

# Chapter 1

## TWO NATION THEORY AND IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

### Two-Nation Theory

- Give definition of the Two Nation Theory. What role did it play in the creation of Pakistan, explain in historical perspective.
- Write a comprehensive note on Two Nation Theory.
- What role was played by the Two Nation Theory in the establishment of an independent state of Pakistan?

### Meanings and Historical Background

In fact, theory is called concepts and line of actions of any political, cultural or economic movement which became common ideals of a nation. In the light of specific events and particular facts, the Two Nation Theory is also the other name of such type of philosophy and practicable program for the Muslims of subcontinent. Following are the important dynamics of Two Nation Theory:

#### 1) The Separate Identity

The Muslims have separate religious, social and cultural identity in the whole world. So, they are a separate Millat with respect to every aspect of life.

#### 2) Specific Way of Life

It is not necessary that due to their unique identity and a single nationhood the Muslims attached themselves in a particular region or a state. However, the region in which they live, they have to establish their own separate state to lead their specific way of life.

#### 3) Particular Situation in Subcontinent

It is evident from the study of the history that Islam was introduced by the Muslim traders and the preachers in South Asia and the Muslim rule started by the conquest of

Muhammad Bin Qasim and Shahab-ul-din Ghuary in Pak-o-Hind, many Muslim dynasties ruled the subcontinent for centuries. Meanwhile, the Muslim scholars and mashaikh kept on conveying the message of Islam and in this way the Islamic philosophy of culture and life prospered in subcontinent through the long common efforts of the Muslim traders, conquerors and preachers. The Muslims had no anxiety and fear of their separate identity and their interests as long as they remained ruler of the country. Their identity, political and social privileges remained quite intact. But, in the beginning of eighteenth century their ruling power started weakening. The culture and civilization began to decline after the war of independence 1857. The Muslims had to face many difficulties because they were held responsible of that movement. Sir William Hunter describes the worst situation of Muslims in his book 'The Indian Mussalmans'. He says that if a British politician wanted to create the wave of sentiments in the House of Commons, he needed to describe worst situation of only few Muslim families of Bengal.

#### 4) Hindus Animosity

It was great opportunity for Hindus because they have a hidden enmity against the Muslims dominance during the last centuries. Now they have started to spread hatred against the Muslims and to eliminate the Muslim culture. They were also struggling to ruin the Muslim economy and social life so that their soul existence might be eliminated as they had done with other nations in the subcontinent.

#### 5) Unique Culture

It is evident historically that the Hinduism and the Hindu culture absorbed the religion and culture of every nation which came into the subcontinent before the advent of Islam. Contrary to that fact the Muslim nation was the only one which remained successful in keeping their separate identity despite living among the Hindus. Neither Hindu majority neither merged them in itself nor could eliminate their identification.

#### 6) Two fold Dangers

Now, the Muslims were facing very difficult situation. On one hand, the British were suspicious about the Muslim and they wanted to weaken the Muslims in every sphere of life so that the Muslims could not create any hurdles in the British Raj. On the other hand, the Hindus were creating many difficulties for the Muslims. It is worth mentioning the Hindus had superiority in the field of education. Therefore, they dominated in civil services, trade, industry and every other field of life. They had also

created political hegemony over the representative's institutions under the cover of democracy. Due to that dominance, the Hindus were neither conceding their identity nor were prepared to give them their due rights.

### 7) Survival of Muslim Existence

In this situation Muslims began to feel threat to their survival. Thus, the ego of Muslim nationhood which was already hidden in their conscious arose to protect their existence. It was evident that they could only protect their economic, social, political and educational rights by uniting and organizing themselves with the help of the concept of nationhood whereas the base of this concept is the Islamic Deen and brotherhood. The Muslim leaders tried to convince their people that their way of life and culture is different to that of Hindus. In this way, they are a separate nation and they need special protections for their interests after uniting at one page, so that they can stand up for their rights.

### 8) Congress Mindset

The Muslims were desirous of Hindu-Muslim unity on the assurance of a few constitutional guarantees. To achieve this goal the Muslim League changed its basic objectives. Simla delegation demanded guarantee for Muslim interests. The Muslims tried to create understanding between the two nations through the Lucknow Pact. Quaid's fourteen points were presented to convey the Muslim demands. Quaid-e-Azam highlighted the problems of minorities in Roundtable Conferences. The Muslim demands of the federal system of government and provincial autonomy through either such steps tried to reach on an honorable rapprochement, but the mindset of congress was totally different. They always discouraged Muslims in this respect. For Example the Congress opposed the partition of Bengal, rejected the Muslim demands in Nehru report, applied the biased and unfair treatment to them during congress ministries and on many such occasions disregarded the Muslim desire of unity. At last, they were tired off the inimical and biased mindset of Hindus. They abandoned such efforts and were forced to adapt their own way. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 addressing the historical annual session of Muslim League Quid-e-Azam said "We naturally have our past experience, particularly from the experience of the past two and a half years of provincial constitution in the congress-governed provinces, we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust no body".

## 9) Hindu Majority

It was evident to the Muslims that the Hindus would not hesitate to harm their interests and damage their values despite of their constitutional guarantees. After being convinced of this situation they started to achieve the goal of a separate country and thus, it was resolved to establish a separate independent state in 1940.

## 10) Protection of Muslim Interests

The struggle for the protection of Muslim interests and Islamic civilization was started on the foundation of the concept of Two Nations which, at last, emerged as a movement of Pakistan. The Muslims made it their ideal to achieve an independent state in which they could adapt their individual and collective life according to Islamic principles and lead their lives according to their wishes.

Keeping above factors and reasons in mind, it can be concluded that the Two Nation Theory was the foundation of Pakistan movement as well as it was the central point of the movement which later on became the base of a new Muslim state.

## Evolution of Two Nation Theory

The concept that the Hindus and the Muslims are two separate nations in the historical context of subcontinent is called Two Nation Theory.

Prof. Hassan Askari Rizvi stating about the evolution of this concept says that the journey of the Muslim community to a Nation was a complex political and social process which was not completed by means of a single factor but various factors based on historical, social, political and psychological facts and objectives played an important role in the evaluation of this process. Moreover, Islamic civilization and historical context of South Asia, feelings about the decline of Muslim rule, the desire for the revival of their social status, protection of Muslim identity as well as rights and interests, impacts of speedy constitutional changes, biased mindset of congress, rising educated class of Muslim leadership, the observations and experiences of leaders, sense of insecurity and the successful mass movement of Muslim leaders were the main elements involved in the evolution of concept of Two Nation Theory.

In subcontinent, beginning of the Two Nation Theory is traced with the arrival of Muslims. All the nations except Muslims which came to India could not keep their separate existence. All those nations merged into Hindu civilization. The Muslim nation was the first one which kept on their unique status, separate identification and the conscious of separate identity, which, later on became the foundation of a separate

state. Highlighting this Muslim character Quid-e-Azam once remarked, "Pakistan came into being the very day when the first Indian national entered in the field of Islam"

The famous historian, Ian Talbot, confirming the Quaid's viewpoint says that Pakistan is a result of long historical process. This process began when the impact of Islam started on Hindu civilization. The concept of Two Nation Theory as created and highlighted on various occasions by eminent personalities is somewhat follows.

### Hazrat Mujaddid Alif-Sani

During the period of Akbar-e-Azam, the concepts like din-e-ilahi were appearing. The difference between Islam and Kufar was being eliminated. In that situation, Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani took a stand against those concepts and highlighted the difference between the Islam and other religions. He advised the Muslims to maintain their separation from the Hindus. In this way he brought the concept of two nations in light. Explaining this view he once stated "If Muslims want to live like a living nation they will have to get rid of all paganism. They will have to live separately from Hindus. If this consciousness of separate nationalism is not emerged among the Muslims then the fear is that they would be swept away in the flood of one-nationhood."

### Hazrat Shah Walli Ullah

The Muslim civilization was declining after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707. Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah tried to save the Muslims of subcontinent at that time. He advised the Muslims to be united and follow the Islamic rules and values. He also warned the Muslims to give up un-Islamic culture which was being practiced by the Hindu majority. He highlighted the concept that the Muslims were a separate nation from the Hindus. His teachings proved helpful and saved the Muslim culture from the amalgamation of Hindu customs.

### Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

In the beginning Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the supporter of Hindu Muslim unity. He described Muslims and Hindus as the two beautiful eyes of bride. In 1867, Urdu-Hindi conflict changed his mind. After the happening of that event he was convinced that both the nations would not come close in any affair. He expressed his view point when he met Mr. Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Banaras and explained the Two Nation Theory as "Hindi-Urdu conflict is the starting of separation between Hindu and Muslims which will gradually increase and a day will come when both the nations will separate from each other"

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the pioneer of Muslim political leadership, used the word 'Nation' in 1867. He highlighted that Muslims were a separate nation having their own culture and civilization. He demanded separate seats for Muslims in the representative institutions. In this way, he presented Two Nation Theory in clear words. Moulvi Abdul Haq says that if we thoroughly study the achievement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan we can easily find the first brick, while laying the foundation of Pakistan was put by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

### Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Allama Iqbal provided the theoretical foundation of Muslim nationhood. He stressed that the Muslims have their own way of life. Their culture, religion, art, history and civilization are different from that of Hindus. He highlighted that the base of Islamic Millat is not erected on any race, creed, colour or country but on a concept which is different and unique as compared to other nations. Allama Iqbal awakened the Muslims of subcontinent with his poetry to demand and developed an urge of a separate homeland among them. He led the Muslims at every step and rendered great services for the establishment of Pakistan. Allama Iqbal considered Islam a complete code of life. In this context he said "I am fully convinced that Muslims of India would ultimately have a separate homeland, as they could not live with the Hindus in the United India"

The two nation theory got momentum, when, Allama Iqbal clearly stressed the need of a separate state by including the province of NWFP, Punjab and Sindh in his address at Allahabad in 1930.

### Quaid-e-Azam

Quaid was also the supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity in his early days in politics but the biased mindset and stubbornness of Hindus made him flag bearer of Two Nation Theory. Quaid-e-Azam became a great supporter of Two Nation Theory. That is why he stated "The foundation of two nation theory was laid on the day when the first non-Muslim of the subcontinent became Muslim"

Elaborating the idea and vision of independent state based on this idea, he said "The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and in which we could develop according to our own values and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play"

Moreover, he once said "The Muslims are a nation by every definition of the word nation".

## Opinions of other Writers

### 1) John Bright

On 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1858 John Bright conceding the Two Nation Theory gave the concept of a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

### 2) Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani

Afghani was a staunch supporter of Pawn Islamism. He led all his life in awakening and uniting the Muslim Ummah. In 1879, he gave the concept of Two Nation Theory in the subcontinent.

### 3) Maulana Abdul Haleem Sharar

He was an eminent writer and journalist. On 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1890 he gave the concept of Two Nation Theory, and asserted that Muslims of India were a separate nation. Keeping their mutual differences in mind, he proposed that the subcontinent should be divided in Hindu and Muslim provinces.

### 5) Walait Ali Bamboq

He expounded Two Nation Theory in a column of Commarade newspaper by the pen name of Bamboq in 1913.

### 6) Abdul Qadir Bilgrami

In 1920 he proposed the autonomy of Muslims under a separate state on the basis of a separate nation in subcontinent.

### 7) Murtaza Makesh

Murtaza Makesh talked about the separate state of Muslims in 1928, on the basis of a separate identity.

### 8) Choudhary Rehmat Ali

In 1933 he coined the word 'Pakistan' for an independent Muslim state on the basis of two nation theory, while he was a student of Cambridge University, England.

### 9) Villabhai Patel

He was a nationalist leader of congress. He says that there are two nations living in India, it is a fact whether we like or not. I am convinced that the Hindus and the Muslims cannot stand together as one Nation.

## Events Developing the Theory

### Urdu-Hindi Conflict 1867

Differences between Hindus and Muslims started at this conflict and intensified on the occasion of partition of Bengal. After such events, the Muslims were convinced that

Hindus were not their well wishers, so the Muslims began to struggle for their interests on the basis of a separate Nation.

### Simla Deputation

In 1906, a deputation including 35 Muslim leaders led by Sir Agha Khan, met Viceroy in Simla. It tried to convince Viceroy that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations. Their interests were different from each other. Therefore, the Muslims should be given the right of separate electorate so that they can protect their interests.

### The Establishment of Muslim League

Keeping in mind the state of affairs in the subcontinent, leadership thought that the Muslims should have a political party which could protect the interests of Muslims. Thus, they established the Muslim League in 1906.

### The Lucknow Pact

The pact was made in 1916 between the Congress and Muslim League. In this pact Congress supported the right of separate electorate for the Muslims. In other words, it accepted indirectly the Two Nation Theory. All aforesaid events helped in stabilizing the concept of Two Nation Theory.

## Role of 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, history, religion and social values. Islam, the religion of Muslims, was based on the concept 'To heed' and brotherhood; therefore it could not be assimilated in any other system or religion.

### 1) Origin of Pakistan Movement

The Two Nation Theory was the concept of two nations and was an originating point of Pakistan movement. Movement started on the basis of this concept which remained a dynamic force throughout the whole struggle.

### 2) Demand of Simla Deputation 1906

In 1906, deputation of Muslim representatives called on Viceroy Lord Manto. It

demanding the right of separate electorate for the Muslims on the basis of Two Nation Theory. The British Government accepted the demand under the Indian Act of 1909.

### 3) Establishment of Muslim League

The main motive for establishment of Muslim League was that the Muslims were a separate nation in the subcontinent. So, there should be a separate political party for the protection of their interests. After the establishment of Muslim League in 1906, Pakistan Movement was launched with a new zeal under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. At last, the movement gained momentum and attained its goal as an independent Muslim state.

### 4) Lucknow Pact

According to Lucknow Pact which was made in 1916, the Congress accepted the right of separate electorate conceding the Muslims as a separate nation. Moreover, the Congress indirectly accepted the status of Muslim League as a representative of Muslims through that pact. As a result of that pact, later on, the right of separate electorate was maintained in all Indian Acts. Moreover, the Muslims achieved one third seats of central legislature as a separate nation.

### 5) Quaid's Fourteen Points

In 1929, Quaid-e-Azam presented his famous fourteen points for the separate Muslim identity and for the protection of Muslim interests. Those points were considered as the common demands of the Muslim of the subcontinent.

### 6) Allahabad Address 1930

In 1930, Allama Iqbal highlights while addressing the annual session of Muslim League at Allahabad said that Islam is not a name of few beliefs but it is a complete code of life which guides Muslims in every sphere of life. It is the basic concept under which they lead their lives. On the basis of this theory, he demanded the separate Muslim state for the Muslims in subcontinent.

### 7) The Word "Pakistan"

In 1933 Ch. Rehmat Ali demanded the separate state for Muslims on the basis of Two Nation Theory. He proposed the word Pakistan as a name for a new state by combining the first alphabets of its regions.

### 8) Lahore Resolution 1940

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah addressing the 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of Muslim League on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 explained Two Nation Theory and then demanded a separate Muslim state for the Muslims. He said "Pakistan was created the very day the first Indian national entered the fold of Islam". He further stated "The Muslims are a 'nation' by every definition of the word nation. They have every right to establish their separate homeland. They can adopt any means to promote and protect their economic, social, political and cultural interests".

In that session Muslim League passed the famous Lahore Resolution of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. It tried very hard under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam to accomplish the goal of Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947.

### 9) Elections of 1945-46

Muslim League fought the elections on two main points

a. The Muslims are a separate nation and the Muslim League is their sole representative party.

b. The ultimate solution of the political problems is division of subcontinent.

Muslims voters supported the demands of Muslim League which were the separate identity of Muslims and the demand of Pakistan. In those elections Muslim League proved itself as a sole representative party of the Muslims after winning a grand emerged with grand success.

### 10) Establishment of Pakistan

After the historical success of Muslim League in the elections, Muslim League emerged with new strength which could not be ignored by both the British and the Congress. The British government had to include the Muslim League in interim government and lastly it had been forced to accept the demands of Pakistan. In this way the Pakistan Movement succeeded in achieving its goal. After a long struggle, Pakistan came into being on the map of the world on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

## Ideology of Pakistan

- Write a detailed note on the ideology of Pakistan.
- Define Pakistan ideology. What are the major aims and objectives of the creation of Pakistan?
- Discuss Pakistan's ideology in the light of speeches and statements of Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

## Meaning of Ideology

The term ideology with regards to its meanings and definitions is complex one. The French philosopher Autoine D Tracy first of all used this term in French revolution and defined it as the science of ideas which means the study of the origins, evolution and nature of ideas. By inference, an ideology is set of beliefs, values, norms and goals incorporated into a general formulation. In other words, Ideology stands for a set of ideas, values and beliefs which is accepted by the majority and tried to implement according to an arranged program.

The modern concept of ideology is a set of beliefs, values, theories which explain the reality of social, economic, moral and political phenomenon along with the program of social and political changes and their applications.

Political ideology is thus different from and broader than a theory and philosophy. It not only analyses and explains like a theory, fixes values like philosophy but also calls for action. The test of political ideology lies in its application.

