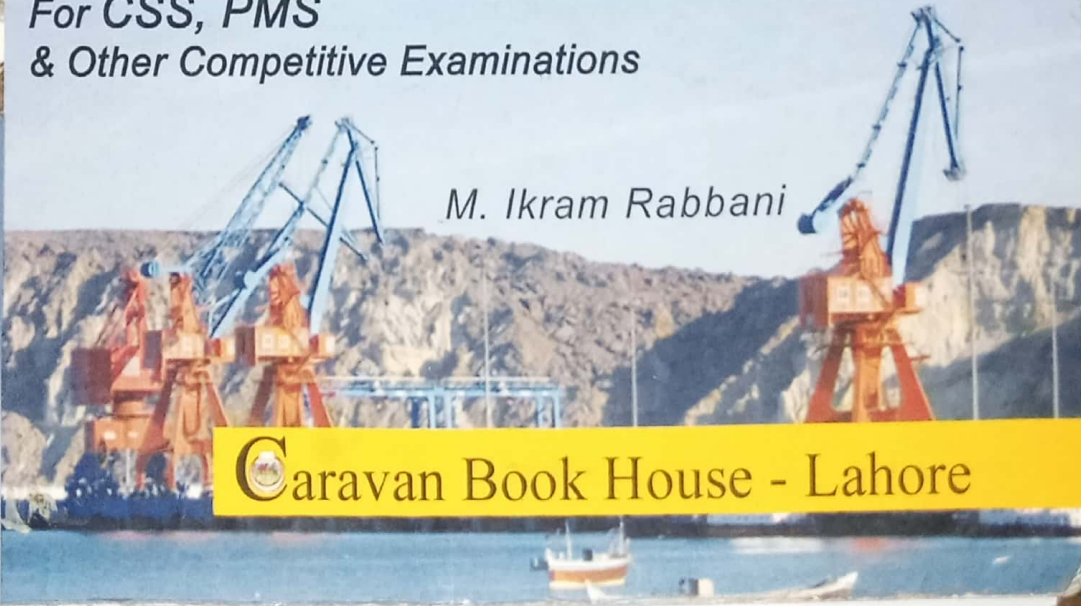


New Millennium

PAKISTAN AFFAIRS

*For CSS, PMS
& Other Competitive Examinations*

M. Ikram Rabbani



Caravan Book House - Lahore

DEDICATED

to

My Great Grandfather

Hazrat Maulvi Mahboob Alam Sahib,

Whose

Inspiration has been a source

of strength

to millions of his Disciples

M. Ikram Rabbani

CONTENTS

Chapter One PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY (1-10)

Aims and Objects of the Establishment of Pakistan, What is Ideology? How Ideology Emerges?	1
Importance of an Ideology, Basis of Pakistan Ideology; Pakistan Ideology, Definition and Explanation, Two-Nation Concept, Aims and Objects of the Establishment of Pakistan; Enforcement of the Sovereignty of the God Almighty	2
Establishment of Islamic Democracy, Revival of Muslims' Image and Identity; Protection of Muslim Culture and Civilization	3
Two-Nation Theory, Emancipation from the Prejudicial Hindu Majority, Establishment of a Balanced Economic System	4
Pakistan Ideology and Allama Iqbal	5
Pakistan Ideology and the Quaid-i-Azam	7

Chapter Two ✓ HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN (10-44)

The Evolution of Muslim Nationalism in India; The Advent of Islam in the Sub-Continent, Sindh – The 'Bab-ul-Islam', Muhammad Bin Qasim Attacks India	10
Spread of Islam in other Parts of India ✓	
The Impact of Islam, Islam and Hinduism, Cultural Influence ✓	12
Religious Influence, Hindu Reaction, Hindu Nationalist Movements ✓	13
Bhagti Movement, Din-i-Alahi ✓	14
Imam Rabbani Hazrat Majadid Alf Sani ✓	15
Social Conditions of India, Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts to Purge Muslim Society of Atheist Values ✓	16
Sheikh Ahmad's Letters, Sheikh Ahmad Imprisoned Sheikh Ahmad and Two-Nation Concept ✓	17
Wahdat-ul-Wajud and Wahdat-ul-Shahud, The Influence of Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts, Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah Muhadis Dehlvi ✓	18
Social Conditions of India in Shah Wali Ullah's Time ✓	19
Shah Wali Ullah's Movement, Religious Reformation, Political Services ✓	20
Works of Shah Wali Ullah, Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi ✓	21
Preparation for Jihad Against Sikhs, Declaration of War ✓	22
Enforcement of Shariat ✓	23
Fraizi Movement ✓	24
Dudu Miyan, Titumir ✓	25
Educational Movements, Ali Garh Movement Sir Syed Ahmed Khan ✓	26
The Beginning of Aligarh Movement ✓	27
The Educational Aspect of the Aligarh Movement ✓	28
	29

Establishment of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Muhammadan Educational Conference, Political Aspect of Ali Garh Movement	30
Steps for Creating Better Understanding Between the Muslims and the British	31
Religious Services of the Aligarh Movement, Social Services of the Aligarh Movement	32
Pioneer of Two-Nation Theory	33
The Impact of Aligarh Movement, Aligarh Movement after the Death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan	33
Tehrik-i-Deoband, Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Deoband, Founders of Deoband	35
Activities of Dar-ul-Uloom, Teachers/Students of Dar-ul-Uloom	36
Political Trends of Deoband, Educational Aspect of the Deoband, Dar-ul-Uloom-Deoband and Aligarh	37
Nadva-tul-Ulema of Luckhnow	38
Establishment of Nadva-Tul-Ulema, Objectives of Nadva, Nadva-tul-Ulema and Maulana Shibli	39
Anjuman-i-Himayaat-i-Islam, Lahore, Objectives of Anjuman, Educational Services,	41
Political Services of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam	42
Sindh Madrasah, Karachi	42
Islamia College, Peshawar, Dar-ul-Uloom-e-Islamia	43

Chapter Three MUSLIMS' POLITICAL STRUGGLE (45-66)

Legislative Councils Act, 1861	45
Indian Councils Act, 1892, Hindi-Urdu Controversy	46
Partition of Bengal, Muslim Reaction to the Partition, Hindu Re-action toward Partition	48
Simla Deputation	50
Formation of All-India Muslim League, Objectives of the Muslim League	51
Minto-Morley Reforms	52
Change in Muslim Politics (Muslim League Changes its Political Strategy)	54
Lucknow Pact, 1916	55
Montague-Chelmsford Reforms 1919	57
Khilafat Movement, The Institution of Khilafat, Movement for the Protection of the Institution of Khilafat	59
Khilafat Committee, The Indian Deputation Calls on Viceroy	60
Treaty of Severs, Khilafat Delegation	61
Non-Cooperation Movement	62
Hijerat Movement, Moplah Uprising, Chauri Chaura Tragedy	63
End of the Khilafat Movement, Result of the Khilafat Movement	64
Reasons for the Failure of the Khilafat Movement	65

Chapter Four PAKISTAN MOVEMENT (67-98)

Muslim Nationalism – Meanings of Two-Nation Theory, The Evolution of the Two-Nation Theory, Religious Differences	67
Hindu Nationalism	68
Cultural and Social Differences, Economic and Educational Difference	69
Political Differences	70
The Problems of Indian Independence and the Muslims, Muslim Reaction	71
Demand for Separate Electorate, Change in Muslim Politics, Hindus Prejudice Towards Muslims	72
Delhi Proposals, Simon Commission	73
Nehru Report	74
Fourteen Points of the Quaid-i-Azam	75
Allama Iqbal's Presidential Address at Allahbad, 1930	76
First Round Table Conference	77
Gandhi-Irwin Pact	78
Second Round Table Conference	78
Third Round Table Conference, Communal Award, Government of India Act, 1935	79
Salient Recommendations of the Act of 1935, An appraisal of the Act of 1935	80
1937 Elections, Formation of Congress Ministries	81
Congress Atrocities on the Muslims	82
Muslim League's Role during Congress Rule	83
End of Congress Rule, Day of Deliverance, Chaudri Rahmat Ali and Pakistan Movement	84
Pakistan Resolution, Partition Proposals	85
Chaudri Rehmat Ali's Scheme	86
Presidential Address of the Quaid-i-Azam, The Resolution	87
Importance of Pakistan Resolution	88
Congress Reaction to the Pakistan Resolution	88
Congress Attitude During the Second World War, August Offer	89
Cripps Mission,	90
Quit India Movement, Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, Wavell Plan	91
Simla Conference, Elections	92
Cabinet Mission Plan	93
Formation of Interim Government, Steps for Transfer of Power	95
June 3 Plan, Redcliffe Award	96
Division of Bengal and Calcutta Problem, Division of Punjab	97
Independence Act of 1947, Transfer of Power	98

Chapter Five
ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN (99–111)

Initial Difficulties and Important Events, Initial Problems, Congress Reaction on the Establishment of Pakistan	99
Formation of Government Machinery, Division of Armed Forces and Military Assets	100
The Massacre of Muslim Refugees and their Influx in Pakistan	101
Division of Financial Assets, Canal Water Dispute	103
The Accession of Princely States, Junagarh	104
Kashmir	105
Hyderabad	107
Economic Problems	108
Linguistic Riots and Political Problems	109
Political Problems, Tehrik-i-Khatam-e-Nabuvat	110

Chapter Six
THE ROLE OF STUDENTS, LADIES AND MUSHAIKH IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT (112–116)

Ulema and Mushaikh	112
Role of Ulema and Mushaikh in the Provinces During the Freedom Movement, Sindh	114
Punjab, The Students Role in the Freedom Movement	115
Women's Role in the Freedom Movement	118
SOME PROMINENT MUSLIM WOMEN OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT Bi Amman, Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Lady Nusrat Abdullah Haroon	119
Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah	120

Chapter Seven
CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN (122–133)

Constitutional Dilemmas	122
Basic Principles Committee	124
The Constitution of 1956, The President, Prime Minister, National Assembly	128
Governor, Provincial Assembly, Judicial Structure	129
Islamic Provisions of 1956 Constitution, Constitution of 1962, President	129
National Assembly, The Governor	130
The Constitution of 1973, President, Prime Minister	131
Parliament, The National Assembly, The Senate	132
Provincial Assemblies, The Judicature	133

Chapter Eight
MILITARY INTERVENTION IN PAKISTAN'S POLITICS BEGINNING OF AYUB
KHAN'S ERA (134–151)

Political Scenario	134
Military Intervention (ML Imposed), Ayub's ML in Operation	135
EBDO, Economic Development, Land/Agrarian Reforms	136
Industrial Reforms	138
Constitutional/Political Reforms	139
Basic Democracy, Philosophy of Basic Democracy	140
Functions of Basic Democracy, Administration Function, Developmental Function, Local Self Government Functions, Constitutional Functions	141
Basic Democracies Organization, Union Council, The Organization of basic Democracies, Functions, Finances	142
Tehsil Council, Function, Finance, Municipal Committees, Function, Finance, District Council, Composition	143
Functions, Finance	144
Divisional Council, Constitution, Function, Finance, Municipal Corporations	145
Constitutional Changes, Social Reforms	146
Law Reforms, Population Control	147
Rehabilitation of the Refugees, Change of Capital	148
Educational Reforms, Indo-Pakistan War 1965	149
Tashkent Declaration, Downfall of Ayub Khan	150

Chapter Nine
GENERAL YAHYA KHAN (152–160)

Steps for Transfer of Power	152
General Election of 1970	154
Yahya, Majib and Bhutto Squabble over Power Sharing	155

Chapter Ten
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS UNDER PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY Z.A.
BHUTTO AS A POPULIST LEADER (161–171)

Nationalization Programme	161
Agrarian Reforms	165
Social Reforms, Labour Reforms	167
Health Policy, Foreign Policy	167
Islamic Symbolism Bhutto's Politics	169
Qadianis Declared Non-Muslims, Islamic Measures Adopted by Bhutto	170

Chapter Eleven
CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT DURING
ZIA'S YEARS (172-188)

Elections 1983	175
National Referendum 1984	176
Elections	214
National Assembly, Senate, Provincial Assemblies	178
Muhammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister	181
Martial Law Lifted	181
Ethnic Crisis	182
The Debacle of Ojri Camp	185
Junejo Government Dissolved	185

Chapter Twelve
THE GOVERNMENT OF PPP. BENAZIR AS PM
(First Term 1988-90) (189-192)

Ghulam Ishaq Khan as Acting President, Benazir Bhutto as PM (first term 1988-90)	189
Presidential Elections, Dissolution of Balochistan Assembly	190
The downfall of Benazir Bhutto	191

Chapter Thirteen
THE GOVERNMENT OF IJI NAWAZ SHARIF AS PM
(First Term 1990-93) (193-196)

General Elections 1990, Formation of National Government, Economic Policies of the IJI Government	193
The Fall of the IJI Government Dismissal of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister	194

Chapter Fourteen
PPP RETURNS TO POWER BENAZIR AS PM
(Second Term 1993-96) (197-199)

The Performance of the PPP Government, Corruption	197
Law & Order Situation, Judges Case	198
Benazir Government dismissed by President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari	199

Chapter Fifteen
THE GOVERNMENT OF NAWAZ SHARIF AS PM
(Second Term) PML (N) (200-213)

N.A. Election Results 1997, P.A. Election Results 1997	201
Party Position	201
National Debt Retirement Programme	203

Accountability/Ehtesab	204
13th Constitutional Amendment, End of Discretionary Powers	204
14th Constitutional Amendment	206
Motorway (M-2)	207
Missile Race in South Asia	210
Lahore Declaration, Joint Statement	210
Joint Statement	211
Agni-II/Ghauri-II Shaheen SSM	212

Chapter Sixteen
GENERAL PERVAIZ MUSHARRAF (214-254)

A Mission for National Re-Construction, Devolution Plan, 2000, Background	214
Major Characteristics of the Plan, Musharraf As President	216
The Agra Summit	217
War on Terrorism	219
Pakistan's Role in the War Against Terrorism	222
National Referendum April 30, 2002	223
Seventeenth Constitutional Amendment	225
Critical Evaluation of the Constitutional Amendment Package	226
Presidential Elections October 2007	227
Aftermath of Presidential Election	231
National Re-Conciliation Ordinance	232
Corruption	233
Musharraf – BB Deal	233
Benazir Returns to Pakistan	234
Emergency Declared	235
Provisional Constitutional Order (Pco) 3rd November 2007	235
Reasons for the Imposition of Emergency:	237
Impact of Emergency on Economy:	241
State of the Economy	242
Elections – 2008, The Chaotic History of Pakistan's Electoral Politics	248
Political Scenario After 2008 General Elections	245
Formation of Federal Government	246
Provincial Governments Formed	246
Impeachment of Musharraf: Judge's Restoration	247
Pervaiz Musharraf Resigns	250
Downfall of Musharraf	250
End of the Coalition	252
The Long March	254

Chapter Seventeen
ASIF ALI ZARDARI AS PRESIDENT OF THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN (255-294)

Presidential Election 2008	255
Second Long March	257
Political Scenario After the Long March	258
Presidential Address to the Parliament	259
Military Operation in the Malakand Division	260
Operation "Rah-e-Rast" Launched	262
Operation Rah-e-Nijat	264
18 th Constitutional Amendment	265
Main Characteristics of the 18 th Amendment Draft Bill	266
Dealing with Treason	268
19th Constitutional Amendment	268
National Assembly Passed 19th Amendment	269
19th Amend Bill Gets Senate's Approval	271
President Signs 19th Amendment Bill	272
20th Constitutional Amendment 2012	274
Memo Gate Controversy	275
Contents of the memo	275
Role of Opposition Parties	276
Civil Military Squabble	276
Contempt of Court Against Prime Minister Gillani, Memogate, Contempt of Court against Prime Minister Gillani	279
Prime Minister Convicted, Contempt of Court Law 2012	281
PM Gillani Disqualified,	282
Raja Pervaiz Ashraf New Prime Minister	283
Presidential Address to the Parliament, Foreign Policy	284
General Elections, Politics of Provinces	285
Composition of Saraiki/ Junoobi Punjab Province	286
Ethnic Politics and Bahawalpur Junoobi Punjab	289
D-8 Summit	293

Chapter Eighteen
THE RETURN OF THE PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (N) NAWAZ SHARIF AS THE
PRIME MINISTER OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN.
3RD TERM (5 JUNE, 2013) (301-303)

Political Career of Nawaz Sharif, a Brief History	301
Federal Cabinet	302

Chapter Nineteen
FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN (304-362)

Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy	304
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Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy,	305
IDEOLOGICAL OBLIGATION	305
Historical Legacy	306
Geographical Location	306
Indian Threat	309
Foreign Policy 2011-12	311
New Foreign Policy Dimensions	312
China and Pakistan	313
Pak-China Partnership	314
Current Scenario of Sino-Pak Relations	318
Sino-Pak Friendship	318
Bilateral in Trade	318
Backing Economy	318
Educational Exchange, Readressing Security Concerns, Countering Drug Trafficking	319
Pak-Russia Relations	320
Russia Offers Assistance for Electricity Import Project	326
Pak-US Relations	327
U.S. 1990 Aid Cut-Off, Terrorism	329
U.S. Assistance Programs	335
U.S. Policy Recommendations	336
Nuclear Issues	336
Kerry – Lugar Pakistan Aid Bill	337
Presidency of Barak Obama	339
Changing the Direction of Pak-US Relations	345
Relations with Central Asia	345
Pakistan and Turkmenistan Sign GSPA on Gasline	345
Indo – Pakistan Relations	346
Kashmir	346
The Process of Normalization of Relations between India and Pakistan	347
Tashkent Declaration	347
Simla Accord	348
India-Pakistan Relations During 1990	348
Kargil Issue	349
The Process of Normalization During Musharrafs' Regime	349
The Agra Summit	350
Peace Roadmap for India and Pakistan	350
South Asia Peace Process: Need to Head Down a New Path	356
What is Meant by MFN, Revival of Pak-India Sporting Ties	356
India Allows Pakistani Investment	356
India allows Pakistani Investment	356

The MFN for India	357
MFN Status — First Step Towards Trade Integration	359

Chapter Twenty

PAKISTAN AND THE MUSLIM WORLD (363–408)

Pakistan and Afghanistan	363
Pakistan Afghanistan Relations in the Post-9/11 Era	366
Evolution of the Situation in Afghanistan	367
Pakistan's Role in the Afghan Insurgency	367
The Waziristan Factor	369
Afghanistan through Pakistan 's Eyes	370
The Pashtun Question	370
Bilateral Relations and Afghan Domestic Politics	373
The Indian Factor	373
Securing U.S. and International Support	375
Preparing for a Post-U.S. Afghanistan	376
Conclusion and Policy Implications	377
Pakistan and Bangladesh	379
Pakistan and Indonesia	381
Pakistan and Libya	383
Pakistan and Iran	384
Iran Pakistan Gas Pipeline Accord	386
Pakistan and Saudi Arabia	388
Islamabad, Riyadh Sign Five Accords	389
Diplomatic Relations	391
Economic Ties	391
Defence Ties	392
Co-Operation at International Level	392
Pakistan and Turkey	393
Pakistan and Egypt	394
Economic Cooperation Organization	396
Establishment of The RCD	396
A Brief Evaluation of The RCD	397
ECO Comes Into Being	398
Organizational Structure of The ECO	398
Central Asian Republics Inducted In The ECO Fold	398
Potential and Performance of The ECO (Economic Aspect)	399
Political Role of The ECO	400
Pakistan and The ECO	401
Difficulties and Impediments	402
SAARC: South Asian Association For Regional Co-Operation, Objectives of the SAARC	403
Specialized Ministerial Meetings	404

SAARC Summits	404
Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)	405
Pakistan's Role in the OIC	407

Chapter Twenty One POLITICAL SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN (409-430)

Political Parties	409
Crisis of Confidence, Bureaucracy	409
The Military	411
The Religious Ulema	412
Factors of Political Instability in Pakistan, Multiple Party System	413
Dis-Organized and Weak Party Structure, Constitutional Deadlocks	414
Eight Constitutional Amendment, Strict Federal Control	415
Need for a New Political Order, Political Culture of Pakistan	416
Undemocratic, Horse Trading	417
Power Politics	418
Intolerance, Ultimatums, Male Domination, Factionalism, Corruption	419
Failure of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan	421
Federalism in Pakistan the Federal Structure and Provincial Controversy	424
Provincial / Regional Controversy the Problem of the Quantum of Representation	425
Federalism and National Integration in Pakistan	428

Chapter Twenty Two ISLAMIZATION (431-441)

Zia's Campaign for Nifaz-i-Islam	433
ISLAMIC PUNISHMENTS	434
Qanun-i-Shahadat, Ansari Commission	435
Male domination – Steps against women, Postponement of Elections	436
Leanings Towards Jamaat-i-Islami, HUDOOD LAWS (Islamic Penal Code), Federal Sharia Court	437
Re-orientation of the Educational System, Sanctity of the Holy Month of Ramazan	438
Nizam-e-Salaat, Islamization of the Economic Sphere (Zakat & Ushr Ordinance)	439
Riba, Interest Free Banking	440
Interest Free Banking	441

Chapter Twenty Three ETHNIC DISCORD (442-463)

Sindh	449
Khyber Pakhtunkhawa	451
Balochistan	452
Mohajirs	457

Chapter Twenty Four
SECTARIAN VIOLENCE IN PAKISTAN (464–480)

The Rise of Extremism In Pakistan	464
Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Led by Baitullah Mehsud	465
Tanzeem-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi(TNSM) Led by Sufi Mohammad	466
Harkatul Jihadul Islami (HUJI) Led by Qari Saifullah Akthar	467
Jamiatul Ansar (JUA) Led by Naulana Fazalur Rehman Khalil, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LEJ) Led by Mohammad Akram Lahori	468
Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM) Led by Maulana Masood Azhar	469
Lashkare-e-Taiba (LET) Led by Prof Hafiz Mohammad Saeed	470
Hizbul Mujahideen (HUM) Led by Syed Salahuddin	471
Factors for the Rise of Sectarianism in Pakistan, Religious intolerance	472
Political Factors	473
Impact Of Sectarian Violence	475
Sectarian Violence – On Sacred Space and Time	476
Responses	477
Sectarian Violence 2011-2012	478
2013 Secretarian Violence	479

Chapter Twenty Five
EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN (481–496)

Problems of Educational System and their Remedies, Historical Background	481
Educational Reforms and Planning	482
Primary Education	483
Secondary Education, Secondary Schools, Lack of Diversification in the Secondary Education	484
Problems of Primary/Secondary Education in Pakistan	485
Higher Education, University Education, Examination System	486
Female Illiteracy in Pakistan	488
Education and Politics in Pakistan, Students	491
Teachers, Curriculum, Examinations, Reforming Our Educational System	492
Analysis of the Existing Education System	493
A Few Suggestions, National Priorities	495

Chapter Twenty Six
KASHMIR ISSUE (497–518)

Introduction, Historical Background	497
Kashmir Dispute: Key Aspects	501
Proposed Options for Resolution of the Dispute, UN Resolutions: The Plebiscite Option	509
The UN Trusteeship Option	511
The Partition Option	512
The Independence Option, The Irish Model	513
Conclusion	516

Chapter Twenty Seven
ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN (519–551)

Background of Pakistan's Economy	519
Pakistan's Economic Performance (1947-2002)	521
Early Development Efforts, Era of Planned Development	522
Critical Assessment of Pakistan's Development Record	523
Pakistan's Macro-Economic Performance	530
Five Years of Macro-Economic Performance: A Critical Analysis, General Review	532
Socio-Economic Problems of Pakistan	536
Poverty and Food Crises	540
Unemployment In Pakistan, A Serious Economic Challenge	541
Pakistan's energy crisis: short and long-term solutions	543
Conclusion	545
Reviving Economy	545

Chapter Twenty Eight
PAKISTAN AND CTBT (552–560)

Pressing Reasons for going Nuclear	552
Pakistan's Nuclear Programme	553
Impact of the Nuclear Detonations	555
CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty), CTBT and NNWS	556
Case of India and Pakistan	558

Chapter Twenty Nine
WATER CRISIS IN PAKISTAN (561–584)

Pakistan's Water Problems, Global Water Shortage, Warnings for Pakistan, Current Situation	562
Remedial Steps for the Solution of Water Crisis	566
Consequences and after Effects of Water Shortage/Drought	569
Efficient Water Management: A Necessary	570
Demand for Water: Construction of Small Dams	571
The Kalabagh Dam	572
Efforts of the government, Concerns of Sindh and NWFP, Conclusion of technical committees	575
Share of Sindh after the construction of dams, Total cultivated and uncultivated areas, Shortage of water and increase in electricity demands, The shrinking agricultural base	575
Industrial development hostage of high cost of production, Bitter experience of IPPs (1990s), Constant wastage of natural water, KEY FACTS	576
Fears about KBD	577
Abandoning the Dam	579
Kalabagh OR Not	580

Comparative Study of Existing Water Reservoirs, Violation of Indus Treaty, Equilibrium of Hydel-Thermal Powers, Construction of the Kalabagh Dam,	581
Diamer-Bhasha Dam Project, Characteristics of Bhasha Dam	582
Groundbreaking Ceremony, Management of Water Resources,	583
Rehabilitation Strategies, Pak-Sino Bilateral Trade, Conclusion	584

Chapter Thirty WOMEN EMPOWERMENT (585–595)

The Plight of Women, Women in Developing Countries	585
Women in Pakistan, Empowering the Women	586
The Problems of Women Empowerment	587
Steps Taken for Women Empowerment	588
Efforts of Various Governments for Women's Empowerment Benazir's First Government, Nawaz Sharif's Government, Benazir's Second Government	589
Efforts for Women Empowerment on Global Level UNO's Protection of Females, Role of NGOs for Women Empowerment	591
Women Protection Bill	591
Objections to WPB	592
Struggle for Women's Emancipation	593

Chapter Thirty One CORRUPTION IN PAKISTAN (596–603)

Impact of Corruption on Economy and Masses	599
Corruption Impairs Fundamental Rights	601

Chapter 1

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN

WHAT IS AN IDEOLOGY?

The term Ideology is a complex phenomena in the study of Social Sciences on which a great deal of controversy exists among scholars on its meanings and definition. The French Philosopher Autoine Destull de Tracy used the word ideologie during French Revolution and defined it as the Science of Ideas meaning thereby as the study of the origins, evolution and nature of ideas.¹ To Karl Marx ideology means the ideas of the ruling Junta who seeks to perpetuate the prevailing order of Capitalism and their own privileged position. Karl Manneheim, to some extent took a similar view of ideology by defining it as the conservative, self-seeking and biased views of the dominant class in society.²

In view of the different approaches towards the meaning of an ideology, a working definition can, however, be evolved to reach at a conclusion. Ideology is a different form of those comprehensive patterns of moral beliefs about man, society and the universe in relation to man and society. Ideology is often understood as a way of thinking about the cultural and social programme of a political movement launched to emancipate a suppressed group from the exploitation of a more dominant social class. The (ideologies) deal with idea or abstract speculations and are a systematic set of arguments and beliefs used to justify an existing or desired social order. *"A political ideology is a system of beliefs that explain and justifies a preferred political order, either existing or proposed and offers a*

*strategy (institutions, processes programmes) for its attainment".*³

The ideologies contain a set of proposals about human nature and society. These proposals explicitly manifest human conditions, approaches and understanding of a social and political order and provide a basis for the accomplishment of a desired social system. *"An ideology offers an interpretation of the past, and an explanation of the present and a vision of the future."*⁴

HOW IDEOLOGY EMERGES?

Ideologies often reflect the way of thinking of a nation or a social group who has been rejected a social position which otherwise would have been its due place in the society. It grows amongst the dissatisfied and disgruntled group of society as a challenge to the prevailing social set up. The ideologies are propagated as a systematic programme of logical ideas, which convincingly explain the human destinies. The ideologies are highly integrated around one or few pre-eminent values, such as salvation, equality or ethnic purity. They lay emphasis on their form, distinctiveness and never intend to follow outlooks, creeds and other ideologies existing in the same society.

Ideologies tend to arise in times of crisis and social stress. They originate and get support among those sections of society who have rejected the prevailing conditions. *"An ideology emerges when people feel strongly that they are being mistreated under an existing order, when their status is threatened by fundamental changes occurring in the society, and when the*

1. Reo M. Christenson, Ideologies and Modern Politics, p. 2.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 4.

4. Reo M. Christenson, Ideologies and Modern Politics, p. 7.

prevailing ideology no longer satisfies them".⁵ This state of affair drives the ignored and maltreated groups towards other ideologies, which show them a new horizon of better life.

IMPORTANCE OF AN IDEOLOGY

Ideology is a motivating force for a nation, which is striving hard to bring stability and homogeneity to its nationhood. It provides the cement-binding base to the scattered groups in a society and brings them closer to each other on a common platform. Ideologies impel their adherents to follow a joint line of action for the accomplishment of their goal. Ideologies give shape to the revolutions and give birth to new cultures and civilizations. They stress on their adherents to insist on the realization of their ideals through total transformation of society.

Absolute and firm individual obedience is demanded of those who accept it and an unquestioned agreement with each other on the ideals is the most vital pre-requisite of an Ideology.

BASIS OF PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

Pakistan Ideology is based on the ideals of the Islamic system. It was a reaction to the Hindu and British exploitation of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was a revolt against the prevailing system of India where the Hindu Nationalism was being imposed on the Muslims and their culture. It contained a strategy to save the Muslim culture from total elimination.

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION

The creation of Pakistan was unique in the sense that it was based on an ideology which sought its roots from the religion of Islam. The famous slogan "*Pakistan ka matlab kiya, La ilaha illallah*" became the core of the freedom movement and the basis of Pakistan.

TWO-NATION CONCEPT

Pakistan ideology was based on the fact that the Muslims were a separate nation

having their own culture, civilization, customs, literature, religion and way of life. They cannot be merged in any other nation because their philosophy of life is based on the principles of Islam. As the Muslims of India found it difficult to live according to the principles of Islam in the United India, they were forced to demand a separate homeland to safeguard their national and religious identity.

Pakistan Ideology was erected on the Two-Nation Theory which meant that Hindus and Muslims were two separate and distinct nations whose understanding of life was glaringly different from each other. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the pioneer of the Two-Nation Theory used the word Two-Nation for Hindus and Muslims after being convinced of the Hindu and Congress hatred and prejudices for the Muslims. The Muslims were a separate nation who always adhered to their religious identity. The Muslims of the sub-continent did not want to see their image as a distinct nation being tarnished and therefore strictly adhered to it. The British and the Hindus, in spite of their great efforts, could not put a wedge into the Muslim unity and love for their national character. The creation of Pakistan owes much to this feeling of adherence to their national image by the Muslims of the sub-continent.

As far as the meanings and definition of Pakistan Ideology is concerned, it basically means that Pakistan should be a State where the Muslims should have an opportunity to live according to their faith and creed based on the Islamic principles. They should have all the resources at their disposal to enhance Islamic culture and civilization because this was the sole purpose of demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims.

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN

Following factors can be said to be the objectives of the establishment of Pakistan.

1. Enforcement of the Sovereignty of the God Almighty

The Islamic State is built up on the concept of the sovereignty of the God

5. Ibid p 7.

Almighty. The prime objective of the demand for Pakistan was the establishment of a State where Almighty God's supremacy could be enforced and where a government based on the Islamic principles could be instituted. The Quaid-i-Azam said ***"We did not demand Pakistan to acquire a piece of land, but we wanted a homeland where we could introduce Islamic principles"***.

2. Establishment of Islamic Democracy

Islam has given an ideal concept of democracy which is distinctively different from the western concept. In Islamic democratic system everyone is equal and no one enjoys a privileged position on the basis of his social status, colour or creed. The Khalifa, the Naib of God on earth, strictly follows the principles of Islam and Sunnah in the administration of the state affairs. The Khalifa has dual accountability on earth he is responsible to the people and in heaven to the God Almighty.

One of the main objectives of the freedom movement was that the Muslims of the sub-continent wanted a country where the ideal system of Islamic democracy could be installed. The Muslims demanded Pakistan solely because they desired to live according to the principles of Islam. The Two-Nation Theory, which became the basis of the freedom movement for Pakistan also implied that the Muslims of the sub-continent wanted to mould their lives according to the Islamic principles. It was because of this reason that the famous slogan, Pakistan ka matlab kiya La ilahallallah, came on everybody's tongue. The Quaid-i-Azam said on 14th February, 1948 at Sibi ***"It is my firm belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct as given by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democratic system on Islamic ideals and principles. The Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the state affairs shall be guided by mutual consultation."***

3. Revival of Muslim Image and Identity

In the United India the Muslims were dominated by the Hindus in every social field.

The Muslims were not in a position to compete with the Hindus because of their backwardness in education and politics. The Hindus had adopted a prejudicial attitude which blocked all channels to prosperity and progress for the Muslims. The national image and identity of the Muslims was in great jeopardy because of the Hindu hatred and antagonism. If the British would have left the country as a United India, the Muslims would have fallen a humble prey to the perpetual Hindu domination and caprice. The demand for Pakistan was aimed at protecting the Muslims from Hindu domination and subjugation and also at the revival of the Muslim identity and national image which was in disastrous jeopardy in the United India.

4. Protection of Muslim Culture and Civilization

The Muslims were always a separate nation because of their distinctive cultural values and patterns. They were easily distinguishable from other nations on the basis of their social behaviours. The Muslim culture, civilization and literature were the living and proud symbols of the Muslims identity as a separate and distinct nation. Although the Muslims lived with Hindus and other nations for centuries, yet they proudly maintained their separate image. The Muslims and other nations of the sub-continent remained distinct with an emphasis on their separateness.

The Hindus always desired to crush the Muslims as a nation and ultimately to merge them into Hindu society. Several attempts were made by the Hindus to erase the Muslim culture and civilization. Hindi-Urdu controversy, Shuddi and Sanghayan movements are the glaring examples of the ignoble Hindu mentality. These attempts were aimed at the total elimination of Muslim culture in order to merge it into Hindu Culture and Nationalism.

One of the great objectives of the Pakistan movement was the protection of Muslim culture and to save it from Hindu domination. The Muslims were not prepared to accept Hindu superiority over them. They

were very much alive to their sense of supremacy as a separate and distinct nation. In fact this feeling of separateness was motivating element of the Pakistan movement. The Muslims wanted to give stability to their nationhood which was not possible in the United India under the Hindu hegemony. The Muslims, therefore, decided to separate themselves from the Hindus in order to safeguard their cultural values.

5. Two-Nation Theory

The entire freedom movement revolved around Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of demand for Pakistan. It meant that the Muslims were a separate nation with their distinct culture, civilization, literature, history religion and social values. Islam, the religion of the Muslims, was based on the concept of Tauheed and, therefore, could not be assimilated in any other system or religion.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Muslim leader who propounded this theory. In the beginning he was a staunch advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. Later on while observing the prejudiced Hindu and Congress attitude toward the Muslims, he came forward with his Two-Nation concept and declared that the Muslims were a separate nation having their own culture and civilization.

The establishment of Pakistan further strengthened the Two-Nation concept which meant that Pakistan would be a country where Islamic principles would be followed. With the creation of Pakistan it became possible for the Muslims to mould their lives according to the principles of Islam.

6. Emancipation from the prejudicial Hindu majority

The Muslims came to India with conquering armies and permanently settled there in the Indian society, though maintaining their separate identity. The conversion of Hindus to Islam, in the later stages, caused the population of India to undergo a gradual change. With lapse of time the Muslims came to form one-fourth of the total population of India.

The Muslims belonged to all walks of life and understandably dominated in all spheres of social life during their rule. The Arab conquest was a blessing for the sub-continent which attained maximum economic prosperity during Muslim rule. The Muslim domination aroused Hindu jealousy who had to live under the Muslim hegemony in spite of their numerical majority.

With the advent of the British rule the Muslims lost their empire and political supremacy. The British extended favours to the Hindus in view of their numerical strength in order to win their co-operation. The Hindus who were eagerly looking for an opportunity to settle their old score with the Muslims, were very happy on the turn of the events. They quickly snatched the golden opportunity, offered to them by their new masters, and joined hands with the new rulers of India for the elimination of the Muslims from the Indian society.

The British and the Hindus adopted a cruel policy of mass elimination against the Muslims in order to erase them as a nation and subsequently merge them in the Hindu nationalism. This policy created great difficulties for the Muslims in their social life. The Congress ministries further strengthened the Muslim suspicions who were now fully convinced that there was no other way than separating themselves from the Hindus in order to avoid total elimination. The demand for Pakistan was based on this very feeling that the Muslims should be emancipated from the clutches of the eternal Hindu domination.

7. Establishment of a Balanced Economic System

The economic condition of the Muslims, before partition, was deplorable. The Hindus had monopolised commerce and trade. The Muslims were not in a position to enter in the business and trade because of biased policy of government. After the war of Independence of 1857, the British Government had banned Muslims entry into government service. All high civil and military positions were reserved for the Hindus. The Muslims were considered eligible only for

peon's and low ranking jobs. The Government had confiscated estates and properties of the Muslims to punish them for their involvement in the war of independence. The agricultural land was mostly owned by the Hindus who fully exploited the Muslim cultivators. The Government policy provided no shelter to the Muslims for earning their sustenance in a respectable manner.

The Muslims also lagged behind in the field of education. The Hindus on the other hand had advanced in modern knowledge and were in a better position. The ignorance in education also played havoc with the economic condition of the Muslims as they were not capable of getting any reasonable job.

These measures and biased policies of the government badly affected the condition of the Muslims. Their future as a nation was destined to be ruined and they reached at the lowest ebb of their social and economic life in India. The inexorable economic exploitation of the Muslims at the hands of the British and Hindus, compelled them to think about a separate homeland for their economic security. They wanted a country where they could erect a social and economic system free of exploitation and which could pull them out of despair to show them a new horizon of life.

The major objective of the creation of Pakistan was the establishment of a balanced economic system based on the economic principles of Islam which could ensure a happy and stable economic life to every individual. The demand for Pakistan was motivated by the desire of Muslims to have a homeland of their own where everyone had enough opportunities to earn his sustenance and where every individual was self-sufficient in his economic matters.

The economic system of Islam is based on the balanced principles which do not permit an individual to keep wealth and economic resources more than one's needs and requirements. By the systems of Zakat and Ushr, extra wealth is extracted from the people and distributed amongst the poorer

and more needy persons of the society to maintain economic balance. The Quaid-i-Azam, while inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July, 1948, said, "The bank symbolized the sovereignty of our people in the financial sphere. The Western economic system has created many problems for humanity. The Western economic system would not help us in setting up a workable economic order. We should evolve an economic system based on Islamic concept of justice and equality."

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY & ALLAMA IQBAL

Allama Iqbal was a great philosopher poet. He had acquired country wide fame and recognition as a thinker. He received his education from the Government College, Lahore and later on went to England to pursue studies in Law. He got his Ph.D. in Philosophy from a German University. Allama Iqbal taught for few years at the Government College, Lahore. He had studied Islam deeply and had a profound liking for the Islamic principles and its tenets. He compared the Western culture with Islam and reached at the conclusion that mankind's emancipation and welfare lay in the adoption of Islam as a way of life.

Basically Allama Iqbal was a poet, teacher and thinker. However, he had to come in the political field in order to safeguard the interests of the Muslims of the sub-continent. His entry into politics was greatly welcomed by the Muslims where a trustworthy companion of the Quaid-i-Azam was badly needed.

Allama Iqbal proved a great political leader and a reliable companion of the Quaid-i-Azam. He awakened the Muslims of the sub-continent with his stirring verses to demand a separate homeland. He led the Muslims at every step and rendered great services in the accomplishment of Pakistan.

Allama Iqbal considered Islam a complete code of life. He said, "I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate

homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the United India." He advised the Muslims to understand their real position and shed away their mental confusion and narrow approach to life. He clarified the glorious image of the Muslim Ummah.

Allama Iqbal openly negated the concept of One-Nation of India and emphasised on the separate and distinct national image of the Muslims. He considered the establishment of Pakistan very essential and vital for the restoration of national and religious identity of the Muslims. His poetry reflects his love for the nation and country. He produced a large number of poems which indicate his immense love for his homeland.

He said, "Islam guides the mankind in every aspect of worldly life and, therefore, must be enforced in an Islamic State as a code of life." He based the foundation of homeland on the religion which later on became the ideology and basis of Pakistan. He said, "Islam strengthens the life by infusing spiritual unity." He said, "in Islam the Almighty 'God and Universe' the 'soul and matter' are the different part of 'One Whole'". He did not believe in any system separated from religion and declared that religion and politics are not separated from each other in Islam.

Allama Iqbal firmly believed in the separate identity of the Muslims as a 'Nation'. He said, "I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the United India." He said, "there would be no possibility of peace in the country unless and until the Muslims are recognized as a separate nation, as they had their own cultural values which they must preserve and maintain." He declared "India is a continent of Human beings belonging to different languages and professing different religions. To base a constitution on the conception of homogeneous India is to prepare her for civil war. I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of the Muslims of India and Islam. The formation of a consolidated

Muslim North-West Indian State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India".

Allama Iqbal believed in the federal system and thought it as an ideal system for India in the prevailing conditions. He emphasised on introduction of the federal system to bring unity and solidarity to the country. He also believed that the federal system would promote unity amongst various factions of the society which would help in the defence of the country.

"A unitary form of Government is inconceivable for India. The residuary powers must be left to the self governing units. I would never like the Muslims of India to agree on a system which negates the principles of a true Federation or fails to distinguish them as a separate political unit. In this way only the Muslims of India will have maximum opportunities of development and in return would be able to render best services for the defence of the country against foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of Guns and bayonets."

The Allahabad address of Allama Iqbal carries great importance and significance in the freedom struggle of the Muslims of India. The Presidential Address at Allahabad in fact, moulded the destinies of the Muslims of the sub-continent and put their endeavours in right direction. Allama Iqbal's presidential address further clarified the Two-Nation Theory and demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims. He said "I have been a staunch advocate of putting an end to religion's prejudices and distinctions from the country. But now I believe that the protection of separate national identity is in the best interests of both Hindus and the Muslims." He further said that "It was the prime duty of all civilized nations to show utmost regard and reverence for the religious principles, cultural and social values of other nations. Since the Muslims are a separate nation with their distinct cultural values and religious trends, and they want to have a system of their own liking, they should be allowed to live

under such system considering their separate religious and cultural identity".

Allama Iqbal expressed the Muslims sentiments and ideas in true spirit by defining them as a separate nation with their distinct national image. His presidential address washed away all the confusions from the Muslim minds and showed them new dimensions in their struggle for freedom. It later on enabled the Muslim masses to determine their line of action and work out a clear cut and definite programme in order to accomplish their goal of a separate homeland. The spirit which Allama Iqbal infused in the Muslims by his presidential address developed into an ideological basis for the Pakistan movement. The famous Pakistan Resolution, passed on 23rd March, 1940 at Lahore was in fact based on Allama Iqbal's presidential address of Allahabad.

Allama Iqbal joined Muslim League and rendered services for the safeguard of Muslims interests. He was on the delegation which represented the Muslims in the Second and Third Round Table Conferences in 1931 and 1932. In these Conferences he very ably advocated the Muslim cause and vehemently opposed all such schemes which in any way jeopardized the Muslim interests.

Allama Iqbal's writings, poetry and sayings kindled a new light, aroused a sense of respect, self-realization and determination in the Muslim masses. The new Muslim generation particularly responded vigorously to Allama Iqbal's call and took active part in the freedom struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY AND THE QUAID-I-AZAM

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a great leader of the Muslims of the sub-continent who led them to their most cherished goal of life – Pakistan on 14th August, 1947. Quaid-i-Azam gave practical shape to the ideology given and enunciated by Allama Iqbal. The Quaid-i-Azam, by his dedicated and unflinching leadership was at

last successful in convincing the Hindus and the British of the reality of Two-Nation Theory and the Pakistan ideology.

The Quaid-i-Azam after entering into politics, joined All India National Congress with a view of securing self-rule for India through constitutional means. For this objective he advocated Hindu-Muslim unity. He was of the opinion that both Hindus and Muslims should launch joint efforts to get rid of the British rule and domination. He did lot of work to bring Hindus and Muslims closer. The Lucknow Pact, between the Congress and the Muslim League, was concluded mainly due to his sincere endeavours for which he came to be known as the ***"Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity."***

After joining Muslim League in 1913 he continued with his efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. However, he was greatly disappointed to see the prejudicial and partisan attitude of the Congress and Hindus towards the Muslims. The publication of Nehru Report did the last damage. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee were based on prejudicial outlook of its members who only tried to safeguard the interests of the Hindus and did not pay any heed to the Muslims interests.

The Quaid-i-Azam even tried his best to maintain the unity by offering to accept the Nehru Report with a few modifications. These changes were suggested in the All Parties Conference convened by the Quaid-i-Azam in 1928 at Calcutta. But the Hindu leadership stubbornly turned down the sincere offer and the dismayed Quaid-i-Azam at last changed his views about Hindu-Muslim unity. In reply to the Nehru Report the Quaid-i-Azam had to give his famous fourteen points about the future constitution of India.

The Quaid-i-Azam believed that Congress and Hindus will never acknowledge the rights of the Muslims and will do everything to deny a respectable place to the Muslims in the Indian society. He declared while representing the Muslims in the Second Round Table Conference in 1931 "We have reached at a juncture where I shall be

neglecting my prime duties if I do not make the Muslim point of view known to this august audience. I wish to inform everyone openly that the Hindu-Muslim dispute must be settled before the enforcement of any system or constitution. Until you do not give guarantee for the safeguard of the Muslim interests, Until you do not win their (Muslim) co-operation, any constitution you enforce shall not last for even 24 hours."

Quaid-i-Azam was a firm advocate of Two-Nation Theory and considered the Muslims as a separate Nation. He said "Pakistan was created the day the first Indian national entered the fold of Islam." This statement amply manifests the feelings of the Quaid-i-Azam about the separate national image of the Muslims. At the historic session of the Muslim League at Lahore on 23rd March, 1940 he said, *"It has been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority, and of course we got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by every definition. By all canons of international law we are a nation."* In 1942 he said, *"We are a nation with our distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportions, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and tradition, in short we have our own distinct outlook on life and of life."*

Quaid-i-Azam further defined the Two-Nation Theory and said, *"The Muslims are a nation by every right to establish their separate homeland. They can adopt any mean to promote and protect their economic, social, political and cultural interests"*.

In his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League at Lahore in 1940 he said:

"India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. The Hindus and the Mussalmans belong to

two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history."

On March 8, 1944 the Quaid-i-Azam said *"Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same town, villages and neighbourhood, had never been blended into one nation. They were always two separate entities."*

Quaid-i-Azam wanted to establish a democratic system in Pakistan based on Islamic principles because he fervently believed that by this system only the people of Pakistan would be able to mould their lives according to the tenets of Islam. On 4th February, 1942 he declared, *"We should base our democracy on the principles and concepts of Islam"*. He wanted to see Pakistan as a country where every individual enjoyed equal rights and privileges. He said, *"Islam teaches equality, justice and fairplay to everyone"*.

Quaid-i-Azam emphasised on the Islamic Ideology as being the basis of the struggle for Pakistan because he believed that only Islam was the unifying force of the Muslim Millat. He said, *"What relationship knits the Muslims into one whole, which is the formidable rock on which the Muslim edifice has been erected, which is the sheet anchor providing base to the Muslim Millat, that relationship, the sheet anchor and the rock is the Holy Quran"*.

Addressing at Islamia College, Peshawar in 1940 the Quaid-i-Azam declared, *"We did not demand Pakistan simply to have a piece of land but we wanted a laboratory where we could experiment on Islamic principles."* On 18th June 1945, he said, *"Pakistan does not mean freedom and independence only, but the Islamic Ideology as well which has to be preserved, which has come to us as*

precious gift and which we hope others will share with us," Addressing the Karachi Bar Association on January 25, 1948 on the eve of Eid Millad-un-Nabi, the Quaid-i-Azam said, ***"I cannot understand a section of people who deliberately want to create mischief and make propaganda that the Constitution of Pakistan will not be made on the basis of Shariat. Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1300 years ago."***

The above statements amply prove that the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to establish an Islamic system in Pakistan. He desired to introduce Islam as a code of life because he believed that it was the sole objective of the Pakistan movement.

Quaid-i-Azam was greatly in favour of the rights and interests of the minorities. He wanted to give full protection to all minorities living in Pakistan because Islam teaches liberal attitude towards other communities. The main objective of the creation of Pakistan, as well, was to give maximum protection to the minorities. In a Press conference in New Delhi on 14th July, 1947 he said.

"Minorities to whichever community they may belong, will be fully safeguarded their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have full protection with regard to their religion, their faith, their life and culture. They will be in all respects the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste and creed."

The Quaid-i-Azam desired to see Pakistan as a welfare State. He wanted to build up an economic system in Pakistan which was free of exploitation and in which every one had equal opportunity of economic progress and welfare.

After partition the Indian Government refused to give Pakistan an equitable share in the economic assets. The objective behind

this denial was to cripple the economy of Pakistan immediately after its creation.

Quaid-i-Azam at once took up the job of erecting economy on stable footings. He had correctly understood that Pakistan would not be able to overcome its economic problems by assistance of Reserve Bank of India alone. He, therefore, ordered that a State Bank of Pakistan be set up immediately.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a staunch believer in the economic system of Islam. He believed in social justice and equality and desired to introduce the economic system based on Islamic principles. He said, ***"Islam teaches us equality and justice with every individual."*** He wanted to build up a social system in Pakistan based on Islamic principles so that the people who gave sacrifices for the creation of Pakistan should be able to mould their lives and destinies according to the Islamic tenets.

Quaid-i-Azam was extremely against provincialism. After the creation of Pakistan attempts were made from certain quarters to misguide the people. Sentiments of provincialism and racialism were aired to create administrative problems for Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam quickly attended to this problem of provincialism and racialism affectively. He advised the people to beware of such ignoble designs of those elements. Who do not want to see Pakistan emerging as a reality? He addressed the nation and said, ***"In unity lies strength. So long as we are united, we emerge victorious and strong. If we are not united we shall become weak and disgraced. We are all Pakistanis. None of us is a Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan or Bengali. Everyone of us should think, feel and act as a Pakistani and we should feel proud of being Pakistani alone"***.

The Quaid-i-Azam was very much optimistic about the future of Pakistan. He said, ***"Pakistan has come into existence to stay for ever."***

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

RELIGIOUS AND REFORMATIVE MOVEMENTS THE EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM NATIONALISM IN INDIA

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN THE SUB-CONTINENT

Since its first appearance in the world stage, Islam has had close relations with Indian sub-continent. The Arab traders had been coming to the Indian shore to sell their goods. The earliest contact of the Muslim Arabs with the Malabar coast dates back to the reign of Umar the second pious Caliph (634-644). The Arabs came into close contact with the local people and got an opportunity to impress them by their fair dealings in business. They left an everlasting impact of their piety and simplicity on the Indian population. They preached Islam alongside their business dealings. The first Indian national to embrace Islam was the ruler of the small state known as Kirnig Noor who was moved by the preaching of Sheikh Sharaf Bin Malik, the leader of the preaching party and entered the fold of Islam.

The Muslims fought their first battle on the Indian soil during the Khilafat of Umar the second pious Caliph. Sargaji, who was the Governor of Oman under the second Caliph, sent an army to Thana and Barouch, small sea ports near Bombay, on his own without seeking permission from the Caliph. Caliph Umar however did not like overseas expeditions and forbade further action.

This is how the Muslim society originated in India, when a separate and distinct system, culture and religion took shape in entirely alien atmosphere. With the initiation of Islam in the sub-continent, a separate nation, having its own understanding of life came into existence, which was to leave its impact on the Indian civilization and way of life in the

years to come. The Quaid-i-Azam rightly said, "The Pakistan came into existence the day the first Indian national embraced Islam." By this statement of the founder of Pakistan, it becomes clear that Pakistan was a reality a long time before because it was to become an abode of a nation who was the torch-bearer of the great religion of the world, Islam.

