

The Crucible of Independence: Key Events Shaping Pakistan (1945-1950)

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ABSTRACT

The creation of Pakistan in 1947 was not an unprompted historical incident rather it was a culmination of a complex ideological and political struggle that defined the sunset of British India. Exploring a series of critical developments in a specified time-frame (i.e. 1945-1950) shaping both the emergence and the early challenges of Pakistan, the paper particularly examines how post-independence challenges compounded the difficulties faced by the nascent state. The primary objective of this study is to investigate how these interconnected developments (political, administrative and humanitarian etc.) collectively influenced Pakistan's formative trajectory as a newly independent nation. A qualitative historical-analytical approach has been employed to reconstruct the sequence and significance of these formative years; accordingly, the study draws upon official documents, archival material and secondary scholarly sources. The findings reveal that Pakistan's independence was forged through intense political contestation and

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constitutional dismay before the partition. However, the post-independence period plunged it into unprecedented turmoil marked by administrative, humanitarian and regional crisis. Despite these formidable challenges, the country survived on global horizon. The pre-independence phase laid the ideological and political foundation for the statehood while post-independence years tested nation's resilience and strategic outlook.

Introduction

Asian subcontinent virtually came under the British colonial rule in 1858.¹ They ruled this part of the region for almost a century. On December 28, 1885, Indian National Congress (INC) was formed to represent all the communities of India.² However, Muslims community bore heavy burden and faced considerable difficulties under both British rule and inter-community dynamics. At this juncture, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan formed Indian United Patriotic Association (IUPA) in 1888 and began highlighting differing perspectives of Congress towards minorities especially Muslims.³ The advent of 20th Century resulted into the rise of numerous other political controversies between Hindus and Muslims which include, Muslims' presence in the government, separate Muslims representation in the legislature, Hindi-Urdu wrangling and Hindu-Muslims riots.⁴ Correspondingly, political status of

1 "British Raj, Imperialism, Impact, History, & Facts, Britannica," accessed July 14, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/British-raj>.

2 "Indian National Congress: 12 Facts about One of the Oldest Political Parties of the Country," *India Today*, 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/indian-national-congress-was-formed-on-this-day-facts-about-inc-1117601-2017-12-28>.

3 Dr. Abdul Razzaq Shahid and Mahwish Naeem, "Political Struggle With in Colonial System: A Study of the All India Muslim League Politics, 1906-1937," *Journal of Historical Studies* 3, no. 2 (2017): 73–74.

4 Belkacem Belmekki, "Muslim Separatism in Post-Revolt India: A British Game of Divide et Impera?," *Oriente Moderno* 94, no. 1 (2014): 113–24, doi:10.1163/22138617-12340041.

Indian Muslims undergone incredible deteriorations. Muslims badly felt the need to establish a particular political organization to advance and guard their own political rights.⁵ On December 30, 1906, in a public gathering chaired by Viqar-ul-Mulk, All India Muslim League (AIML) was formed at Dacca.⁶ In May 1909, shortly after the formation of AIML, Muslims' right of separate electorate was acknowledged through an act of British Parliament. Later it was also known as Minto-Marley reforms. Muslims were also granted limited representation in the Legislative Council despite opposition by INC.⁷

Lucknow Pact in 1916, was another milestone in the political history of the subcontinent when INC accepted AIML a representative organization of the Indian Muslims and similarly, acknowledged separate Muslims identity. It was first and last agreement of its kind between Hindus and Muslims.⁸ From 1920 onwards, the political crevice between Hindus and Muslims started getting widened due to cultural and communal differences. Breakdown of Khilafat Movement, rise of Hindus revivals (Shuddhi and Hindu Mahasabha etc.), upsurge of proselytizing Muslims and recurring communal riots from 1920 to 1930 reinforced the perception that both the communities were not just politically dissimilar rather culturally also divergent. In five years (i.e. from 1923 to 1927), nearly 88 communal riots took place in which 39 Hindus and 42 Muslims lost their lives and

5 Nadeem Shafiq Malik, "Formation of the All India Muslim League and Its Response to Some Foreign Issues – 1906 – 1911,"

Journal of Political Studies 19, no. 2 (2012): 170–73.

6 J. Nisha, "Genesis of All India Muslim League," *Paripex-Indian Journal of Research* 7, no. 11 (2018): 1–2.

7 Mahboob Hussain, "Muslim Nationalism in South Asia: Evolution Through Constitutional Reforms,"

University of Punjab, Journal of Political Studies 1, no. 2 (2010): 66–68.

8 Abhay Datar, "The Lucknow Pact of 1916: A Second Look at the Congress-Muslim League Agreement," *Economic & Political Weekly* XLVII, no. 10 (2012): 65–69.

thousand got injured. During this time period, both the communities had become almost an existential threat to each other.⁹ In 1930, the idea of separate homeland (comprising of Muslim majority states of north-west India) was put across by Allama Muhammad Iqbal at the annual session of AIML at Allahabad and received immense appreciations within the Muslim of subcontinent.¹⁰ In 1934, Council of AIML was held which elected Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as their President. Hence, Jinnah formally started leading Indian Muslims.¹¹

On March 23, 1940, came the turning point when Muslims all across the subcontinent gathered at Minto Park Lahore under the flag of AIML and unanimously passed Lahore Resolution. They demanded establishment of a separate homeland comprising of Muslim majority states of northwest and east of British India. The resolution was presented by Abdul Kasem Fazlul Huq (the then Chief Minister of Bengal).¹² Further, the narrative of 'Two Nation Theory' forwarded by Jinnah while addressing the Muslims' congregation at Lahore was the key to define the creation of Pakistan.¹³ The passing of resolution significantly increased tension between Hindus and Muslims which kept exacerbating until 1946. The months of October and December 1946 witnessed dreadful communal killings in

9 R.K. Ghai, "Hindu-Muslim Relations during the 1920s With Special Reference to Shuddhi AND Tabligh," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 46 (1985): 526–34.

10 Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The 1947 Partition of India: A Paradigm for Pathological Politics in India and Pakistan," *Asian Ethnicity* 3, no. 1 (March 2002): 12–14, doi:10.1080/14631360120095847.