A political ideology, as Christenson said "A political ideology is system of beliefs that explains and justifies a preferred political order either, existing or proposed and offers a strategy for its attainments".

Ideologies often reflect the way of thinking of a nation or a social group who are usually dissatisfied to the prevailing social set up. Ideology is always a motivating force for a nation which is trying to nourish its Nationhood.

In short, the social and political program along with its line of action of any movement, which becomes a collective objective of a nation, is called Ideology.

## Ideology of Pakistan

Ideology of Pakistan is based on the Islamic ideals. It was a reaction to exploitation of the Muslims by Hindus and the British in the subcontinent. It was also a revolt against Hindu nationalism which was being imposed on the Muslims and their culture. It included a strategy to save the Muslim culture from elimination. In broader sense, the ideology of Pakistan was the awareness of the Muslims in the historical perspective of South Asia that they were a separate nation on the basis of Islamic identity. Thus, they should have their own homeland.

## Definitions

Ideology of Pakistan is defined by different scholars as

### 1) Dr. Aslam Syed

Ideology of Pakistan is the name of molding individual and collective lives according

to Islam and saving our lives from conflicting ideologies.

## 2) Dr. Syed Abdullah

The belief that Pakistan is result of Two Nation Theory and the only base of Muslim nationalism is Islam instead of color, creed or language.

## 3) Allama Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui

A well known scholar Allama Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui defined ideology of Pakistan as the name of implementation of Islamic principles on individuals, groups and government and Islam should be stronger than the strongest forces here.

## Historical Background and its Dynamics

Islam was introduced in the subcontinent on the advent of Muslim traders, conquerors and preachers. A new nation emerged on the base of religion which later on, became the rulers of that region. Muslim civilization and culture remained protected and continued to flourish as long as their rule remained intact. When their power started to decline and ultimately the Muslim rule was replaced with the establishment of British Raj their economy, civilization, culture and social status was under the attack of the English and Hindu culture.

Hence, they were facing hard times and had fear of being erased away. Consequently, they had to struggle for their existence. The following are the main factors for the formulation of new ideology.

### 1) The Sense of National Unity

In those difficult times, sense of unity among Muslims was being felt. Otherwise, they could not save their culture and protect their interests.

### 2) Hindu-Muslim Conciliation

The Muslims tried to reach on an honorable understanding with Hindus, but the Hindus rejected all such efforts of rapprochement. The Muslims were disappointed by the Hindus conduct. Thus they had to adopt their own ways. Consequently, they felt the need of unity and organization for a common agenda.

### 3) Islam as a Dynamic Force

In that situation, Islam was the only effective source of unity and the last hope of survival on which they could rely on. That is why the Muslim leadership gave attention to the propagation of Islamic nationalism. The Quaid said that "Islam is our

bed rock and sheet anchor". Stressing the need to adopt the Islamic code of life Quaid once stated "Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology which has to be observed, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure, which we hope others will share with us."

#### 4) Beginning of Representative Democracy

During the period of representative democracy, it was evident that:

- a. The British and Hindus were bent upon harming the Muslim interests.
- b. The Hindu majority would establish its dominance by the representative democracy and it would treat the Muslims as treated under the congress ministries.
- c. The separate homeland was inevitable inspite of constitutional guarantees to safeguard the Muslim interests and their cultures.

#### 5) Bitter Experiences

After the bitter experiences of 90 years under the British Raj and the biased behavior of Hindus the ideology of Pakistan became the popular program of the Muslims. They began to gather under the flag of Muslim League. Now, they began to trust only in the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. Quaid-e-Azam was the sole representative of the whole Muslim Nation. No one could derail them from their set goal. Explaining this mindset Quaid-e-Azam said, "We have learnt many lessons from the past experiences therefore we are fully aware and anxious about the situation and cannot trust in any one".

In short, this firm beliefs concept of the Muslims of South Asia that they are a separate nation from the Hindus and their firm resolve to have independent state in which can lead individual and collective life according to the principles of Islam. So that their culture and civilization will grow without any intervention and they can establish exploitation free society on the basis of social justice and economic equality is regarded as ideology of Pakistan.

### **Elements of Ideology**

The foundation of this ideology is Islamic code of life which has distinct principles. The basic principles that distinguish the Islamic society from the other societies are its elements, for example, belief, devotion, social justice, economic equality, brotherhood, tolerance, liberty and democracy. Moreover, the ideology of Pakistan is a set of guiding principles of a newly established state which includes the following elements.

### 1) Islam

It was the firm belief of the Muslims of the subcontinent that they have right of self determination and right to lead their lives according to the comprehensive Islamic code of life. They had demanded the separate state for themselves so that they can establish an Islamic society in their independent state. On 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1948 addressing the student of Islamia College Peshawar, Quaid-e-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) Piece of Land

The second basic element of the ideology was to have a piece of land. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940 the Muslims of subcontinent demanded an independent state by including those territories where they were in majority. Quaid-e-Azam reiterated this stance on various occasions. While addressing the Muslim student Federation on 2 March, 1941 he stated, "Muslims are a nation and a nation requires a piece of land to live on. A nation cannot stay in the air but it lives on piece of land and there should be its rule on that territory". During his presidential address in 27<sup>th</sup> session of all India Muslim League at Lahore he said

"Mussalmans are a nation according to every definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state".

### 3) Democracy

Democratic system is the base of ideology of Pakistan. Firstly, all the affairs of an Islamic state are conducted with mutual consultation which is a democratic principle. Secondly, the goal of Pakistan was achieved with the help of democratic process. When the Muslims of the subcontinent supported the demand of an independent state in the election of 1945-46, the British had to accept this demand. During the Pakistan movement, all the steps taken and decision making was according to democratic rules. Quaid-e-Azam had a firm belief in Islam and democracy and he was keenly desirous of the implementation of these principles in a newly established state. Addressing the Karachi Bar Association on 25 January, 1948 he told "Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity, fairplay and justice for everybody....let us make it [the future constitution of Pakistan].we shall make it and we shall show it to the world". Similarly Quaid-e-Azam said on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1948 at Sibi Darbar

“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 should be guided by mutual consultation.”

#### 4) Rule of Law and Social Values

The fourth element of ideology of Pakistan is based on rule of law, democratic values and conventions, social justice, human equality and collective responsibility. This element demands that every citizen should be equal under the law. Everyone can adequate opportunity to prosper. There will be no distinction among the citizens on the basis of caste, creed and religion. Rule of law and democratic values will be observed by everyone, social justice will be provided in befitting manner. That is why, all these points are incorporated in the constitution of Pakistan so that a balanced and progressive society can be developed. Highlighting the supremacy of law Quaid-e-Azam stressed in his speech delivered in Imperial Legislative Council on 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1919 “No man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure”.

#### 5) Basic Human Rights

The fifth element of ideology is basic human rights. Due to their importance, basic rights are incorporated in the constitution of Pakistan and superior judiciary has been vested with the responsibility for the protection of those rights. On 26th March, 1948 Quaid-e-Azam addressed a gathering in Chittagong and explained the importance of human rights in the following words “I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the state but also the nation”.

### **Ideology of Pakistan in the Light of Allama's Philosophy**

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a great philosopher and poet. He was also a great political leader and reliable companion of the Quaid-e-Azam. He awakened the Muslims of subcontinent with his stirring verses and by presenting the ideology of Pakistan in an impressive manner. He also presented the demand of separate homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent. He expressed the various aspects of ideology of Pakistan as follows

#### 1) Islam as a Complete Code of Life

Allama Iqbal considered Islam as a complete code of life. In the annual meeting of

Muslim League on 30<sup>th</sup> December of 1930 at Allahabad he told "Islam is not the name of some beliefs and customs but it is a complete code of life. In Europe, religion is every one's personal matter which divides the human oneness into two opposite parts i.e. body and soul. In contrast to that in Islam, God, universe, soul, matter, state and religions are bound to each other or in other words Muslims are a one Nation".

## 2) Negation of Indian Nationalism

Allam Iqbal openly negated the concept of Indian nationalism of India and emphasized on the separate and distinct national identity of the Muslims. In March, 1909 Allama Iqbal told while opposing the Indian nationalism "I remained the supporter of this idea but now I am of the view that preservation of separate nationhood is useful for Hindus and Muslims. To have the concept of single nation in India is no doubt poetic and beautiful but impractical regarding to present circumstances".

## 3) Relation of Islam and Politics

Allama Iqbal has a firm belief that Islam guides the mankind in both aspects of one's spiritual and worldly life. He says that God and Universe, the Soul and the Matter, are the different parts of "one whole". So, the religion and politics are not separated from each other in Islam. He believes that politics is the part of the religion and Islam provides complete guidance about it "Islam does not consider matter and soul separate from each other. Allah, Universe and State, all are the basic elements of single unit. Man is not so alien that he should leave worldly affairs for the sake of religion".

## 4) Separate Muslim Identity

Allama Iqbal firmly believes in the separate identity of Muslims as a nation. He made it clear that the Muslims had their unique identity on the basis of religion and culture. In this regard he said "India is not a country, it is a subcontinent of human beings belonging to different languages and practicing different religions. Muslim nation has its own religious and cultural identity".

## 5) Concept of Two Nation Theory

Allama Iqbal clarified the concept of Two Nation Theory in his Allahabad address and demanded the separate homeland for the Muslims. He told "Despite living together for hundred years Hindus and Muslims have their own different ideologies".

He advised the Muslims to understand their real position and shed away their mental confusion about the Indian nationalism. He said in his presidential address "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". He further 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".

### 6) Idea of Pakistan

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a great supporter and preacher of a separate Muslim state. He expounded this idea of separate state for Muslims in 1930 while addressing the annual session of All India Muslim League in Allahabad, "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

### 7) Islamic Unity and Brotherhood

Allama Iqbal infused the spirit of nationalism among the Muslims with his thought provoking poetry and speeches. He propagated the idea of Muslim nationalism based on Islamic unity and brotherhood. He was of the opinion that the Muslims were not linked with the geographical boundaries but with the spiritual relationship. He also stated that there was no concept of discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and color in Islam.

## **Ideology of Pakistan in the words of Quaid-e-Azam**

Quaid is liberator and Father of nation in the subcontinent. In early days, he was a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was of the opinion that both Hindus and Muslims should make joint efforts to get rid of the British rule. Jinnah's efforts to create political conciliation between Hindus and Muslims earned him the title of 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity'. The elections of 1937 and Congress Ministries proved to be a turning point in the history of subcontinent. Quaid was disappointed to find Congress participation in anti-Muslim activities. He had to change his views about Hindu-Muslim unity and declared "Muslim can expect neither justice nor fairplay under congress government".

After that situation, Jinnah reorganized the Muslim League from a party of Muslim aristocrats to a popular party. He went to masses for support. Within a brief period, he awakened the Muslim masses and brought them on the platform of Muslim League.

By the support of common people Jinnah became the trusted leader of the Muslim Nation. The Muslim League under the dynamic leadership of Quaid -e-Azam tried very hard to achieve its goal. Consequently, in a short span of time the goal was accomplished in the shape of Pakistan. Quaid struggled for the separate homeland on the basis of Islamic ideology which, later on, was named as ideology of Pakistan. He himself explained the ideology in the following words

### 1) Two Nation Theory

Quaid was a staunch believer of Two Nation Theory and considered the Muslims a separate and distinct nation. He said "Pakistan was created the day first Indian national entered the fold of Islam". He further said "The Muslims are a nation by every definition of the word nation. They have every right to establish their separate homeland. They can adopt any mean to promote and protect their economic, social, political and cultural interests".

### 2) Foundation of the Ideology

According to Quaid point of view expressed on the Islamic ideology is based on Qur'anic teachings. He considered it as a foundation of the struggle for Pakistan because Islam was the only unifying force among the Muslim nation. In this regard in the annual session of Muslim League in 1943 at Karachi 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 sheet anchor, providing base to the Muslim Millat, that relationship, the sheet anchor and the rock is Holy Quran"?

### 3) Islam as a Code of Life

Quaid has a firm conviction that Islam is a complete code of life which guides its followers in every sphere of life. He expressed his beliefs through the Eid message in September 1945 as "Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collective[ly] and individually".

### 4) Justification For the Partition of Indian

In his presidential address at Lahore on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940 Quaid while presenting the justification of partition said "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religions based on totally different beliefs, and present the different ideologies. They have different epics, different heroes and different history. Therefore, the union of two nations is fatal for the subcontinent because, it is not based on equality but on

numerical minority and other as a majority. It would be better for the British government to partition the subcontinent by keeping in view the interests of the two nations. It will be a correct decision religiously and historically”.

### 5) Objective of a Separate State

In 1946, addressing a gathering at Islamia College Peshawar he expressed the main objective of separate homeland

“We did not demand Pakistan simply to have a piece of land but we wanted a laboratory where we could experiment on Islamic Principles”.

### 6) Protection of Islamic Culture

On another occasion addressing the army officers in October 1947, Jinnah said in this regard

“Our object was to create such a state where we can live freely, our culture and civilization get flourished, and where Islamic concept of social justice can flourish exactly”.

### 7) Democratic Attitude

Quaid was a lawyer and a democrat and from head to toe, he was a staunch supporter of democracy. He always acted upon the democratic norms. It was his belief that

“Democracy is in the blood of Mussalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood...and believed in fraternity, equality and liberty”.

### 8) The Constitution of Pakistan

The Quaid while talking to an American journalist told about the making of constitution of Pakistan

“Pakistani constitution is yet to be made but I can say for sure that it would be of democratic type and would consist of the basic principles of Islam. These principles can be implemented on our practical life as they were 1300 years ago”.

### 9) Islamic System of Economy

Quaid described the importance of the economic system based on Islamic concepts as a way out of the future through his speech at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1948

“The adaptation of western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the true Islamic

system of equality of manhood and social justice”

#### 10) Protection of Minorities.

In an interview to APA representatives, at Bombay on 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1945 he assured the minorities in the following words

“Minorities can rest assured that their rights will be protected. No civilized government can run successfully without giving minorities a complete sense of security and confidence. They must be made to feel that they have a hand in government and to do this they must have adequate representation in it-Pakistan will give this”.

On 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Quaid ensured minorities for their rights of religious freedom while addressing to the opening session of the Federal Assembly of Pakistan

“You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan”.

#### 11) Participation of Minorities in Political System

Quaid was desirous to make Pakistan an Islamic democratic state. However, he highlighted that it would be not a theocratic state. On 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1948 he declared through his broadcast statement

“Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsis but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan”.

#### Importance of Ideology

The ideology of Pakistan was a firm belief of Muslims in the historical perspective of subcontinent that they were a separate nation from the Hindus on the basis of Islamic teachings and culture. No doubt, the Islamic teachings were the base of ideology of Pakistan. This ideology was one of the key dynamics of the movement of Pakistan and the same can be guaranteed for the stability and the progress. It has huge importance in our national life. It was not a mere slogan but a sketch and strategy of our national life. It is a foundation of our national identity and an important means of survival. It is a source of strength and pivotal force of unity. If we ignore it and remove it out from our consciousness, we will not only be bare headed but put our existence in a grave danger. The following points show its importance and the impact on our national life.

### 1) Crystal clear Goal

The ideology of Pakistan was a determinant goal and crystal clear goal for the Muslims of South Asia which had put them on a track that led them towards their destination. The Muslim caravan devoted with the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam started their journey and achieved their goal in a short span of time.

### 2) Source of Protection

Ideology of Pakistan saved the culture and the civilization of the Muslims and indirectly their existence. With the help of this Ideology the Muslims of India who became a minority under the western democratic system struggled for their rights and became united to safe-guard their interests.

### 3) A Means of Success

The ideology of Pakistan not only united Muslims under the banner of Muslim League but it stimulated and strengthened them. It prepared them to safeguard their rights. They had to compete with the British imperialism and hostile Hinduism with the help of the passion instilled by the ideology. At last, they succeeded in achieving their motherland.

### 4) Cause of Independence

The ideology was the main cause which carved the mindset of Muslims. This ideology developed sense of social, political injustices and their solutions. Ultimately, they demanded independence as a solution for all the injustices.

### 5) Source of Unity

The unity and homogeneity grew up among the Muslims of subcontinent as a result of ideology of Pakistan. They gave up all types of differences in the form of caste, creed, colour and language etc. They became a solid nation and achieved their right of self determination.

### 6) Source of Power

The ideology of Pakistan which was infact an Islamic ideology attained separate recognition of the Muslims and also increased their morale so that they can lead an honorable life. It protected them by providing them sense of unity and this theory provided them power to face the hardships and compete with the hostile elements.

### 7) Formation of an Islamic Society

After the introduction of ideology the Muslims became desirous for the establishment of an Islamic society in which social justice and economic equality would be observed. The basic human rights would be ensured. The rule of law would be implemented according to the principles of Islam.

### 8) Ladder of Progress

No country can achieve the political stability and resultantly can make progress without national unity and peaceful environment. The ideology of Pakistan provides unity and brotherhood among the citizens of Pakistan. It provides peaceful environment through the teachings of Islam. In this way, it becomes the ladder of unity and stability, if it is observed in true sense.