SINDH - THE 'BAB-UL-ISLAM'

MUHAMMAD BIN QASIM ATTACKS INDIA

Sindh was ruled by an autocratic Hindu ruler, Raja Dahir during the Ummayyad dynasty. Raja Dahir was known for his cruelty towards his Muslim population. Meanwhile the Indians began to intercept the commercial vessels of the Arabs in the Indian ocean. In those days Caliph Al-Malik-ibn-abd-al-Malik, was the ruler of the Ummayyad dynasty. In those days "The King of the Island of Rubies" (Ceylon) sent a few vessels carrying some Muslim women who had been born in Ceylon. These vessels were also loaded with some precious gifts for the Governor of Iraq Hajjaj Bin Yousaf. There were some orphaned daughters and children of merchants who had died in Ceylon. The ship in which the women sailed was attacked by the pirates of Dahir. The pirates took away everything. The women and children were taken as prisoners and put in the jail. One of the captured women, a member of the tribe Banu Yarbu, cried out, "O Hajjaj!" when Hajjaj heard of this he exclaimed "Here am I."

Hajjaj Bin Yousaf was a strict administrator. He sent his personal

messenger to Raja Dahir, the ruler of Sindh, and asked him to set the women and children free. Raja Dahir bluntly refused and argued that he had no control over the sea pirates. He replied that if Hajjaj wanted the release of the women he could do so himself. Hajjaj was extremely infuriated with this reply and decided to punish Raja Dahir for his scornful attitude.

Hajjaj sent several expeditions to punish Raja Dahir which incidentally all failed when their commanders were killed in the battles against the Hindus. He then decided to send his young nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad Bin Qasim, who was at that time in Fars (Iran) to head a campaign against Raja Dahir in Sindh. Hajjaj gave him a trained and well-equipped army and also reinforced him with soldiers from Syria and other places.

Muhammad Bin Qasim marched towards Deabul via Makran which had already been included in the Ummayyad dynasty. After conquering the adjoining areas Muhammad Bin Qasim encamped on the bank of the river Mehran (Indus) near Deabul. He moved and laid a formidable siege around Deabul which was a strong fortification of the Hindu Raja. From there Muhammad Bin Qasim challenged Raja Dahir for a decisive battle in 712 A.D. 712

The battle continued for several days and the Hindu army fought tooth and nail to protect their fortification. They were no match to the Muslim soldiers. Raja Dahir was killed on the sixth day of the battle, June 712, bravely fighting against the Muslim army. The captive women and children were set free and sent back to their homeland.

Raja Dahir's wife Rani Bai fled to the fort of Rawar with 15,000 troops from where she challenged Muhammad Bin Qasim for the battle. Muhammad Bin Qasim chased her to Rawar and ordered his miners to dig and demolish the walls of the fort until the bastions were thrown down. Rani Bai, however, finding herself encircled, surrendered and burnt herself along with other ladies.

Muhammad Bin Qasim was thus the first Muslim Commander to have entered India as a conqueror. He remained for few months in the captured fort and demanded the other Chiefs of different parts of India to embrace Islam. He proceeded ahead and conquered all the adjoining areas upto Multan. Muhammad Bin Qasim, after consolidating his control over the conquered areas, set himself to the administrative problems of India.

Muhammad Bin Qasim, very wisely devised his strategy of controlling the conquered land with the assistance of the local people. He, therefore, accepted all the social classes prevalent in India at the time he conquered India and levied a tax of 12 dirhams to be collected from all citizens, the Brahmins were allowed to enjoy their pre-eminent position. He allowed the Hindu subjects to practise and profess their religion freely. He did not prohibit Hindu laws and permitted them to worship their gods in their temples. Jizya

Muhammad Bin Qasim introduced Islam as a faith and a system in India. The laws of Sharia (Islamic Laws) were declared the Supreme Law of the conquered land. The Islamic law superseded all other laws of the land. He instituted the office of Sadru-i-Imam al Ajall to interpret the Islamic laws and elevated Musa Bin Tai to this office. He proved a merciful and an efficient Governor of Sindh. During his stay, he promulgated very wise enactments, treated the people with kindness and did justice to everyone thus setting the examples of Islamic justice and equality. He set the glorious examples of piety and simplicity by personal character and attracted a large number of followers to the fold of Islam. He did not confiscate the land and properties of his Hindu subjects. He extended the rights of Dhimmis (Protected class) to the Hindus who were required to pay a poll-tax (Jizya). In this way Muhammad Bin Qasim did meritorious services to the cause of Islam and contributed immensely to popularizing Islam in India. Sabur-e-Iman A! Ajall

Muhammad Bin Qasim, therefore, established the first Muslim Empire in the

sub-continent and made Sindh a **Dar-ul-Islam**. This was really a new phenomena in the Indian history as the conquerors who invaded India before Muhammad Bin Qasim, had no loyalties with the conquered land. Muhammad Bin Qasim, unlike his preceding conquerors, established a State with an organised statecraft. The conquered subjects who entered the fold of Islam, were made the citizens of a larger Caliphal state. The Hindus and the non-Muslims enjoyed only the rights of the protected class to remain loyal to the Caliphate. In this way the bordering provinces of India were Islamized for ever.

After setting up the superstructure of the administration in Sindh Muhammad Bin Qasim annexed the area upto Multan. He sent one of his trusted commanders Abu Hakim Shaibani, toward Kanauj and other adjacent areas with a mission of persuading the local chieftains of India to embrace Islam. By the end of 715 A.D. when Muhammad Bin Qasim was planning to strike in other central parts of India, some changes came about in the Ummayyad dynasty. Suleman Bin Abdul Malik became the new ruler who did not like Hajjaj Bin Yousaf. When Hajjaj died, Muhammad Bin Qasim was recalled and put in the prison where the great Muslim soldier perished pathetically.

SPREAD OF ISLAM IN OTHER PARTS OF INDIA

The conquest of Sindh by Muhammad Bin Qasim opened the doors for the spread of Islam to other parts of India. The Arab conquest of Sindh and South-Western Punjab upto Multan, was complete by 714. The second phase of Muslim expansion began with the establishment of a Turkish Muslim dynasty in Ghazni. It followed the North-Western routes traditional for the invasion of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Mahmud of Ghazni succeeded his father Subuktigin in 997. He was a brilliant soldier who had taken part in all his father's campaigns against Hindu Raj. On ascending the throne, Mahmud of Ghazni launched a series of invasions against the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. He was a powerful sovereign of his day in Central Asia.

Between the year 1000 to 1026 Mahmud carried out nearly seventeen expeditions in India and was bestowed with a proud title of **Idol-Breaker** of Ghazni. Mahmud was a loyal Muslim who hated idol worshiping. After Mahmud of Ghazni, the Ghaznavid empire could not stand the might of Ghors. The last Ghaznavid king of the Indus Valley, Khusru Malik was killed and Muhammad Ghori subdued the Indus Valley in 1185.

Under Muhammad Ghori the Muslim power spread to all parts of north-western India and also to Bengal and Bihar. The king of Ghazni, Muhammad Ghori worked hard to consolidate his position in India in order to raise an empire in Central Asia.

Mughal rule started in 13th century but became significant in 1526. Delhi sultanate was established in India after the death of Muhammad Ghori. The span of Delhi sultanate ranges from 1192 to 1526 when Babur invaded India in 1526 to establish Moghal empire. During sultanate period, forty sultans ruled Delhi.

Islam gained quick popularity during the Delhi sultanate. The work of the spread of Islam was carried on mostly by Muslim Sufis and mystics as the Delhi sultans were too busy in fighting. In fact the missionary work of the spread of Islam had started during the Ghaznavid rule in Punjab. Sheikh Ismail of Lahore, an eminent alam and a scion of Sayid family of Bokhara, had started the work of spreading Islam by delivering his sermons on every Friday.

Another great reformer, saint and eminent scholar, Ali Makhdum Hujwari of Ghazni, came to Lahore in 1035. He accompanied Sultan Masud of Ghazni, son of Sultan Mahmud, and stayed in Lahore for thirty years. During the thirty years of his stay in Lahore, he spread the light of Islam. He was a source of immense spiritual inspiration and guidance for the Muslims. After his death he was buried at Lahore. His mausoleum is situated outside Bhatti Gate of Lahore. He is also known as Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, the venerated title given to him by Khwaja Muinud-Din Chishti who spent forty days of spiritual seclusion at his tomb.

• Ali Makhdum Hujwari of Ghazni 1035

The spread of Islam in the other parts of the sub-continent owes much to the selfless and dedicated services of other eminent while the sultans were busy fighting battles, it is to Sufis, mystics & religious leaders that the subcontinent owes its Islamic growth. Sufis & religious leaders were spreading the light of Islam as early as the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, e.g. Sheikh Ismael of Lhr-missionary work - Ali Maktum Hajvery (Ganj Baksh) other saints:-
 - Baha-ud-din Zakariya of Multan
 - Sheikh Farid ud din Ganj Shakar (Chakpatar)
 - Nizam-ud-din Auliya
 - Muin ud din Chishti
 - Khwaja Bahkhat Raza
 - Mujaaddi Aflakani
 - Shah Waliullah
 this version. "The Holy men would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and pagans of this part of India, and it is to their persuasion rather than the sword the people of West Punjab owe their faith in Islam"²

Sir E. McLagan THE IMPACT OF ISLAM

ISLAM AND HINDUISM

Islam gained a quick and unmatched popularity throughout the sub-continent. By the end of 14th century Islam had penetrated in all parts of India making its indelible impact on the cultural, social and religious conditions of India.

CULTURAL INFLUENCE → BASIC ATTRACTION

Before the advent of Islam in India the people were divided in several social factions because of the caste system. An intense and perpetual strife was going on between all social groups of society. Conditions which extremely lacked in solidarity and

homogeneity prevailed in the society. The people were greatly perturbed and worried over the unstable social conditions. The caste system had divided the society in different social groups with antagonistic approach and feelings towards each other. The prevailing conditions were ripe for the introduction of a new religious faith and system which was to negate the existing philosophies of life based on inhuman trends and customs.

When Islam was introduced to the people of the sub-continent, it attracted many followers because of its simple and easily

CRUX OF ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Culture → Abolition of caste system, equality, promising more respectful life for lesser castes. To bring de Tawhid - promise of day of judgement & justice

Language influenced. Hybrid of Sanskrit, Pahlavi now bcz of Persian, Turkish, Arabic - so now Hindi, Urdu.

Religious:-

Leaders like Chetanya of Bengal, Ramananda & Guru Nanak influenced. Adopted Islamic ideas to modern Hinduism. At Sikhism, ... Nanak travelled principles of Islam openly denounced the rigid caste system of India. They emphasised on the doings of the individual rather than the superiority or inferiority of the birth!

Islam, therefore, became a blessing for the lower classes of India. The occupational groups, doomed and suppressed under their existing system willingly embraced Islam to shed away the yoke of their perpetual subordination. The rigours of the caste system diminished and the life became happier and bearable for the under-privileged groups. Islam showed them a new way of life which they had never experienced before in the Hindu society. The respectable way of life, ensured by Islam, gave the masses a feeling of being human beings. The people rejected the outdated and absurd customs

1. Hafeez Malik, Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan, p. 25.
2. Sir E. McLagan, District Gazetteer of Multan 1902, p. 37.

New languages like Hindi & Urdu developed due to Arabic, Persian & Turkish influence

Hindu society and showed their inclination toward the new trends of life. The old languages Sanskrit and Parakrit were influenced by Arabic, Persian and Turkish. By the interaction of these languages new languages like Urdu and Hindi developed.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Islam and Hinduism basically differ in their attitude toward life. Islam strongly believes in the concept of Tauheed (Oneness of God) and insists on the equality of mankind before law. It does not see any distinction among the people on score of such inhuman principles as caste, creed and social position. Hinduism, on the other hand, believes in the multiplicity of gods and is based on the unethical caste system which had divided society into privileged and under-privileged classes.

Islam also left its impact on the religious sphere of India and it immediately influenced the basic tenets of Hinduism. Important and significant developments occurred in the Hindu temples and their architectures began reflecting the Islamic way of construction. The religious leaders of Hindus were greatly influenced by the Islamic principles and re-shaped their philosophies in the light of Islamic values. They began preaching the Islamic principles of brotherhood, equality and Oneness of God and impressed upon the people to abandon idol worship. Shankaracharya the great organizer of modern Hinduism, was influenced by Islam. He responded to the call of Islam and its teachings.

The other leaders of Hinduism, influenced by the teachings of Islam were Chaitanya, Ramananda, the important leaders of Bhagti Movement and Baba Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion.

Baba Guru Nanak was born in November 1469, in Central Punjab. He received his education both from Hindu Pandits and Muslim Ulama. He visited the Holy places in India, Persia and Arabia along with his Hindu and Muslim companions known as Bhai Bala and Mardana. Baba Guru Nanak was greatly influenced by Islamic

teachings and manifested his belief Oneness of God.

Chaitanya of Bengal, although deeply acquainted with Islam, does show some influence of Islam in his teachings. His disciples were well versed in Arabic and some of them are said to have embraced Islam at a later stage.

Ramananda, a great leader of Bhagti Movement in the north came into contact with some learned scholars of Islam. Being convinced after his discussions with Muslim scholars, he introduced a large number of changes in Hindu social system. He encouraged the people from all castes, Hindus and Muslims, to come under his patronage and become his disciples. He re-designed the regulations of preparing and taking meals in the light of Islamic laws and etiquet.

HINDU REACTION

HINDU NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

The Muslims soon became a formidable national entity as a result of amazing success and popularity of Islam in the sub-continent. The edifice of Muslim nationalism was erected on the stable foundations which quickly made Islam a loving system of life in the Indian society.

Hinduism, despite its best efforts, could not check the rapid expansion of Muslim Nationalism in India. Consequently a number of Hindu Nationalist movements emerged in order to check the spread of Islam. Islam possessed a magnetic force to attract a large number of converts because of its glorious principles of equality, brotherhood and social respect for every one. The popularity of Islam reduced the impact of Hinduism to a greater extent and made Islam a motivating element in the Indian social set-up. The Muslim sufis and mystics presented a liberal view of Islam by the personal examples of piety and humanitarian approach. As a result of their efforts, some Hindu reformers gave a serious pondering on eliminating unethical social principles of Hinduism in order to make it more tolerable and acceptable faith for the

masses. In this way they believed that the popularity of Islam could be checked from further expansion.

BHAGTI MOVEMENT → Love & Brotherhood

Bhagti is a Hindi word and in its literal sense means Love and Brotherhood. A systematic movement was launched in the 14th century known as **Bhagti Movement**. This movement, apparently was meant to eradicate the evils of Hinduism in order to make it more acceptable for the people. Bhagat Kabir, Ramananda, Ramanaja, Baba Guru Nanak and Dadu were its main and important leaders. These leaders of **Bhagti Movement** believed that there were some common features between Islam and Hinduism. They considered that **Bhagti** (love, brotherhood) was the greatest religion. They rejected the caste system, negated the idol worship and stressed upon brotherhood, tolerance, love and respect among mankind. To them there was no difference between Ram and Rahim, Quran and Pran and Kaashi and Kaabah.

The Bhagti leaders invited the people on the common bonds of brotherhood to create unity among the entire mankind. They preached simplicity and unity and showed their disdain for caste system and idol worship.

The Bhagti Movement was initiated mainly to check the popularity of Islam in the sub-continent. There are few schools of thought who believed that the purpose of the Bhagti Movement was to combine the salient features of Islam and Hinduism. This view is totally wrong as the Hindu saints and reformers of the Bhagti movement belonged to distinct and different trends. Bhagat Kabir, Guru Nanak, Dadu and Ramananda represented a more liberal and tolerant group, while Chaitanya and his followers were for the revival of Hindu Nationalism. The later group under Chaitanya came into direct clash with the Muslim authorities for their extremist view on Hindu revivalism. However the Bhagti Movement failed to achieve its objectives of the distortion of Islam.

DIN-E-ILAH

Akbar occupied the throne of Delhi in 1566. From the beginning of his rule he desired to win the collaboration of the Rajput chiefs. For this purpose, first of all, he married a number of Hindu and Rajput women. He elevated the Hindus and Rajputs on high government assignments. The Hindu wives of Akbar mostly prevailed upon him and to please them Akbar gave enormous liberty to his Hindu subjects. The Hindus had also gained ascendancy in Akbar's court and they openly indulged in Government's affairs because of the important position they held in the royal courts.

The Hindu courtiers of Akbar prompted him to introduce a new religious faith by combining the salient feature of Hinduism and Islam so that a homogeneous fusion of Akbar's Hindu and Muslim subjects could be achieved. Akbar was greatly impressed by the suggestion and promulgated his new religion **Din-i-Ilahi or Divine Faith** in 1582. He convened a general council of high officials and his important courtiers to discuss the religious antagonism and strife in his subject. He then declared that all religions would be united in such a way that the advantage of all the religions would be gained by all and that the evils of any faith would be disregarded. In this way, Akbar said, **"honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples and security to the empire"**.³ Smith.

The promulgation of Din-i-Ilahi was an ill-fated attempt of Akbar to combine the salient features of Islam with Hinduism. Its main purpose was the distortion of Islam.

The gist of Din-i-Ilahi was the introduction of un-Islamic trends. Akbar sanctioned a number of un-Islamic practices which included the worship of sun, fire and artificial lights. Jizya and pilgrimage tax of 6 per cent per head were abolished. Din-i-Ilahi elevated Akbar and declared him God's shadow on earth. It was required of all by this creed to bow before the emperor in adoration. Cow slaughter was prohibited and Azan, call

3. Smith, Akbar, The Great Moghal, p. 211.

for prayers, was forbidden. He encouraged the people who adopted un-Islamic practices and readily accepted them in the fold of his disciples. The mosques were to be used as warehouse. Akbar ordered that no child will be named as Muhammad in future. He also proclaimed that any opposition on the part of his subjects to an order passed by the His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come.

By these actions Akbar acquired Muslim antagonism and was commonly taken as desirous of initiating a new religious faith. However it is clear and proven fact that Akbar wanted to be the Spiritual guide of all his subjects. He promulgated the policy of Sulah-i-Kul (peace with all) and bestowed honours on the leaders with visible leanings towards Hinduism. He patronised Hindu art and literature.

The immediate result of the promulgation of Din-i-Ilahi was the loss of Muslim political hegemony in the Indian society. The Hindus were elevated to the equal status and their social position was greatly enhanced.

Akbar's attempt to bring about a fusion of society by merging the different religious faiths, bitterly failed. It was a disastrous failure as it did not please the Hindus even who were given a tremendous boost under Din-i-Ilahi. Akbar's experiment in the religious field gained nothing. It invited a vigorous reaction by the Muslim saints and particularly by Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani who exposed the fallacy of Din-i-Ilahi.

Din-i-Ilahi and its impact quickly disappeared with Akbar's death. The Muslim clergymen and Muslim nobility joined hands together to eliminate its venomous effects in the Indian society. The Hindu aristocracy, however, struggled to perpetuate it but met with intense opposition from Muslim masses after Akbar's death.

1564 — 1626

IMAM RABBANI HAZRAT MUJADID ALF SANI (Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi)

Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani (the reformer of the second millenium) was a great Muslim saint and mystic of the Naqshbandia order.

He challenged the might of Akbar, the Moghal emperor, to re-establish the glory of Islam which had been gravely threatened by the anti-Islamic trends of Akbar. By 1604 the time was ripe for the great reformer to appear on the scene which inspired Sheikh Ahmad known as Mujadid Alf Sani to bring about the second millenium of the Islamic era.

Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani, whose name was Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi was a descendant of the second pious Caliph Hazrat Umar Ibn Al Khatab for which he was also referred as 'Farooqi'. He was a prominent disciple of Khawja Baqi Billah, an eminent saint of the Naqshbandia spiritual order. He is popularly known as Mujadid-i-Alf Sani (Receiver of Islam during the second Millenium). Sheikh Ahmad was born on June 25, 1564 at Sirhind, the Capital of Eastern Punjab during Moghal rule. He received education under the most prominent and learned teachers at Sialkot and Sirhind. He memorized the Holy Quran and then switched over to the study of Hadith, Tafsir (commentary) and Ma'qul (philosophy). He travelled from place to place to benefit from the renowned scholars. During his wandering to quench his thirst for the mystical knowledge he came into contact with the leading lights of Akbar's court Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi. When Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi learnt of his brilliance and extraordinary mystical insight, they tried to draw him into the Court of Akbar. However, Sheikh Ahmad's connection with the celebrated brothers Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi did not prolong because of Abu-al-Fazl's un-Islamic trends.

Sheikh Ahmad wrote his famous book, **Isbat-un-Nabuwwat** (affirmation of prophethood) in which he gave an excellent explanation of the prophethood.

Baqi Billah's discipleship brought Sheikh Ahmad into close contacts with the leading Muslim nobles of his days. He received spiritual training from Baqi Billah who encouraged him to utilize his tremendous spiritual gifts by freeing of his creative qualities. Baqi Billah bestowed Khilafat on Sheikh Ahmad soon after he joined his discipleship. Khawaja Baqi Billah, was greatly

Sulah-i-Kul

Mujadid Alf Sani

The reformer of 2nd millenium

mystic

Naqshbandia order

impressed by his mystical qualities and wrote about him "*Sheikh Ahmad is an individual from Sirhind, rich in knowledge and vigorous in action. I associated him for few days and found truly marvellous things in his spiritual life. He will turn into a light which will illuminate the world*".⁴

Sheikh Ahmad was drawn into mysticism by his father. Sheikh Abd-al-Ahad, who was a prominent sufi and scholar. He received Khilafat from his father in the Chishtiya and Suhurwardiya spiritual orders. *chishtiya suharwardiya*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF INDIA

When Sheikh Ahmad began his reform movement Muslim society was ridden with un-Islamic practices and trends. Under the Hindu influence, a firm and widespread belief in Karamat (miracles of the saints) had developed in the society which greatly misguided the innocent people. In sufism many means of developing magical and supernatural powers, alien to Islam, had been developed. The mystics and sufis of those days openly denied the authenticity of Sharia by declaring Sharia (the law of Islam) as superficial and external. They even proudly manifested their indifference towards the Sunnah or Examples of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The ulama and theologians ceased to refer to the Quran and Hadith in their commentaries and considered jurisprudence as the only religious knowledge. By these trends the religious spirit excessively diminished and gave rise to the juristic view of Islam.

During these days Akbar ruled the sub-continent whose anti-Islamic outlook had aggravated the social environs. Akbar had no leanings towards Islamic principles and tenets. He promoted Hinduism by marrying Hindu ladies and by allowing an astounding access to the Rajputs and Hindus in his court. He also appointed Hindu Rajputs on higher civil and military positions. The introduction of Din-i-Ilahi by Akbar was a grave attempt to distort Islam. He assumed the title of Mujadid-i-Azam and Imam-i-Adil and issued

orders pertaining to the religious matters which were to be considered as authentic and final. The impact of Din-i-Ilahi greatly affected the Muslim beliefs and trends. It split the Muslim society into several factions and promoted heretic attitudes and practices.

SHEIKH AHMAD'S EFFORTS TO PURGE MUSLIM SOCIETY OF ATHEIST VALUES

The task of reforming Islam and Muslim society on a spiritual and cultural pattern was really a stupendous one which required sustained efforts.

Sheikh Ahmad undertook the job of purifying the Muslim society of un-Islamic tendencies by sending a number of his disciples in all directions to preach the true Islam. He asked them to emphasize on Ittibat-i-Sunnah (Examples of the Holy Prophet - peace be upon him), and the commandments of Sharia in their sermons and preachings. The work was vigorously pursued in India and other neighbouring Muslim countries. Sheikh Ahmad also began a correspondence with the prominent scholars of all Muslim countries. In his letters he explained the religious doctrines and put great stress on the Ittibat-i-Sunnah. *Ittibat-i-Sunnah*

Sheikh Ahmad was greatly opposed to the atheism and openly denounced un-Islamic society. He worked very hard to restore the original teachings of Islam and emphasised on the concept of Tauheed. He exposed the fallacy of Din-i-Ilahi and came out with full vigour to curb the influence of this satanic creed. He urged the Muslims to order their lives according to the principles of Islam. He declared that mysticism without Shariat was misleading and denounced those ulama who had questioned the authority of Sharia. *Denou Din e Islam*

Sheikh Ahmad stressed on the Muslims to revert to the purier Islam by giving up heretical customs and practices. He laboured diligently to settle the differences between the scholars and the mystics. He initiated the leading nobles near the emperor into his discipleship and through them exerted an influence to bring about a change in the life of the Court. He was able to enlist Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khana, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz and

4. S.M. Ikram, Muslim Rule in India & Pakistan, p. 296.

- Khan-i-Khana
- Mirza Aziz
- Khan-e-Azam

Pakistan Affairs

Mulla Sardar Jehan, the most influential personalities of Akbar's era into his discipleship. He also persuaded the great men of Jehangir's period to take an oath of Allegiance at Sheikh Ahmad's hands. In the time of Jehangir, Sheikh Ahmad was successful to a greater extent to extract a solemn undertaking from the Muslims that they would not obey any orders repugnant to Islam.

Sheikh Ahmad persuaded the Muslims to adopt simple habits in life in the light of Islam and Sunnah. He revealed the importance of **Namaz** on the Muslims and asked them to strictly adhere to **Namaz**. He also explained the utility of **Fasting** and declared that Fasting protects the mankind from many sins. His efforts contributed a great deal towards the popularity of Islam in the sub-continent.

SHEIKH AHMAD'S LETTERS

Sheikh Ahmad adopted an effective method of persuasion by writing letters to the leading nobles of the royal court. He began addressing letters written in a language, which would move mountains, to leading nobles of the state, bemoaning the sad state in which Islam had fallen in India, and reminding them of their duty.⁵ His letters are known as **Muktubat-e-Imam Rabbani** and were addressed to, besides other leading nobles, Sheikh Farid, Khan-i-Azam, Sadr-i-Jehan and ~~Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khana~~.

SHEIKH AHMAD IMPRISONED

Sheikh Ahmad also dealt with matters other than religious revival in his letters. This policy drew him into serious difficulties. Asaf Jah, the Prime Minister of Jehangir's court alerted Jehangir of the mounting popularity of Sheikh Ahmad by inciting the Emperor that Sheikh Ahmad's anti-Hindu views were creating unrest in the country. Jehangir summoned Sheikh Ahmad to his court and asked him to explain his statements.

Sheikh Ahmad appeared in the royal court in a highly dignified manner and

explained his statements in a courageous style. Someone pointed out to Jehangir that Sheikh had not performed the act of 'Prostration'. When he was asked to perform the Sajdah he refused by saying that he would not perform Sajdah before a human being. He declared that Sajdah was only due to the Almighty God. Jehangir, infuriated over this blunt reply, ordered the Sheikh to be imprisoned in the Fort of Gawaliar.

Sheikh Ahmad did not shirk his preaching of Islam during his imprisonment. After two years, Jehangir feeling repentful, released him from the fort and venerated him with a dress of Honour and 1000 rupees for his expenses. He was given the option of going back to Sirhind or remain in the royal court. Sheikh Ahmad preferred to stay in the royal court which provided him an opportunity to preach his views in the royal court.

SHEIKH AHMAD AND TWO-NATION CONCEPT

In order to popularize Islam a number of Muslim reformers and revivers adopted a liberal point of view in their preaching so that a large number of people could be attracted toward Islam. They, however, were successful to a great extent, but at the same time this liberal approach gave rise to the concept of joint nationalism. This trend proved injurious to the separate and distinct national image of the Muslims.

Sheikh Ahmad viewed this trend of the society with concern and reached at the conclusion that if the Muslims were not alerted against this attitude they will be doomed for ever as a nation. To put an end to this growing trend of joint nationalism, Sheikh Ahmad openly negated the philosophy of **Wahdat-ul-Wajud**. He laboured to keep alive the national and religious identity of the Muslims.

Sheikh Ahmad was a staunch advocate of the separateness of the Muslims and desired to maintain the distinctive image of the Muslim Nationalism. He laid great emphasis on the separate identity of the Muslims and adopted a very stern attitude against the Hindus.

5. S.M. Ikram, Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan, p. 296.

Sheikh Ahmad firmly believed in Two-Nation Theory. He was in favour of maintaining the differences between Hindus and Muslims. He wanted Jizya to be re-imposed on Hindus and demanded the destruction of Hindu temples.

WAHDAT-UL-WAJUD AND WAHDAT-UL-SHAHUD

The philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* was presented by some sufis of Akbar's time. They believed that the entire Universe is the symbol of Almighty God and a source of revelation of God's sovereignty. The advocates of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* believed that there was no living difference between the Man and his Creator God and both individual and God are not separated from each other. They also believed that every particle of the Universe represented the presence of God and, therefore, the worship of God's creature amounted to the worship of God.

Sheikh Ahmad openly negated this philosophy and declared it as ultra vires to the principles of Islam. He presented his philosophy of 'Wahdat-ul-Shahud' which meant that the Creator and creatures were two different and separate entities.

THE INFLUENCE OF SHEIKH AHMAD'S EFFORTS

The efforts of Sheikh Ahmad to purify the religious and practical life of the Muslims left an indelible impact on the history of Muslim India. Allama Iqbal, poet-philosopher of the East, has paid rich tributes to Sheikh Ahmad in one of his poems for refusing to perform the act of prostration before the emperor. Allama Iqbal considers him as the spiritual guardian of the Muslims of India. His movement for the cause of Islam gave a new life to the Muslims and is regarded as the call *back to Muhammad*, which left far-reaching impact in religious and practical fields.

Sheikh Ahmad, till the last breath of his life continued with the propagation of Islam. He drew a distinction between Islam and atheism. He considerably prevailed upon Jehangir to alter his religious view and abandon his father's religious policies. Jehangir, under the influence of Mujadid's

preaching, ordered Khutaba (holy sermon) to be recited and cow slaughter to be carried out as required by Islamic principles. Jehangir also agreed to the construction of a big mosque on the advice of Mujadid.

Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani was the most powerful religious personality in the history of India. He was a widely read scholar and a magnetic rhetorician. He got an opportunity in a liberal atmosphere in Jehangir's reign to use his powerful pen to denounce Akbar's religious innovations.

Mujadid Alf Sani was the only individual in the history of India who opposed Akbar and thereby invited his wrath. He is considered as the pioneer of Muslim self-assertion by denouncing un-Islamic practices.

After living for three years with the emperor Jehangir, Hazrat Mujadid sought permission to leave for Sirhind. He passed away on December 10, 1626 and was buried in Sirhind.

HAZRAT SHAH WALI ULLAH MUHADIS DELHI

After the death of Aurangzeb, in 18th century, the Muslim society faced some serious problems. The Moghal empire had fallen into the hands of most incapable successors of Aurangzeb who could not withhold the supremacy of the Muslim rule because they indulged into luxurious life. With the weakness of the Muslim empire, Islam, the religion of the Muslims, faced serious problems. The un-Islamic trends and practices were flourishing and a general ignorance of Islam, Quran and Hadith had created anguish amongst the religious saints. The time and situation was ripe for the reformers and revivers to emerge to purge the Muslim society of these trends. Consequently an era of religious regeneration began with the emergence of Shah Wali Ullah, a great Muslim thinker, reformer and Muhadis.

Imam-ul-Hind Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah, a great saint, scholar and reformer is one of those great personalities of Islam who, with his dedicated services had brought the Muslim society together on the stable

foundations. He continued the work of Hazrat Mujaddid Alf Sani and struggled for religious, cultural political and social revival of the Muslims.

Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah was born in a pious family of Delhi on 21st February, 1703, four years before the death of Aurangzeb. His real name was Qutub-ud-Din and later on came to be known as Wali Ullah for his pious habits. His father Shah Abdur Rahim was well-known for his piety and profound knowledge of Islam. Shah Abdur Rahim was a sufi and theologian. He was engaged in the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* by the emperor Aurangzeb.

Shah Wali Ullah received his early education in spiritualism and mysticism from his father. He memorized the Holy Quran in his childhood. He received education in *Tafsir*, *Hadis* and acquired spiritual discipline from his great father. He also studied metaphysics, logic and *Ilm-ul-Kalam* under his father.

Ilm-ul
Kalam

Shah Wali Ullah excelled in every discipline of the Islamic learning. He completed his studies in the fifteenth year of his age in all the prevalent customs and traditions of his country. He studied *Sahih-i-Bukhari* and often attended his father during the reading of the Holy Quran. Shah Wali Ullah also acquired knowledge of various branches of jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). He studied *Sharh-i-Waqaya* and *Hidaya* and some portion of *Usul-i-Fiqah*.

Sahih
ul
Bukhari

Sharh-i
Waqaya
Hidaya

Usul
ul
Fiqh

Mujizal
Qanun
Tib

Sharh-i
Hidaya
Hikmat

Tib

Shah Wali Ullah did not confine his appetite for knowledge to the study of theology but was equally well versed in the humanities branch of knowledge as well. He studied *Mujizal Qanun* of *Hikmat* and *Sharh-i-Hidaya-i-Hikmat* in the field of medicine and *Tib*.

He went to Arabia for higher studies and performing Haj. He received education under the most capable teachers of Makkah and Medina. He received his education from Sheikh Abu Tahir Bin Ibrahim of Medina. He also obtained the Sanad in Hadis from Sheikh Abu Tahir who possessed extraordinary intellectual potentialities.

Sheikh
Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim
Sanad in Hadis

Shah Abdur Rahim, his father, died at the age of 77 when Shah Wali Ullah was just 17 years old. He transferred the (authority in sufism) and *Irshad* (spiritual education) to Shah Wali Ullah at his death bed and said, "his hand is my hand".⁶ After the death of his father Shah Wali Ullah began teaching at *Madrassa Rahimiya* of Delhi where he taught for 12 years.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF INDIA IN SHAH WALI ULLAH'S TIME

Shah Wali Ullah, as has been mentioned in the preceding pages, went to Hejaz for his higher education and for performing Haj. "During his stay at Makkah Shah Wali Ullah saw a vision in which Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) blessed him with the tidings that he would be instrumental in the organization of a section of the Muslim society".⁷

During these days political and social turmoil was rampant in the sub-continent. Life, property and honour were not secure as there were a number of disruptive forces at work in the Muslim society. The Moghal empire after the death of Aurangzeb, was in the hands of the incapable successors who were unable to withhold the glory of the empire. The Moghul empire gradually began to collapse with manifest signs of decadence. The religious groups were also claiming their superiority and the tussle between the Shia and Sunni sects was posing serious threats to Muslim nobility. The stability and strength of Aurangzeb time was lacking in the political, social and religious sections of the society. The Marhata and Sikhs had gained a firm foothold, who usually raided the seat of the Government, Delhi, sometime occupying the old city physically for short durations. The rise of Marhata might promoted Hindu nationalism which intensified the social decay in the Muslim society.

6. Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, p. 125.
7. S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, p. 392.

SHAH WALI ULLAH'S MOVEMENT - Religious Reformation

Shah Wali Ullah during his stay in ~~He~~ received reports of unstable and he classified traditions in terms of their acceptability & reliability

- 1st class:- Sahih Muslim, Bukhari, Muwatta
2nd class:- Sunan of Abu Dawud, Nasai, Tirmidhi

3rd:- Narrated but no care taken in ascertaining their soundness.

Point being -> He's trying to emphasise on use of authority to ascertain differences of opinion & trying to unify Muslims instead of dwelling in Suni/Shia type differences.
* Also advocated that Shah & Hanafi schools be ~~and~~ ^{avoid} involvement in the luxuries of the world. He initiated tatbiq (integration) of the Muslim society which was on the verge of destruction. By adopting the method of tatbiq he introduced a liberal element and thus brought elasticity in the understanding of Islam. **TATBIQ**

He adopted a balanced approach and understanding towards religious matters. He thoroughly studied all schools of thoughts and expressed what was right and just in a mild and sophisticated way without hurting anyone. He removed misunderstanding to a larger extent, between Shias and Sunnis and in this way provided a spiritual basis for national solidarity and harmony. He presented Islam in a more rational way to make it acceptable to the larger number of people. He himself states, "I was informed through 'Ilham' (inspiration) that I would have to undertake this responsibility. The time has come when every injunction of the Sharia and the general instruction of Islam should be presented to the world in a rational manner".⁸

8. S.M. Ikram, Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan, 392.

Shah Wali Ullah got in touch with the rulers and impressed upon them to enforce Islamic laws. He also urged them to mould their lives, according to the Islamic way. He educated the Muslim soldiers on the importance of Jihad and asked them to go for Jihad for the glorification of Islam. He asked the traders to adopt fair principles of trade as preached and practised by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He informed the people about the sins of accumulation of wealth and asked them to keep as much wealth with them as was required for their economic needs. Shah Wali Ullah is regarded as the founder of modern 'Muslim India' and as such the 'father of modern Muslim India'. He produced illuminaries like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who rendered meritorious services to the Muslims of India to draft their destinies.

POLITICAL SERVICES

Apart from imparting religious education to Muslims, Shah Wali Ullah also provided leadership to the Muslims in the political field. He came out with his great wisdom and foresight to create political awakening in the Muslims of India.

The rise of Marhatas and Sikhs had posed serious problems to the Muslim rulers. The Moghal rulers were no more in a position to withhold the supremacy of the Muslim rule which was gravely jeopardized by the emergence of the Sikhs, Marhatas and other non-Muslim forces. Marhata forces raided Delhi, the capital of the Moghal empire, at will. The Marhatas wanted to crush the Muslim rule for ever to put Peshwa's son Biswas Rao on the throne of Delhi.

Shah Wali Ullah came up to tackle this precarious situation. He had rightly noticed that if the Marhatas are not checked effectively the political power of the Muslims would disappear for ever. He wrote letters to the leading Muslim nobles and informed them of the critical situation hanging on the head of the Moghal rule. He asked for military assistance from them and was successful in bringing some of Muslim chieftains to come around. He eventually won over Najib-ud-Daula, Rehmat Khan and Shuja-ud-Daula against Marhatas.

Daulas & Rehmat Khan

• Pattern of Madrassah-i-Rahimiya followed in the
of Ahadith in Deoband & Dar-ul-Uloom → far
22 Pakistan Affairs
reaching impact

Afghan
Ruler

Ahmed
Shah
Abdali

3rd 1761
Battle
of
Panipat

However, the Muslim chiefs were unable to face Marhatas effectively. Their resources were inadequate to crush the Marhatas power. Shah Wali Ullah, therefore, looked towards Ahmad Shah Abdali whom he persuaded to retrieve the Muslim rule in India. Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the call of Shah Wali Ullah came to India and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marhatas at the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761. The victory of Ahmad Shah Abdali at Panipat blasted the Marhatas' power and paved way for the revival of Islam in India.

WORKS OF SHAH WALI ULLAH

Shah Wali Ullah wrote many books, fifty in all, on mysticism and other branches of Islamic learnings which deal with religious, economic and political problems. His outstanding work was his translation of the Holy Quran into simple Persian language which was the literary language of his days. He produced this masterpiece of literature in 1737-38 which invited great criticism from the orthodox ulama who threatened him even with death. Shah Wali Ullah's translation was an exceptional act as there had never been a translation of the Holy Quran before in a foreign language. His translation brought the knowledge of the Holy Quran within the reach of an average literate person who found it easier to read and understand the Holy Quran in a language other than Arabic. After Shah Wali Ullah his two sons Shah Rafi-ud-Din and Shah Abdul Qadir prepared Urdu versions of the Holy Quran.

Hujat-ullah-al-Baligha is another famous work of Shah Wali Ullah. In this work Shah Sahib has discussed in details the reasons of the social and religious decay of the Muslims. He has also discussed the importance of application of Jihad in this book and has mentioned the intellectual and scholastic requirements of a Mujahid priest.

In his time the Shias and Sunnis were aggressively hostile to each other and their rivalry was damaging the Muslim unity. Shah Wali Ullah wrote 'Izalat-ul-Akhifa' and 'Khilafat-ul-Khulafa' in order to remove misunderstanding between Shias and the Sunnis. He refused to denounce Shias as

heretics. Shah Wali Ullah adopted analytical and balanced approach towards the four schools of thought of mysticism. In order to create a balance between the four schools, i.e. Hanafi, Hambali, Shafii and Malaki, he wrote 'Al Insaf fi Bayan Sahab al Ikhtilaf' in which he traced their historical background.

In Fuyuz-al-Haramain, Shah Wali Ullah depicts one of his dreams during his stay in Arabia. He describes that the God Almighty chose him as an intermediary to establish a new order in his time.

Besides the above-mentioned works, Shah Wali Ullah wrote many other books on different topics. They include al-Nawadar, Min-al-Hadis, Aqad-al-Jaiyad-fi-Ahkam-al-Ijithad wa-al-Taqlid, Tafhimat-i-Ilahiya. These works and all of Shah Wali Ullah's writings are produced in Arabic and Persian languages.

His Madrassa and other institutions founded by him, imparted education in the light of his works. A bunch of religious nationalist was prepared by these schools who interpreted Islam according to his doctrines. Shah Abdul Aziz, the eldest son of Shah Wali Ullah led these religious nationalists to wage jihad for the liberation of Muslim India and ultimately to build edifice for a Caliphate state on the principles of Islam as described by Shah Wali Ullah's doctrines.

SYED AHMED SHAHEED BARAILVI 1786

The name of Syed Ahmed Shaheed carries great importance with regard to the revival of Islam in the history of the sub-continent. Syed Ahmad Shaheed picked up the course of the vigorous two-pronged struggle aimed at the purification of the Muslim society and the destruction of the British power in India. His approach to freedom was based on the armed struggle and confrontation against the foreign and non-Muslim forces.

Syed Ahmed Barailvi the inheritor of the mantle of Shah Abdul Aziz, was born

9. Hafeez Malik, Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan, p. 154.

on November 29, 1786 in a respectable family of Rai Baraily. He was greatly impressed by the preachings and doctrines of Shah Wali Ullah and was a staunch disciple of his son Shah Abdul Aziz. From the very beginning he had an inclination of becoming a soldier rather than endeavouring to become a renowned scholar or mystic as did his predecessors.

Syed Ahmed was a believer of the Wahabi school of thought & believed strongly in the need to act rather than merely feel → strict in his practice of Islam

Jehad mvt → Sumrah to attack from Muslim territories, Punjab was Darul Harb so ~~attack~~ worked from Peshawar, richly Muslim area.

Mushtaq in this project his two distinguished disciples, Shah Ismail Shaheed and Maulana Abdul Haye, assisted him in the preparation of the book. The work is an excellent summary of the philosophies, doctrines and reforms of Shah Wali Ullah which he had expressed in a number of his famous books. At this moment Syed Ahmed switched over to the public preaching. He proved a great success, as a preacher, in spite of the lesser rhetoric in his sermons.

PREPARATION FOR JEHAD AGAINST SIKHS

Syed Ahmed was extremely dismayed to see the decline of the Muslims in their religious and ideological commitments. He earnestly desired to see the restoration of the supremacy of Islam in India. The purpose of his life and struggle was not confined to the spread of Islam by preaching only, but he believed in taking practical steps for this purpose. The main objective before Syed

Ahmed was the establishment of a State which was based on Islamic principles/

In the time of Syed Ahmed, Punjab was ruled by the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh who was regarded as an autocratic and tyrannical despot. The Muslims heavily suffered under his tyrannical rule and were denied liberty and freedom to perform and practise their religion. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had also fallen to the Sikh domination and was included in the Sikh regime. The holy places of the Muslims i.e. mosques, shrines were turned into temples and stables, by the Sikh regime. Azan was forbidden and the religious practices of the Muslims were interrupted frequently.

Syed Ahmed did not confine himself to Delhi but also visited the neighbouring places. During one of his visit to Rampur, some Afghans complained to him about the wide-scale persecution of the Muslims by the Sikh regime. Syed Ahmed decided to launch his Jihad movement against the Sikh regime on his return from Haj. Syed Ahmed left for Makkah in 1821 along with Maulana Ismail Shaheed, Maulana Abdul Haye and a large number of followers and admirers to perform Haj. Syed Ahmed performed haj and remained absent for nearly two years. They returned to Delhi and the preparation for Jihad against the Sikhs began.

DECLARATION OF WAR

Syed Ahmed believed if Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were liberated of the Sikh domination, the Muslims would regain their old position. He, therefore, picked up Punjab to begin his Jihad movement against the Sikhs and selected Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to begin his operation for the elimination of the non-Islamic forces. He directed Maulana Ismail and Maulana Abdul Haye to march with a party of six thousand followers from Rai Baraily. He himself set out via other parts of Punjab and Delhi to muster support for his movement. Syed Ahmed invited the people to join him in Jihad against the un-Islamic regime to save the Muslims of the Sikh domination.

Syed Sahib reached Nowshera in December, 1826 and established his

headquarter. He sent a message to the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh to embrace Islam or be ready to face the Mujahideen in the battlefield. Ranjit Singh turned down the offer scornfully and expressed a high degree of disdain for Islam and the Muslims.

Syed Ahmed began his jihad against the Sikhs by challenging the Sikh army at Akora on 21st December 1826. The Sikhs had gathered a strong force at Akora under General Budh Singh. The fight at Akora was a night assault when nearly 900 Muslims pounced on the sleeping Sikhs. It was a successful mission and heavy loss was inflicted on the Sikhs. Budh Singh being extremely demoralised decided to withdraw from Akora. The Mujahideen fought second battle at Hazro which too was a great success.

The astonishing success of the Mujahideen in two encounters gave immense popularity to the Jihad movement. People gathered in large number around Syed Sahib. Many pathan chiefs joined Syed Sahib and took an oath of allegiance at the hands of Syed Ahmed. Yar Muhammad the Governor of Peshawar also joined Syed Ahmed in his movement along with other prominent pathan leaders like Pir Hakman Khan. Gradually the number of the Muslim forces rose to 80,000.

The Jihad movement went through the early stages of struggle with amazing success. At this time a conspiracy was hatched against the Jihad movement. The Sikhs brought pressure on Yar Muhammad Khan who tried to poison Syed Ahmed which he survived. Sardar Yar Muhammad was bribed to betray Syed Sahib and join the Sikhs against Mujahideen. In 1829 Yar Muhammad was killed in an encounter against the Mujahideen.

Syed Ahmed now set out for Kashmir and Peshawar. The Sikhs under the French General Ventura saved Peshawar and handed it over to Sultan Muhammad Khan the brother of Yar Muhammad Khan. Syed Ahmed reached Hazara Hills and attacked the Sikh forces under Hari Singh and General Allard. This assault was repulsed. However,

Syed Ahmed made another assault on Peshawar which was successful. Sultan Muhammad Khan, who was fighting against the Mujahideen was arrested and pardoned by Syed Ahmed. Syed Ahmed occupied Peshawar in 1830.

ENFORCEMENT OF SHARIA / establishment of central authority

After occupying Peshawar Syed Ahmed paid his attention toward the introduction of Shariat. By this time a large number of Sardars and Khans had submitted to Syed Ahmed and had taken an oath of allegiance at Syed's hand. It was decided at a general meeting of Sardars, Khans and local people that every one should take an oath of baia at Syed's hand for the staunch and strict adherence to the Sharia. Syed Ahmed was declared as a Caliph whose orders were binding on all subjects. The establishment of Islamic system of Government greatly reduced the influence of the tribal Chiefs. He also introduced social reforms and asked the local people to abandon their old customs and life patterns. He urged them to adopt Islamic way of life and be refrained from taking intoxicants.

In November, 1831, after nearly two months of occupation of Peshawar, Syed Ahmed withdrew from Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad Khan who promised to pay a fixed amount to the Mujahideen as tribute.

After relinquishing Peshawar, Syed Ahmed shifted to Balakot and began his movement from Rajauri in 1831. Balakot is a small town in the Mansehra division and falls in the Hazara district. The Mujahideen were attacked by the Sikh army under the command of General Sher Singh. A fierce battle was fought between the Sikhs and the Muslims. The Mujahideen fought valiantly but could not stand the much stronger and superior forces. The Muslims were defeated in the battle in which Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Shah Ismail Shaheed and many other followers of Syed Sahib laid their lives and died as martyrs while fighting for the cause of Islam. With the death of Syed Ahmed the Jihad movement fell into disarray and could not be carried out with the old enthusiasm.

French General Ventura handed over to Sultan Muhammad Khan.

Hazro Singh & General Allard

victories through attacks
Attack sent

The Jihad movement did not die after defeat at Balakot. Some of his followers struggled to continue the movement and were successful to a certain extent. But the movement extremely lacked in organized leadership after Syed's death and, therefore, could not be conducted for a long time.

FRAIZI MOVEMENT

The Muslim sufis and mystics spread the light of Islam in Bengal in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the beginning Bengal was very much receptive to the call of Islam but thereafter there had been a strong Hindu revival which immensely infused a new religious spirit among the Hindus. This Hindu revival converted many areas to Hinduism and also made its impact on the Muslim society. Serious impediments were observed in the spread of Islam as the Muslim missionaries had discontinued their efforts. There was a wide-scale ignorance prevalent among the Muslim masses about Islam resulting in the emergence of Hindu beliefs and practices in the society.

The Muslim revivalism in Bengal began in the 19th century which was to put an end to the Muslim isolation and exploitation. The person who came forward to stir the dormant faith of the Bengali Muslims was Haji Shariat Ullah who was born in 1781 in the village of Shamail in the Faridpur District. After receiving his early education Haji Shariat Ullah left for Hijaz in 1799 at a very young age. After a long stay of twenty years he returned from Makkah in 1820. During his stay in Arabia he was greatly impressed by the doctrines of Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab who had initiated Wahabi movement in Arabia.

Haji Shariat Ullah began his reform movement known as Fraizi Movement in the centre of Bengal. This movement was started as a re-action to the anti-Muslim policy of the British. The Fraizi movement emphasised on the performing of Fraiz, religious duties imposed by the God and His Prophet (peace be upon him). The followers of Haji Shariat Ullah are known as Fraizis for their insistence on the fulfilment of the religious obligations.

Reaction to

Anti Muslim Policy of British

Haji Shariat Ullah was extremely dismayed to see deplorable condition of the Muslims who have been crushed by the East India Company. The Zamindars who were mostly non-Muslims, were exploiting the Muslim cultivators by denying the due share of their toil.

Haji Shariat Ullah was deadly against the false and superstitious beliefs which had arisen in the Muslim society due to long contact with the Hindus. He utterly disliked the expressions of Pir (master) and Murid (disciple) and desired them to be replaced with the title of Ustad (teacher) and Shagird (student). He believed that these titles signified a complete submission by relationship between Ustad and Shagird. He strongly forbade the laying on of hands at the time of accepting a person into discipleship which had crept into Muslim society. He required from his followers Tauha as a manifestation of repentance for all past sins and a pledge to lead a righteous and God-fearing life in future. His followers as already mentioned, were known as Fraizis but they preferred to call themselves as Tawbar Muslims. His movement brought the Muslim peasantry together against the cruel exploitation by the Hindu zamindars.

¹⁷⁸¹ ^{Shamail} ^{Faridpur} Haji Shariat Ullah was a pious man who lived a simple life. He won deep loyalty and confidence of the people by his utmost sincerity and devotion. His disciples and followers blindly took him as competent and able to pull them out of crisis and despair. He was to provide consolation to the people in their time of adversity and affliction. He declared Jihad against the infidels as inevitable and termed the sub-continent as Dar-ul-Harb where the offering of Friday prayers was unlawful.

The Fraizi movement of Haji Shariat Ullah injected a great deal of confidence among the Muslim masses who were awakened from their slumber. It infused spirit among the Muslim peasants who got together for the protection of their rights. Haji Shariat Ullah became the centre of a great spiritual revival of the Muslims and laid the foundation for his successors to continue their struggle.