11 Fariha Khan, "The Resolution and the Task of Achieving Pakistan," *News*, (August 14, 2018), <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/355068-the-resolution-and-the-task-of-achieving-pakistan>.

12 Waqar Ahmed, "The Significance of March 23," *News*, (March 23, 2018), <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/295704-the-significance-of-march-23>.

13 Secunder Kermani, "How Jinnah's Ideology Shapes Pakistan's Identity," *BBC*, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-40961603>.

Bihar, and resultantly, 50,000 Muslims migrated from Bihar to Bengal and almost 400,000 Muslims in total got affected.¹⁴ On March 8, 1947, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) prepared a resolution in which division of Punjab into two provinces (on religious basis i.e. Muslim and Non-Muslim) was demanded. This incident polarized opinion and a communal violence broke out in Punjab which lasted till August 15, 1947. The episode resulted into extreme chaos, killings and huge damages to property.¹⁵

Finally, during the course, the partition of British India was announced on June 3, 1947. Mountbatten declared that power will be transferred to dominions i.e. India and Pakistan by 15 August 1947. He also acknowledged that it was not possible for the people of subcontinent to live together under a government which is actually not their true representative.¹⁶ The important events before and after the independence encompassing time span of five years (1945-1950) actually determined the destiny of Pakistan. The scholars and researchers have widely discussed the communal tensions, ideological debates, constitutional negotiations and geopolitical events that culminated in the partition of subcontinent as a terminus. This paper instead of adopting a conventional approach, examined 1945-1950 a transformative time period that not only resulted into a partition, but also modeled Pakistan's early political institutions, refugee policies and Indo-centric security outlook. By integrating pre-partition developments, administrative restructuring and post-partition disputes and conflicts into a single analytical framework (builds upon

14 Vinita Damodaran, "Bihar in the 1940s: Communities, Riots and the State," *Journal of South Asian Studies* XVIII, no. Special Issue (1995): 169–70.

15 Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Mountbatten's Response to the Communal Riots in the Punjab, 20 March to 15 August 1947," *The Royal Asiatic Society*, 3, 26, no. 4 (2016): 688–92, doi:10.1017/S1356186316000225.

16 Gazala Nawaz, "The British Plan of the Partition of the Punjab in 1947," 2013, 101–3.

earlier scholarship), this study offers an innovative interpretation of how these events collectively influenced and shaped Pakistan.

Source Analysis

The British had employed 'divide and rule' policy in the subcontinent which worked well over the period of time. Meanwhile, the local political elites (i.e. Jinnah, Nehru and Patel) espoused nationalist narratives to achieve their political objectives. Hence, the partition became inevitable due to the obvious differences between INC and AIML. However, the partition was mismanaged by the colonial power and the transfer of power turned out to be an uneven.¹⁷

In January 1946, elections were held to form an interim government for finalizing modalities before the transfer of power to Indian natives. These elections were crucial for both political parties i.e. INC and AIML, claiming to be true representatives of the people. All segments of society (supportive of AIML) including, students, journalists, Ulema and women fervently participated in the election campaign. On December 4, 1947, Secretary of State for India announced establishment of a constitution body to give more leverage to Indians to decide their own future by themselves. The parliamentary delegation was also sent to India to seek the pulse of general desire of the people. It could have not been possible without an obvious victory of the AIML in the election.¹⁸

The AIML emerged as the major political force after winning these elections. Its popularity got increased manifold. The League not only exercised the use of popular politics but also managed the Punjab National Unionist Party

17 Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India-Partition, Independence*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 310-480, 2009).

18 Fazlur Rahman, "The Significance of 1945-1946 Elections in the Creation of Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* XXIX, no. 2 (2008): 168–87.

(comprised of almost all landlords of the Punjab). In these elections, the AIML wisely used a combination of pressure and conciliation strategy simultaneously to unnerve political opponents. Contrarily, the rise of AIML on political horizon exacerbated Hindus-Muslim tension in the region.¹⁹

The Cabinet Mission arrived in New Delhi on March 24, 1946 to develop consensus on the constitutional issues in consultation with Indian leaders and Viceroy Lord Wavell. At the end of their mission, they upheld the Union of India and rejected the proposal of two separate independent states. The AIML rejected their proposals altogether at the initial, however, after necessary clarification by the Cabinet Mission, the AIML decided to accept it, as it gave Muslims a reasonable control in their majority areas in term of their political, economic, social and cultural interests. The AIML progressively and prudently kept moving ahead in pursuit of their objective of separate homeland.²⁰

The INC though rejected the Cabinet Mission proposals was still asked to form an interim government in the center. To make interim government successful, Viceroy also extended invitation to the AIML for sharing of interim government in the center. Tension arose once more between the AIML and the INC over the distribution of ministries. Despite holding 13 ministries, the INC was not willing to even hand over 5 ministries to the AIML. Indian Viceroy instead of asking the AIML to form government, brazenly violated own set of principles and failed to treat both parties justly.²¹

In the second half of 1947, different expert committees were formed to analyse public departments and their responsibilities in newborn states (i.e. India and Pakistan) under the partition plan. Unfairness surfaced when

19 Akmal Hussain, "Pakistan: The Crisis of the State" (London: Zed Press, 1985), 12–13.

20 Chaudhari Ghulam Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 1st ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 42-50, 1967).

21 Muniruddin Chughtai, *Historic Struggle for Pakistan (1857-1947)*, 1st ed. (Lahore: Nazaria-i-Pakistan Trust, 20-28, 2009).

committee on foreign relations declared India dominion as the successor of British India, whereas, in accordance with Indian Independent Act of June 3, 1947 both the states had equal status. As a result of that, India became member of the UN on August 15, 1947 without any formal application to the United Nations Organization (UNO).²²

The partition unleashed largest human displacement in the recent history. Over 12 million people were displaced and almost one million were killed. The transfer of power was chaotic, violent and reckless. Accelerated timetable to finalize the transfer of power created administrative vacuum which caused mismanagement in dividing army, civil services and population. Radcliffe Line was drawn without accurate mapping and only a day before the partition. This legacy of partition shaped Pakistan and continue to impact its dynamics till date.²³

As the division of Indian subcontinent was carried out on the bases of 'Two Nation Theory' (religion), it also resulted into sufferings, mass-migration and across the board violence. This hefty process of the transfer of power got completed in 73 days (in absolute haste) and left behind numerous unresolved issues between the two nascent dominions. Similarly, the separation of the province of Punjab into two distinct entities also gave rise to canal water issue at a time when both India and Pakistan were in their embryonic stage of independence.²⁴

22 Farrukh Faheem et al., "Identity and Interests: History of Pakistan's Foreign Policy and the Middle Eastern Muslim States, 1947 to 1956," ed. Richard Meissner, *Cogent Social Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2021): 3–4, doi:10.1080/23311886.2021.1967567.

