



# Cambridge O Level

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**PAKISTAN STUDIES**

**2059/01**

Paper 1 The History and Culture of Pakistan

**October/November 2022**

MARK SCHEME

Maximum Mark: 75

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**Published**

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

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This document consists of **16** printed pages.

**Generic Marking Principles**

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:**

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:**

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:**

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:**

Rules must be applied consistently, e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:**

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

**GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:**

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

**Generic levels of response marking grids****Table 1**

The table should be used to mark the part (c) question in **Section A** and part (b) questions in **Section B**.

<b>Target: Demonstrates knowledge and understanding of the past through historical explanation (AO1, AO2)</b>		<b>Marks</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Explanation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one explanation [5]</li> <li>• two explanations <b>or</b> one <i>developed</i> explanation [6]</li> <li>• additional explanation(s) <b>and/or</b> <i>developed</i> explanation(s) [7]</li> </ul> <p>Supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p>	<b>5–7</b>
<b>Level 2</b>	<b>Identification/ description</b> Identifies <b>and/or</b> describes using relevant and accurate contextual knowledge (1 mark per identification/ description)	<b>2–4</b>
<b>Level 1</b>	<b>General answer</b> Valid general comment lacking specific knowledge	<b>1</b>
<b>Level 0</b>	<b>No creditable response</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 2**

The Table should be used to mark the part (c) question in **Section B**.

<b>Target: Demonstrates knowledge and understanding of the past through historical explanation and an ability to analyse and evaluate historical events (AO1, AO2)</b>		<b>Marks</b>
<b>Level 5</b>	<p><b>Explanation with evaluation/ judgement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• explanation at the top of Level 4 with an evaluation/ judgement supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge [13]</li> <li>• explanation at the top of Level 4 with a <i>developed</i> evaluation/ judgement supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge [14]</li> </ul>	<b>13–14</b>
<b>Level 4</b>	<p><b>Explanation of both sides of the issue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one explanation of each side of the issue [10]</li> <li>• two explanations <b>or</b> one <i>developed</i> explanation of one side of the issue <b>and</b> an explanation of the other side of the issue [11]</li> <li>• additional explanation(s) <b>and/or</b> <i>developed</i> explanation(s) from either side of the issue [12]</li> </ul> <p>Supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p>	<b>10–12</b>
<b>Level 3</b>	<p><b>Explanation of one side of the issue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one explanation [7]</li> <li>• two explanations <b>or</b> one <i>developed</i> explanation [8]</li> <li>• additional explanation(s) <b>and/or</b> <i>developed</i> explanation(s) [9]</li> </ul> <p>Supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p>	<b>7–9</b>
<b>Level 2</b>	<p><b>Identification/ description of the issue</b></p> <p>Identifies <b>and/or</b> describes the issue using relevant and accurate contextual knowledge (1 mark per identification/ description)</p>	<b>3–6</b>
<b>Level 1</b>	<p><b>General answer</b></p> <p>Valid general comment(s) lacking specific subject knowledge (1 mark per general comment)</p>	<b>1–2</b>
<b>Level 0</b>	<b>No creditable response</b>	<b>0</b>