Haji Sahib invited opposition of the Hindu zamindars who were perturbed on the unity of the Muslim peasantry. They started harassing him by instituting false cases against him. Ultimately he was forced to leave Najabari in the district of Dacca, a place where he had settled after his return from Arabia. He returned to his birth place in Faridpur district, where he continued his religious preaching and fighting against the non-Islamic forces till his death in 1840.

DUDU MIYAN

Haji Shariat Ullah was succeeded by his son Mohsin-ud-Din Ahmed (popularly known as Dudu Miyan), who became very popular in the districts of Dacca, Faridpur, Pabna, Bakarganj and Noakhali. He was born in 1819 and went to Arabia in his early age.

Dudu Miyan assumed the leadership of Fraizi Movement left by his father. He divided the whole of Bengal into circles and appointed a Khalifa to look after his followers in each circle. He introduced a political tinge in the movement which became the symbol of the resistance of the Muslim peasantry of Eastern Bengal against Hindu Landlords. Dudu Miyan vehemently opposed the levying of taxes by landlords. In those days the Muslim peasants were required to contribute towards the decoration of Hindu goddess, Durga or towards the support of any of the idolatrous rituals of his Hindu landlord. Dudu Miyan strongly resented this practice and considered it a highly oppressive measure to crush the Muslim peasantry. He declared that the earth belonged to the Almighty God and that no one could inherit it or to impose taxes upon it. Dudu Miyan believed in equality and considered the richest and the poorest as equally important. He preached that whenever a brother was in distress it was the duty of his comrades to help him.

Dudu Miyan in order to save the Muslim peasantry from illegal taxes, asked them to occupy the Khas Mahal land, which was directly managed by the Government. He allowed the peasants to refuse paying the taxes except the revenue tax which was imposed by the Government.

Dudu Miyan believed in taking practical steps for the amelioration of the peasantry. For this purpose he established his own State where he administered justice by settling disputes and punishing the wrong-doers. He was particularly very strict in punishing the landlords who preferred to go to a court of law for the recovery of debts instead of coming to him for redress.

The Hindu zamindars dreaded him and conspired to check the spread of his movement. The landlords and European planters retaliated with their usual tactics of instituting false criminal cases against him. He was harassed all his life and was put in jail time and again on frivolous charges.

1862 Dudu Miyan died on 24th September 1862 at Bahdurpur in the district of Dacca. The Fraizi movement under Haji Shariat Ullah and Dudu Miyan cultivated a great deal of political awareness among the Muslims of Bengal and particularly among the Muslim peasantry who put a formidable resistance against the Hindu landlords and the British rulers.

TITU MIR

1782 Mir Nasir Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir was an important leader of the Muslim peasantry of Bengal. He diligently worked for the independence and renaissance of the Muslims of Bengal. He was born in 1782 and belonged to a noble family. From his early age he began to take interest in the political affairs of the country. Though he did not belong to the group of Haji Shariat Ullah but he had similar views on the political, religious, social and economic objectives of the Muslims of Bengal. He earnestly desired to revive the past glory of the Muslims and Islam.

1819 Titu Mir went to Makkah in 1819 for performing Haj where he came into contact with Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi, who extremely inspired him with his spiritual insight. After his return from Makkah, Titu Mir began preaching the poor classes of Jessore and Nadiya in Central Bengal. Soon he

formed a sect known as **Ma'ulvis** among his followers.

Titu Mir finally stood against the Hindu customs and practices. The main objective of his movement was the elimination of Hindu rituals which invited Hindu antagonism. False cases were instituted against the **Ma'ulvis** by the Hindu Zamindars in the courts where fines were levied. Kishan Rai, a notorious Hindu zamindar imposed a tax on his Muslim tenants who professed to be a **Wahabi**. The tax was called as the **Beard Tax** because the **Wahabis** did not shave according to their school of thought. Titu Mir protested against this inhuman tax and physically resisted the tax collectors sent by the zamindars. Action was ordered by the Government against Titu Mir and a strong military contingent was sent to crush him. A fierce encounter took place between the Government forces and the followers of Titu Mir on **November 18, 1831**. Titu Mir was killed in action. His followers were arrested and his movement extinguished in course of time. *used Bamboo sticks to fight military - even the enemy commented on strength of bamboo sticks*

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

The War of 1857 had ended in disaster. The glorious Moghal Empire was liquidated and the direct British rule was established over the whole of the sub-continent. The British had put the entire responsibility on the Muslims and, therefore took severe action against the Muslims to obliterate them from the society. The Britishers, in connivance with the Hindus, adopted a policy to ruin the economic condition of the Muslims which would have automatically stamped out the Muslims from the Indian society. Every action which the British took after the War of 1857 affected the Muslims directly or indirectly. All high Government civil and military positions were reserved for the Hindus and non-Muslims. Since the social position of the Muslims heavily depended on their Government employment, this measure clearly affected the economic and social position of the Muslims.

The Muslims, therefore, reached at the brink of social and economic ruination because of the Hindu and British hatred

towards them. Their leaders felt highly disappointed and dismayed over their deplorable social condition. The Muslims would have been scraped totally from the society as a result of the continued and systematic policy of elimination by the British Government, when some dedicated leaders and reformers appeared on the scene to pull the Muslims out of this disastrous situation of social elimination. These prominent leaders which included Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, launched vigorous movements for the Muslim revival. They began their endeavours by initiating their movements for the educational uplift of the Muslims as they believed that ignorance was the main hurdle in the Muslim renaissance.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT SIR SYED

AHMAD KHAN (1817-1898)

In the darkest hour of their life in India, the Muslim community produced a great and courageous leader in the person of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He saw with clear eyes the horrible state into which the Muslims had fallen and the long and difficult journey they had to undertake for their rehabilitation. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a great Muslim scholar and reformer. He came forward to guide the Muslims who were destined to be ruined and eliminated from the Indian society as a result of Hindu and British domination. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan awakened the Muslims to animate their dormant spirit in order to put up a resolute struggle for the revival of their past position of eminence.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a scion of a noble family and born on 17 October, 1817 in Delhi. He got his early education from his maternal-grandfather Khawaja Farid-ud-Din, who was, for eight years, Prime Minister at the Moghal Court. Khawaja Farid was a distinguished scholar and the only mathematician in his days.

Sir Syed received education in Holy Quran, Arabic and Persian literature. He also acquired excellence in history, mathematics and medicine. His mother was a very wise

lady who trained Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in various subjects. With the guidance he received in his family Sir Syed developed a profound love for learning which enabled him to guide his people in the intellectual and political fields.

After completing his education, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had to join Government service as his father died in 1838. The death of his father and grandfather increased financial problems of the family. In the beginning he was offered a clerical job in 1839 but he soon qualified for the post of Munsif (Sub-Judge) in 1841 and was posted at Fatehpur Sikri. When his elder brother died he sought his transfer to Delhi where he remained from 1846 to 1854. After serving in different capacities he was elevated to the position of Chief Judge in 1846. During his stay at Delhi as Chief Judge, he wrote his famous book Asar us Sanadid (Antiquities of Delhi) in 1847. In this work Sir Syed Ahmad Khan prepared an account of the famous buildings in and around Delhi. In 1855 Sir Syed was transferred to Bijnaur where he compiled the History of Muslim Rule in India. The first work which he produced was Ain-i-Akbari by Abu-al-Fazal. He also wrote the History of Bijnaur in 1855.

By 1857 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had spent nearly twenty years in judicial service. He was known for his sense of justice, competence and for the love and keen desire of welfare and prosperity of his people. In 1857 Sir Syed was posted at Bijnaur when the War of 1857 broke out. It perturbed the local European officers and their families. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan saved many British officers even at the risk of his personal life. On one occasion when the lives of the Britishers, who had taken refuge in Collector's bungalow were precariously threatened by a mob, Sir Syed used his influence on the mutineers as a writer and trusted public servant to let the European refugees leave the place unmolested. He also saved many British women and children from being killed. He was offered an estate for his services which he rendered to the British, but he refused to accept. Sir Syed also served at Ghazipur and Benaras. In 1877 he was

appointed a member of Imperial Council was raised to Knighthood in 1888. In 1882 the University of Edinburgh of England conferred a degree of LL.D. on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

As already mentioned the British held the Muslims responsible for the war of Independence and, therefore, adopted a policy to punish them for their role in the war. The Hindus and other nations, who were equally responsible for the war, were let off and no revengeful action was taken against them. The Muslims because of the British policy, fell from their past position of eminence and their social, economic and political conditions deteriorated. They lost their previous power, glory and distinction as a nation. Their properties were confiscated and their jobs withdrawn. To further aggravate the situation the British replaced Persian, which was the language of the Muslims, with English as an official language. The Muslims were not prepared to learn English as they thought it detrimental to their religion. On the other hand the Hindus quickly adopted English and superseded the Muslims in the educational field. With these measures the Muslims who were one time the rulers of India became the most downtrodden community cruelly subjugated by the British and the Hindus.

Sir Syed always felt aggrieved over the deplorable social and economic condition of the Muslims of India. He desired to see them at a respectable position in society and decided to guide them in their struggle for the revival of their past position of glory. The services which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan rendered for the Muslims renaissance are known in the history as the Aligarh Movement.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had rightly observed that the present condition of the Muslims was mostly because of their own extremist and conservative attitude. The

Two fold → • Removing misunderstandings in British's perception about Muslim

• Encouraging Pakistan Affairs positively Muslims to accept new conditions²⁹

Indian Muslims had always considered the British as their enemies and avoided social interaction with them, which had created a great deal of misunderstanding among the British about the Muslims. Sir Syed believed that the pitiable condition of the Muslims shall not be improved unless the Muslims changed their behaviour toward the British. He was of the opinion that since the British were likely to stay in India as rulers, the Muslims should adopt a more lenient attitude towards them and extend the necessary loyalties to rulers of the country. He also believed that the Hindus would get an opportunity of getting closer to the British if the Muslims continued with their policy of hatred for the British rulers. He advised the Muslims to change their policy of keeping away from the British and come closer to them. He believed that only in this way the Muslims would be able to counter the Hindu and Congress propaganda to win back their position in society.

Sir Syed also realized that Muslims were lagging behind in the education because of their conservative approach toward the English and modern knowledge. He felt that the present condition of the Muslims shall not improve unless they received English education to compete with the Hindus. Sir Syed began his movement by diluting suspicion and misunderstanding between the Muslims and the British.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Sir Syed's Aligarh movement was based on a two-fold programme for the Muslims renaissance which included modern education for the Muslims and co-operation with the British Government. He persisted to it even in the face of extreme opposition from the conservative elements. The next vital step or the uplift of the Muslims, he considered was the acquisition of modern knowledge by the Muslims of India to prepare them for taking due place in the Indian society. Modern education, he felt, was very essential to equip the Muslims to compete with the Hindus. He was of the opinion that the

present deplorable condition of the Muslims was mainly because they extremely lagged behind in the modern and English education. The Muslims were not in a position to compete with the Hindus because they did not acquire modern education simply out of extreme hatred for the British. Sir Syed informed the Muslims clearly that if they did not acquire modern education they would not be able to get their due status in the society and would be ruined for ever. He told the people that Hindus progressed because they were well advanced in education. Sir Syed removed the misunderstanding of the people, created by the orthodox and conservative Ulema, and declared that it was not against the teachings of Islam to acquire English education.

Sir Syed took practical steps for implementing his plans of educational uplift of the Muslims of India. In 1859 he set up a school at Muradabad where Persian and English was taught. In 1863 he established another school at Ghazipur. He set up a scientific society at Ghazipur in 1864 which translated the modern works from English to Urdu and Persian to make them easier for the people to understand. The scientific society published a journal in 1866 known as Allgarh Institute Gazette. This journal was published both in English and Urdu languages. The main objective of this journal was to arouse the sentiments of goodwill and friendship among the British for the Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan went to England in 1869 with his son Syed Mehmud who was given a scholarship for higher studies in England. During his two years stay in England, Sir Syed closely watched the educational system of Britain. He was extremely impressed by the educational system of the Cambridge and Oxford Universities of England. He made up his mind to set up an educational institution on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge Universities when he returned back to India.

Sir Syed returned from England in 1870 and set up a body as Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Muslamanan-i-Hind with an objective of imparting modern knowledge to the Muslims of India.

Aligarh mvt g - (1) Co-operation with British Govt
(2) Modern education for Muslim

ESTABLISHMENT OF MUHAMMADAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE AT ALIGARH (Sir Syed's Oxford)

1871
MAO
college

The establishment of M.A.O. College at Aligarh in 1877 was the monumental achievement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan with regard to the educational services for the Muslims of India.

During his stay in England Sir Syed decided to set up an educational institution in India on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge Universities of England. On his return to India Sir Syed set up a committee which was to explore the possibilities of the establishment of an institution for the educational uplift of the Muslims. A fund committee was also set up which was to raise funds for the college. The committee toured whole of India to collect funds for the college. A request for the financial assistance was also made to the Government.

1874 → MAO
high
school

1877 →
upgraded

to
college
level

1920 →
Univ

Lord
Lytton

On 24th May, 1874, M.A.O. High School was established at Aligarh where modern and eastern education was given. Sir Syed worked diligently to raise the school to the college level. In 1877 the school was upgraded to the status of a college and was inaugurated by Lord Lytton. It was a residential campus and offered both western and eastern learnings. Islamic education was also given to the students. The college was open for both Muslim and non-Muslim students who came from all the parts of the country. Sir Syed desired to see the college raised to the level of a University which was fulfilled after his death in 1920 when the college became the Aligarh Muslim University.

The college at Aligarh was more than an educational institution. It was a symbol of a broad movement affecting every phase of Muslim life.

committees
Public
meetings
cultivating
spirit of hope
1886
help
influential
committees

MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

To carry the message of reforms to the masses Sir Syed set up the Muslim Educational Conference in 1886. The

Conference held public meetings in various parts of the country. It established its committees in all parts of the country. The conference rendered valuable service in cultivating spirit of action and self-help among the Muslims. The meetings of this conference discussed modern techniques for development in the field of education and suggested ways and means for the adoption of modern technique for the improvement of the educational standard. Some very eminent scholars and leaders were included in the conference who with their dedicated approach aroused hope among the brethren. They were Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Shibli, Maulana Hali who inspired the people with their spiritual, academic and political acumen and insight.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The Aligarh movement also served the Muslims for the safeguard of their political interests. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, after the War of 1857, had advised the Muslims to keep away from practical politics of the country as long as they do not equip themselves with the necessary education. He told the Muslims that the Hindus had advanced in the political field only because they were more educated than the Muslims. You, Sir Syed warned the Muslims, try to compete with the Hindus in politics with the present educational standard, you will be easily over-powered by the more advanced Hindus and will never be able to recapture your old position. He emphasised on the Muslims to first acquire sufficient knowledge and then come in the political field to demand their rights.

The Indian National Congress which grew in time to be the most powerful political organization in India, was originally meant to provide a forum in which the Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the Government was faulty and how it should be improved. It had claimed at the time of its inception that it would strive for the safeguard

of the interests of all communities irrespective of their religious leanings. But with the time it stood and turned into a pure platform of demands which were far from the Congress platform appeared and democratic but actually the complete elimination of the Indian society.

Sir Syed on observing Hindu posture of the Congress Muslims not to join it. He said was mainly a Hindu body which sincere to the Muslims. He was that since the Hindus had enough in education, political wealth, they could easily dominate the Congress for the projection of their interests and demands and to ignore the Muslims completely. Sir Syed felt that the Muslims should concentrate for the time being on the acquisition of education and economic rehabilitation before competing with the Hindus in the political field. He firmly believed that the political activity would divert their attention from the constructive task and revive British mistrust. He, therefore, emphasised on the Muslims to fully concentrate on the acquisition of knowledge and equip themselves with modern techniques of politics and then they should embark upon the political participation.

STEPS FOR CREATING BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND BRITISH

The War of 1857 developed a great deal of mistrust and suspicions about the Muslims among the British. The British considered the Muslims as their deadliest enemies and were bent upon scrapping the Muslims as a Nation. On the other hand the Muslims too were not happy with the British and kept aloof from them in the social interaction.

Sir Syed believed that first essential step towards the betterment of the Muslims was to restore mutual trust between the Muslims and the British. Without it, he felt any plan for the renaissance of the Muslims would be useless. He wrote a pamphlet on the causes

"This policy of conciliation & co-operation towards rulers was not due to an attitude of feathery & submission to British. It arose out of peculiar position in which he found the Muslims. His main aim was that Muslims should come out of past & acquire modern knowledge & techniques."

Hafeez Malik on Syed Ahmed DTO

and oppressive policies of the Government the embers of discontent continued to smolder resulting in the armed clash with the Government. The armed rebellion, Sir Syed wrote, was in fact the manifestation of the discontent found among the people about the tyrannical rule of the British. He said that in these circumstances, to hold the Muslims responsible for the war was not justified as the Muslims were dragged into the war by the sway of events along with other nations.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan attributed the following reasons to the outbreak of the war of Independence:

1. non-representation of the Indians in the legislative councils;
2. forcible conversion of Indians to Christianity;
3. mismanagement of Indian army, and
4. many other ill-advised measures of the Government which created large scale dissatisfaction among the various sections of society.

In 1866 Sir Syed formed British India Association at Aligarh. The object of this organization was to express the grievances and point of view of Indians to the British people and the British parliament. The association made several important representations on behalf of the Indian people to the parliament and the British Government regarding Indian grievances. He

Pamphlet on the causes of the Indian Revolt
(Rasala i-Asbab Baghawti i-Hind)
• British India Association 1866
• Loyal Memsab of India

wrote "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he gave a detailed account of the loyal services of the Muslims which they had rendered to the British rulers.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The Muslims of India were denied religious freedom because of the extremist and prejudicial Hindu attitude. The Muslims were not in a position to practice their religion freely according to their faith and belief. The Aligarh movement rendered services for the safeguard of the religious freedom of the Muslims of India. The Christian missionaries were trying hard to erase Islam as a faith and system of life. They were propagating injurious philosophies against Islam and the Muslims. A Christian writer, Sir William Muir, had written a book as the "Life of Muhammad", in which he had made highly objectionable remarks about the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan went to England with his son, he devoted himself much towards collecting the relevant material to give a proper answer to William Muir's remarks in his most maligned work. He met John Devanport who had written a book as "An Apology for Muhammad and Muhammadans." Syed Ahmad got the book published at his own expense and got it translated into Urdu. He realized that a more elaborate effort was needed to give a proper answer to the Life of Muhammad and therefore wrote "Essays on the life of Muhammad" (Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya). He spent a huge amount on the publication of this voluminous book.

Sir Syed wrote the philosophical commentary on Bible known as "Tabaeen-al-Kalam." In this work Sir Syed pointed out the similarities between Islam and Christianity.

Sir Syed was a highly tolerant person in the religious affairs and, therefore, had a large number of friends in other circles. He brought a fairly large number of Hindu and British teachers on the staff of the Aligarh College. At the same time Sir Syed was highly influenced by the teachings and

doctrines of Shah Ismail Shaheed Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab. He adopted a positive attitude towards religious tenets and openly negated the philosophy which he could not conceive. It was mainly for these reasons that some orthodox ulema of his time branded him as Christian.

Sir Syed had great love for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and his memorable work, the Essays on the life of Muhammad, is an ample proof of his love and reverence which he always carried for the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan did not like conservative attitude of the Muslims. He was very much worried about the social conditions of the Muslims and desired to see the revival of the Muslims in their social life. He took several steps for the revival and betterment of the Muslims. He published the most influential magazine "Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq" in which he outlined the ethical aspects of the Muslim life. In this magazine he criticised the conservative way of life of the Muslims and advised them to adopt new trends of life. He opened a number of orphan houses where the orphan children of the Muslims were looked after and provided shelter. He did not want to see these children going to Christian missionaries.

He set himself to the task of protecting the Urdu language from being faded away and replaced by English. He worked laboriously for the promotion of Urdu which was the language of the Muslims and gave a new tone and colour to the Urdu literature. He founded "Anjuman-i-Tariki-i-Urdu" which worked for the protection of Urdu. Sir Syed wrote another magazine as "Ahkam-i-Ta'am-i-Ahle-Kitab" in which the principles and etiquettes of eating and dining in Islam were discussed. In this magazine Sir Syed wrote that it was not against Islam to eat with the Christians on the same table. He gave references from the Holy Quran and proved that it was not un-Islamic to eat with a nation who was the bearer of a Holy Book.

PIONEER OF TWO-NATION THEORY

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a hearted and open-minded person. He a true patriot and loved India very much considered all who lived in India as Nation and was a great advocate of Muslim unity. Speaking at the meeting Indian Association he said, "I look to Hindus and Muslims with the same eyes consider them as my own eyes."

The attitude of Hindus and Congress however compelled Sir Syed Ahmad to give second thought to his ideas regarding Muslim unity and about one Nation. He extremely disappointed to see both Hindus and Congress working against the interests of the Muslims. It was during his stay at Benaras in 1867, when some developments took place which diverted the course of his attention.

In 1867, some Hindu leaders of Benaras thought that the use of Urdu as an official language should be discontinued and should be replaced by Hindi language written in Devanagiri script. The leading Hindu leaders organized an agitation against Urdu and demanded that Urdu, written in Persian script should be replaced by Hindi language as the court language. The Government surrendered and declared Hindi as the court language.

It was the first occasion when Sir Syed felt that it was not possible for Hindus and Muslims to progress as a single nation. He said, "During these days when Hindi-Urdu controversy was going on in Benaras, one day I met Shakespeare who was posted as Divisional Commissioner. I was saying something about the education of the Muslims, and Shakespeare was listening with an expression of amazement, when at length he said, 'This is the first occasion when I have heard you speak about the progress of the Muslims alone. Before you were always keen about the welfare of your countrymen in general' I said now I am convinced that both communities will not join wholeheartedly."

Sir Syed's thoughts on 2-Nation Theory

Hindus & Muslims two different nations
b/c →

① Islamic code of life

② Hindi-Urdu controversy & Hindu Revivalist movements

③ Western Democracy → If Brits leave India & democracy prevails → Hindus outnumber greater in number → Muslims easily side-tracked.

• In a speech in Meerut in 1888 he

nations with their distinctive cultural identity. He therefore, used the word Two Nations for the Hindus and the Muslims in 1868 for the first time and this gave his famous Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of the Pakistan Movement.

THE IMPACT OF ALIGARH MOVEMENT

The Aligarh movement injected a life and fervence in the dormant body of the Muslim nation and helped them to regain their lost position of eminence and glory. It revived confidence among the Muslims to fight for their economic and social rights. The Aligarh movement was a broad movement which left its impact on every phase of the Muslim life. The actions taken by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan left a far-reaching impact on the social, economic, religious, political and cultural aspects of the Muslims. His precepts and examples revived hope and self-confidence, showed new ways to progress and opened doors for the Muslims to modern education and economic prosperity.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan died on 27th March, 1898 after rendering invaluable services for the Muslim renaissance in India. He laid the foundation for the movement which turned into the Pakistan Movement in the later stages.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AFTER THE DEATH OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the main architect of the Aligarh Movement. He was

the guiding force behind the entire movement which became the symbol of Muslim revival and progress in the sub-continent. Sir Syed conducted the whole movement in an excellent fashion and created immense enthusiasm in it. The Aligarh College turned into a great institution which produced distinguished leaders like Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shibli who rendered dedicated services to the Muslims in their struggle for freedom. Sir Syed brought stability to the college in financial, administrative and academic spheres by his devotion.

Sir Syed was the Secretary of the committee which administered the Aligarh College. In 1889 Sir Syed proposed a Trustee Bill by which the administration of the college was to be handed over to a Trust. Sir Syed was appointed as a Secretary of the Board of Trustees and Syed Mahmud, his son, was appointed as the Joint Secretary. When Sir Syed died, Syed Mahmud became the Secretary of the Board of Trustees. But he could not manage the affairs of college in befitting manner. He was a weak man and suffered heavily of some glaring deficiencies of character. As a result of his weakness some serious administrative problems cropped up which Syed Mahmud could no longer handle. He, therefore, had to resign from the Secretaryship of the College Trust.

After Syed Mahmud, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (Mehdi Ali Khan) became the Secretary of the College Trust. In his days the college was passing through the most critical period of administrative instability. Mohsin-ul-Mulk was a highly capable man. He, like Sir Syed, worked day and night to put the college on stable footings. He collected huge amounts to fulfil the condition imposed by the Government and deposited six lac rupees as demanded by the Government. He tried his best to restore the image of the college which had been badly tarnished during Syed Mahmud's time as the Secretary. Mohsin-ul-Mulk also endeavoured sincerely for the promotion of Urdu literature.

In his time the students of Aligarh were divided into two hostile groups. One group under Sahibzada Aftab Khan was in favour of increasing the European staff of college whereas the other group led by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar wanted to eliminate the influence of the European teachers. However, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, with his wisdom and administrative qualities, successfully handled the situation and amicably settled the issue between the two groups. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk died in 1907.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (Mushtaq Hussain) succeeded Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk as Secretary of the College Trust in 1907. With Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's ascension to the Secretaryship of the Trust, the influence of the European staff began to lessen to a considerable extent since he belonged to the Jauhar group of the students of the college. This action initiated strife and tussle between the European staff and the college administration which affected the college discipline. In his time the college became the centre of reform and nationalist activities and commendably aroused the national sentiments among the Muslims. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk resigned in 1912 due to his deteriorating health.

Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan took over as the Secretary of the College after Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. In his time efforts were made to raise the college to the University level. The government, in order to impede the upgradation of the college, put a condition that the college must have at least 20 lac rupees in its fund before it could be raised to the University level. Sir Agha Khan deposited this amount to fulfil the requirement. The Government did not agree to upgrade the college even after the fulfillment of fund requirements and laid down other objections. On this issue the liberal and extremist groups of the students once again became active against each other. The extremist group, dominated by Ali Brothers, was not prepared to accede to the condition as against the liberal group which was ready to compromise with the Government to accept its condition. However, the extremist group prevailed and

• Aligarh college produced great leaders

1889 Trustees Board for college

Syed Mahmud Secretaryship critical administrative period

• Mohsin-ul-Mulk Secretary

the issue of the upgradation of the college lingered on.

In 1919, during the Khilafat Movement, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar asked the college students to go on strike in favour of the demands by the Khilafat committee. The College principle, Dr. Zia-ud-Din resisted the strike. The students, however, in spite of Principal's opposition observed the strike as directed by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar. Several students left the College to join the Khilafat Movement. The Aligarh college played an important role in creating the political awareness among the Muslims. It became the centre of freedom movement which culminated in the shape of Pakistan in 1947.

TEHRIK-I-DEOBAND

The basic and foremost aim of the Aligarh movement was the social, economic and political renaissance of the Muslims. Since the ulema and religious leaders of the Muslims also took part in the 1857 War of Independence, they too had to bear British wrath after the war. The British in an outrageously manner had destroyed Muslim religious institutions and closed down all Madrassahs and preaching places of the Muslims as a part of their policy of mass elimination of the Muslims. Consequently the efforts of the spread of Islam were greatly affected.

The British did not stop here. After establishing their supreme hegemony over the sub-continent, the British began preaching Christianity to convert the Indian people into Christian. The religious education imparted by the local institutions was discouraged and new educational philosophies were promoted which aimed at converting the local people into Christians.

Although Aligarh movement did a lot of work for the social, political and economic uplift of the Muslims, it, however, lacked in the religious sphere and could not work commendably for the religious training of the Muslims. The working strategy of the Aligarh was based on the co-operation with the

British rulers which confronted it with the orthodox Ulema who did not consider it a reformatory movement for the Muslims. The orthodox Ulema believed that the Muslims welfare and renaissance could only be possible by pursuing Islamic way of life which the Aligarh glaringly ignored. The lack of stress on the religious aspect of the Muslims in the Aligarh had brought adverse effects on the spread of Islam which apparently suppressed the religious tinge in the Muslim way of life.

In order to combat this lethargy in the religious sphere, the ulema decided to launch a movement for the religious training of the Muslims of India. They believed that if they did not adopt measures to defend the religion the Muslims would ultimately lose their identity as a nation. For this purpose they began their movement with the establishment of institutions to impart religious training.

DAR-UL-ULOOM-I-DEOBAND

The Tehrik-i-Deoband was started with the establishment of a Madrassah at Deoband for religious education. The Madrassah was named as Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Deoband and was started at Deoband, a small town of Saharanpur. It began functioning on 14th April, 1866 in a small mosque.

FOUNDERS OF DEOBAND

It is believed that a reputed saint and sufi, Haji Muhammad Abid floated the idea of the establishment of this Madrassah for imparting religious education to the Muslims. He suggested that funds should be collected and a Madrassah be established. Haji Muhammad Abid took lot of pains in the collection of funds and collected a substantial amount. He then informed Maulana Muhammad Qasim of the results of his efforts and requested him to come and teach at Deoband. A Managing Committee including Maulana Muhammad Qasim, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Maulana Zulfikar Ali and Mulla Muhammad Mahmood was set up. Maulana Muhammad Yaqub, a leading educationist, was appointed as the Headmaster.

See
Quote
on
stick

Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Deoband
Saharanpur
14th April

1921-900
student
of Bengal
Bukhara

Maulana Muhammad Qasim Hanafiy
worked day and night to spread the Deobandi
in every corner of the country. He
established a number of other institutions of
religious education. The number of students
in Deoband grew with amazing quickness
mainly due to Maulana Qasim's efforts. In
1931, 900 students were on the rolls of the
Dar-ul-Uloom who came from U.P., Bengal,
N.W.F.P. and Bukhara.

ACTIVITIES OF DAR-UL-ULOOM

The activities of the Dar-ul-Uloom were
not restricted to the sub-continent but it
spread the light of religious education to the
other parts of the world as well. The Dar-ul-
Uloom attracted fairly a large number of
students from other parts of world due to its

The Dar-ul-Uloom of Deoband has been
place of prestigious learning where people
with extraordinary qualifications render
services for the noble task of the Islamic
religious education. Deoband produced men
of high intellectual status who work
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An already mentioned that Dar-ul-Uloom
started functioning as a school. It had no
building. The students used to sit on the
ground. The establishment was very small.
The construction of a building for the
Dar-ul-Uloom began in 1907. It was
practically with different contributions.
The most important contribution was from
Dar-ul-Uloom. It has its own library with a
collection of excellent and rare books
different subjects.

TEACHERS/STUDENTS OF DAR-UL-ULOOM

Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Deoband has been
place of prestigious learning where people
with extraordinary qualifications render
services for the noble task of the Islamic
religious education. Deoband produced men
of high intellectual status who work
commendably for the spread of Islam in

sub-continent. These respected personalities include Shah Abdul Rahim, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Hashid Ahmad Gangohi, Shahid ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan, Maulana Abdul Haq, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi, Mufti Kifayat Ullah, Maulana Ahmed Ali Lahori, Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shah, Shams ul-Uloom Maulana Tajwar Nabibabadi, Maulana Ehtasham ul-Haq Thanvi as the most famous persons who were benefited from the Deoband. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani was the trusted companion of Quaid-e-Azam during the freedom movement.

Dar ul Uloom Deoband got the services of great scholars who served there as teachers. Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi was its first Principal who raised the institution to the pinnacle of glory and fame with his devotion in the academic and administrative aspects of the Dar ul Uloom. Apart from him Maulana Muhammad Yaqub, Maulana Hashid Ahmad Gangohi, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan, Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, served the Dar-ul-Uloom. They were highly pious men who inspired their students with their spiritual and academic qualities.

POLITICAL TRENDS OF DEOBAND

Deoband was influenced by the All India National Congress in its political trend. However, there was one clear group under Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani who differed with Congress in political approach. The Madni group formed their political organization as Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and supported the political philosophy of the Congress. The Thanvi group set up Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam and supported Pakistan movement and extended valuable assistance to the Quaid-e-Azam. The Madni group which included Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni and Mufti Kifayat Ullah was influenced by Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad. This group worked in collaboration with Congress and was opposed to the partition of India.

Madni Group: Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind
Thanvi Group: Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam

EDUCATIONAL ASPECT OF THE DEOBAND

The Dar ul Uloom Deoband is regarded as a prestigious seat of Islamic learning & imparting education in different disciplines which include Islamic Studies, Arabic, Urdu, English, Mathematics, Science and Islamic History. The theme of the Deoband is considered as the highly respected personalities of the religious spheres and their Fatwas carry great authority and respectability in the circles of sub-continent.

Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi was the head of the Dar ul Uloom till 1890. He died on 15th April 1890 in a young age of 40 years. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan became the head of the Dar ul Uloom after the death of Maulana Qasim. Maulana Hashid Ahmad was a great scholar, a pious man & a Mujtahid. He was in charge of the education participation in the Deoband. Maulana Hashid Ahmad died in 1897. After his death Shahid ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan took over the charge of Deoband who completed his studies in 1872. He joined Dar-ul-Uloom as a teacher after the completion of his education. He has written a number of books and has translated the Holy Quran.

DAR-UL-ULOOM-I-DEOBAND AND ALIGARH

The Tehrik-i-Deoband, immediately after its inception did not see eye to eye with the Aligarh movement due to the working strategy of the Aligarh. The Aligarh movement was based on the policy of reconciliation with the British whereas the Tehrik-i-Deoband stressed on the religious aspects of the Muslims and was opposed to the policy of reconciliation with the British. The completely different approach to the politics had widened the gulf between the authorities of Deoband and Aligarh. Maulana Muhammad Qasim, a leading and important personality of the Deoband remained engaged in the controversy with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. They had sharp differences on the political matters of the country. Maulana

Hussain Ahmad
E. Mufti Kifayat

• U. Qasim
Set up
own
govt. &
fought
British

Qasim and his companions actively fought against the British and for some time set up their own Government in their own area. On the other hand Sir Syed Ahmad, though very active during the War of 1857, remained loyal to the British. He had adopted the reconciliatory posture simply because he felt it essential for the protection and revival of the Muslims after the War.

• Gangohi

Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, Maulana Qasim's companion who succeeded him as the head of the Dar-ul-Uloom, was put in jail after the war while his spiritual mentor had to flee to Makkah to avoid British wrath. These events compelled these gentlemen to adopt a rigid posture against the British. When Sir Syed Ahmad advised the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics, Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi opposed him. The anti-British attitude was a marked feature of Deoband whereas Aligarh followed the policy of co-operation with the British. The leaders and Ulama of Deoband emphasised on the religious superiority of the Muslims and believed that the Muslims must strictly adhere to their religious customs so that they could easily combat the impact of secularism.

• The
approach
towards
education
of
Muslims
was
different
from
the
British
approach
towards
the
education
of
Muslims
in
India.

Another glaring contrast between Deoband and Aligarh was their different approach toward the educational system. Aligarh laid stress on the western and English education. M.A.O. College was the centre of English teaching and its main objective was to prepare a batch of students well equipped in the western style of education. On the other side Deoband was a seat of Islamic and religious learning's. It laid stress on the religious disciplines.

However, despite the differences, the two great institutions, Deoband and Aligarh, did enjoy some mutuality of thought and action on certain issues. A number of important leaders of both movements were desirous of Muslim welfare and their social and economic revival. When Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan became the head of Deoband, he encouraged contacts between Aligarh and Deoband. In his time the sentiments of brotherhood and amity between the two institutions received a fillip.

In 1906 Jamiat-ul-Ansar was established at Deoband. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan of Aligarh College attended the meeting of organization. It was agreed that the Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband would make special arrangements for teaching religious subjects to the graduates of Aligarh College, while similar facilities would be extended by Aligarh College to teach English and western subjects to the students who had completed their studies at Deoband. In view of this agreement a central institution Jamiat-ul-Ansar was established at Delhi in November, 1906. This institution included many features both Aligarh and Deoband. Jamiat-ul-Ansar

However, the political tension between the two institutions could not be lessened till 1947. This led to many controversies, but the establishment of a central institution combining the features of two movements and imparting education to the Muslims in religious and western field, did have a healthier and unifying effect.

NADVA-TUL-ULEMA OF LUCKNOW

The Aligarh and Deoband movements stood apart and worked with glaring contrasts in their objectives and strategy. Aligarh was not a religious movement and emphasised on the acquisition of western education by the Muslims. It laid greater stress on the western education so that the Muslims could get into Government service in order to compete with the Hindus in political and economic spheres of life. Due to its stress on western education the Aligarh completely ignored the religious aspect and, therefore, did not make any effort to strengthen the religious aspect of the Muslim society. As a result of this policy the graduates of the Aligarh seriously lacked in religious education and could not cultivate religious leanings.

Tehrik-i-Deoband rendered educational services to the cause of the Muslims, but it was a purely religious movement and laid greater stress on religious education. The Deoband seminary was totally incompatible with the modern trends of education. It prepared great Ulama, Sufis and spiritual leaders who could only take on the responsibilities of spiritual and religious

guidance of the Muslims by becoming priests and leaders of prayers. They were fiery orators whose primary objective was the spread of Islam. The students of Deoband were completely oblivious of the western and modern knowledge and were unable to guide the people in the modern education.

In these circumstances there was enough room for an institution which could combine the broad features of both western and religious trends of education so that the extremist view of Deoband and Aligarh could be minimised.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NADVA-TUL-ULEMA

In 1892 it was decided in a meeting held at Madrasan-i-Faiz-i-Aam Cawnpore that a committee should be set up for the guidance of the Muslims. The Nadva-Tul-Ulama was established in 1894 as a result of efforts of some religious minded Government servants, sufis and Ulama who wished to bring the ulama together in order to remove the sectarian differences. The main objective of this institution, as mentioned earlier, was to guide and prepare the Muslims well equipped in the religious and modern knowledge. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, in the beginning did not like the idea and was somewhat sceptical of the institution's success but later on welcomed the move.

FOUNDERS OF NADVA

Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor, Deputy Collector is said to be its earliest founder. Maulana Shibli Naumani, sometime a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, was closely associated with the Nadva. He and Maulana Abdul Haq prepared the rules and regulations of the Nadva and chalked out a liberal programme which was to put an end to the extremist elements in order to cater the needs of the prevailing environments.

OBJECTIVES OF NADVA

The main work of the organization was the establishment of a Dar-ul-Uloom at Lucknow. The Nadva-Tul-Ulama stood for general reformation of Muslim Society by attracting the Muslims toward religion. It had been established with a view of promoting religious knowledge, moral uplift and social

regeneration of the Muslims of India. Apart from these objectives the Nadva worked to remove sectarian differences among the different groups of Ulama. The Nadva kept aloof from the political activity and stressed upon separating the political issues from its main objectives.

The establishment of Nadva-Tul-Ulama was widely hailed in the sub-continent. It regularly started functioning on 2nd December, 1898 at Lucknow. The regular classes began with its establishment. A large number of philanthropists contributed generously for the Nadva. However, the establishment of Nadva invited some criticism from different quarters. Sir Anthony MacDonal, who was the Governor of U.P. at that time, lashed out at Nadva and declared it as the centre of political activities.

NADVA-TUL-ULAMA AND MAULANA SHIBLI

Maulana Shibli was born in 1857 at Azamgarh. He received his education in the old Islamic Madrasah and was deeply influenced by Maulana Muhammad Feroog who was bitterly opposed to Sir Syed's movement. Maulana Shibli's father, greatly influenced by Sir Syed's vision and foresight, suggested him that he should acquire English education. He however, did not act upon this advice and continued with the attainment of highest Islamic education.

He joined Aligarh College as Assistant Professor of Arabic in 1883 after vainly trying for several years to seek a Government job. Maulana Shibli impressed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan with his scholarship and devotion as a teacher. Maulana Shibli was a well-read and keen person who took to his job with utmost sincerity. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, observing the rich talent in the young Shibli, greatly encouraged him with the sympathetic approach. Maulana Shibli utilized the opportunity with enthusiasm and soon became a valuable asset to the Aligarh College.

However, the cordial relationship could not last very long and some serious differences, mainly due to Maulana Shibli's

nature, developed between Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Maulana Shibli. Shibli was a highly sensitive and proud person by nature. He was not very happy with the treatment he received at Aligarh College as he expected a highly elevated position being an Assistant Professor of Oriental languages. He disliked the educational pattern of Aligarh and was of the view that the ideal system of education would be a mingling of the old and the new, a modified form of the old system and not the new which was being practised at Aligarh. He openly negated the religious views of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and resigned from the Aligarh College in 1904.

The establishment of Nadva-Tul-Ulema was a boon from heavens for the ambitious Shibli. He saw in it the opportunity he so eagerly desired to capture in order to experiment his educational philosophies. Maulana Shibli believed that the Nadva would provide him a chance to become the leader and head of the religious Ulema and ultimately to acquire the authority and status much higher than Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He, therefore, actively took part in the meetings of Nadva-Tul-Ulema and finally joined it after the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Maulana Shibli's association with Nadva greatly enhanced the prestige of the institution. He worked very hard to make Nadva a useful institution for the people because in its success he saw the realisation of his dreams. He was made the incharge of Madrasah which was maintained by Nadva. He introduced a number of changes in the curriculum on the basis of his experience he had received at Aligarh. He also introduced the study of English language as a compulsory subject at the Madrasah. He gave his special attention to a chosen group of students and took great pains in training them as his trustworthy disciples who could carry on his work and spread his message. He gave them training in writing so that they could become writers and authors to provide intellectual leadership after him. Few of his most celebrated pupils were Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Maulana Abu-al-Kalam Azad who ably succeeded him in the political and

literary circles. Maulana Shibli's strengthened Nadva's financial position to a large extent. He established an academy of authors (Dar-ul-Musanifin) at Azamgarh which carries on his message to this day. He laboriously tried to gather support for his developing institution from all quarters and maintained friendly relation with Vigar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

However, Maulana Shibli invited criticism from his colleagues at Nadva. Maulana Shibli suffered because of some personal lapses of character and himself provided an opportunity of criticism. He was a highly sensitive and touching man which made it difficult for others to pull along with him. Moreover, he had posed himself as the champion of the religious group, but his views and personal character lacked religious tinge which did not enhance his reputation as a leader of a religious movement. His colleagues at Nadva soon got fed up of his views and especially of his arrogant style and combined to get rid of him. Maulana Abdul Karim wrote an article on Jihad in 1913. He criticised the views of Maulana Shibli. Maulana Shibli, who always boasted to be a great advocate of intellectual freedom, took disciplinary action against Maulvi Abdul Karim and removed him from the teaching staff. This led to a strong agitation against him, and Shibli taking him as indispensable tendered his resignation. The resignation was accepted and all his efforts, later on, to stage a comeback were foiled by his opponents.

Maulana Abdul Hayee, Nawab Husain Ali Khan and Dr. Syed Abdul Ali succeeded Maulana Shibli as administrators of Nadva. The resignation of Maulana Shibli adversely affected the working of Nadva which could never gain that glory which Maulana Shibli had brought to it.

The Nadva-Tul-Ulema produced men with high academic and intellectual foresight. Although Nadva could not accomplish its desired aim yet its services for the promotion of Islamic education are immense. A number of students of Nadva led the people in the freedom struggle which include Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Maulana Abdul Salam Nadvi

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1904

Establishment
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• Change
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Curriculum

• English
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• Special
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in
writing

• Maulana
Abul
Kalam
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• succeeded

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Sadi

and Masood Alam Nadvi. Maulana Shibli issued a research journal Ma'arif under the auspices of Dar-ul-Musanifin (Academy of Authors) which occupies a high status in the literary circles.

ANJUMAN-I-HIMAYAT-I-ISLAM, LAHORE

The Aligarh produced amazing results in the educational uplift of the Muslims. It had created awareness amongst the Muslims which set an incentive for the people of other areas as well. The Province of Punjab was under Sikh domination in those days. The Sikh regime had cruelly suppressed its Muslim subjects and the economic, social and educational conditions of the Muslims of Punjab was deplorable. The Muslims were unable to seek admission in the educational institutions run by the Christian and Hindu missionaries.

1884

The dedicated Muslim leaders of the Punjab were much worried on the educational decline of their people and sincerely wanted to adopt measures for the educational advancement of the Muslims of the Punjab. The success of Aligarh educational reforms had set an incentive for others to follow in the noble task of educational reforms of the Muslims of the Punjab. Some leading and sincere Muslim leaders picked up the incentive in order to lessen the influence of Hindu and Christian missionaries and decided to set up Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Lahore. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was established on 24th September, 1884 in a mosque known as Masjid Bikan Khan inside Mochi Gate, Lahore, where nearly 250 Muslims decided to set up the Anjuman for the educational guidance of the Muslims of the Punjab. Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din laid down the foundation of the Anjuman. He became its first President. Apart from Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din Dr. Muhammad Nazir and Munshi Abdur Rahim were prominent workers of the Anjuman.

The Anjuman faced financial problems in the beginning. The workers of the Anjuman went from door to door to collect funds for the

Anjuman. A scheme known as Muthi Bhar Ata was started to collect funds for the Anjuman. Under this scheme every housewife was asked to spare a handful of flour at the time of cooking and accumulate it in a pot. The Anjuman workers every day collected that flour and sold it in the market. The money thus collected was deposited in the Anjuman funds. However, with the passage of time the people began to donate generously towards the Anjuman funds.

Muthi
Bhar
Ata

OBJECTIVES OF ANJUMAN

Following were the aims and objects of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam:

1. Establishment of the educational institutions where modern education could be given to the Muslims.
2. To effectively counter the propaganda of the Christian missionaries.
3. To look after the Muslim orphan children and to give them proper education.
4. To establish the Muslims society on sound and stable foundations.
5. To strive for the social and cultural progress of the Muslims.
6. To organize the Muslim masses politically for the safeguard of Islam.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

In order to accomplish its goal the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam served with devotion. The Anjuman began its struggle by establishing a primary school for the girls. The Anjuman followed the pattern of Aligarh in its educational programme by setting up a number of educational institutions. Two schools were opened in 1884 which gradually rose to fifteen within ten years. A girls school was opened in 1925 which was upgraded to the level of a high school within one year.

The Anjuman began its educational programme simultaneously in the male and female sector. Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road was established in 1938. The regular classes for Islamia College, Cooper Road were started in the Crescent Hostel with 75 girl students. M.A. classes in Arabic and Geography were started in 1942 and 1943 respectively.

Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din

Dr. Muhammad Nazir

Munshi Abdur Rahim

18
2 schools
15 schools
within
100
192
1938
Islamia
College
1942
1943

1889 42

Madrasah

Tul

Momin

Islam

Sheranwala

Gate

In the male sector the Anjuman opened its first institution in 1889 in the Sheranwala Gate, Lahore. It was a primary school which was called as Madrasah-Tul-Muslimin. It was upgraded to the middle and high school standard. This school is known as Islamia High School Sheranwala Gate.

1892

In 1892 a male College was established in two rooms of the Islamia High School, Sheranwala Gate, Lahore where temporarily classes for Islamia College began. In 1905, 50 kanals of land was acquired at Railway Road, Lahore, where Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore, was established. The College building was completed in 1913 and Amir Habib Ullah Khan of Afghanistan laid down its foundation stone. Islamia College, Civil Lines, Lahore and Islamia College, Lahore Cantt, were also established to cater for the increasing demands of the Muslims.

1905

Islamia

College

Railway

Road

1913

Lahore Cantt

Civil Lines

Islamia

Law

College

Tibbia

Orphan

Dar

Ul

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Annual

Meeting

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Himayat-i-Islam Law College was also established which imparted legal education. Apart from educational institutions the Anjuman also set up orphan houses, Dar-ul-Aman, Tibbia College and Centers for adult education.

The Anjuman held its meetings every year which were presided over by important personalities like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Maulana Altaf Husain Hali, Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Justice Shah Din. The Anjuman awoke national spirit among the people and created awareness about the interests of the people.

POLITICAL SERVICES OF THE ANJUMAN-I-HIMAYAT-I-ISLAM

The Anjuman rendered commendable services in organizing the people under the banner of Muslim League. It worked in a dedicated way during the Pakistan Movement. The annual meetings of the Anjuman were political gatherings where resolutions in favour of Pakistan were passed.

The students of Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore took active part in the freedom struggle and proved efficient workers of the Muslim League. They took the message of

freedom to every corner of the country. They rendered valuable services to popularize the freedom movement. The Quaid-i-Azam hoisted the Pakistan flag in the historical ground of Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore. The students of Islamia College were the devoted companions and body guards of the Quaid-i-Azam. They took active part in making the historic session of Muslim League a complete success in 1940. The Quaid-i-Azam was escorted to Iqbal Park, the meeting place of the Lahore Session, by the students of Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore.

The students of Islamia College, Railway Road, founded Muslim Students Federation under the leadership of Hameed Nizami which extended maximum assistance to the Quaid-i-Azam in the Pakistan movement. The Anjuman organized political meetings to promote the Two-Nation Theory. Famous leaders of the freedom struggle like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Iqbal, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Maulana Hali led the people in the freedom struggle from Anjuman's platform.

SINDH MADRASAH, KARACHI

During the Aligarh movement, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised the Muslims to set up educational institutions in their areas on the pattern of Aligarh so that the Muslims need for education could be sufficiently fulfilled.

The British Government had put an end to the separate status of the province of Sindh and attached it with Bombay presidency. The Hindu majority of Bombay did not like to see the Muslims progressing in the field of education. The British Government, in order to please the Hindu majority, did not pay any attention toward the educational requirements of the Muslims of Sindh. Consequently there was no mentionable educational institution in the whole of Sindh which could cater for the needs of education of the Muslims.

Syed Hasan Ali Afandi, a devoted Muslim citizen of Karachi was desirous of the Muslim educational progress. He was the founder and president of the Central Mohammadan Association of Karachi, which

Syed Hasan Ali Afandi
 Syed Ameer Ali Pakistan Affairs
 Central Muhammadan Assocn of Khy

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was established by Syed Ameer Ali. He was a great admirer of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and highly in favour of the Aligarh movement. He decided to set up an educational institution in Karachi and formed a Committee to look into the possibility of the project.

1885

Syed Hasan Ali Afandi collected funds for the establishment of the Madrassah. He laid down the foundation of the Madrassah in a small building near Bolton Market in 1885. The Madrassah was known as Sindh Madrassah-tul-Islam. After some time land was acquired for the construction of the building which was inaugurated in 1886 by Lord Duffrin.

1896 Hasan Ali died in 1896 and his son Wali Muhammad succeeded him as the administrator of the Madrassah. Wali Muhammad was successful in acquiring Government patronage for the Madrassah. The Government allocated annual grant to the Madrassah but put certain conditions as well which created bad feeling among the administration of the Madrassah.

The administrative and teaching pattern was drafted on the style of Aligarh. The first two principals of the Madrassah were Britishers who sincerely worked for the uplift of the Madrassah. English and religious education was given in the Madrassah and the students were required to offer prayers regularly.

1938 Wali Muhammad was succeeded by his son Hasan Ali Abdur Rehman in 1938, after his death, as the administrator. Hasan Ali Abdur Rehman managed to pull out Madrassah from the Government control. The administrative Board of the Madrassah decided to make it Sindh Muslim College in 1943.

1943 According to the will of the Quaid-i-Azam a sizable portion of his property was surrendered to the Sindh Muslim College. Quaid-i-Azam received his early education at Sindh Madrassah. The Sindh Madrassah-tul-Islam took active part in the freedom movement and became a centre of Two-Nation concept. Hasan Ali Afandi took active part in the freedom struggle as an ordinary worker of the Muslim League.

ISLAMIA COLLEGE, PESHAWAR

The Christian missionaries began their educational activities in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. A mission was opened in 1868 which became Edward College, Peshawar in 1888. It was known as Municipal High School. This school was made Government College, Peshawar and Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Al-Mashriqi became its first principal.

There were no proper arrangements for the religious education in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. An acute dearth was felt for the educational institutions in the province where both religious and modern education could be given to the Muslims. The Muslim leaders of the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa felt the need of establishing an educational institution in NWFP which could impart religious as well as modern knowledge to the Muslims. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was one of those Muslim leaders who took initiative for the educational uplift of the Muslims of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa and endeavoured a lot for this noble objective. With his sincere efforts the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was established in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa which opened a school in 1902 known as Islamia College, Peshawar.