23 Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan, New Edition*, New edition (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1-142, 2017), doi:10.12987/9780300233643.

24 Roopesh Chaturved, "The Partition of Indian Sub-Continent: Problems and Literary Prospects," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 17, no. 2 (2013): 39–41, doi:10.9790/0837-1723941.

Specifically, to Pakistan, the partition of Indian subcontinent was not mere outcome of communal conflicts rather culmination of unanswered debate over Muslim identity in India. Multifaceted factors (including, historical, ideological and political) played a significant role which led to its creation. The impact of WW-II and differing narratives like (i.e. Hindu majority India or a separate Muslim state) contributed conclusively in the division of subcontinent.²⁵

Immediately after the partition, India became a secular country whereas, Pakistan turned to be an Islamic Republic. Change of social and political landscape in the subcontinent gave birth to regional conflicts and triggered continuing hostilities which led to multiple wars between the two neighbours. Economically, the hasty division disrupted resources and activities.²⁶

The nascent state of India and Pakistan opened their eyes in an atmosphere of suspicion and disagreements over assets, boundaries and religious minorities left behind both sides. The geographical division of Pakistan into two wings (11000 miles away from one another) and the issue of princely states (Jammu and Kashmir in particular) posed a formidable challenge to Pakistan-India relations and shaping Pakistan's future destiny.²⁷

Research Gap

As a matter of fact, the existing scholarship largely focuses on the political and constitutional processes leading up to independence in 1947, and ensuing humanitarian and administrative crises. The studies have highlighted the importance of the 1945-46 elections, the 3rd June Plan, the

25 Shakila Noor Sindhu, "Creation of Pakistan," *IJASOS- International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences* 2, no. 4 (2016): 274–81.

26 Ratan Kumar Das, "The Partition of India: Causes, Process, and Aftermath," *Satraachee Foundation, Patna* 37, no. 25 (2022): 91–98.

27 Iftikhar Haider Malik, *The History of Pakistan*, 1st ed., The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 129-142, 2008), doi:10.5040/9798400665219.

Radcliffe Award, and the Indian Independence Act, in shaping the contours of independence. Similarly, the disputes over assets, the mass exodus of refugees and early conflicts with India, including the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir have received significant attention in historical accounts. However, these studies tend to treat these pre- and post-independence developments as isolated phases rather than parts of a continuous historical process.

This study addresses this gap by examining the entire period from 1945 to 1950 as an interconnected continuum, highlighting how the decisions, events, and crises of both pre- and post-independence periods collectively shaped Pakistan's political identity, administrative foundations, and early foreign policy orientation. Therefore, this study provides a more nuanced understanding of Pakistan's early state-building challenges and contributes to the broader historiography of partition and South Asia's post-colonial transformation.

The Partition Prelude

The partition of subcontinent was not a sudden happening, rather it was a culmination of decades of social and political upheavals simmering in the British India. The adoption of resolution on March 23, 1940 demanding separate homeland based on the notion of Muslim nationhood set the stage for dramatic events of 1947 which permanently reshaped the destiny of the British India.²⁸ Following five most important happenings after the end of World War-II which changed the course of history and ultimately resulted into emergence of Pakistan in its present status.

- a. **Election 1945-46.** On August 21, 1945, Lord Wavell (Viceroy) announced elections for Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies to be held in winter 1945.²⁹ The elections were crucial for future political wrangling as

28 Ahmed, "Significance of March 23," 2018.

29 Fakhr-ul- Islam, "The Decisive Decade of Freedom Movement (1937-1947)," *The Dialogue* V, no. 1 (2016): 64–65.

both parties i.e. the AIML and the INC were claiming their representation. On October 10, 1945 (before the conduct of election), Jinnah demanded that Muslim majority areas be joined together to form a sovereign state. Nevertheless, if Muslim population still refrain to vote in the favour of AIML, the decision will be honoured.³⁰ Unlike the INC, the leadership of AIML did not target the British rule during election campaign except pointing out incidents of official interference in Punjab and Frontier where administration was unreceptive. The major focus of the AIML was to keep Muslims voter united and committed to league's programs.³¹ The manifesto of AIML revolved around two main standpoints which include, Indian Muslims are one-nation and the creation of Pakistan. In contrast, the INC stressed upon Indian unity, however, yet their manifesto did not attract Muslims due to perceived inconsistencies in its dealing with Muslims.³² General elections were held in 1945-46 in which the INC secured 905 out of 1585 seats, whereas, the AIML gained 440 out of 495 reserved seats for the Muslims in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies. Even in Hindus majority provinces, the AIML acquired massive voting turn-out.³³ Similarly, in Central Legislative Assembly, the AIML almost swept the elections by securing all 30 seats reserved for the Muslims out of total 102 seats. The details of party position are reflected in the table below:³⁴

30 Rahman, "Significance of 1945–1946 Elections," n.d., 167–72.

31 Dr. Waheed Ahmad, "The General Elections of 1945-1946: Quaid-i-Azam's Springboard to Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture* XXII, no. 2 (2001): 132–33.

32 Rahman, "Significance of 1945–1946 Elections," n.d., 171–72.

33 Ishtiaq Ahmed, "The 1947 Partition of India," n.d., 13–15.

34 Fakhr-ul-Islam, "The Decisive Decade of Freedom Movement," n.d., 63–65.

Table 1: Party Position in the Elections 1945-46

Serial	Political Party	Seats Won
1.	Congress	57
2.	Muslim League	30
3.	European	8
4.	Independents	05
5.	Akali Sikhs	02
Total		102

SOURCE: Fakhr-ul- Islam, "The Decisive Decade of Freedom Movement (1937-1947)," *The Dialogue* V, no. 1 (2016): 64–65.