## Section A

Question	Answer	Marks
1(a)	<p><b>This question is about Muhammad Ayub Khan’s rule, 1958–69.</b></p> <p><b>According to Source A, what did Fatima Jinnah wish for the people of Pakistan?</b></p> <p>Target: AO4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to ‘free 110 million people in Pakistan from this atmosphere’ [1] of ‘uncertainty, intimidation and discontent’ [1]</li> <li>• people would hear ‘the message of freedom, democracy and social justice’</li> <li>• people would benefit from ‘the work started by her brother, the late Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan’</li> <li>• that people are not ‘afraid’</li> <li>• that people ‘be willing to work hard and contribute so that all of Pakistan can thrive’</li> <li>• that ‘everyone can become prosperous’</li> <li>• that ‘future generations can live freely in a society [1] which values them and their efforts’ [1]</li> </ul> <p>One mark for each relevant statement correctly identified from the source.</p> <p><b>Note:</b> candidates may paraphrase but content must be derived from the bullet point statements above.</p>	3
1(b)	<p><b>What can we learn from Source B about the relations between Pakistan and the USA in the early 1960s?</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO4</p> <p><b>Level 3 (4–5 marks) Supported valid inference(s)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one valid inference supported by a surface feature from Source B [4]</li> <li>• additional valid inference(s) supported by surface feature(s) from Source B <b>or</b> one valid inference supported by a surface feature from Source B <b>and</b> contextual knowledge [5]</li> </ul> <p><b>Level 2 (2–3 marks) Unsupported valid inference(s)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one unsupported valid inference [2]</li> <li>• additional unsupported valid inference(s) [3]</li> </ul> <p><b>Level 1 (1 mark) Identifies a surface feature</b> Any correct surface feature taken from Source B [1]</p> <p><b>Level 0 (0 marks) No creditable response</b></p> <p><b>Note:</b> an unsupported valid inference can only be credited if it can be inferred directly from the source.</p> <p><b>Note:</b> In Levels 1–3 a response that does not use Source B cannot be credited.</p>	5

Question	Answer	Marks
1(b)	<p>Indicative content</p> <p><b>Surface feature</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• President Muhammad Ayub Khan is in the centre of the photograph</li> <li>• President Muhammad Ayub Khan is looking at the man standing on his right-hand side</li> <li>• they are in the White House</li> <li>• they are smiling/happy/casual</li> <li>• there are two different flags</li> <li>• they are all wearing suits and ties</li> <li>• the man on the left has his right hand in his jacket pocket</li> </ul> <p><b>Valid inference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• relations are good/positive/friendly</li> <li>• they (Pakistan and USA) want to work together/they are supportive/cooperative</li> <li>• relations are relaxed</li> <li>• relations are formal/business-like</li> <li>• relations appear to be on an equal footing</li> </ul> <p><b>Contextual knowledge</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the President (Kennedy) and the Vice-President (Johnson) of the USA are on either side of President Muhammad Ayub Khan</li> <li>• they are standing in the Oval Office, the President's personal office, at the heart of American government</li> <li>• President Muhammad Ayub Khan was considered the 'architect' of good relations between the USA and Pakistan</li> <li>• he hoped to persuade the USA to increase military/economic assistance to Pakistan</li> <li>• he also hoped to gain support from the USA on Kashmir</li> <li>• this meeting was followed up by a visit of the First Lady of the USA/Jacqueline Kennedy to Pakistan in 1962</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	
1(c)	<p><b>Explain why General Muhammad Ayub Khan came to power in 1958.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 1.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• by 1958 General Muhammad Ayub Khan thought it necessary to take over the country to settle Pakistan</li> <li>• there were many Prime Ministers between 1956 and 1958 causing instability/uncertainty</li> <li>• there were food shortages and flooding in 1955 in East Pakistan</li> <li>• East Pakistan wanted more involvement in central government</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>7</b>

Question	Answer	Marks
1(d)	<p><b>To what extent were the years 1958 to 1968 ‘A Decade of Development’? Explain your answer.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2</p> <p><b>Level 5 (10 marks) Explains with evaluation/ judgement</b> Explanation at the top of Level 4 with an evaluation/ judgement supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p> <p><b>Level 4 (7–9 marks) Explanation of both sides of the issue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one explanation of each side of the issue [7]</li> <li>• two explanations <b>or</b> one <i>developed</i> explanation of one side of the issue <b>and</b> an explanation of the other side of the issue [8]</li> <li>• additional explanation(s) <b>and/or</b> <i>developed</i> explanation(s) from either side of the issue [9]</li> </ul> <p>Supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p> <p><b>Level 3 (4–6 marks) Explanation of one side of the issue</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• one explanation [4]</li> <li>• two explanations <b>or</b> one <i>developed</i> explanation [5]</li> <li>• additional explanation(s) <b>and/or</b> <i>developed</i> explanation(s) [6]</li> </ul> <p>Supported by relevant and accurate contextual knowledge</p> <p><b>Level 2 (2–3 marks) Identification/ description of the issue</b> Identifies <b>and/or</b> describes the issue using relevant and accurate contextual knowledge (1 mark per identification/ description)</p> <p><b>Level 1 (1 mark) General answer</b> Valid general comment lacking specific subject knowledge</p> <p><b>Level 0 (0 marks) No creditable response</b></p>	10