1863-1937

Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was a great reformer and leader of the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. It was mainly due to his efforts that the Muslims of the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa were able to progress in the educational field. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was born on 12th December, 1863 at Swabi, District Mardan. He received his early education at Mission High School and entered Government service in 1887. He rose to the status of political agent by dint of hard work and honesty of purpose. He rendered valuable services for the enforcement of constitutional reforms. He died on 4th December, 1937.

DAR-UL-ULOOM-I-ISLAMIA

Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum was a staunch follower of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and a great advocate of the Aligarh movement. He desired to establish an educational institution in the Khyber

1912 Pakhtunkhawa on the pattern of Aligarh College. He set up a Committee in 1912 to collect funds for the establishment of an educational institution. Two hundred acres of land was acquired where the Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamia was established. George Ross Capel, a friend of Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum helped him in the establishment of Dar-ul-Uloom. Haji Tarangzai, a great leader of Silk Handkerchief Movement laid down the foundation stone of the Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamia.

In the beginning Dar-ul-Uloom was a high school. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum worked hard to raise it to the status of a college. The Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamia very soon developed into a college and was named as Islamia College, Peshawar. Islamia College, Peshawar became the centre of educational and cultural activities of the whole of the N.W.F.P. It became an effective instrument of spreading the knowledge and awareness among the Muslim youth who fought for Pakistan on the later stages. It was entirely due to the Sahibzada's sincere efforts that the college gained immense importance in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa as a prestigious

seat of learning. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum worked day and night to erect a splendid campus for the College.

Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was responsible for running the administrative affairs of the College. He remained Secretary of the College Administrative Board till his death and made tremendous contributions in enhancing the college's academic prestige. He was elected as the President of All India Mohammedan Educational Conference in recognition of his educational services in 1925. He is regarded as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa for the educational services he rendered to the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa.

The students and teachers of Islamia College Peshawar took active part in the freedom movement. It were the students of Islamia College, Peshawar who made a major contribution in making the referendum of 1947 a complete success. The Quaid-i-Azam had great liking for the institution. A sizeable portion of Quaid-i-Azam's property was given to Islamia College, Peshawar in accordance with his desire.

Chapter 3

MUSLIMS POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The East India Company, which came to India for trade purposes, soon over-powered the political system which resulted in the end of the glorious Muslim rule over India. The subjugated position greatly perturbed the Muslims who had lost their eminent social position with the end of their political rule. The Muslims were a great nation before the advent of the British. They had come to India as conquerors and settled down to dominate every walk of life. They were administrators, soldiers, traders, peasants, scholars and artisans. Naturally the new development did not suit them and they were not happy over the turn of affairs.

The Muslims were keenly looking for an opportunity for their revival to the old position of eminence in society. They waged their struggle under the leadership of their sincere leaders. The Muslims began their revival struggle under Syed Ahmad Shaheed Barailvi which unfortunately failed. They again put up a valiant endeavour to throw off the yoke of slavery in 1857 when the war of Independence was fought against the British. This effort too proved a futile exercise and the Muslims were left in the lurch to face the most cruel and inhuman British wrath. The British, with the connivance of the Hindus, took a number of actions to crush the Muslims completely. The respectable social life was denied to the Muslims for their involvement in the war of independence. Their economic condition was destroyed by adopting a systematic policy of extermination and consequently the Muslims reached at the lowest ebb of their social life.

In this hour of despair and distress Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward to pull the Muslims out of the position of despondency. He advised the Muslims to get modern education first and then embark upon political revival in order to get back their old position in society. Sir Syed launched his Aligarh movement which showed the Muslims the

new horizons of respectable life. The Aligarh movement ably guided the Muslims to recapture their lost glory in the Indian social set up by bringing stability to their social, economic, educational and political aspects of life.

The British ascended the Indian throne on 1st November 1858 and the direct British rule was imposed on India. The East India Company ceased to exist from the day the British Crown took over the political reins of India. However the war of independence had amply manifested the temper and tone of the local people to the new rulers who had realized that it was no more possible to keep away the local people from the affairs of the country.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS ACT,
1861

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had indicated in the causes of the Indian Revolt several weaknesses of the Government in the running of the administration of the country. He advised the British Government to include the Indian people in the administration of the country so that the people's mistrust and fear could be minimized. He advised the Government to give representation to the local people in the Legislative Councils to create sentiments of loyalty among their subjects.

The first ever constitutional structure was formulated in 1861. The British Government passed the Legislative Councils Act to introduce better provisions for the Governor-General's Council and for Local Government. According to this act the Indian people were included in the Governor-General's Council for the first time in the history of India. The number of the members of the legislative Councils was increased. The Governor was given authority to nominate at least six persons to his Council. The legislative council was to make laws. The nominated members,

constit
Structure

1861

however, were not authorized to criticise the actions of the Council and also could not put questions to the members of the Councils about the functions of the Legislative Council. The Governor-General could issue ordinances and was authorized to veto provincial legislation. The heads of the provinces were to be called as Lieutenant-Governors.

The enforcement of Legislative Council Act of 1861 was the first step taken for the constitutional reforms in India. It provided, in spite of its limited scope, an opportunity to the Indian people to safeguard their political interests. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was nominated as the member of the Legislative Council under the Act of 1861.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1892

Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 on the initiative of the retired British Civil Servant Sir Allan Octavian Hume. The Indian National Congress, which grew in time to be the most powerful and vocal political organization of India, was originally intended to provide a platform for the safeguard of the interests of the Indian people. It claimed at the time of its establishment that it would strive for the safeguard of the interests of all communities in India irrespective of their religion or political tendencies. For some time in the beginning, Congress did adhere to its promise and displayed a posture of a National Organization. But with the time it turned into a pure Hindu body working for the safeguard of the Hindu interests. The demands which were projected from the Congress platform appeared very innocent and democratic but actually were aimed at the complete elimination of the Muslims from the Indian society.

The Indian National Congress expressed its dissatisfaction over the inadequate representation which the Legislative Councils Act of 1861 gave to the Indian people. It demanded more representation for the Indian people in the Legislative and administrative bodies of the Government. The Congress demanded that the nomination to the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils should be through general elections instead of by

nomination. It also demanded appointment to the Government service through competitive examinations.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan vehemently criticised these demands by the Congress and advised the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics. He said that the system of elections, on the pattern of Western Democracy could not be introduced in India as it would impose the Hindu majority rule over the Muslim minority. He, therefore, advocated the system of nomination introduced in the Act of 1861. He also opposed the appointment to the Government service by competitive examinations which meant the expulsion of the Muslims from Government service because the Muslims could not compete with the Hindus who were well advanced in modern education.

In 1892 the Government introduced another Act known as the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The salient provisions of this Act were as follows:

1. The number of the non-official members, in the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. However, the official members were still in majority.
2. The members of the Legislative Councils were given the right to put questions. They were also authorized to discuss the annual budget.
3. The local bodies were given right to send their elected members to the Legislative Councils.

The Act of 1892 could not ensure the maximum safeguards to the Muslims. The Muslim leaders now rightly felt for a separate electorate to protect the Muslims interest.

HINDI-URDU CONTROVERSY

Urdu was nearly 300 years old and considered as the language of the Muslims in the sub-continent from the early times. The amalgamation of Arabic, Persian and Turkish gave birth to a new language which was called Hindustani, Shahjahani and finally Urdu. It was also called as Lashkari because of the fusion of other languages. Gradually the new language of Urdu became the media

of expression of the Muslims of the sub-continent. They adopted this language for the expression of their social, cultural and regional feelings. Urdu soon passed through stages of development and became the symbol of Muslim unity and culture. The Muslim and Hindu writers worked a lot for the development of Urdu. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also rendered valuable services for the development and protection of Urdu. The Muslims, therefore, developed an emotional attachment with Urdu which had attained a status of their national language.

The Hindus, for their eternal jealousy and hatred toward the Muslims and their culture, did not like the rapid progress of Urdu. Urdu was introduced as an official language of the sub-continent in 1825 which aroused Hindu antagonism against this language. The British too, were not in favour of any measure which was to promote Muslim cultural values in the sub-continent. The British rulers in order to please the Hindus, began to oppose Urdu to eliminate the influence of Muslim culture.

The Hindi-Urdu controversy began in the year 1867 when Hindus demonstrated against Urdu and demanded its replacement with Hindi as an official language. Some prominent Hindu leaders organized an agitation against the use of Urdu as official language and demanded that Hindi written in Devanagiri script should be introduced in the offices and courts as official language. Sir Syed was extremely disappointed to see the Hindus behaving in a prejudicial manner. He was now convinced that the Hindus would never be friendly with the Muslims.

On this occasion Sir Syed expressed his views about Hindus and Muslims as two separate nations for the first time in 1868. He expressed his views in a painful manner to Mr. Shakespeare, the Governor of Benaras and said ***"I am convinced now that Hindus and Muslims could never become one nation as their religion and way of life was quite distinct from each other."***

In view of the Hindu opposition, Sir Syed decided to adopt measures for the protection

of Urdu. He demanded from the Government in 1887 that a Dar-ul-Tarjama be established so that the authentic works could be translated into Urdu for the benefit of the University students. The Hindus intensely opposed Sir Syed's activities for the protection of Urdu but he continued with his efforts to safeguard the language. Sir Syed established Central Association in Allahabad and effectively used the platform of Scientific Society for the protection of Urdu.

The Hindus persisted with their anti-Urdu agitation which gradually spread in other parts of the country. In 1871, George Campbell, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, ordered that Urdu should be scrapped from the syllabus books. In 1900 the U.P Governor Anthony MacDonal who had gained widespread notoriety for his anti-Muslims sentiments, pressurized by the Hindu agitation, issued orders that Hindi should be used as official language in public offices, educational institutions and courts. These orders created a sense of shock among the Muslims of India. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk criticised the Government decision which had no legal or ethical grounds. He established Urdu defence society which held public meetings on several places to protest against the biased decision of Anthony MacDonal. The students of Aligarh College also protested against MacDonal for scrapping Urdu as official language. These protests by the students of Aligarh College, in support of Urdu infuriated MacDonal who threatened the trustees of the Aligarh College to stop the Government grant if Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Secretary of the College and the students did not stop their anti-government activities. The threat did work to ease down the Muslims agitation as the Aligarh College was facing financial problems.

However, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk did not stop his endeavours for the protection of Urdu. After the resignation of MacDonal, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk set up ***Anjuman-i-Tarakki-i-Urdu*** in Aligarh which rendered invaluable services for the cause of Urdu. It produced several books on Urdu literature under the supervision of Maulvi Abdul Haq, the Baba-i-Urdu.

The scrapping of Urdu as an official language had significant and far-reaching impact on the political scene of the sub-continent. The blatant act of the Government to eliminate Urdu did a severe blow to the Muslim culture for it proudly contained the religious and cultural heritage of the Muslims of India. The elimination of Urdu, in fact, would have meant the total extermination of the Muslims as a Nation.

The Hindu opposition to Urdu created a new political awareness among the Muslims who had come to realize the prejudicial Hindu approach toward Muslims and their culture. The Muslims now realized that both Hindus and British were not sincere toward them and to expect any justice and fairplay from the Hindus and British meant living in fool's paradise. The anti-Urdu stance by the Hindus strengthened Muslim belief in the Two-Nation concept which later on came to be the crowning factor in the Muslims struggle for a separate homeland.

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Bengal was the biggest province with a population of 78 million. It had a vast area and was an unwieldy administrative unit. The whole province was under one Lieutenant-Governor who could not look after the administrative requirements of such a vast area alone. It was not possible for the Lt. Governor to go around the province whenever there was a dire need of such tours. Consequently a major portion of the province remained neglected due to its unwieldiness. In view of its size and enormous population it was felt that the province of Bengal should be divided into two parts in order to facilitate the administrative requirement of the vast area.

Lord Curzon became the Viceroy of India in 1899. He was an able and efficient administrator. He undertook an extensive tour of the province of Bengal and felt that the province was too big to be administered effectively. The provincial Governors had already complained about the administrative difficulties faced by them in the large province. They had recommended the

partition of the province in view of its size and big population.

A number of partition proposals were viewed and discussed which, however, could not materialize. Lord Curzon decided to divide the province into two provinces. He prepared a comprehensive plan of partition of Bengal in 1905 and sent it to England for approval. The British Crown gave approval to the partition plan and the province of Bengal was divided into two parts on 16 October, 1905 named as Western Bengal and Eastern Bengal. The new province of Eastern Bengal consisted of Dacca as Capital, Memansingh, Chittagong, Assam, Rajshahi, Khulna, Rangpur and Bogra as the constituted districts.

MUSLIM RE-ACTION TO THE PARTITION

The new province of Eastern Bengal brought happier prospects of political and economic life for the Muslims. The Muslim overnight turned into majority by the creation of the new province. The Muslims were 14 million out of the total population of 31 million in the new province. The partition of Bengal provided chances of great progress to the Muslims who formed the majority group in the new set up. In the combined province of Bengal the Muslims were a suppressed and dominated class of society. The Hindus had monopolized trade and Government services which aggravated the economic condition of the Muslims. The partition of Bengal provided them with a chance to rehabilitate their social position. They hoped that their social status would get a tremendous boost in the new province. The Muslims, therefore, expressed their utmost happiness over the partition of Bengal. They offered their gratification in a loyal way to the Government for taking a step for their social, economic and political uplift.

HINDU RE-ACTION TOWARD PARTITION

The Hindus reacted toward the partition of Bengal in a hostile and violent manner. The Hindus could never support a move which was to bring prosperity and happiness

to the Muslims. The reasons for Hindu opposition to the partition were as follows:

1. The Hindus believed that they would come under the domination of the Muslim majority in the new province and their superior position would be downgraded to the inferior status.
2. As the provincial High Court and other judicial bodies were to be shifted to Dacca, the Hindu lawyers feared that their legal practice would be affected.
3. Since Dacca was to become the centre of journalistic and other academic activities, the Hindu Press and media believed that from now onward the Muslim point of view would be projected in the newspapers and magazines. They also feared that their income would seriously be lessened.
4. The Hindu landlords, capitalists and traders did not like the partition as it was to put an end to their exploitation of the poor Muslims.
5. Before the partition of Bengal the Hindus enjoyed dominant position in the political sphere of the province over the Muslims. The new set up was to put an end to their superior political position and their political dominance over the Muslims will end.

The Hindus, therefore, launched an intensive movement against the partition of Bengal. They termed the partition as degrading and an insult to the national character of the Hindu population. Religious colour was given to the agitation and the partition was termed as the dissection of the Sacred Cow Mother, in order to arouse deep opposition by the Hindu masses. They considered the partition as an attempt to sow the seeds of hatred and discontentment among the Indian people to weaken the national movements for independence.

The day of 16th October, 1905, when partition was enforced, was declared as a national tragedy. Strikes were held throughout the country. The Indian National Congress also jumped in to support the agitation against the partition. The Hindu students put up violent demonstration against

the partition. The Congress severely criticised the partition in its annual session of 1906.

The Hindu agitation soon turned into a violent reaction. The people disobeyed Government orders by refusing to pay taxes and rentals. Communal clashes erupted at a number of places which aggravated the law and order situation in the country. Bombs were thrown and attacks were made on the lives of the British people. Swadeshi movement was organized by which the foreign goods were boycotted. The train carrying the Governor of the Eastern Bengal was derailed and an attempt was made on Viceroy's life which failed.

The Muslims kept away from the Hindu agitation and adopted a humble and loyal posture. They welcomed the partition and passed resolutions supporting the partition of Bengal. They impressed upon the Government to maintain its decision of the partition of Bengal.

The vigorous Hindu agitation rocked the Government which could not withstand the extreme pressure of the movement. The Hindus threatened the Government to boycott the forthcoming tour of India of the King George. The threat proved successful and the British Government succumbed to the Hindus agitation. The partition of Bengal was ultimately annulled on 12th December, 1911 at a Royal meeting known as Delhi Darbar where the King George announced the decision of annulment to the extreme dismay of the Muslims of Bengal.

The Hindus agitation against the partition reinforced the feelings of the Muslims about Hindu designs. They realized that the Hindus would never allow the Muslims a prosperous and happy life. The Hindu agitation against the partition furthered the Two-Nation Theory. This agitation also convinced the Muslim leaders of the need for a separate Muslim political organization which could safeguard the interests of the Muslims of India and which could counter the Hindu and Congress propaganda.

SIMLA DEPUTATION

Ever since its establishment in 1885 as a political organization, All India National Congress had been actively striving for the Hindu cause. It had ignored its aims and objectives which said that the Congress would work for the protection of interests of all communities of India irrespective of their religion and nationality. It, however, could not pursue this lofty principle of looking after the interests of all communities of India and very soon indulged in purely pro-Hindu activities. It became clear, by Congress designs, that it was a forum meant to project the Hindu demands only.

The Hindu opposition to Urdu and partition of Bengal revealed it to the Muslims that the Hindus and Congress would never allow them a respectable place in the Indian society. The Hindu and Congress agitation intensified these feelings and aroused Muslim suspicions about Hindu designs. Then the rise of Hindu Nationalism awakened Muslims' feelings of separate identity. The movement launched by Swami Dayanand and B.G. Tilak raised Muslims eye-brows who seriously pondered over their future plans to safeguard their interests. The success of Hindu and Congress agitation against Urdu and partition of Bengal proved to the Muslims that the Government responded to the organized point of view. The political scene of India was affected with these events and particularly by the vigorous political activities of the Congress which had no rival in the political arena. The Muslims believed that only an organized endeavour would lead them to success.

Liberal Party of England had won the General Elections under the leadership of Lloyd George in 1905. It believed in giving adequate safeguards to the Indian people by introducing constitutional reforms. The Liberal Party announced that it would soon introduce constitutional reforms in India.

The Muslim leaders decided to avail this opportunity in order to apprise the Viceroy of the Muslims demands. A delegation of prominent Muslim leaders, from all over the

country was formed under the leadership of His Highness Sir Agha Khan.

The Viceroy was vacationing at Simla. The Muslim leaders asked for the assistance of Mr. Archbold, the Principal of Arts College, to get an appointment with the Viceroy. Mr. Archbold got in touch with the Private Secretary of the Viceroy Col. D. Smith and requested him to get an appointment with the Viceroy and inform Mr. Archbold. The Muslim delegation comprised 35 Muslim leaders known as Simla Deputation, called on the Viceroy on October, 1906 at Simla.

The deputation apprised the Viceroy of the Muslim demands. They expressed the need for the protection of the Muslim interests in a representative form of the Government to be introduced in India. The deputation expressed that the representation of Muslims should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance and the value of their contribution which the Muslims made to the defence of the Empire. Deputation asked for a separate electorate through which Muslims should elect their representatives for municipalities, district councils and provincial and central legislatures. They demanded reserved seats in legislatures, quota in Government service and seats of judges in the courts for Muslims.

Lord Minto gave a patient hearing to the demands of the Muslims presented by the Simla Deputation. Minto expressed complete agreement with the principle of a separate electorate. He promised to give sympathetic consideration to the demands and assured the deputation that he would do all what was possible to accept the demands.

It was a great achievement of the Simla Deputation to have convinced the Viceroy about the genuineness of the Muslim demands. The Muslims were now convinced that organized efforts were essential to press for the acceptance of the demands. The most important demand of separate electorate was accepted by the Government and included

the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. At this time the Muslims had left the Congress and had no political platform to project their demands. They badly needed a forum for the projection and safeguard of their interests to counter the false propaganda of the Congress.

FORMATION OF ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The success of Simla Deputation made it imperative for the Muslims of the sub-continent to have their own political organization. The Congress's anti-Muslim activities too emphasised the need of a political platform for the Muslims from where the interests of Muslims could be projected. The Muslim leaders of the Simla Deputation after their meeting with the Viceroy held consultations among themselves as to the possibility of forming a political association. They were of the opinion that the time had reached when systematic efforts were to be made for the protection of the Muslims interests.

The annual session of All India Muslim Educational Conference was held in 1906 at Dacca. The prominent Muslim leaders from all over the country were attending this meeting. When the meeting ended, Nawab Salim Ullah Khan of Dacca, convened a meeting of the Muslim leaders at his residence. The objective of this meeting was to discuss the possibilities of forming a political association for the Muslims. The meeting was presided over by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk on 30th December 1906. Nawab Salim Ullah of Dacca had already circulated an idea of the political organization known as All India Muslim Confederacy. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, in his presidential address stressed the need for a political platform for the Muslims. He said that Congress political activities were highly injurious for the Muslims for which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had asked the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics. He said that the Muslims form only one-fourth of the total population of India. It is very obvious that if the British leave the country at any time, the Muslims will come under the domination of that nation which is

four times bigger than the Muslims. The other participants also expressed their views in favour of forming a political organization for the Muslims.

Nawab Salim Ullah of Dacca, therefore, moved a resolution which was supported by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and other participants. The resolution declared:

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Muslims from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decide that Political Association be formed styled as All India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objectives:"

OBJECTIVES OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

1. To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of the measures.
2. 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.
3. To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other aforementioned objects of the League.

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were elected provisionally as Joint Secretaries of the Muslim League. A Committee consisting of sixty members was set up to draft the constitution of the Muslim League. The Constitution Committee included all the members of Simla Deputation. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, a distinguished student of Aligarh and Oxford, was given the responsibility of drafting the rules and regulations of the League. The rules and regulations drafted by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar were contained in a brochure called **Green Book**.¹

1. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement, p. 83.

The first regular session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29th and 30th December, 1907 exactly after one year of its formation. Sir Adamjee Pirbhai, a prominent leader of Bombay, presided over this session. The draft constitution prepared by the Committee was placed before the session for approval. The constitution was adopted after a further scrutiny by the members of the Constitution Committee present at Karachi session. The purposes and objectives of League were re-shaped after the constitution was adopted which were as follows:

1. To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty towards the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.
2. To protect the political and other rights of Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspiration before the Government in temperate language.
3. So far as possible, without prejudice to the objectives mentioned under 1 and 2 above of this section, to promote friendly feelings between the Muslims and other communities of India.

The Karachi session of the League adjourned after adopting the Constitution. The session resumed after a few months and met again on 18th March, 1908 at Aligarh at the residence of Nawab Muzzamil Ullah Khan, Joint Secretary of the Aligarh College. Justice Shah Din presided over this meeting which conducted regular business. His Highness the Agha Khan was elected as the President and Major Hasan Bilgrami as the Secretary. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had expired by this time and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was pre-occupied with his new commitments in connection with the Aligarh College. It was also decided in this meeting that branches of Muslim League shall be opened in the country. Syed Amir Ali had established Mohammadan Association in London which was made London Branch of the Muslim League.

The Muslim League met with immediate success in the initial stages of its struggle. It

drew Government's attention towards Muslims' demands expressed by the Deputation. It secured due share in appointments for the Muslims and also in the legislative bodies on local, provincial and central level. It demanded appointment of Muslim judges in the courts and also secured adequate safeguards for educational interests of the Muslims by getting due representation for the Muslims in the syndicate and Senates of the Indian Universities. The most important demand of separate electorate was conceded by the Government and incorporated in the Minto-Morley Reforms 1909. Many Muslims rose to the judgeship of higher courts who were Mr. Sharaf-ud-Din (Calcutta High Court), Mr. Karamat Husain (Allahabad High Court) and Mr. Shah Din (Punjab High Court). The Muslim League endeavoured to get the Agha Bill passed by which the management of Aqafis in the country was taken over by the Government.

MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

By 1909 the political turmoil and unrest prevailed in India. The extremists Hindu and Congress activities had forced the Muslims to give a serious thought to their future line of action in order to protect and safeguard their interests as a nation. By now the Muslims had come to realize with firmness that they were a separate nation.

Meanwhile an extremist Hindu organization **Hindu Mahasabha** had emerged in the Indian politics with a highly prejudicial concept of nationalism. This organization had some extremely narrow-minded elements who believed that the Muslims should be eliminated from the Indian society. The Muslims now stood exposed to the blatant exploitation by the Congress and Hindu mahasabha. The Muslim League found itself at the precarious brink of its struggle for the Muslims cause. The circumstance drove the Muslims to worry about their position in case the British left the country to be ruled by Hindu majority. The Hindu and Congress activities had exposed their heinous designs towards the Muslims which justifiably reinforced Muslims suspicions. The Muslims

reached at the conclusion that they would be dominated permanently by the Hindus in case the British left the country at any time. The Muslims, therefore, decided to adopt a line of action in order to safeguard their separate identity. The demand for separate electorate by the Simla Deputation and later by the Muslim League, was the first step taken into the direction to protect and maintain the separate image of the Muslims.

The British Government had also realized the importance of Muslim's anxiety about their future and were convinced that the present constitutional provisions were inadequate to provide safeguards to the Muslims. The Muslim League had made it clear to the Government that the Muslims as a nation were determined to maintain themselves as a separate entity and were not prepared to merge their identity in any other system. The Government therefore, decided to introduce new constitutional reforms to dispel Muslims suspicions.

In 1908 at the time of **Golden Jubilee** celebrations of King Edward, the British Government announced that it desired to see democracy flourishing in India. The Government made it clear that it was in favour of giving more rights to the Indian people. The Viceroy Lord Minto in accordance with the policy of the Government set to the task of preparing a draft Bill, in collaboration with Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, for the introduction of constitutional reforms. The Bill was prepared and presented in the Parliament for approval. The Bill, however, after approval by the parliament and royal assent, was enforced in 1909 and came to be known as Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 after the names of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India. The Act contained the following provisions:

1. The long-standing demand of Muslims for a separate electorate was conceded and included in Minto-Morely Reforms.
2. The preparation of separate electoral rolls was ordered.
3. The legislative councils were expanded.

4. The authority of the council was enhanced. The members were given more liberties and they could present any resolution or motion before the council for discussion.
5. The Viceroy's Council's membership was fixed at sixty members.
6. The membership of the provinces of Bengal, U.P., Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Orissa was fixed at 50 members whereas the membership of the provinces of Punjab, Burma and Assam was fixed at 30 members.
7. The Indians were included in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and in the provincial Executive Councils.
8. The local bodies, trade unions and Universities were allowed to elect their members.
9. Lt. Governors were appointed in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. These provinces were given right to form their own Councils.

The Minto-Morley Reforms were not free of defects but they helped in easing down the mounting turmoil in the country. There were some inherent defects in these reforms due to which the Minto-Morley Scheme could not last very long.

The Minto-Morley Reforms did not provide for mode of electing the representatives. This system failed to develop a sense of accountability among the representatives.

The voting rights were squeezed which made the electorate too narrow and restricted. Most of the people felt that they were not being represented. The authority given to the elected members of raising questions and criticising the policies proved useless as the real legislative authority rested with the Government and its nominated persons. The nominated members were in majority who always voted in favour of the government. The legislative bodies lacked effective control on the Government agencies. The Central Government exercised vast authority in the financial sphere.

Provincial expenditures were controlled by the Central Government which could cut the provincial expenditures at will.

However, the importance and utility of Minto-Morley Reforms cannot be set aside because of some weaknesses in the scheme. It acceded the Muslims, their much cherished demand, the separate electorate in the provinces where legislative councils existed. The Minto-Morley Reforms conferred on the Muslims the double vote by which they could vote in general constituencies as well. This privilege was widely resented by the Hindu majority.

Despite their limited scope, the Minto-Morley Reforms gave impetus to the constitutional development in India. These reforms introduced the system of elections for the first time which created a great deal of political awareness among the Indian people. The Muslims got most of what they demanded. The acceptance of separate electorate for the Muslims enhanced their political importance and significance. For this the members of Simla Deputation deserve all credit for convincing the Government of the importance of separate electorate for the Muslims.

The Muslim League performed in a commendable manner by achieving major demands of the Muslims after only two years of its inception. It scored an amazing political triumph within a short time of its political struggle. The acceptance of separate electorate set the course of Muslim freedom movement which culminated in the shape of Pakistan after a forty years intense struggle. It also gave strength to the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of Muslim freedom struggle.

CHANGE IN MUSLIM POLITICS (Muslim League Changes its Political Strategy)

The Muslim League, with its establishment became active for the protection of the Muslims interests. It took over the Muslims struggle launched by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and was successful in securing a number of demands from the

Government for the Muslims. The important demand was the separate electorate, which the Government conceded in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The acceptance of separate electorate was the first step by the Government towards the establishment of self-rule in India.

In spite of some early successes the Muslim League could not assume the political importance and significance which the Indian Congress had achieved. The Government too, was not very considerate and sympathetic towards Muslim League as it was towards the Congress. The Muslim League had to adopt a humble and courteous stance while presenting its demands as it was going through the period of its infancy. Muslim League had to accept whatever was offered to it because it was a new organization.

Some developments, on the national and international political scene took place which compelled the Muslim League to re-shape its political strategy. The Hindu agitation against Urdu and Partition of Bengal had inflamed Muslim sentiments. There was a group of young Muslims who wanted to make Muslim League more active in view of the vigorous Hindu opposition to the Muslims interests. The annulment of partition of Bengal and Government's attitude towards Urdu had intensified the Muslim apprehensions. The sheer betrayal on the part of the Government with regard to the partition of Bengal caused bewilderment amongst the Muslims who were extremely dismayed and disappointed over the Government decision to annul the partition.

The situation on international level even was not very happy. The Muslims had to bear other set-backs after the loss of Eastern Bengal. The War between Italy and Turkey in Tripoli and the Balkan War sent a wave of sorrow throughout the Muslim world. The poor position of Turkey, the leader of Islamic world, in the Balkan War threatened the dismemberment of Turkish Empire which was observed with utmost anguish by the Muslims. The Russian action in Iran with

British blessings infuriated the Muslims who disapproved British agreement with Russia.

Besides these events the Government's hesitant policy with regard to the establishment of Muslim University, demolition of Cawnpore mosque, and declaration of war by Britain against the Khalifa of Turkey in the First World War were the immediate causes which impelled the Muslim League to adopt a new line of action leading to the establishment of self-rule in India. The Muslims had observed that Government always responded to the harsh and hostile manner and only to pressure. Because of this reason Congress made the Government to accede to its demands at will.

In view of above facts the Muslim League decided to change its course of action in the wake of Government attitude and came out with a new approach towards Hindu-Muslim unity. It was felt generally that the time had come to effect a change in the creed of the League. The Muslim League adopted a new political strategy to put greater pressure on the Government as it had realized that unity between Hindus and Muslims would compel the Government to kneel down and accept the demands of the people. In view of the new developments the Muslim League changed its policy and included in its demands the introduction of self-rule for India.

The Muslim League shifted its office from Aligarh to Lucknow in 1913. The younger generation had assumed the leadership of the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam had joined Muslim League in 1913. He was the member of both Congress and Muslim League and was greatly in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity. On 22nd March 1913, on the initiative of the Quaid-i-Azam the Muslim League passed a resolution to adopt the attainment of self-rule suitable to India under the British Crown through constitutional means. Another resolution was passed which contained Muslims' option for co-operation with other communities of India for the accomplishment of the common objectives. It was re-affirmed through these resolutions that the future progress of the Indian people

depended on the mutual co-operation of various communities. It was hoped that the leaders of both sides would periodically meet together to chalk out a programme for joint action on the matters concerning the welfare of the people.

LUCKNOW PACT, 1916

The Indian politics took a new turn with the change in Muslim League's political creed. The Quaid-i-Azam's inclusion in the Muslim League was a historic event which gave new dimensions to Muslim League's political struggle. The Muslim League had already demanded self-rule for India which brought the Muslim League and the Congress closer to each other. The leaders of both parties agreed that they should co-operate with each other to bring the Government around to accept the demands. The purpose could be achieved, they agreed, if the two major communities of India forget their differences on petty issues and come closer to each other to see eye to eye on important national issues. The political environs had taken a happy turn and ground for cherished Hindu-Muslim unity had been paved.

Quaid-i-Azam, a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, was widely respected in Muslim League and the Congress. He suggested to the Muslim League to hold its annual session of 1915 in Bombay where Congress was also holding its annual session. The Quaid-i-Azam believed that by holding the sessions of both Congress and Muslim League at one place would greatly help in creating the feelings of goodwill and friendship between the two major communities of India. The Muslim League readily took up the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam under whose guidance efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity were launched.

In December, 1916 the Muslim League and the Congress, for the first time in the history of India, held their joint sessions in Lucknow. The League session was held on 30th and 31st December, 1916 in Qaiser Bagh Baradari Lucknow. The Muslim League, in recognition to the great efforts by the Quaid-i-Azam for the safeguard of the Muslim interests and for securing Hindu-Muslim unity,

elected him as the President of its eighth session. Quaid-Azam delivered an excellent address in which he presented a mastery survey of the political situation of India. He rejected all objections raised by the British against India's suitability to have a system of self-rule. He declared that the Indians were capable enough to run the Government's affairs and possessed all qualities of head and heart to deal with matters of national importance.

The Reforms Committees, appointed by the Congress and Muslim League at the Bombay session, had already devised an agreed scheme for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problems and constitutional reforms in their meeting at Calcutta in November 1916. The Reforms Committee once again met at Lucknow before the session of the Congress and League and finalised the proposals before placing it in the regular session. Quaid-Azam informed the session that the efforts of the Reforms Committees, to find a settlement of Hindu-Muslim problems, have been successful and a new era had opened in the history of the country. He asked the Government to accord the system of self-rule to India in the nearest future which was the definite aim of the Indian people.

The scheme for constitutional reforms prepared by the Reforms Committees of Congress and Muslim League, in which the Quaid-Azam played a major role, was placed before the joint session for approval. Finally the scheme was approved and an agreement on the scheme of constitutional reforms was reached between Congress and Muslim League known as Lucknow Pact. It was decided that both Congress and Muslim League would submit the jointly approved scheme to the Government for its introduction after the war in order to introduce self-Government in India. Following were the main recommendations of the pact:

1. The provincial legislative councils will have four-fifth as elected members and one-fifth as nominated members.
2. The members would be elected directly by the people for a term of 5 years.

3. In the major provinces the strength of the legislative councils would be 125 and in the minor province the strength would be between 50 and 75.
4. The Muslims shall be elected through special electorates and their strength in the different provinces shall be as follows:-
Punjab 50%, Bengal 40%, U.P. 30%, Bihar 25%, C.P. 15%, Madras 15%, Bombay 33 1/3%
5. No Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or other community shall be presented in the Assembly without the approval of the concerned group.
6. Provincial autonomy will be given to the provinces with maximum powers vested with the provincial councils. The provincial councils would be authorized to impose taxes, raise loans, and to vote on Budget. All proposals for raising revenues shall have to be submitted to the provincial councils for sanction.
7. There shall be an executive council in the provinces headed by the Governor whose half of the members shall be Indian nationals elected by the elected members of the Legislative council. Their term of office shall be five years.
8. The members of the Assemblies shall have the right to present adjournment motion.
9. Seats were reserved for the Muslims in those provinces in which they were in minority under the system of Weightages.
10. Protection shall be given to the Hindus in Muslim majority provinces.
11. In the centre there shall be an Imperial Legislative Council consisting of 150 members. Four-fifth of the members shall be elected for a term of 5 years on the basis of direct election. The Muslims will be given 1/3 seats of the elected members and they will be elected by separate Muslim electorates.

12. The Central Government will be headed by a Governor-General who would be assisted by an executive council. Half of the members of the executive council shall be Indians elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Lucknow Pact was a great achievement of the Hindu and Muslim leaders who were successful in offering for the first and the only time, a mutually acceptable solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. It was an amazing outcome of the sincere efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam who had always been a staunch advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. The scheme provided for a concrete step taken halfway towards the establishment of self-rule in India which was main core of the jointly sponsored scheme of Lucknow Pact.

The most glaring feature of the scheme was that it expressed the recognition by the Hindus of the separate political entity of the Muslims. The Hindus, for the first time, had acknowledged the Muslims as a separate nation and accepted their right to separate electorate. The Muslims also reciprocated by throwing off their old animosities and agreed to go along with the Hindus towards the goal of self-Government. The broad approach towards each others interests, displayed at Lucknow by both sides, was by no means a great accomplishment of the two communities. The Lucknow Pact established a stable ground for political advancement of the Muslims who were desperately looking for the constitutional safeguards of their interests which were openly opposed by the Hindu majority. On the other hand the scheme also paved way for joint endeavours by the Hindus and Muslims for the attainment of self-Government.

The Lucknow Pact was a bright chapter in the dark and gloomy environs of the Indian political history marred with communal strife and narrow-mindedness. It was a political agreement which set in a new Path leading towards a happy and prosperous future. The Lucknow pact created political homogeneity between the two separate political entities, Hindus and Muslims, who frankly and fairly

admitted each others interests with sincerity. The credit for creating this harmonious situation undoubtedly went to the unflinching and untiring efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam who was conferred with a proud title of **Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity** by the famous poet-politician Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

The Congress, however, could not remain friendly and cordial towards the Muslims for a long time. It underwent a transformation with the prejudicial influence of Gandhi a few years later. The air of amity and harmonious spirit of Lucknow Pact, achieved through the sincere and above board efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam, soon disappeared with Gandhi saddled into the mount to determine political path of Congress. The sense of accommodation shown towards the Muslims and other communities at Lucknow by the Congress quickly evaporated from the political creed of the Congress to give way, to hatred, jealousy and narrow mindedness towards the Muslim cause.

MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS 1919

A Committee under Justice S. A. Rowlatt was appointed to suggest ways and means to crush political conspiracies against the Government. The committee presented its report to the Government in 1918 which contained very strict measures to be adopted against those who were found involved in the political activities against the Government. The report invited unprecedented re-action by the Indian people on its unethical and heinous recommendations against the people of India. The political leaders expressed their utmost annoyance and declared the Rowlatt Committee Report as criminal. The Quaid-i-Azam resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in sheer protest against the Rowlatt Act.

The most tragic incident of the Jallianwala Bagh mass killing followed which extremely aggravated the political situation of the country. The British Commander General Dyer, opened fire without warning to disperse, on the people who had assembled at the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar to protest

against Rowlatt Act. The indiscriminate slaughter of the people at Jallianwala Bagh provoked the people and sent a wave of shock throughout the country.

The above-mentioned incidents contributed a great deal towards a widespread sense of hatred towards the Government. The antagonistic feelings of the people against the Government received an immeasurable fillip giving rise to large scale anti-British propaganda.

The country was passing through the most critical and unstable period of its history. The British Government now felt it imperative to respond to the aspirations of the Indians in order to appease the smouldering passions. On August 20, 1917 Edwin Montague, the Secretary of State for India, made an announcement of the British policy in the House of Commons. He said, ***"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of the responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."***

In pursuance of the policy announced by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montague came to India with a delegation. The delegation which included two other members held deliberations with the Viceroy and other leading political personalities. The delegation went back in April 1918. Mr. Montague prepared a scheme of constitutional reforms which was presented to the Government for approval. After approval by the Government the scheme was enforced as Government of India Act, 1919 and came to be known as **Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919** after the names of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India. The salient features of the 1919 Reforms were as follows:

1. Bicameral legislature was established in the Centre. The Upper House was known as the Council of State and the Lower House was named as Central Legislative Assembly. The membership

of the Upper House was fixed at 60 members while the Lower House consisted of 146 members.

2. The Upper House was elected for 5 years and the Lower House for 3 years.
3. Separate electorate was retained for the Muslims.
4. Self-Government would be established gradually in India.
5. The system of Dyarchy was introduced at the provincial level. By this system the provincial subjects were divided into two categories as the transferred subjects and the reserved subjects. The transferred subjects such as Health, Commerce and Education were entrusted to the Indian Ministers who were responsible to the Council. The reserve subjects such as Law and Order, Finance, Police, Irrigation and Forests were placed under the direct control of the provincial Governors and their nominated Councillors. Under the system of Dyarchy the Governor-General could interfere in the provincial matters which was widely disliked.
6. The subjects were divided between the Centre and Provinces. The central subjects were Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency, Railway and Telecommunication. The provincial subjects included Education, Health, Irrigation and Local Government.
7. The Governor-General's Executive Council was responsible to the Secretary of State for India who was sitting in London.
8. The Governor-General retained the right to certify any legislation which he considered essential.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 conceded far less than the Lucknow Pact had demanded. Such concessions were not acceptable to the Congress and the Muslim League. The political circles declared these reforms as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Congress split into two factions over the question of accepting the

reforms, one group was in favour of accepting the Reforms while the other was for rejecting them. Muslim League too, was not very optimistic about the proposals as they did not contain any concrete suggestions about the introduction of self-rule in India.

When the reforms of 1919 were introduced the country was ridden with the political turmoil and unrest. There was a great deal of disappointment with these reforms, resentment on the strong measures adopted by the Government to crush the people, and finally, the tragic and sorry massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, had greatly embittered the feelings of the people. The Khilafat Movement was going on side by side the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi. The Government had imposed Martial Law in a number of cities in order to quell the public resentment against the oppressive policies of the Government. The First World War had come to an end and the Allies were bent upon to dismember Turkey which carried great reverence among the Muslims because it was the last of the great powers left to Islam. The Muslims desired that some respectable settlement should be concluded between the British Government and Turkey so that the Turkish Caliphate can be protected. These circumstances completely moulded public opinion and the people did not think the 1919 Reforms worth for any consideration or attention.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Before the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 could be introduced the sub-continent experienced a political storm of unprecedented severity which was to leave its mark on all subsequent events in the history of the Muslim India. The institution of Khilafat, which the Muslims all over the world, and particularly in India held in highest esteem and veneration, was in grave jeopardy due to the actions which the allied countries had taken with regard to the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, the seat of the Caliphate.

THE INSTITUTION OF KHILAFAT

Khilafat is the name of a Muslim institution handed over to the followers and

friends (Sahaba-i-Karam) of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and the rulers or administrators of Islamic State, who are called and known as Khalifas (Caliphs). The title given to the Khalifa was known as Khalifa-tul-Rasool Allah i.e. vicegerent of the Prophet of Allah, which the first pious Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique assumed for himself. When Hazrat Omar ascended the Khilafat he assumed the title **Khalifat Khalifa-tul-Rasool Allah** which meant vicegerent to the vicegerent of Rasool Allah.²

The title, however, was changed when a foreigner entered the Masjid-i-Nabvi and enquired "**Where is the Amir-ul-Momenin**"³ (Head of the Muslims). Hazrat Omar greatly admired the title and assumed it for himself. The title Amir-ul-Momenin remained in use till 1924 when Kamal Ataturk abolished the institution of Khilafat.

The person who occupied the Khilafat was regarded as a highly respectable and venerated person by the entire Muslim Millat. When the First World War broke out the Khilafat had passed on to the House of Osman of Turkey whose ruler Sultan Abdul Majid was the Khalifa of Islam. The Turkish Khilafat was, therefore, respected and held in highest reverence by the Muslims scattered all over the world. The Muslims of India in particular had pinned their utmost allegiance with the Khalifa and struggled hard to protect the institution of Caliphate. The institution was a pivotal point and central authority and power for the Muslims who could not tolerate any humiliation to the Caliphate by any other power.

MOVEMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF KHILAFAT

When the First World War broke out in 1914, the circumstances compelled the Ottoman Empire to fight against the Allies. Turkey, the seat of Khilafat, therefore, fought by the side of Germany. The Indian Muslims naturally attached their sympathies with their Turkish brothers. The Government adopted a

2. Allah Bux Yousfi, The Khilafat Movement, p. 9.
3. Ibid p. 9

stem policy to keep the Muslims of India under control and did not allow them to raise any voice in support of Khalifa, the Sultan of Turkey. The Muslims of India had a proud history of coming to immediate help to their suppressed brethren in any time of need. They extended maximum support to the Turks and the Arabs in the Tripoli and Balkan wars.

The First War ended in 1918 with the Allies emerging as conquerors. The victorious Allied were bent upon demolishing the Ottoman Caliphate of Turkey which had fought by the side of Germany. They were determined to scrap the *Sickman of Europe* in order to distribute among themselves the spoils of the splendid empire which had ruled a greater part of Europe. The Indian Muslims were greatly perturbed over the fate of Turkey and desired that a respectable rapprochement be concluded between the British and Turkey. The results of the war had placed the Indian Muslims in an extremely awkward situation. They were not prepared to see any humiliation of the Caliphate and at the same time could not afford to pick up confrontation with the Government.

KHILAFAT COMMITTEE

During the war the Indian Muslims had extended maximum support to the Turks. When the war ended the Muslims demanded that justice be done to the falling Muslim regime.

In order to put pressure on the Government for the protection of the Khilafat, the Muslims organized themselves under the leadership of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari and formed Khilafat Conference. The Khilafat Conference, in its meeting on 24th November, 1918 declared that the Muslims of India would not take part in the peace celebrations if their demands were not conceded by the Government. The Ali Brothers (Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali) were in jail. When they were released they rushed to Amritsar where Khilafat Conference, the Congress and the Muslim League were holding their sessions. A Khilafat Committee was set up with Maulana Shaukat Ali as its secretary to

conduct the movement for the safeguard of the institution of Khilafat. The entire responsibility of safeguarding the sacred institution fell on Ali Brothers.

THE INDIAN DEPUTATION CALLS ON VICEROY

When the war ended it was felt that Turkey, which fought against the Allies, would be dismembered and distributed amongst the victorious Allied countries. The Indian Muslims were not prepared to see the dismemberment of Turkey at all costs and, therefore, informed the Government about their sentiments. Under these circumstances the Khilafat Conference decided to send a representative deputation of Hindus, Muslims and people from other walks of life to the Viceroy to apprise him of the sentiments of the Indian people with regard to the dismemberment of Turkey. The deputation headed by Dr. M. A. Ansari called on the Viceroy on 19th January, 1920.

The deputation made it clear in a straight-forward manner that they would not tolerate the humiliation of the Caliph and of the sacred places in Turkey. They informed him that the British policy towards Turkey constituted a great threat to the peace in the sub-continent. They urged the Government not to take any such actions which may inflame the sentiments of the Muslim subjects of the British Empire. The deputation therefore, required from the Government an assurance that the institution of Caliphate would not be demolished and that due respect would be shown for the sacred places of the Muslims in Turkey. The deputation further urged that no portion of *Jazira-tul-Arab* could be chopped off to reduce the status of any State because it contained the holy places of Islam and, therefore, be resisted against any alien interference.

The Viceroy promised that the sentiments of the Indian people and particularly of the Muslims shall be given due consideration and that no harm shall be done to the Caliphate and the sacred places of the Muslims. He, however, made it known to the deputation that religious matters should be kept away from the political affairs and it was

not a good policy to involve religion to put political pressure

The war ended on 11th November, 1918 and a peace armistice was concluded between the Allies and Turkey on 13th November, 1918. The terms of this agreement were humiliating for Turkey who was dictated to accept the terms and conditions given by the Allies. Turkey was divided into parts and Turkish army was disintegrated. All Turkish vessels were captured and the railways income was fixed for the allies. The allies were to determine new borders of Turkey and the internal administration was to be handled by Turkey itself. The Allies took every step to eliminate the religious places of Islam in Turkey.

TREATY OF SEVRES

The war finally ended and peace was made through the treaty of Sevres in 1920, which shocked the Indian Muslims. The harsh terms of the treaty made it clear to the Indian Muslims that the victorious allies were not content with the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but were determined to destroy even the Turkish homeland. To Indian Muslims the treaty appeared to be a deliberate attempt by the Christian community to exterminate forever the political power of Islam as symbolized by the Khilafat.

The Indian Muslims, to their utter disappointment found that Turkey has been divided and distributed amongst the victorious allies as the war bounty. It was decided by the treaty of Sevres that the allies could occupy any part of Turkey at will. The new State of Armenia was established and Syria, Iraq and Jordan would be separated from the Turkish Empire. Western Anatolia and Samarna were handed over to Greece. With the dismemberment of Turkey, the institution of Caliphate was also to be demolished.

The Muslims were not happy over the development in Turkey and were particularly saddened over the naked betrayal by the Government. A large scale hue and cry erupted in India on the shameful terms of the treaty of Sevres. The Muslim leaders called upon the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford and urged

that the degrading terms of the treaty be withdrawn. They made it clear to the Viceroy that if the terms of the treaty were not withdrawn a non cooperation movement against the Government would be launched. The Viceroy paid no heed to this warning. The Muslims decided to launch a movement for the safeguard of the institution of Caliphate and to express their resentment over the actions the Allies had taken in Turkey. The dynamic leadership of All Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other religious leaders flared up the deep anxiety of the Muslim masses which surpassed all previous limits of laying sacrifices for a national cause.

KHILAFAT DELEGATION

The Khilafat Committee met on 23rd November, 1919 and decided to send a delegation under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar to England to apprise the Government about the sentiments of the people. The delegation included Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Dr. Syed Husain and Malik Hasan Hayat, who was to act as Secretary of the delegation. The delegation left Bombay for England in March 1920. Muhammad Shoaib Qureshi and Abdur Rehman joined the delegation in London. On arrival in London Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar gave a number of interviews and expressed his determination that the Turks should not lose their independence and Istanbul remains as the seat of Khilafat. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar said that sheer injustice had been done to the Turks who were not given a chance to present their case. He urged that this grave injustice done to the Turks must be rectified and their old position should be restored. The delegation reminded that the Muslims wanted justice with the Turks in the light of the fourteen points of U.S. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons on January 6, 1918 by which he had pledged to maintain the sanctity and freedom of the homelands of Islam in Arabia and Turkey.

During delegation's stay in London, the Asquith Ministry gave way to Lloyd George

Government. Maulana Muhammad Ali met the Prime Minister Lloyd George, who was known for his anti-Muslim sentiments. Maulana Muhammad Ali reminded Lloyd George of the promises the British Government had made with the Indian Muslims about the Caliphate and the sacred places in Turkey. Maulana Muhammad Ali impressed upon him the importance of solving the Turkish problem in a statesman-like manner. The Prime Minister refused to accept any argument and instead expressed that Turkey should not be excused. On Maulana Muhammad Ali's insistence that (Turkey) should get justice, Lloyd George replied with visible satire and ridicule that Turkey must get justice and will certainly get justice similar to that which Germany received. The Khilafat delegation, disappointed and dejected, returned to India without achieving its purpose. Maulana Muhammad Ali, while leaving for India on September 2, 1920 warned the British Government and said, *"The days of Empire are over but the British Commonwealth can survive if it is broadbased on peoples' will. History of Ireland is before us. What would have satisfied Ireland seven or even three years ago does not satisfy her today. Mussalmans can yet be won over. Tomorrow it would be too late in their case as well."*⁴

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The Hindus, under the leadership of Gandhi came forward with their full support for the Khilafat movement. Gandhi being a shrewd politician, had visualized to use the Khilafat agitation for pressing the Government to come to terms for Indian independence. Whether the Muslims won or lost on Khilafat issue was immaterial to Gandhi, what mattered was the purpose the movement could be made to serve. He, therefore, advocated full support by the entire Indian nation of the Muslim demands and outlined a programme of non-cooperation for the achievement of dual objective of Indian

independence and restoration of Caliphate.

The plan was to paralyse administration by a complete boycott of British institutions and goods. Indians were asked to give up Government service, renounce titles, boycott courts of law, withdraw out of schools and colleges and take no part in elections which were to be held under Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Gandhi assured the people that if they carried out his programme of non-cooperation in a united, disciplined and non-violent fashion, they would soon attain *Sawaraj*, self-rule, within a year.

Gandhi's personality greatly appealed to the Hindu sentiments who came together under his leadership. The enthusiasm of the Muslims was already in a state of agitated mind due to the treatment extended to Caliphate in Turkey. Congress at a special session adopted the non-cooperation programme and later re-affirmed it at its Nagpur Session in December, 1920. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, was not in favour of Gandhi's non-cooperation programme as to him the plan was bound to invite violence and eventually would lead to disastrous confusion. He resigned from the Congress Party in 13th April, 1923.

The political scene in India, after launching the non-cooperation movement, abruptly changed. For some time in the beginning, the Hindus and Muslims forgot their long-standing animosities. The prolific leadership of Ali Brothers carried the message of unity everywhere. Everything foreign was rejected, the foreign cloth was burnt and khadar became the dress of even the most westernized society. The Charkha, or spinning wheel became the symbol of the Indian freedom.