In Punjab, landlords supported the AIML besides communal division within.³⁵ The people of Bengal with their distinct linguistic and cultural identity, ensured that the AIML secure a decisive victory. The INC could not win even a single seat of Central Legislative Assembly as well as Bengal Provincial Assembly.³⁶ Similarly, Pakistan Movement was at its peak in Sindh province (elite-led society) during the election 1946.³⁷

35 Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "Reimagining the Role of Punjab in the Pakistan Movement: Punjab Perspectives," *Pakistan Vision* 19, no. 1 (2018): 1–2.

36 Syed Umar Hayat and Altaf Ullah, "Reorientation of Muslim Politics in Bengal (1937-1947): Myth and Reality," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 55, no. 2 (2018): 196–97.

37 Dr Siraj Ahmed Soomro, Bakhtawar Jatoti, and Dr Jabeen Bhutto, "Quaid-E-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah And His Political Choices: A Case Study Of Sindh Province," *Webology* 19, no. 2 (2022): 8983–84.

The role of Baloch Sardars also remained forthcoming.³⁸ On January 11, 1946, the Muslims of subcontinent celebrated a victory day. In these elections, the AIML secured a phenomenal victory with huge majority. While addressing a massive gathering at Urdu Park Delhi, Muhammad Ali Jinnah congratulated Muslim community and termed it a happiest day.³⁹ The success in election established the AIML's firm authority to speak on behalf of Muslims living in the subcontinent and paved the way to acknowledge and validate Muslims distinct identity and struggle for separate homeland. The results of elections also elevated Muslims' stature to negotiate from position of strength with Viceroy and the INC. Hence, it can be said that the Central and Provincial elections of 1946 proved to be a watershed moment which ultimately led to the partition of Indian subcontinent.

b. **The 3rd June Plan.** The Cabinet Mission Plan 1946 was the last opportunity to keep the India united. However, the collapse of Cabinet Mission resulted into mutual distrust between all the stake-holders (i.e. INC, AIML and British government) and made power-sharing almost impossible. Resultantly, partition became inevitable.⁴⁰ The failure of Cabinet Mission obviously demonstrated the erosion of trust among all parties.⁴¹ The formal announcement to set the Indian subcontinent free came from Prime Minister Attlee on February 20, 1947. To objectify the announcement, Lord Mountbatten was also appointed to materialize the

38 Kishwar Sultana, "Baluchistan and Pakistan Movement: Role of Qazi Mohammad Isa 1939-1947," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 56, no. 2 (2019): 49–62.

39 DAWN, "From The Past Pages Of Dawn: 1946: Seventy-Five Years Ago: Massive Election Win," 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1601065>.

40 Ilhan Niaz, "The Cabinet Mission Plan: Implications for Governance," *Pakistan Journal of History & Culture* XXVI, no. 2 (2004): 65–77.

41 Stanley Wolpert, "Jinnah of Pakistan," *Oxford University Press*, 1984, 239–89.

partition.⁴² He reached India on March 22, 1947 and took his responsibilities as 34th Viceroy of India.⁴³ Initially, he tried to keep the India united. However, after having failed in his effort, 3rd June Plan was announced.⁴⁴ The 3rd June Plan is also known as Mountbatten Plan. According to the Plan, two dominions known as India and Pakistan shall be set up in the British India by August 15, 1947. Similarly, the Hindu majority areas will become part of India and the Muslim majority areas will be made part of Pakistan. The Muslim majority areas include, Punjab, Bengal, Sind, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province. However, Panjab, Bengal and Asam will have to be divided between the two dominions. The Princely States will be free in making their choices to get annexed either with India or Pakistan.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, three directorial principles were set in for the Princely States for opting accession to any dominion. These principles included, geography of the state, aspiration of the people and religio-ethnic composition of the state.⁴⁶ On July 18, 1947, the parliament of United Kingdom (UK) passed a legislation known as Indian Independence Act of 1947 in which British parliament ratified the 3rd June Plan and accorded permission for establishment of two separate dominions.⁴⁷ During the course of struggle, Viceroy

42 Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, "The Radcliffe Award of August 1947: A Reappraisal with a Focus on Role of Viceroy Mountbatten in Its Deliberation and Implementation," *Fatima Jinnah Woemn Univarsity Journal* 12, no. 1 (2018): 172–79.

43 Ghazala Nawaz, "The British Plan of the Partition of the Punjab in 1947," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* XXXIV, no. 2 (2013): 95–96.

44 Chawla, "The Radcliffe Award of August 1947," n.d., 172–73.

45 Lubna Saif, "Kashmir and 3 June Plan," *Pakistan Study Centre* 14, no. 1 (2013),
https://pu.edu.pk/home/journal/12/V_14_No_1_2013.html.

46 "Indian Independence Act, 1947," 1947,
https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga_19470030_en.pdf.

47 "Indian Independence Act | Definition, Passage, & Parliament | Britannica," July 13, 2024,
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indian-Independence-Act-1947>.

Mountbatten was accused of manipulating partition and favouring the interest of India over Pakistan.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the partition of British India was an epic achievement of Jinnah who despite fierce resistance from the Congress leaders spearheaded the movement for separate homeland of Muslims. The transfer of power involved two distinguished boundary commissions to deal with the division of Bengal and Punjab separately under the chairmanship of a British jurist Sir Cyril Radcliffe (English Bar Council).⁴⁹

c. **Radcliffe Award.** In consent with the INC and the AIML both, it was decided that demarcation of the boundaries will be carried out by creating two separate commissions for Bengal and Punjab, each comprising of 4 commissioners (2 senior judges from Pakistan and similarly 2 from India representing Muslims and Hindus respectively) under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who had never been to India earlier. His major qualification for the task was his total ignorance of subcontinent and Indian affairs. Nevertheless, he reached Delhi on July 8, 1947. The leadership of both dominions were bound to abide by the verdict given by the Boundary Commission.⁵⁰ Correspondingly, Mountbatten had given in writing that he will remain neutral, however, due to pressure by Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sikh community, he could not stand by his promise and at last moment influenced the decision given by the Chairman Boundary Commission to alter demarcation line between India and Pakistan. Mountbatten in collaboration with Governor Punjab Sir Even Jenkins operated behind the scene to profit Sikh and Hindus interests.⁵¹ On August 12, 1947, (i.e after a period of month), Radcliffe handed over the award to Viceroy's staff and left subcontinent on August 15, 1947. In the award, he handed over 3 out of 4 Muslim majority tehsils

48 Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy (1846 - 1990)*, 1st ed. (England: Oxford Pakistan Paperbacks, 2017), 105-107.

