

# Curriculum and History: Reflections on the Pakistan Studies Text Books Taught in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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## Abstract

Though history as a discipline and historical instances are used for different agendas since centuries, it provided new grounds to 'nation building' after the emergence of Nation State in the previous colonies during the 20th century. The academicians and writers started writing and interpreting history to serve 'national interests' and promote 'national sense'. Each State tried to sort out common features in the different ethnic and social groups living in that political boundary. The creation of Pakistan in August 1947 was a sort of unique experience when Islam was used as a common factor to unite heterogeneous ethnic entities. The ideological fathers, with the colonial legacy of identity crisis tried to promote common features for the Pakistani Nation. For this purpose, the new state managers formed different commissions which provided guidelines for textbooks writing. The successive governments followed the policy which developed 'historical content' in all textbooks for 'constructing image' of different individuals, institutions and creeds. This 'insertion' in textbooks might have some positive impact in promoting 'Pakistani nation' but the process culminated in alienation of multiple ethnicities on one hand and use of historical accounts as a propaganda tool on the other hand. The present paper is an attempt to scrutinize the historical content in the textbooks of Pakistan Studies taught at secondary level in public schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The scrutiny would be dealing with two aspects: a) need; b) credibility of the material; c) presentation. The paper would cover textbooks for grade 9 and 10, published by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa textbook board.

**Keywords:** Textbook, History, Pakistan Movement, Constitution, Bangladesh

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## INTRODUCTION

History as a separate discipline is recognized but it was not always the case. The present form of history is quite new, mainly developed in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the influence of seventeenth century writings of the philosophers. Previously history was branch of grammar in the medieval Trivium and Quadrivium of the Carolingian Palace School.<sup>1</sup> However, the main focus of history remained politics. John Seeley has attributed the subject to, 'History is past politics; and politics present history'. Seeley was a keen partisan of the Victorian British Imperialism which was common among European intellectuals, mainly emphasized on nation-state. The main objective of this assertion was to teach to the 'elite class' the art of statecraft.<sup>2</sup>

The emergence of nation states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries granted significant place to historicism in nation building. The growing relationship of nation states with the formation of national histories, by the time, came to be seen as the only form of historical studies in academia, which undermine the broader scope of the subject on one hand and upset the natural flow of historical process on the other. The judgmental and teleological nature of national histories, undoubtedly, limited the due scope of historical studies; however, any criticism against the proposed form of national history has been seen as an unpatriotic act on the part of a historiographer or critique. With the new trend in politics and governance, the professional historians all over the world have been employed and financed by the respective states through certain institutions with the task to formulate 'national narrative' focused on the formulation and preservation of a distinct national identity. History has been seen as an intellectual tool in the hands of policy makers in the Western world and non-Western corners alike.<sup>3</sup>

With the emergence of 'nation-state' in Asia and Africa, the need of the writing new 'national history' was felt. For this purpose, almost, every nation-state formed commissions and appointed academicians to write the required historical narrative. In this regards, in Pakistan, the first National Education Conference was held in 1947. In 1951, a conference for Educational Development was held to adopt the first National Plan of Educational Development (1951-57).<sup>4</sup> Report of the Commission on National Education 1959 changed the entire outlook of education in two aspects; it launched attack on the welfare concept of education and it mandated the creation of Text Book Boards with the duty to reflect the government policies in the text books.<sup>5</sup>

The matter of politicizing curricula and its role in the development of a particular mind set has been discussed by authors from different perspectives. Aziz has thoroughly highlighted the distortion and omission of historical facts by the political elites to make history aligned with their ideological construes.<sup>6</sup> Ali asserts that ideology restricts the scope of thinking; it limits people to acquire knowledge from venues other than known to them which affects their ability to

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<sup>1</sup> Donald V. Gawronski, *History: Meaning and Method* (Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Steven Fielding, *Political History*. URL:

[http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/political\\_history.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/political_history.html) accessed on 20.01.2022.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Curthoys & Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective*. Australia: ANU E Press, 2005), p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.sheir.org/education-development-in-pakistan.html> accessed on 20.01.2022.

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the Commission on National Education*, (Karachi: Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, 1959), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan*. (Karachi: Vanguard Books Pvt., Ltd., 1993).

understand the changes occurs around the globe. Textbook as a primary source, if defected, would obstruct their way towards universal trends in knowledge, as to Ali, “defective textbooks create a defective mind-set”.<sup>7</sup>

Mahboob talks of the use of English language as a propaganda tool in Pakistani school English textbook. The purpose of teaching and learning of a language as a component of curricula aims at the familiarity of pupils with the basic rules of grammar and the relevant literature. The syllabi revolve around the content that enhances learner ability to express his point of view in an appropriate way by utilizing grammatical and linguistic techniques of the language. It in fact polishes student’s communication and writing skills. However, according to Mahboob, language in Pakistan’s education system has been using as a way to create like-minded people believing in a particular line of thinking. This violates the basic discursive practices of a language and greatly affects student’s ability of creative discourse development. This tradition not only restricts student creative skills but it obstructs him to learn certain semiotic tools which could enabled him to get connected with the wide range global language traditions. Moreover, the use of certain genre of a language, for instance, the biographical text has been using not as a mode of expression and learning the targeted lexico-grammatical rules but as a tool to glorify and demonizing a personality. Mahboob refers to the turning of curriculum as a mind making instrument under the religio cum military rule of General Zia-ul-Haq. He opines that this and alike policies led to the emergence of fundamentalist mind set in the country. He asserts as, “if we are serious about changing the current social, economic, and political conditions in Pakistan and about making it a more tolerant society which values and contributes to global knowledge construction, then textbook boards need to carry out a thorough revision of the educational curriculum and rewrite the textbooks and the tests used in the country”.<sup>8</sup>

Zaidi’s critique of using history content in the Social Studies books in Pakistani curricula brought our attention in a more convincing way to the growing extremist tendencies in the country. To him, twisting historical facts for statist agendas although seems beneficial but it gradually and unnoticeably encourages separatist forces on the other hand to peep into the social fabric of Pakistan and create division among different groups by making them think in terms of their individual identities rather than national identity.<sup>9</sup> Durrani and Dunne identify the use of Islam in Pakistani curricula for the construction of a nation building identity. The authors discuss that textbooks at primary level are designed in pattern that bridge up the gaps between various ethnic groups and create a sense of oneness and sameness among them. However, this led to certain unintended consequences as besides ethnic diversity, Pakistani society is fabricated in a diversified religious tone which needs a more insightful approach to be dealt with. The current dominating role of religion upsets the broader concept of nation building as the focused role of Islam to bring ethnic diversity under a single garb ignores Pakistanis other than Muslims which led to emergence of the concept of ‘we’ (Muslims) and others (Non-Muslims). This trend largely

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<sup>7</sup> Mubarak Ali, ‘Lies and Half-Truths,’ *Daily Dawn*. URL: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1236137>.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmar Mahboob, “The Power of Language in Textbooks: Shaping Futures, Shaping Identities.” *Asian Englishes*, 19/3:259–272. 2017 URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13488678.2017.1341080?needAccess=true> accessed on 23.01.2022.

<sup>9</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, “Polarisation of Social Studies Textbooks in Pakistan.” *The Curriculum Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 43–59. 2011 URL: <https://berajournals.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/09585176.2011.550770> accessed on 24.1.2022.

effects social cohesion and tolerance among citizens which results in social polarization and societal violence.<sup>10</sup> Jalal is critical of the swirling facets of subjectivity and objectivity in evolving memory and imagination of Pakistan's national identity. History, to her, sacrifices history at the altar of nation building by political leadership, the military the civilian, the secular the orthodox, in their respective turns.<sup>11</sup> Another argument came from Nayyar and Salim on Pakistani curricula criticizes the omissions and distortion of factual content by policy makers in the name of nation building as well as the religiously insensitive tone of the text. The authors' approach of over emphasizing on Islamic content in books of different subjects is quite convincing of the exclusion of non-Muslim Pakistanis from an equal identity of being 'Pakistanis'.<sup>12</sup> Saigol while talking of the significant role of social science subjects in nation building evaluates certain weaknesses of the content and asks for an unbiased and broader view of contextualization of facts for the better and balanced intellectual growth of minds.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the need and values of historicizing the world we live in through textbooks has been critically evaluated by our neighbouring historians such as Romila Thappar<sup>14</sup> and Neeladri Bhattacharya.<sup>15</sup> The English historian Pat Thane emphasizing the significance of history for a better policy making in contemporary administration.<sup>16</sup>

The present study has attempted to discuss Pakistan Studies for grade 9 and 10, published by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Text Book Board and has been taught since 2018-19 with multiple reprints in following years. The questions set for study were: 1. Whether the historical content was needed? 2. Whether the content is credible? 3. Whether the presentation is adequate?