Question	Answer	Marks
1(d)	<p>Indicative content</p> <p><b>may agree</b> that the years 1958 to 1968 were ‘A Decade of Development’ as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• there was a new constitution in 1962</li> <li>• an oil refinery was established in Karachi</li> <li>• a Mineral Development Corporation was set up</li> <li>• an export bonus scheme was set up</li> <li>• an economic union developing trade and commerce with Iran and Turkey formed in 1964</li> <li>• factory owners were required to provide accommodation for workers at a reasonable rent</li> <li>• a new school curriculum was introduced promoting literacy</li> <li>• there was a housing programme for refugees</li> <li>• university courses now lasted three years</li> <li>• the Family Planning Programme was set up</li> <li>• medical/nursing schools set up to increase the number of trained staff</li> <li>• new capital city built</li> <li>• crop outputs were at record levels</li> <li>• increased mechanisation of farms/the Green Revolution</li> <li>• dams built to help irrigation</li> <li>• farmers accessed irrigation loans</li> <li>• economic growth and productivity increased</li> <li>• employment increased and unemployment decreased</li> </ul> <p><b>counter-arguments</b> might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• smaller farms, farmers found their land was redistributed</li> <li>• increased agricultural productivity was limited to large landowners</li> <li>• the new wealth did not spread to everyone</li> <li>• the number of people living in severe poverty increased</li> <li>• university students opposed the government’s education reforms</li> <li>• the Family Planning Programme was not particularly successful</li> <li>• banking and insurance companies were controlled by a small proportion of the population</li> <li>• it was perceived by some that West Pakistan benefitted more than East Pakistan</li> <li>• food prices increased</li> <li>• there was an increasing dependence on foreign aid</li> <li>• the benefits of development did not always reach the people which led to discontent</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	

**Section B**

Question	Answer	Marks
2(a)	<p><b>Describe the military actions of Nana Sahib in 1857.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1 One mark for each relevant point. Additional mark for supporting detail.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• during War of Independence [1] at Kanpur [1] he led the revolt that killed British officers [1] and Europeans [1]</li> <li>• a British force surrendered to him and his force, [1] having been given a promise of a safe passage out of the area [1]</li> <li>• Nana Sahib fired on the British [1] who were on barges [1] and killed 300 women and children [1] as well as all the soldiers [1]</li> <li>• survivors were kept as prisoners who were killed [1] when British reinforcements arrived [1]</li> <li>• he was never captured [1]</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>4</b>
2(b)	<p><b>Explain how Britain extended its control across the subcontinent between 1756 and 1856.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 1.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• by having a strong army</li> <li>• the British army took Bengal in the battles of Plassey and Buxar</li> <li>• they took control of vast resources especially in Bengal</li> <li>• they had a well-developed administrative system e.g. Governor-Generals from 1782 onwards</li> <li>• they built railways</li> <li>• troops, administrators and goods were transported around the country</li> <li>• they passed laws: The Regulating Act 1773, The India Act 1784, etc.</li> <li>• the Doctrine of Lapse 1852</li> <li>• land annexed in: Sindh, North-West Frontier, Punjab, Mysore</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>7</b>

Question	Answer	Marks
2(c)	<p><b>'Introducing a new approach to education was the main contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to improving the lives of Muslim people during the nineteenth century.'</b> How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.</p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 2.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p><b>may agree</b> that a new approach to education was the main contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to improving the lives of Muslim people during the nineteenth century:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sir Syed Ahmad Khan sought views about education from influential Muslims</li> <li>• he set up the Mohammedan Educational Conference</li> <li>• he opened a school which became a college and then a university which taught a mix of Muslim and western content</li> <li>• it used western educational ideas including new subjects such as science</li> <li>• it promoted self-esteem and confidence within Muslims and a pathway to achieving employment and leadership</li> <li>• he founded the Scientific Society at Ghazipur</li> </ul> <p><b>counter-arguments</b> might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• he believed in the 'Two-Nation' Theory</li> <li>• he was opposed to Hindi replacing Urdu as the official language</li> <li>• he improved Muslim understanding of Christianity</li> <li>• he promoted more positive relationships by working with the Muslim community and the British</li> <li>• he promoted a greater understanding between the British and Muslim communities of each other</li> <li>• he wrote several influential texts</li> <li>• he gave explanation of the word '<i>Nadarath</i>'</li> <li>• he formed the United Patriotic Alliance</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	14