49 Lamb, *Kashmir*, 106-107, n.d.

50 Lamb, *Kashmir*, 103-104, n.d.

51 Qalb-i-Abid and Massarrat Abid, "Boundary Commission Tilting in Favour of 'Other Factors,'" *Pakistan Vision* 12, no. 2 (2011): 36-37.

of Gurdaspur district (i.e. Batala, Gurdaspur and Pathankot) to India against the spirit of partition.⁵² According to 1941 Census, Muslims were 50.2 percent of the total population of the Gurdaspur district.⁵³ Similarly, Muslims were also in obvious majority in other tehsils like, Ferozepur, Zira, Ajnala, Nakodar and Jullundur which were handed over to India against the spirit and directorial principles of partition.⁵⁴ The partition mechanism applied to Punjab provided India a complete access to State of Jammu & Kashmir. Radcliffe's biased, arbitrary, unjust and hasty demarcation of border without adequate knowledge of the complexities of the area perpetrated a legacy of discord between Pakistan and India which exists till date.

d. Indian Independence Act - July 1947. The 20th Century witnessed outpoured nationalist movements across India struggling for self-governance as well as separate homeland. The INC and the AIML were the major stake-holders.⁵⁵ However, unanimous approval of Indian Independence act was the culmination point of all these divergent aspirations. On July 18, 1947, the British parliament passed a legislation for the establishment of India and Pakistan as an independent entity with effect from August 15, 1947. Both of these countries were to emerge within a period of less than a month after enactment. Independence Act of 1947, observed an unprecedented violence across subcontinent besides record population transfer of about 1.5 million.⁵⁶ The statute granted complete legislative authority to constituent assemblies of both dominions without any interference from the outside i.e. the British. The Governor General was to

52 Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, 103-104, n.d.

53 M.W.M Yeatts, *Census of India 1941*, n.d.

54 Qalb-i- Abid and Massarrat Abid, "Boundary Commission Tilting in Favour of 'Other Factors,'" n.d., 42-48.

55 Dr. Khawaja Muhammad Khan and Syeda Sania Zaidi, "South Asian States and National Movements," *Journal of Historical Studies* VII, no. II (2021): 296-97.

56 "Indian Independence Act," February 7, 2025,
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indian-Independence-Act-1947>.

supervise state's affairs of respective countries until their own constitutions are formulated. The Princely States were given choice to join either India or Pakistan.⁵⁷ According to Independence Act 1947, the designation of Viceroy was replaced with Governor General. Correspondingly, the position of Secretary of the State was also diminished. The British paramountcy over Princely States was terminated too. The Constituent Assemblies of both dominions were empowered to frame and adopt constitution of their choices including abrogation of any act passed by the British parliament earlier.⁵⁸ The Act comprised of 22 pages, 20 sections and 3 schedules. The Act set August 15, 1947 as date of departure of British rule.⁵⁹ The Government of India Act 1935 was accepted as provisional constitution until formation of new constitution by the respective dominions i.e. India and Pakistan.⁶⁰ The hasty implementation of the act led to number of challenges which include, speedy demarcation of border resulting into creation of contentious border dispute. This partition legacy continued to shape Indo-Pak relations and socio-political landscape in South Asia.⁶¹

57 "Indian Independence Act 1947" (King's Printer of Acts of Parliament), accessed February 22, 2025,
<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/10-11/30>.

58 *Indian Independence Act 1947 | Indian Polity | Indian Constitution* (Political Science in 10 Minutes,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vO1A1MFrpw8>, 2020),
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vO1A1MFrpw8>.

59 "Indian Independence Act 1947 (UK Parliament) Archives," *Constitution of India*, accessed February 23, 2025,
<https://www.constitutionofindia.net/historical-constitution/indian-independence-act-1947-uk-parliament/>.

60 Muhammad Rizwan and Muhammad Hassan, "Constitutional Development in British India:," *Journal of Historical Studies* VI, no. 1 (2020): 31–32.

61 Dr. Crispin Bates, "BBC - History - British History in Depth: The Hidden Story of Partition and Its Legacies," 2011,
https://www.bbc.com/history/british/modern/partition1947_01.shtml.

e. **Princely States.** The British empire comprised of 11 provinces and 565 Princely States. These states were equal to almost 1/3rd of the entire British India in terms of population.⁶² However, in terms of area, these states covered almost 48 percent of the total of British India.⁶³ During the British rule, all these Princely States were indirectly controlled by royal rulers through treaties and agreements.⁶⁴ The Government of India Act 1935, though capped diarchy in provinces, nonetheless, Princely States were allowed to enjoy freedom in foreign relations, internal affairs, communication and defense. On May 12, 1946, the British Cabinet Mission went further beyond and postulated in their Memorandum that the British paramountcy would not be transferred to Indian Government on the withdrawal of British from subcontinent.⁶⁵ On June 18, 1947, the Indian Independent Act was passed by the British parliament in which the Princely States were asked to accede either with India or Pakistan.⁶⁶ Finally, in August 1947, more than 500 Princely States had to join India, while merely 12 states (out of 14 states) adjoining Pakistan started negotiation for accession with Pakistan.⁶⁷ 14 States connecting Pakistan included, 5 States falling in North-West Frontier Province

62 Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, 3-4, n.d.

63 Arvind P. Datar, "Who Betrayed Sardar Patel?," *The Hindu*, November 18, 2013, sec. OPINION, <https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/>.

64 Attiya Khanam, "An Historical Overview of the Accession of Princely States," *Journal of Historical Studies, The Women University, Multan* II, no. I (2016): 85–86.