Chapter 1 starts with Ideological Bases of Pakistan. It runs, 'It was at the same time a religious, political and economic ideology'.<sup>17</sup> This assertion is contrary to previous content which was focused on religion and undermined other factors. No doubt the majority of common people who

<sup>10</sup> Naureen Durrani & Máiréad Dunne, "Curriculum and National Identity: Exploring the Links between Religion and Nation in Pakistan." *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42/2: 215-240. 2010 URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00220270903312208?needAccess=true> Accessed on 23.1.2022.

<sup>11</sup> Ayesha Jalal, "Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagining." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27/1: 73-89. 1995 URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/231788451\\_Conjuring\\_Pakistan\\_History\\_as\\_Official\\_Imagining/link/5dc8527c4585151435006b76/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/231788451_Conjuring_Pakistan_History_as_Official_Imagining/link/5dc8527c4585151435006b76/download) Accessed on 24.1.2022.

<sup>12</sup> A. H. Nayyar & Ahmad Salim, *The Subtle Subversion The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan: Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics*. (Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute, 2002) URL: <https://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/05/The-Subtle-Subversion.pdf>. Accessed on 24.1.2022.

<sup>13</sup> Rubina Saigal, "Enemies Within and Enemies Without: The Besieged Self in Pakistani Textbooks". *Futures*, 37: 1005-1035. 2005 URL: <https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S0016328705000194?token=F2E03A9AA9F254261394856EC3EFFB8D775D3C730A74FC57F97C64BD37656039DB65B3C98BCB00501F16D4CBA927426A&originRegion=eu-west-1&originCreation=20220424062126> Accessed on 24.1.2022.

<sup>14</sup> Romila Thapar, "The History Debate and School Textbooks in India: a Personal Memoir". *History Workshop Journal*, 67/1: 87-98. 2009 URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31180888\\_The\\_History\\_Debate\\_and\\_School\\_Textbooks\\_in\\_India\\_a\\_Personal\\_Memoir](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31180888_The_History_Debate_and_School_Textbooks_in_India_a_Personal_Memoir) Accessed on 15-1-2022.

<sup>15</sup> Neeladri Bhattacharya, "Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India". *History Workshop Journal*, 67/1: 99-110. 2009 URL: <https://academic.oup.com/hwj/issue/67/1>. Accessed on 15.1.2022.

<sup>16</sup> Pat Thane, "History and Policy". *History Workshop Journal*, 67/1: 140-145. 2009 URL: <https://academic.oup.com/hwj/issue/67/1>. Accessed on 15-1-2022.

<sup>17</sup> Fazl Raheem Marwat, Abdul Rauf, Javed Iqbal & Shaista Dilawar, *Pakistan Studies Grade 9* (Peshawar: Khyber Pakhtukhwa Text Book Board, 2021), p. 2.

supported creation of separate state were attracted with religious slogan but the majority of the leadership was envisioning social, political and economic issues. It further asserts, ‘...politically ideology of Pakistan was aimed at saving the South Asian Muslims from the Hindu dominance while economically it aimed at ending of economic exploitation and provision of equal opportunities of progress to all citizens’.<sup>18</sup> It was not possible to ‘save the South Asian Muslims’ from Hindu dominance. According to the Indian Census 2011, the Muslims in India were more than 172 million.<sup>19</sup> Accepting claim of liberating South Asian Muslims would mean that millions of Muslims were not saved as claimed in the textbook. The ideology of Pakistan teaches ‘unlike western Nationalism, the basis of Pakistani nationality is *Kalma Tawheed*—word of unification of oneness of God, instead of ethnicity and land’.<sup>20</sup> This type of assertion not only undermines the International Laws on Nationhood and Nationality but also gives ways to different actors from across the globe to come and claim Pakistani Nationality on the bases of Islam. Furthermore, it gives way to different State and Non-State actors to mobilize the masses in support of non-Pakistani Muslims. Moreover, it poses a serious threat to the non-Muslim Pakistanis.<sup>21</sup>

The formation of All India Muslim League (AIML) is discussed without even slightly mentioning its objectives. The textbook, in a single sentence, asserts as ‘from 1906 to 1928, Muslim League served Indian Muslims’ interests according to the Two Nation Theory’.<sup>22</sup> We understand that the students at this level should know the initial objectives of Muslim League, alteration in its objectives in 1913, its compromise with Indian National Congress under Lucknow pact in 1916, its division in two halves under Jinnah League and Shafi League and alike.

The initial objectives of AIML were: a) to inculcate among the Muslims of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures. b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government. c) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.<sup>23</sup> In 1913, the collaborationist phrases were wiped out from the first two objectives of the Muslim League and another clause was added stating ‘goal of the Muslim League was defined as attainment of ‘suitable’ form of self-government within the British Empire’.<sup>24</sup>

The previous errors related to Lahore Resolution 1940 are corrected in the edition under review. It has been clearly stated that Lahore Resolution was presented on 23rd March and passed on 24th March. The speeches of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal and M. A. Jinnah are also

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-01.html> accessed on 25.12.2021.

<sup>20</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Principal author’s Focus Group Discussion with Sikh Community at Mingawara, Swat, dated 16.8.2014.

<sup>22</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Nadeem Shafiq Malik, “Formation of the All India Muslim League and its Response to some Foreign Issues – 1906 – 1911.” *Journal of Political Studies*, 19/2: 2012; 179-186.

<sup>24</sup> S. N. Sen, *History: Modern India*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited Publishers, 2006), p. 157.



given in a form which many historical accounts suggest.<sup>25</sup> An extract from the Iqbal's presidential address 1930 is noted as an instance:

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.<sup>26</sup>

The portions discussing Pakistan Movement is detailed and more objectively written with slight factual errors. It states, "Muslim League won all reserved seats for Muslims in Central Legislative Assembly in the 1945-46 elections while it secured 454 Muslim reserved seats out of 492 in provincial assemblies".<sup>27</sup> A source suggests 'out of 495 reserved seats for Muslims, Muslim League obtained 440'<sup>28</sup> and Muslim League won '439 seats out of 494 Muslim seats in Provincial Assemblies'.<sup>29</sup>

The meeting of elected Members on Muslim League ticket was held in Delhi in 1946. Hussain Shaheed Sohravardi presented a resolution, 'a sovereign and independent state Pakistan was demanded, consisting of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Balochistan and Sindh in the North-West and Assam and Bengal in North-East'.<sup>30</sup> It would be appropriate if referred to an amendment in Lahore Resolution by replacing States with State. Another sentence could be more relevant to refer whether the constitution of AIML allowed the elected members to amend a resolution passed by AIML General Body? The Cabinet Mission plan and its aftermath is discussed in an objective manner with some feelings of dislike towards Hindu while discussing the working of Finance Ministry under Liaquat Ali Khan in the interim set up. It states, '...tax was levied on factory owners and proposed an investigative commission for tax evading.... Hindu factory owners complained to the Congress against tax imposition as they were providing money to it.... Congress could not oppose budget because it could expose its traditional claims'.<sup>31</sup> The assertion suggests as only Hindu wealthy class was tax evaders and all Muslims were paying taxes. Moreover, it does not suggest if any tax was imposed upon *jagirdars*, a major portion of AIML leadership belonged to the class.