The Muslims followed the non-cooperation with zealous participation. The Ulema pronounced service under the British as un-Islamic. The Ali Brothers laid a siege around the Muslim University at Aligarh to carry out the educational boycott.

4. Allah Bux Yousafi, *The Khilafat Movement*, p. 45.

HIJERAT MOVEMENT

Maulana Muhammad Ali had been in jail since he returned back from England after his unsuccessful mission. He was released from jail in 1924 along with other Khilafat leaders. They stepped in a different world. The country was presenting a horrible picture and the Khilafat leaders were extremely disappointed and pained to see the awful state of Indian society.

Maulana Abu-al-Kalam and Maulana Abdul Bari the two prominent Khilafat leaders issued Fatwa that India was a Dar-ul-Harb (Home of war), where the religion of the Muslims, Islam was not safe. They urged the Muslims to migrate to a place where their image and religion was not jeopardized. Maulana Muhammad Ali too, declared the British Government as an infidel government no longer to be obeyed. He also asked the Muslims to leave the country where infidelity prevailed and go to the place where the Muslims found it possible to live according to their religion.

With the issuance of this *Fatwa* nearly eighteen thousand Muslims left hearth and home and migrated to Afghanistan in religious protest against British policy towards the Caliphate. The Afghan Government welcomed the migrants in the beginning but refused to accept as the influx of the refugees increased beyond control.

The Afghan Government sent back the refugees. A large number of the refugees perished on the way back home and those who survived reached home to find themselves homeless and doomed for ever. The poor faithful people, who blindly responded to the call by their religious leaders, had disposed of their belongings on whatever was offered to them with a hope of a better future. When they came back they found themselves shelterless and without a respectable sustenance. Their leaders had nothing to offer to them in their distress and left them in the lurch.

MOPLAH UPRISING

Some Arab tribes, known as Moplahs had settled on the Malabar Shores. By faith

they were Muslims. They invited Government's annoyance by actively taking part in the Khilafat movement. The Government adopted repressive measures in order to quell the Moplahs activities which furthered Moplahs resentment. The Government arrested a few Moplahs who wanted to go to Kerala to organize Khilafat movement. The arrest of the leaders inflamed the sentiments of Moplahs who demanded the release of their leaders. Police resorted to firing on a mob killing nearly 400 persons.

The incident created large scale unrest in the country. The Moplahs rose in rebellion against the Government to set-up a Caliphate State and slaughtered a number of British officers and their Hindu neighbours. The agitation took the most ugly turn when the Moplahs raided the prison to release their leaders.

The Moplahs remained involved in a guerilla warfare with the Government. The Government ultimately suppressed the uprising. Strict action was taken against the Moplahs after the rebellion was brought under control. A large number of Moplahs were arrested and deported in a goods train. When the train reached the destination 60 person were found dead due to suffocation in the tight compartments of the goods train.

CHAURI CHAURA TRAGEDY

Gandhi had assumed the leadership of the Khilafat movement as most of the Khilafat leaders were in jail. Gandhi was not sincere towards the restoration of Caliphate. He in fact used the Khilafat movement as a tool to achieve Swaraj - self-rule - for which he had extended co-operation for the Khilafat cause.

Gandhi intended to begin his Civil Disobedience movement in the beginning of 1922 from a small town of Chauri Chaura in Farakhabad district. Under the Civil Disobedience movement all Government taxes and revenues were not to be paid. The people of Chauri Chaura demonstrated in a form of procession on 5th February, 1922 and refused to pay Government taxes. The police tried to disperse the procession which infuriated the demons-

trating processionists. The hostile mob set fire to the police station where twenty-two policemen were burnt alive.

This violent incident shocked Gandhi and he immediately called off the non-cooperation movement without consulting other leaders. Gandhi, while ending his non-cooperation movement, said that people were not yet ready for the way of non-violence. The non-cooperation movement, as had been foreseen by the Quaid-i-Azam, led to widespread and irresponsible violence.

The sudden reversal produced bewilderment amongst the dismayed Muslims who were left baffled and frustrated. The people gradually felt, if the non-cooperation movement would have been allowed to continue, despite the Chauri Chaura incident, the British Government would have been compelled to make major concessions.

In the following years violent communal riots between Hindus and Muslims erupted which marred the Indian politics. The two communities once again were faced to each other with their conventional enmity. The amicability and the harmonious spirit achieved at Lucknow in 1916 and the spirit of non-cooperation movement were the things of the glorious past which could never be recaptured again.

END OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

For the Muslims the Khilafat movement ended in complete failure. The reaction, on Gandhi's betrayal, amongst the Muslims was bitter and strong. They felt betrayed at the eve of victory. But there were still bigger shocks for them to come. The institution of Caliphate for which the Muslims had struggled so sincerely, was abolished not by the enemies but by a Muslim hero, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, who established a nationalist Government in Turkey. The grand National Assembly of Turkey, under the influence of Kamal Ataturk, abolished the institution of Caliphate on November 1, 1922. That last Khilafa Sultan Abdul Majeed was banished from Turkey in 1924.

The Indian Muslims were stunned on the action of Ataturk under whose leadership the Turks decided to make a new state. The movement was in disarray as most of the Khilafat leaders were in jail. Muslims became almost leaderless. They drifted aimlessly in the high seas of Indian politics. The people did not know what to do. The sacrifices of the people were doomed and appeared to have been in vain.

The Khilafat movement ended without achieving its goal. The Indian politics entered into a new era and was presenting a shabby scene. The Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood were the things of the past and the people, once again, were moving with their traditional narrow-mindedness. Some Hindu leaders had started a movement for converting the Muslims to Hinduism which provided a new cause of bitterness. Over the next few years Hindu-Muslim riots erupted in a number of places. The political climate of the country was that of a general apathy.

RESULTS OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Despite its failure, the Khilafat movement left a far-reaching impact on the Indian politics. It created political awareness amongst the Muslims and taught them ways and means to project and protect their interests. The Khilafat movement, in spite of its failure, was a great movement of the Muslims with a number of significant factors leading to Muslims' awareness and renaissance. Following are the most significant influences which the Khilafat movement left on the Indian politics:-

1. The Khilafat movement was a great Muslim struggle which provided dynamic leadership to the Muslims and established foundations to launch further Muslim Freedom movement on stable and firm basis.
2. The whole of the Khilafat movement was erected on the Hindu-Muslim unity which proved to be a fake idea when Gandhi, unilaterally ended his non-cooperation movement at the time when the Government was to kneel down before

the demands. The sudden decision of Gandhi caused anxiety amongst the bewildered Muslim masses who felt betrayed at the eve of victory. It confirmed to the Muslims that the Hindu mind can never be sincere to the Muslims' cause. Gandhi's action was instrumental to finish and destroy the Hindu-Muslim unity which had been accomplished through the sincere endeavours of the Quaid-i-Azam.

3. With Gandhi assuming the leadership, the Khilafat movement turned into a purely political struggle thus putting aside the prime objective of protecting the institution of Caliphate. Gandhi, in fact, had no attachment with the Caliphate. He wanted to use the Khilafat agitation to press the Government to give Swaraj – self-rule – to India.
4. The Khilafat movement effectively demonstrated the religious enthusiasm of the Muslims to the British. The British now seriously felt of giving independence to India.
5. The Ulema and Mashaikh worked as a well-knit team during the Khilafat movement. They provided organized leadership to the nation and stirred their religious zeal by their speeches. The Khilafat movement also cultivated a new outlook amongst the Muslims not to rely on others support and to wholly depend on self-determination for the achievement of national cause.
6. The Khilafat movement played an effective role in eliminating un-Islamic trends and concepts from the religion and politics due to its religious and political impact.
7. The Khilafat movement developed a sense of concern amongst the Muslims about their national matters and inculcated among them the awareness about their future.
8. The Khilafat movement immensely strengthened the Two-Nation Theory

which became the basis of establishment of Pakistan.

9. The Hijrat movement caused enormous hardship to the poor people who responded to the call by Ulema to migrate from India. The Ulema issued fatwa that India was a country where the Government had trampled with the laws of Islam and, therefore, was an infidel state where the faith of the Muslims was in jeopardy. The Muslims left India but had to be returned back by the Afghan Government when the number of migrants grew beyond control. A large number of migrants perished on way back and still a large number who succeeded in reaching India found themselves homeless and without a respectable way of living.
10. The Khilafat movement added much to the economic miseries of the Muslims who resigned their jobs.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

As already mentioned, Khilafat movement ended without achieving its prime objective of safeguarding the institution of Caliphate. Following factors can be attributed towards the failure of the movement:

1. Gandhi's action of calling off the Non-cooperation movement at a moment when the Government was about to make major concessions, was a severe set-back to the movement.
2. The Government arrested all important leaders of the movement which left the Muslims leaderless who drifted aimlessly from one side to the other. The Government after arresting leaders, adopted repressive measures on the masses to quell their agitation.
3. The grand National Assembly of Turkey elected Mustafa Kamal as their leader who abolished the institution of Caliphate and the last Caliph Sultan Abdul Majeed was banished from Turkey.

4. The Hindu-Muslim unity, achieved at Lucknow, disappeared in the beginning of the movement and could not be re-captured.
 5. The extremist Hindu movements, Shuddi and Sanghtan, began converting the Muslims to Hinduism which provided a new cause of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.
 6. The communal clashes and riots erupted in the country which adversely affected the political conditions of India.
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Chapter 4

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

MUSLIM NATIONALISM THE EVOLUTION
OF TWO-NATION THEORY

MEANINGS OF TWO-NATION THEORY

The term Two-Nation Theory has often appeared to be a difficult meaning for the readers. However, it is not that difficult to understand and define the term. It requires a deep and intensive observation of the historical facts which contributed a great deal towards the development and origin of the Two-Nation concept.

The Two-Nation Theory in its simplest way, means the cultural, political, religious, economic and social dissimilarities between the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims, of the sub-continent. These differences of outlook, in fact, were greatly instrumental in giving rise for the partition of India into two independent States. It was mainly due to these differences of culture, religion and history that the Muslims of the sub-continent, at last, decided to demand a separate homeland in order to provide safeguards to their separate and distinct identity as a nation.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TWO-NATION
THEORY (HISTORICAL BACKGROUND)

The Quaid-i-Azam once said, **"Pakistan was established the day when the first Indian national embraced Islam."** The saying of the Quaid-i-Azam proves that two nationalities were born the day the first Indian national entered the fold of Islam, meaning thereby that a separate Nation was born in the sub-continent whose understanding of life was quite distinct from the other nationalities.

The Hindus and Muslims, in spite of living together for centuries, could not forget their individual cultures and civilization and kept away from each other. They could not merge in each other's way of life to become

one nation. Al-Beruni who came to India with Mahmud Ghaznavi in 1001 A.D. records his experience of the Hindu outlook and way of life in his famous book *Kitab-ul-Hind* and says, ***"the Hindu fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them – and more particularly against the Muslims whom they call as Maleecha – impure, and forbid having any relation with them, be it by any kind of relationship by sitting, eating and drinking with them because they think they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the person of any foreigner."***

"The Hindu society maintained this peculiar character over the centuries. The two societies, Hindu and Muslim, like two streams, have sometimes touched but never merged, each following its separate course".¹ The main reason for this difference of culture, civilization and outlook was the religion of Islam which cannot be assimilated in any other system. These differences, in fact, were responsible for giving rise to the Muslim feelings of separateness which compelled them to demand a separate homeland. These differences are discussed in details in the following lines to give a clearer picture of the Hindu antagonistic approach towards the Muslims.

1. Religious Differences

The Hindus and Muslims belong to different religions, Hinduism and Islam, which stand poles apart in their attitudes of life. Both religions differ with each other in their basic philosophies. Islam believes in Tauheed (oneness of God.) In Islam there is no one who could share the sovereignty of

1. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, p. 1.

the God and to consider anyone equal to God is the greatest sin in Islam. On the other hand Hinduism is based on the concept of multiple gods. How a nation which believed in the multiplicity of gods could repose its belief in the oneness of God and there lies the basic difference between Hindu and Muslim way of thinking.

Islam is based on monotheism and believes in the equality of mankind before the law, while Hinduism is immensely flexible in its attitude towards God. Islam gives a message of peace and brotherhood. It teaches toleration, social justice and equality. Belief in God, the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and the Holy Book are the basic tenets of Islam, whereas there is no such concept in Hinduism. Islam does not believe in colour, caste, creed or social status. No importance has been given to geographical or linguistic affiliations in Islam. Hinduism, unlike Islam, preaches the most ignoble caste system which has divided the society into four privileged and under-privileged classes as Brahmins, Kashtriya, Vaish and Shudra. Islam deals with every aspect of life while Hinduism deals with few selected aspects of life. Hinduism lacks homogeneity and its approach is very narrow towards life, while Islam is a universal concept with more cohesive approach towards life.

There is a long history of conflict between Islam and Hinduism. They co-existed but could not integrate. R.C. Majumdar says, **"The followers of Islam settled in large number but they did not merge themselves into the Hindu pattern. So for the first time in the Indian history two distinct communities and cultures stood face to face and India was permanently divided into two powerful units."** Islam split the Indian society into two sections from top to bottom and two separate nations came into being from the very beginning. According to Panikar, **"Two parallel societies were established on the same soil. At all steps they were different and hardly any social communication and intermingling of life existed between them."** The followers of Islam and Hinduism co-existed in the same society with a

manifest hatred and animosity towards each other.

2. Hindu Nationalism

A number of Hindu nationalist movements, which emerged from time to time in the Indian history, added fuel to the fire by playing up the tension and antagonism which already existed between the two communities. Dr Ashoke Majumdar, the son of the well-known Indian historian R.C. Majumdar writes in **Advent of Independence** that it were the Hindus who took lead in Hindu-Muslim separatism by launching the nationalist movements. The leaders of these Hindu nationalist movements had based them on the Hindu religion which were directed against the Muslims. Raja Ram Mohan, the founder of Brahmo Samaj and his followers were Hindu religious or social reformers. The main objective of these movements was to strengthen the British rule so that the Muslims could be oppressed and persecuted with the British blessings.

The rise of Arya Samaj in the 19th Century greatly intensified the Hindu nationalism as it was rooted through antagonism against the Muslims. The followers of Arya Samaj openly declared that they would soon settle their accounts with the Muslims. They adopted a programme of **Suddhi** - conversion to Hinduism of all non-Hindus - for the spread of Hindu nationalism. Brahmo Samaj was another Hindu religious movement which created deep feelings of religious nationalism among Hindus and widely promoted communal jealousies. The founders of Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj, Dayanand Saraswati and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, were highly prejudiced personalities who were deadly against Islam and the Muslims. They wrote extensively against political, social and economic fields of the sub-continent. The Hindu nationalist leaders totally ignored the great contribution made by the Muslims in the Indian society by way of promoting education and other social activities. Their writings and ideas flared up the communal discord between Hindus and Muslims to further pollute the political condition.

3. Cultural and Social Differences

The Hindus and Muslims belonged to different cultures based on their divergent outlook towards life. The two communities inherited cultural background with glaring contrasts of outlook, history, religion and civilization. Their beliefs, thinking and approach towards various aspects of life were easily distinguishable from each other. The Hindus and Muslims followed different social customs and traditions. The Hindus burnt their dead bodies while Muslims buried them. Their language and communication reflected peculiar and different ways and styles. Hindus considered the *Mother Cow* as a sacred animal and worshipped it while the Muslims slaughtered it for eating and sacrificial purposes. The Hindus and Muslims did not intermarry nor did they interdine. The Muslims were taken as *Maleecha* impure and anything touched by a Muslim was polluted and extensively washed and cleansed with the sacred water of Ganga.

"Hindu and Muslim families which lived in the same neighbourhood for generations could be distinguished at a glance from each other. The clothes, the foods, the household utensils, the layout of homes, the words of salutation, the gestures and everything about them will be different and will immediately point to their distinctive origin".² The Muslims were meat-eaters while the Hindus loved to eat vegetables and pulses.

The Hindus took themselves as a superior race and avoided connections with other communities. They were particularly very sensitive about the relations with the Muslims whom they considered as a sordid section of the Indian society. They would never allow a Muslim to enter their kitchen. If ever a Muslim touched the household article or a person of a Hindu, the same was taken as polluted and to be washed and cleansed immediately to shed away the impurity and pollution thus caused by a Muslim.

4. Economic and Educational Difference

With the fall of Moghal empire in 1857 the Muslims political power in South Asia was completely annihilated. The British held the Muslims responsible for the war and put them under great suppression and humiliation. As the British had snatched power from the Muslims, they were very keen to ensure that the Muslims should not be in a position to regain their lost political power. The British, therefore, adopted a harsh and severe policy against the former rulers of India. The aftermath of the War of 1857 closed all doors of economic prosperity on the Muslims. Trade policies, extremely detrimental to the Muslim interests were enforced in order to crush the economic condition of the Muslims. The Muslims were thrown out of the government service in addition to the confiscation of their estates and properties. The harsh policy adopted by the British destroyed the economic conditions of Muslims who found themselves at the brink of social and economic disaster.

On the other hand the British extended enormous favour to Hindus and allowed them a free access to prosper and progress economically. All attractive and high ranking jobs were reserved for the Hindus while the Muslims were declared ineligible for government service. The Hindus, with the blessings of the British Government, tried their best to crush the Muslims in the economic field. The Hindus quickly monopolised the economic resources due to the opportunities thrown to them by British rulers. They worked in a united and disciplined manner with an objective of humbling down the Muslims in the economic sector.

The Hindus had also advanced in the educational field because they quickly and readily took to the English education. It helped them a great deal to progress economically. The Muslims did not receive modern education which heavily affected their economic condition. The Muslims were not in a position to compete with the Hindus because they did not possess sufficient know how essential for competing in the economic

2. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, Emergence of Pakistan, p. 1.

field. The Muslims were mostly the creditors because they lacked economic resources and sufficient capital to embark upon economic struggle. They had to depend on the Hindu money-lenders for pursuing their trade and business and fell an easy prey to the most cruel exploitation by the Hindus.

5. Political Differences

The political differences between Hindus and Muslims have played an important and significant role in the development and evolution of the Two-Nation Theory in the sub-continent.

The Hindi-Urdu controversy in 1864 was the first glimmering of the political tussle which impaired the relations between the two communities. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1867, very rightly observed and expressed to the Commissioner of Benaras, that the Hindu attempt to replace Urdu by Hindi would strike at the roots of the Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus demanded that Urdu should be replaced by Hindi as an official language. The Hindus launched a violent agitation to press the Government to accede to their demand of scrapping Urdu as an official language. The Hindu agitation against Urdu intensified Muslim apprehensions about Hindu domination in the cultural, social, economic and political spheres. The Hindu attitude to Muslim interests genuinely created fears among the Muslims about the heinous Hindu designs.

The All-India National Congress was established in 1885 at the initiative of A.O. Hume, a retired civil servant. With the establishment of Congress the political interests of the Muslims were gravely jeopardized. The Congress claimed at its inception, that it would strive for the safeguards of the interests of all the communities in India irrespective of their religion or political leanings. For some time in the beginning, Congress did adhere to its promises and displayed a posture of a national organization. But with the time it turned into a pure Hindu body working for the safeguard of the interests of the Hindus only. The demands which were projected from Congress platform, appeared very innocent

and democratic but were actually aimed at the complete elimination of the Muslims from the Indian society.

Congress demanded the introduction of representative democracy on British pattern. The representative democracy stands for majority rule and places the minority under the mandate of the majority for all political matters.

Congress made another demand that all appointments on high civil posts should be made through competitive examinations. By making this demand the Congress, in fact, wanted to oust the Muslims from the Government services. The acceptance of this demand would have rendered the Muslims economically ruined and destroyed.

In 1905 the province of Bengal was divided on purely administrative grounds being a very large area. The partition of Bengal ensured a number of political benefits for the Muslims who saw in this action of the Government a slender chance of happy and stable political future for themselves. The entire Hindu community and the Congress itself, erupted into a volcanic agitation against the partition. The main reason behind Hindu agitation against the partition was that it brought the prospects of better future for the Muslims which the narrow-minded Hindus would never tolerate. The Government succumbed to the violent Hindu agitation and a good decision, bound to ameliorate the oppressed Muslim masses, was undone to the great dismay of the entire Muslim population of the sub-continent. The partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 reverting the Muslims to their old position of subservience. The Muslims took the cancellation of the partition as a deliberate attempt by the Hindu majority to forcibly subjugate the Muslim population of India.

The blatant Hindu opposition to the Muslim interests aroused the feelings of insecurity among the Muslims and convinced them of the need for protecting their interests. They, therefore, demanded a system of separate electorate as a first step to provide safeguards to their political interests. The

Simla Deputation demanded adequate safeguards for the Muslims in the wake of Hindu and Congress propaganda against the Muslims.

The political animosity, between the two nations surmounted the previous scales in 1930's when Congress was saddled into political power. The Congress assumed the Government in eight provinces after winning the elections held under the Act of 1935. It adopted atrocious methods to settle their old accounts with the Muslims living in Congress ruled provinces. The attitude of the Congress ministries proved to be the decisive factor which led the Muslims to the final conclusion that the future of the Muslims was not safe in the united India. They found that there was no other way open to them except demanding a separate homeland which was the only answer to the Muslim sufferings.

The above discussion shows that there was an unbridgeable gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The two communities were glaringly distinctive from each other ideologically, culturally, politically, socially and economically. In the presence of such deep-rooted contrasts of thinking and approach, how the Muslims and Hindus, could develop the common nationality as claimed by Gandhi.

The intense and deep-rooted feelings of cultural, social, political and economic differences are, in fact, the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of the establishment of Pakistan. The Muslims demanded Pakistan in order to protect their cultural, political and economic distinctiveness which was precariously threatened in the united India under the Hindu and Congress hegemony.

THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE MUSLIMS

The Britishers who had come to India as traders began to indulge in the political affairs of the country. They first of all acquired control of revenue collection in Bengal and very soon established their hold on the political matters of the province. They had

quickly sensed the long-standing hatred and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims and rightly decided to play up the conflict to their own advantage. The British felt that the Muslims were the main hurdle in their ascendancy to the political power in India and, therefore, adopted a harsh policy towards them. They came nearer to the Hindus in view of their numerical and political nuisance and extended enormous favours to them in order to win their confidence against the Muslims.

The War of Independence of 1857 ended in disaster and established the direct British rule all over India. The Moghal empire was liquidated and the emperor was imprisoned along with his family. The Muslims, who had a proud history of glorious rule over India, fell from their position of eminence to that of a humiliated and downgraded community. The British rule had come as an opportunity for the Hindus to settle their accounts with the Muslims who had subjugated them for centuries in spite of their majority.

After destroying the economic conditions of the Muslims, the British and Hindus, connived to ruin the political future of the Muslims as well. All Indian National Congress was established in 1885. The Congress demanded the introduction of western type of democracy which establishes the majority rule. It also demanded that all appointments on the higher civil position be made through competitive examinations. These demands, on the face of it, were very innocent and democratic but were in fact aimed at the total elimination of the Muslims from all walks of life.

MUSLIM REACTION

The Muslim reaction to the biased and cruel policy of the British was bitter and strong. The Muslims were greatly disappointed to see both Hindus and the British working against their interests. The attitude of the British and the Hindus sent a wave of shock and anxiety among the Muslim masses.

The Muslims, however, could not reconcile with the downgraded position and were not prepared to see their downfall as a nation. They decided to effectively challenge the Hindu and British designs in order to protect their national image. The great Muslim saints, mystics and sufis like Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani, Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah, Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward to guide the Muslims in their despair and asked them to wage a valiant struggle for the revival of Islam in the sub-continent. A large number of revival movements grew under the dynamic and dauntless leadership of these reformers for the renaissance of the Muslims in the sub-continent.

DEMAND OF SEPARATE ELECTORATE

The humiliated treatment which the Muslims got at the hands of the British and Hindus, developed feelings of unrest and suspicion among them. They felt insecure and their future appeared to have been doomed for ever in wake of highly prejudicial attitude of the Hindus and the British. The Muslim suspicion and apprehensions were further strengthened by the attitude of the Hindus in the later stages who keenly desired to enslave the entire Muslim population of India. The Hindu agitation against Urdu and partition of Bengal is an ample proof of the heinous Hindu objectives of perpetually subduing the Muslims.

The Muslims, therefore, in order to safeguard their future demanded the system of separate electorate for their representation in the legislatures and other representative bodies. The Simla Deputation demanded the separate electorate besides other safeguards for the Muslims which was conceded by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909.

The establishment of Muslim League in 1906 infused a new spirit among the Muslims who now decided to struggle for independence and throw off the yoke of Hindu domination. The Muslim League provided the dedicated leadership to the Indian Muslims who took them to their cherished destination of a separate homeland.

CHANGE IN MUSLIM POLITICS

HINDUS PREJUDICE TOWARDS MUSLIMS

The Muslims had extended full co-operation to Hindus by concluding the Lucknow Pact in 1916. The Hindus for some time, also expressed their willingness to accept Muslim demands and gave their approval to the scheme of separate electorate. The atmosphere of co-operation and amity, between the Muslims and Hindus, could not last very long after Gandhi's betrayal to the Muslim cause during the Khilafat movement. Gandhi's unilateral decision of calling off non-cooperation movement did irreparable damage to Khilafat Movement which failed to accomplish its objective. The failure of Khilafat movement put an end to the Hindu Muslim unity which was accomplished through the sincere efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam at Lucknow Pact in 1916.

Meanwhile some extremist Hindu movements emerged on the Indian politics which aroused communal jealousy and discord between the two communities. The most significant was Hindu Mahasabha established in 1921 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya Moonje. The organization soon became very popular among the Hindus who now looked towards the Muslims with revived hatred and narrow mindedness.

The Hindu Mahasabha launched a number of movements with an objective of converting the Muslims to Hinduism. The movement of Shuddi was started by Munshi Ram, later on known as Shardha Nand, under the personal supervision of Dr. Moonje. The Shuddi meant to convert all non-Hindus to Hinduism by all means of violence or by incentives. The Congress leaders also extended their blessings to the programme of Shuddi.

The other movement started by Dr. Moonje of *Hindu Mahasabha* was known as *Sanghatan* and was a militant movement. It gave military training to the Hindus and preached violence against the Muslims.

The Congress and Hindu bias against the Muslims did not end here. An organized

campaign of vilification was launched against the Muslims and their national heroes. The Muslim leaders, reformers and conquerors were presented as looters, oppressors and persecutors. The miserable state of untouchables and Shodaras was attributed to the result of oppressive and tyrannical rule of the Muslims. The Hindus and founder of Shuddi levelled objectionable and ignoble allegations against the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in the most painful manner. The Muslims, however, effectively faced this shameful campaign against their highly revered personalities. A brave Muslim Qazi Abdur Rashid killed Shardhanand and Ghazi Iram Din, a young lad of Lahore, finished a Hindu publisher who published a book on the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) containing highly objectionable and shameful material. The publication of the book immensely infuriated the Muslims of India who were stirred into shocking unity.

DELHI PROPOSALS

The conclusion of Lucknow Pact was a milestone in the history of the sub-continent as it had achieved Hindu-Muslim unity which always appeared an uphill task. The credit for this stupendous achievement goes to the Quaid-i-Azam who worked most sincerely for this noble objective. The Congress, too, came out with open mind and expressed its readiness to accept Muslim demand of separate electorate. There is no doubt that Congress attitude during Lucknow Pact, helped a great deal in developing friendly relations between the two communities. Due to the Lucknow Pact, the next few years of Indian politics saw the sense of unity and brotherhood prevailing in the country leaving a soothing impact on every aspect of society.

By the year 1926, Hindu Mahasabha managed to get hold of the Congress leadership. The new Congress leadership, with a highly prejudicial tinge in its politics, started a violent propaganda against Lucknow Pact and the Muslim demand of separate electorate. Since the new leadership had assumed an effective control in the Congress hierarchy, their views carried

importance in the Congress policy formulation.

Pandit Nehru, in view of the new development in the Congress politics, requested to Quaid-i-Azam in 1927, that if the Muslim League surrenders its demand of separate electorate, the Congress shall accept any other demand presented by the Muslim League in its place. The Quaid-i-Azam till then was a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and wanted to keep it intact. He gave a serious thought to Congress offer and convened a meeting of Muslim leaders on March 20, 1927 in Delhi. The meeting discussed in details the offer made by the Congress and finally decided to surrender the demand of separate electorate for the Muslims. The meeting presented a set of proposals in place of separate electorate which are known as **Delhi Proposals**, which are as follows.

1. Sindh should be separated from Bombay.
2. Reforms should be introduced in Balochistan and N.W.F.P. and they should be given status of the province.
3. The Muslims should have 1/3 seats in the central legislature as already granted.
4. The Muslims should be given representation in Bengal and Punjab in accordance to their strength.

The **Lahore Group** of Muslim League, headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi, separated itself and expressed its disapproval of the Delhi proposals. The Congress and Hindu leaders, in the beginning welcomed the Delhi proposals but afterwards began opposing them. The extremist Hindu attitude to the liberal approach of the Muslims proved the irrefutable fact that the Hindus did not want to give any safeguard to the Muslims. Instead they eagerly desired to establish their hegemony on every Muslim of India.

SIMON COMMISSION

When the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in 1919, the Government announced that a Commission

would be sent to India after ten years to examine the effects of the reforms and to suggest more reforms for India. Accordingly, in 1927, the British Government appointed a Commission under Sir John Simon to report on the constitutional progress of India for introducing more reforms as had been promised. The most important work of the Commission was to evaluate the political conditions of India for the introduction of constitutional reforms. Since the Commission had no Indian member, the Congress and a section of Muslim League, under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, decided to boycott the Commission. The other group of Muslim League, headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi, was in favour of co-operating with the Commission.

There were large scale agitations against the Simon Commission in India. The Commission had to face violent re-action by the people wherever it went. The Commission was received in the midst of hostile demonstration. The people received the Commission with the slogans, **Simon go back, Simon go back.**

In spite of non-cooperation from the Indian political leaders, the Commission began its work and prepared a detailed report for constitutional reforms in India. The report was sent to the Government for approval. A scheme of constitutional reforms on the basis of the recommendations of the Simon Commission was prepared by the Government. The Congress and Muslim League both refused to accept the recommendations of the Simon Commission.

NEHRU REPORT

When the recommendations of the Simon Commission were presented in the parliament in October, 1927, for approval, India was passing through a political turmoil of unprecedented intensity. The Congress and Muslim League had rejected the recommendations of the Simon Commission and stood face to face with regard to the future constitutional pattern of India. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India was greatly annoyed with diversified public opinion prevailing in India. He was very much

offended on the treatment extended to the Simon Commission. When the Indian political parties rejected the recommendations of the Simon Commission he declared in the parliament, **"The Indians are so divided, opposed and fed up of each other that they are unable to produce a unanimously accepted constitution."**

The statement of Lord Birkenhead stirred the vanity of Indian political leaders who accepted the challenge to produce a unanimous proposal on the constitution. An all parties conference was convened in February, 1928 to prepare a draft for the constitutional reforms. The conference appointed a Committee to determine the principles for future constitution of India. The Committee was presided over by Moti Lal Nehru, the leader of the Swarajya Party. The other members of the Committee were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, G.R. Pardhan, M.R. Jaikar, N.A. Joshi, Sir Ali Imam and Shoaib Quershi (Muslim member). The representation of the Muslims on the Committee was of an insignificant nature. The Muslim members were unrepresentative of their community and had long ago been rejected. The Muslim members attended only one meeting and put their signatures when the report was placed before them. The report submitted by the Committee is known as **Nehru Report** which contained the following recommendations:

1. Full responsible Government on the model of the constitution of the self-governing dominions to be introduced in the sub-continent.
2. Separate electorate should be replaced by the joint electorate with reservation of seats for the minorities in proportion to their population.
3. The foreign affairs, defence and army should be placed under the control of parliament and Viceroy.
4. Sindh should be separated from Bombay to a new province if it were capable of bearing its expenditures.
5. Full provincial status should be given to N.W.F.P. and Balochistan.

6. Unitary form of Government to be established in the Centre.
7. Hindi should be made official language.

The Nehru Report was published in August 1928. It had failed to make an impact on the public as it aired the Hindu-Muslim rift. It recommended a full responsible Government in the Centre in which the majority was to have a sway in political authority.

The Report clearly reflected the Hindu prejudicial approach and was based on anti-Muslim sentiments. The Muslims had a shocking effect over the recommendations of the report. The members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies were not prepared to agree to the report. There could hardly be a reasonable person who would agree to the degrading proposals of the report.

The Congress immediately accepted the report and issued a threat to the Government to launch a non-cooperation movement against the Government if the report was not implemented by December, 1929. The Muslims were completely disillusioned to find the Congress coming out with its true nature as a Hindu body.

An All Parties National Convention was held in Calcutta, in December, 1928 to consider the Nehru Report. The Quaid-i-Azam proposed three amendments in the Nehru Report which were as follows:

1. 1/3 representation for the Muslims in the Central legislature.
2. Muslim representations in the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of population.
3. Residuary powers be given to the provinces instead of Central Government.

The amendments proposed by the Quaid-i-Azam were very reasonable and did not reflect a sharp contrast of ideas and point of view. Dr. Ambedkar says, "These amendments show, that the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims was not in any way a wide one. Yet there was no desire to bridge the same." All these amendments, proposed

by the Quaid-i-Azam when put to vote, were rejected by the Hindu majority. The Quaid-i-Azam declared, "The Nehru Committee has adopted a narrow-minded policy to ruin the political future of the Muslims. I regret to declare that the report is extremely ambiguous and does not deserve to be implemented."

An All Parties Muslim Conference was held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Agha Khan in January, 1929. The conference put up the following demands from the Muslim community.

1. Separate electorate should be retained for the Muslims.
2. Federal system should be introduced in the Centre with full provincial autonomy.
3. 1/3 seats should be given to the Muslims in Central legislature.
4. The Muslims should be given representation in Central and provincial ministries.
5. Muslim majority should be revived in the Muslim majority provinces.

FOURTEEN POINTS OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

The Quaid-i-Azam decided to give his own formula for the constitutional reforms in reply to the Nehru Report. He convened the meeting of the Muslim League in 1929 in Delhi and gave his famous Fourteen Points Formula. While delivering his Presidential Address, the Quaid-i-Azam declared that no constitution shall be accepted by the Muslims of India without the Fourteen Points which were as follows:-

1. The form of future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the

majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

4. In the Central legislature Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and Khyber Pakhtunkhawa.
7. Full religious liberty, that is liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution or any part, thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose it as being injurious to the interests of that community.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa and Balochistan on the same footings as in the other provinces.
11. Muslims should be given adequate share along with other Indians in the services of the State.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguard for the protection of Muslim culture and for the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion and civilization.
13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without at least 1/3rd of the Muslim Ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

The reasonable and moderate demands, contained in the Fourteen Points, were rejected by the Hindu leaders which considerably widened the gulf between the two communities. Meanwhile the Congress made an abrupt demand that new constitution must be given to India by 31st December, 1929. The Government turned down this demand and the Viceroy Lord Irwin, in October, 1929, made a two-fold declaration. The first part related to the constitution. He said, *"I am authorized by His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status."* The second was the announcement of the Round Table Conference at which the British Government would meet the representatives of British India and the princely States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measures of agreement on constitutional proposals.

With the rejection of Fourteen Points by the Congress and other Hindu leaders, the Nehru Report was also doomed. The Nehru Report created great deal of suspicion in the Muslims who were now seriously thinking for the attainment of a separate homeland for themselves.

ALLAMA IQBAL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT ALLAHABAD, 1930

The Fourteen Points of the Quaid-i-Azam had infused a new political insight in the Indian Muslims. These points developed greater confidence amongst the Muslims who had gathered behind their leaders. The Muslims of the sub-continent were now fully aware of their distinct national character and identity. They were convinced that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations which could not be welded together by any political system.

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Allahabad in 1930 which was presided over by Allama Iqbal. Allama Iqbal was a poet, philosopher and thinker who had gained country-wide

fame and recognition by 1930. He awakened the Muslims of the sub-continent to demand a separate homeland. He had deeply studied Islam as a religion and system of life and believed that Hindus and Muslims were two separate and distinct nations who could never become one nation. He expressed his views while delivering his presidential address at Allahabad.

In his address Allama Iqbal discussed the political situation of the sub-continent at length. His address is regarded as an authentic document on Islam as being the system of life. The address is a great asset of the Muslim history of the sub-continent with regard to their struggle for independence.

He declared Islam as a complete code of life and gave very sound and strong arguments in support of his views. He said that Islam guides the people with respect to every aspect of life. He said that I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the united India. Allama Iqbal was of the view that Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and N.W.F.P. should be grouped together to make a separate State which should be given dominion status within or outside the British Empire. He declared, ***"India is a continent of human beings belonging to different languages and professing different religions. To base a constitution on the conception of homogeneous India is to prepare her for Civil War. I, therefore, demand the formation of the consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of the Muslims of India and Islam. The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North West India."***

Allama Iqbal's presidential address further clarified the Two-Nation Theory and demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims. It was the first occasion when a demand for a separate homeland was made from the Muslim League platform. The Lahore Resolution passed in 1940 was in fact based on this historic address of Allama Iqbal.

FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Simon Commission report was published in March, 1930, which invited criticism, as anticipated, from the political parties. Congress in its annual meeting at Lahore December, 1929, had authorized its Working Committee to start a civil disobedience movement when it felt necessary. The working committee of Congress, accordingly launched its movement under Gandhi's leadership in April, 1930. The movement was declared as illegal and Gandhi and Nehru were arrested. The Muslims reserved their decision knowing that the report was not final. The political situation had become tense in the country.

The Government, however, did not want to confront the political parties and decided to hold a Round Table Conference in which all parties were to be invited to present their point of view.

The first session of the Round Table Conference began in London on 12th November, 1930. All the parties were represented except the Congress which had given the ultimatum that unless the Nehru Report was enforced completely as the constitution of India it would have nothing to do with the future constitutional discussions. Since the Muslims had separated themselves from the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress they decided to attend the Conference despite the Congress boycott. The Muslim delegation included Agha Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Quaid-i-Azam, Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Shah Nawaz, Chaudhri Zafar Ullah and Ghulam Husain Hidayat Ullah.

The most important decision taken at the Conference was the approval of the federal system for India. The Princely States declared that they would extend maximum co-operation to form an All India Federation. There was unanimous agreement on all points. Muslim delegation favoured Sapru's proposal for dominion status and responsible government at Centre by putting an end to the system of Dyarchy in the provinces. The delegates also agreed on giving Sindh a

separate identity and for establishing a responsible government in the provinces.

Eight sub-committees were formed to deal with different matters i.e. federal structure, provincial constitution, franchise, province of Sindh, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa defence services and minorities. There was a deadlock on the question of the distribution of subjects in the federal system. The deliberations of the minorities sub-committee, too, could not reach a conclusion. The Muslim delegation declared in the end that in those circumstances the only course was to repeat our claim that no advance is possible without sufficient safeguards for the Muslims of India.

The First Round Table Conference ended on 19th January, 1931. The British Prime Minister issued a statement that the Government had accepted the proposals for full responsible government in the provinces and a federal system in the Centre.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

The Congress was feeling repentful on its decision of boycotting the First Round Table Conference. The Civil Disobedience Movement had failed which exposed the Congress position. Congress now wanted to wriggle out of this situation in a dignified manner. They were looking for an opportunity to come to terms with the Government. On the other hand the Government, too, was desirous of Congress' participation in the Second Round Table Conference. The Government had realised the importance of Congress and had understood that without Congress, any step for constitutional reforms, would be difficult to implement. The government, therefore, decided to make peace with the Congress.

Lord Irwin extended invitation to Gandhi for talks. Gandhi agreed to call off the civil disobedience without laying down any pre-conditions. The talks between Gandhi and Irwin continued from 17th February, 1931 to 19th February, 1931. The agreement between Gandhi and Irwin was signed on 5th March, 1931. Following were the salient proposals of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact:

1. The Congress will call off its Civil Disobedience Movement.
2. The Congress will attend the Second Round Table Conference.
3. The Government would withdraw all ordinances which were meant to curb the Congress.
4. The Government would withdraw all notifications / enactments relating to offences not involving violence.
5. The Government would release all persons detained during Civil Disobedience Movement.

Accordingly the Government released all the persons detained during the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Congress. On the other hand the Congress, as decided by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, decided to attend the Second Round Table Conference.

SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Second Round Table Conference opened on 7th September, 1931 in London and lasted till 1st December, 1931. Gandhi was there as the sole representative of the Congress. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar had died by the time the Second Round Table Conference began. The Muslim delegation in the Second Round Table Conference included an important personality, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, who had gained great importance and fame as a poet, thinker, philosopher and politician in India.

Two committees were set up to carry out the work of the Conference on Federal structure and minorities. The most sensitive issue before the Conference was the Hindu-Muslim relationship. Gandhi was the member of the two committees.

Gandhi adopted a stubborn and unreasonable attitude on all matters in the beginning. When the minority issue came up for discussion in the Conference, Gandhi refused to accept any rights of the minorities and demanded that the minority committee should be disbanded. He claimed that he, being the representative of the Congress,

represented the Indian people. He refused to accept the representative character of other delegates as they did not belong to the Congress. After adopting the stiff attitude Gandhi sat back to quietly observe the proceedings of the committee. He did not at all give any practical suggestions of his own for reaching a settlement.

Gandhi did his best to prove India as one nation and nationality so that he could claim to represent the Indian people alone. When the communal problem came up for discussion, a great difficulty was faced in convincing Gandhi who had rejected the presence of any other community except the Hindus in India. Gandhi insisted that there was only one nation in India which were Hindus. But the Quaid-i-Azam replied that Indian Muslims were also a separate nation of India which had its own interests.

During the proceedings of the Conference Gandhi continued with his resolute and stubborn attitude and demanded that the work of constitution making be started by putting aside the minorities issue. Sir Shafi did not agree to this proposal and insisted that minorities issue must be resolved before taking up constitution making. Sir Shafi also demanded that the Fourteen Points of the Quaid-i-Azam should be inducted in the future constitution of India which Gandhi refused to accept.

No settlement of minorities issue could be reached because of Gandhi's rigid behaviour. Gandhi put forward his own scheme to resolve the minorities issue which was based on the recommendations of the Nehru Committee. The minorities, therefore, adopted a stiffer approach for the solution of their problems. As a counter to Gandhi's scheme the minorities presented a joint statement of claims. All minorities entered into an agreement on their demands and insisted on its acceptance as a whole. Gandhi refused to accept this settlement. The Second Round Table Conference, therefore, ended without reaching at any conclusion mainly because of the rigid attitude of Gandhi.

THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Third Round Table Conference began on 17th November, 1932 and ended on 24th November, 1932. The Congress once again abstained from the Conference because Gandhi had started his civil disobedience movement. Quaid-i-Azam did not take part in the conference. In his absence Sir Agha Khan led the Muslim delegation.

The Third Round Table Conference could not solve the long-standing Hindu-Muslim problem and proved a mere formality. There was an unbridgeable gulf between the ideas of the two major communities of India. Gandhi, Nehru and other prominent leaders of the Congress were in jail. The conference, therefore, ended after a few meetings without achieving anything.

Communal Award

The British Government gave enough time and chance to the Indian leaders to come with a workable constitutional set up. However, after vainly waiting for some mutual settlement among the Indians themselves, the British Government published their own scheme known as **Communal Award** in August 1932. It retained separate electorate for the Muslims and for all other minorities. But the Muslim majorities in Punjab and Bengal were reduced to minorities.

The Indian political parties rejected the award. Gandhi, however, managed to win over Dr. Ambedkar to renounce the award for the untouchables. The Muslims, too, were not happy with the award as it reduced their majorities in few provinces.

Government of India Act, 1935

The Round Table Conference could not achieve anything in spite of their best efforts to solve the constitutional problems of India. However, there was one important factor in the holding of these conferences that they amply manifested the public opinion to enable the government to fully understand the problems and to take some concrete steps to solve them.

The recommendations of the Round Table Conference were contained in a white paper which was published in 1933 and discussed in the parliament. A committee was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, to consider the recommendations of the white paper. The other members of the committee were the Agha Khan, Muhammad Zafar Ullah Khan, Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Abdur Rahim and A.H. Ghazvi.

The report of the committee was published in 1934 which was contained in a Bill of Law. The report along with the Bill was presented in the British Parliament for approval. The Parliament passed the Bill which after the Royal assent on 24th July 1935 was enforced in the country as Government of India Act, 1935.

Salient Recommendations of the Act of 1935

The Act contained 14 parts and 10 schedules and consisted of two parts. Part I pertained to provincial subjects while Part II contained federal list of subjects. The Act came into operation on 1st April, 1937 except Part II which could not be enforced until a specific number of Princely States acceded to the Indian Federation. The Act introduced federal system in the Centre. The provincial reforms were as follows:

1. The provinces were given more authority and powers and for the first time the provinces were made the separate entities.
2. The system of 'Dyarchy' was scrapped in the provinces and introduced in the centre.
3. Three lists of subjects were drawn up which were the federal list, the provincial list and the concurrent list.
4. The provincial legislatures were given powers of legislation on provincial and concurrent subjects.
5. The provincial executive was handed over to the representatives of the people who were accountable before the provincial legislatures

6. The country was divided into 11 provinces.
7. Responsible parliamentary system was introduced in the provinces. The provinces were given complete autonomy. The Ministers were to be chosen from the representatives of the people.
8. Every province was given a council of ministers whose advice was binding on the Governor. However, in the discharge of his responsibilities the Governor was to act under the general control of the Governor-General.
9. Special powers were given to the governors for the protection of the rights of the minorities.

An Appraisal of the Act of 1935

The Act of 1935 failed to satisfy various political sections of the country. The political leaders of India rejected it for it did not meet the demands of the different political factions. Quaid-i-Azam declared it as a **defective document**. Rajagopalacharia, too, declared it as worst than the system of Dyarchy.

The Federal System introduced by the Act of 1935 was defective in many ways. There was no guarantee of individual liberties neither it could give a workable dominion status. The people were not given their rights. All authority was vested in the Parliament which was under British influence.

The system of Dyarchy which had failed in the provinces was introduced in the Centre without any prospective results. Vast authority was given to the Governors in the provinces and to the Viceroy in the Centre which was against the principle of democracy and provincial autonomy. The Minister of State could interfere in the Government services without any reasons.

The central part of the Act could not be enforced and was suspended for some time. However, the provincial part of the Act was enforced on 1st April, 1937, under which the elections were to be held in the country.

1937 Elections

The Government announced to hold elections to the provincial legislative assemblies in 1936-37. There were 1771 seats of the provincial assemblies which were to be filled by these elections. Although both Muslim League and the Congress had rejected the Act of 1935, still they decided to contest the elections.

Both Muslim League and the Congress issued their manifestoes. The Muslim League laid down two main principles on which its elected representatives would work:

1. The present provincial constitution and proposed central constitution should be replaced by a system of self-government.
2. In the meantime the representatives of the Muslim League would sincerely work to get the maximum benefits out of the present Constitution.

The Congress, too, came forward with somewhat similar slogans of public welfare, freedom and liberty and for the release of the political prisoners.

The results of the elections were shocking for the Muslims of India and the Muslim League as well, which could not get mentionable support from the voters. Congress achieved a big victory and managed to get clear majority in five provinces. It, however, manoeuvred to form coalition government in few other provinces to form its ministries in eight provinces. Congress got clear majority in Madras, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces and Central Provinces. In Bombay the Congress won some independent groups to form a coalition ministry. The Muslim League managed to get few seats in the Muslim minority provinces but failed in the Muslim majority areas.

Formation of Congress Ministries

The Congress adopted rigid attitude after winning the elections in majority. The Congress leaders behaved in a dictatorial manner and imposed their own will. On 1st April, 1937 the Governors of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces,

Orissa and Bihar invited the leaders of the Congress parliamentary groups in their respective provinces to form ministries. In reply to these invitations the Congress leaders put a condition on the Government to give assurance that the Governors would not use their special powers of interference granted by the constitution for the protection of the minorities rights. This otherwise meant asking the Government functionaries not to perform their duties. The Government clearly expressed their inability to give such an assurance. However, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, issued a statement on 21st June, 1937 in which he clarified that the Governors would use their special powers in matters of utmost urgency and that the Ministers would be allowed to work freely. After this statement the Congress Working Committee on 7th July, 1937 passed a resolution permitting the Congress to accept the office.

The Congress took office in eight provinces. In Punjab the Unionist Party of Sir Sikander Hayat formed ministry. Muslim ministry was formed in Sindh which was dissolved because of the Congress conspiracies. A coalition was formed in Bengal with Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq of Krishak Praja Party as the leader of the coalition. Muslim League could not form Ministry in any province. Congress formed its ministry in N.W.F.P. as well which brought the number of Congress ruled provinces to six. In Bombay and Bengal the Congress formed coalitions with other groups.

As Muslim League had got sizeable success in the Muslim minority provinces, it was hoped that the Congress would include Muslim League in the Government in the Muslim minority provinces. But the Congress was reluctant in sharing the power with the Muslim League and laid down degrading conditions for the Muslim League to be included in the Ministry. Discussions were held between the Congress and Muslim League leaders. Maulana Abu-al-Kalam Azad, a member of Congress high command communicated to Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the leader of the Muslim League, the following terms on which the Congress was

prepared to let the Muslim League enter the provincial government:

1. The Muslim League group in the U.P. Legislative Assembly shall be dissolved.
2. The members of the Muslim League in the U.P. Assembly shall join the Congress and would come under the party discipline.
3. The Muslim League members who will join the Congress shall carry out the instructions issued by the Congress Party leaders pertaining to their work in the Assemblies.
4. The Muslim League Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved.

The above-conditions proposed by the Congress clearly exhibited the rigid and dictatorial attitude which the Congress had adopted after winning the elections. No party with a slightest feeling of self-respect would have accepted these degrading terms. The Muslim League, therefore, rejected these terms and a pure Congress ministry was formed in the United Provinces.

CONGRESS ATROCITIES ON THE MUSLIMS

Congress had formed its ministries in the eight provinces. The Muslims living in these provinces under Congress rule, were subjected to most inhuman treatment and made to bear the oppressive and tyrannical rule of the Congress for two and a half years. The Congress adopted every means to completely obliterate the Muslim population of the provinces under its rule.

Congress had adopted an unconstitutional method to rule the provinces and its administration did not conform to the parliamentary system as laid down in the Act of 1935. The Congress ministries were not accountable to the Parliament. They received all instructions from the Congress High Command and were answerable to it for all matters. The Congress High command made and removed the ministers. A parliamentary sub-committee was set up by the Congress to deal with the work of legislatures in all

provinces. This committee was to guide and advise the legislatures in their functions. It consisted of Maulana Abu-al-Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The provinces were distributed amongst the three members of the committee, Maulana Azad was given the charge of Bengal, United Provinces, the Punjab and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Rajendra Prasad got Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Vallabhai Patel was allotted Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and Sindh. This sub-committee was given enormous authority to deal with all matters in the Congress ruled provinces. The Congress regime was an absolutist rule and was in fact an oligarchy dominated by Mr. Gandhi.

With the installation of Congress ministries the Hindus came out to impose Hindu Nationalism on the Muslims. The Congress began its rule by imposing its will on the Muslim minorities in the provinces under its rule. The Muslims were forbidden to eat beef. Severe punishments were awarded to those who slaughtered the **Mother Cow**. Every effort was made to humble and humiliate Islam the religion of the Muslims. A systematic policy was framed by the Congress to erase the Muslim culture. Hindi was enforced as the official language in all the provinces under the Congress rule. Azan was forbidden and organized attacks were made on the Muslim worshippers busy in the mosques. Noisy processions were organized to pass near the mosques at prayer times. If a Muslim had to kill a cow for sacrifice, hundreds of Muslims including their children and women were to be killed as a reprisal. Pigs were pushed into the mosques and Azan was frequently interrupted.