Question	Answer	Marks
3(a)	<p><b>Describe the impact of Lord Curzon on India.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1 One mark for each relevant point. Additional mark for supporting detail.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• he became Viceroy of India [1] in 1898 [1]</li> <li>• in 1905 [1] he decided to partition Bengal [1]</li> <li>• it was partitioned into West Bengal and East Bengal</li> <li>• protests took place in Bengal because of his decision</li> <li>• the Muslim community supported his decision</li> <li>• Hindu groups boycotted British goods because of his decision</li> <li>• long-term, partition was reversed in 1911</li> <li>• long-term, it weakened the position of Muslims [1] and strengthened the position of Hindus [1]</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>4</b>
3(b)	<p><b>Explain why the Simon Commission of 1927 was unpopular.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 1.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sir John Simon/Conservative government felt the pace of reform should be slow</li> <li>• the committee had a non-Indian/all-British perspective</li> <li>• Indian groups felt the composition of the committee was an insult</li> <li>• views of Indian nationalists were not represented/considered</li> <li>• it was seen by Indian groups as a stalling tactic by Britain to put off self-government</li> <li>• the Labour party favoured a more sympathetic approach to Indian nationalism</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>7</b>

Question	Answer	Marks
3(c)	<p><b>To what extent were the Morley-Minto reforms the most important political development in India between 1909 and 1919? Explain your answer.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 2.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p><b>may agree</b> that the Morley-Minto reforms were the most important political development in India between 1909 and 1919:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the Morley-Minto Reforms became the Indian Councils Act 1909</li> <li>• the reforms increased the number of Indians sitting on the Councils</li> <li>• Indian members of the Councils could now have their views/opinions heard and formally recorded</li> <li>• separate electorates were granted</li> <li>• the Indian Councils were only advisory bodies</li> </ul> <p><b>counter-arguments</b> might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the partition of Bengal in 1911 was reversed following Hindu protests</li> <li>• in 1913 the Muslim League called for Indian self-government</li> <li>• Indian groups/people were frustrated that political reform was slow after the First World War ended</li> <li>• the Lucknow Pact of 1916 saw Congress and the Muslim League working together</li> <li>• the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms/the Government of India Act 1919 gave few concessions to the Indian people</li> <li>• the Rowlatt Act 1919 and its impact including Jallianwala Bagh</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	14

Question	Answer	Marks
4(a)	<p><b>Describe the terms of the Nehru Report.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1 One mark for each relevant point. Additional mark for supporting detail.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p>It called for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights [1] including freedom of conscience and liberty [1]</li> <li>• central government was to be responsible for peace and order</li> <li>• immediate Dominion status for India [1] whilst remaining a member of the Commonwealth [1] accepting the British monarch as Head of State [1]</li> <li>• India to become a federation with a 2-chamber parliament</li> <li>• no separate electorates</li> <li>• the protection of minorities [1] through a system of reserving seats in central parliament [1]</li> <li>• the vote for all men and women</li> <li>• men and women should have equal rights as citizens</li> <li>• no state religion</li> <li>• Hindi to be made the official language of India</li> <li>• Sindh should be separated from Bombay [1] provided it proves to be financially self-sufficient [1]</li> <li>• reforms should be introduced in North-West Frontier Province</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>4</b>
4(b)	<p><b>Explain why people joined the Khilafat Movement.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 1.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• people wanted to protect the Caliphate/Ottoman Empire/holy places</li> <li>• it provided a vehicle for different groups of people to protest against the British</li> <li>• the Muslim community resented fighting fellow Muslims in the First World War</li> <li>• Gandhi saw it as an opportunity to unite Muslim and Hindu communities against the British</li> <li>• to protest against the policy of British repression in 1921</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>7</b>