While referring to partition of India, an interesting assertion has been made: '...Kolkata, the capital of Bengal was handed over to India. Muslim League had demanded that referendum should be held in Kolkata because it was hoping that the downtrodden Hindus would also vote for Pakistan along with Muslim minority'.<sup>32</sup> The contention of the textbook reflects a serious contradiction in Muslim League demands as it was working for separate homeland of Muslims on religious grounds instead of economic slogan. The referendum in North-West Frontier Province is referred<sup>33</sup> but without any mention of the boycott of the Khudai Khidmatgars. It is

<sup>25</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 9-12.

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt\\_iqbal\\_1930.html](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_iqbal_1930.html) accessed on 9.12.2021.

<sup>27</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *State, Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asia* (London: Pinter, 1998), p. 91.

<sup>29</sup> Judith E. Walsh, *A Brief History of India* (New York: An Imprint of Infobase Publishing, 2006), p. 201.

<sup>30</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28-29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

stated that Pakistan was created on 14 August 1947,<sup>34</sup> though technically it is wrong as the Crown was the sovereign of United India till the end this date.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that previously 14 August 1947 was usually corresponded with 27 Ramadhan, but in this edition only Gregorian calendar is referred. Sources reveal that 15 August 1947 corresponds 27 Ramadhan 1366 A.H.<sup>36</sup> In the English version of *Pakistan Studies* 9, the spelling of Mountbatten is written as Mount Batton.<sup>37</sup> There are some technical and factual errors on the discussion on British Plan of partition. It is written, 'the future of K. P. would be decided by voters of the Province through referendum that they want to join Pakistan or India'.<sup>38</sup> It is pertinent to note that it was named as North-West Frontier Province, not K. P. that time. Further, 'The decision of Balochistan will be made by Shahi Jarga and members of Municipal Committee Quetta'.<sup>39</sup> While discussing the fate of Balochistan, the official document narrates 'the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Balochistan'.<sup>40</sup> One can easily understand that there is neither a slight indication to Shahi Jarga nor Kalat State.

While dealing with history of Pakistan, chapter 4 entitled History of Pakistan, the content discusses the initial problems. It refers to the Hindu-Muslim riots and shifting of huge population. The content is balanced as it discusses the migration of Muslims to Pakistan and that of Hindus and Sikhs to India.<sup>41</sup> Dealing with first year of Pakistan M. A. Jinnah was Governor General, a generic view is presented. However a single sentence could be added about Dr. Khan Sahib removal from Premiership of N-W.F.P and military action against Baloch. Accession of the States is dealt in a simple way, stating, 'under this principle Bahawalpur, Makran, Kalat and States of K. P. Province accessed to Pakistan. In addition, the states of Junagarh and Manawader decided accession to Pakistan. But Indian Government in November 1948 entered her forces in these states and took it over by force....The Indian Government gave reason that the people of these states wanted to join India.' We understand that there are some factual errors and subjective presentation. Many of the States acceded to Pakistan for a variety of reasons but in regard to Kalat State, there are manifold fabrication in the contention of textbook and Pakistan's State narrative. M. A. Jinnah had recognized Kalat State as an independent and sovereign State but that has not been slightly referred. There was a series of meetings between Viceroy, M. A. Jinnah and Khan of Kalat, resulted in a communiqué on 11 August 1947 which runs:

- a) The Government of Pakistan recognizes Kalat as an independent sovereign state in treaty with the British with a Status different from that of Indian States.
- b) Legal opinion will be sought as to whether or not agreement of leases will be inherited by the Pakistan Government.
- c) Meanwhile, a Standstill Agreement has been made between Pakistan and Kalat.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> *The Daily Dawn* Delhi, 15.08.1947.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> *Indian Independence Act 1947*, URL: [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga\\_19470030\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga_19470030_en.pdf) accessed on 25.11.2015.

<sup>41</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 63.

- d) Discussion will take place between Pakistan and Kalat at Karachi at an early date with a view to reaching decisions on Defense, External Affairs and Communications.<sup>42</sup>

The details of such development may not be needed but at least there could be some reference to the issues between Kalat State and Pakistan for the proper understanding of the issues in today's Balochistan.

There are certain issues related to the discussion on Kashmir issue. The textbook contends:

Maharaja Hari Singh signed a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan but India refused such an agreement and freedom movement was started in Kashmir which the Maharaja failed to crush and sought the aid from India. The British Governor General of India on the request of Maharaja sent Army to Srinagar but this was cleared that the future of the state will be decided by the people of the state. On 22nd October 1947, people from tribal areas adjacent to frontier province reached Kashmir to help the Kashmiris. On First November Quaid-e-Azam held talks with Mountbatten but failed. In the meantime the Indian Government took military possession in the State, in order to maintain the possession; the Indian Government herself brought the issue to Security Council.<sup>43</sup>

The contention reveals certain subjective and erroneous conclusions. The Maharaja had signed Standstill agreement with Pakistan but India, in fact, did not refuse, rather India asked for further discussion on the matter. According to the reply from Government of India, it contends, 'Government of India would be glad if you or some other Minister duly authorized in this behalf could fly to Delhi for negotiating Standstill Agreement between Kashmir Government and India dominion'.<sup>44</sup> The question of what was the perceived planning of India behind the demand 'asking for more time to come to an agreement,' is something else that involves a separate discussion and can be analysed critically. But here, keeping in view the value of making judgment on the basis of available evidences, the argument cannot be interpreted as refusal. Such interpretations are not justifiable in the realm of historical study, which grounds on a rationally objective approach of investigation.

The text also gives an impression that freedom fight against Maharaja Hari Singh in Kashmir was started in the backdrop of the 'Indian refusal' to sign the Standstill Agreement. It was, in fact, earlier Hari Singh's declaration of his State's accession to India that the Kashmiris, in different areas, raised in revolt against the Maharaja for certain reasons. One reference in this connection could be made about the decision taken by All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference on July 19, 1947 in the backdrop of an anti-Maharaja agitation in the locale of Damni against Dogra forces attack on the houses of Sardar Chaman Khan and Sardar Gulab Khan on May 29, 1947 on the pretext that shelter had been given to the spies by the leaders in their houses. Both of the leaders were arrested and tortured which enraged the people. It was in

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<sup>42</sup> Yogeena Veena, How Balochistan Became a Part of Pakistan – A Historical Perspective, *The Nation*, 5.12.2015. URL: <https://www.nation.com.pk/05-Dec-2015/how-balochistan-became-a-part-of-pakistan-a-historical-perspective> accessed on 12.01.2021.

<sup>43</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 69.

<sup>44</sup> Udayanan B. "Bilateral Relations as A Factor Hampering Regional Co-operation in South Asia." (PhD diss., Mahatma Gandhi University, 2005), p. 266. URL: [https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/6534/15/15\\_appendix.pdf](https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/6534/15/15_appendix.pdf) accessed on 13.1.2021.



such circumstances that Sardar Ibrahim called upon a meeting on June 1, 1947, in which such inhumane acts of the Dogra forces were severely criticized on one hand and announced their willingness to accede the Kashmir State to Pakistan on the other. The formal declaration regarding their decision of accession was issued by All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference on July 19, 1947 during a meeting held at the residence of Sardar Ibrahim.<sup>45</sup>

Soon after the partition of British-India into independent states on 15 August 1947, another public revolt took place in the semi-autonomous jagir of Poonch area of the western Jammu Province, where an anti-Maharaja uprising took place against the imposition of heavy taxes in the region. Muslims in the neighbouring Mirpur District joined the agitation with the Poonchis. They were in favour to join Pakistan. Situation in the Jammu Province deteriorated with the eruption of inter-religious riots between the pro-India Hindus and Sikhs and the pro-Pakistan Muslims, dominated in the eastern and western parts of the Province respectively, in September-October 1947. People from both sides suffered through death, demolition and dislodgment, but Muslims, who were in minority in the eastern parts of the Province, suffered more. Furthermore, the declaration of the formation of the Provincial State of Azad (Free) Jammu and Kashmir, in the western regions of Jammu Province and Kashmir Province, on 24 October 1947, worsened the political and social scenario in Kashmir.<sup>46</sup>