### 9) Source For the Unity of Muslim World

Islam and observance of its teachings is a sole source of unity among the countries of Islamic block, despite of various dissimilarities of language, culture and region. As the ideology of Pakistan and Islam are synonymous words, so the ideology of Pakistan can connect the missing links and become a source of unity among the Muslim world.

### 10) Foundation of Constitution of Pakistan

The objective resolution 1949 includes all the basic principles of ideology of Pakistan such as, sovereignty of Allah, democratic system, rights and liberty, equality, peace and justice, tolerance. This resolution remained the preface of all the constitutions and was made the integral part and base of constitution of 1973 by the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment of 1985. So, ideology of Pakistan is now considered as the foundation of our constitution.

### 11) The Motivating Force

Ideology is a motivating force for an individual as well as a nation. It stresses upon the realization of the ideals through total transformation of society. If we observe the ideology of Pakistan in letters and spirit we can prosper in the world and can get salvation hereafter. It has been taught us through Qur'an that a person who will lead the life according to the principles of Islam he will succeed in this world as well as hereafter.

## Aims and Objectives for Creation of Pakistan

### Historical Background

The Muslims of South Asia demanded a separate state for themselves on 23 March 1940. It was not made abruptly, but had a prolonged historical background. Muslims ruled on various parts of South Asia about 1000 years from 712-1857. The British came into India for the aim of trade, and gradually took the control of the whole area, benefitting themselves from the weaknesses and inefficiency of Mughal rulers. After that, they began to victimize the Muslims and to eliminate their symbol of honor and supremacy. In this situation many religious, reformative and educational movements were initiated and institutions were started for the survival of Muslims. Among those effective movements were the religious reforms of Mujadid Alif Sani, and Shah Wali Ullah, Aligarh movement, movement of Mujahidin, Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband, Anjuman-Himayate-Islam, Nadva-tul-Ulema Lucknow and Manzar-ul-Islam Brelvi. In the beginning of twentieth century, the Muslims established their own party, the Muslim League in (1906) for safe-guarding their political interests. This party prospered the political awareness among the Muslims. It got the right of separate electorate under the Manto-Marley Act 1909. The Muslim League not only safeguarded the interests of the Muslims but it got conceded the status of nation for the Muslims. In the early days of freedom movement the Muslims strived for the reconciliation with the Hindus but they got disappointed due to the antagonistic behavior of Hindus and ultimately they decided to attain their separate homeland. Allama Iqbal consequently, presented the idea of separate Muslim state at the platform of Muslim League in 1930. Choudhury Rehmat Ali proposed the word 'Pakistan' as its name in 1933. When the Congress Ministries took hostile measures against the Muslims, they felt real threat of the Ram-Raj and concluded that there would be no future for Muslims in united India. In the Muslim's opinion an independent and united India meant that the Muslims would remain under the control of Hindu majority forever after getting freedom from the British. Keeping in mind that background, the Muslims of subcontinent gathered in the Historical 27<sup>th</sup> Session of Muslim League held in March 1940 at Lahore. They unanimously passed a resolution for an independent Muslim state. Reasons and objectives for the creation of separate homeland were follows.

### 1) Enforcement of Sovereignty of Allah

The main objective of the demand for Pakistan was the establishment of the Muslim state in which the sovereignty Allah Almighty is enforced and government based on Islamic principles be formulated. In this context Quaid once 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 an Islamic state

Islam is a complete code of conduct which guides the Muslims according to the teachings of Allah Almighty and Muhammad (P.B.U.H) the Prophet of Allah. Islam demands to observe and enforce its principles in every sphere of life. This objective cannot be acquired without the establishment of an independent state. On 14 January, 1948 Quaid said at Sibbi Darbar

“It is my firm belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct as governed by our great lawgiver, the prophet of Islam”.

## 3) Enforcement of Islamic Democracy

Islam has given a unique concept of democracy which is distinct and applicable in every sphere of life. Everyone is equal and no one enjoys a privileged position on the basis of his social status, color or creed. Hence, one of the main objectives of the Pakistan movement was that the Muslims of the subcontinent wanted a country where the ideal system of Islamic democracy could be constituted. Once Jinnah said

“Let us lay the foundation of our democratic system on Islamic ideas and principles. The Almighty Allah has taught us that our decisions in the state affairs shall be guided by mutual consultation”.

## 4) Two Nation Theory

The entire freedom movement revolved around Two-Nation Theory. After the Urdu-Hindi conflict Sir Syed Ahmed Khan realized that the Hindus and Muslims are two different nations and he used word nation for the Muslims first time. This concept was developed and introduced gradually by Muslim Leaders with the passage of time. Two Nation Theory meant that the Muslims were a separate nation with their distinct culture, civilization, literature, history, religion and social values. In short, the Muslims are a separate nation with regard to every definition of a nation. Being a separate nation, they have a right to demand their own country. Allama Iqbal once said

“Since that 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”.

### 5) Bitterness Between the Hindus and the Muslims

The controversy between the Muslims and the Hindus started from the first day when the Muslims established their rule after the conquest of Sindh and continued throughout the history of subcontinent. The hostile activities between the two nations remained alive during the British Raj. That bitter experience forced the Muslims to part the ways from the Hindus and to strive for their own homeland.

### 6) The English-Hindi Collusion

The Muslims were political rival of the English rulers in the subcontinent because the English had grabbed power from the Muslims. Therefore the English felt that the Muslims would try to acquire their lost power if they got any opportunity. Thus they made an alliance with Hindus to weaken the Muslims and tried to push back the Muslims in the field of economy and politics etc. On the other hand they were tired of antagonistic activities of Hindus under the shelter of this alliance. Now, the Muslims started feeling that they could not honorably live with those nations. So, this feeling became the cause of Pakistan.

### 7) Revival of Status

In the united India the Muslims were dominated by the Hindus in every field of life. They were not in position to compete with Hindus because of their weakness in education and politics. The partial attitude of Hindu majority blocked all means of prosperity and progress for the Muslims. If the British would leave the country as a united India the Muslims would fall an easy prey to the Hindu domination. So, the demand for Pakistan was made to save the Muslims from Hindu domination and to revive their social status with the help of self rule.

### 8) Protection of Muslim Civilization

Although the Muslims lived with Hindus and other nations for centuries yet they proudly maintained their culture and civilization. Under the British rule the Hindus tried to merge them into Hindu society. Several such attempts were made by the Hindus with the connivance of the English, to erase Muslim culture and civilization. Urdu-Hindi controversy Shuddi and Sunghton movements and various Samaj movements were the prominent examples of Hindu activities. Thus, one of the important objectives of the Pakistan movement was the protection of Muslim culture and civilization to save them from annihilation.

### 9) Shuddi and Sunghton Movement

After the khilaft movement, the Hindu-Muslim disturbance started which increased with the passage of time which ultimately turned out as broad brawls due to the Shuddi and Sunghton movements. The aim of Shuddi movement was to merge the Muslims into Hinduism and the Singhton movement was started to train the Hindus to fight with Muslims. The impact of those movements was seen on Malkhana Rajputs and Mewati Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha was established in 1900 which was an extremist Hindu party. It tried its best to oppose the right of separate electorate and many other Muslim demands. The gulf of opposition between the Hindus and Muslims increased due to the Mahasabha activities and it was impossible for the Muslims to live with Hindus peacefully in united India.

### 10) Urdu-Hindi Conflict

The Urdu language developed during the Muslim rule which replaced the Persian. The Muslim considered it as a symbol of heritage. In 1867, the Hindu leaders of Banaras started movement to replace the Urdu as an official language by Hindi written in Devanagari script. The government, at last, surrendered and declared Hindi as a court language. This event compelled Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to give a second thought to his ideas regarding Hindu Muslim unity and One Nation. It was the first occasion when Sir Syed and many other Muslims felt that Hindu and Muslims could not live as a single nation. He expressed those views when he met with Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Banaras, he said

“Now I am convinced that both communities will not join whole heartedly”. Sir Syed quickly realized the Hindu design behind this conflict and concluded that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations with distinctive cultures and conflicting interests. He therefore used the word “Two Nations” for the Hindus and the Muslims in 1868 for the first time which became the basis of Pakistan movement.

### 11) The British Parliamentary System

Indian National Congress started to demand the parliamentary system of government for India. It was very attractive philosophy for a country having a homogenous single nation but it was not useful for a country having many nations with conflicting interests. The Muslim Leaders soon realized that they will become the slave of Hindu majority under that system. They demanded their separate representation for the protection of their interests under the British parliamentary system. As the Muslim representation was enhanced the Hindu-Muslim opposition proportionally grew. The

Muslims had to face the Hindu discord against their safeguards. That behavior of Hindus compelled the Muslims to strive for a separate state.

## 12) Salvation From Hindu Prejudice

With the beginning of their rule, the British extended favors to the Hindu majority as a natural ally, in order to win their cooperation. The Hindus were already looking for such opportunity to settle their old score with Muslims. So, the British and the Hindus developed a prejudicial policy against the Muslims in order to suppress them and subsequently, merge them in Hindi nationalism. The policy created great threat for the Muslims. So, they had to struggle for the salvation from the prejudicial Hindu majority as well as the British rule.

## 13) The Congress Ministries

Congress took many hostile measures under its provincial rule (1937-39); such as Bande-Matram anthem, worshipping of Gandhi's Mortee, a Tri-color flag, replacement of Urdu by Hindi, prohibition of cow slaughter, intervention in judicial matters. Moreover, under the Congress Raj, riots between Hindus and Muslims spread over on large scale. The cruelty and biased attitude of the Congress Ministries further strengthened Muslim suspicions. They were now fully convinced that there was no other way, except separating themselves from Hindus in order to protect their identity and Muslim interests. Hence, the demand for Pakistan was based on this very feeling that the Muslims should be saved from the perpetual Hindu domination. At last, the Muslims passed a resolution for a separate state on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940 in the historical session of Muslim League held in Lahore they worked very hard to attain their homeland and ultimately succeeded in only seven years despite the utmost opposition of Hindus and the British.

## 14) Economic Progress

The economic conditions of Muslim soon deteriorated after the war of independence. The British government had confiscated the properties of Muslims to punish them for their involvement in the war of 1857. Muslims entry into government service was banned except as a peon or low ranking jobs. The Muslims also lagged behind in the field of education which put the worse impact on their economic conditions. They reached their lowest status of social and economic life in India. They were facing continuous economic exploitation at the hands of British and Hindus. That situation forced them to think about a separate homeland for their economic progress, social security, political and cultural interests. The major objective of the creation of

Pakistan was the establishment of a balanced economic system based on the principles of Islam which could ensure the economic progress of every individual in this regard Quaid, while inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1948 said

“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.

## **Creation of Pakistan in Historical Perspective**

### **Historical Background**

The Arab traders came to India and got the opportunity to impress the local people by their fair dealings. They left an everlasting impact of their piety and simplicity. They preached Islam alongwith their business dealings. This is how the Muslim society originated in India having its distinct culture and religion which was to leave its impact on the Indian civilization in the years to come. The Quaid rightly said

“The Pakistan came into existence the day the first Indian national embraced Islam”.

So, Pakistan was a reality a long time ago. Muhammad Bin Qasim was the first commander who established Muslim rule in Sindh, a part of subcontinent. He introduced Islam as system in India. The conquest of Sindh opened the doors for the spread of Islam. The second phase of Muslim expansion began with the establishment of Muslim Turkish dynasty in Ghazni. The Mehmood of Ghazni carried out nearly seventeen expeditions after that Muslims spread all parts of North Western India. Dehli Muslim sultanate was established in India from 1192-1526 when Babar invaded India in 1526 to establish Mughal empire, which lasted up to the advent of English Raj. Islam gained quick popularity throughout the Muslim rule mainly due to the dedicated services of eminent Sufis like Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh Ali Higveri, Khawja Moinuddin Chishti, Bahauddin Zikriya of Multan, Sheikh Fariduddin Ganj Shaker, Khawja Bakhtiar Kaki, Nizamuddin Olia, and many other scholars in the subcontinent.

After the war of 1857, the British rule was established over the whole of the Subcontinent. They put the entire responsibility of war on the Muslims and took severe action against the Muslims in connivance with the Hindus. The Muslims therefore reached at the brink of social and economic annihilation. They would have been eliminated totally from the society due to the antagonistic British policy when some dedicated leaders and reformers appeared on the scene to pull the Muslims out of this disastrous situation. These prominent leaders which included Sir Syed Ahmed Khan launched vigorous movements for the Muslim revival. Those leaders struggled for the educational uplift of the Muslim as they believed that it was the key factor for

their renaissance.

## Aligarh Movement (Services of Sir Syed)

- Briefly discuss the impact of Aligarh Movement on the history of South Asian Muslims.
- Write a comprehensive note on Aligarh Movement.
- Describe the services of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in detail.
- Explain the objectives, services and impact of Aligarh movement

Sir Syed Amed 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 society as a result of Hindu and British domination. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan awakened the Muslim to animate their dormant spirit in order to put up a resolute struggle for the revival of last position of eminence. He gave him new education, thinking and a strategy due to which a new sense of determination and courage arose among them.

### Life of Sir Syed

- Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was progeny of a noble family and was born on 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1817 in Delhi.
- He got his early education from his maternal grandfather Khawja Farid-ud-Din who was then a minister at the Mughal court.
- He received education in Holy Qur'an, Arabic and Persian literature along with other subjects.
- In 1839, he joined the service of British company as a clerk, after the death of his father.
- He qualified for this post of 'Munsif' in 1848 and was posted at Fatehpur Sikri. He was transferred to Delhi and posted as a chief judge, where he remained from 1846-1854.
- During the war of 1857, his posting was at Bijnaur. During the war period he saved many British officers even at the risk of his personal life.
- He also served at Ghazipur and Banaras where he established institutions of primary education.
- In 1869, he went to England alongwith his son, Syed Mahmood, where he stayed for 17 months and examined the British education system during his stay.
- He was retired from the government service in 1876.
- In 1878, he was appointed the member of imperial council and was conferred with the title of knighthood (Sir) in 1988.

- In 1866, the University of Edinburgh of England conferred the degree of LLB on Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
- He died on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1898 after leading an active life of 81 years and was buried in the courtyard of Aligarh College Mosque.

### Objectives of Aligarh Movement

1. To build confidence between British and Muslims after the removing the misconception of the British about the Muslims.
2. To convince the Muslims to change their policy of keeping away from the British.
3. To persuade the Muslims to acquire modern knowledge and learn English language.
4. To hold back the Muslims of subcontinent from participating in politics.
5. To raise voice for the Indians and especially for the Muslim demands.
6. To create the rapprochement between the Muslims and other nations of India.

### Ideas and Services of Sir Syed

Sir Syed was an Anjuman in his person as well as a reformer of the Muslim nation. He felt aggrieved over the deplorable social and economic conditions of Muslim of India. He desired to see them at a respectable position in society and decided to guide them in various aspects of life for the revival of their status of glory. In this regard Sir Syed Ahmed Khan performed many services for the Muslims which are known in the history as Aligarh movement. His prominent services can be divided into the following aspects:

#### a) Educational Services

Learning of modern education was the foremost aim of Sir Syed. He felt that present condition of Muslims shall not improve unless they receive modern education to compete with Hindus. His strategy was based on two-fold program for the Muslim's revival which included modern education and the corporation of British government. He persisted to it even on the face of extreme opposition from the conservative Muslims. He advised the Muslims that if they did not acquire Modern education they would not be able to get their due status in the society. On the other hand, he took practical steps for the implementation of educational program. A few important steps in this regard are as under:

### 1) Muradabad and Ghazipur Schools

In 1859, Sir Syed set up a school in Muradabad where Persian and English were taught. Similarly, in 1862 he set up another modern institution namely, Victoria school of Ghazipur, in which besides English and modern knowledge, the other subjects like Urdu, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit was also taught.

### 2) Scientific Society at Ghazipur

Sir Syed set up a society at Ghazipur in 1863, which translated the modern works in various subjects from English to Urdu to make them easier for the people to understand. In 1964, office of the society was transferred to Aligarh where it established their own press for the publication of books and other material.

### 3) Aligarh Institute Gazette

The scientific society published a journal in 1866 known as Aligarh institute gazette. That journal was published both in English and Urdu languages. Its main objective was to create the feelings of goodwill and friendship among the British for the Muslims.

### 4) Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Musalmanan-i-hind

On his return from England to India Sir Syed setup the committee in 1870 at Banaras. Its main objective was to explore the reasons for low literacy rate of Muslims and the possibility of the establishment of the institution of higher education for the educational uplift of the Muslims. A fund committee was also set up which was to raise funds for such institutions.

### 5) M.A.O High School

After examining the British Education system Sir Syed initially, established Muhammadan-Anglo-Oriental High School on 24<sup>th</sup> May, 1875. Many well wishers like Nawab Rampur, Maharaja Patiala, Nizam Hyderabad and Governor Lord Bruke contributed for the construction expenses. Sir Syed himself controlled the functioning of the school after his retirement. Both the modern and eastern education was imparted in that school.