Hindu-Muslim riots were maneuvered in various places to make a pretext for severe action against the Muslims. The Muslims were openly and freely mauled and molested. The Government agencies offered no protection to the Muslims who fell a prey to the Hindu domination and high-handedness. If the Muslims lodged complaints with the authorities the decisions were always against the Muslims.

1. Bande Matram

Bande Matram was a song in which degrading verses were used against the Muslims and their religion Islam. The song was written by a Bengali novelist Bankim Chatterjee in his novel Anadamath and urged all the non-Muslims to wage war against the Muslims in order to expel them from **Hindustan** which meant for the Hindus only. In order to strengthen the Hindu nationalism, the Congress members in the Assemblies, under the instructions from the Congress High Command, insisted on commencing the day's beginnings by the recitation of the song **Bande Matram**. **Bande Matram** was also adopted as a national anthem and was to be recited before the start of official business every day.

2. Wardha Scheme

The Wardha Scheme was the outcome of Gandhi's philosophy. It preached the Hindu nationalism and principles of non-violence. It aimed to develop a high respect among the young minds about the Hindu heroes and religious leaders. The Wardha and Widdia Mander schemes sought to isolate the young generation of the Muslims from their religion, culture and civilization. The Muslims, therefore, rightly feared that the education policies introduced under these schemes, were completely segregated from their religion, tradition and culture and would subvert all what they (Muslims) loved so much. The main objective of these schemes was to destroy the Muslim culture and secure the perpetual domination of Hindu culture. It aimed at injecting the political ideas of one political party, the Congress, into the minds of the Muslim children. It completely ignored religion and favoured Hindi at the cost of Urdu.

3. Hoisting of Three-Coloured Flag

The Congress, after taking over the government in the provinces, immediately ordered the hoisting of three-coloured flag with the British Union Jack to prove that there were only two powers in India which were the British and the Congress.

4. Widdia Mander Scheme

Another attempt was made to erase the Muslim culture by introducing a new educational system. The education policy was known as **Widdia Mander Scheme** and meant to convert the non-Hindus to Hinduism. It was introduced in all schools, colleges and educational institutions. Under this scheme the students were asked to pay respect and homage to Gandhi's picture every day in their assemblies in the schools. The students were asked to bow before Gandhi's picture and sing hymns in his praise. Dr. Zakir Husain, a Congress Muslim, was the author of this scheme.

5. Hindu-Muslim Riots

The Hindu-Muslim riots were usual during the Congress rule. Organized attempts were made on the honour, property and lives of the Muslims by indulging in the communal and religious feuds. The Hindus were free to assault the innocent Muslims in any area. The Muslim houses and property were set on fire and their women and children abducted. Muslim massacre and plundering of their localities were the scenes of the day.

6. Muslim Mass Contact Campaign

The Congress started a Muslim mass contact campaign. The main objective of this campaign was to crush the popularity of the Muslim League amongst the Muslims. It was Nehru's imagination to destroy the image of Muslim League as the only representative party of the Muslims. The campaign began by directly contacting the Muslim masses with a view to win them over to the Congress.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ROLE DURING CONGRESS RULE

The Muslim League remained very active during the atrocious rule of the Congress. It continued drawing attention of the masses, through its resolutions, to anti-Muslim policies of the Congress and appealing to the Congress to change its biased attitude towards the Muslims. The Muslim League protested against anti-Muslim policies of the Congress and openly condemned its various steps like the recitation of **Bande Matram** as the national

anthem, Wardha Scheme, Widdia Mander Scheme and Congress's attitude against Islam. The Muslim League expressed its grave concern over the communal riots in the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Bombay. Quaid-i-Azam criticised the Congress rule and declared it as Hindu Raj which worked and existed to annihilate every other community. He said that the Congress rule was a fascist and authoritarian set up which uprooted all norms of democracy.

END OF THE CONGRESS RULE

The Second World War began in 1939. Britain declared war against Germany. The government appealed to all political parties for help and assistance in this hour of need.

Congress convened its meeting to consider Government's appeal and put the following conditions for assistance in war:

1. The British Government should explain the objective of the war.
2. The Government should announce that the elected legislature would draft the constitution of India.
3. The members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be those only who enjoy the support of the Central Assembly.

The acceptance of these demands would have meant the transfer of power to the Congress as these demands clearly showed that the Congress was asking for the right of constitution making. The government could not accede to these demands as it wanted to pacify both Congress and the Muslim League. Viceroy declared that due consideration would be given to the point of view of every party and that dominion status would be given to India after the war.

The Congress did not believe the promises of the government. The Congress leaders expressed their utter disappointment on the decision of the government. The Congress with a view of putting more pressure on the government refused to extend co-operation to government in the war activities and announced to resign from the ministry. The Congress High Command

asked its ministers to tender resignations in protest against the decision of the government. In November, 1939 the Congress ministries resigned from their office. The poor Muslim population took a sigh of relief as they have been relieved of the most tyrannical and oppressive rule of the Congress.

DAY OF DELIVERANCE

With the resignation of the Congress ministries the Muslims of India were relieved of the most dreadful domination of the Congress and Hindu majority. The two and half years of the Congress rule was a bitter and painful experience for the Muslims of India who had seen the real Hindu mentality. The Quaid-i-Azam appealed to the people to observe the Day of Deliverance on 22nd December, 1939 and bow their heads before Almighty Allah who relieved them from the yoke of the Congress. The Quaid-i-Azam appealed that the day should be observed with peace. The Muslims of India, in accordance with the appeal of the Quaid-i-Azam celebrated the day with happiness. Public meetings were held and thanksgiving prayers were offered in token of relief from the tyranny, oppression and high-handedness of the Congress regime.

CHAUDRI REHMAT ALI AND PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

The name of Chaudri Rehmat Ali will always go in history with utmost esteem and reverence for the dedicated services which he rendered to the cause of the Muslims of India. He played a commendable role in the establishment of a Muslim State in the sub-continent. He is known as the architect of the idea of Pakistan in the history of Muslim India.

Chaudri Rehmat Ali was born in 1893 in the district of Hoshiarpur. He joined Islamia College, Lahore from where he took his Bachelor Degree. He joined service in a newspaper known as **Kashmir**. He then switched over to the teaching profession and joined Aitchison College, Lahore as a lecturer. Chaudri Rehmat Ali went to England for higher studies and obtained his Master's

degree from the Cambridge University and later on did his Bar-at-Law from the University of Dublin.

Chaudri Rehmat Ali, a great and fiery orator, was full of nationalist sentiments. He had his firm belief in the separate identity of the Muslims and considered them a distinct nation. He was very much in favour of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India and considered it the ultimate destiny of the Muslims. In 1915 while addressing a meeting of *Bazm-i-Shibli*, he said, *"The western part of India is a Muslim majority area which we will make an independent Muslim State. This can only be possible when we separate ourselves from the common nationality and sever our relations from the rest of India."*

During his studies at Cambridge, Chaudri Rehmat Ali and his three other comrades issued a pamphlet in 1933 entitled as *Now or Never*. In this article Chaudri Rehmat Ali extremely criticised those Muslim leaders who were advocating the federal system in India. He declared in *Now or Never* that the Indian federation was not suitable to the Indian Muslims. He said that the Muslims were a separate nation with their own culture and civilization distinct from the Hindu culture and civilization. He said that to yoke together two different and distinct nations in one political system would lead to utter confusion and bitterness. He pleaded that the only solution to this dilemma was to divide the sub-continent to establish a separate Muslim State consisting of Punjab, Balochistan, NWFP, Kashmir and Sindh. He suggested the name of PAKISTAN for the new Muslim State.

Chaudri Rehmat Ali set up Pakistan

National Movement extended its endeavours to other party of Europe and America. This organization cultivated awareness among the Muslims about their national image. Chaudri Rehmat Ali issued an article from the platform of Pakistan National Movement entitled as **"Objectives of Pakistan National Movement."** In this article the aims and objects of the Pakistan National Movement were discussed and the name of South Asia was proposed for the Indian Sub-Continent. In 1937 Chaudri Rehmat Ali demanded a Muslim State comprising of Bengal and Assam and proposed the name of Bang-i-Islam for it. He also suggested the name of Usmanistan for the Muslim State of Hyderabad.

Chaudri Rehmat Ali intensified his efforts during the Round Table Conference and urged the Muslim participants of the conference to reject the proposal of Indian federation. Chaudri Rehmat Ali was a great benefactor of the Muslims of India. His ideas and thoughts aroused hope among the Muslims of India. His scheme of a separate Muslim State created anguish among the Hindus and British who vehemently negated his ideas. Chaudri Rehmat Ali not only coined the name of Pakistan but also launched an effective movement for the accomplishment of Pakistan. His ideas gained wide range popularity among the Muslim youth of India. It was Chaudri Rehmat Ali who declared the **Lahore Resolution as Pakistan Resolution** which was finally accepted by the Quaid-i-Azam and all the Muslims of India.

PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

PARTITION PROPOSALS

By 1937, the political conditions of the sub-continent compelled the Muslim political

In fact the idea of Indian partition was not a new one. A number of partition proposals had already been forwarded by leading politicians and reformers. Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, the great reformer and a staunch advocate of the Pan-Islamism, proposed to make the northern part of the sub-continent an independent Muslim State. He perceived of an independent Muslim republic comprising of the present Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia.

Maulana Abdul Halim Sharar, the famous Urdu novelist and critic, suggested in an article on 23rd August, 1890, that India should be divided into two Hindu and Muslim States to put an end to the long-standing hatred and antagonism between the two communities. He also suggested that the population of both States should be exchanged to allow the people to go to their country of choice.

In 1917 another proposal for the partition of India was offered by the two brothers known as Khairi Brothers. Dr. Abdul Jabbar Khairi and Prof. Abdul Sattar Khairi proposed the partition of the sub-continent in the Socialist International Conference held at Stockholm. They stressed on giving self-rule to every administrative unit of the sub-continent.

In 1920, Muhammad Abdul Qadir Bilgrami advocated the division of the sub-continent between the Hindus and Muslims giving a list of districts which were not too different from the present boundaries of East and West Pakistan. Three years later in 1923, in his evidence before the Frontier Enquiry Committee, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan of Dera Ismail Khan had proposed a partition of India by which the Muslims were to get the area from Peshawar to Agra. Lala Lajpat Rai, the founder of Hindu Mahasabha in 1924 suggested the partition of India into Hindu and Muslim States.

The poet philosopher, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, while delivering his presidential address at the Annual Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad in December, 1930 said, "I would like to see

Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within 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."

Dr. Abdul Lateef came out with a comprehensive proposal of partition. He proposed population exchange on a much larger scale and suggested the division of the sub-continent into four Muslim and eleven Hindu zones, to establish national unity. He rejected the Congress view of Indian nationalism and declared that the Hindu and Muslim cultures are ridden with glaring dissimilarities. He was of the opinion that to consider Hindus and Muslims as one nation, in the presence of cultural difference, was a blunder.

CHAUDRI REHMAT ALI'S SCHEME

The above-mentioned proposals, however, could not attract desired attention until a concrete scheme for the establishment of the Muslim State, came for the first time, from a person of high intellectual stature and prestige. With Chaudri Rehmat Ali, a student at Cambridge University, propounding his scheme of partition of India, the Muslims, instead of looking upon themselves as a downtrodden minority, now saw themselves as a proud nation entitled to build a just social order on the basis of Islam in their homeland.

Chaudri Rehmat Ali coined the word **PAKISTAN** in which 'P' stand for Punjab, 'A' for Afghan (Khyber Pakhtunkhawa) 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sindh and 'Tan' for Balochistan. The word **PAKISTAN** itself means the **Land of the Pure**. Chaudri Rehmat Ali expanded his scheme in his famous pamphlet known as **Now or Never** and gave it a wide publicity. He wrote a book as **Pakistan the fatherland of Pak Nation**, in which he declared that the northern part of the sub-continent is a Muslim majority area which we shall make an independent Muslim State. He openly rejected the idea of **One Nationality** and advocated separation from India.

The Muslim League set up a Committee to examine the partition proposals extended from time to time from different quarters. The Committee was required to submit a detailed report highlighting the possibilities of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The Committee included the Quaid-i-Azam (Chairman), Abdul Mateen Chaudri, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Syed Abdul Aziz.

Meanwhile the Muslim League branches of Sindh and U.P. passed resolutions demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The Sindh Muslim League, in its session of 1938, passed this resolution and thus took lead in demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims. All these resolutions were despatched to the Central Offices of the Muslim League which set out with the preparations to put forward the demand for Pakistan in its next annual sessions of 1940.

The Annual Session of the Muslim League, which abruptly changed the political horizons of India began on 22nd March, 1940 at the famous **Minto Park** ground Lahore, which later on came to be known as **Iqbal Park**. The Muslims, from all over India, thronged the meeting place in a large number and expressed their firm support in favour of the Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

The Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah presided over this highly important and significant meeting of the Muslim League. He delivered a historic address at this moment highlighting the separate and distinct national character of the Muslims of India.

The Quaid-i-Azam, addressing the mammoth audience at Lahore said, *"The 2 1/2 years of Congress rule are a soring experience for us. The years of Congress rule have given us a very bitter lesson and have created fear of the Hindu domination. The Muslims are a nation by every definition of the word Nation. It is absolutely wrong to consider the Muslims as a minority."* The

Quaid-i-Azam criticised the federal scheme for India as envisaged in the Act of 1935. In his address he pointed out the shortcoming of this scheme and rejected it openly. He declared, *"It has been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition. What the unitary Government of India for 150 years has failed to achieve cannot be realised by imposition of a central federal system except by means of force. The problem in India is not an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for Government of such a State."*

The Quaid-i-Azam in his presidential address discussed the political situation of the sub-continent at large and suggested remedies to the political problems. He was particularly critical of those elements who did not consider Muslims as a separate nation. The Quaid-i-Azam emphatically made it clear that the Muslims of the sub-continent will never accept any system which will establish Hindu domination over the Muslims.

THE RESOLUTION

On 23rd March, 1940, the famous resolution, which came to be known as **Pakistan Resolution** was moved and passed by the participants unanimously. The Resolution was moved by the Bengal Chief Minister Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq; known as **Sher-e-Bengal** and seconded by Chaudri Khailquz-Zaman and others. The resolution stated that *"No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that the geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be*

so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the north-western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights."

The Resolution was unanimously accepted by the participants who had assembled at the meeting place in a large number. The resolution was seconded by a number of prominent Muslim leaders from all over the country. Those who seconded the resolution were "*Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Dr. Muhammad Alam (Punjab), Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Chaudri Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Syed Zakir Ali (U.P.), Sir Abdullah Haroon (Sindh), Sardar Aurangzeb Khan (N.W.F.R.), Qazi Muhammad Issa (Balochistan), Nawab Muhammad Ismail (Bihar), Syed Abdur Rauf Shah (C.P.), Abdul Hamid Khan (Madras), and I. I. Chundrigar (Bombay.)*"³

Although the Resolution did not contain the word Pakistan, but the word Pakistan Resolution had gained wide popularity due to Chaudri Rehmat Ali's endeavours. Moreover the Hindu Press also circulated it widely in an ironic manner and the Muslims readily accepted the word for their State. The Muslim League too, after some time, declared the Resolution as Pakistan Resolution.

Importance of Pakistan Resolution

The Pakistan Resolution is a landmark in the history of the Muslim India as it eventually decided the future of the sub-continent. The attitude of the Hindus and Congress had intensified Muslims' apprehensions who feared Hindu subjugation. They were convinced that their future as a Nation was

not secure in the united India and, therefore, decided to demand a separate homeland.

The Muslims responded to the Resolution with amazement and hope for better future. They gathered under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam who gave new meaning and shape to their quest for independence. With the passage of Pakistan Resolution the Muslims began to acquire new hope and confidence in their destiny. The Resolution infused high spirits among the Muslims who were now determined to fight to the last end for the accomplishment of Pakistan. The Muslims were convinced that there was no other solution of the Indian problems except the creation of two separate and sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan. They demanded Pakistan because they were not accepted by the Hindus to live with them in peace in spite of their efforts and wishes. The Muslims were tormented by the fear that being Muslims they would not be acceptable to Hindu majority in the united India. Pakistan, therefore, was not demanded on the basis of hatred for the Hindus but for the safeguard of the Muslim civilization and culture.

The acceptance of Pakistan Resolution strengthened the Two-Nation Theory which was the basis of Muslim struggle for independence. The demand for Pakistan was based on Muslim Nationalism which meant the Muslim cultural, religious and national freedom. The Two-Nation Theory was the manifestation of the principle and philosophy of Muslim nationalism on which the whole Pakistan movement was based. The words and contents for the partition of the sub-continent was on the theory that there were two major and distinct nations in the sub-continent. The passage of the Pakistan Resolution gave impetus to the freedom movement. The Pakistan Resolution was a demand for the protection and safeguard of the national identity of the Muslims.

CONGRESS REACTION TO THE PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

The Hindu reaction to the Pakistan Resolution was hostile. The Hindu leaders

3. Prof. Muhammad Bashir Ahmad, *Mutala-i-Pakistan*, p. 169.

condemned it and referred to the partition as **vivisection of mother India**. The Hindu leaders tried to arouse Hindu religious feelings to build up agitation against the partition. Gandhi called it a moral wrong and a sin to which he would never be a party.

The Hindu Press came out with the most aggressive propaganda against the resolution and declared it as a conspiracy against the unity of country. A number of Muslim Nationalist Ulema also criticised the resolution and tried to prove it as absurd and baseless philosophy. Rajagopalacharia expressed his feeling on the partition proposal and said, **"Jinnah's demand of partition is just like a quarrel between the two brothers on one cow who want to slaughter it into two pieces to divide amongst them."** Maulana Abu-al-Kalam Azad gave his comments on the demand of Pakistan, **"I just cannot swallow the word Pakistan. It appears from it as if some parts of the world are sacred while some are polluted and impure. It is highly unethical and un-Islamic to divide the areas on the basis of being pure and impure. The division is absolutely un-Islamic and rather a sheer deviation from Islam. Islam does not recognize any such division."**

The Quaid-i-Azam emphatically rejected these objections against the Pakistan Resolution and the partition of India. He said, **"We maintain and hold that the Muslims and Hindus are two distinct nations by any definition and test of a nation. We are a nation of 100 million what is more—we are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilization and, therefore, have every right to have our separate homeland"**.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In the initial stages of the Second World War, the Congress extended its co-operation to the British Government. The Allied countries came under heavy pressure from Germany and Japan within few years of the beginning of the war. The Congress, in view

of the precarious position of Britain in the war, decided to extract maximum benefit from the situation so that the Government can be made to accede to Congress demands about the future of the sub-continent. Congress therefore, began asking for the establishment of an independent legislative assembly. In fact Congress strategy was that both Muslims and Hindus together should first try to get independence from the British and then settle their differences mutually.

On the other hand the Muslim League was not prepared to agree to any such proposal which was to establish Hindu hegemony over the Muslims on the basis of their numerical superiority. The Muslim League could not accept any constitution which was not based on the joint agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam said, **"The Commonwealth of Britain want to rule over India and Gandhi wants to rule over Muslim India. We will not allow both to rule us, even if they make a joint endeavour."**

AUGUST OFFER

Germany achieved quick victories in the Second World War to pose difficulties for the British who stood alone with the fall of France. The results of war in North Africa and South-East Asia were discouraging and humiliating. The Japanese forces, which were fighting by the side of Germany, had entered Singapore on 15th January, 1942. It appeared to many in India that the Japanese could overrun India with the same ease with which they had conquered South-East Asia. The security of the sub-continent was gravely threatened which created great concern for the British Government.

The sudden revelation of British weakness produced shock and surprise in India. The British Government was faced with a number of problems and wanted to win the co-operation of the Indian people and political parties to cope with the war requirements. **On August 8, 1940**, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow made an offer on behalf of the British Government to expand the Executive Council by including the representatives of the political parties, and to set up a War Advisory

Council containing representatives of Indian States and of other interests. After the war, an Indian constitution making body would be set up to devise a new constitution with due regard for the minorities. The British Government, however, made it clear that they could not think of transfer of power to any party, at present, whose authority was directly denied by a large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be a party in suppressing those elements to install a government. They hoped that co-operative endeavour for victory in war would pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of Imperial Crown of the British Parliament.

The Muslim League and Congress, both rejected the offer made by the Viceroy. Congress wanted the transfer of power at all costs, while the Muslim League rejected it because it promised inadequate representation to the Muslims in the Government. In fact the British wanted to win the war first and transfer of power afterward, the Congress demanded power at once, and a Hindu-Muslim settlement afterwards. The two communities, Hindus and Muslims, stood at daggers drawn to further pollute the political climate of the country. The people were not prepared to co-operate with the government in war without getting a positive assurance from the Government about their demands, the Government was unable to cope with the war without the co-operation of the people. Prime Minister Mr. Churchill declared that a responsible delegation would soon be sent to India for talks with Indian leaders to suggest recommendations for the constitutional reforms in India.

CRIPPS MISSION

The British Government appointed a delegation under the Chairmanship of Sir Stafford Cripps, a prominent member of the War Cabinet of England. The Cripps Mission reached New Delhi on March 23, 1942 to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The Cripps Mission could not hold talks with the Indian leaders and left after a fortnight. The

Cripps Mission, however, submitted its suggestions to the government in April 1942 for constitutional reforms which were as follows:

1. A Constituent Assembly consisting of elected representatives from the provinces and nominated representatives from the States, shall be formed immediately upon the cessation of hostilities to frame the future constitution of India.
2. The constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly shall have to be accepted on the following grounds:
 - (a) Any province or State should be free either to adhere or not to adhere to the new constitution.
 - (b) Meanwhile the British Government would retain the control of the defence of India.
 - (c) A fresh agreement would have to be concluded between the Constituent Assembly and the British Government to settle the issues pertaining to the transfer of power.
 - (d) The government of India Act, 1935 shall remain in force until the cessation of war.
 - (e) The Commander-in-Chief and Finance Minister shall be a British national.
3. The suggestions are to be accepted or rejected as a whole and there shall be no amendments.
4. The recommendations would be implemented only if both Muslim League and Congress accept them unanimously.

Congress rejected the Cripps proposals on the advice of Gandhi who regarded it as a post-dated cheque on a failing bank. The Muslim League also rejected them because the proposals did not concede Pakistan unequivocally. Gandhi now began to press for an immediate withdrawal of the British from India and the transfer of power to the Congress without any prior settlement with any other party.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The Congress, in order to put more pressure on the Government, launched **Quit India Movement** against the British Government. The Congress had decided on 8th August, 1942, to get independence from the British by putting greater pressure on the Government. The Congress wanted to capture political power in India at all cost with a view of stopping the creation of Pakistan. Violent agitation was launched to press the British to quit India.

The Quaid-i-Azam considered Quit India movement as anti-Muslim action of the Congress and declared it as political **Black-mailing**. The Muslim League, in reply to 'Quit India' slogans by the Congress, demanded **Divide India and go**. Quaid-i-Azam said, **"The Quit India Movement, in fact, is a conspiracy to establish Hindu Raj and to finish Muslim demands."**

The government took stern action against Quit India Movement. The prominent leaders of this movement including Gandhi, were arrested and put in jails. The movement lost its momentum and very soon failed.

GANDHI-JINNAH TALKS

Gandhi-Jinnah talks occupy great significance with regard to the political problems of India and Pakistan Movement. The talks began between two great leaders of the sub-continent in response to the general public desire for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences.

Gandhi wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam on 17th July, 1944 in which he expressed his desire to meeting the Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid-i-Azam asked for permission of meeting Mr. Gandhi from the Muslim League which was duly accorded.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks began on 19th September, 1944 in Bombay and lasted upto 24th September, 1944. The talks were sometime held directly and sometime through correspondence. Gandhi told the Quaid-i-Azam that he had come in his personal capacity and was not representing the Hindus or Congress.

Gandhi's real concern was to extract from Jinnah's mouth that the whole of Pakistan proposition was absurd. Quaid-i-Azam painstakingly explained the basis for the demand of Pakistan. **"We maintain, "he wrote to Gandhi, "That Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation of hundred million. We have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all the canons of international law, we are a nation".** He added that he was, **"convinced that the true welfare not only of the Muslims but of the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed in the Lahore Resolution."**

Gandhi on the other hand maintained that India was one nation and saw in the Pakistan Resolution **"Nothing but ruin for the whole of India."** **"If however, Pakistan had to be conceded, the areas in which the Muslims are in an absolute majority should be demarcated by a Commission approved by both Congress and Muslim League. The wishes of the people of these areas will be obtained through Referendum. These areas shall form a separate dominion. There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communication, custom and like which must necessarily continue to be the matters of common interest between the contracting countries."**

This meant, in effect, that power over whole of India should first be transferred to Congress, which thereafter would allow Muslim majority areas that voted for separation to be constituted, not as independent sovereign State, but as part of an Indian Federation, Gandhi contended that his offer gave the substance of the Lahore Resolution. The Quaid-i-Azam did not agree to the proposal and the talks ended.

WAVELL PLAN

Lord Wavell came to India as Viceroy in March 1943. He was a reputed military commander and had successfully commanded the British armies in the Second

Azad, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Muslim League was represented by the Quaid-i-Azam, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Congress Party insisted on the single Constituent Assembly to make the Constitution for an All India Federal Government. It also wanted to have a Legislature dealing with foreign affairs, defence, communications fundamental rights, currency, customs and planning and power were to be vested in the provinces or units. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to have in common.

On the other hand on April 9, 1946, the Muslim League's Central and Provincial Legislators, had demanded through a resolution that the six provinces of Bengal and Assam in the North-East, and the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan in the North-West be constituted into a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan and that two separate constitution making bodies be set up by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan for framing the respective constitutions. In the light of this resolution the Muslim League proposed to the Cabinet Mission that two Constitution making bodies, one for the six provinces in the Pakistan group and the other for the group of six Hindu provinces be set up.

There was a deadlock as neither party could accept the proposals of the other. The fundamental issue was that whether there should be one sovereign State for the whole sub-continent or two independent States. The mediation of the Cabinet Mission could not bridge the gulf between the Congress and Muslim League.

On May, 1946, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy published a statement containing their own solution of the constitutional problem. The focal point of their plan was the preservation of the single federal system for India which the British had laboured to build up. On economic, administrative and military grounds, they rejected the proposal of two

independent sovereign States. The Mission was, however, of the opinion that the Muslim culture might become submerged in a purely unitary India dominated by Hindus. These considerations led them to formulate a three-tier constitutional plan which was as follows:-

- (i) First there should be a union of India embracing both British India and States which should deal with the subjects of foreign affairs, defence and communications and have power to raise necessary finance.
- (ii) Second there should be three groups of provinces; Group A, comprising the six Hindu majority provinces; Group B, the provinces of the Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Balochistan, and Group C, the provinces of Bengal and Assam.
- (iii) Third, the provinces and States should be the basic units. All subjects other than the union subjects and all residuary powers would vest in the provinces; the States would retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to them.

The Plan also proposed that in the Constituent Assembly each province should have seats in proportion to its population. Each of the three groups A, B, C of the Constituent Assembly should settle the constitution for the provinces included in each group. The new legislature of any province shall be free to opt out of the group. The Mission also proposed of setting up of an interim Central Government in which portfolios shall be held by the Indian nationals.

Gandhi criticised the plan and made his own interpretations. He maintained the plan was "an appeal and an advice" and that the Constituent Assembly as, a sovereign body could vary the plan. The Congress Working Committee, in its resolution of May 2 followed the line given by Gandhi and demanded transfer of power to Hindu dominated legislature.

The Muslim League Council met on 30 June, 1946 and deliberated for three days.

The Muslim League after weighing the pros and cons, decided on June 6, 1946 to accept both the long term and short term plan of the Cabinet Mission. The Muslim League Council affirmed that the Muslim League would join the constitution making body. With regard to the proposed interim Government, it authorized its President to negotiate with the Government.

FORMATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Negotiations for the formation of Interim Government proved difficult beyond expectations. The Congress refused to accept Viceroy's proposal to include Muslim League in the Interim Government. The Congress wanted to include the Muslim League in the Interim Government with lesser seats and objected to giving equal number of seats to the Muslim League. The Viceroy distributed twelve seats of Government, five Congress, five Muslim League, one Sikh and one Christian. Congress refused to accept this arrangement and demanded that one seat out of Muslim League share should be given to a non-League Muslim appointed by the Congress. The Viceroy again proposed that there should be 13 seats, six Congress, five Muslim League and two representatives of the minorities. Congress did not agree to this proposal too.

The Viceroy then issued invitations to 14 persons at his own to join the Interim Government. The list included the name of the Quaid-i-Azam who refused to join. The Viceroy also declared that it was the intention of the Government to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government even if any of the two major parties refusing to join. The Viceroy declared that in the event of any major party refusing to join the Government, the Interim Government would be formed with the party willing to join.

A secret agreement was reached between Gandhi, Patel and Cabinet Mission. Gandhi was given assurance that if Congress refused to join the Interim Government, Muslim League would not be invited to join the Government alone. In keeping with the

understanding reached between Gandhi and Cabinet Mission the Congress refused to join the Interim Government but accepted the Long Term Plan of the Cabinet Mission about constitution making.

Immediately following the rejection by the Congress the Muslim League passed a resolution agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of Viceroy's and Cabinet Mission statement. In terms of that statement the Viceroy should have called upon the Muslim League to form the Government along with others willing to join the Government. But despite Quaid-i-Azam's reminders the Viceroy formed a Caretaker Government of permanent officials. Quaid-i-Azam said, *"I maintain that the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy have gone back on their words within ten days of the publication of their final proposal in not implementing their statement, statesmen should not eat their words."*

The Muslim League, betrayed by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission, decided to take direct action and withdrew its approval of the short term and long term plan of the Cabinet Mission. Congress immediately, on Muslim League's decision of withdrawing its approval of the Cabinet Mission plan, announced its acceptance to join the Interim Government. The Viceroy gave invitation to the Muslim League to join the government which the Muslim League accepted in the larger interest of the Muslims of India.

STEPS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER

Prime Minister Attlee declared in Parliament that India would be freed by 20th February, 1948. He said in the House of Commons, "It is a mission, it is a mission of fulfilment."

Lord Mountbatten had been appointed as the last Viceroy of India who was to replace Lord Wavell. Lord Mountbatten arrived in India on March 22, 1947. He came charged with the mission to make a peaceful transfer of power from British to Indian hands by June 1947.

Lord Mountbatten was told by the Prime Minister Attlee to hand over the power to the Indians by 1st June, 1948. The Prime Minister in a letter directed the Viceroy to do his utmost to keep the unity of India. The Prime Minister wrote that it was the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a unitary Government for British India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan.

Upon his arrival in India, Lord Mountbatten had to face many problems regarding a peaceful transfer of power. Muslim League was demanding partition of India and was not prepared to accept anything less of Pakistan. On the other hand Congress was pressing hard for the transfer of power to the Hindu dominated Constituent Assembly. Another set of problems was created by the choice of June 1948, as the effective date for the transfer of power. The fifteen months were too short a period for the innumerable political, constitutional and administrative decisions involved.

Lord Mountbatten soon began negotiations with the political leaders of India. Having successfully completed his task, Mountbatten entered into discussions with Indian leaders on the constitutional problems.

JUNE 3 PLAN

After prolonged talks, Mountbatten had worked out a partition plan by the middle of April 1947. It was felt that if the partition came it should be the responsibility of the Indians.

The Working Committee of Congress met on May 1, 1947 and gave its acceptance of the partition plan. Muslim League also gave its approval to the final draft of the partition plan.

Mountbatten went to England to seek the approval of the British Government which was duly accorded. The plan was issued on June 3, 1947 and is known as June 3 Plan. The main characteristics of the plan are as follows:

1. The Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal shall decide whether the provinces should be divided or not.

2. The Indian people shall make the Constitution of India. This Constitution shall not be applicable to those areas whose people reject it.
3. Referendum shall be held in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
4. Province of Balochistan shall adopt appropriate way to decide its future.
5. States shall be free and independent to join one or the other country.
6. A Boundary Commission shall be set up after partition which will demarcate the boundaries of the two countries.
7. Both countries shall have their own Governor-Generals who will be the Executive Heads of their respective countries.
8. Military assets shall be divided amongst two countries after partition.

RADCLIFFE AWARD

It was provided in June 3 Plan that as soon as the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal decided in favour of partition, a Boundary Commission should be set up to demarcate the boundaries. Since the legislatures of Bengal and Punjab had voted in favour of partition, Boundary Commissions were set up for Punjab and Bengal under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a prominent lawyer of London.

Each Boundary Commission was to consist of an equal number of representatives of India and Pakistan and one or more impartial members. The claims of India and Pakistan were bound to conflict and there was little chance that the representatives of India and Pakistan on the Boundary Commissions would reach any agreement among themselves. There was a proposal to put the problems of boundary demarcation into the hands of UNO which Nehru refused to accept. The Quaid-i-Azam wanted three law Lords from the United Kingdom to be appointed to the Boundary Commission as impartial members, Mountbatten insisted on Radcliffe who would have the power to make the award in case of the deadlock.

The members of the Punjab Boundary Commission were Justice Din Muhammad

and Justice Muhammad Munir on behalf of Pakistan and Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice Tej Singh on behalf of India. The members of the Bengal Boundary Commission were Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad, Justice M. Akram and Justice S.A. Rahman on behalf of Pakistan and Justice C.C. Biswas and Justice B.K. Mukerjee on behalf of India.

The Commissions were set up by the end of June, 1947. Radcliffe arrived in India on July 8, 1947. The two Commissions were assigned the responsibility of demarcating the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims.

India and Pakistan agreed to accept the award of the Boundary Commission and to take proper measures to enforce it. Radcliffe did not take part in the public sittings of the Commission, in which arguments were presented by the Muslim League, the Congress, the Sikhs and other interested parties. He studied the record and proceedings of the meetings and held discussions with other members of the Commission. As expected the members of the Boundary Commission were unable to reach agreement on the boundaries. Lord Radcliffe, as a Chairman, gave his award.

DIVISION OF BENGAL AND CALCUTTA PROBLEM

The Radcliffe award was unfair to Pakistan because it awarded many Muslim majority areas in the Punjab and Bengal to India. In Bengal, the great city of Calcutta occupied immense importance. It was the capital of the province, its only major port and the biggest industrial commerce and educational centre. Being the centre of all activities Calcutta was the most developed area of the province. The entire development of Calcutta was mostly based on the toil of Muslim peasantry of Bengal. East Bengal produced most of the raw material which had to be sent to Calcutta because all the factories and mills were in or around Calcutta. Without Calcutta Eastern Bengal would prove to be a rural slum. For Pakistan, separated by

one thousand miles of Indian territory, the importance of sea communications and hence of Calcutta could not be ignored. For that very reasons the Congress leaders were determined to deny Calcutta to Pakistan and insisted on retaining it in India. Mountbatten was in favour of giving Calcutta to India. Radcliffe, in accordance with the desires of Mountbatten, awarded Calcutta to India despite the Muslim claim to it.

Although the Muslims formed only a quarter of the population of Calcutta, but the hinterland on which the life of Calcutta depended was a Muslim majority area. Calcutta had been built mainly on the resources of East Bengal. Pakistan, therefore, had a strong claim upon Calcutta and its environs. Mountbatten had entered into a secret agreement with the Congress leaders to get Calcutta for India. Sardar Patel declared in a speech in Calcutta on January 5, 1950: "We made a condition that we could only agree to partition if we did not lose Calcutta. If Calcutta is gone then India is gone."

DIVISION OF PUNJAB

In case of Punjab the award was again partial and against Pakistan. The award that Radcliffe gave in the Punjab chopped off a number of contiguous Muslim majority areas from Pakistan. In case of India not a single non-Muslim area was taken away from her. In Gurdaspur district two contiguous Muslim majority Tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala were given to India alongwith Pathankot tehsil to provide a link between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslim majority tehsil Ajnala, in the Amritsar district was also handed over to India. In Jullundur district the Muslim majority areas of Zira and Ferozepur in the Ferozepur district, were also given to India. All of these areas were contiguous to the Western Punjab.

Commenting on Radcliffe's award in a radio speech the Quaid-i-Azam said, "*The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt we feel the carving out of this great independent Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed inasmuch as it was*

possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but a political award, but we have agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope."

INDEPENDENCE ACT OF 1947

On July 4, 1947, the Viceroy announced the Partition Plan on Radio. According to this Plan, India was divided into two sovereign States of Pakistan and India and the British control over India would come to an end on 15th August, 1947. The princely States were given the option to join one or the other country. They were also authorized to have their independent legislatures, constitutions and other administrative departments. The Act of 1935 was to remain in force until both countries draft their own Constitutions. Both countries would have right to remain in the British Commonwealth if they so desire. The agreements between the princely States and the British Government would come to an end with the end of British control over India. The British parliament approved the Independence Act on 14th July, 1947 by which Pakistan came into existence as the biggest Islamic State of the world.

TRANSFER OF POWER

Two sovereign States came into existence on 14th August and 15th August, 1947 according to the June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten. Lord Mountbatten keenly

desired to become the joint Governor-General of India and Pakistan. Congress had agreed to this proposal knowing Mountbatten's soft corner for the Congress and Hindus. The Congress approval to Mountbatten's appointment as the Governor-General was based on the Congress's designs to extract maximum benefits with Mountbatten's assistance in the division of assets and the demarcation of boundaries.

The Quaid-i-Azam was fully aware of Mountbatten's relationship with Congress leaders and particularly with the Nehru family. He was also aware of pro-Hindu and pro-Congress sentiments of Lord Mountbatten. Apart from that the Quaid-i-Azam believed that the partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan should commence in an unambiguous manner and that no pre-conditions be laid down with this prime objective for which the Muslims had struggled so hard. He, therefore, rejected the proposal of having a joint Governor-General for Pakistan and India. Muslim League also rejected this proposal and decided to appoint the Quaid-i-Azam as a first Governor-General of Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam reached Karachi on 7th August, 1947 where he was given a tremendous welcome. Lord Mountbatten announced the establishment of the Government of Pakistan on 15th August, 1947 in Assembly Building at Karachi. The Quaid-i-Azam took oath as the first Governor-General of Pakistan on 15th August, 1947 the last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan. The National Flag with the Crescent and the Star was unfurled. Cabinet was sworn in and Pakistan was born.

Chapter 5

ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN**INITIAL DIFFICULTIES AND IMPORTANT EVENTS**

Pakistan was established as the fifth most populous and biggest Muslim State on 14th August, 1947. Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of United India came to Karachi to hand over power to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten addressed the Assembly and briefly highlighted the events which had led to the creation of Pakistan as an independent and sovereign State.

The emergence of Pakistan, after a long and arduous freedom struggle, was in fact a great victory of the democratic idea of life. The staunch faith of the people in the idea of Pakistan and their ready acceptance of the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, made it possible and easier to achieve Pakistan in the face of most stubborn opposition from the British and the Hindus. The Muslims of India happily and valiantly laid down their lives and properties to achieve a destination in which they saw the fulfilment of their dreams of living an independent life. The Quaid-i-Azam won Pakistan for his people with his unflinching spirit and peoples' trust in his sincere and dauntless leadership. The people were profoundly grateful to the Father of the Nation. The Quaid-i-Azam, in his address to the Nation on 15th August, 1947, said "My thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had, including their lives, to make Pakistan possible."

The Quaid-i-Azam had already been elected as the first President of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August, 1947. Mr. Justice Muhammad Sharif was assigned the job of drafting the Constitution with certain modifications in the Act of 1935. The Quaid-i-Azam, in his address to the first Constituent Assembly at the time of transfer of power declared that Pakistan wanted to have cordial and friendly relations with its neighbour India.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a stupendous task of building the structure of the newly-born State of Pakistan. A federal constitution, in the light of the recommendations made by Justice Sharif, was enforced in which the five provinces were the federating units. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately set himself to consolidating the administrative machinery of Pakistan.

INITIAL PROBLEMS**1. CONGRESS REACTION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN**

The British and Hindus, at last, had to surrender before the exemplary struggle of the Muslims of India. The Hindus and Congress, however, did not accept the partition and emergence of Pakistan from the core of their heart. They always looked for opportunities to create problems for the newly-born State of Pakistan. The Indian leaders had accepted the partition in the hope of undoing it soon and re-establishing their hegemony over the whole of the sub-continent. According to Brecher, "Most of the Congress leaders and Nehru among them, subscribed to the view that Pakistan was not a viable State – politically, economically, geographically or militarily – and that sooner or later the areas which had ceded would be compelled by force of circumstances to return to the fold." With these sentiments the Congress leaders had accepted Pakistan as for them Pakistan was a transient phase, a tactical retreat that did not affect their strategic aims. But the Quaid-i-Azam declared, "Pakistan had come to exist for ever and it will by the Grace of God exist for ever."

The Congress leaders did their utmost to damage Pakistan. They adopted measures with the connivance of the British, and particularly with the blessings of Mountbatten,

to pile problems for Pakistan so that it should not survive as an independent and sovereign State. The Indian Government adopted every possible means to strangle Pakistan's economy. Due to these conspiracies and mischiefs, by the Congress leaders, Pakistan had to face great difficulties which are given below:

2. FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT MACHINERY

Pakistan came into existence under the most appalling conditions. The Government of Pakistan could not get enough time to set up workable administrative machinery because of the great difficulties created by the Congress. The Indian Government adopted delaying tactics in transferring the Government servants and official record which aggravated the situation.

The immediate task, therefore, before the nation, after independence, was to establish a workable administrative and Government machinery to run the affairs of the newly-born State. The biggest administrative problem facing Pakistan was the acute shortage of competent and experienced personnel in the Central and Provincial Governments. There were serious deficiencies in cadres of general administration as well as in the technical services.

The Quaid-i-Azam paid his immediate attention towards setting up of the administrative machinery. He became the first Governor-General of Pakistan. He had full authority on civil as well as armed forces of Pakistan. He formed his Cabinet with Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. Karachi was made the Capital of Pakistan. Special arrangements were made to bring officials who had opted for Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam took a number of steps to overcome the administrative problems of the new State. Central Secretariat was established at Karachi. The Government officials began working with zeal and zest and sentiments of sacrifice. There was no office equipment, no furniture, no official record and no stationery to pull the

official routine. The Government officials, with national sentiments, did not care for the inadequacies and set to face the challenge under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. An agreement with TATA Company was concluded for the transportation of the Government officials and their families.

In order to put the administrative machinery on smooth sailing, the civil services were re-organized in the light of the formula given by Chaudri Muhammad Ali. The Civil Services rules were drafted. Accounts and Foreign Services were introduced and the first Pay Commission was set up in February 1948. Headquarters of Army, Navy and Air Force were set up at different places.

The Quaid-i-Azam advised the Government officials to work with sincerity and devotion. He made it clear to the Government officials that they were not the rulers but were the servants of the people. The Quaid-i-Azam addressed the Government officials on 11th October, 1947 and said, "This is a challenge for us. If we were to survive as a nation we will have to face these difficulties with a stern hand. Our people are disorganized and worried because of the problems they are facing. We have to encourage them to pull them out of despair. It has put great difficulty on the administration and the people look to you for guidance."

3. DIVISION OF ARMED FORCES AND MILITARY ASSETS

When Pakistan was created it faced acute threats to its security. For the security and safeguard of its territory, Pakistan needed armed forces and military equipment. The question of division of armed forces and army equipment became a sensitive issue for Pakistan which demanded the immediate division of army assets and personnel. On the other hand the British C-in-C Field Marshal Auchinleck was in favour of maintaining the unity of the armed forces and was opposed to the division of army assets.

On the insistence of Muslim League, however, the Government had to accept the

demand for the division of military assets. On June 3, 1947, Field Marshal Auchinleck was entrusted with the job of dividing the armed forces and army assets.

Congress and Indian Cabinet Ministers created many hurdles in the division of the military assets. The assets were to be divided with a ratio of 36% and 64% between Pakistan and India respectively. All the Ordnance Factories, sixteen in number, were located in the Indian union. The Indian leaders were stubbornly opposed to the transfer of any Ordnance Factory to Pakistan. They were not even prepared to part with any piece of machinery which may have been given to Pakistan.

A programme for the transfer and division of army assets was chalked out. It was decided that the army soldiers and men, who opted either for Pakistan or India, should report in their countries of choice by the 15th of August, 1947. It was also decided that until the completion of division of armed forces and military assets, the armed forces would remain under the control of one Commander.

The armed forces personnel were given full liberty to opt for any country. It was decided that the Muslim regiments would go to Pakistan while the Hindu and other non-Muslim regiments would go to India. No problem was faced with regard to the division of army men and soldiers. But the Indian leaders created many difficulties in the division of military assets and equipment. The equipment which were given to Pakistan were mostly in shabby condition. The machinery was obsolete and out of order. A financial settlement was arranged and Rupees 60 million in lieu of Pakistan's share of Ordnance Factories was given to Pakistan. With this amount the Ordnance Factory at Wah was established.

The British Commanders, supervising the division of assets, could not get rightful share for Pakistan in the military assets. Field Marshal Auchinleck who supervised and conducted the division of the assets, was bitterly criticised and compelled to resign. In the face of this determined opposition, there

were no means by which Pakistan could get its due share and had to be content with what was given to her.

4. THE MASSACRE OF MUSLIM REFUGEES AND THEIR INFLUX IN PAKISTAN

When the movement for Pakistan was going on, the Hindus and Sikhs, with the blessings and connivance of the British rulers, had on many occasions, slaughtered the Muslim masses in India. These communal riots before the partition of India, had been local affairs which erupted for few days and then died down leaving no significant impact on the people. The 1946 massacre of Muslims of Bihar was the first organized attempt of extermination of Muslims.

At the time of creation of Pakistan, the problem of refugees became a serious and difficult issue for the Government. The Hindus and Sikhs had chalked out a systematic programme for the massacre of Muslim refugees migrating to Pakistan. The Punjab massacre planned by the Sikhs were not only on a much larger scale, they also differed in kind from all previous disorders. They had a defined political objectives, and to gain it, controlled violence and terror were used. The Sikhs carried military offensive on the refugees that would end only when the objective was accomplished. They had at their disposal the trained and armed forces of Hindu and Sikh States and had planned the massacres at a time when the Government of East and West Punjab were busy in the re-organization and, therefore, least capable of paying an effective attention to any other matter.

The Hindu and Sikh rulers of States played the most heinous and ignoble role in this horrible tragedy in the history of mankind. They fully co-operated with the Hindus and Sikhs in the ruthless slaughter of the Muslim refugees. In the Punjab the State troops of Patiala, Kapurthala, Alwar and Bharatpur, joined with Hindus and Sikhs bands in the systematic extermination of the Muslim population. The State troops were employed in the massacre of Muslims with Hindus and Sikhs who were allowed to kill and mutilate

Muslim men, women and children. The States of Kapurthala and Patiala provided secret bases to raiding Sikhs and Hindus to operate from. Arms and ammunition were also provided by the State Governments to Sikhs and Hindus for killing the Muslims.

The Muslim massacres were not only confined to the countryside, worse things were happening in the cities. On August 15, 1947, the day of Indian liberation was celebrated very strangely in the Punjab. A Sikh mob paraded a number of Muslim women naked through the streets of Amritsar, raped them on the roads and then cut some of them to pieces with Kirpans and burnt the other alive. In this way the revenge for the partition of India was taken from the Muslims.

The Sikhs were clearing East Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee and burning Muslim villages. The Sikh Jathas always attacked the Muslim migrants on their way to Pakistan. These raiding Jathas were given full protection by the authorities. The Sikhs slaughtered the poor men, women, young and old in the cold-blood. The minor children were killed in a ruthless manner in the presence of their helpless parents. Women were raped and young girls were abducted.

Some migrants undertook their journey to Pakistan in trains under the protection of police and army. They also met the same fate. The trains were stopped at certain places and Hindus and Sikhs, armed with deadly weapons, will suddenly appear and begin killing the helpless refugees. They looted everything and left the trains in most miserable and horrible conditions. The trains reached Pakistan with large number of dead bodies and wounded persons to tell the tales of terrible atrocities committed by Hindus and Sikhs.

These were very hard days for the Muslims and the government of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government was in great difficulty to provide shelter and food to the refugees who were pouring in large number. The Quaid-i-Azam was greatly perturbed over the miserable condition of the refugees. He

vehemently protested to the Indian authorities over the atrocities committed on the Muslims. The Indian leaders did not pay any heed to these protests and quietly sat with the most inhuman and atrocious mass killing of the Muslims of India.

The first and the immediate problem, which invited attention of the Government, was the rehabilitation of the refugees who had to leave their homes to begin a new life in Pakistan. The refugees, in miserable conditions, were pushed in Pakistan to create difficulties for the Government of Pakistan which was busy in establishing itself. Millions of mutilated persons, with no sustenance, were made to leave their hearth and homes for Pakistan simply to create economic problems for the newly-born country and its Government. The sinister objective was to overwhelm Pakistan with a torrent of uprooted and tormented refugees before the Government of Pakistan had time to set up a workable administrative machinery.

Quaid-i-Azam met this challenge with courage and determination. He moved his headquarter to Lahore to give his personal attention to the grave problem of refugees. Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund was created in which rich and wealthy people were asked to donate generously for the rehabilitation of poor refugees.

The Quaid-i-Azam handled the situation arising out of the influx of refugees with vision, courage and wisdom. He made stirring speeches to revive faith and confidence in the distressed refugees. He said, "Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There are many examples in the history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You have to develop the spirit of Mujahids, you are a nation whose history is full with tales of heroism and bravery. Live up to your traditions and add to another chapter of glory." The Quaid-i-Azam also appealed to the people to extend every possible assistance to their brethren. The people quickly responded to his call and came forward with every possible help and assistance for the refugees.

5. DIVISION OF FINANCIAL ASSETS

The Indian leaders adopted every possible means to strangle Pakistan's economy so that the newly-born State should not survive as an independent State.

At the time of creation of Pakistan there was a cash balance of Rs. 4 billion which was lying in the Reserve Bank. This amount was to be divided proportionately amongst the two States by a Committee. When the division was decided Pakistan was to get 750 million of rupees. The Indian authorities refused to transfer the amount on one pretext or the other.

The first installment of Rs. 200 million was paid. The rest of the amount was stopped on the advice of Sardar Patel who threatened that the amount shall not be paid until Pakistan recognized India's right over Kashmir. Mr. Gandhi intervened by a threat of going to hunger strike if the amount was not paid to Pakistan. On Mr. Gandhi's insistence Indian Government gave another instalment of 500 million to Pakistan. The remaining amount of 50 million has not been paid uptil now.

6. CANAL WATER DISPUTE

The water dispute had its origin in the partition of Punjab. It came to light on April 1, 1948, when India cut off the flow of canal waters to West Punjab in Pakistan, causing dire threat of famine and loss of crops in West Punjab. As it has already been stated in the early pages that the Indian leaders were bent upon strangling Pakistan's economy at the very beginning of its existence, the stoppage of canal waters, therefore, was a dangerous move on the part of the Indian leaders to satisfy their ignoble designs of damaging Pakistan's economy.

West Pakistan was a fertile soil but hot and dry climate. The rainfall is scanty and undependable. Agriculture, the mainstay of Pakistan's economy is, therefore, dependent almost entirely upon irrigation by canals drawn from the Indus and its five tributaries. The three western rivers, the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, flow into Pakistan

from the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the eastern rivers, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, enter Pakistan from India.

In fact Pakistan's agriculture vitally and entirely depends upon the Indus water system which is really a source of life for West Pakistan. On the other hand India has many river systems which smoothly flow and fall into the sea unhindered. Much of Indian territory also gets enough rains to support agriculture without irrigation.