Another thing that grasps reader's attention but left him in confusion is the reference made to the two leading political parties of the Valley i.e. All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference led by Sardar Ibrahim and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah. It is stated that 'the people of Kashmir were divided into two political groups'. The statement further quoted name and leadership of the two parties.<sup>47</sup> But no contextual connection of the statement was made to the discussion over Kashmir State affiliation issue and the political standpoint of the two parties regarding their decision in respect to join India, Pakistan or opt for independent status.<sup>48</sup> The political affiliations of the Kashmiri leaders, Sheikh Abdullah under the influence of his close friend, Nehru<sup>49</sup> had an inclination towards Congress but he did not vote to join India, rather he demanded first for a transfer of power to the people and that the accession question could be entertained later. Sardar Ibrahim and his Muslim Conference advocated for accession to Pakistan.<sup>50</sup> Sardar Ibrahim approached Pakistani leadership and tried through Mian Amir-ud-Din and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to have an access to Jinnah in this connection.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Huma Anwar Kiani, "*Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim: A Political Biography (1940-2003)*." (Ph. D Thesis, Department of History, Islamic International University, Islamabad, 2011), p. 99-100. Henceforth Kiani, *Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim*.

<sup>46</sup> Christopher Snedden, "Azad Kashmir: Integral to India, Integrated to Pakistan, Lacking Integrity as an Autonomous Entity" in *Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation* ed. Chitralkha Zutshi (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 113-114.

<sup>47</sup> Marwat et al., *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 79.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Whitehead, "The Rise and Fall of New Kashmir" in *Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation* ed. Chitralkha Zutshi (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 80. Henceforth Whitehead, *The Rise and Fall of New Kashmir*.

<sup>49</sup> M. Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* (Lahore: Caravan Book House, 2009), p. 488-89. Henceforth Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*.

<sup>50</sup> Whitehead, *The Rise and Fall of New Kashmir*, p. 80-81.

<sup>51</sup> Kiani, *Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim*, p. 80.

Though details of such issues may not be adjustable at the moment, keeping in view the limitation of space and required range of knowledge for grade 9 students but a slight reference to the standpoint of both of the political parties in respect to the affiliation matter could be helpful for the students to develop an objective and comprehensive understanding of the ongoing discussion.

The portion discussing the constitutional development begins with ‘the Objectives Resolution 1949’, its clauses and importance for the further constitutional development in Pakistan.<sup>52</sup> As a matter of fact, the process of constitution making had started before 1949, with the adoption of the Government of India Act 1935 with certain amendments as the working constitution of Pakistan under the Indian Independence Act 1947 to run machinery of the state.<sup>53</sup> Such an approach left a question mark on the time period between 1947 and 1949 on the constitutional status of the state. In absence of the preceding constitutional developments, the Objectives Resolution seems as the first step towards constitution making. For a better conceptual understanding, it would be more appropriate to begin the discussion on constitution making with a reference to the Indian Independence Act 1947 and adoption of the amended Government of India Act 1935 under Section 8 of the said Act.<sup>54</sup> The discussion should be preceded with the commencement of the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly held at Karachi on 10-14 August 1947, chaired by J. N. Mandal, a member of the minority community,<sup>55</sup> empowered with two major tasks of preparing a Constitution for the country as well as to act as the Federal Legislative Assembly of Pakistan until such time that a formal Constitution came into effect. The next phase was the setting up of certain committees and sub-committees by the Constituent Assembly to carry out its task of framing different sections of the future Constitution.<sup>56</sup> Amongst these committees, one was the Basic Principles Committee appointed on 12 March 1949, the day the Objectives Resolution was passed by the Constituent Assembly, entrusted with the task to work on the guiding principles and fundamental rules and regulations for the Constitution making experts, working on different parts of the draft, to determine those principles on which the future constitution was to be based.<sup>57</sup>

While discussing the political developments that led to the implementation of the first formal constitution of the state on 23 March 1956, certain statements need to be dealt with an analytical manner. The textbook asserts:

... later on the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad replaced Khwaja Nazimuddin by Muhammad Ali Bogra as the new Prime Minister. The New Prime Minister presented a new formula, known as ‘Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula’ within six months of his appointment. It was acceptable for both the West and East Pakistan but in the meanwhile the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad, in order to strengthen his position, dissolved the Constituent Assembly.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 80-81.

<sup>53</sup> Hamid khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 50. Henceforth Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*.

<sup>54</sup> Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*. p. 117.

<sup>55</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 51.

<sup>56</sup> Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*. P. 117.

<sup>57</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 51-52.

<sup>58</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 81-82.

The role played by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad during this period needs to be dealt in critical manner for he was responsible for certain political ups and downs. The questions of the removal of Khwaja Nazimuddin and the dramatic dissolution of the Constituent Assembly which, after a long struggle of constitution making, came up with an agreed draft, necessitates to be answered logically. Such acts on the part of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad put the country in a series of legal disputes and a period of constitutional chaos and confusion.

Ghulam Muhammad was a self-centred person. The Constituent Assembly invited his annoyance when it passed a bill on 20 September 1954 to repeal the 1948-49 Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act (PRODA), which gave authority to the Government to expose the maladministration of the corrupt politicians and officials and to give them punishments if proved guilty of any misuse of their power and position. Secondly, another bill passed by the Constituent Assembly was supposed to scrap Sections 9, 10, 10-A, 10-B of the Government of India Act 1935. These Sections had empowered the Governor General to dismiss the government. These amendments aimed to curb the uncontrolled power of the Governor General and to avoid any undemocratic step like previous one when Ghulam Muhammad had dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin's cabinet in April 1953, just because his Government was not favourite of the Governor General.<sup>59</sup> To save his position, Ghulam Muhammad abruptly issued a proclamation declaring a state of emergency throughout the country and dissolved the Assembly on 24 October 1954.<sup>60</sup> His next step was even more unsympathetic when he instructed Muhammad Ali Bogra to constitute a Cabinet without the benefit of parliament to resume the constitution making task.<sup>61</sup> The new Constituent Assembly started its work with some unexpected faces as Major-General Iskandar Mirza and General Muhammad Ayub Khan besides Dr. Khan Sahib. This actually paved the way for military interference into the civilian sphere of rule and the end of civil supremacy over military power.<sup>62</sup> A little bit reference to the above mentioned details in the textbook would have fruitful impact in understanding the background in which military found its way into the civil administration of the country.

While dealing with the 1956 Constitution, no reference was made to the details of Articles, Parts and Schedules of the Constitution,<sup>63</sup> which were in fact pre-requisites of the constitution. The 1956 Constitution contained 234 Articles, divided into 13 Parts and 6 Schedules.<sup>64</sup> Another attention-grabbing thing is the heading, 'The Islamic Provisions and Characteristics of the 1956 Constitution', that gives an impression that the subsequent debate is going to deal with the Islamic provisions only. However, it contains provisions on the form of government, minority rights, education and medical facilities, freedom of expression, franchise, clauses related to the economic developments, distribution of powers between central and provincial governments as well provisions dealing with the parliamentary and presidential spheres of powers under the same heading.<sup>65</sup> It is also important to note that the above mentioned clauses are broadly based on the western concept of democracy and not on the Islamic concept of state as the subsequent events make it clear. The 1962 Constitution even paid lip service to the democratic values as the

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<sup>59</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 71-72.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 77-79.

<sup>61</sup> K.K. Aziz, *The Pakistani Historian* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2009), p.73.

<sup>62</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 77-79.

<sup>63</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 82.

<sup>64</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 97.