### 6) M.A.O College

Sir Syed worked hard to raise the school to college level. At last, in 1877 school was upgraded to the status of college. The M.A.O College was inaugurated by the lord Litton, Viceroy Hind at that time. The services of the famous European teachers like

Theodore Beck and Arch Bold were hired to make the college at par with British institutions. It was a residential campus and offered both Western and Eastern education. Islamic education was also given to the students. The college was open for both the Muslim and non-muslim students who came from all parts of the country. Sir Syed wanted to raise the college to the level of University which was fulfilled after his death in 1920. The college was more than an educational institution. It proved as a motivating force for the Pakistan Movement by providing educated leaders. Molvi Abdul Haq, describing the importance of M.A.O College once said "People say that Sir Syed has established college. I say, no--- he has made a nation".

### 7) Muhammadan Educational Conference

Besides establishing the educational institutions, Sir Syed formed the organization in 1886. The main objective of the organization was to carry the message of reforms to the masses. This conference held public meetings in various parts of the country. The modern techniques and ways for the propagation of education were discussed in its meetings. The eminent Muslim scholars and leaders such as Nawab Mohsin-ul-Malik, Viqar-ul-Malik, Molana Shibli, and Molana Hali who inspired the people with their spiritual dynamics and political insight. Many educational institutions, for example Aligarh University Usmania University Hyderabad and Islamia College Peshawar etc were established due to the struggle of the organization. Later on political problems were also being discussed in the meetings of the conference. The establishment of the Muslim League was also decided in the 20<sup>th</sup> annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference.

### b) Political Services

Sir Syed also earnestly served the Muslims for the protection of their political interests. He advised the Muslims to acquire first of all modern knowledge and then come into politics. He took many steps with regard to political uplift of the Muslims.

#### 1) Rasala-e-Asbab Baghawat-i-hind

Sir Syed wrote a short book on the causes of Indian revolt in order to remove the misunderstanding about the Muslim involvement in the war. He wrote that the Hindus were as much responsible for the war as were Muslims and the British government itself. The mutiny infact is the manifestation of discontentment among the people due to wrong policies of the British which were such as,

- 1) Lack of Indians representation.
- 2) Religious conversion.

- 3) Mismanagement
- 4) Wrong measures of the government

These are the factors which led to the outbreak of war of independence.

## 2) Loyal Muhammadans of India

Sir Syed wrote a pamphlet "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he gave a detailed account of the services of loyal Muslims, paid to the British rule.

## 3) British India Association

In 1866, Sir Syed established the association at Aligarh. The aim of that association was to express the grievances and Indian point of view to the British and its parliament. That organization made several memorandums to the parliament and the U.K government relating to the Indian problems.

## 4) Protection of political interests

Sir Syed demanded separate representation of Muslim in the local councils and other representative institutions of the government. He also demanded separate quota for the Muslims in government services opposing the open merit in competitive exams for the Indian civil service. He says that Muslims have not yet acquired the level of education which is necessary for superior services and they cannot compete with the Hindus. Hence, the reasonable arrangement is made for the Muslims in the superior services.

## 5) Muhammadan Defense Association

In 1893, Sir Syed formed this organization for the protection of Muslim rights. It was a very active organization. The main objectives of organization were

- 1) To safeguard the Muslim interests
- 2) To hold back the Muslims from agitative activities
- 3) Support the government in law and order

## 6) Opposition of the Congress

The Indian National Congress kept on claiming that it would work for protection Indian interests irrespective of their caste creed and religion but it always acted as a pure Hindu body. On observing the extreme Hindu posture of the congress Sir Syed advised the Muslims not to join it. He said that congress was actually a Hindu party which can never be sincere to the Muslims. He firmly believed that any political activity would divert the Muslims attention from the constructive work and revive

British mistrust. He was of the view that essential steps towards the Muslim betterment was to restore mutual trust between the Muslim and the British without it any plan for the Muslim betterment would be useless.

### 7) Two Nation Theory

Urdu-Hindi conflict erupted in 1867. After this controversial development Sir Syed was extremely disappointed to see both Hindus and congress working against the interests of the Muslims. During those days when Urdu-Hindi controversy was going on he expressed his views, while meeting with Mr. Shakespeare, a regional commissioner. When, Mr. Shakespeare asked Sir Syed that he was speaking about the progress of Muslims alone on first occasion. Sir Syed answered

“Now, I am convinced that both communities will not join whole heartedly”.

Sir Syed was forced to change his mind. He came to a conclusion that Hindus and Muslims were separate and distinct nation. He therefore used the word Two Nation for the Hindus and the Muslims in 1868 for the first time. In this way he is a pioneer of Two Nation theory.

### 8) Demand for a Separate Electorate

On various occasions Sir Syed demanded the establishment of representative institutions and the separate seats for Muslims in those institutions.

- 1) On 15 January, 1883 he demanded the right of separate electorate for separate Indian communities while speaking on Lord Rippon local self-government bill.
- 2) He repeated the demand addressing a public meeting in Lucknow on 28 December, 1887
- 3) On 16 January, 1888 he stressed on the right of separate electorate while addressing a public gathering at Meerath and also demanded the separate representation of the Muslims.

### 9) Indian Patriotic Association

This organization was established in 1888, the association made representations to the British Parliamentarians that the Congress was not the representative of all Indian Nations. It was representing Hindus alone. Many eminent personalities like Mr. Beck and Raja Shev Parsad remained part of the association.

### c) Social and Literary Services

Sir Syed was very much concerned about the social conditions of the Muslims and wanted to see, the revival of the Muslims in their social lives. He arranged to publish

many books, magazines and pamphlets in order to achieve this goal. Besides the social uplift role those publications had literary significance during that period.

### 1) Asar-us-Sanadid

During his stay at Delhi as a chief judge he wrote his famous book Asar-us-Sanadid in 1847. In this work he gave an account of the famous buildings of Delhi

### 2) History of Bijnour

While Sir Syed was serving, at Bijnour he compiled this famous book. It was a master piece of literature.

### 3) Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq

Sir Syed published the most impactful magazine Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq. Through that magazine he highlighted the ethical aspect of the Muslims life. In that magazine the academic, religious and social topics were discussed and were printed in a very simple language. The writings of eminent scholars and leaders like Altaf Hussein Hali, Mohsan-ul-Malik, Waqar-ul-Mulk, Molana Shibli, Deputy Nazeer Ahmed were presented in this magazine.

### 4) Orphan Houses

Sir Syed opened a number of orphan houses where the orphan children of Muslims were looked after and were provided shelter so that they could be saved from the Christian missionaries.

### 5) Urdu Defense Society

Sir Syed Established the society for the defense and propagation of Urdu. He himself worked hard for the promotion of Urdu and gave a new style and shape of the Urdu Literature. He gave a new trend of using an easy and comprehensible language. The other scholars of that period helped Sir Syed in this field.

### 6) Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya

The Christian missionaries were propagating harmful philosophies against Islam and the Muslims. A Christian writer William Muir wrote an objectionable book about the life of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). In response of that book Sir Syed gave a proper answer by writing Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya.

## 7) Tabaeen-al-Kalam

This book was a philosophical commentary on Bible. In this work he highlighted the similarities between Islam and Christianity in order to create goodwill between the two nations.

Sir Syed was the main architect of the Aligarh movement. He was the guiding force behind the entire movement which became the torch bearer of Muslim survival and progress in the subcontinent. This movement continued after the death of Sir Syed with the help of his companions, followers and educated class of Aligarh College.

## Impact of Aligarh Movement

The Aligarh movement took out the Muslims from slumber and gave them new spirit. He showed new ways of progress, opened doors to the Muslims for modern education and provides opportunities for economic prosperity. He revived confidence among the Muslims to fight for their social and economic rights. The measures taken by Sir Syed left far reaching impact on the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life.

### 1) Provision of Political Leadership

Aligarh movement provided an educated leadership. The movement also created political awareness which turned out as Pakistan Movement at later stage.

### 2) Modern Education

Aligarh College facilitated the Muslims to acquire modern education. Many other educational institutions were also set up following the example of Aligarh College. All those institutions made arrangements to educate the Muslims.

### 3) The British Muslim Rapprochement

The British sentiments of hatred and suspicions towards Muslims were lessened by the help of this movement. The Muslims also adopted the path of reconciliation and came closer to the British.

### 4) Economic Progress

Aligarh movement focused on the Muslim education. It enabled the Muslims to get government services and run businesses after acquiring modern knowledge.

### 5) Concept of a Separate Nation

Aligarh movement introduced the concept of a separate nation among the Muslims. After the awareness the Muslims realized that they have to struggle themselves for the protection of their identity and interests.

### 6) National Unity

During the British period Aligarh College was only institution of higher education.

The students of the college were coming from all parts of subcontinent. So, this institution became a source of mutual links and National unity besides the propagation of knowledge.

### **Muslims Struggle for Separate Electorate**

Democratic country adopts various methods of elections especially the countries having heterogeneous population or more than one nation. In order to give them due representation each nation is allotted separate seats in the elected bodies, proportionate to their numerical strength. If the candidates of the specific Nation can be allowed to compete in the election on the specified seat and voter of the same nation can be allowed to elect them, this method of election is called the system of separate electorates.

In the subcontinent Hindus and the Muslims despite of living together for centuries remained at a distance from each other. They could not merge to become one nation. Alberuni who came to India in 1001 A.D, highlighted the difference among the various communities and the Hindu's outlook, in his famous book 'Kitab-ul- Hind', he says,

"The Hindu fanatic 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".

These differences infact were responsible for giving rise to the Muslim feelings of separateness and compelled them to strive for their own rights. When the British parliamentary system was introduced in the subcontinent this feeling developed a sense of insecurity because they were a minority with respect to their numerical strength. Their future appeared to have been doomed forever under the representative system of combined electorate. The Muslims therefore in order to safeguard their future demanded the system of separate electorate for their representation in elected bodies. The struggle to achieve this goal kept on moving throughout their freedom movement, despite the utmost opposition of Hindus.

#### **1) The Services of Sir Syed**

The British government introduced the Indian council act in 1861. Under that act the government started to nominate in the local councils loyal Indians which were not the representatives of the people. When the demand of real representation appeared the government passed another local self government act 1883. The Indians were to be elected on few seats of elected bodies. This was a positive democratic step taken first of all by the British government. During the discussion on the bill in Imperial

Council, Sir Syed praised the establishment of local councils but opposed the system of election adopted in the subcontinent. He said during the discussion,

“The system of elections, pure and simple cannot be safely adopted. The large community would totally override the interests of the smaller communities “.

On the enforcement the act congress was quite satisfied with the system of elections while Sir Syed criticized the system on the basis of religious, cultural and lingual differences. The Hindu satisfaction was based on their numerical dominance and their influential status. In those situations it was impossible for any Muslim to be elected under this system. In 1894, a presentation was prepared and presented to the government by the Muhammadan Angelo Oriental Defense association in which the separate electorate was demanded for the Muslims.

## 2) Simla Deputation

In 1905 the British government, promised to introduce new reforms in India. The Muslims became active to avail this opportunity. A Muslim deputation called on Viceroy Minto in 1906 and presented a few demands. One of the demands was the right of separate electorate for the Muslims for the due representation in elected bodies.

## 3) Role of Muslim League

The Muslims established a political party to safeguard their interests in 1906. This party started to struggle for the separate electorate from its inception. It had to work hard for the approval of this demand. Especially, the Muslim League London branch under the supervision of Syed Amir Ali remained active to convince the Secretary of Hind and other British parliamentarians for the approval of this demand.

## 4) Minto-Morley Reforms 1909

When the reforms were discussed in the British parliament, the congress started a campaign against the Muslim demands. It claimed that approval of this demand was a conspiracy to divide Muslim and Hindus. The system of separate electorate was also a new one for most of the English politicians as well. However, the Muslims continued their struggle and at last, the right of separate electorate was achieved under the Minto Morley reforms 1909.

## 5) Lucknow Pact 1916

In 1916, the congress and the Muslim League made an agreement due to foresightedness of Quaid-e-Azam, in which many common points were approved by

both the parties. One of those points was the system of separate electorate be continued. By accepting the right of separate electorate, the congress indirectly conceded the Muslims as a separate nation and it was a great victory for them.

### 6) Nehru Report

In 1928, a committee was formulated under the supervision of Moti-Lal-Nehru which proposed some common suggestions for future course of action. These proposals were known as Nehru Report. Most of the Muslim demands especially, the separate electorate were rejected by the Congress majority committee despite the opposition of Muslims.

### 7) Quaid's Fourteen Points

Quaid formulated fourteen points as a Muslim demands in the response of Nehru report that was accepted by the all Muslim parties. The Muslim League convinced the government that the suggestions of Nehru Report are not acceptable to the Muslims and stressed to continue the separate electorate for the Muslims.

### 8) Communal Award

In 1932, the British government announced the communal award after the round table conferences in which the separate seats in elected bodies were identified for all the communities and the right of separate electorate for the Muslims was maintained as well.

### 9) Indian Act 1935

In 1935, a new act was enforced by the British government under which the Muslim right of separate electorate was also maintained. This system of election remained in practice up to the establishment of Pakistan.

### The Importance of Separate Electorate

The Muslim right of separate electorate was an important element of the Pakistan movement. The enforcement of this right was indirectly an acceptance and the recognition of the separate Muslim identity. This system proved to be the base of Pakistan movement. I.H.Qureshi describing the importance of separate electorate for the Muslims, says

“The enforcement of this right made the fact evident that the Muslims have separate Muslim identity with regard to legal and constitutional aspect. They expressed their

distrust in congress in the light of separate electorate and this light turned to be a prelude for the creation of Pakistan.

## Rise of Muslim Politics

The Muslims ruled in South Asia almost one thousand years. They maintained their separate identity and recognition during the period. After the war of independence the situation completely changed. On one side the Muslims were mercilessly crushed while on the other side the concept of Indian nationalism was introduced under the connivance of the Hindus and the British. That situation was beneficial for the Hindu majority but it was very harmful for the Muslim minority. At that time Sir Syed, the great reformer of the Muslims, advised his nation that the Muslims should remain faithful to the government to save themselves from victimization and to lead the life with dignity. They should focus on their education and keep away themselves from the politics. He further said that they should not join the Indian National Congress which was established in 1885 and posing itself as a representative of all the Indians contrary to the real aims of the party. This behavior of the congress, later on, became evident on the partition of Bengal.

## Partition of Bengal 1905

➤ Give an account of partition of Bengal and its impact on Muslim history.

The partition of the Bengal was an important event of the history of the subcontinent. Bengal was the biggest province with the population of 85million and was a difficult administrative one due to its vast area. It was not easy for a governor to run the province. Consequently, the British government decided to divide it.

### 1) Announcement of the Partition

On 16 October, 1905 the Viceroy Lord Curzon announced the partition of Bengal into two provinces, ie, Eastern and Western Bengal.

### 2) Muslims Response to the Partition

On the partition, the Muslims held a historical session at Dhaka and welcomed the division of Bengal because the Muslims turned into majority by the creation of east Bengal. The partition provided those chances of great progress in every field of life. In combined Bengal the Hindus had monopoly on trade, business and government services. This monopoly was going to end as a result of partition. The Muslims hoped that their social status would get a rapid boost in the new province. They therefore

expressed their utmost pleasure over the partition and offered their gratitude to the government.

### 3) Hindu's Reaction

The Hindus reacted towards the partition in a hostile and violent manner. They could never support a move which could bring prosperity and happiness to the Muslims. The other reasons for opposition of Hindus were as follows:

- 1) Their superior position diminished in the East Bengal.
- 2) The practice of Hindu lawyers was going to be affected due to the shifting of courts to Dhaka.
- 3) The exploitation of Muslims by the Hindu landlords, capitalists and traders was going to diminish.
- 4) Their political dominance over the Muslims was coming to an end.

The Hindus therefore launched a hostile movement against the partition of Bengal. The partition was termed as the dissection of the sacred cow mother in order to arouse hostile sentiments in Hindu masses. The day of 16<sup>th</sup> October, was declared as a national tragedy. Strikes were held all over the Bengal. The Hindu put up violent demonstration against the partition. Communal clashes erupted at a number of places that further worsened the law and order situation.

### 4) Reaction of Congress

The Indian National Congress also jumped into the event for the support to the agitation launched against the partition. The congress severely criticized the partition on its annual session of 1906. Swadeshi movement was organized by which the foreign goods were boycotted. Congress announced that this movement would be continued up to the annulment of the partition.

### 5) Annulment of the Partition

The violent Hindu agitation rocked down the government. Hindus also threatened the government to boycott the forthcoming visit of British King George-V. The threat proved successful. The British government scurried to the Hindu opposition. The partition of Bengal was ultimately annulled on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1911 at Delhi Darbar.

### 6) The Impact of Partition of Bengal

The Hindus and especially the congress opposition against the partition helped realize the Muslims about Hindus behavior and future designs. They realized that the Hindus

would never accept a prosperous and happy life for the Muslims. This partition left far reaching impacts on the history of subcontinent.