Question	Answer	Marks
4(c)	<p><b>To what extent did the Round Table Conferences (1930–1932) provide a solution to the government of India? Explain your answer.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 2.</p> <p><b>may agree</b> that the Round Table Conferences (1930–1932) provided a solution to the government of India at that time as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a federal system for India was agreed</li> <li>• a representative government would be introduced at provincial government</li> <li>• the North-West Frontier Province and Sindh were to be made provinces with their own governors</li> <li>• the Princely States declared they would join a future federation of India if their rights were recognised</li> </ul> <p><b>counter-arguments</b> might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Congress boycotted the talks in the First Round Table Conference</li> <li>• little progress was made</li> <li>• Gandhi refused to recognise the problems of minorities</li> <li>• Gandhi believed that he represented all Indians at the talks</li> <li>• the British coalition government showed little interest in reaching an agreement</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	<b>14</b>

Question	Answer	Marks
5(a)	<p><b>Describe the Canal Water Dispute.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1</p> <p>One mark for each relevant point. Additional mark for supporting detail.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• after partition, the Indian government promised not to interfere with the supply of water to Pakistan [1], but India and Pakistan were soon in dispute especially over the waters from the Bari-Doab canal [1]</li> <li>• in April 1948 [1] India shut off waters flowing into Pakistan [1] from Ferozepur headworks [1], threatening millions of acres of agricultural land in the Punjab/Pakistan [1] as the irrigation system depended on 6 rivers and 30 canals [1]</li> <li>• the Pakistan government called for the matter to be settled by the International Court of Justice [1]</li> <li>• in May 1948 [1], a temporary agreement was reached [1] when India agreed to allow water from east Punjab to flow into west Punjab [1], but only if Pakistan agreed to try to find alternative water supplies [1]</li> <li>• the dispute was resolved in 1959 [1] when the Indus Water Treaty was signed [1]</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	4
5(b)	<p><b>Explain why Benazir Bhutto’s government was dismissed in 1990.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2</p> <p>Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 1.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the MQM left the coalition</li> <li>• there was opposition to the ruling party in Sindh</li> <li>• there was growing unemployment, riots and strikes</li> <li>• a no confidence motion was introduced</li> <li>• lost the confidence of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan</li> <li>• there were some allegations from political opponents that the government encouraged corruption</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	7

Question	Answer	Marks
5(c)	<p><b>‘Pakistan has had good relations with the USSR (Russia) since 1947.’</b> <b>How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.</b></p> <p>Target: AO1, AO2 Mark according to the level of response descriptors in Table 2.</p> <p>Indicative content</p> <p><b>may agree</b> that Pakistan has had good relations with the USSR (Russia) since 1947:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pakistan hosted the oil exploration in Pakistan conducted by USSR</li> <li>• Pakistan negotiated £11m in economic assistance from the USSR in 1963</li> <li>• Pakistan’s leaders visited the USSR on several occasions</li> <li>• in 1963 the USSR took a more neutral stance on the Kashmir issue</li> <li>• the USSR hosted a Peace Conference in 1965 between Pakistan and India</li> <li>• Pakistan-Soviet links flourished when the USA closed their airbase at Peshawar in 1968</li> <li>• Pakistan attracted support from the USSR to build a steel mill in 1972</li> <li>• Zia-ul-Haq attended President Andropov’s funeral in 1984</li> </ul> <p><b>counter-arguments</b> might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the USSR supported India in 1955 on the Kashmir issue</li> <li>• Pakistan received aid from the USA instead of the USSR in 1956</li> <li>• Pakistan stated they had no knowledge of the USA ‘spy plane’ flights</li> <li>• Pakistan involvement in USA-Chinese diplomacy led to Soviet support for India</li> <li>• relations with the USSR became hostile following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979</li> <li>• the USSR disapproved of Pakistan’s nuclear programme</li> </ul> <p>Other relevant responses should also be credited.</p>	14