<sup>65</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 82-83.

country was supposed to be run on the basis of the ‘Basic Democracies’ but in reality the government was a military dictatorship.<sup>66</sup> The same practice has been repeated while discussing the 1962 Constitution.<sup>67</sup> It would be better to divide the clauses under its proper specification to enable students to differentiate among various spheres of the government mechanism. Another thing is the repeated spelling slip in the name of Iskandar Mirza.<sup>68</sup> It is written in the textbook as Sikandar Mirza.<sup>69</sup>

The section dealing with Ayub Khan's reforms seems balanced. The debate on the rise of the political momentum among the Bengalis under Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman has been attributed to the 1965 India Pakistan war. It asserts, ‘the 1965 Indo-Pak war has not only weakened the economic conditions of the country but it gave birth to feelings of insecurity in the East Pakistan that the Central Government did not pay enough attention towards the defence of the Eastern Wing. Such conditions led the Bengalis to start their political struggle for provincial autonomy under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman’.<sup>70</sup> As a matter of fact, it was not the 1965 war alone that led to the political push among the Bengalis but it was due to certain other reasons that created a gap between the two wings of the country. The June 3, 1947 Plan empowered the Legislatures of Punjab and Bengal to decide whether the provinces should be divided or not.<sup>71</sup> They voted for Islam as the determining factor over all other principals of history, culture and language. The new state of Pakistan comprised of two wings i.e. the west Pakistan comprised of Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the then N-W.F.P and the province of Bengal was called the East Pakistan. Both wings possessed distinct historical, cultural and social values with different spoken languages but a unified Muslim identity outshined all these differences. But it lasted very short due to the succeeding unpredicted events. East Pakistan had superiority in population over the Western wing with 55% but the Western wing enjoyed an upper hand in managerial spheres. The administrative capital, having the only economic sea port was in Karachi. The army headquarters was in Rawalpindi while most of the running industries were also in the West Pakistan. East Pakistan had a lack of civil servants as well, because prior to the partition, the Bengali Muslims were less educated. These things devalued a majority (East Pakistan, 55%) in front of a minority (West Pakistan, 45%). Such things could be resolved but the political leadership in the Western wing failed to gauge the sensitivity of the time. They paid no heed to the aspirations of the Bengali majority which led to feelings of negligence among them. The constitutional and political developments in the subsequent years gave impetus to this mistrust between the two Wings.<sup>72</sup>

One of the initial waves of the growing suspicion between the two parts could be seen immediately after the creation of Pakistan. A group of the learned Bengalis formed an organization as the ‘Tamuddun Majlis’ on 15 September, 1947 and demanded the recognition of

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<sup>66</sup> *The Events in East Pakistan, 1971: A legal Study* (Geneva: The Secretariat of the International Commission of Jurists, 1972, p. 11. URL: <https://www.icj.org/wp-content/uploads/1972/06/Bangladesh-events-East-Pakistan-1971-thematic-report-1972-eng.pdf> accessed on 13.2.2021. Henceforth *The Events in East Pakistan, 1971*.

<sup>67</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 91-92.

<sup>68</sup> T. C. A. Rangachari, “Pakistan and the Dilemma of Democracy”, in *Pakistan: From the Rhetoric of Democracy to the Rise of Militancy* ed. Ravi Kalia (London: Routledge Publishers, 2011), p. 114.

<sup>69</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 83.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>71</sup> Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*, p. 96.

<sup>72</sup> *The Events in East Pakistan*, p. 8-9.

Bengali language as one of the state languages.<sup>73</sup> A resolution moved on February 23, 1948 by Dharendra Nath Dutta, a Bengali opposition leader, in the first session of the Constituent Assembly to give Bengali language a national status besides Urdu.<sup>74</sup> Jinnah, while responding to the alarming situation addressed at the convocation ceremony at the Dhaka University, said, 'the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really an enemy of Pakistan'.<sup>75</sup> Declaring Urdu as State language meant minimizing the chances of employment for the Bengalis in the new State as well as negating their identity. The Bengali youth rose in protest. Later on, Khwaja Nazimuddin's declaration of the January 26, 1952 that Urdu alone will be the state language of Pakistan, evoked great deal of resentment among the Bengalis. The All-Parties Committee of Action (APCA) under Maulana Buhshani, with representatives from Awami League, Students League, Youth League, Khilafate-Rabbani Part and the Dhaka University State Language Committee of Action decided to hold a strike on February 21, 1952, against the government. The protest was banned by imposing Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the city of Dhaka. But the students of Dhaka University defied the ban and came in a peaceful procession. In the meanwhile, fire was opened on the procession which resulted in killing of a number of students. These students were termed as martyrs. It took two years that the Bengali was recognized as a state language by the government. Later on, UNESCO paid tribute to the language movement of Bengal on November 17, 1999, declared February 21 as International Mother Language Day.<sup>76</sup>

The death of Jinnah and Liaquat was followed by a constant political restlessness in both of the wings. The political condition of the country degenerated into a nasty mass of corruption and sleaze. The politicians sacrificed national interest for vested interests. Tension between the two wings was largely economic but a cordial political environment could resolve the issues. The political squabbles on the Assembly floor over constitutional issues deteriorated a peaceful relationship between the two wings. During Ayub's era the social inequalities increased considerably. Under the patronage of Ayub Khan, the infamous 22 industrialist families belonged to west wing, who enjoyed a four fifth of the banking and insurance of the country. On the other hand, the Industry in East Pakistan got lesser attention from the government. West Pakistan's industrial goods received higher value in the Western Wing markets while the two major crops of Bengal, jute and tea, that provided two thirds of the country's exports, received less than a third of its imports. Moreover, the developmental funds and foreign aid was being frequently pipelined into the west wing.<sup>77</sup>

In the constitutional sphere, the 1962 constitution became an apple of discord between the politicians of the two wings. The wrangling between Ayub and justice (retired) Muhammad Ibrahim, who served as law minister between 1958 and 1962 under Ayub, is of high concern. Justice Ibrahim was a staunch Bengali nationalist was disliked by Ayub. By the time of drafting the 1962 Constitution, he, on many occasions, was bypassed by Ayub. Ibrahim not only raised his voice against the injustices and inequalities committed to the Province of Bengal in the

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<sup>73</sup> Muhammad J. Shahadat, "Language Movement Museum and Library, Dhaka, Bangladesh" (Master Dissertation) (Department of Art, Architecture and Art History, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2001), p. 5. URL: <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1780&context=theses> accessed on 13.7.2021.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 6-7.

<sup>77</sup> *The Events in East Pakistan*, p. 10.



cabinet but put forward certain remedies and suggestions in this concern. One such demand was the idea of ‘two economy theses,’ meant for the creation of separate currencies for both East Pakistan and West Pakistan. A similar demand could be seen later in Mujib’s Six Points as well. In early 1960s, he made an entry in his diary in which he predicted the break-up of Pakistan. He writes, ‘The Punjabis want to rule Pakistan and they think that they have a right to do so.’ He also recalled telling a friend in 1947 that, ‘Punjabis are Pakistan’s *Jhopar Kural* (an axe used for felling a clump of bamboos)’. By writing so he meant that Punjabis would cut down the roots of the newly set up Pakistan.<sup>78</sup>

The situation further deteriorated under Yahya. The major cause of difference between the two wings was disagreement on the conception of the Central Government’s Power under the Legal Framework Order (LFO). The Awami league was of the view that the Defence and Foreign Affairs would be under the Federal Government while the foreign trade and aid would be included in the sphere of the regional governments. Besides they would be empowered to maintain their own Para- military force and create their own currencies. Fiscal Policies would also be looked after by the regional governments. On the other hand, the LFO stated for the maximum administrative powers of the Federal Government both internally and externally with a full provincial autonomy for the regional governments. These differences could not bridge up at that time but Yahya with the hope that Mujib would sit for a compromise, once the elections came to an end. The elections results gave an upper hand to the Eastern Wing but the Yahya-Bhutto ties drastically changed the situation. The net result was deadliest for both of the wings, i.e., the partition of Pakistan into two parts and the emergence of Bengal as Bangladesh.<sup>79</sup>