- 1) The event of partition reinforced the concept of Two Nation Theory.
- 2) The feeling of self-dependence arose among the Muslims.
- 3) The sentiment of national unity and its stability became the need of the hour.
- 4) It was evident that the Muslims cannot trust both the English and the Hindus.
- 5) The element of violence was introduced into the politics of subcontinent.
- 6) The image of the Congress as a national party was damaged severely.
- 7) The Muslims started to participate in the politics of subcontinent.
- 8) They felt the need for the separate Muslim organization which could safeguard their interests.

### Simla Deputation

In 1905, Liberal party of England came into power and declared its resolve of introducing constitutional reforms in India. The Muslims decided to avail that opportunity in order to convey their demands to the government. A delegation of prominent 35 Muslim Leaders from all over the country was formed under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan known as Simla Deputation. That deputation called on the Viceroy on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1906 in Simla with the assistance of Arch Bold the principle of Aligarh College. The deputation presented Muslim demands to the Viceroy lord Minto, which were as follows:-

- 1) The separate representation of Muslims is approved in all elected bodies.
- 2) The representation should be identified on the base of their contributions, as well as their historical and political importance instead of numerical strength.
- 3) They asked for, quota on government services and seats for judges in the courts for the Muslims.
- 4) They demanded seats for the Muslims in senates and syndicates of universities.
- 5) They requested the government help in upgrading the Aligarh College to university level.
- 6) There should be representation of Muslims in the representative council of Viceroy.

Lord Minto expressed his agreement over the principle of separate electorate. He promised to give sympathetic appraisal to all the demands and assured the deputation that he would try his best for the approval of those demands. It was a great achievement of the Simla deputation to have convinced the Viceroy about the genuineness of Muslim demands. The most important demand of separate electorate was accepted by the government and was incorporated into the Minto Marley reforms.

## All India Muslim League

- Describe the background, aims and objectives for the formation of All India Muslim League.
- Discuss the causes for the establishment of Muslim League and its role in the Politics.

By the success of Simla Deputation, Muslims of the subcontinent realized that continuous organized efforts were essential to achieve their goals. So, it is necessary that they have their own political party and a political platform from where interests of Muslims could be projected. After the mutual consultation on this matter, a political meeting was convened on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1906, at the residence of Nawab Saleem Ullah Khan of Dhaka, was presided by Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. Nawab Salim Ullah moved a resolution for the establishment of All India Muslim League, which was approved by all eminent Muslim leaders.

### Causes for the formation of Muslim League

#### 1) Urdu-Hindi Controversy

After Urdu Hindi conflict put grave danger to the language and cultural heritage of Muslims. That conflict exposed Hindu mindset and created sense of self protection among the Muslims.

#### 2) Hindu Extremist Movements

Hindu parties like *Arya Samaj* (1875), *Hindu Mahasabha* (1900) and *Brhamu Samaj* etc were posing threat to Muslim identity and their interests. So, they felt an urgent need of a party which can protect their interests.

#### 3) Biased Leadership of the Congress

The congress leadership came into the hands of biased leadership who started hostile propaganda against the Muslims. That hostile leadership compelled the Muslims to formulate their own platform.

#### 4) Hindu Muslim Riots

Hindu Muslim riots erupted due to the hostile propaganda of Hindu organizations. The riots appeared on the slaughter of cow and many other matters which ultimately led to bloodshed of Indian society.

#### 5) Reaction Against Partition of Bengal

The Hindus reacted against the partition of Bengal and started a violent movement. The Congress also joined the movement. The government had to abolish the partition

under the pressure of Hindus after that occasion the Muslims started mistrusting both the English and the Hindus and decided to form their own political party to safeguard their interests.

#### 6) The period of Democratic Reforms

The British liberal government announced to enforce new constitutional reforms in India. The Muslims needed their own political organization for their due representation and approval of their demands.

#### 7) Hindu Militancy

During that period, hostile Indian literature was being published in which the Muslim civilization and the Muslim rule were severely criticized. Highly controversial anthem *Bande Matram* was sung in the congress meetings. Hence, Hindu militancy was evident by all such measures. The Muslims realized that they had to form their own party parallel to the Congress which was totally a Hindu party.

#### 8) Establishment of Muslim League

All India Muslim League was established on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1906, in a meeting held at Dhaka under the presidentship of Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. Sir Agha Khan was elected as a president, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk were elected as joint secretaries of the Muslim League. The Head office of the League was established in Aligarh which was transferred to Lucknow later on. A committee consisting of 60 members was set up to draft the manifesto. The first regular session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1907.

Under the presidentship of Sir Adam Gi Pir Bhai the constitution was approved in this session. Its second session was held on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1908 in Aligarh under the presidentship of Justice Shah Din. Sir Agha Khan was elected as President and Hassan Bilgrami as secretary in this meeting. It was also decided that branches of Muslim League will be opened in the country. The Muhammadan Association London established by Syed Amir Ali, was made London Branch of Muslim League.

#### Aims and Objectives of Muslim League

The following objectives were adopted for the establishment of Muslim League:

- 1) To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty towards the British government.
- 2) To protect the rights of Muslims and other Indians.

- 3) To promote friendly feelings between the Muslims and other communities of India, without prejudice to the Muslim objectives

### Role of Muslim League

It provided political leadership to the Muslims that led Pakistan movement and ultimately achieved independent homeland under the leadership of Quaid. In 1913, Muslim League, later on, reshaped its objectives in 1913 and to achieve suitable autonomous government for India was included in its aims. The initial struggle and activities of Muslim League was as follows:-

- 1) In 1908, it opened London Branch of Muslim League under the supervision of Syed Amir Ali.
- 2) In 1909, it got approved the demand of separate electorate for the Muslims.
- 3) The League secured due share in the government appointments in administration and in the courts for the Muslims.
- 4) It secured adequate safeguards for the educational interests of the Muslims by getting due representation on syndicates and senates of Indian universities.
- 5) The Muslim League got the 'Auqaf' bill passed by which the management of Auqaf's properties were taken over by the government.
- 6) In 1913, the League included the demand of self government.
- 7) In 1916, it got acceptance from the congress for the right of separate electorate through the Lucknow Pact.
- 8) In 1929, the Muslim League approved Quaid's fourteen points which proved to be a corner stone of the Pakistan movement.
- 9) In 1930, Allama Iqbal presented the concept of separate state in the annual session of Muslim League held in Allahabad.
- 10) In its historical 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of 1940 held at Lahore, the Muslim League passed the resolution of separate Muslim state.
- 11) Muslim League achieved a great victory in the elections of 1945-46. By which it proved itself as a single representative of the Muslims and under the leadership of Quai-e-Azam achieved the goal in the form of Pakistan.

### Lucknow Pact

- Describe the main points and significance of Lucknow Pact.

The Muslim League with its inception had to face, some new developments appeared on the national and international political scene. So, it had to reshape its political policy due to such events Muslim League shifted its office from Aligarh to Lucknow in 1913. Meantime, alongwith other young leaders Muhammad Ali Jinnah joined the

Muslim League. On the initiative of Jinnah the League demanded self-rule suitable to India through constitutional means. The Muslim League opted for the policy of cooperation with other communities of India for the achievement of common objectives. After that change of policy Muslim League and Congress came closer to each other.

In order to achieve Hindu Muslim unity, Jinnah tried that the annual sessions of both parties should be held at Lucknow simultaneously and a joint reforms committee for the preparations of common adjective should be made. At last, both parties held their sessions at Lucknow in December 1916. The reforms committee appointed by the congress and Muslim League at the Bombay session presented its suggestions and was approved by both the parties in a joint meeting. The scheme of common constitutional reforms was known as Lucknow Pact. Following were the main recommendations of the Pact.

- 1) The strength of elected members in provincial legislative councils should be enhanced up to 4/5.
- 2) In the major province the strength of the legislative council shall be 125 and in small province from 50 to 75.
- 3) The Muslims shall be elected through separate electorates.
- 4) No bill or a resolution affecting one or other community shall be presented in the assembly without the approval of concerned community.
- 5) The maximum provincial autonomy should be given to the provinces.
- 6) The half members of the executive councils in the provinces shall be elected representatives.
- 7) The members of the assembly shall have the right to present adjournment motions to impose taxes and to vote on budget.
- 8) The Muslims should be given weightage in the provinces in which they were in minority.
- 9) In the Imperial legislative Council Muslims should be given one third seats of the elected members.
- 10) British Council of Hind will be replaced by the two assistant secretaries among which one should be Indian.
- 11) Administration and Judiciary should be separated and no officer should be entrusted with judicial powers.

### **Importance of Lucknow Pact**

The Lucknow pact was a great achievement of Muslims and Hindus who agreed on a common scheme for the first time. It is noteworthy that pact was outcome of sincere

efforts of Jinnah. That is why the famous poet Sarojni Naido gave the title 'Ambassador of Hindu- Muslim unity' to Jinnah. The most important feature of the scheme was the recognition of Muslims separate entity by the Hindus. The other benefits for the Muslims were

- 1) The Hindus accepted Muslims as a separate nation and their right of separate electorate.
- 2) The scheme provided as the concrete step towards the establishment of self-rule in India.
- 3) The Lucknow pact was the bright event in the dark and gloomy environment of India due to communal confrontation and narrow mindedness of Hindus.
- 4) Hindus and Muslims fairly admitted each other's interests at the occasion.
- 5) The Muslims got weightage in minority provinces.
- 6) The congress agreed to the one third seats of Muslims in Imperial Council, while they were one fourth of the population, of India.
- 7) This pact was a landmark success of Jinnah and he got a tremendous popularity in the politics.

The congress however could not remain friendly and sincere towards the Muslims for a long time. The sense of accommodation and fairplay diminished due to the prejudicial influence of Gandhi over the Congress.

## Khilafat Movement

- Write the causes, events and impacts of khilafat Movement.
- Write a note on Khilafat Movement.

### Background

Turkey sided the Germany against the British and their allies in World War 1. When Germany and turkey got defeated in the war the allied countries started to take hostile actions against Ottoman Empire of Turkey, the seat of caliphate. In response, the Muslims of India launched a campaign for the protection of the institution of Khilafat, Holy places of Muslims and for the solidarity of Turkey. Besides those there were many other reasons for the beginning of Khilafat Movement.

#### 1) Veneration of Khilafat

The institution of Khilafat was established during the period of Holy Prophet P.B.U.H when the foundation of Muslim State was laid down. This institution continued during the Khulafa-i-Rashidin in its ideal state. The seat of Khilafat was transferred to Turkey in 1917 and the Ottoman Caliphate becomes the centre of the Muslims. After

the period of Khulafa-i-Rashida the institution was maintained in the Muslim state under Banu Umayyah and Banu Abbas dynasty as well. However, the institution was changed from its ideal state to hereditary status. The Muslims all over the world had great esteem of Khilafat in their hearts.

## 2) Attachment to Turkey Caliphate

All the Muslim rulers of the subcontinent remained faithful to the Ottoman Caliphate. The gifts and the robes of honor were given to the Indian rulers by the Turkey Caliph. Many rulers issued coins in the name of Caliph of Turkey inspite of their own names. When a new ruler of India holds power he always sought formal permission from the Ottoman Caliph for his legitimacy. All Indian rulers remained connected to the Ottoman Caliphate in one or another manner.

## 3) Symbol of Unity

The Ottoman Caliphate was the symbol of unity for all the Muslims particularly for the Muslims of India. They considered Turkey as a centre of unity and they were always ready to support the Turkey Empire when it was needed.

## 4) The Impact of World War I

From the beginning of the World war 1, the British started hostile and aggressive actions against the Turkish empire such as the attack on Balkan and Trablus. At that time Turkish Empire was already declining while it was under the threat of allied powers, and seemed to be diminished. In that gloomy state of affairs the Muslims of India were very anxious about the empire.

## 5) Fear For Disgrace of Holy Places

The Muslims of India were anxious for Turkey Empire, because all the sacred places of the Muslims were situated in it. They had a genuine fear that the Turkey state would be parted away and the Holy places would be disgraced by allied powers. So, the Muslims started the Khilafat Movement for the protection of sacred places like Makkah, Kaaba and Najaf, etc.

## 6) Procrastination of the British

During the war, the British rulers assured the Muslims of subcontinent that the Khilafat and holy places will remain protected and no damage will be inflicted upon those. When the British were going to win the war they went back on their word and started to plot against Turkey Empire. These measures of the British were

unacceptable for the Muslims and they started movement against the hostile steps of the Britain.

### 7) Majlis-e-Khudam-e-Kaaba

During the war Arabs were stirred against the Turkey Empire by the negative propoganda in order to divide Muslim state into various parts. The famous English Spy Colonel Lawrence was deputed for this mission. On his incitement, Shareef-e-Mecca and other Arab governors started rebellious activities with the connivance of Lawrence. The Ulema like Abdul Bari Frangi, Molana shokat Ali. Mufti Kfait Ullah etc formed organization "Majlis-e-Khudam-e-Kaaba" for the protection of Turkey Caliphate and the holy places. This organization held meetings and arranged processions. This campaign was increasing day by day. Feeling the sensitivity of discontent in Muslim masses, the government promised that all the Muslim sacred places would be protected.

## Various Events of Khilafat Movement

Khilafat movement took following steps to pressurize the government for the acceptance of their demands.

### 1) Establishment of Khilafat Conference

An organization namely Khilafat Conference was established in 1919 to organized the movement. Jan Muhammad Chotani and Haji Muhammad Siddique were elected its president and secretary respectively. When Molana Shokat Ali was released from the Jail, he was appointed as a secretary. In November, 1919 the organization held its first meeting at Delhi which was joined by Gandhi along with other Muslim Leaders. Its second meeting was held in Dec 1919 at Amritsar. Many parties, such as, Jamiat-e-Ulemai Hind, Muslim League and Congress participated in this meeting and decided to constitute delegations to convey the demands to the allied powers.

### 2) Delegations

In January, 1920 a delegation of 35 members under the headship of M.A Ansari called on Viceroy who excused for any assurance of the acceptance of Muslim demands. Then in February 1920 a delegation under the Leadership of Molana Muhammad Ali Johar was sent to U.K and other European countries to convey the feelings of Muslims. The Delegation met the British Prime Minister and other rulers of European countries. The delegation also met the British Parliament and cabinet members but it remain unsuccessful in its mission.

The answer of Lloyd George was and ridiculous when he replied to the demands of the delegation that, "Turkey must get Justice, and will certainly get justice similar to that which Germany received."

Molana Muhammad Ali while leaving for India on 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1920 said "The days of empire are over but the British commonwealth can survive if it is based on people's 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 will be too late in their case as well".

### 3) Medical and Financial Aid

The Muslims of subcontinent collected a large amount of money, gold and silver and sent it for the aid of Turkey. Moreover doctors, nurses and medicines were dispatched to Turkey for the treatment of wounded Turkish soldiers.

### 4) Role of Muslim Press

The role of Muslim journalism in supporting Turkey was tremendous. Zamindar, Hilal, Comrade and Humdard which were being published by Zafar Ali Khan, Moulana Azad and Muhammad Ali Johar respectively played great role in the movement. They inculcated a sense of sacrifice among the Muslims and prepared them to support the Khilafat Movement.

### 5) Treaty of Sevres

At the end of the war, treaty of Sevres was made in 1920. The unfair terms of the treaty made it clear to the Indian Muslims that the allied powers not only would dismember the Ottoman Empire but were determined to destroy even its homeland. A large scale of hue and cry erupted in India on the shameful terms of the treaty. The Muslims leaders called on the viceroy Lord Chamsford and conveyed the Muslim sentiment. They also made it clear that if the terms of the treaty were not withdrawn, a non-cooperation movement would be launched against the government.

### 6) Non-Cooperation Movement

During the Khilafat Movement, Gandhi being the shrewd politician supported the Khilafat Movement to make the movement more severe for the achievement of dual objectives such as, Indian nationalism and protection of the Caliphate. He outlined the program of non-cooperation to paralyze the administration by complete boycott of British goods and institutions. On the Gandhi's persuasion, at a special session, the Muslims adopted non-cooperation movement, despite the opposition of Muhammad

Ali Jinnah. The Khilafat leaders followed the non-cooperation movement with zealous participation. The main points of this program were as under:

- 1) To surrender the title awarded by the government.
- 2) To boycott the British goods.
- 3) To boycott the schools.
- 4) To resign from government jobs.
- 5) To boycott the courts of law.
- 6) To refrain from paying taxes.

#### 7) To Present Themselves for Arrest.

The political scene in India changed abruptly, when the Ulema pronounced service under the British and use of British things as un-Islamic. Everything foreign was rejected, foreign cloth shops were burnt. Ali brothers laid a siege around Aligarh University to carry the educational boycott; most of the Muslim Leaders were arrested.

#### 8) Hijrat Movement

The country was presenting a horrible picture during the Khilafat movement while the government paid no heed to this situation. In that situation Moulana Abu-al-Kalam Azad and Moulana Abdul Bari issued Fatwa that India was a 'Dar-ul-Harb' where Islam was in danger. They urged the Muslim to migrate to a place where their religion would be safe. Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar too declared the British Government as infidel and asked the Muslims to Leave the Government. Many other Muslim Ulema signed the Fatwa. After the issuance of fatwa almost 18000 Muslims sold their homes and properties at a price offered and migrated to Afghanistan. Initially, Afghanistan allowed the migrants but stopped them as the influx of refugees increased. A large number of refugees perished on the way back and those who survived and reached India found themselves homeless and penniless. Their Ulema had nothing to offer and left them in their distress.

