, displace people and drown land, silt up so that storage falls, generate much less in winter and drought when demand is high, lie far from the southern markets so transmission losses are high, and raise inter-provincial disputes, as Kalabagh shows. Conclusion: hydro-electricity can be a large part of the answer in the long term and should be expanded, but it cannot solve the shortage alone or quickly; Thar coal, renewables, reducing transmission losses and energy conservation are needed alongside it, so the extent is "considerable but not complete".