65 Z. H. ZAIDI, ed., *QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH PAPERS: THE STATES: Historical and Policy Perspectives and Accession to Pakistan*, 1st ed., vol. VIII (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project Culture Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, IX-X, 2003).

66 "Indian Independent Act 1947" (King's Printer of Acts of Parliament, n.d.), <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/10-11/30>.

67 ZAIDI, *Jinnah Paper* (Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project Culture Division Government of Pakistan Islamabad, XVI-XVII, 2003).

(NWFP) i.e. Phulra, Amb, Chitral, Swat, and Dir as well as tribal areas of NWFP. Other 4 States contiguous to Balochistan included, Qalat, Las Bela, Kharan and Makran. 3 States from northern areas included, Punyal, Hunza and Nagar. 1 State each bordering Punjab and Sind i.e. Bahawalpur and Khairpur.⁶⁸ The accession of 5 Hindu majority states in Kathiawar, ruled by a Muslim monarch, namely Radhanpur, Dasuda, Bajuna, Vanod and Jainabad was rejected by India. Nevertheless, Manavadar and Junagarh (again Hindu majority states) formally acceded to Pakistan besides Indian opposition.⁶⁹ Likewise, two largest States i.e. Hyderabad (Hindu majority state ruled by a Muslim ruler) and Kashmir (Muslim majority state; ruled by a Hindu ruler) preferred to remain intact and contemplate over changing dynamics of the region and adopt future course of action correspondingly.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Pandit Nehru warned the Princely States that their independent status within Indian premises will not be tolerated rather will be tantamount to waging war against India. He also cautioned foreign power that recognizing such independent states would be considered an unfriendly act towards India. On the other hands, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was in favour of complete freedom of action by the Princely States.⁷¹

The Birth Pang Crises

The birth of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, was marked by crises of monumental proportion. Unwarranted and hasty division of Indian subcontinent left the new State in Catch-22. The resource constraints, humanitarian crisis and

68 Muhammad Bahar Khan, "The Annexation of Princely States with Pakistan and Its Impacts" (The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, 63-64, 2020).

69 Khanam, "An Historical Overview of the Accession of Princely States," n.d., 89-90.

70 "Khanam, "An Historical Overview of the Accession of Princely States, 84-89," n.d.

71 E. W. R. Lumby, *The Transfer of Power in India (1945-7)*, 1st ed. (London: Purnell and Sons, Ltd., 233-234, 1954).

outbreak of War 1947 in Kashmir started threatening Pakistan's survival from the very onset. The crises accompanied by massive sufferings, communal violence and loss of lives merit priority examination as:

- a. **Distribution of Assets.** The INC officially accepted the division of subcontinent; however, Indian leaders were convinced that the nascent state of Pakistan will not survive long.⁷² On June 12, 1947, a Partition Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten was formed for the purpose of division of assets, administration and armed forces. Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Vallabhi Patel represented the INC whereas, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Liaqat Ali Khan epitomized the ALML. To keep the transfer smooth, 10 Expert Committees comprising of senior bureaucrats were also formed in addition. Likewise, to bridge between the Partition Committee and Expert Committee, a Steering Committee was correspondingly instituted. However, the Partition Committee was replaced by the Partition Council as partition reached nearer. In order to anticipate conflict, an Arbitral Tribunal was also setup to resolve the disputes between the two sides.⁷³ Notwithstanding, around 260,000 military personnels mostly Hindus and Sikhs opted to stay in Indian army, whereas, 160,000 soldiers chose to join Pakistan army. Quite number of British Officers also stayed behind to assist transition phase of independence.⁷⁴ At the very inception, India started using delaying tactics to withheld financial shares. In terms of

72 "Pakistan - Partition, Independence, 1947 | Britannica," February 26, 2025,

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Birth-of-the-new-state>.

73 Anwesha Sengupta, "Breaking up: Dividing Assets between India and Pakistan in Times of Partition,"

The Indian Economic & Social History Review 51, no. 4 (October 2014): 530–32, doi:10.1177/0019464614550767.

74 "Independence and Partition, 1947 | National Army Museum," accessed January 26, 2025,

<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/independence-and-partition-1947>.

asset and liabilities, Pakistan's share became 17.5 percent, nonetheless, India did not materialize its execution. Transfer of amount of Rupees 750 million was stalled for months, resultantly, caused severe financial complications for Pakistan. Of the other assets, India starkly transferred 4730 tons of defense store out of total share of 165000 tons by March 1948. Another 18000 tons was transported by September next year and expropriated left over 142000 tons. On the other hand, Pakistan promptly moved Indian share of 9 fighter jets.⁷⁵ Similarly, 90 percent industries were based in India which never been shifted to Pakistan.⁷⁶ During the period i.e. from August 1947 to March 31, 1948, budget deficit of Pakistan had reached to Rs 53.6 million.⁷⁷ Until July 16, 2014, Reserve Bank of India was indebted to Pakistan for more than Rs 5.6 billion post-partition liabilities.⁷⁸

- b. **Mass Exodus of Refugees.** The province of Punjab and the State of Jammu & Kashmir were the worst affected regions due to refugee crises.⁷⁹ The total population of the province of Punjab was 34.3 million at the time of division. The population was further divided into different communities i.e. Muslims 18.24 million, Hindus 9.98

75 Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2019*, 5th ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 17-18, 2020).

76 "BBC - History - British History in Depth: The Hidden Story of Partition and Its Legacies," accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/partition1947_01.shtml.

77 Busharat Elahi Jamil, "Miseries of the West Punjab (1947-1955): Moment of Truth," *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 31, no. 2 (December 2018): 35–36.

78 Kazim Alam, "Post-Partition: India Still Owes Pakistan a Little over Rs5.6b," *The Express Tribune*, July 16, 2014, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/736390/post-partition-india-still-owes-pakistan-a-little-over-rs5-6b-says-state-bank>.