#### 9) Mopla Uprising

Some Arab Tribes known as Moplas had settled on Malabar shores. They also took part in the Khilafat movement. The government adopted repressive measures to anti-state activities of Moplas which increased more resentment among the Moplas. They refused to pay taxes on salts levied by the government and started rebelling against the government. Strict action was taken against the Moplas by enforcing Martial law.

A large number of Moplas were arrested and deported in the bogies of goods trains. Most of them died due to suffocation in the compartments of the trains.

### 10) Tragedy of Chora Chori

Gandhi had assumed the leadership of Khilafat Movement because most of the Muslim Leaders were in jail. He started civil disobedience movement in the beginning of 1922. The people of Chora Chori, a small town, in Frakhabad District demonstrated in form of procession on 5<sup>th</sup> February 1922. The police tried to disperse the procession which infuriated the demonstrators, the angry mob set the police station on fire where 22 policemen were burnt. After that violent incident Gandhi abruptly called off the non-cooperation movement when it was on its peak without consulting Muslim leaders. The sudden withdrawal shocked Muslims and made them realize that Hindus can never be trusted. They felt betrayed at the peak of victory. Hence, the two communities once again were on the path of conventional confrontation.

### 11) End of the Movement

After the announcement of withdrawal, and Hindu reversal, the movement lost its momentum. However, the Indian Muslims carried on the movement for the protection of Caliphate. But there was a bigger shock waiting for them. The institution was abolished not by the enemy but by the Turkish leader Mustafa Kamal Ata Turk, who had established a nationalist government in Turkey on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1922. The last Caliph Sultan Abdul Majeed was banished from Turkey in 1924. The Indian Muslims were surprised on the action of Ata Turk. The movement went into disarray as the most of the Khilafat Leaders were in jail. In this way, Khilafat Movement ended without achieving any remarkable goal.

### Reasons for the Failure of Movement

The following factors can be attributed to the failures of movement

- 1) Gandhi's calling of the movement proved as a severe setback for the movement.
- 2) The government arrested all the prominent leaders and took repressive measures on the masses to suppress the movement.
- 3) The Turkish leader Mustafa Kamal announced the abolishment of Caliphate in Turkey.
- 4) The Hindu-Muslim unity could not be maintained for a long time.
- 5) The extremist Hindu movements were continuously creating bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.

## Impacts of Khilafat Movement

Following are the most significant impacts which the Khilafat movement left on the Indian politics.

### 1) Dynamic Leadership

The Khilafat movement provided dynamic leadership of Muslims in the subcontinent and laid foundation for the Muslim freedom movement of upcoming days.

### 2) End of Hindu Muslim unity

The Khilafat Movement was erected on the base of Hindu Muslim unity proved a dream later on. Gandhi's abrupt withdrawal from the movement not only ended the movement but it also destroyed the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity forever.

### 3) Political Awareness

The Khilafat movement not only created religious enthusiasm but also political awareness among the Muslims of subcontinent. All groups of Muslims participated in this movement. They got experience in politics. They learned political tactics and got political awareness.

### 4) Self-reliance

Khilafat movement cultivated new thinking among the Muslims that they could not rely on others and they had to depend on self-reliance for the protection of national cause.

### 5) Change in Outlook

The Muslims always used to think about the Muslim world, before that event. Whereas that movement developed a sense of concern about their own national affairs and inculcated in them an urge about their own future. The Khilafat Movement also added economic miseries to the Muslims especially who had resigned their jobs and sold their properties on cut prices during the time of migration.

In short, the Muslims of the subcontinent sacrificed much for the protection and survival of Khilafat which could not be saved. However, the movement left long lasting impacts on internal politics of subcontinent. In this regard I. R. Qureshi said, "Though the Khilafat Movement achieved no ostensible success, yet it was of considerable value as an instrument of creating political consciousness in the Muslim masses. It produced a broad based leadership and taught the techniques of organizing mass movement to the Muslims. These proved great assets in the struggle of Pakistan".

## Quaid's Fourteen Points

The Quaid-e-Azam prepared his 14 demands comprising 14 points for the constitutional reforms in response of Nehru report prepared in 1928. He convened the meeting of Muslim League on 31 March 1929 and presented his famous 14 point formula. It is worth mentioning that Shafi league group was also present in the meeting which had parted ways with the Muslim league on the occasion of Simon Commission visit. The united Muslim League approved the points. While delivering his presidential address Quaid declared that no constitution shall be accepted by the Muslim of India without incorporating the fourteen points which were as follows.

- 1) Federal System: The form of future government should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
- 2) Provincial Autonomy: A uniform measures of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
- 3) Effective Representation of Minorities: All legislatures and other elected bodies in the country shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation in every province without reducing the majority into a minority or even equality.
- 4) Muslim Representation in centre: In the central legislature Muslims representation shall not be less than one third.
- 5) Separate Electorate: Representation by communal groups shall be continued by separate electorates provided that it shall be opened to any community, at any time to abandon its separate electorate.
- 6) Protection of Provincial Territories: Any territorial redistribution that might be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P (KPK).
- 7) Religious liberty: Complete religious liberty such as liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education shall be granted to all communities
- 8) Right of Communal Veto: No bill or resolution etc shall be passed in any legislature or elected body, if three fourth of the members of any community opposed it as being injurious to the interests of that community.
- 9) Separation of Sindh: Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
- 10) Reforms for N.W.F.P and Baluchistan: Reforms should be introduced in the N.W.F.P (KPK) and Baluchistan on the same footings as in other provinces.
- 11) Muslim Quota in Services: Muslims should be given adequate share along with other Indians in the services of state.

- 12) Protection of Muslim Culture and civilization: The constitution should provide guarantee for the protection of Muslim culture and for the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion and civilization.
- 13) Muslim Representation in Ministries: No cabinet either central or provincial shall be formed without at least one third of the Muslims Ministers.
- 14) Provincial Consent: No amendment shall be made in the constitution by the central legislature without the concurrence of the provinces constituting the Indian Federation.

It was quite reasonable and quite moderate demands of the Muslims. The Hindu leaders opposed the fourteen points which further widened the gulf between the two communities. In this situation the Viceroy Lord Irwin made declaration including two points in October 1929. Its first part related to the constitution and the second was the announcement of the roundtable conference for the purpose of seeking agreement on the constitution and its dominion status.

### Importance of Fourteen Points

Following points showed the significance of the formula:

#### 1) Representation of Muslim Feelings

It is an important document of the national history of the Muslims which appeared as the representative of the Muslim feelings and demands in response of Nehru report. All the Muslim Group was agreed on those points and supported the formula in one voice. Moreover, fourteen points became the source of Unity among different groups of the Muslim League as well as among the other Muslim parties.

#### 2) A Sketch of Constitutional Reforms

By analyzing impartially, it can be concluded that Quaid not only represented the political rights of the Muslims but also provided a basic sketch of constitutional reforms for the Indian future. If that formula were conceded by the Hindus, today, the history of subcontinent would be different.

#### 3) Beginning of the Hindu Muslim Gulf

Hindus rejected the separate system of electorate and all other safe-guards which were vital for the Muslim survival and progress. Now, the Muslims were compelled to present and focus on their own demands. Due to those political differences a permanent Hindu Muslim gap arose and continued in coming years.

#### 4) Separate Identity

The congress was not ready to accept the separate political status of the Muslims while the Muslims were not ready to give up this idea. Fourteen points of Quid highlighted the separate identity and political status of the Muslims during this tussle.

#### 5) Demand of Pakistan

It was fact that Muslims could not protect their interests depending on Hindus. They had, therefore, to stand up for the protection of their demands. When the Hindus rejected the fourteen points of Quaid many far-sighted Muslims began thinking about their separate homeland for the permanent solution of their difficulties which were being faced in united India.

### Allahabad Address

#### Background

The fourteen points of Quaid-e-Azam had instilled a new political insight in the Indian Muslims. They were convinced that the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations which could not be combined by any political system. In those days it was discussed, what should be the shape of practicable constitution, which would be acceptable for all important nations especially the Hindus and Muslims of subcontinent? On the invitation of British government, a roundtable conference comprising all political leaders of India was being held at London in November, 1930, to discuss the constitutional matters. Meantime, annual session of Muslim League was held at Allahabad in 30<sup>th</sup> December, 1930 which was presided over by Allama Iqbal as he was a philosopher, poet, a Muslim thinker and a veteran politician. In his address Allama Iqbal discussed the political situation and presented the demand of a separate autonomous state for the Muslims on the basis of Two Nation Theory.

#### The Main Points of Address

Allama Iqbal discussed the following points in detail and expressed his views while delivering his presidential address

##### 1) Islam a complete code of life

Allama Iqbal made it clear that Islam is a complete code of life and gave very sound and strong argument in support of his views. He said that Islam guides the people with regard to every aspect of life. He told, "The faith of Islam is not the name of few

beliefs and customs but it is a complete code of life. In Europe religion is a matter of every person, whereas in Islam the state and religion are linked with each other”.

## 2) Salvation of Indian Muslims

Allama Iqbal was of the view that the only way to achieve success was Islam and observance of its teachings. He told the Muslims “The only lesson I have learnt from history is that at times of difficulty, Islam has always saved the Muslim”.

## 3) The Western Philosophy of Nation

While expressing the western vision, he said, the European considered the homeland as a base of nation while Islam rejected this principle. The doctrine of Muslims was not based on territories but on their beliefs and religion Islam. The Muslims are a nation with regard to their religion and beliefs settled in any corner of the World.

## 4) Criticism on Western Democracy

While addressing the Muslim League Session Allama Iqbal criticized the western concept of democracy and said that India was a continent of various human races which follow different religions and spoke different languages. Without accepting the fact of those differences the British democratic system cannot be enforced in India. Moreover he said “The western democratic system apparently seems bright but actually it is very dark. In this system people are merely counted but not valued”.

## 5) No Separation of Religion and Politics

Allama Iqbal had a strong belief that politics is a part of Islam because Islam provides complete guidance in political aspect of life. As he said, “Islam does not consider matter and soul separate from each other. God, universe, state are all the basic elements of a single unit. Man is not so alien that he should leave worldly affairs for the sake of religion.

## 6) Two Nation Theory

Allama Iqbal openly negated the concept in one Nation of India and clarified the idea of Two Nation Theory. He had a firm belief in separate identity. After clarifying the Two Nation Theory he went forward and said “Since the Muslims is 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 systems considering their separate religious and cultural identity”.

## 7) Solution of Constitutional Problems

To solve the immediate problems Allama Iqbal demanded that:

- a. Sindh should be separated from Bombay and should be given the status of province.
- b. The reforms should be introduced in the province of N.W.F.P and Baluchistan similar to other provinces.
- c. The representation of Muslims in Punjab and Bengal be identified in such a way that Muslims majority would not change into minority.

### 8) Demand of a Separate Homeland

In his presidential address at Allahabad, Allama Iqbal according to his conviction said that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the united India. According to his opinion the permanent solution of the communal problems is the distribution of British India. He supported the resolution of All Party Muslim Conference at Delhi which read as "The Muslim demand for the creation of Muslim India within India is therefore perfectly justified."

He was of the view that the separate homeland is the ultimate destiny of the Muslims. Presenting the dream of Pakistan he said

"Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P amalgamated into a single state, self government within the British Empire or without the British Empire. The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West of India."

### Importance of the Address

The address is a historic document of the Indian History. It is also a great asset for the Muslim history of subcontinent with regard to their struggle for independence. It was the first occasion when a demand for a separate homeland was made from the Muslim League platform. Lahore Resolution passed in 1940 was infact accreditation of that historical address of Allama Iqbal. Moreover, the address has following significance

- 1) It had clearly declared the ideological bases of a separate Muslim state.
- 2) Iqbal's address presented the concept of separate state in profound words.
- 3) It strengthened the Two Nation Theory in the subcontinent.
- 4) That address was the clear evidence of Political insight of Muslims.
- 5) It was the first step towards Pakistan and was a mile-stone of the Pakistan Movement.

### The Provincial Congress Ministries (1937-1939)

- Analyze the role of Congress Ministries (1937-39) in the politics of subcontinent

- Describe the hostile measures of Congress Ministries against the Muslims and their impacts.
- Discuss the atrocities of Congress Ministries. What was the Muslim reaction afterwards?

Under the act of 1935 the British government held provincial legislative elections. Although both Muslim League and Congress had rejected the act still they contested the elections. Congress achieved a big victory and managed to get clear majority in five provinces. It, however, succeeded to form coalition government in few other provinces and formed its ministries in eight provinces. During the formation of Congress ministries rigid attitude was adopted and its leaders behaved in a doctorial manner. Muslim League was hopeful that the Congress would include Muslim league in the new ministries in the Muslim minority provinces especially in U.P but Congress remained reluctant in sharing power with the Muslim league. Congress laid down degrading and unacceptable conditions for the Muslim League members to be included in the ministries. The shameful conditions were such as joining the Congress, observing the party discipline and carrying out the instructions by the Congress.

The Congress had also acquired the assurance from the government that the governors would not use their powers relating to the protection of minorities which were vested to them under the constitution. After that assurance the Congress had attained the license of running the ministries according to their own will and the Muslims were put under the will of Congress. Quaid-e-Azam while expressing that situation said that Congress had established a parallel government and the provincial governments were only answerable to Congress. Provincial ministers were bound to follow the instructions of their supervisors nominated by the Congress. After dealing with the government, the Congress started to victimize the Muslims. Following were the main atrocities committed by the Congress.

#### 1) Bande Matram Song

The Muslim hostile song, in which degrading verses were used against the Muslims and their religion, was sung on the commencement of daily day work. It was adopted as a national anthem and was to be recited on the start of every official business.

#### 2) Vardha Scheme

Under the Gandhi's philosophy, Vardha scheme was introduced to preach Hindu nationalism and idea of non-violence. It aimed to develop high respect among the young minds about the Hindu leaders. The education policies introduced under this scheme was to destroy the Muslim culture and to project the Hindu culture.

### 3) Congress Flag

After the formation of ministries congress ordered hoisting its three colored flag the British Union Jack to prove that there were only two powers i.e. the British and the congress in India. When Quaid once pointed out legal violation, Nehru's reply was quite ridiculous. He said that it was symbol of all nations and it looked beautiful while it is hoisted.

### 4) Vidya Mandir Scheme

It was an educational scheme in which the supremacy of Hindu civilization was highlighted. Under that scheme the Muslim students in C.P had to wear Hindu dressing in Mandir Madressah's. That scheme was based on belief of Hinduism against which the Muslims strongly protested.

### 5) Replacement of Urdu

Urdu was replaced by Hindi in all the public and private offices in the provinces ruled by the congress. The Quaid considered that act as demise of Muslim culture and civilization because it was an attempt to destroy the 800 years heritage of Muslim and to disconnect them from their civilization.

### 6) Intervention in Administrative and Judicial Affairs

The Congress directly issued instructions to the administration. The judiciary was also not safe and independent in the provinces of Congress ministries. One sided decisions were got from the judiciary by threatening the judges. There were many instances when Hindu judges released the real Hindu culprits while gave severe punishments to the Muslims on tedious crimes.

### 7) Refusal For Coalition Ministries

The Muslim League had got huge success in Muslim minority provinces. It was desirous to join the ministries of that provinces but the Congress was reluctant in sharing the powers with the Muslim League and refused to include the Muslim League members indirectly by laying unacceptable conditions for the Muslims. No party with the slightest feeling of self respect could accept such terms. So, The Muslim League rejected those terms and did not join the ministries.

### 8) Mass Contact Campaign

Congress started a campaign to contact directly with people ignoring the Muslim League leadership. The aim of this campaign was to weaken the Muslim League by

attracting the people towards Congress and ultimately to obliterate the Muslim population under this rule. It was Nehru's policy to destroy the position of Muslim League as the only representative of Muslims.

### 9) Indian Nationalism

With the installation of Congress ministries the Congress started to impose Hindu nationalism on the Muslims by criticizing the Two Nation Theory and highlighting the importance of Indian nationalism.

### 10) Humiliation of Islam

Many steps were being taken at various occasions to humiliate Islam. Azaan was disrupted by ringing bells in Mandirs at the same time. Organized attacks were made on Muslim worshippers in the mosque. Noisy processions were organized passing near the mosques, during prayer timings. Ashura processions were interrupted by throwing crackers on the roads. Cow slaughter was forbidden. The Muslims were forbidden to eat beef. If a Muslim slaughters a cow to sacrifice on the day of Eid-ul-Azha, the Muslim including women and children were killed as reprisal. On many occasions such severe punishments were awarded to those who slaughtered the Mother Cow.