The approach adopted while discussing the secession of Eastern province of Bengal from the West Pakistan is somehow subjective and specious empirically. The consequent situation after the General Elections in 1970 has been dealt in such a way that gives an impression that put the whole of responsibility for the separation of the Eastern Wing, on the shoulders of the then CMLA General Yahya Khan, who failed to transfer power to the elected government. The prevailing political situation in both wings of the country as well as the role played by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman and military in the scenario has been ignored altogether. The text asserts, ‘the Martial Law government unduly delayed the transfer of power to the elected government.’ Further it contends, ‘the uncertain political conditions and the failed constitutional experience in Pakistan for years led to the degradation of the democratic values and supremacy of the military hegemony in the country. The victorious Awami League in the 1970 Elections has been conned by denying the transfer of power by making uncertain excuses, the ultimate result of which was the separation of the East Pakistan from its western wing’.<sup>80</sup>

The role, the Pakistan army played in the dismemberment of Pakistan cannot be ignored. The atrocities of the West Pakistan army in Bengal added to the mistrust of the locals. The plundering of the markets, raping of a large number the Bengali women by the military officers, torturing and killings of the innocent people in the name of military operation added to the chaotic situation in Bengal. Moreover, a larger number of industrialists, businessmen and East Pakistani civilian officers were mysteriously disappeared from their home. This human rights violation has

<sup>78</sup> Ali Usman Qasmi, *1971 War: Witness to History*. Dawn News. URL: <http://herald.dawn.com/news/1153304/1971-war-witness-to-history> accessed on 27-7-2020.

<sup>79</sup> *The Events in East Pakistan*, p. 11-12.

<sup>80</sup> Marwat *et al.*, *Pakistan Studies* 9, p. 95-97.

been confirmed by the Hamudoor Rahman Commission Report.<sup>81</sup> Fearful was the attack at the Dhaka University in which a large number of students and faculty members were ruthlessly tortured and killed. The libraries were burnt out. March 26, 1971 witnessed the worst of the inhuman killings. Twenty taxi drivers hiding in their vehicles were set on fire. A crowd of 300 coolies at the ferry station were wiped out.<sup>82</sup>

The section entitled 'History of Pakistan' continued in the second part of the textbook 'Pakistan Studies' grade 10. The discussion begins with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era emphasizing on the economic, labour, educational and agrarian reforms and nationalization of certain industries by Bhutto's government. The passage is detailed but the writing style adopted by the author is uncritical at some points. There exist minor factual errors as well. It writes on page 3 of the book, '... in December 1971, passports of the leading industrialists and their family members were seized and they were barred from going abroad to transfer their money'.<sup>83</sup> The statement needs to be revised for it has certain undiscovered back spots behind. In January 1972 ten categories of heavy industries were nationalized. The nationalization was followed by the Economic Reforms Order, aimed at the decentralization of national wealth, reorganization of industrial units and their management structure and consolidation and expansion of the public sector. Explaining the Nationalization of industry, Bhutto said:

My Government is committed to eliminate the concentration of economic power in order that no single entrepreneur or group of entrepreneurs should obtain or use this dominant position against the public interest.<sup>84</sup>

To actualize the said objectives the old Managing Agency System was replaced by a new management structure under 'the Managing Agency and Election of Directors Trade 1972 Order.' All of the nationalized industrial units were grouped into ten corporations, each headed by a chairman who was a civil servant. Managing Directors, heading individual units, reported to their respective chairmen who, in turn, reported to a Bureau of Industrial Management (BIM) under the Minister for Production in the central government. At the apex of this hierarchy was the Board of Management chaired by Mubashir Hasan, Bhutto's Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Development.<sup>85</sup>

The nationalization of industry, however, failed to achieve its objectives. In the first place the new management structure of the program adversely affected economic efficiency. Secondly, it only shuffled the distribution of wealth among leading wealthy families in a new way. Thirdly, the nationalization of industrial units like cooking oil and cotton, hit the small and medium

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<sup>81</sup> *Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report*, p. 21-23. URL: [https://www.thedailystar.net/sites/default/files/upload-2014/freedomintheair/pdf/Hamoodur%20Rahman%20Commission%20Report\\_Dawn%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.thedailystar.net/sites/default/files/upload-2014/freedomintheair/pdf/Hamoodur%20Rahman%20Commission%20Report_Dawn%20(1).pdf) accessed on 11.2.2021.

<sup>82</sup> *The Events in East Pakistan, 1971*, p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Sania Murad and Asma Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies 10* (Peshawar: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Text Book Board, 2021), p. 3. Henceforth Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies 10*.

<sup>84</sup> Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs*, p. 159.

<sup>85</sup> Muhammad Abrar Zahoor and Aqeela Asif, "Political and Economic Dimensions of Nationalization of Industries under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto". *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2018. p. 107-109. URL: [http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest\\_English\\_Journal/Pjhc%2039-2,%202018%20\(25.3.2019\)/5.%20Political%20and%20Economic%20Dimensions,%20ibrar%20zahoor%20&%20a%20aqeela.pdf](http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/Pjhc%2039-2,%202018%20(25.3.2019)/5.%20Political%20and%20Economic%20Dimensions,%20ibrar%20zahoor%20&%20a%20aqeela.pdf) accessed on 13.2.2021.

enterprises and lastly the public sector enterprises had political purposes that weakened economic rationality and, thus, had long-term effect of undermining economic productivity and growth.<sup>86</sup>

Bhutto's nationalization policy was bitterly resented by those industrialists who lost their property and prestige. But Bhutto was not a man to surrender to any resentment or agitation. He met the opposition with brute force. Leading industrialists were asked to surrender their passports. Many of them were sent to jail.<sup>87</sup> He took actions against his old adversaries as well. Among them were Habibullah Khattak, one of the top industrialists was put behind the bars without any adequate reason. Similarly, Altaf Gauhar, the editor of Dawn was arrested for criticizing Bhutto.<sup>88</sup> The book further suggests, '...in March 1972, as many as 313 civil servants were removed from their positions on charges of corruption and inefficiency'.<sup>89</sup> There are sources which indicate that the number of the civil servants removed from their services was 1300.<sup>90</sup> Bhutto's reforms have been concluded well with a comprehensive account of the 1973 constitution with a slight slip about the length of the draft, which is indeed one of the pre-requisites of a constitution. The 1973 Constitution contained 280 Articles divided into 12 parts and 6 Schedules.<sup>91</sup>

The section discussing General Zia-ul-Haq's era provides details mainly of his Islamization Policy and the 1979 USSR invasion of Afghanistan and its consequences for Pakistan. Zia-Junejo Power Tussle is part of the debate as well. The passage is detailed but the factual errors and sketchy statements at certain points make the content somehow unimpressive.

The passage discussing the consequences of Afghan Jihad for Pakistan contains a sketchy account. It deals its economic perspective only. It discusses the negative as well as positive impacts of the war on Pakistan's economy. But the real cost that Pakistan had to pay during and after the Afghan Jihad is totally ignored. Besides the economic crises emerged in Pakistan in general and in the then North West Frontier Province (Present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in particular, the Afghan war accelerated the contraband drugs business across the border. The use of heroin had begun to be seen commonly in Pakistan. The deadly impact of the war was the irregular running of gun culture in Pakistani society. Very soon the automatic weapons smuggled from Afghanistan spread throughout the country, landed into the wrong hands led to the increase in crimes and terrorism eventually.<sup>92</sup> Adding such details to the above topic is necessitated in order to understand the beginning of fundamentalist trends in Pakistani society as well as the status of Pakistan in the whole scenario of the global terrorism.

There are factual errors at certain points. The appointment date of Muhammad Khan Junejo as the Prime Minister of Pakistan is incorrect. It is written as 20 March 1985<sup>93</sup> while the accurate date for the said appointment was 23 March 1985.<sup>94</sup> The same flaw is repeated on page 18 as

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>87</sup> Owen Bonnett Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 228.

<sup>88</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 248.

<sup>89</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies* 10, p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 251.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>92</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 378.

<sup>93</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies* 10, p. 12.