79 "India Partition: Our Response to the Refugee Crisis," *British Red Cross*, accessed February 27, 2025, <https://www.redcross.org.uk/stories/our-movement/our-history/india-partition-the-red-cross-response-to-the-refugee-crisis>.

million and Sikhs and others were 6 million etc.⁸⁰ Unjust demarcation of Punjab by Radcliffe resulted into eruption of wide scale riots, violence and massacre within communities (i.e. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs). As a result, 800,000 Muslims died and 1.2 million went missing in partition related killings. Correspondingly, 800,000 Hindus and Sikhs also went missing.⁸¹ The British Red Cross reported that around one million people were killed and 14 million got displaced during refugee crises in 1947.⁸² Notwithstanding, 6 million Muslim refugees migrated to West Punjab out of which 4 million were adjusted in West Punjab and rest of the refugees were shifted to other provinces. According to refugee census of 1948, total number of the refugees had become 5.5 million i.e. 28 percent of the net Muslim population of Punjab.⁸³ Correspondingly, by the end of May 1950 refugees from West Bengal and Asam had reached to 1.1 million.⁸⁴ Similarly, almost 1 million Muslim migrant reached West Punjab from Princely states.⁸⁵ According to 1st National Census, conducted in 1951, total number of the refugees recorded in Pakistan was 7 million; amounting to 20 percent of its total population

80 M.W.M Yeatts, *Census of India 1941*, vol. VI: Punjab Provincial Table (Population by Communities/ Districts/ Tehsils) (Simla: The Manager, Government of India Press, 1943).

81 Prashant Bharadwaj, Asim Khwaja, and Atif Mian, "The Big March: Migratory Flows after the Partition of India," *The Economic and Political Weekly*, August 30, 2008, 43–44.

82 "India Partition," *British Red Cross*, n.d., <https://www.redcross.org.uk/stories/our-movement/our-history/india-partition-the-red-cross-response-to-the-refugee-crisis>.

83 B Elahi J, *Miseries of the West Punjab*, 33-34, n.d.

84 Ian Talbot, "The 1947 Partition of India and Migration: A Comparative Study of Punjab and Bengal," *Oxford University Press*, 2009, 329–30.

85 Tahir Khan, "Refugee Rehabilitation and Settlement, 1947-71: Issues and Policies" (University of the Punjab, 42-43, 2021).

and almost 48 percent of the urban population.⁸⁶ Statistically, around 40 million Muslims decided to stay back in India whereas, almost 10 million Hindus preferred to stay in Pakistan.⁸⁷ Notwithstanding, the federal government of Pakistan besides meagre resources and number of other commitments successfully meted out refugee challenges. On September 12, 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah took number of significant decisions which include, creation of Ministry of Evacuee and Refugee Rehabilitation, establishment of Refugee Relief Fund and appealed to nation to observe austerity and help out refugees to tackle with forthcoming winter season. Meanwhile, he also paid frequent visits to refugee camps.⁸⁸

- c. **India's Bid to Establish Hegemony.** In accordance with Independence Act 1947, the Princely States had option to annex with India or Pakistan, however, directorial principles will have to be kept in mind.⁸⁹ Failed to digest the move by few of the Princely States to annex themselves with Pakistan, on October 22, 1947, India illegally occupied Manavadar and put the ruler under house arrest. Similarly, imposed blockage around Junagarh and finally assaulted and occupied Junagarh state on November 1, 1947. Both these states have annexed with Pakistan on September 14 and 15, 1947

86 Ian Talbot, *Refugee Crises, 1945-2000 Political and Societal Responses in International Comparison*, ed. Jan C. Jansen and Simone Lässig (Cambridge University Press, 83-103, 2020).

87 Levina, "Partition and the Division of Assets between India and Pakistan.," *Pakistan Defence*, 2015,
<https://defence.pk/threads/partition-and-the-division-of-assets-between-india-and-pakistan.408843/>.

88 Khan, "Refugee Rehabilitation and Settlement, 75-76" n.d.

89 Naghma Mangrio, "A Historical and Political Perspective of Kashmir Issue," *The Dialogue, Qurtuba University of Science and IT VII*, no. 3 (2012): 260–61.

respectively.⁹⁰ On September 17, 1948, India invaded and occupied Hyderabad and killed around 40,000 Muslims including men, women and children.⁹¹ Similarly, the State of Jammu & Kashmir was a giant princely state before the partition of subcontinent with an area more than 80,000sq.miles and population 4000,000 inhabitant with overwhelming Muslim majority.⁹² It was likely that the State of Jammu & Kashmir will accede to Pakistan without any impediment enroute due to its close proximity, common religion, culture and traditions with the people of Pakistan.⁹³ Nonetheless, reality turned to be opposite when initially Maharaja adopted wait and see policy and offered standstill agreement to both India and Pakistan. Pakistan accepted the agreement and ratified it on August 15, 1947, whereas, India adopted delaying tactics and exhibited reluctance to endorse standstill agreement.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, over the celebration of Pakistan Day (i.e. August 14, 1947) in Kashmir, Maharaja imposed Martial Law which further worsened the law & order situation in Kashmir. From August to October 1947, at least 500,000 Muslims got displaced and 200,000 disappeared from Jammu alone. In the interim period, India thought it golden opportunity to assert hegemony and finally, on October 27, 1947, it illegally dropped her forces (i.e. about 35000 troops) in order to usurp the rights of people of Kashmir and pushed Pakistan into war.⁹⁵ Hence, the first Kashmir war erupted between India and Pakistan and only came to an end after the United Nations involvement and passing of resolution on

90 Syeda Aamna Nadeem, "From Autonomy to Hegemony: The Annexation Journey of Princely States," *The Financial Daily*, 2024, <https://thefinancialdaily.com/from-autonomy-to-hegemony-the-annexation-journey-of-princely-states/>.

91 "Ibid," n.d.

92 Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, 6-10, n.d.

93 Lamb, *Kashmir*, 125- 128, n.d.

94 Lamb, *Kashmir*, 122-123, n.d.

95 Lamb, *Kashmir*, 123-136, n.d.

April 21, 1948 and August 13, 1948 successively.⁹⁶ Since then, the Kashmir dispute is a festering wound between the two nations.