### 11) Elimination of Muslim Culture

A systematic policy was adopted by the Congress to eliminate the culture and civilization of Muslims. Hindi was enforced as the official language in the provinces. During the Congress raj the Muslim festivals were disrupted and the hatred was created against the Muslim civilization. The Vardha and Vidya Mandir's schemes were launched to isolate young Muslim generation from their culture and civilization.

### 12) Eruption of Hindu Muslim Riots

The Muslims were incited for protests in order to acquire an opportunity of ruthless response. Hindu Muslim riots were, infact, maneuvered in various places to make a pretext for severe actions against the Muslims. Organized attempts were made on honor, property and lives of Muslims molesting them freely and openly. Their houses and properties were set on fire, their women and children were abducted. The government remained unable to protect the Muslims who fall a prey to Hindu high handedness, if the Muslims lodged complaints against the Hindus to the authorities, the decision was always against them.

### 13) Social and Economic Pressure

The congress provincial governments started to confiscate the Muslim properties. Heavy taxes were imposed on their properties. The Muslims were humiliated naming them 'Malleech' and 'Mussleh'. The Congress was doing so intentionally to pressurize the Muslims and resultantly to give up the Congress opposition.

### End of the Congress Rule

When the Second World War began in 1939, the government appealed to all the parties for cooperation in that hour of need. The congress put a few conditions for its cooperation. The government could not concede the Congress demands, because it wanted to pacify both Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress was annoyed on the decision of government and ordered its ministries to resign in protest. In November, 1939 the Congress ministries resigned from their offices. The Muslim population took sigh of relief when the tyrannical and oppressive rule of Congress ended.

### Role of Muslim League

Muslim League remained very active during the unjust rule of the Congress. It passed various resolutions against the atrocious policies of the Congress and condemned its hostile steps like Bande Matram song, Vardha and Vidya schemes etc. it stressed upon the congress to change its biased attitude towards the Muslims. The Muslim League expressed its grave concern over the communal riots under the Congress rule. It constituted many committees for the preparation of reports on the atrocities of Congress ministries:-

- 1) Pir Pur Report: Raja Muhammad Mehdi of Delhi presented the Pir Pur report after investigating oppressiveness of Congress.
- 2) Shareef Report: In 1939 Syed Muhammad Shareef of Patna prepared the report in which the solid proofs of Congress atrocities and cruelties were described.
- 3) Report of the Muslims Problems: A.K fzal-ul-Haq got prepared a report comprising on Muslim problems under the Congress rule.
- 4) C.P Report: in 1941, Hakeem Israr Ahmed presented the report to highlight the reality of the Congress raj in C.P.

### Consequences of the Ministries

The Muslims learnt bitter experiences during the Hindu Raj under the congress ministries. The Muslims were desirous of constitutional safeguards before that

experience. After that it was evident that constitutional safeguards were useless under the rule of Hindu majorities. Quaid addressing the annual session of Muslim League said "The two and a half years of Congress rule are a souring experience for us. The years of congress rule have given us a very bitter lesson and have created fear of the Hindu Domination".

The Congress behavior compelled the Muslims to find out and adopt their own separate way. The congress rule had changed the political scene of subcontinent. The impacts of that rule were as under:-

#### 1) Awareness of Hindu Mindset

The Hindu mindset became evident to the Muslims during Congress rule. Congress proved with their actions that India is only for Hindus and the Muslims should not expect any kind of justice under the Hindu Raj.

#### 2) Popularity of Muslim League

The popularity of Muslim League began to rise, due to the Congress behavior and active response of Muslims League. The Muslim began to unite under the flag of Muslim League by ignoring their mutual conflicts. Meantime, the Chief Ministers of Punjab, Bengal, Assam joined the Muslim League. Muslim League emerged as a popular strong and a sole Muslim representative party after the congress ministries.

#### 3) Popularity of Quaid-e-Azam

During the Congress rule, Quaid tried his best to organize the Muslims against the Congress. He visited round the India and addressed the Muslim gatherings and boosted their confidence. The Muslim began to trust in Quaid. So, he got same status in Muslim League which was enjoying Gandhi in Congress. That is why, Mian Ferozud-Din gave them the title of Quaid-e-Azam in December, 1938 in Patna session.

#### 4) Demand of Separate Homeland

Before the Congress rule, Muslim remained desirous of constitutional safeguard about their right and interests. Now, they began to think about their separate homeland in order to protect their interests after gaining the bitter experience of Congress.

The change of Muslim mind was due to the practical bitter experience of Congress dominance. A British philosopher Lothian writes that owing to Congress rule, the Muslim realized on first occasion the meaning of minority. In this way the real cause for demand of Pakistan was the hostile behavior of Congress towards the Muslim.

#### Deliverance day

With the resignation of Congress ministries the Muslims were relieved of the tyrannical and oppressive rule of Congress. The two and a half years of Congress was a bitter and dreadful experience of the Muslims. The deliverance day on 22 December, 1939 was observed on the appeal of Quaid by all the Muslims. Public

meetings were held and thanksgiving prayers were offered on the relief from tyranny, oppression and high handedness.

## **Pakistan Resolution 1940**

- Discuss that Lahore resolution is a corner stone in the creation of Pakistan.
- Analyze the importance of Lahore resolution in the movement of Pakistan.
- Write a comprehensive note on Lahore Resolution 1940.

## **Background**

Pakistan was not created by a sudden incident it was a result of long struggle. According to Prof. Tyne.B, "Pakistan is a result of long historical process". There was a group of thinkers who considered division of India as a sole solution of Hindu Muslim conflict. They presented their individual proposals as under

### **1) Blunt:**

Blunt, an English writer, proposed in 1883 that suitable arrangements for a separate state should be made including North Western territories in subcontinent. He predicted, the British have to create a separate state in North Western areas of subcontinent before leaving India.

### **2) Abdul Halim Sharar**

He suggested in his article on 13th August, 1890 that India should be divide into two Hindu and Muslim States to put an end to the long standing hatred and animosity between the two groups.

### **3) Kheri Brother's**

Dr. Abdul Jabbar and Prof. Abdus Sattar Kheri proposed the partition of the subcontinent in the Socialist International Conference held at Stockholm in 1917.

### **4) Abdul Qadir Bilgrami**

He advocated the division of subcontinent between the Hindus and the Muslims specifying the districts which were somehow similar to the boundaries of East and West Pakistan, through an open letter written in 'Zulquarnen' in 1920.

### **5) Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan**

The Sardar proposed the division in his evidence given before the Frontier Inquiry Committee in 1923.

### **6) Laj Pat Rai**

The founder of the Hindu Maha sabha suggested the partition of India into Hindu and Muslim states in 1924 and accepted that position was the solution of Indian problems.

### 7) Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Iqbal a poet and Muslim philosopher said while he was delivering his presidential address in the annual session of Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930" I would like to see Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslims".

### 8) Dr. Abdul Latif

Dr. Latif proposed the partition of India and suggested the division of the subcontinent into four Muslims and eleven Hindu zones.

### 9) Choudhary Rehmat Ali

Choudhary Rehmat Ali while he was a student at Cambridge University presented his scheme of partition of India in 1933, and also suggested the name for Muslim state. Choudhary Rehmat ali coined the word Pakistan in which 'P' stands for Punjab, 'A' for Afghania(KPK) 'K' for Kashmir, 'S' for Sindh and 'Tan' for Baluchistan. Chaudri Rehmat Ali expounded his scheme in his famous pamphlet known as 'Now or Never' and gave it a wide publicity.

### 10) Aligarh Scheme

In 1935 the two professors Dr. Zafar-al-Hassan and Dr. Afzal Hussein of Muslim University Aligarh described that there were two nations in India every nation wanted its own motherland so the India should be divided into three autonomous state to fulfill fair desire of the nation.

### 11) Sindh Muslim League

In its session of 1938 passed a resolution demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. U.P Muslim League also passed such resolution. These resolutions were sent to the Central Muslim League and asked to put forward the demand for Pakistan in its next annual session of 1940.

After bitter experience of the congress rule forced the Muslim Political Leaders to think about the partition of India. This thinking intensified, when they guessed the British departure from the country. In that situation the Muslims decided to demand the separate homeland during the British rule so that they could save themselves from Hindu domination after the British. Thus, the Muslim League set up a committee which was required to submit a detailed report for a separate Muslim homeland of India. At last annual session of Muslim League held on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940 at Minto Park Lahore, passed the historical resolution for demand of separate homeland for the Muslims in subcontinent.

## Presidential address of Quaid Azam

Quaid in his presidential address discussed the political situation of subcontinent in detail. He criticized the elements that did not consider Muslims as a nation. He made it clear that the Muslims of subcontinent would never accept any system which would establish Hindu domination over the Muslims. He highlighted the separate and distinct national identity of Muslims, he argued "It have been taken, for granted, mistakenly that Mussalmans are minority. The Mussalmans are not minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by every definition". He emphatically opposed the idea of united India while the two nations had conflicting ideas and concepts. In this regard he said " to yolk together too 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 a government of such a state".

## Causes for Demand of Pakistan

The following were the main causes of the resolution for a separate homeland.

### 1) Two Nation Theory

After the evolution of two nation theory the Muslims of subcontinent were convinced that they were a separate nation because their religion, social values and interests are separate from the Hindus. So, it was inevitable for them to constitute a separate state where they were free and their religious and national desires could be completely fulfilled. That is why the resolution was passed for an independent Muslim state.

### 2) Narrow Mindedness of Hindus

For a long time, it became evident to the Muslims that the extremist Hindus were not ready to give them honorable and equal status in the society. The Hindu hostile activities continued despite the struggle of reconciliation of the Muslims. The Hindus were bent upon to eliminate the Muslim identity and culture. The Muslims, at last, realized, that they could not survive under the Hindu majority after the British government.

### 3) Iqbal's Dream of Separate State

Allama Iqbal propounded the concept of separate Muslim state in 1930 which had gained popularity till 1940. Iqbal had identified the goal for Muslims and now the Muslims started to acquire it.

### 4) British Democratic System

The British government system was based on majority rule. It was an apparently an

attractive system but the Muslims felt, they would have to face the Hindu dominance under this system. Moreover, the Hindus were not accommodative for the minority and had already opposed the Muslim demands on many occasions. This behavior of Hindus forced the Muslims to demand for a separate state.

### 5) Congress Rule

The congress ministries established in 1937 disappointed the Muslims to live together in such a manner that they have to choose an option of separatism. The congress took many measures based on Muslim hostility, for example, Urdu was replaced by Hindi, cow slaughter was banned, Hindu-Muslim riots erupted. In that state of affair it was inevitable for the Muslims to make a demand for the separate state of Muslims.

### The Contents of Resolution

In 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of Muslim league the famous resolution was presented by A.K Faza-ul-Haq, it was seconded by the eminent Muslim leaders from all parts of India and passed by the participants unanimously on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940. Highlighting three main points 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”

“The geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments 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 religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights”.

Although the resolution did not contain the word Pakistan yet it had gained wide popularity as Pakistan resolution as Hindu press mockingly used this word that was later on accepted by the Muslim League.

### Main Points of the Resolution

The Lahore Resolution highlighted the following main points:-

#### 1) Rejection of Currant System

It was resolved that the federal scheme under the Indian Act 1935 was unsuitable and impracticable. So, the Muslims of subcontinent would never accept it.

## 2) Establishment of Autonomous State

The Muslims would accept only such constitution under which the independent and autonomous state would be constituted including North Eastern and North Western territories of the Muslim majorities.

## 3) Protection of Minorities

Effective safeguard would be arranged for the protection of religious, cultural, political and economic rights of minorities in the constitution of new established states.

## 4) New Constitutional Scheme

According to this resolution the Muslim League gave the responsibility to a working committee to prepare such constitutional scheme under which all necessary affairs would be vested to those states.

### Reaction on the Resolution

The Muslims masses expressed their contentment and pleasure over the resolution. A new wave of passion and courage emerged among them while the Hindu reaction to Lahore resolution was hostile. The Hindu leader strongly criticized it and referred to the partition a vivisection of Mother India.

Gandhi called it a moral wrong and a sin, to which he would never be a party.

Raja Gopal Acharia described the partition as "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".

Muslim Nationalist Ulema also criticized the resolution Moulana Abu-al- Kalam Azad described the demand of Pakistan, as "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".

The Hindu press propagated aggressively against the resolution and highlighted as the conspiracy against the unity of country while the western press remained silent over the resolution.

### Significance of Resolution

The Lahore resolution settled the Muslim future program and line of action.

According to them solution of all the problems of subcontinent was the divide of subcontinent. That resolution turned the Muslim direction of struggle from the constitutional safeguards to establish an independent Muslim state. The resolution proved to be the mile-stone of the Pakistan movement.

### 1) Muslim Unity

All the Muslims of subcontinent welcomed the resolution and united under the leadership of Quaid to acquire the settled goal in this resolution.

### 2) Identification of Destination

The Lahore Resolution determined the destination of Muslims and gave them a clear vision for their future. The Muslims focused their attention on the set goals and succeed in achieving Pakistan, at last.

### 3) Desire for the Muslim State

To establish an Islamic state in subcontinent was a long-standing dream of Muslims. The resolution was an expression of that dream. They were prepared for every sacrifice to fulfill this desire and succeeded in a short period of seven years.

### 4) Popularity of Muslim League

The Muslim League emerged as a sole representative of Muslims. On passing this resolution the people began to unite under the flag of Muslim League. Besides the masses, many Muslim Ulema and Mashaikh began to support the Muslim League. In a short period the membership of Muslim League enhanced more than forty million.

### 5) Unanimity on the Leadership of Quaid

Popularity of Quaid increased rapidly after the approval of the resolution. Quaid emerged as a trusted and a unanimous by accepted leader of all the Muslims of India. The Muslims were ready to present any sacrifice according to his direction. Under the charismatic leadership and in time sagacious decisions of Quaid, the Muslim went on crossing all hurdles and achieved its goal of a separate Muslim state successfully.

### **August Offer**

In the beginning of Second World War, the excess powers were achieving quick victories against the British. Even the security of the subcontinent was gravely threatened. In this situation, the British government wanted to get the cooperation of Indian people and political parties to cope with the war threats. On August 8 1940, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgold made an offer to expand the executive council of India by including the representatives of political party. He also promised that after the war, an Indian constitution making body would set up to formulate a new constitution with due regard for the minority. The British government however made it clear that they could not think of transfer of power to any party at present. The Muslim league and congress, both rejected the offer, because Congress wanted the transfer of power, and the Muslim League was not satisfied on inadequate representation to the Muslims.

## Cripps Mission

During the Second World War Prime Minister Churchill declared that a delegation would be sent to India to seek suggestions for constitutional reforms. So the British government appointed a delegation under Sir Stafford Cripps, which reached New Delhi on 23 March 1942, to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The Mission talks remained inconclusive; however it submitted its own suggestions to the government which were as follows:

- 1) A constituent assembly shall be formed immediately on the end of war to frame the future constitution of India.
- 2) The constituent framed by the constituent assembly shall have to be accepted on the following grounds.
  - a. Any province or state should be free to adhere or not to the new constitution
  - b. The British government would retain the control of defense of India.
  - c. A fresh agreement would have to be concluded to settle the issues about transfer or power.
  - d. The Indian Act of 1935 should remain in force until the cessation of war.
  - e. The Commander-in-Chief and finance minister shall be a British a national
- 3) The suggestions can be accepted or rejected as a whole, and there shall be no amendments.
- 4) The suggestions would be implemented only if both the Muslim League and the Congress accepts those unanimously.

Gandhi regarded the proposals as "a post-dated cheque on a failing bench". The Congress rejected the Cripps proposals. Muslim League also rejected the proposals because those did not concede demand of Pakistan clearly.

## Quit India Movement

The congress wanted to capture political power in India while the British were in critical condition. In order to put pressure on government it decided on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942, to launch an agitation movement namely quit India movement. A violent agitation was launched to oppress the British to quit India immediately. The Quid considered quit India movement as anti-Muslim action He said on the occasion, "The quit India movement, in fact, is a conspiracy to establish Hindu Raj and to finish Muslim demands". The Muslim League, in reply to "quit India" slogan of congress, asked for "divide India and go".

### Gandhi Jinnah Talks

Gandhi wrote a letter to Quaid on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1944, in which he expressed his desire to meet the Quaid. Quaid after getting permission of getting from the Muslim League started talks with Gandhi on 19<sup>th</sup> September in Bombay which lasted up to 24<sup>th</sup> Sep, 1944. Quaid advocated 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. While Gandhi on the other hand maintained that Indian were one nation and the Pakistan resolution was, "nothing but the ruing of whole of India". He proposed that the power from the brutish should first be transferred to the Indians, then the Muslims majority areas should be demarcated by a common commission and separated after "the wishes of people of these areas will be obtained through referendum".

### Wavell Plan

Lord Wavell came to India as viceroy in March 1943. He offered a scheme for the solution of future political problems of India which is known as Wavell plan. According to his plan Wavell offered to set up a new executive council in which the Muslims were to get seats equal to the share of caste Hindus. The council was to have fourteen seats of ministers in which five seats for each, the Muslims and the caste Hindus, and other seats for low caste Hindus Sikhs and Parsis.