<sup>94</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 373.

well. Page 17 of the book asserts, ‘Gorbachev on 10 January 1988 declared that if the Geneva Talks reached to an agreement, the withdrawal of the Russian Army will begin by 15 May 1988’.<sup>95</sup> Gorbachev’s declaration came on 8 February 1988.<sup>96</sup> A similar factual mistake exists on page 19. It is stated as, ‘Muhammad Khan Junejo constituted his party with 190 out of 237 members in the Assembly.’ The paragraph not only possess factual error but it lacks a much important clarification regarding his party details. Junejo succeeded in winning over 170 out of 237 seats in the National assembly. When Zia lifted his Martial Law, Junejo as the Prime Minister reconstituted the Pakistan Muslim League himself as its head, aimed at making the PML as a Populist Party to compete the Pakistan People’s Party under its new head, Benazir Bhutto.<sup>97</sup>

Page 19 of the book refers to the introduction of the Eighth Constitutional Amendment by Zia. The reference to the Amendment has been repeated several times in the forthcoming text. But no detail of the amendment was provided. Keeping in view the significant role the Eight Amendment played in the history of Pakistan, it is essential to provide a little bit detail of the Amendment, so the students may have some know how in this concern. During a life span of twelve years, the Eighth Amendment since its inception on 2 March 1985<sup>98</sup> till cancellation on 4 April 1997 (The Thirteenth Amendment)<sup>99</sup> played dramatically at critical moments. It crashed down the elected governments for many times in 1985 (Z. A. Bhutto), 1988 (Muhammad Khan Junejo), 1990 and 1996 (Benazir Bhutto) and 1993 (Nawaz Sharif) before the completion of their five years’ term. It was incorporated in the constitution of 1973 by Zia. The Amendment empowered President of Pakistan with a number of discretionary powers in matters of the appointment of Supreme Court and High Court judges, Military Chiefs. He was authorized to elect a member of the National Assembly as Prime Minister. He could dissolve the National Assembly at his will and call for a fresh election if he felt an appeal to the electorate was needed. Decision made by the Prime Minister or the cabinet could be reconsidered by the President. On the other side the decisions made by the President could not be questioned. His verdict had to be considered as final.<sup>100</sup>

The two terms of Benazir’s premiership (1988-1990 and 1993-1996) have been discussed in a single go without referring to the interval rule of Nawaz Sharif in his respective term (1990-1993). The same pattern is repeated in Nawaz’s terms of ascendancy as well. It gives a fuzzy impression to the reader. For a clear understanding of the flow of events it would be better to follow the chronological order of both of the ruling periods in their respective terms. The abbreviate form of IRSA needed to be written in its complete form as the ‘Indus River System Authority’. Avoiding of such technical omissions could enhance the effectiveness of the

<sup>95</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies* 10, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup> Syed Umar Hayat, “Junejo’s Politics Towards Afghanistan and USSR 1985-1988: Challenges, Pressures and Direction.” *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2000. URL: [http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest\\_English\\_Journal/Pjhc%2021-2,2000/4-Syed%20Umar%20Hayat0001.pdf](http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/Pjhc%2021-2,2000/4-Syed%20Umar%20Hayat0001.pdf) accessed on 13.2.2021.

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88T00096R000300390001-7.pdf> accessed on 13.2.2021.

<sup>98</sup> Kimie Sekine, “Benazir Bhutto: Her Political Struggle in Pakistan” (Master Dissertation) (Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, 1992), p. 73. URL: <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3593&context=theses> accessed on 13.2.2021. Henceforth Sekine, *Benazir Bhutto: Her Political Struggle in Pakistan*.

<sup>99</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 451.

<sup>100</sup> Sekine, *Benazir Bhutto: Her Political Struggle in Pakistan*, p. 73-74.

reference.<sup>101</sup> There is a factual error while discussing the introduction of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution of Pakistan. The date is written as 30 June 1997.<sup>102</sup> The Fourteenth Amendment was added to the constitution on 4 July 1997.<sup>103</sup>

The chapter entitled 'History of Pakistan' is preluded with certain objectives designed for the students to enable them to understand various dimensions of the history, politics, culture and society of Pakistan. One of the objectives is to have an insight of Pakistan's emergence as an atomic power. But the subsequent details on page 29 of the text does not seem to justify the intended objective of the study. The passage has a two line reference of the atomic detonations by India and Pakistan in the year 1998 only,<sup>104</sup> while the heading demands for details of the evolution of Pakistan as an atomic power.

On the issue of Kalabagh Dam, the book asserts,

when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced the construction of the Kalabagh Dam, different political parties started agitation against him. After the ANP (Awami National Party) MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement) departed its ways from PML (N) on the issue of the Kalabagh Dam that let Nawaz to reconsider the whole issue.<sup>105</sup>

The above passage does not provide anything regarding what the Kalabagh Dam Issue is. The writing tone of the passage, though, gives an impression of the controversial status of the matter but failed to provide a single reason of mistrust among the provinces in this matter. The students at this level are required to have at least a basic idea of such political matters, keeping in view the contentious status of the Kalabagh Dam and the ongoing inter-provincial dispute over the issue.

The Kalabagh Dam is one of the hot political issues in Pakistan. Since its inception the Kalabagh Dam project has always been controversial among the four provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa looks at the construction of the Dam with apprehensions. It is of the view that the Dam will have adverse human and environmental impacts for the people of the province. A large number of people will be displaced and a sizeable area will either be submerged under the reservoir or rendered waterlogged. The Nowshera City at the bank of Kabul River will under a constant threat of flooding as the Dam will raise the water level of Indus River throughout the Attock Ravine. Moreover, drainages adjacent to the areas of Mardan, Swabi and Pabbi will be severely affected as their outfalls being lower than the high flood levels in Kalabagh reservoir. Sindh is of the view that the left bank canal of the Dam will divert waters of Indus to Rasul-Qadirabad sector in upper Punjab that will be beneficial for Punjab only, in the moment of shortage of water in River Jehlum or in case if India's approach to all waters of Jehlum or Chenab or both. Furthermore, having apprehensions of the decertification of the area below Kotri, Sindh has fears

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<sup>101</sup> Muhammad Idrees Rjput, *Inter-Provincial Water Issues in Pakistan* (PILDAT Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2011), P. 9. URL: [https://cyphynets.lums.edu.pk/images/Background\\_Reading\\_-\\_InterProvincialWaterIssuesinPakistan.pdf](https://cyphynets.lums.edu.pk/images/Background_Reading_-_InterProvincialWaterIssuesinPakistan.pdf) accessed on 13.7.2021.

<sup>102</sup> Murad and Khatoun, *Pakistan Studies 10*, p. 28.

<sup>103</sup> *The Gazette of Pakistan*, Extraordinary Published by Authority, July 4, 1997. URL: [http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1324607484\\_177.pdf](http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1324607484_177.pdf) accessed on 12.2.2021.

<sup>104</sup> Murad and Khatoun, *Pakistan Studies 10*, p. 29.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.



from Punjab and has severely disputed the statistical data of water availability advanced by WAPDA, indicating to certain legal, economic, ecological and geomorphologic reasons for its opposition to the construction of the Kalabagh Dam. Balochistan objected to the Dam because the Baloch think that the method of calculating the availability of water for each cropping season is uncertain and in the post Dam scenario if the project overstretches its suggested water demand from Indus River, it will be resulted in a little success at a high cost of a reduction in irrigation water for the provinces. While Punjab objects the surpluses that pass downstream Kotri. Punjab is of the opinion that a major quantity of the surplus is waste and should be used. Sindh on the contrary considers this surplus is essential and offended to the point of view of Punjab.<sup>106</sup>

The emergent wave of hatred among the general public against Nawaz government at the Kargil fiasco is discussed in such a way that only a couple of sentences has been dedicated to the whole of issue. It is stated as, ‘a limited war had started in the region of Kargil in Kashmir. The war was ended on 4 July 1999 as a result of the Washington Declaration. It created anti-government feeling among the people’.<sup>107</sup> The statements left the students with an unsettled mind as the passage failed to provide any connection between people’s hatred against the government and that of the Kargil fiasco. Moreover, the significance of the Kargil Issue demands a somehow detailed account at this level, particularly its dramatic drop scene at Washington demands a great deal of investigation.