It was decided at the time of partition that the canal Headworks would be given to India which enabled India to cause a serious shortage of water. It also built dams over those rivers which flow into Pakistan from India. Before partition India planned to build Bakhara dam on the river Sutlej with a storage capacity of 4 million acre feet. But before it could be completed, the downstream province of Sindh complained that the operation of Bakhara dam would adversely affect the functioning of its link canals.

The partition of Punjab cut across the rivers and canals, making India and Pakistan upper and lower beneficiaries of water. India promised not to interfere with the waters of those rivers which were very vital for the irrigation of West Pakistan. But only after six months of partition, India stopped the waters of the rivers Ravi and Sutlej which was a grave blow to the agriculture of West Pakistan.

Pakistan, however, managed to overcome its problem arising out of blockade of water with the assistance of the World Bank. Pakistan also purchased water from India on payment to avoid economic disaster. The canal water dispute remained the main source of trouble between the two countries and had adversely affected their mutual relations.

On September 19, 1960, an agreement was concluded between the two countries which is known as Indus Basin Water Treaty. President Ayub Khan represented Pakistan while India was represented by her Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. According to the treaty the waters of the river Beas, the

river Ravi and the river Sutlej would be used by India while the waters of the river Chenab, the river Jhelum and the river Indus would be given to Pakistan. It was also decided that to make the best use of the waters of these rivers, two dams, 5 barrages and 7 link canals would be built. India would pay 200 million rupees of the total cost of this project while the remaining amount would be paid by the friendly countries of Pakistan. Pakistan to a greater extent overcame its irrigation problems by this Treaty.

7. THE ACCESSION OF PRINCELY STATES

The Indian princely States, numbering 562 comprised of 1/3 of the Indian territory and a quarter of population. These States were not the part of the administrative set up of British India. They were ruled by the Indian princes who had agreed to come under the paramountcy of the British Empire. These States were internally independent but came under the British hegemony with regard to their defence and foreign affairs.

When the country was divided the division of the princely States was also considered. On May 12, 1946, the Cabinet Mission advised the princes to extend co-operation for framing of constitution so that their interests should also be safeguarded. The Cabinet Mission also urged the rulers of the princely States to conform to the wishes while deciding the accession of their States with one dominion or the other. The Cabinet Mission informed the States that the British control over States would come to an end with the partition of India and all treaties between the States and the British Government would cease to exist from that date.

The British Government announced on February 20, 1947, that the British paramountcy would not be transferred to any government of British India. The British Government reiterated that British paramountcy over India and princely States would end in June, 1948, the date set for the partition of India. The Government left it to the will of the States to decide whether they

wanted to remain independent or join the Government after partition.

By 15th August, 1947, all princely States except Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad had announced their accession with either India or Pakistan. These States were the victim to Indian aggression later on.

(a) Junagarh

Junagarh was a small maritime State 300 miles down the coast from Karachi. It had an area of 3,337 sq. miles and a population of about 700,000. It was ruled by a Muslim ruler while the majority of population comprised Hindu and non-Muslim residents. After independence the State announced its accession to Pakistan because it could not maintain its links with Pakistan by sea. The Muslim ruler of Manavadar, a smaller State contiguous to Junagarh, also acceded to Pakistan. The accession of Junagarh and Manavadar were accepted by the Government of Pakistan and the Indian Government was accordingly informed. The Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten telegraphed to the Governor-General of Pakistan and said; "Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two dominions. This action is in utter violation of principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected."

With these protests the Indian Government took steps to solve the problem by force. Junagarh was surrounded by the Indian troops. The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, a leading Hindu prince of the area, urged the Indian Government to take immediate steps to ensure protection of Kathiawar States which had acceded to India and which were regarded as threatened by Junagarh's accession to Pakistan. An economic blockade of Junagarh was imposed and rail communication with India was cut off. In consequence Junagarh's revenue from customs and railways dwindled and there was a serious shortage of food. The provisional Government of Junagarh, with

Gandhi's nephew Shamaldas Gandhi as President, was set up at Bombay. The provisional Government moved its headquarter to Rajkot near Junagarh, recruited volunteers and carried out raids on Junagarh.

The Government of Pakistan offered to settle the dispute by negotiations. The Government of India was, however, bent upon settling the matter by force. The blockade and raids had created such chaotic conditions in Junagarh by the end of October, 1947 that the Muslim ruler had to leave hurriedly for Karachi with his family.

On November 7, 1947, the liberation army of 20,000 men with armoured cars and other modern weapons entered Junagarh. Two days later India assumed control of the entire State. The Government of Pakistan strongly protested on illegal occupation of Junagarh by Indian army and urged the Indian Government to withdraw its forces. The Government of India paid no heed and held a referendum after two months under the supervision of its armed forces. Majority of voters cast their votes, as expected, in favour of accession to India. Pakistan took up the matter with the UNO which is still undecided.

(b) Kashmir

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was the most important State in the sub-continent. It is situated in the northern part of Indo-Pak sub-continent. It was the biggest State in India and occupied 84,471 sq. miles of territory. It has its boundaries with Tibet, China, Russia and Afghanistan which have placed it in a great strategic position.

The total population of the State, according to 1941 census, was about 4,000,000, which comprised majority of Muslims in every province of the valley.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was ruled by a Dogra ruler Ghulab Singh. The Dogra dynasty had purchased the State from the British Government in 1846 for 7.5 million of rupees. The State was sold to Ghulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar.

Ghulab Singh and his successors had established a despotic regime and ruled the

State in an autocratic manner. The Muslims, in particular, were ruthlessly subjected to the most inhuman treatment. They were heavily taxed and made to live a very poor life. The Hindus were given preference in Government jobs over the Muslims. Cruel punishments were awarded to the Muslim inhabitants for a simple and minor breach of law.

The first battle for the freedom of State was fought in 1930. It was in consequence to the repressive and arbitrary rule of Dogra dynasty. The movement was organized and led by Sheikh Abdullah and Ch. Ghulam Abbas from the platform of Kashmir Muslim Conference.

The movement was quelled with the assistance of the British Government. The Maharaja, as usual, adopted repressive and tyrannical measures to suppress the movement. There were large scale arrests and firings. Muslims from the neighbouring areas entered Kashmir to help their Muslim brethren. A Commission under Sir Glancy was appointed which recommended few constitutional reforms.

Geographically the State is a continuation of the plains of West Pakistan into mountains. The rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, which are the source of life for Pakistan, flow into Pakistan from the State of Jammu and Kashmir making it a whole geographical unit. The State had its road and rail links with Pakistan. Its imports and exports moved through Pakistan. Timber which was State's most important and lucrative source of revenue, was exported by being floated down the rivers into Pakistan. The cultural connections between the Muslims of the State and that to Pakistan are so close as to make them virtually identical. The destiny of Kashmir and West Pakistan is linked together by nature and by all possible interests such as economic, religious, cultural and strategic.

When the sub-continent was divided, the State was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh who too was a tyrannical ruler. The people of Kashmir, at the time of partition, felt that in view of Muslim majority population the State

ruler would accede to Pakistan and they would soon be relieved from the oppressive Dogra rule. The Maharaja came under immense pressure from the public to announce the State's accession to Pakistan at an early date.

The Hindu ruler did not want to accede to Pakistan. In fact he wanted to accede to India in spite of all the factors favouring State's accession to Pakistan. When the public pressure increased, the Hindu ruler, in order to divert the attention of the people, concluded a treaty with Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan, through this treaty, was assured, that efforts shall be made to keep the State situation normal and that cultural and religious connections with Pakistan would be maintained.

With the conclusion of this treaty, a large scale Muslim massacre was planned to turn the Muslim majority into minority. The poor Muslim inhabitants were subjected to the most tyrannical rule. The people revolted against this mass killings of the innocent people and the despotic policies of the Hindu ruler. More than 2,37,000 innocent Muslims were executed and nearly 5,00,000 were made to leave their homes and seek shelter in Pakistan.

The Hindu Maharaja could not control the uprising and made an appeal to the Indian Government to extend assistance to control the situation. The Indian Government put a condition and first asked for the accession of the valley with India. The Hindu ruler immediately complied and announced the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India. The Indian Government at once landed its armed forces in Kashmir. The Quaid-i-Azam, the Governor-General of Pakistan, ordered General Gracy, the then C-in-C of Pakistan Army, to attack Kashmir which he (Gen. Gracy) refused to carry out on the pretext that he could not take such action without the orders of the Supreme Commander of Indo-Pakistan armed forces.

The people of Kashmir fought in a valiant manner against Indian forces. The volunteers from tribal areas entered Kashmir to help and

assist their Muslim brethren and bravely fought by their side. Most of the area was liberated from the Indian occupation. As the Indian forces had entered Kashmir, the Pakistani borders were in danger. Pakistan had to move its army for the protection of its frontiers. A war between India and Pakistan began. Indian forces suffered heavy casualties and the Indian position in the valley aggravated. Pakistan got hold of important posts and places.

India, in view of its bad military position in Jammu and Kashmir, made a frantic appeal to the UNO on 1st January, 1948. India complained that Pakistan had committed aggression by sending its force to Jammu and Kashmir as the State had already acceded to India. Pakistan rejected India's plea and said that only the people of Kashmir had the right to decide the fate of valley.

The Security Council passed two resolutions on 3rd August, 1948, and 5th January, 1949, and urged the belligerent States to stop fighting forthwith. It was decided by the UNO that there would be boundary line drawn under the supervision of UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan). Both the countries should withdraw to their previous positions so that the verdict of the people of Kashmir, for accession either to India or Pakistan, could be ascertained. Pakistan, in spite of her better military position, accepted cease-fire because she wanted the settlement of issue in a peaceful manner.

The Indian Government, on the other hand, did not want to lose Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah, who by now, had been influenced by Gandhi and Nehru, also did not want to see Kashmir going to Pakistan. In a Press statement in Delhi on October 21, 1947. Sheikh Abdullah said, "Due to the strategic position that Jammu and Kashmir holds, if this State joins Indian Dominion, Pakistan would be completely encircled." By getting hold of Kashmir. India would be in a commanding position against Pakistan. India, therefore, immediately accepted the cease-fire.

After the cease-fire India did not hold plebiscite in the valley of Kashmir as was decided by the resolutions of the UNO. The problem is still unsolved and has created a perilous situation in the region. There have been several efforts to solve the Kashmir problem which all proved futile because of the stubborn attitude of India. Many UN Commissions have visited Pakistan and India to sort out solution of the problem, but so far there have been no success.

The Kashmir problem could not be settled in spite of the best efforts of UNO. India rejected UNO proposals about Kashmir in 1949. In 1950 a delegation under Sir Dickson came but Indian Government did not accept its recommendations. In 1951 and 1952 Dr. Graham came with a Commission whose proposals were rejected by the Indian Government.

In 1954 India held a so-called plebiscite in the valley under the supervision of its armed forces. A bogus assembly was set up which confirmed Kashmir's accession with India. Pakistan refused to accept these elections. The Kashmir problem is the main hurdle in the way of good relations between Pakistan and India. This problem caused armed conflict between India and Pakistan in September, 1965.

(c) Hyderabad

Like Kashmir, Hyderabad was also a very important State of the sub-continent. It had an area of 82,000 sq. miles and a population of 160,000,000. It was a rich State and its annual revenue were 260 million rupees. It had its own system of currency and postage stamps. The population comprised of both Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus and non-Muslims were in majority, while its Ruler, the Nizam, was a Muslim. The Nizam had the title of "His exalted Highness" and was very popular amongst his people, both Hindus and Muslims. He was a generous and kind ruler and looked after his people like his own children. He was considered as a faithful ally of the British Government.

Hyderabad, being a prosperous and populous State and because of its prestige

and importance, felt justified in maintaining an independent status of a sovereign State. However, the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten made it clear to the Nizam that it was not possible for the British Government to agree to the dominion status for the State. Mountbatten also referred to the geographical location of the State and was of the opinion that the State could not remain independent for long as it was surrounded by the Indian territory from all sides. He impressed upon the Nizam to accede to India.

Being a Muslim, the Nizam of Hyderabad, would have desired to accede to Pakistan if ever need arose. The Indian Government, knowing the intention of Nizam, began pressurizing him for acceding to India. Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, did his best to bring Hyderabad in India's fold. The Nizam was not willing to sign the document for accession to India. He was willing to enter into a treaty with India in respect of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Government of India, however, insisted on accession and did not agree to anything else.

A standstill agreement between India and Hyderabad was concluded on November 29, 1947. The Nizam also gave a secret promise to Mountbatten not to accede to Pakistan. K.M. Munshi was appointed India's agent in Hyderabad. He was a staunch believer of united India. After taking charge he began inciting the Hindu population. Allegations of violating the standstill agreement were levelled against Hyderabad. Nizam was asked to arrest Kasim Rizvi, a nationalist leader of Ittehadul Muslimin. Threats of military action against Hyderabad were given by Nehru.

On August 24, 1948, Hyderabad filed a complaint before the Security Council of the UNO. But before the Security Council could arrange the hearing of the complaint, Indian armed forces entered Hyderabad. After a brief resistance the Hyderabad army surrendered on September 17, 1948. In due course the State was dismembered and incorporated into the different provinces of the Indian Union. The complaint of

humanity. This system will not help us in setting up a workable economic order. We will have to evolve an economic system based on the Islamic concept of justice and equality".

A number of other steps were also taken for the economic development of Pakistan. A Development Board was set up in 1948 which was to do planning for industrial development. It was an advisory body which gave expert advice to the Government on economic development. When the Government of India delayed the division of financial assets to Pakistan and denied its equitable share in the capital to create economic crisis for the new country, the Quaid-i-Azam immediately asked for setting up of 'Pakistan Fund'. A large number of rich traders and people generously donated to this fund which enabled the Government to overcome its economic problems to a great extent.

In 1948 a concrete policy was devised for the industrial development of the country with an emphasis on the use of raw material available in the country. The electrical, telephone, and wireless equipment industries were nationalized. Service conditions and wages schedule for the labourers were drafted. The planning and control of the industry dealing in iron, steel, heavy machinery, cement, mineral oil, sugar and tobacco were taken over. Concession in taxes and lenient policy in credits were announced.

Agricultural sector is the backbone of Pakistan's economy. Eighty per cent of Pakistan's population is dependent for their livelihood on the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector provides raw material to a number of industries. The agricultural system, therefore, had to be developed on stable footings.

The Government of Pakistan took various steps for the development of agricultural sector. Lenient credit policy was announced. Effective steps were taken to control the menace of waterlogging and salinity. Agricultural Corporation was set up

with an objective of taking appropriate steps for the agricultural development.

The Government of Pakistan gave its first budget in 1948-49. It was a balanced budget which confirmed Pakistan's stable economic conditions.

9. LINGUISTIC RIOTS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Before the partition of India, Urdu was the language of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was the interpreter of the desires and needs of the Muslims and was the symbol of their cultural identity and image.

Urdu played an important role in the demand of Pakistan during freedom movement. The Muslims, in view of the importance and the role played by Urdu in the freedom struggle, genuinely believed that Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan after independence. The Muslims, therefore, found themselves associated and attached with the Urdu language and diligently worked for its promotion and safeguard.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam had declared on several occasions that Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan. He declared that the regional languages would also be promoted at the regional or provincial level but Urdu would be the medium of communication on the national level. The separatist elements, who had become active from the very beginning of the establishment of Pakistan, criticised the statement of the Quaid-i-Azam about making Urdu as national language of Pakistan. They were however, snubbed by the Quaid who rejected all objections against the Urdu being a national language.

The separatist elements, who were silenced by the Quaid-i-Azam, did not stop their subversive activities against Urdu language. Consequently the linguistic riots erupted in East Pakistan against the enforcement of Urdu as a national language of Pakistan. The unwise and narrow minded political leaders involved the student community in these riots resulting in the

Hyderabad before the Security Council is still pending.

8. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

As already mentioned, the Hindus and Congress had not accepted the establishment of Pakistan with sincerity. They always looked for opportunities to undermine and harm Pakistan. They adopted every possible means to strangle Pakistan's economy besides creating other problems like massacre of refugees, accession of princely States which have already been discussed in the preceding pages.

In order to destroy Pakistan's economic conditions, India denied Pakistan equitable share in the financial and military assets. False propaganda was made about Pakistan's viability in the economic sector in order to create doubts among the people about Pakistan's unstable economic conditions.

When Pakistan came into existence, it mostly consisted of those areas which were economically backward and under-developed. These areas were mostly producers of raw material which could not be utilized locally because related processing industries were located elsewhere. The British Government had not paid any attention towards the economic uplift of these areas. The agricultural system was obsolete and outdated which added to the economic backwardness of the areas forming part of Pakistan.

The geographical location of Pakistan too, created economic problems for Pakistan. Pakistan was divided into two parts, each located one thousand miles away from each other with India's territory lying in between them. The two wings of the country had no geographical links between them.

Before partition, the Hindus, with the blessings of the British Government, had acquired complete monopoly in trade and commerce. The entire capital was in the hands of the Hindus. The banks and other financial institutions were established in those areas which were located in Indian territory. The major industries were also located in the

areas which are now part of India. Besides these factors, the technical experts and labourers, who operated the industries were all Hindus because the Muslims extremely lagged behind in education and financial capabilities.

Pakistan also suffered heavily because of Calcutta being awarded to India by Radcliffe. All major jute factories were located in Calcutta which was produced and cultivated in East Pakistan and was the most precious crops of the province. The only seaport of East Pakistan, Chittagong, was not capable of handling export of the jute to the other countries as yet. Pakistan, therefore, had no other alternative than to export her jute through Calcutta or sell it to India at a low price offered by her.

The inadequate system of transportation and communication also made its adverse affect on economic development of the country. The railway system and river transportation in East Pakistan was in depleted condition. The roads were in shabby and irreparable condition. The communication and transportation system in West Pakistan, comparatively, was in a better condition. The power resources in the two wings were scarce and negligible which were insufficient to meet the national requirement.

In spite of the adverse economic position, the Government of Pakistan took up the task of economic development with determination. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately set himself to the stupendous task of re-building the economic system of the new country. He had correctly realized that Pakistan would not be able to overcome its economic problems by the assistance of Reserve Bank of India alone. He, therefore, ordered that a State Bank of Pakistan be set up immediately and entrusted the job of setting up of the bank to Mr. Zahid Husain. The State Bank of Pakistan was established on 1st July, 1948 with a capital of three crores of rupees. The Quaid-i-Azam inaugurated the Bank and said, "The Bank symbolized the sovereignty of our people in the financial sphere. The western economic system has created many problems for

humanity. This system will not help us in setting up a workable economic order. We will have to evolve an economic system based on the Islamic concept of justice and equality".

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The separatist elements, who were silenced by the Quaid-i-Azam, did not stop their subversive activities against Urdu language. Consequently the linguistic riots erupted in East Pakistan against the enforcement of Urdu as a national language of Pakistan. The unwise and narrow minded political leaders involved the student community in these riots resulting in the

death of a number of students in the police firing.

The agitations on the language issue were aimless and based on political motives to destabilise the Government. The two wings, East and West Pakistan, were the parts of the Federal system of Pakistan in which one national language was a prerequisite. Urdu being the language of the Muslims of the sub-continent, before partition, was rightly adopted as the language of two parts of the country. Bengali or any other language enjoyed a regional or provincial character. The demand to make Bengali as the other national language was politically motivated to serve the designs of the separatist elements working on the behest of India.

10. POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Immediately after partition, Pakistan had to face great problems in the political sphere. Of the many political problems, the issue of provincialism was the most alarming issue for the stability and solidarity of the new country. The linguistic agitation added fuel to the fire in airing sentiments of provincialism.

Geographically East Pakistan is situated at the farthest end of the sub-continent which furthered its mental alienation from the rest of the country. Due to its geographical location the local cultures of other parts of the sub-continent could not make their roots in the cultural aspect of East Pakistan. Consequently anybody coming from other parts was taken as a stranger and looked upon with suspicion and a feeling of hatred.

A sense of insecurity and deprivation developed amongst the people of East Pakistan specially because the capital was situated in West Pakistan. They always felt alienated which gave rise to the feelings of separation and provincialism. The western part of the country was a more developed region even before the partition. It naturally had acquired strength in the different Government departments. The monopoly of West Pakistanis in the Government Departments too strengthened the apprehensions of the people of East Pakistan

that they were being ignored of their rights in the national progress. They held the people of West Pakistan responsible for the usurpation of their rights. The Quaid-i-Azam warned the people about this grave tendency of provincialism. He addressed the nation and said, "In unity lies strength. So long as we are united, we emerge victorious and strong. If we are not united we shall become weak and disgraced. We are all Pakistanis. None of us is a Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pathan or Bengali. Everyone of us should think, feel and act as a Pakistani and we should feel proud of being Pakistani alone".

The Quaid-i-Azam made personal tours of various provinces to attend to the problem. He aroused hope in the people of the country and reminded them of their responsibilities as members of a free and independent nation.

11. TEHRIK-I-KHATAM-E-NUBUVAT

Pakistan was achieved on the basis of Islamic ideology which meant that Islamic system would be introduced in Pakistan after independence. The people of Pakistan, therefore, were not prepared to allow any other concept or faith to exist or flourish in Pakistan which was not based on the principles of Islam or which was, in any way, detrimental to the tenets of Islam.

There is a complete agreement among all factions of the Muslims that the 'Qadianis' were out of the fold of Islam because they do not believe in the finality of prophethood, which is the basic tenet of Islam. The people of Pakistan have been demanding, from time to time, that 'Qadianis' should be declared as non-Muslims.

The Tehrik-i-Khatam-e-Nabuvat was launched in 1952 with a prime objective of explaining the finality of prophethood and to curb the influence of Qadiani organisation. In March 1953, the Qadianis once again emerged with their nefarious propaganda which invited violent agitation by the people of Punjab. Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore by Major-General Muhammad Azam Khan, G.O.C., to restore law and order. The prominent leaders of the movement of Khatam-e-Nabuvat, Maulana Abu-al-Ala

Maudoodi and Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi were arrested. They were sentenced to death by the Military Court. The order of the Military Court had to be withdrawn in view of the pressing public demands.

The Qadiani movement did not extinguish completely and continued with the time. It once again aroused deep public indignation in 1974 and aggravated the law and order situation. The communal riots erupted causing great deal of damage to the public property and life. The people more vehemently demanded that the Qadianis should be declared as non-Muslims. The then Government of Pakistan, under Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in view of the public demand, declared the Qadianis as non-Muslims by specially amending the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan.

THE ROLE OF STUDENTS, LADIES, ULEMA AND MASHAIKH IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The history of Muslim freedom struggle is replete with heroic tales of different sections of the Muslim society in the sub-continent. The Muslims, after failing in their sincere endeavours to live in peace with the Hindu majority in India at last reached to the final conclusion that they will not be accepted by the Hindu population of India. They, therefore, decided to separate themselves from the Hindus and demanded a separate homeland by passing the famous Lahore Resolution in 1940. The passage of Lahore Resolution gave immense impetus to the freedom movement. The Muslims gathered under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam who gave new meanings and shape to their quest for independence. Consequently the Muslims, accomplished their desired destiny within a short period of seven years after the passage of Lahore Resolution which amply proves the just stand of the Muslims of the sub-continent.

The amazing success of the Lahore Resolution, culminating in the shape of a separate homeland for the Muslims, greatly owes to the staunch, selfless and dedicated efforts of all walks of life who extended their unflinching and dauntless support to the Quaid-i-Azam to turn their dreams into reality. In this respect the role played by the most revered Ulama and Mashaikh is of great significance. They came forward with their spiritual strength to infuse nationalism in the Muslim. They injected fervour and enthusiasm, with their preachings and fiery speeches among the scattered Muslim masses, and brought them in a united form on Muslim League platform.

The role of the students in the freedom struggle is equally important. The Muslim students provided young blood and energetic leadership to the freedom movement. The students proved selfless workers of the

Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim League. They took the message of freedom to every corner of the sub-continent and gathered invaluable support for the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Muslim ladies, too, did not lag behind in rendering meritorious and selfless services to the freedom struggle. The respectable Muslim ladies came out of their seclusion to put up the most unfearing resistance to the British and Hindu domination of the Muslims. The ladies worked day and night in organization of the Women Wing of the Muslim League. In the following pages, the role played by the Ulama, Mashaikh, Students and Ladies would be discussed in details.

1. ULEMA AND MASHAIKH

The services rendered by the Ulama and Mashaikh for the cause of Pakistan will go in the pages of history in golden letters. These venerated personalities experienced innumerable hardships in spreading the message of freedom. The Ulama and Mashaikh, with their preachings enlightened their followers and disciples on the freedom issue. They had to undergo lots of difficulties in personally contacting Muslims living in far-off areas. They held meetings and convinced the people to support the Muslim League. The Ulama and Mashaikh extended their profound assistance to the Quaid-i-Azam and made his task much easier. They attended the annual meeting of the Muslim League at Lahore in 1940. They took active part in the proceedings of the meetings where the famous Lahore Resolution was passed. They expressed their whole-hearted support for the cause of independence. The Ulama, after the passage of Lahore Resolution, worked with greater zeal for the establishment of Pakistan. The most prominent of the venerated Ulama were Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Ashraf Thanvi

Maulana Hamid Badyuni, Pir Syed Jamma't Ali Shah, Pir Sahib Zakori Sharif and many others.

The Ulama and Mashaikh remained with the Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam during the election campaigns in 1936 and 1946. The Ulama always attended the annual meetings of the Muslim League to assure the Quaid-i-Azam of their sincere support for his sacred mission. They toured the whole of the sub-continent and informed the Muslims of the atrocious policies adopted by the British and Hindus against the Muslims. Due to the untiring efforts of the Ulama and Mashaikh, the Muslims shed off their sluggish attitude to come under the banner of the Muslim League.

A. Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, a great theologian and sufi, was the first of the Deoband school to extend his invaluable assistance to the cause of the Muslim League. He extended his staunch support to the Quaid-i-Azam and sided with him against the volleys of attacks from other Ulama against the Quaid-i-Azam. He had his profoundest belief in Quaid's honesty, integrity and political skills and acumen. He advised his Muslim brethren to come under the banner of Muslim League which was fighting for the establishment of Pakistan. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad warned his fellow Muslims to beware of Hindu and Congress designs and not to be swayed by their false propaganda. He exposed a number of Muslim leaders who had come under the influence of Congress and who were misleading the Muslims. Allama Usmani asked the Muslims to vote for the Muslim League. He declared that any Muslim who will vote for the opponent of the Muslim League would ruin the future of entire *Millat* and would be answerable before the Almighty on the *Day of Judgment*.

B. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, an eminent scholar and a renowned mystic of the Deoband school rendered the most dedicated services to the cause of freedom movement. With Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani he became the most trusted companion of the Quaid-i-Azam. He was

widely respected all over the sub-continent for his vast religious and mystical knowledge. For most of the time he devoted himself to the impart of religious knowledge. However, he came into politics to support the Muslim League after finding the Muslims being exploited by the British and the Congress.

C. Pir Syed Jamma't Ali Shah was born in a small village known as Alipur. He received religious education and learnt the Holy Quran by heart. He received further education from Maulana Ghulam Qadir Bhervi, Maulana Fiaz-ul-Hasan Sharanpuri and Mufti Muhammad Abdullah at Lahore. He entered the discipleship of Shah Fazal-ur-Rehman Ganj Muradabadi from whom he received mystical education.

Pir Sahib had performed Haj and was a loyal follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him.)

Pir Jamma't Ali Shah rendered invaluable services to the freedom movement. He undertook strenuous travelling throughout the country to muster support for the Muslim League. He launched an extensive campaign in favour of Muslim League candidates during the Elections of 1946. He laboured hard to win support from the All India Sunni Conference for the cause of Pakistan. Pir Jamma't Ali Shah was given the proud title of *Ameer-i-Millat* for sincerely leading Masjid Shaheedganj Movement.

D. Pir Sahib Manki Sharif was born in the village Manki Sharif, district Peshawar. He was a valiant fighter for the cause of freedom and rendered great services to the Muslim League. He joined Muslim League in 1945 to counter Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan activities. He organized the Muslim League in the N.W.F.P. with the help and assistance of his followers. He attended the Sunni conference held at Benaras and spoke for hours in favour of Pakistan and freedom movement. He was arrested by the N.W.F.P. Government but he did not budge from his early stance. He was mainly responsible for organizing the freedom movement in the N.W.F.P. He was the most

devoted and trusted companion of the Quaid-i-Azam.

E. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni was born in 1898. He began his career by teaching Islamic education at Badayun. His political career began when he came out to curb the influence of **SHUDHI** movement started by the Hindus to convert the Muslims to Hinduism. He exposed the fallacy of this movement and asked the Muslims to keep away from it. He actively took part in the Khilafat movement.

Maulana Abdul Hamid firmly believed in Two-Nation Theory and considered the Muslims as a separate Nation. He severely criticised Nehru Report and undertook extensive tours to mobilise public opinion against the Nehru Report. He participated in the Annual Meeting of the Muslim League at Lahore in 1940 as a representative of the Mashaikh. He addressed the meeting and expressed his support for the Pakistan Resolution.

Maulana Abdul Hamid was a trusted and selfless worker of the Muslim League. He toured N.W.F.P. to promote the freedom movement. He also organized the freedom movement in Balochistan. He was a close associate of the Quaid-i-Azam and accompanied him wherever he went. Maulana Abdul Hamid's speeches were greatly instrumental in dispersing the influence of Ehrars who had gained considerable ground. He played an important role in holding a meeting between the Nizam of Daccan and the Quaid-i-Azam. He was always a great source of strength and sacrifice for the Muslim League Council. He was able to bring a large number of Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League.

ROLE OF ULEMA AND MASHAIKH IN THE PROVINCES DURING THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

1. **N.W.F.P.** The Province of N.W.F.P. was very important because of the fact that Congress had gained a strong foothold

in the political affairs of this province. In 1927 the Muslim League had demanded that constitutional reforms should be introduced in the province. In 1946 the Congress, with the assistance of some local people and some nationalist Ulema, conspired to form a Congress ministry in the province. The Congress ministry was formed in spite of the best efforts of the Muslim League. It was the most critical period of the freedom movement as the pro-Pakistan element was oppressed by the Government. False cases were initiated against freedom-fighters who were put into the jails to suffer the most inhuman torture. Congress through its Muslim members did its best to curb the freedom movement in N.W.F.P.

At this critical juncture the religious leaders, Ulema and Mashaikh came forward with their spiritual strength to guide the people of N.W.F.P. Among these selfless leaders, Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif played the most important role. He along with other Ulema undertook tours of the province to quell the Congress influence. They were able to bring the scattered people together on the Muslim League platform.

SINDH

The province of Sindh occupies an important place in the history because Islam, the great religion, entered the sub-continent through this province. It is because of this reason the province of Sindh is known as Bab-ul-Islam (gateway of Islam). Sindh is also very famous for being the land of spiritual leaders. A number of mystics, sufis and reformers were born in Sindh who rendered invaluable services for the spread of Islam.

The Ulema, Mashaikh and religious leaders of Sindh made valuable contributions in promoting the freedom struggle in the province. The Sirhindi family of Sindh the descendants of Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani, played important role in organizing the freedom movement in Sindh. This family extended all sorts of assistance to the Quaid-i-Azam in his activities for the liberation of the Muslim of India. Hazrat Ghulam Mujadid

Sirhindi was a great religious scholar who extended his sincere services for the cause of freedom. Pir Ghulam Mujadid took active part in the Khilafat movement and courted arrested along with Ali Brothers and other Khilafatists. Jamiat-Al-Mashaikh was set up in Sindh by Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sirhindi, which was a great source of strength for the Muslim League in the province. This great organization supported the Quaid-i-Azam with utmost sincerity and merged into the Sindh branch of Muslim League.

Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi was another highly respected personality of Sindh whose services for the cause of freedom cannot be ignored. Sheikh Abdul Majeed was born in a Hindu family. He entered the fold of Islam at an early age after being convinced of Islam's golden principles. After embracing Islam he became a staunch Muslim and worked for the betterment of the Muslim India. He was a prolific writer and used his journalistic qualities against the Hindus, Sindhi Vederas and the British. He took active part in the Pakistan movement with dedication and devotion.

PUNJAB

The religious leaders, Ulema and Mashaikh belonging to Punjab took active part in the freedom struggle. They prepared the people to fight the war for independence by injecting fervour amongst them with their speeches and preachings. The people of Punjab stirred by these speeches worked day and night in spreading the message of independence to every corner of the province.

A large number of holy men, spiritual leaders, pirs and saints belonged to Punjab. They came with the conquerors and settled down in the province to spread the light of Islam. Quite a large number of these holy men spent their whole life in Punjab and were buried in Punjab's soil after death. These respected personalities aroused political awareness among the people side by side the religious education.

The Ulema and Mashaikh of Punjab particularly took active part during election

campaign in order to win support for the Muslim League. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani toured several places in the whole of sub-continent to muster support for the Muslim League. The referendums in N.W.F.P. and Sylhet were looked after by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani. They also impressed upon the religious leaders and pirs to support the Muslim League whole-heartedly.

THE STUDENTS ROLE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The role played by the Muslim students in the freedom movement is of momentous significance in view of the invaluable services which they rendered to the cause of Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam rightly observed in calling the Muslim students as The Arsenal of Muslim India. The students made available the young and energetic leadership which was most direly needed during the critical stages of the freedom movement. They were the most trusted companions of the Quaid-i-Azam who had great hopes in their strength, dedication and devotion for the noble objective of freedom.

It was in fact the Muslim University of Aligarh which took lead in the students politics. The students who were educated at Aligarh were very different from the students of conventional educational institutions. They developed different approach towards all walks of life. They ultimately became the harbingers of the Muslim Students struggle in the freedom movement. The Aligarh students with their immaculate behaviour and conduct gave birth to a group of determined and selfless workers which were to work for the glory of the nation and which were to struggle for the final destiny of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Aligarh produced men like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan who played a key role in the re-awakening of Muslim India. They also laid down the foundations of political journalism amongst the Muslims. Maulana Hasrat Mohani published his Urdu-e-Mualla which set the example of courageous journalism in India.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar started Comrade and Hamdrad which became very popular amongst the Muslims.

These prominent personalities, who were among the early graduates of the Aligarh, injected the spirit of freedom amongst the students and young people who had graduated from the Aligarh. Their thought-provoking articles stirred the Muslims and awakened them from their sluggish behaviour. The students of Aligarh had already developed a sense of Muslim nationalism. They were very much aware of the difficulties of the Muslim India. The cruel exploitation of the Muslims by the British and Hindus, had cultivated deep sense of belonging amongst the students of the Aligarh. When they came out of the University, they came with a scared mission and a noble objective of ameliorating the condition of their downtrodden, helpless and oppressed brethren.

The students of Aligarh were always ready to extend assistance to the Muslims in distress. *When Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari organized a medical mission to help the Turks in 1912, four students of Aligarh, Chaudri Khallq-uz-Zaman, Abdur Rehman Siddiqui, Shoaib Qureshi and Abdul Rehman Peshawari joined it.*¹ The Aligarh students were very active during the Khilafat Movement and quickly responded to the call of Hijrat.

The contributions of the Aligarh, in the freedom movement are enormous as the first brick of the citadel of Pakistan was laid down the day the Aligarh movement was initiated. The students of Aligarh did not stop their endeavours even after the death of Sir Syed. An important and influential group of highly educated and enlightened Muslim students, well aware of their national identity and fully conscious of their role, emerged from Aligarh to pave way for the national freedom.

The Muslim students, other than of Aligarh University, too, did not lag behind in

responding to the national call in the freedom movement. The Quaid-i-Azam had great love and regard for the students community and always bestowed his profoundest confidence in the young generation of the Muslims. The students worked day and night in mobilizing support for the Muslim League. They conveyed the message of freedom to every corner of the sub-continent with utmost sincerity of purpose. Some students, living in other countries during the freedom struggle, projected the cause of Pakistan movement and presented a more clearer and magnified image of the Muslim League. They very ably performed the job of national ambassadors in moulding the public opinion in the respective countries they were inhabiting at the time.

The Muslim students worked as personal body-guards of the Quaid-i-Azam. On several occasions, when attempts were made to harm the Quaid, the students foiled these ignoble attempts at the personal risk of their lives. During annual meeting at Lahore in 1940, a scuffle had erupted in Lahore between the Khaksars and Muslim League workers. It was feared that the Khaksars might try to harm the Quaid-i-Azam who was to preside over the historic meeting. In view of the tension prevailing in the city, the Muslim students, most of them were from Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore, escorted the Quaid to the place of meeting. The Muslim students guarded the Quaid day and night wherever he went. He specially asked for the students of Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore, to be his personal guards at Lahore.

The Muslim students always attended the meetings of the Muslim League in large number. The students from all parts of the sub-continent thronged the meeting place of the Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam was always happy to see the students taking part in the politics and attending the Muslim League sessions. The Quaid-i-Azam on many occasions remarked that the students belonged to him and he belonged to them. He advised the young students to keep on with their efforts until they accomplish their goal.

1. *Students Role in the Pakistan Movement*, Mukhtar Zaman p. 10.

Women of the subcontinent played an exceptionally vital role in the struggle against the British Raj and the subsequent partition of the subcontinent. These women belonged to an era which was far more religiously inclined than today, the society was far more conservative than it is today and women were less exposed to the world as compared to the women of today. Even then they proved their courage and showed the world that they could rise and move heaven and earth. In this critical time of today, when the country is facing internal as well as external threats, Pakistan needs women to stand by their males and play their role in the progress of this country. Since women are a 51% part of the population, what they strive to do will make a difference.

We have had a female Prime Minister, and now a large number of females in the parliament, but until women of Pakistan don't help themselves no one can. Using a cliché, an educated mother breeds educated children, unfortunately female literacy is quite low in Pakistan. If more money is invested in the betterment of the females of today, not only can we improve society as a whole, but we can also erase the malaise of terrorism, corruption and the other rot that is eating away the base of the country. Women empowerment should be taken seriously, since this will lead to all round benefits.

Most people are aware of the pivotal roles that Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, Begum Hidayatullah and Shaista Ikramullah played in the making of Pakistan. And people are also aware of some foreign ladies liked Meera Ben whose real name was Madeleine Slade and Sarla Ben, also known as Mohatma Gandhi's two English daughters.

However, history reveals the vital role women played in the freedom struggle as early as 1817 with Bhima Bai Holkar, who fought valiantly against Colonel Malcolm of Britain, defeating him in guerilla warfare. Also prominent among these early female freedom fighters was Rani Channama of Kittur who resisted the armed assault of the East India Company.

To date, both in Pakistan and India, women are the marginalized portion of the population, but when one reads about these gallant women regaled by history one cannot help but be proud of them. Though there were thousands who played their part in the making of Pakistan, here are the stories of a handful of courageous women who can teach the woman of today how to survive against all odds.

We have all heard of the Rani of Jhansi, whose name is now used to depict any courageous or bold woman, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, was married to Gangadhar Rao and after his death the British didn't allow her to adopt a successor and she was annexed. After the outbreak of the Revolt she fought against the British on the battlefield dressed as a man. She led her troops from the front, fighting the British valiantly. Her army followed suit and gave the British a worthy fight. Rani of Jhansi's prowess on the battlefield gained her the admiration and respect of her enemy, and the British considered her to be the best and bravest military leader of the rebels. This brave soldier's death was befitting her valour.... and she was martyred like a warrior in the battle field after she refused to surrender.

Another valiant female of the subcontinent was a queen and wife of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah Begum Hazrat Mahal Begum of Oudh who took active part in defending Lucknow against the British. Despite leading a life of luxury she often appeared on the battlefield to boost the morale of her troops. She excelled in the art of organization skills, and attended to the affairs of the state after her husband was exiled to Calcutta.

In 1857, the first war of Independence, Begum Hazrat Mahal led a band of her supporters against the British and even managed to seize control of Lucknow.

And then who can forget Abadi Bano Begum popularly known as Bi Amma, who became the first Muslim woman of modern times to take active part in politics. She was married to Abdul Ali Khan and had one daughter and five sons, two of whom became legends during the freedom fight.... Maulana

Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar. After the untimely death of her husband Bi Amma strove to give her sons the best education, and after great personal sacrifices, she managed to get them educated at prominent educational institutions like Aligarh and Oxford.

Bi Amma was very active in the All-India Muslim League. In 1917 she delivered moving speeches at the League sessions, which left a powerful impact on the Muslims. Even when her sons were jailed she toured the country, keeping the fervour for the Khilafat Movement alive, addressing large crowds. She inspired a large number of women to join politics and become a force to be reckoned who continued her work even after she was no more.

Other women who played important roles in the struggle of the creation of Pakistan's foundation, included Aruna Asaf Ali, a teacher who married Asaf Ali, a Muslim Congress leader and became an active member of the Congress party in the 1930s. Being a Brahmin, Aruna broke against tradition and married outside her religion, which detached her from her own family. But her streak of determination had a different destiny written down for her. She participated in public processions and was arrested during the Salt Satyagraha – which was a campaign of a non-violent protest against the British salt tax in colonial India which began with the Salt March to Dandi on March 12, 1930 on the charge that she was a vagrant and not even released in 1931 under the Gandhi Irwin pact that stipulated the release of political prisoners. Other female prisoners refused to be released until she accompanied them. Public agitations were also held for her release. In 1932 she was held prisoner at Tihar Jail in Delhi, where she protested against the indifferent treatment towards political prisoners and managed to procure the improvement of conditions for the prisoners of Tihar Jail. However she herself was moved to Ambala where she was rewarded with solitary confinement for her efforts.

Ten years later, on August 8, 1942 the All India Congress Committee passed the Quit India Resolution at Bombay, which caused the government to react harshly and many congress leaders landed in jail. The following day on August 9, Aruna Asaf Ali presided over the remainder of the session. Police fired on the session. Aruna was dubbed as the Heroine of the 1942 movement, and later in life she earned the name Grand Old Lady of the independence movement. In 1964, Aruna Asaf Ali was awarded the International Lenin Peace Prize.

Pakistani women should learn from the efforts of these great women and take up their burden and strive to build, protect and cherish their country. It is the duty of the women of Pakistan, especially the mothers and teachers to fight against their country's enemy but rearing morally strong, educated intelligent people who will not succumb and become the weapons of the enemies of Pakistan.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

The Quaid-i-Azam was always very keen to see the Muslim women playing their important role in the Pakistan movement. He believed that the women should come out of their conventional confinement within the walls of the houses to struggle for their own welfare according to the Islamic principles.

The Muslim women, on the call of the Quaid-i-Azam, came out of their seclusion and contributed a great deal in the freedom struggle. The venerated Muslim ladies like Miss Fatima Jinnah, Lady Abdullah Haroon, Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan set the glorious example of the most dedicated services in the Pakistan Movement by the Muslim women. The other ladies followed them in their footsteps and rendered invaluable services to the Muslim League women wing, throughout the sub-continent.

The women's participation in the politics was initiated when the women's committee was formed in the annual session of the all India Muslim League at Patna. The Muslim women quickly responded to Quaid's call with unprecedented enthusiasm.

The Muslim women, after the establishment of women committee, joined the Muslim League in large number to take part in the freedom struggle. They had come in the politics with a firm determination to serve their nation. Two other organizations of the Muslim women were formed under the auspices of the Muslim League women sub-committee. They were the Muslim Girls Students Federation and Muslim Women's National Guard.

The role of the Muslim women during civil disobedience movement was remarkable. A large number of Muslim women faced the atrocious handling of the women workers by the Government. They courted arrest and were put behind the bars. They came out with processions and raised slogans against the repressive policies of the government. Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, a brave lady, hoisted the green flag on the top of the Jail building where she was being locked up. It was a daring act which infuriated the Jail staff who beat all the Muslim women who were in Jail. It was a young brave girl who unfurled the Pakistan flag at the Punjab secretariat building and pulled down the Union Jack. **"The achievement of one girl student, Fatima Sughra, will remain recorded in the annals of the Pakistan history in golden letters; she hoisted the Pakistan flag on top of Secretariat after pulling down the Union Jack".**¹

1. Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women (Saviour of Muslim Women), Salma Tasadduque Husain, p. 26.

SOME PROMINENT MUSLIM WOMEN OF THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

1. Bi Amman

Bi Amman was the great mother of Ali Brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, who set the daring example of Sacrifice in the politics. She impressed upon her two brave and dedicated sons to give every sacrifice for the glory and sanctity of the caliphate.

2. Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar

She was the woman member of All India Muslim Working Committee. She was a great orator like her husband and addressed the public gatherings of the Muslim League. She was an active member during the historic session of the Muslim League in 1940 at Lahore. She was one of the participants who seconded the famous Lahore Resolution.

3. Miss Fatima Jinnah

Miss Fatima Jinnah was a close associate of her brother the Quaid-i-Azam. She was the first lady who took interest in organizing the women's wing of the Muslim League. She presided over all meetings of the Muslim women. She was an active worker of all the women's committees of the Muslim League. She was the member of the Bombay branch of the first women's sub-committee of the Muslim League. In this capacity she rendered valuable services in creating political awareness among Muslim women and carrying the message of Muslim League in every home. Miss Jinnah accompanied the Quaid-i-Azam wherever he went for his political commitments. She was a highly respected personality and loved by all sections of the Muslim Community. She was given the most respected title of 'Madher-i-Milat' (mother of the Nation).

3. Lady Nusrat Abdullah Haroon

Lady Haroon was a prominent women of Sindh. She was a devoted worker of the Pakistan movement. She was closely associated with the Quaid-i-Azam from whom she always received guidance.

She was an active social worker and patronized a social club in Delhi established after her name as Nusrat club. Nusrat Club soon became the centre of the activities of the Muslim women where political matters were discussed. She was also associated with a number of social organizations. She was elected as the President of all India Women Muslim League in 1943. She was the Vice-President of All Pakistan women's Association founded by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali in 1945.

4. Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz was the daughter of Miran Sir Muhammad Shafi, one of the founders of the Muslim League and President of the League in 1913 and 1927.

Begum Jahan Ara was one of the senior most members of the Muslim League. She was an ardent fighter for women's rights and a great advocate for their emancipation. She had the unique honour of attending the first and second Round Table Conferences as the only Muslim woman member. She attended the Third Round Table Conference as the sole representative of women for British India.

Begum Shah Nawaz took active part in a number of conferences held under the banner of Muslim League. She was an active member of the several committees of the Muslim League before the establishment of Pakistan.

She was elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1937 and rose to the status of parliamentary secretary. In 1942 she was sent to the U.S.A. with a two member delegation by the Quaid-i-Azam. She was to take part in a debate held by New York Herald Tribune on the Hindu-Muslim issue. She made an elevated impression on the American people by her impressive presentation.

Begum Shah Nawaz was a vocal worker during the civil disobedience Movement against the Unionist government of the Punjab. She was arrested by the Punjab government during the Pakistan Movement in 1947. She was the member of the first constituent assembly of Pakistan and

remained so till 1954. She was elected for the second time to the Punjab assembly in 1955 and 1961. She visited several countries to muster support for Pakistan movement.

5. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan

She was the wife of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the General Secretary of All India Muslim League and Prime Minister of Pakistan after the creation of Pakistan. She was an active woman worker who was closely associated with Pakistan. She extended invaluable assistance to her husband. She held ambassadorial assignments of Pakistan in a number of countries.

6. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain

Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain joined Muslim League in 1937 and meritoriously worked under the dynamic guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam for the establishment of Pakistan. She was elected as member of the Punjab assembly in 1945 and remained as such for 12 long years. She was the member of the first Pakistan delegation to the U.N.O.

In 1946 she did services in the riot-stricken areas of Bihar. She helped the affected people along with other women workers. She was the secretary of Punjab Muslim women League from 1940 to 1958. She took active part in the civil disobedience Movement against the Khizar Ministry of the Unionist Party in the Punjab. She courted arrest for her activities in the civil disobedience movement. She had held responsible assignments in social and political organizations.

Begum Salma went on European tour in 1951-52. She was the member of the Pakistan Parliamentary delegation to China in 1957. She was appointed Deputy Minister for Labour to the Government of West Pakistan in 1958.

7. Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah

Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah was the daughter of Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University.

Begum Shaista had a distinguished career in education and politics. She was the member of the first constituent Assembly of Pakistan from 1947 to 1953. She was the member of the first Advisory Board of Education, government of Pakistan from 1947 to 1956.

She was the member of the Pakistan delegation to the U.N.O. in 1948. She contributed in drafting the constitution of Human Rights. She was the member of Pakistan delegation to the U.N.O. in 1956 and was the deputy leader of the delegation.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN

The demand for separate homeland was proclaimed on **24th March, 1940** and the Quaid-i-Azam declared that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations by any definition or test of a nation. Pakistan was claimed as a homeland for Indian Muslims on the principle of self-determination. **"For the Muslims the idea of a separate Muslim state was a struggle for survival; for the Hindus it was to avoid vivisection of the motherland".**¹

Finally the partition of India was materialized and a new independent and sovereign state of Pakistan was carved out of it. Under **Section 8** of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the government of India Act 1935 became, with certain adaptations and modifications, the interim constitution of Pakistan. But since the 1935 Act did not contain necessary elements required for a Constitutional Government of an independent state, a new Constituent Assembly was set up for framing of the Constitution. The interim constitution was supposed to stay till a new constitution was framed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. While India was successful in framing a constitution by **1950-51**, constitution-making in Pakistan became a highly complicated task.

1947-1954 There were three Constituent Assemblies in all (the first one in 1947-54, the second one in 1955-56 and the third in 1972-73). The first Constituent Assembly met for the first time on **10th August, 1947**, that is four days before the Independence Day.² **The Assembly was assigned the dual job of framing the constitution and to act as federal parliament, until the constitution came into effect.**

1. G. W. Chowdry Pakistan, P 7.
2. Dr. Salfar Mehmood Pakistan Political Roots and Development p 27.

CONSTITUTIONAL DILEMMAS

It took almost nine years (1947-56) for the two Constituent Assemblies to make a constitution for the country. The inordinate delay in producing **a stable political order** under which the people of the two wings - **East and West Pakistan** - could participate in the decision making process on important national issues, was a major factor for the failure of national integration in Pakistan. Constitution-making in Pakistan was unduly delayed by political intrigues and unnecessary squabbling which characterised Pakistan's political situation after the death of the Quaid-i-Azam and Khan Liaquat Ali Khan. Muslim League, which fought freedom struggle in the most ablest manner, was in an extremely bad shape. **Soon after the birth of Pakistan constitution-making became a tool in the hands of knavish politicians who were engaged in palace intrigues making and dissolving the cabinets.** The sacred and prime task of framing a workable constitution was thus crucified at the altar of power politics which ultimately led to the military's involvement in the national politics.

It is, nevertheless, a fact that apart from political intrigues and scramble for power, there were a number of fundamental issues facing the makers of the constitution in Pakistan. The first year of independence was mainly devoted towards replacing the **obsolete and depleted Governmental machinery** by a workable administrative system and rehabilitation of the homeless and distressed refugees. The making of the constitution, even in the most congenial situation, is a difficult and stupendous task because it is intended to take into account diversified point of view. There is every possibility of sheer disagreement to arise on ideological commitments and clash of

interests and sometime on linguistic and ethnic question.

The problems which the framers of Pakistan Constitution had to face were multifarious, diverse and complex in nature. The framers, first of all, were pitched into the most sensitive and awesome situation of deciding the role of the religion in country's constitution. Pakistan, it was claimed, established because of the desire of Indian Muslims to preserve and promote Islamic ideals. While there was a general agreement that the constitution of Pakistan should be based on Islamic ideology and principles, there were differences about the exact place of Islam in the political system of the country. The framers of the constitution had to spend considerable time and energy in arriving at a commonly accepted concept of an Islamic state. The debate on state and Islam, however, is not yet over even after the disintegration of the country. It is still a big and challenging issue facing the country.

The nature of the federal structure, however, was the most complicated issue of the constitution-making in Pakistan. From the very inception of Pakistan, it was decided that Pakistan would be a federal state. The decision of making Pakistan a federal state was accepted but serious differences over the shape and structure of federal system were raised. Before the creation of Bangladesh, Pakistan was considered as geographically unique, consisted of two parts, East and West Pakistan, separated by a thousand miles of foreign (Indian) territory. The population of East Pakistan exceeded the total population of all other provinces and states of West Pakistan. The western part was industrially more advanced.