- d. **Water Dispute.** 20 major rivers are flowing through countries of Himalayan Block (i.e. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal). 3 of these rivers have international legal significance namely, Brahmaputra, Ganges and Indus.⁹⁷ These 20 rivers including Brahmaputra, Ganges and Indus originate in the Himalayas (Tibetan Plateau).⁹⁸ The Indus River is the longest among these (2000 miles long) and passes through Northwestern region before emptying into Arabian Sea.⁹⁹ The North-western region is also known as Indus Basin and encompasses; Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan.¹⁰⁰ The partition of subcontinent in 1947 also resulted into division of Punjab. The Boundary Commission presided over by Lord Radcliffe had made it clear during the partition that historic distribution of water will not be disturbed and India had shown her absolute willingness.¹⁰¹ As a result, India was termed upper riparian, whereas Pakistan was given the status of lower

96 Mohammad Zubair Iqbal and Shabir Hussain, "Indo-Pak Wars (1948, 1965, 1971, 1999): Projecting the Nationalistic Narrative," *Journal of Political Studies* 25, no. 1 (2018): 141–42.

97 Salman M.A. Salman and Kishor Uprety, *Conflict and Cooperation on South Asia's International Rivers: A Legal Perspective* (Netherlands: Kluwer Law International, xv-xvi, 2002).

98 Chauhan B.R., *Settlement of International and Inter-State Water Disputes in India* (New Delhi: Indian Law Institute, 107-140, 1992).

99 Salman.M.A. Salaman and Kishor Uprety, *Conflict and Cooperation on South Asia's International Rivers: A Legal Perspective*, 37-38, n.d.

100 Chauhan B.R., *Settlement of International and Inter-State Water Disputes in India*, 107-108, n.d.

101 Dr Iqbal Ali, "Pakistan: End of the Water Dispute," *The Round the Table*, Taylor & Francis 51, no. 201 (1960): 72–75, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358536008452289>.

riparian state. All major six rivers enter into Pakistan from upper riparian state i.e. India.¹⁰² In December 1947, East and West Punjab signed a Standstill Agreement to abide by pre-partition distribution of water till March 31, 1948.¹⁰³ On April 1, 1948 (almost after 8 months of independence), as the agreement expired, India without giving any warning suddenly stopped complete water flowing into Pakistan's Dipalpur and Central Bari Doab canals located in West Punjab. The flow of water was controlled through headworks sited in Indian territory.¹⁰⁴ Though provision of water was restored on April 30, 1948, however, it further deteriorated the relations.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, an Inter-Dominion Conference was held in New Delhi from 3 May-4 May 1948 and concluded an agreement over the distribution of water between the two states, however, it was not a permanent solution to the dispute.¹⁰⁶ Later, the government of Pakistan had to approach international community and finally, the World Bank mediated talks and took almost one decade to get the Indus Water Treaty signed in 1960.¹⁰⁷

India Centric Defense and Foreign Policy

The origin of India centric defense and foreign policy goes back to independence and linked to its foundational issues (i.e. demarcation of boundaries, dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, communal violence and rehabilitation of refugees)

102 Waseem Ahmad Qureshi, "Water as a Human Right: A Case Study of the Pakistan-India Water Conflict," *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (2017): 376–78.

103 Suchita Uppal and Zaid Wahidi, "Water Wars and the U.N. Watercourse Convention: The Indo-Pak Story," *Cornell International Law Journal Online* 53 (2020): 43–45.

104 Ali, "Pakistan: End of the Water Dispute, 72-73," n.d.

105 Suchita Uppal and Zaid Wahidi, "Water Wars and the U.N. Watercourse Convention," 2020, 44–45.

106 Raja Nazakat Ali, Faiz-ur- Rehman, and Mahmood-ur-Rehman Wani, "Indus Water Treaty between Pakistan and India: From Conciliation to Confrontation," *The Dialogue* X, no. 2 (n.d.): 168–69.

107 Waseem Ahmad Qureshi, "Water as a Human Right, 376-377," n.d.

and defined Pakistan's existential concerns.¹⁰⁸ The fear stemming from the security dilemma is fundamental to understanding Pakistan's India focused defense and foreign policy immediately after independence.¹⁰⁹ The Kashmir war (1947-48), solidified the perception that India is a permanent security threat leading to prioritization of defense over development.¹¹⁰ This sentiment was further strengthened by India's early reluctance to release Pakistan's monetary assets.¹¹¹ In addition, communal violence resulted into mass exodus of refugees kept corroborating anti-India chronicles.¹¹² Not a year passed after securing independence, India stopped all water flowing into Pakistan.¹¹³ All in all, these recurrent hostile events on the part of India proved to Pakistan's political and military leadership that India would continue to remain a primary challenge to Pakistan's sovereignty.

Conclusion

The struggle for independence commenced at the beginning of 20th Century when the AIML was formed at Dacca in 1906. Numerous hurdles came enroute, nonetheless, March 23, 1940, proved to be a conclusive when the Lahore Resolution demanded separate homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent. The election of Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies was the first step towards

108 Tushar Shetty, "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Strategic Overview," *The Diplomat*, 2025,

<https://thediplomat.com/2025/09/pakistans-foreign-policy-a-strategic-overview/>.

109 Zoha Aziz, "A Divine State Trapped in a Security Dilemma," *Daily Times*, 2025,

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/1400118/a-divine-state-trapped-in-a-security-dilemma/>.

110 Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defense Policy, 1947-1958*, 1st ed. (Macmillan, 173-182, 1990).

111 Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2019*, 17-18, n.d.

112 Ian, *Refugee Crises*, 88-103, n.d.

113 Patricia Bauer, "Indus Waters Treaty," *Britannica*, 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Indus-Waters-Treaty>.

independence. Similarly, the 3rd June Plan proved to be a decisive moment when the British government accepted the partition of India and announced establishment of two dominions i.e. India and Pakistan. Indian leaders started conniving against the emergence of Pakistan together with Mountbatten. The unjust partition of Punjab and Bengal followed by forceful usurping of State of Jammu & Kashmir are the true examples of their organized collusion. The mass exodus of refugees, refusal of India to transfer financial share and opening the war against Pakistan at Kashmir front are case in study. Having failed at all fronts, India stopped complete water flowing into Pakistan in April 1948. Despite all odds, the AIML and its leadership displayed resilience, determination and perseverance in achieving their goal of sovereign state in the shape of Pakistan.