Kargil is located across the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir. Some of the mountain peaks in Kargil region, from where Pakistan army were ejected by the Indian forces some years back, were re-occupied by Pakistan Military in the garb of Mujahideen. Pakistan had an upper hand at the moment. But the situation was diplomatically well taken by India and accused Pakistan of aggression into her territory. Indian propaganda was so successful that Pakistan was left alone in international community. None come to rescue Pakistan, even her best friend China refused to come to her aid. On the other hand, since the operation was started by the military command without the knowledge of political leadership, the Pakistani leadership failed to face the challenge. Nawaz Sharif, feeling himself in an uncertain situation, approached US president Bill Clinton and consequently a unilateral accord was signed on 4 July 1999 at Washington DC agreeing on Pakistan army and Mujahideen’s withdrawal from all the areas they occupied. Not only this but Nawaz admitted most of the accusation India had made against Pakistan. Pakistan had to face humiliation in international community. Besides Nawaz, Musharraf was equally responsible for the Kargil debacle.<sup>108</sup> It is pertinent to note that Khan has also concealed some of the facts from his readers and actually it was Musharraf, not Nawaz Sharif who can be mainly declared responsible for the whole episode.

The portion covers Pervez Musharraf’s era has some technical and factual errors. The NRB<sup>109</sup> or the National Reconstruction Bureau is written in abbreviated form only with its Urdu version. It would be better to write such abbreviations with its full form in English beside Urdu, so the

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<sup>106</sup> Muhammad Fayyaz, *Construction of Kalabagh Dam*, (PILDAT Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, 2011), p. 15-19. URL: <http://admin.umd.edu.pk/Media/Site/UMT/SubSites/SGS/FileManager/Research/ConstructionOfKalabaghDamBackgroundPaper.pdf> accessed on 8.2.2021.

<sup>107</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies 10*, p. 29-30.

<sup>108</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 472.

<sup>109</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies 10*, p. 30-31.

students may know about the abbreviated scripts.<sup>110</sup> The date of the Local Bodies Elections 2000-2001 is written as December 2000 to July 2001<sup>111</sup> in the textbook while the Elections were held between December 2000 and August 2001.<sup>112</sup>

The statement regarding the HEC or Higher Education Commission needs to be reconsidered as well. The text asserts, ‘HEC was established with the aim to maintain standard of education and establish a uniform policy all over the country.’ As a matter of fact, saying ‘establishment’ of HEC is inappropriate as far as the historical background of the institution is concerned. It was a replacement of University Grants Commission which was constituted on 22 April 1974 under ‘the University Grant Commission Act, 1974 (No. XXIII). The Act asserts ‘Whereas, in the interest of educational planning and laying down a uniform policy as also to secure coordination between the universities, it is expedient to provide for the establishment of a University Grant Commission and for matters connected there with or incidental thereto’.<sup>113</sup> However the UGC did not have real powers in financial matters, failed to fulfil the purpose for which it was established. It was in 2002 that the 1974 Act was repealed and the UGC was converted into HEC or Higher Education Commission under the Higher Education Commission Order, 2002.<sup>114</sup> It is pertinent to note that with the passage of time, HEC has turned into a regulatory authority which issues directives to universities in such matters that had been exclusive prerogative of the Universities’ academic bodies. In some cases, it has even directed Universities not to allow students to conduct research on certain topics.

## Conclusion

According to the understanding of experts, the textbooks should be tailored to develop quest for inquiry and critical thinking. The text books produced by the Text Book Boards in Pakistan usually do not meet the criteria. The current content of the book provides information to the students which are particularly tailored for propagating a specific perspective. While discussing Freedom or Pakistan Movement, it is not bad if text books provide information of the individuals and organizations associated with mainstream State apparatus but it is certainly worst if this information is provided at the cost of marginalization of those who live at peripheries or with dissident opinions. According to the 1973 Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Islam is the official religion but the same constitution has protected other religious, social, ethnic and cultural entities too. Textbooks should give details how Political, Social and Economic factors worked for the creation of Pakistan alongside Islam. While detailing the role of All India Muslim League (AIML) in the creation of Pakistan and those who were associated with AIML, it must include details of those individuals who were working against the British Raj under the banner of other organizations and who joined or accepted Pakistan. This monotone impression is embossed in the mind of a kid and he is blocked from accepting diverse opinion. He starts believing that

<sup>110</sup> *Devolution in Pakistan: Reform or Regression?* Islamabad: ICG Asia Report N®77, March, 2004, p. 5. URL: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/28392/077\\_pakistan\\_devolution.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/28392/077_pakistan_devolution.pdf) accessed on 13.2.2021.

<sup>111</sup> Murad and Khatoon, *Pakistan Studies grade 10*, p. 33.

<sup>112</sup> Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 485.

<sup>113</sup> [joshandmakinternational.com/resources/law-of-pakistan/education-and-universities-law/the-university-grant0commission-act-1974/](http://joshandmakinternational.com/resources/law-of-pakistan/education-and-universities-law/the-university-grant0commission-act-1974/) accessed on 27-6-2020.

<sup>114</sup> Azra Parveen et’al, “System and Reform of Higher Education in Pakistan.” *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 20; November, 2011, p. 260. URL: [http://ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol\\_2\\_No\\_20\\_November\\_2011/28.pdf](http://ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_2_No_20_November_2011/28.pdf) accessed on 13.2.2021.

except Muslim Leaguers all others were traitors or British agents. During his school days, the principal author of the present paper considered all those people enemies of Islam and Pakistan who were not Muslim Leaguers, though the family had no association with the party. This section should also have a discussion over those errors or blunders which were committed by leaders of AIML in private or organizational capacity. Presenting someone ‘infallible’ is a fascist doctrine and can only produce fanatics who fail to recognize those people equally respectable whose opine otherwise.

The section related to history of Pakistan needs complete overhauling. Presenting lame excuses for delay in constitution making is inappropriate. The writers of text books should study academic works on the issue and refer to those hurdles which caused this delay whether these were genuine issues or were created for individual, group or provincial interests. This section must include all those unconstitutional measures which were taken by any person in any capacity, be he M. A. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan, Nazimuddin, Ghulam Muhammad, Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, any General, Judge, Bureaucrat or politician. It is need of the time to suggest that all institutions inherited by Pakistan were formed by Colonial Masters and the creation of a new State did not alter the mind-set of its managers. None of these ‘New Masters’ realized that they were dealing with ‘Citizens of Pakistan’ not their ‘subjects’. This section must include short notes on all those policies of the successive government which caused sufferings to the people at any stage. While discussing the wars between India and Pakistan, it must refer to sufferings of common people at both sides of International boundary, instead of exaggerating ‘bravery’ of armed forces and mujahidin. While referring to the differences between two wings, the real factors need to be addressed. The debacle of East Pakistan needs a detailed assessment of all those factors which started even before creation of Pakistan. Moreover, it must include a bit discussion on how this debacle weakened democratic values in Pakistan. Last but not the least, at an appropriate place, the text book must provide content on the working of a modern state. It is must to inform students at this stage that citizens produce wealth to feed himself and the entire state apparatus. Whatever is spent by state on her citizens was actually a small portion of the wealth that they have paid in shape of taxes. Both state and citizens are bound in a relationship by constitution and none of the citizens is above it whether he is working in highest public office or daily wager. The constitution obligates citizens to perform certain duties and it also safeguards his fundamental rights. The comprehensive summery of these fundamental rights must be provided in the textbook to apprise students of their basic human rights so they may not consider that State is favouring them by spending some pennies over them out of the citizens’ generated money. By writing objective content, the next generations are expected to think rationally and believe in co-existence. It is not impossible for Pakistan to have easy border crossing policy with all her neighbours instead of spending billions on installing barbed wires. This is very much possible when the good will of all border ethnic groups is used as population across international borders is the same in most cases.

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