The cultural and linguistic differences were also very important and haunted the constitution makers' perceptions for long time. West Pakistan is pre-dominantly Muslim; East Pakistan had important non-Muslim minorities. The difficulties and differences were exploited by a group of disgruntled politicians in East and West Pakistan who incited the people and aired the feelings of provincialism. They did

considerable damage to the feelings of national unity. The delay in constitution making proved to be a boon from heavens to offer them with a golden opportunity to disrupt the state.

Another problem which the framers of the constitution faced was the acute lack of homogeneity not only between East and West Pakistan, but there were deep differences among the different sections of the population in West Pakistan as well. Homogeneity of population is an essential element in making a smooth Federation.

The Constituent Assembly after sustained deliberations, passed a resolution in March, 1949. The resolution came to be known as the Objectives Resolution. It claimed to embody the guiding principles on which the future constitution of Pakistan was to be planted. The Objectives Resolution provided for the observance of democracy, freedom, equality and social justice as enunciated by Islam. It also recognized the rights of minorities to freely profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures. It stipulated that the exercise of fundamental rights shall be fully guaranteed. It provided for the independence of judiciary and a federal system of government. Moreover, it emphatically pronounced that sovereignty over the entire universe belonged to the Almighty God and the authority delegated by Him to the people of Pakistan was only a sacred trust.

The resolution was discussed in five successive meetings of the constituent Assembly. The Pakistan National Congress, the opposition party in the Assembly, raised objections on the plea that the resolution mixed up politics with the religion and that the minorities would be reduced to the status of personal servants and slaves. Most of the Muslim members, except Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, gave their approval to the resolution. The non-Muslims, however, were dissatisfied with the Objectives Resolution. The leader of the Congress Party, S.C. Chattopadhyaya, protested that the resolution would make the

Guiding Principles

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din

non-Muslims *drawer of water and hewers of wood.*

BASIC PRINCIPLES COMMITTEE

The objectives resolution was not the entire constitution, it simply laid down the fundamental principles of the future constitution. Having done this the Constituent Assembly formed several committees to delineate the structure of the proposed federal constitution. The most important committee was the **BPC (Basic Principles Committee)** which was appointed on 12 March 1949 when the Objectives Resolution was passed by the Constituent Assembly. Liaquat Ali Khan was chosen as the Chairman of the Committee. It was assigned the job of determining those principles on which the future constitution was to be based. The BPC on its part, set up sub-committees to examine separately certain important issues.

The BPC endeavoured diligently to evolve an acceptable formula of federal structure. It was indeed a difficult and stupendous task to draw a workable federal system for a country like Pakistan with so many ethnic, religious and cultural differences. The BPC published its first draft Constitution on 28th Sept., 1950.

The draft constitution prepared by the BPC was presented in the constituent Assembly on 28 September 1950 by Liaquat Ali Khan, the first PM of Pakistan. The draft constitution provided that there should be a federal legislature consisting of two Houses - the House of Units, representing the Units, and the House of the people to be directly elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise. The upper House, known as the House of Units, was to consist of an equal number of representatives from all provinces, while the lower House, the House of People, was expected to give representation on population basis. It was laid down in the first draft constitution that the two Houses of the legislature should have equal powers, and in case of a dispute on any question, a joint

3. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debate. 1949 Vol. V, No. 5 p 66.

session of both the Houses should be summoned for taking a final decision.

The Head of the state was to be elected by both Houses for a term of five years. A cabinet will be appointed for help and assistance to the Head of the state. The cabinet will be headed by a Prime Minister who was, along with his ministers, responsible to both houses of parliament.

The first draft constitution published in 1950 stimulated strong protest in East Pakistan. It caused great disappointment amongst the people and was subjected to deep criticism. It was argued that it provided an incomplete constitutional structure. It was rejected on the ground that it did not bear Islamic Character as envisaged by the Objectives Resolution.

The East Pakistani leadership opposed it because it did not provide for the province with large population and an overall majority in the legislature which might be converted into a minority in the joint session of the two Houses. The report declared Urdu as the only national language which created great resentment in East Pakistan. The opposition from East Pakistan compelled the Constituent Assembly to drop this draft. The Assembly was engaged in producing a new version of the constitution.

Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated at Rawalpindi on 16 October 1951. Khawaja Nazimuddin stepped in as the second Prime Minister. The responsibility of producing the second draft constitution now fell on the weak shoulders of Khawaja Nazimuddin who made promise, as usual, to complete the task at the earliest.

Khawaja Nazimuddin presented the second draft constitution to the Constituent Assembly on 22 December, 1952. Its main recommendations were as follows:

1. The Head of the state will be a Muslim.
2. He shall be elected by the joint session of both Houses of the central legislature but will not be a member of the legislature.
3. His term of office will be five years.

4. The federal legislature shall consist of two Houses: the House of Units and the House of People. The House of Units, the Upper House shall have 120 seats while the Lower House, the House of People shall consist of 400 seats. The seats of the two Houses of the parliament shall be equally distributed between the two parts of the country East and West Pakistan.
5. The West Pakistan share of its seats was to be further divided amongst its provinces according to population.
6. The term of each House shall be 5 years.
7. Both the Houses shall have equal powers.
8. The constitution shall be amended with the agreement of both central and provincial legislatures.
9. The council of ministers was to be responsible collectively to the House of the people.

The most important contribution of the second draft constitution was the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan. This was called the parity proposal which brought East Pakistan at par in the central legislature. It provided that in the House of Units 60 members will be from the East Pakistan and 60 from the West Pakistan. In the House of People 200 members were to be from East Pakistan and 200 from the nine units of West Pakistan.

The fate of the second draft constitution was, however, no more favourable than that of its predecessor. This time the reaction was adverse particularly in West Pakistan. The West Pakistan press joined in a chorus of protest and agitation against the report. The West Pakistan leaders found one logic in treating one single province, East Pakistan, as being equal in importance to all other units put together.

On the other hand the reaction in East Pakistan was no less hostile than in West Pakistan. The principle of parity was not acceptable to the people of East Pakistan.

They thought injustice was being done to them by ignoring their numerical majority and giving them equal representation. Parity between East and West Pakistan with respect to the seat allocation in the central legislature violated the federal principle. This had been done in absolute disregard of the divergencies between the wings such as social, linguistic, cultural, economic, climatic, population and lack of geographical contiguity. This part of the report, therefore, was widely criticised by the Punjab and Bengali groups.⁴ The Punjabi group feared that East Pakistan had been given a position of complete domination over the West which was already divided into nine Units, against one unified unit of East Pakistan.⁵ Owing to these and other differences the BPC report was popularly known as the Bengali-Punjabi crisis report.⁶ The greatest drawback of the 'parity proposal' was that it diverted people's thinking and made it move in provincial grooves, as if the people had never entered the mainstream of Pakistan movement.⁷

Another recommendation of the second draft constitution that invited scathing criticism, was one relating to the formation of Ulema Board to review central and provincial legislation. The provision in the constitution to set up a Board of Ulama outside the parliament which could vote any legislation in the light whether or not it was Islamic, posed new dangers.⁸

Despite the defects inherent in the report, Khawaja Nazimuddin commended it to the nation as a document representing the maximum agreement. He described it as The first golden ray of the sun which illuminates the sky.⁹ However, Khawaja Nazimuddin, despite his deep optimism, was extremely disappointed to see his endeavours to reach a final agreement being flouted. Most of the

4. The Pakistan Times, 12 January, 1953.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Dr. Safdar Mehmood, Pakistan Political Roots and Development. p 33.
9. H. Feldman, A Constitution for Pakistan, P 35.

members of the BPC including Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, MA Gurmiani and Chaudri Nazir Ahmed dissociated themselves from the report and declined to put their signatures to it. There was once again deadlock in constitution making.

The Constituent Assembly, once more, in the wake of severe criticism, postponed its deliberations for an indefinite period and it appeared that country faced an acute constitutional dilemma and no solution seemed to be acceptable to both East and West Pakistan. The situation of the country became ridden with political intrigues and manoeuvrings. Honest efforts to reach a compromise were frustrated through political moves so as to give the opportunists a chance to come into power. The process of constitution-making was greatly affected by the scramble for power among the politicians.

16 Apr 1953
The political deadlock was ultimately unlocked with the removal of Khawaja Nazimuddin on 16 April 1953. Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, Pakistan Ambassador in the USA was called back and appointed the new prime-minister. Muslim League elected Muhammad Ali Bogra as leader of the parliament.

7 Oct 1953
The third Prime Minister Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra, presented the third draft constitution in the Assembly on 7 October 1953, within less than six months of his appointment as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He evolved a formula popularly known as the Muhammad Ali formula to overcome the constitutional deadlock over the question of representation in the proposed federal legislature. Muhammad Ali claimed that his formula was acceptable to the representatives of both the wings. The proposals of Muhammad Ali formula were as follows.

1. Central legislature shall consist of two Houses.
2. In the Upper House, the membership shall be fifty distributed amongst the five units of Pakistan of which East Pakistan was one.

3. The second House shall comprise 300 seats to be divided among the five units on the basis of population. According to this proposal East Pakistan shall have 175 seats and West Pakistan consisting of four units also 175 in the two Houses of the parliament.

4. The distribution of seats was made in such a way as to ensure parity between the two zones in the joint session of the houses. The allocation of seats in the central legislature was to be as follows.

The powers of the two Houses were to be equal and the Ministry was to be responsible to both Houses. Important measures like a vote of confidence in the cabinet or the elections of the Head of State were to be decided only in joint sessions. If the Head of the State was from West Pakistan, the PM shall be from East Pakistan and vice-versa.

The suggestions of Muhammad Ali formula were thoroughly considered by the constituent Assembly for thirteen days in October and again on 14 November, 1953. A drafting committee was appointed to finally prepare the provisions of the draft as approved by the Assembly. Another highly and explosive issue facing the framers of the constitution was the language problem. The third PM was apparently successful in bringing about a compromise on the language issue which had been agitating the country since the beginning and had a great impact on constitution-making. Pakistan was a bilingual state where the majority of the people spoke Bengali. The adoption of Urdu as official language in the first draft constitution of 1950 was bitterly resented in East Pakistan and as such Muhammad Ali brought about a compromise giving equal status to both Urdu and Bengali as official languages. English was to continue as the official language till the development and growth of a common language.

With successfully handling the basic issues, the framers of the Constitution moved faster towards adopting a constitution. The Constituent Assembly was successful in adopting a draft Constitution by September.

1954. The Constitution bill was reported to have been ready and only the formality of enacting it into law remained. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra even had announced the date of promulgation of the new Constitution on **25th December, 1954.**

The first Constituent Assembly, unfortunately, could not or rather was not allowed to complete its mission. **Within ten days of the adoption of the final draft of constitution it was dissolved by the Governor-General in a most undemocratic and arbitrary manner.** The dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly involved Pakistan in a series of legal disputes and in a period of Constitutional Crises and confusion.

The dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly was activated due to some significant political developments in the Country. Muslim League was defeated in the general elections in East Pakistan. It,

therefore, lost its majority in the Assembly and obviously its authority to draft the Constitution was challenged by the **United Front.** Muslim League could not maintain its position in the western wing of the country as well.

In addition to the political situation emerging after the elections, the Constituent Assembly took a number of decisions which invited the Governor - General's annoyance. In the first place the Assembly replaced the **PRODA (Public Representative Office Disqualification Act of 1948-49 on 20th September 1954 which gave authority to the Government to expose the corrupt and inefficient Ministers and politicians.** Then the Assembly scrapped Sections 9, 10, 10-A, 10-B, of the Act of 1935. These sections gave power of dismissing the government to the Governor General. The Governor-General **Ghulam Muhammad had dismissed earlier Nazim-ud-Din Ministry under these clauses.**

loss of M.L. election + PRODA replaced + 59 & 10 of Gov of Ind Act.

UNITS	UH	LH	TOTAL IN CENTRAL LEGISLATURE
1. EAST PAKISTAN	10	165	175
2. WEST PAKISTAN			
(a) Punjab	10	75	85
(b) NWFP & Tribal Areas	10	24	34
(c) Sindh & Khairpur	10	19	29
(d) Balochistan, Bahawalpur State, Karachi	10	17	27
	50	300	350

24 Oct 1954

These measures were taken without the knowledge of the Governor General and were, infact, aimed at curtailing the powers of the Governor-General. The Governor General, who was away from the capital, rushed to **Karachi** and hit back against actions of the Assembly. The Governor-General issued a proclamation declaring a **state of emergency** throughout Pakistan and **dissolved the Assembly on 24th October 1954.** All previous attempts of framing the Constitution and the entire spade work done in this connection were brought to naught by a sweep of the pen of the highest executive authority in the Country.¹⁰

However, the Assembly did not surrender easily. **Maulvi Tamiz-ud-Din**, speaker of the dissolved Assembly challenged the order of the Governor-General and filed a petition before the **Sindh High Court.** It was claimed in the petition that the assent of the Governor-General was not required for legislation under **subsection (1) of Section 8 of the Indian Independence Act of 1947,** and as such the dissolution of the Assembly was unconstitutional and illegal. The full bench of the Sindh Chief Court **unanimously upheld the version of Maulvi Tamiz ud Din** and declared the dissolution as **not and void.** The federation of Pakistan, therefore, appealed to the Supreme Court of **Pakistan.** The Supreme Court finally gave its ruling in favour of the Governor-General.

8(1) 1947

10. G.W. Chowdry Constitutional Development in Pakistan, p. 141.

The Governor General, after dissolving the Constituent Assembly, again invited Muhammad Ali Bogra to form new Ministry. The new Cabinet had some new faces. General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then C-in-C Major General Iskander Mirza Dr. Khan Sahib and Suhrawardy were included in the Cabinet. The Cabinet was responsible to Ghulam Muhammad, Governor-General. The inclusion of General Ayub Khan in the Cabinet paved the way for military's involvement in the Country's political affairs which proved correct with the imposition of ML in 1958.

The second Constituent Assembly was set up in 1955 elected from the existing provincial Assemblies. It consisted of eighty members and had full authority of legislation. Muslim League, after its defeat in election in East Pakistan, ceased to be a majority party. The party position in the second Constituent Assembly was as follows:

Muslim League	25
Pakistan Congress	4
Scheduled Castes Federation	3
United Progressive Party	2
United Front	16
Awami League	12
Noon Group	3
Independent Muslims	1
Other	6

In view of the party position, majority Government could not be formed. A coalition Cabinet was sworn in with Chaudri Muhammad Ali as its leader. Muhammad Ali Bogra was sent back to his former position of Pakistan's Ambassador to the U.S.A.

The Cabinet under the able guidance of Ch. Muhammad Ali moved swiftly towards the Constitution-making and its first major achievement was the passage of the establishment of West Pakistan Act on 30th September, 1955. The Act abolished the old sub-divisions and amalgamated the provinces into ONE UNIT.

Chaudri Muhammad Ali gave top priority to the Constitution making. He produced fourth draft constitution which was presented

before the Assembly on 8 January, 1956. The draft was finally approved and adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 29th February 1956.

The Governor-General's assent to the draft Constitution was accorded on 2 March 1956. On 23rd March, 1956 Pakistan was declared a Republic, with this an indefinite and tantalizing era of constitutional stalemate and public confusion came to an end.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1956

The first constitution of the country was enforced on 23rd March, 1956. Its summary is given below:

PRESIDENT

The President was the Chief Executive and a titular Head of the state. He was to be elected by members of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies with majority vote. He should be a Muslim and 45 years of age. He was to be elected for five years term.

His most important function was to appoint the Prime Minister. He was to appoint Provincial Governors, Judges of the Supreme Court, Auditor-General and Advocate General. He could summon, prorogue and dissolve the National Assembly.

The President had veto power to reject or withhold his assent to the Bills. He had power to grant pardon, reprieves or reduction of punishment.

PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister was the Head of the majority party in the federal parliament. He was the leader of the House and the head of the Cabinet. The Cabinet ministers served during his pleasure. He could be removed by the President. The Cabinet was collectively responsible to the National Assembly.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The National Assembly was composed of the President and the NA. It consisted of 300 members equally divided among the wings of the Country. Ten seats, five each in East and West Pakistan were reserved

West
Pak
Act
30 Sep 1955

women. The National Assembly had complete control over finances.

GOVERNOR

He was appointed by the President and could serve only during his pleasure. Like the President in the Centre, the Governor was entrusted with the responsibility of appointing the Chief Minister who in his opinion, commanded the support of the majority in the Provincial Assembly.

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

The Provincial Assembly consisted of the Provincial Legislature and the Governor. Each Assembly had **80 members**. **Ten** seats were reserved for woman.

JUDICIAL STRUCTURE

Supreme Court: The Supreme Court was headed by a Chief Justice who was appointed by the President. The Supreme Court had original as well as Appellate jurisdiction.

High Court: Each Province had a High Court which consisted of a Chief Justice and few other Judges. They were appointed by President in consultation with the Chief Justice.

ISLAMIC PROVISIONS OF THE 1956 CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the country will be **Islamic Republic of Pakistan**.
2. The **preamble of the constitution embodied the sovereignty of God Almighty**.
3. The Head of the State shall be a Muslim.
4. **Islamic Advisory Council** shall be set up.
5. No Law detrimental to Islam shall be enacted.

The political conditions of the country could not be improved even after the first constitution was enforced. The political **unstable remained rampant**. The elections could not be held till **1958**. The constitution invited criticism from certain quarters.

The constitution of 1956 was not a perfect document. The **principle of parity** caused great deal of resentment in East Pakistan who believed that its numerical

strength had been curtailed by the **parity proposal**. Political instability greatly hampered with the developmental activities. ~~The Country miserably lacked in popular leadership of high calibre~~ **Martial Law** was declared in the Country on **6th October, 1958**. General Ayub, C-In-C of the Army, took over the Government and became the Head of the State on **27th October, 1958**.

After taking over, President Ayub Khan set up a **constitutional commission** under **Justice Shahab-ud-Din** to suggest recommendation for the new constitution of the country. The commission after thorough and lengthy discussion submitted its report on **6th May 1959**.

The report was examined by President. In its report the commission highlighted the reasons of the failure of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. It fixed the responsibility for the failure of democracy on **the lack of dedicated leadership, absence of well organized political parties and the self aggrandizement of the greedy politicians**. In view of the recommendation of the commission **a new constitution was framed by a constitutional body which was neither elected nor did it enjoy popular support**. The constitution was thrust upon the people in an undemocratic and authoritarian manner.

CONSTITUTION OF 1962

PRESIDENT

The Executive head of the country was called The President. A Muslim citizen of Pakistan of **35 years of age** was eligible to become the President by contesting elections. President could not become a member of the legislature. He was elected indirectly by **80,000 (enhanced to 120,000) BD members**, elected directly by the people. The President could be removed only by the **National Assembly by impeachment**.

The President was all powerful in the appointments and dismissal of Governors, ministers and members of various Administrative Commissions. All civil appointments were in his name. The President had **massive veto powers** and

could easily reject the Bills passed by the legislature. He could issue Ordinances. He could summon, prorogue and dissolve the National Assembly. He could declare emergency in the country.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Central legislature consisted of the President and the National Assembly. The NA was composed of 156 members. Six seats were reserved for women. The seats were equally distributed between the two Wings. The number of the members of NA was increased from 156 to 218 by a constitutional amendment. The NA was to consist of 200 members and ten intellectuals nominated by the Government. Eight seats were reserved for women.

The NA had exclusive legislative authority over the central subjects. In case of inconsistency between the central and provincial legislation, the former prevailed. The NA had full authority on finances. It could levy taxes and pass the annual budget.

The NA also acted as a Court of Law when a resolution of impeachment, conviction declaring the President as incapacitated was before the House. The NA could pass by 2/3 majority an amendment to change the constitution.

THE GOVERNOR

The Governor, the Provincial Chief, was appointed by the President. He served during President's pleasure and could be removed any time by a Presidential Order.

The 1962 Constitution introduced Presidential system in the country. The President was all powerful and had acquired dictatorial powers. The NA had very little powers. The ministers were appointed and dismissed by the President, who could also dissolve the Assembly.

The people soon were disillusioned with the 1962 constitution and the authoritative style of the Ayub regime. There were virulent demonstrations against the presidential

system and the people demanded Ayub Khan's resignation and abrogation of the constitution. The East wing demanded provincial autonomy.

Ayub Khan, wisely decided to step down under the mounting public pressure. The constitution was abrogated and Martial Law was again imposed in 1969. The Government was handed over to the then C-in-C General Yahya Khan. The country, after 22 years of independence, was without a workable constitution. Unfortunately the country had once again been plunged into the constitutional impasse which was to make its, detestable and an indelible impact on the future political situation of the country.

General Yahya Khan decided to disband One Unit and restored the old provinces of Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh and Balochistan. These provinces became fully operative by July 1970. The principle of one man one vote was accepted putting an end to the parity system. Yahya Khan gave his Legal frame Order to run the country. According to General Yahya Khan's Constitutional formulae, the NA was to consist of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan and 144 from West Pakistan. General elections under the LFO were held in December 1970. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League won 167 seats from East Pakistan and People's Party emerged as the majority party in West Pakistan.

East Pakistan was separated from the rest of the Country in 1971. General Yahya was held responsible for the East Pakistan debacle and had to resign. He handed over the Government to ZA Bhutto, Chairman of the PPP. Mr. Bhutto, realizing the obliterated situation of the country, decided to give priority to framing a workable constitution for the country. The NA appointed a committee on 17 April 1972 for preparing Draft Constitution. Martial Law was lifted on 14 April 1972 before the appointment of the Constitution Committee.

The Constitution Committee, under Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, presented the draft constitution on 2 February 1973. The NA passed the draft unanimously and the

11. The Constitution of Pakistan 1962 Article 23, pp. 152-53.

President gave his assent on 12 April 1973. The Constitution was enforced on 14 August 1973.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1973

PRESIDENT

The 1973 Constitution established parliamentary system in country. The President is a titular head of the Country and the executive powers are vested with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

The President is a Muslim and elected by the joint session of NA and the Senate. He is elected for a term of 5 years. No person can remain President for more than two terms. He cannot be removed from his office before the expiry of his term of office. However through impeachment the President can be removed from office for gross misconduct, physical or mental disability and for violation of the Constitution.

The President can summon the session of the NA and the Senate or a joint session of both the Houses. He can also address any House of the parliament and can dissolve the NA on the advice of the P.M. The 8th amendment to the constitution has accorded special powers of dissolution of Assembly to the President. By virtue of these powers the President can dissolve the Assembly at his own if there are sufficient reasons to believe that the Government is not functioning properly and there is a visible danger to the federation. In these circumstances the President without the advice from the PM can dissolve the Assembly.

The President has limited authority in legislation. If the President does not give his assent to a bill passed by the parliament within the stipulated period, that bill will be considered to have been assented to by the President and will become a law.

The President enjoys vast executive authority. He appoints the Governors, Attorney General, Chief Election Commissioner, Chief Justice and Chief of Staff of the Army, the Navy and Air Force. He is also the head of the armed forces.

The President can issue a proclamation of emergency in the country if he is satisfied

that a dangerous situation threatening the peace in the country prevails

If a Provincial Government has failed to function smoothly, the President can himself assume the executive powers of that Province or may direct the Governor of the Province to act on his behalf.

PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister is the focus of all executive authority and considered to be the fountain head of executive realm in the parliamentary system of Government. According to the article 90 of the Constitution, the Federal Government is composed of the PM and the members of his/her Cabinet. The PM is the Head of the Government. The PM and his Cabinet are collectively responsible to the NA.

The PM is elected by the NA after 30 days of the General Elections. The President calls the session of the NA for the election of the PM. The candidate for premiership is required to get the majority of the total members of the NA. In case none of the candidate fulfils this requirement, a second round of election is held in which only two candidates with the highest number of votes in the first round are allowed to contest. The one who gets the majority of the votes of the members present at the time of voting is declared elected.

After getting elected the PM then forms his Cabinet from the members of parliament. The PM is fully empowered to appoint the members of his/her Cabinet. He/She can also dismiss any member of the Cabinet without assigning any reason.

The PM can resign from his/her post by tendering his/her resignation to the President. He/She can also be removed by a vote of no confidence against him passed by the NA.

The most important duty of the PM is to run the administration of the Country. The Cabinet assists him in the discharge of his duties as the executive head of the Country. Each Minister is the head of a department or a division and is individually responsible to the PM.

Article 90 Clause 3 of the constitution refers to the principle of collective responsibility. The PM and his/her cabinet are collectively responsible to the NA. The concept of collective responsibility is based on the principle that the PM should be empowered to appoint and dismiss a minister of his/her Cabinet.

The PM has to keep the President abreast of the legislative activities and internal and external affairs of the Country.

PARLIAMENT

The constitution of 1973 provides for a Bicameral Legislature which consists of the Senate, NA and the President.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

S.No.	Province	Seats		Total
		General	Women	
1.	Punjab	148	35	183
2.	Sindh	61	14	75
3.	NWFP	35	8	43
4.	Balochistan	14	3	17
5.	FATA	12	-	12
6.	Federal Capital	2	-	2
7.	Minorities	-	-	10
8.	Total	272	60	342

In the original draft constitution of 1973 the NA consisted of **207 + 10 = 217 seats**. However under the conduct of General Election Order 2002 when General Pervaiz Musharraf became Chief Executive the number of seats in senate, National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies of Sindh, Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan was increased. The break up of seats in the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies is given below:

A person who intends to be elected to parliament has to be a citizen of Pakistan not less than **25 years** of age and must possess graduation degree. He should be an enrolled voter in the electoral rolls of the Country.

Seats have been allocated in the NA for Provinces, Federal Capital and Federally Administered Tribal Areas. **Sixty seats** have been reserved for women in the NA. These seats are divided among the four Province on the basis of their population.

The NA elects from amongst its members a speaker and Deputy Speaker after the election of the PM. The Assembly can pass a vote of No-Confidence against the Speaker. The Speaker presides over the

meetings of the Assembly, maintains discipline and decorum in the House.

THE SENATE

The Upper House of parliament is known as the Senate. The Senate consists of **100** members which will be as under:

Each PA will elect the **14 members** belonging to the respective Provinces. Eight members shall be elected by the NA from FATA. Four members shall be elected from the Federal Capital. Each Provincial Assembly shall elect four members to represent Ulema, technocrats and other professionals.

According to clause 3 Art 59 of the 1973 Constitution, the Senate is **a permanent body** and cannot be dissolved. The term of its members shall be six years. One half of the members elected by each Provincial Assembly shall retire after the expiry of three years. Four members from FATA shall retire after three years and the remaining four after next three years. One member from the federal Capital retire after first three years and two after the next three years. Two members from the technocrats, Ulema etc retire after three years and the remaining

three after six year. The newly elected members shall complete the remaining term of his predecessor.

The members of the Senate elect from amongst themselves a Chairman and Deputy Chairman to conduct the proceeding of the Senate.

Number of Seats					
Province/Area	Existing				Previous
	General Seats	Seats Reserved for			Total
		Women	Technocrats & Ulema	Minorities	
Federal Capital	2	1	1		4
Punjab	14	4	4	1	23
Sindh	14	4	4	1	23
Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa	14	4	4	1	23
FATAs	8	—	—		8
Balochistan	14	4	4	1	22
Total	66	17	17	4	104

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

There are four Provinces which form the federation of Pakistan. Each Province has a Provincial Assembly as follows:

The members of the PA are elected by the people by direct vote. The PA is elected for a term of 5 years. The PA elects a Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

Province	Seats			Total
	General	Women	Minorities	
Punjab	297	66	08	371
Sindh	130	29	9	168
Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa	99	22	3	124
Balochistan	51	11	3	65

THE JUDICATURE

Art 175 provides for a Supreme Court of Pakistan. Each Province shall also have a High Court. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and other judges whose number shall be determined by the President.

The Constitution of 1973 was based on the general consensus. Almost all the political parties extended their approval to it. Its enforcement from 14th August 1973 initiated a new era of democracy and political stability in the Country.

The first general elections under the 1973 Constitution were held in 1977. The Government of PPP was accused of having rigged the elections which sparked off a country wide agitation against the PPP's

Government. The hostile agitation posed a serious threat to the internal security of the Country. The agitating parties demanded fresh elections and removal of ZA Bhutto from power. The Government did not accept the demand. The constant populist agitation and the rigid attitude of the Government plunged the country into a serious constitutional and political turmoil of grave severity.

General Zia did not abrogate the 1973 Constitution but suspended it and put it in abeyance for the time being. The Martial Law régime of General Zia in the meantime introduced a number of amendments to the constitution in order to adjust it with the changed situation after the imposition of Martial Law.

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN PAKISTAN'S POLITICS BEGINNING OF AYUB KHAN'S ERA

POLITICAL SCENARIO

Pakistan, after independence, had experienced nearly 16 years of military rule (1958-62, 1969-71 and 1977-85). It is mainly due to the fact that Pakistan could not establish a stable and true democratic order. Political developments in the United Pakistan (1947-71) and in the truncated Pakistan (1972-95) could hardly be considered as having been based on the democratic values.

Military interventions in politics in Pakistan have given roots to lots of queries and interpretations. It is often asked as to what have been the causes and reasons of the military being lured into the politics after regular intervals. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister once spoke of the military intervention in Pakistan, "it is not the inordinate ambitions in a special taste for the politics but the failure of political classes to govern effectively that the military intervention takes place in Pakistan".¹

It is true that there has been a section of powerful Pakistan army who consider itself the guardian of the national interests and have, therefore, moral obligation to intervene in politics whenever there occurs any political crisis or the government machinery comes to the verge of collapse.

When the first Martial Law was imposed in 1958, Pakistan's political and social conditions were simply intolerable. At the centre and in West Pakistan, Republican Party was put into power as a result of continued manipulations, conspiracies and violation of 1956 Constitution. The

Republican Party did not have a representative character and had no roots in the public. It was established in the President house as a result of political intrigues. President Iskander Mirza was mainly responsible of the political intrigues. Due to his involvement in the political conspiracies, the Muslim League, a majority party, could not come into power.

In East Pakistan the political situation was even worse. Two major parties the Awami League and Krishak Sramik Party confronted with each other and were involved in the worst sort of political bickering. The political rivalries were so acute that the Deputy Speaker of East Pakistan Assembly was killed and the Speaker was seriously beaten on the floors of the House. A number of the members of the two rival factions were seriously injured. Disrespect to the national flag was a regular happening. The ruler of an acceded state in West Pakistan declared open defiance of the central authority and removed the national flag. Black-marketing, corruption and profiteering were rampant and subversive and anti-state elements were flourishing.

In October, 1957 Iskander Mirza dismissed Shuharwardy and appointed I.I. Chundrigar as the Prime Minister. The Chundrigar government could last only three months. In December, 1957 he was replaced by Malik Feroze Khan Noon. Under the 1956 Constitution Pakistan's first general elections were to be held in March 1959. The forthcoming elections and their prospective results greatly worried Iskander Mirza as the results of the elections were bound to destabilize his monopolized position. The new elections could throw up a new generation of politicians or could result in the victory of Awami League under Shuharwardy. In either case Mirza's manipulative and

1. Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne H. Rudolph, 'Generals and Politics in India', Pacific Affairs, Spring 1964, cited in Talukder Munir-uz-Zaman, Military Withdrawal from Politics. A Comparative Study, Massachusetts, 1987, p. 90.

unconstitutional methods of maintaining his control over country's political situation could be jeopardized.

MILITARY INTERVENTION (ML IMPOSED)

President Iskander Mirza decided that the general elections must not be held. Mirza got in touch with General Muhammad Ayub Khan and told him that as country's situation has become highly critical and unbearable he has decided to take action. Ayub Khan reached Karachi on 5th Oct. 1958 and met Mirza who told him that he had made up his mind to act. On the first instance Ayub's reaction was that it was unfortunate that such a sorry stage has been reached. But secretly delighted on this golden opportunity of getting into political power coming his way, Ayub Khan gave his assent to take action on the pretext of saving the country.

On October 7, 1958 Mirza abrogated the 1956 Constitution, dismissed the central and provincial governments and dissolved the assemblies. Martial Law was proclaimed and Ayub Khan was appointed the CMLA. On the imposition of Martial Law Ayub Khan declared, "There has been no limit to the depth of their (politicians) baseness, chicanery, deceit and degradation. The result is total administrative, economic, political and moral chaos in the country".²

Ayub began his Martial Law regime with wide support in the masses. He himself was keen to take the opportunity to reconstruct the country. People were so frustrated with unsatisfactory working of the country's parliamentary democracy and performance of the politicians that they immediately extended their support to the Martial Law regime of Ayub Khan. Ayub was considered as the last hope to save the country.

A highly ambitious man, Ayub, ever since becoming the C-in-C in 1951, have been watching the deteriorating political and social conditions of the country which greatly dismayed and repelled him as a patriotic Pakistani. For him the situation of the country was in itself harmful and must be stopped. He was basically a great organizer and a man of

action for whom it was not possible to sit quietly on the ruination of the country. He had developed an image of his country which he wanted to bring into reality by eliminating the shortfalls and putting the country on the road to economic progress and happiness.

AYUB'S ML IN OPERATION

With Ayub now the indisputed leader, the revolution got off to a sweeping and business-like start. There were a number of things to be done with respect to the nation building. Major reforms had to be put through in order to remove the confusion and imbalance in social and economic life of the country. A proper constitution was the urgent need of the moment which could properly address to the problems of the people and which would be in accordance with the principles of Islam. Land reforms, particularly in Punjab, were required to eliminate the giant landlords, who by their monopoly in the agricultural sector, had got the firm hold of the political affairs of the country. The refugees, who migrated to Pakistan after leaving their hearth and home, were living in squalor in Karachi, had to be rehabilitated in a befitting and humanly manner. The educational and legal system required substantial overhauling. Country's capital had to be reconstructed and Muslim Family Laws were to be remodeled.

Ayub adopted methods to redesign Pakistan's foreign policy and put an end to Pakistan's subservient posture to the US. "Ayub wanted essentially what his soldier brother (de Gaulle) sought for France, an opportunity for national self-assertion and independence, meaning independence from the US".³ Pakistan under Ayub was cited as a model for developing countries. Similarly Ayub's foreign policy and diplomatic moves earned him the title of the 'Asian or Muslim De Gaulle'.

After taking over complete control of the administration, Ayub set up a number of commissions to examine the situation and recommend for the introduction of reforms in the constitutional, political, social economic

2. Dawn, Karachi, 8 Oct. 1950.

3. The Economist, London, 15 August, 1959.

and administrative spheres of the country. Machinery was set up to purge the bureaucracy and police of the officers who were known to be corrupt. Smugglers and black-marketeers were rounded up. Businessmen who had despatched their illegal earning abroad and who had evaded their taxes were given a period of grace to pay the taxes and repatriate the money held in the Swiss banks. Huge sums of money were recovered in this way.

EBDO

Corrupt politicians were dealt with firmly. Ayub had watched the political situation of his country with deep insight and believed that the politicians were mainly responsible for political, moral and social degradation of the country. He was of the view that if the politicians were left unchecked, the ML regime would find it difficult to accomplish its target of national development. Ayub promulgated two ordinances to ban the politicians which were (1) Public Office Disqualification Order, and (2) Elective Bodies Disqualification Order. By these ordinances the corrupt politicians were given a choice of either face the trial under EBDO for the misdeeds or voluntarily abdicate from all political activities for the next six years. A large number of politicians like H.S. Suharwardy, Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood and C.E. Gibbon chose to step down instead of facing the trials. Similarly corrupt bureaucrats and police officials were dismissed from service. After settling with the corrupt politicians and officers, Ayub now set himself to the task of introducing reforms in the various spheres of the country. Ayub's reforms are discussed below.

Economic Development

Ayub, in the very beginning of his regime, put great emphasis on the economic uplift of the country. His era is remembered for the professional competence which his regime demonstrated in its approach towards the economic management of the country. His main thrust was on the industrialization as he believed that Pakistan adversely lagged behind in the industrialization. Therefore, his political, social and economic policies were

directly or indirectly aimed at achieving the target of industrialization.

There were some formidable obstructions in the way of economic uplift like the lack of national integration and excessive emphasis on the religion being the common bond. These problems seriously thwarted the economic progress despite concerted endeavours by the ML regime. To some extent Ayub's economic policies created hindrance in the way of national integration.

However, Ayub was able to overcome these problems mostly by his own dynamism. He did not care for the unpopularity his regime earned due to his economic policies as his regime was neither put into power by popular support nor did it sought in the first few years an electoral vote. Ayub was, therefore, successful to push through an industrialization programme which a democratic regime, particularly the one led by big landlords, could not have achieved.

The Ayub era was a period of smooth economic development distinct from the stagnant economic profile of the fifties. There was a significant increase in the per capita income as compared to the position in the 1950's. The agricultural and industrial sectors demonstrated impressive performance and accelerated GNP growth. Five years plans were prepared with utmost care and professional expertise and contained the overall framework of the development. The five years plans provided the required and necessary discipline and firm control over economic management. The five years plans carried the clarity of objectives and the strategy to accomplish the developmental target within the prescribed time period. Targets and instruments were clearly mentioned in the developmental projects. The monetary discipline and a tight control over budget deficit provided strength and stability to the economic situation in the country.

Land/Agrarian Reforms

Ayub's ML regime took up revolutionary steps to improve the agricultural sector of Pakistan. From the very beginning a few notable families had established their sway in the political set up of the country. They

monopolized political power due to their overwhelming position in the society. Particularly in the West Pakistan, politics had been dominated by a few wealthier landowner families. The landed class became highly influential and the political power revolved around them. There were big landowners on the one side and the peasant proprietors with small holding on the other. Cultivation was done by tenant farmers on the land of the big landowners on the basis of crop sharing. The landlord did not plough the field and lived in an extravagant style. He got lion's share out of the crop which after catering to his domestic requirements left a large amount for his wasteful political activities. They rarely visited their land and were not interested in raising the productivity of the land by mechanizing the farm. These type of landlords were known as 'absentee landlords' and were the scourge of the political system of the country.

The absentee landlords exploited the poor cultivators who had neither the means nor the incentive to take on to the mechanization. The other class of cultivators were the peasant proprietors with small holding of land. The small peasant despite having put in intensive labour in ploughing and cultivation, was not in a position to generate surplus yield as what he produced on his small farmland was not enough to meet his basic requirements. Tenant cultivators, therefore, were the most oppressed and exploited class. As the land under tenant cultivators was less productive because the tenant cultivators had no incentive to make long term investment due to their insecure position, the landlord could easily remove the present tenant cultivator at the end of the year and hand over land to the new tenant on fresh terms and conditions. The tenant cultivators, therefore, took the land as a temporary means of livelihood. The system immensely added to the distress and agony of the tenant cultivators.

Fragmented land units were another malady of our agricultural sector adversely affecting the productivity of the land. It meant the distribution of land amongst its owners in shape of small units which greatly curtailed

the fertility of the land affecting its yield and production. The problem of fragmented land units was very acute since land was held by different owners of a family residing in different areas. In many cases the pieces of land, when distributed amongst the owners, became so small and rendered uncultivable to bear the expenses of modern methods of farming. Productivity on such lands obviously remained negligible.

Ayub's ML regime, in order to eliminate the influence of the big landowners and particularly the 'absentee landlords' in politics and to ameliorate the economic conditions of the people, appointed a Land Reforms Commission in October 1958. Ever since the independence need for land reforms was acutely felt but no step was taken to dissect the large holdings.

The Land Reforms Commission was advised to consider the problems relating to the ownership and tenancy of agricultural land and to recommend steps for ensuring higher production and security for those engaged in cultivation. The Commission submitted its report within three months. Ayub Khan, within three weeks of the submission of the report announced Land Reforms for West Pakistan. The main features of the reforms were as follows:-

1. "No person would own or possess more than 500 acres of irrigated or 1000 acres of unirrigated land. Present owners would retain land upto 150 acres as orchard and could also make gifts of a limited area to their heirs and relatives. In any case a person could not retain more than 36000 produce index units.
2. The land in excess to the prescribed limit would be resumed on the payment of 'fair' compensation in the form of interest-bearing bonds redeemable in 25 years.
3. The resumed land would be offered to the existing tenants for sale. The land not purchased by them would be sold to others. The existing tenants could make the payment of price of the land in installments.

4. Occupancy tenants would become full owners.
5. A guarantee of security to tenure to the tenants.⁴

Ayub's land reforms were an attempt to enhance the status of the tenants. Tenants could not be ejected without payment of appropriate compensation and the landowners were not permitted to unlawfully raise the rent or exact non-contractual fees.

Consolidation of fragmented holding was another highly laudable step taken by Ayub regime which was aimed at raising farm productivity. The consolidation policy enabled the farmers to exchange fragmented pieces of land for land adjoining their holdings.

The Land Reforms were accompanied by four major policies to improve productivity. These policies are irrigation, land reclamation, mechanization and the use of scientifically tested inputs.⁵

The ML regime of Ayub Khan adopted measures to improve the irrigation system of Pakistan. The government undertook an excellent programme of long term investment to re-design the irrigation system. In 1959 the famous agreement of Indus Basin Treaty was concluded with India. India agreed to give a guarantee of ten years of unhindered water supply to the rivers flowing into Pakistan. India also agreed to pay compensation money to Pakistan to build its irrigation system. Pakistan meanwhile was to construct its huge dams partly financed by World Bank Loans and compensation money from India. Pakistan with the support of some friendly countries and World Bank was able to erect its three huge dams at Mangla, Warsak and Tarbela. These dams are huge reservoirs of water and sufficiently feed the network of canals. They are also the great source of producing hydro-electric power.

To supplement the canal water supply and to eliminate the problem of scarcity of

water an extensive programme of tubewells installation was worked out. For this purpose the government had to provide electricity to the rural areas. Farmers were given loans on easy terms and conditions to buy tubewells for installation.

A large portion of cultivable land fell a prey to the cancerous disease of salinity and waterlogging. The government launched an effective programme of salinity control and reclamation projects (SCARP) to control the menace of salinity and waterlogging. Tubewells were installed to suck out the excessive water from the waterlogged land.

One of the most important step taken by Ayub's regime was the transfer of modern technology of farming and cultivation. The use of scientifically tested and controlled inputs and mechanical power was encouraged by the government. Locomotive machinery was introduced for ploughing purposes. Tractors replaced the bullocks for ploughing the fields. Education on the modern methods of cultivation was imparted to the farmers. Lavish loans on easy terms and conditions of repayments were sanctioned for the purchase of modern technology of cultivation. The government, in order to facilitate rural financing established financial institutions like Agricultural Development Corporation and an Agricultural bank. These institutions were later amalgamated to form the Agricultural Development Bank. These agencies were to assist the farmers in buying tractors, installing tubewells and using superior quality seeds, fertilizers and insecticides.

Industrial Reforms

Industrial growth is dependent on multifarious factors which greatly help in giving boost to the industrial development. Availability of labour force which the investor can easily employ, adequate capital, raw material and foodstuff, a stable agricultural sector, adequate market facility for consumption of industrial goods, smooth means of transport and communication, schooling, hospitals and residential facilities are the vital ingredients of the industrial

4. Hassan Askan Rizvi, 'The Military and Politics in Pakistan,' pp.127-128.

5. Nadeem Qasir, 'Pakistan Studies,' An Investigation into Political Economy, Oxford, p.32.

growth. These facilities must be available in the area where industry is to be established. Moreover the administrative efficiency in the government departments must exist and a network of traders and wholesalers must be ready to sell the goods. Above all a stable political order must prevail throughout the country to induce the private investor to have a plunge into the industry.

In order to eliminate impediments and to pave way for smooth industrial growth, the Ayub regime adopted the policy of *gradual liberalisation of economy*. The extreme bureaucratic restraints were ceased off by more market oriented approach. Prices of the industrial goods were stabilized through price mechanism which relaxed the control over industrial investment and trade. The government removed the constraints on profit margin and prices, imposed during the fifties. It provided tremendous incentive to the traders, wholesalers and private investors. Resultantly during 1958-63, Pakistan's industrial growth performance was highly impressive.

Investment procedure was simplified which involved relaxation of restrictions on both imports and exports. The ML regime placed a number of items on the free list for which no import licence was required for import purposes. The acquisition of import licence was made easier. The government took measures to increase foreign exchange earnings by encouraging exports. A *bonus voucher scheme* was introduced on 10th January, 1959 to accelerate foreign exchange earnings by pushing exports. Under this scheme exporters of certain raw materials and manufactured goods received import permits equivalent to 10-40% of the value of the exported goods. These bonus vouchers were transferable, or sold in the open market and could be used to import goods from abroad. There was strong demand for these vouchers which enabled the holder to command high premium. Importer of luxury items paid asked for price of these vouchers. The bonus voucher scheme provided great boost to the earning of foreign exchange through enhanced export.

During this time a number of steps were taken to boost up investment in the industrial sector. New industries were given tax holidays and dividend income upto Rs. 3000/- was declared as tax free. In 1951 PIDC was established which assisted in the development of industries. Ayub's regime further strengthened this institution. NIT was set up to attract small savings into industrial investment. The surplus from East Pakistan to West Pakistan was transferred in various forms. The foreign exchange earnings from jute export, profits made through interwing trade, taxes appropriated by the Central government from the Eastern wing and control over surplus of industrial enterprises owned by West Pakistanis in East Pakistan were transferred to West Pakistan for import purposes in West Pakistan.

Domestic markets were unified so that the finished goods could travel from one area to the other with ease. The princely States were dismantled and brought under government control. The domestic market was further strengthened by the imposition of tariff on imported goods. It enabled the new industries to compete with foreign goods. Ayub regime concluded agreements with the friendly Muslim countries for economic development. The RCD union was formed by Pakistan, Iran and Turkey for the regional economic development between the three countries.

Constitutional/Political Reforms

When Ayub took over as the CMLA and later on as President of Pakistan, he was fully convinced that the political structure of the country required a major overhaul Ayub and his military colleagues were of the opinion that parliamentary system did not suit Pakistan and would saddle the corrupt and discredited politicians back into power. 'The economic and political chaos which undertook Pakistan after independence convinced the military leaders that the Westminster Model did not suit the conditions and circumstances of Pakistan'.⁶ In a broadcast to the nation on 1st March, 1959 Ayub said, 'to work a Westminster style

6. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Op. Cit., p. 131.

democracy you need really cool and phlegmatic temperament, which only people in cold climate seem to have.' He went on, this system has only worked successfully in Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Elsewhere it has not taken real roots. So don't let us kid ourselves and cling to clichés and assume that we are ready to work such a refined system, knowing the failure of earlier attempts. It will be fool hardy to try it again until our circumstances change radically.'

Ayub's military regime, in fact, wanted to institute a political system which suited to the people and which people understood easily. Ayub and the military leaders were convinced that in order to bring economic stability, political set up must undergo a substantial restructuring. 'It has been proved that without a stable democratic set up; economic progress cannot be accomplished. A society divided between a large impoverished mass and small favoured elite results either in oligarchy or in tyranny'.⁷ Ayub Khan believed that developing nations need economic development more than any other thing. Unless a nation has attained sufficient level of economic development, liberal democratic institutions should not be introduced because these tend to divide people and encourage disintegrative forces. These tendencies undermine the output of the government and slow down the pace of economic development'.⁸

Ayub Khan in order to implement his perception of Pakistan's political order introduced a system of controlled democracy and claimed that his system was of the type that people can understand and work proficiently. Ayub believed that democracy in Pakistan should be of a type that suits to the genius of the people. In the first phase Ayub introduced a system of local self-government in 1959 and issued the Basic Democracy, order on the eve of the first anniversary of the ML regime. The system of basic Democracy, popularly known as BD system with four tiers was said to have been designed keeping in

view the peculiar conditions of the country, to make the administrative process meaningful and to introduce democracy at grass-roots'.⁹

BASIC DEMOCRACY

The BD system was introduced through the Basic Democracies Order, 1959. Although Local Self-Government institutions are a Provincial subject, yet for the sake of uniformity in both the Provinces, and also because the Basic Democrats are to function as Electoral College for the election of the President and members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies, it becomes a concern of the Centre also.

Philosophy of Basic Democracies

It is a misunderstanding of politics that systems of government are like pieces of machinery which can be imported from other countries and would work as efficiently as they worked in the country of their origin; or that a system of Government can be successfully transplanted from one country to another. Every society has its own traditions of behavior, a manner in which it goes about its business of attending to its political arrangements. Political systems generally arise from the traditions of behaviors and the manner of attending to political and social arrangements of the society. And a system of government borrowed from other people, however mechanically perfect, would fail to take root in the midst of the mass of the people unless it was in some way adapted to the genius of the people and was grafted on their spontaneous grouping. Basic Democracies is a system which has been designed according to the genius of the people of Pakistan and relates to their spontaneous grouping. Broadly speaking it is a system which starts at the grass-roots and after building a strong base, goes on to construct the structure above.

For a correct choice of a representative it is essential that the electors must know that the person chosen is capable of promoting their common interests and will not further the interests of some individuals at the expense of others. Moreover, the electors must have

7. Lipset, S.M. 'Political Man', London 1969 p. 50.

8. Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Op cit* pp. 132-133.

9. *Ibid.* p. 133.

the means of acquainting themselves with the merits and demerits of the persons contesting election. If the people have to choose from among those candidates whose merits and demerits they do not know, the process of election would degenerate into a competition as to who can deceive the people most by his tall talk, demagogic behaviour and shallow promises and win the largest number of votes. To eradicate that evil, Basic Democracies have been provided for the purpose of election, a closely-knit local area with common problems and common environment. The people would thus be able to elect those individuals from among themselves on whom they can depend for managing the affairs of their locality. The person thus elected would determine the needs of the people and devise means of fulfilling them in association with the officers of that locality. At the basic level it is known as Union Council and Union Committee in the rural and urban areas respectively. The upper tiers in this pyramidal structure are Tehsil/Thana Council, District Council and Divisional Council. It is a system of local-government which endeavors to get maximum active participation of the people in the management of their affairs at every level of the governmental hierarchy. As aptly pointed out by Professor Rushbrook Williams, both the ideas of ancient institutions of village self-government such as the Panchayat (the council of five) and of the modern institutions like the village AID designed to promote self-help and co-operative enterprise for the improvement of the village, have contributed to the formation of the Basic Democracies concept.¹⁰

In the capacity of local bodies, the Basic Democracies differ from the former local self-government institutions in the following three ways:-

Firstly, they have been built into the administrative system and made responsible of the exercise and co-ordination of administrative authority at various levels.

Secondly, they have been entrusted with more functions than those of the former local bodies and they have been associated actively, of course at their own level, with the formulation and implementation of the development programmes of the Government.

Thirdly, the Basic Democracies are intended to form a base of a new governmental and administrative structure built up from the bottom upwards.

Functions of the Basic Democracies

The main functions of the Basic Democracies can be studied under the following heads:

Administrative Functions

Administratively they were designed (a) to provide for maximum co-operation and collaboration between the people and the Government officials in relation to the discharge of the public business; (b) to decentralise the administration for the effective exercise of administrative responsibility at the level of the masses; and (c) to co-ordinate administrative activities of the Government at various levels.

Developmental Functions

Basic Democracies were meant to help decentralise development planning and implementation thereof. They were concerned with the planning and implementation of schemes undertaken by the Government Departments as well as those undertaken by the Councils themselves. All new development schemes of various departments were discussed in the District and Divisional Councils.

Local Self-Government Functions

In this capacity Basic Democracies provided and administered social services and other amenities which were of local nature and which were by general consensus the functions of local nature and were the functions of local bodies.

Constitutional Functions

The members of Union Councils committees, who were known as Basic Democrats, constituted the Electoral College for the purpose of the elections of the

10. Williams, Professor L.E. Rushbrook *The State of Pakistan*, London, 1962, P. 199.