### Simla Conference

On the end of the war, Lord Wavell held a conference of Indian political leaders at Simla on 24<sup>th</sup> June which lasted till July 1945 Quaid-e-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, Ghulam Husain Hidayat Ullah, Sir Muhammad Asad Ullah and Husain Imam. The congress was represented by Jawahir Lal Nehru, Abu al Kalam Azad, Khizar Hiyat Tiwana, Dr. Khan Sahib and some other leaders.

During the conference deadlock created on the constitution of executive council. Muslim League, being the sole representative of the Muslims, demanded to nominate all five Muslim members of the executive council while the viceroy was of the opinion that four members should be nominated by the Muslim league and the fifth member should be a Punjabi Muslim who did not belong to Muslim League. The viceroy wanted to appoint Khizar Hiyat Tiwana out of Muslim quota to appease the congress and the unionist party. The congress was not ready to accept the Muslim League claim of being the sole representative of the Indian Muslim

## Elections 1945-46

### Political Background of Elections

#### 1) Cripps Mission

The British and its allies were under heavy pressure from the opponents on initial stage of World War II. The U.K government, therefore, wanted the support and cooperation of political parties on every cost. It appointed a delegation under the chairmanship of Sir Stafford Cripps which reached New Delhi on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1942 to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The mission presented a few proposals like federal system, dominion status for India, the provincial authority to accept the new constitution, approval of both the Congress and Muslim League for the implementation of the scheme etc. both the Congress and Muslim league rejected these proposals on the basis of separate reasons.

#### 2) Quit India Movement

The quit India movement launched against the British government in India to put more pressure on it in August 1942. Quaid opposed the movement and demanded divide India and go. The government took stern action against the movement. All the Congress leaders including Gandhi were arrested and put in jails.

#### 3) Gandhi Jinnah Talks

Gandhi Jinnah talks were held in September 1944 to discuss the political problems of India. During those talks Gandhi was not ready to concede Muslims as a separate nation while Quaid considered it ultimate reality. Due to that difference of opinions the talks ended in vain.

#### 4) Wavell Plan

Lord Wavell came to India as Viceroy In March 1943. He offered a scheme for political problems of India which is known as Wavell Plan. In his scheme he offered to establish a new executive council in which the Muslims would get equal seats to the caste Hindus.

#### 5) Simla Conference

At the end of WW II, Lord Wavell convened a conference of Indian political leaders in Simla in June 1945 to discuss his plan. This conference failed due to difference on nomination of members for the executive council. During the political conference it remained undecided that the nomination of Muslim members would be done by the

Muslim League or by any other party. In other words, whether the Muslim League was the sole representative of the Muslims or not?

### **Holding of Elections**

To decide this matter it became necessary to hold general elections. So, general elections were announced for the central and provincial legislatures. Both the congress and Muslim League contested these elections with utmost efforts because the future of India was to be decided by those elections. During those elections Congress claimed that it represented all the communities of India. Moreover, subcontinent should not be divided, whereas the Muslim League fought election on the following two points.

- 1) The Muslim League is the sole representative of Muslims.
- 2) Division of subcontinent is inevitable for the solution of all the problems and a separate Muslim State should be established on dividing the subcontinent.

Quaid visited all parts of India and addressed the Muslim gatherings to explain the position of Muslim League. Muslim students joined the election campaign on the direction of Quaid and boosted its momentum. The results showed a decisive victory for the Muslim League. It won all the Muslim seats in central assembly and 446 out of 495 Muslim seats in the provincial assemblies. The Muslim League observed 11<sup>th</sup> January 1946 as a victory day on this historical success.

The elections of 1945-46 proved that Muslim League was the sole representative of Muslims of India. The sweeping victory of Muslim League increased the congress hostility instead of conceding its representative status and coming to terms with it on political matter. In short, Congress intensified the mutual differences and made an amicable settlement impossible for the future of India. The grand success of the Muslim League surprised all the Hindus and especially the Congress leadership. That is why Nehru called the elections a 'religious fanaticism' in the bewilderment because the elections infact had decided the partition of India. After those elections Muslim League held a convention of its elected representatives from 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> April at Delhi. In that convention they repeated their demands of division of subcontinent and establishment of an independent Muslim state making an amendment in Lahore resolution 1940.

### **Cabinet Mission Plan**

The new U.K government of labour party came into power in July 1945. That party had promised to send a mission comprising on cabinet members who would try to find a practicable solution of constitutional problems of India with the consultation of

political parties, various groups of public opinion maker and Indian government. It was the last British strife to save India from division.

According to its promise the British government constituted a mission of three ministers including Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pathic Lawrence and Mr. A.V Alexander who reached on 24th March, from London to Delhi. The mission held negotiations with the top leaders of congress and Muslim League and also arranged a joint conference at Simla. The Congress was represented by Azaad, Nehru, Patel and Ghaffar Khan. The Muslim League was represented by the Quaid-e-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail and Abdur Rab Nishtar. During the discussions, there was a deadlock because no party was willing to accept the proposals of the other. Basic controversial issue was, whether there should be one sovereign authority for the whole subcontinent or two independent states? Cabinet Mission could not bridge the gulf between the congress and the Muslim League, and presented its own proposal.

### Suggestions

The mission formulated a future constitutional plan on its own. Its suggestions were as follows:-

1. First, there should be a union of India embracing both British India and local states which should deal with the subjects of foreign affairs, defense and communication and have power to raise necessary finance.
2. Second, there should be three groups of provinces;
  - Group A: Comprising the six Hindu majority provinces.
  - Group B: The provinces of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan.
  - Group C: The provinces of Bengal and Assam.
3. Third, the provinces and states should be the basic units. All subjects other than the union affairs and all residuary powers would vest in the provinces; the states should retain all subjects and power other than those abashed ones.

The Mission also proposed that

1. Each of the three groups of the constituent assembly would frame the constitution for its provinces.
2. The new legislature of any province shall be free to opt out of the group after a period of ten years.
3. The mission also proposed the constitution of interim central government in which all portfolios should be held by the Indian nationals.
4. It was declared that the suggestion would not be amended at any stage. The suggestions would have to be accepted or rejected in totality and it was also promised that such party would be included in the interim government which would accept the suggestions.

Muslim League accepted the plan after examining its pros and cons. It gave its consent on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1946, because there was an opportunity for the Muslims of separation after a specified period.

Gandhi criticized the plan. Giving his own interpretation of the plan he said that the plan had a status of an advice and the constituent assembly would have the power to make amendments. The congress working committee followed the line given by Gandhi and demanded transfer of power to the Indian Legislature.

### **Direct Action Day**

According to the clarification of government Muslim had accepted the plan in totality congress gave partial acceptance. Contrary to his declaration the Viceroy invited only Congress to form the interim government instead of the Muslim League. Consequently Muslim League criticized the back tracking of Viceroy and withdrew its acceptance of the plan. Muslim League decided to protest for the approval of their demands, and appealed to observe the 16<sup>th</sup> August 1946 as the Direct Action day. The Muslims of the subcontinent convened meeting and held processions to demonstrate on that day. The Hindus tried to disrupt the demonstrations due to which communal rights began to arise. Thousands of people were killed in those Hindu Muslim riots in Kolkata. Later on, communal riots spread all over the country.

### **Formation of Interim Government**

In that deteriorating situation the Viceroy realized his fault. He began to think that interim government formed by the congress on 2<sup>nd</sup> September, could not function properly without the participation of Muslim League. He therefore invited it to join the cabinet. Muslim League accepted the Viceroy invitation and nominated five persons including Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, I.I Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogandarnath Mendal for the Interim government. The nominated members took oath on 26 October, 1946. Next year Liaquat Ali Khan who was then Finance Minister presented the budget under which the capitalists, who were the supporter of the congress, had to face heavy taxes. They all became annoyed with the Congress that was a great setback for the Congress. In this way, Hindus cried out under a joint cabinet in united India.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan**

The British labor government was the supporter of the Congress and was against the partition of subcontinent but the Muslim League success in its elections held in 1945-46 forced the government to change its policy. Keeping in view the Indian political

situation Prime Minister Attlee announced Indian policy in British House of Commons on 20 February, 1947.

- 1) The British government wanted to transfer the power to the Indians by 1st June 1948.
- 2) If the legislature could not frame the constitution in that period the British government would decide whether the power should be transferred to the central government or to the provincial governments. It would also use any other option.
- 3) Lord Mountbatten would be appointed as the Viceroy of India to replace Lord Wavell for the implementation of new policy.

Lord Mountbatten arrived in India on 22nd March 1947. He started negotiation with all the eminent political leaders of India on constitutional problems. After that discussions he realized that it would be impossible to keep the India united. So, he worked out a partition plan went to London with a scheme of partition and returned to India after getting approval of the scheme. He sought the consent of seven prominent Indian leaders including Quaid. The scheme was declared on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947. Following were the main points of 3<sup>rd</sup> June plan:

- 1) The Indian elected representatives shall make the constitution of India. The constitution shall not be applicable to those areas whose people will refuse to accept it.
  - 2) The Muslim and Hindu representatives of the legislatures of Punjab and Bengal shall decide separately whether the provinces should be divided or not.
  - 3) A boundary commission shall be set up for the demarcation of boundaries of the two new states.
  - 4) Referendum shall be held in N.W.F.P to go along one of the two dominions.
  - 5) Province of Baluchistan should adopt appropriate way to decide its future.
  - 6) Each state princely shall decide to join one or the other dominion, keeping in mind its specific factors.
  - 7) Referendum shall be held in District Sylhet.
  - 8) Both countries shall have their own governor Generals who will be the executive head of the respective country.
  - 9) The British government will transfer power to the new dominion states.
- The Viceroy declared on the next day that the power will be transferred by 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. That announcement was considered as a secret plan of the Viceroy by many thinkers. They thought "a quick decision would also give Pakistan a greater chance to fail on demerits. Muslim League and congress accepted the plan as an inescapable solution.

## Independence Act of 1947

The Indian Viceroy announced the partition plan on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1947 and sent it for the approval to British Parliament. It approved the bill on 16 July 1947 and after the crown approval 18 July 1947, which is called the independence act of 1947. According to this act:-

- 1) The British control over India would come to an end on 15 August 1947.
- 2) India would be divided into two independent states of Pakistan and Bharat.
- 3) The act of 1935 would remain in force until both dominions formulate their own constitutions.
- 4) Both countries would have option to remain in British common wealth if they so desired.
- 5) The princely states would be given the option to join one or the other state.
- 6) The agreements between the Princely states and the British government would come to an end with the transformation of power.
- 7) The title of Shahenshah-e-Hind would be omitted from his titles.
- 8) The Viceroy came to Karachi on 14 August 1947 for the implementation of independence act and the British power was transferred to the new independent state of Pakistan. Quaid was elected its first Governor General. At last Pakistan emerged on world map on 27<sup>th</sup> of Ramazan on the day of Jumma-tul-Mubarrak.

## Quaid and his political Ideas

Quaid is the icon of the national history of Pakistan. He is characterized as charismatic leader who inspired a substantial majority of Muslims and left a strong imprint on history by establishing the separate state of Pakistan. No history at the end of British rule is without including the political ideas and political struggle of Quaid. His long distinguished public service spanning on some 40 years was inevitable in acquiring and defining the future of Pakistan. Of all the personalities in the great event of India's rebirth to independence, Quaid is the most enigmatic and most veteran statesman. The new nation would have been created but for the personality and leadership of one man Mr. Jinnah. The most thinkers such as H.B Hudson, Leonard Moseley, and Ian Stephen evaluate Jinnah as being the important variable in creation of Pakistan. They characterized Pakistan as a one man achievement referring this aspect of Jinnah's achievement Stanley Wolport said "few individuals significantly alter the course of History. Fewer still modify the map of the world."

Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation state. Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three”.

### Political Life

Muhammad Ali Jinnah started his political life as a private secretary of liberal leader Dada Bhai Nooru Gi and joined the congress in 1906. In 1909 he fought an election of imperial legislative council on the Muslim seat of Bombay and was elected with heavy majority. He got the membership of Muslim League on 10 Oct, 1913 and was nominated its President on various occasions. In 1919, he resigned from the membership of Imperial Council protesting against the Roullit Act. He was elected unopposed as the member of the Council in 1923 on the same seat of Bombay. In his absence he was again elected unopposed from the Muslim seat in 1934. (It is worth mentioning that Quaid remained settled in London from 1932-1935. On his return from London in 1935 he was elected the president of Muslim League. He was unanimously elected the president of Muslim League again and again from 1938 to onward. Quaid also acquired the membership of the last legislature of India.

He performed excellent role and showed fine acumen in the legislature. He always fulfilled his responsibilities honestly and fearlessly. His debates on various important issues were full of logic and reasons. He presented many important bills in the legislature for example, Waqf bill 1911, Police administration bill 1912, Gokhle Primary education bill 1912, the criminal law amendment bill 1913, Punjab administrative system bill 1917, Indian civil service bill 1917, opposition to Roullit Act 1919, Minorities reform bill 1924, support for Indian military college 1924, support for N.W.F.P reforms 1926, support for separation of Sindh 1931, and demand for royal commission to investigate congress atrocities 1939, are a few bills and relevant historical speeches of Quaid e Azam in Imperial legislative council.

Due to his splendid role and courageous strategy, the people of the Bombay constituency elected Jinnah as their representative over and over again. He remained staunch supporter of democratic principles and constitutional struggle throughout his political life and refrained himself from the extremism and cheap politics. That is way, he refused to participate in the Khilafat Movement and opposed the non-cooperation movement launched in Gandhi's leadership.

### The Quaid's Political Philosophy

The political philosophy of Quaid can be divided into four distinct yet continuous phases.

## First Phase

His early public life and political ideas were seemed to be influenced by three main factors i.e. discussions of British liberal leaders, while he was studying in England; the metropolitan flavor of Mumbai where he worked as a successful member of legal community; his close personal and professional contact with renowned Hindus and Parsees.

## Supporter of Liberalism

These three formative experiences led the Quaid to join the Indian National Congress which was initially modeled similar to European liberal parties and was trying to gain self-rule through constitutional means. The Quaid personal and professional qualities made him important member of Congress, during those days he advocated for gradual progress, evolutionary democratic politics and constitutionalism. When the Congress began to move away from those democratic principles in 1920 and favored the extra constitutional methods, the Quaid left the party forever

Since, early life he had also been active in Anjuman-i-Islam Bombay which was the most important Muslim political body. In 1909 he became an elected member to the Imperial council on a reserved Muslim seat. From that time on, the Quaid was in touch with many Muslim institutions and organizations and took great interest in Muslim problems. That is why he was selected by the league to advance a bill on Waqf-ul-Aulad, an important Muslim problem since the time of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, when he was not a formal member of the league. He was considered a suitable person for the protection of the Muslim interests.

## Advocate of Hindu Muslim Unity

During that period he remained committed to the principle of self-government that could be achieved only by the Hindu-Muslim unity. The Quaid joined the League in October 1913 and was nominated as a president in 1916. He used his uncontroversial position of strength in both Muslim League and Congress to increase collaboration between the two parties. His goal was to find the common solution to the problems confronting the Indians. The result of its hard work was Lucknow Pact of 1916 which put at least a temporary end to the controversial electorate issue and laid the foundation for reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims. Owing to such efforts, he got the title of ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. Another important development was that the congress and the League held their annual sessions at the same places for seven years (1915-21). During this stage he was convinced that Hindu Muslim cooperation could achieve the goal of self-rule in India.

## Second Phase

### Protection of Muslim Interests

The second phase of Quaid's philosophy began after parting ways from the congress which ended in 1937. The second phase comprises of two main features; firstly, the protection of rights and interests of Muslims and getting recognition of Muslim identity from the Hindus and the British and secondly, the right of self-rule for Indians. While he was supporting the Hindu Muslim Unity, he was also persuading the Muslims to concentrate their energies in organizing Muslim League and he kept on his struggle for the projection of Muslim rights. During 1920-1937 in second stage of his political life, the Quaid became more and more concerned with the continued growth of Hindu extremism and separatism. However, he did not give up the struggle for achieving mutual understanding between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Owing to this passion, Jinnah supported the resolution of self government presented by the Chanderpaul in 1924. In 1928 he tried to achieve consensus on Muslim demands in all Party National Conference while the Nehru report was under discussion. After the rejection of Muslim rights in Nehru report he had to present Fourteen Points for Muslim rights. He tried to convince the Hindus and the Muslims to accept the fair demands of Muslims. Otherwise, the Muslims would not accept any constitutional system in which their interest would not have been guaranteed. During the second round-table conference, when Gandhi insisted on the concept of one nation in the country, Quaid replied "Indian Muslims are a separate nation of India which has its own interests".

## Third Phase

### Muslim Nationalism

After 1937 a significance shift occurred in Quaid's perception and strategy. Then the struggle was based on the idea of separate Muslim nationalism. Quaid began to reinforce among the Muslims, a sense of separate nation. He was considering Islam as a cause of acquiring Muslims national consensus. According to his belief, the Muslims have different religion, language and culture. These differences make them a separate entity in India and the separate entity deserves safeguards of its rights.

### Foundation of Muslim nation

He has conviction that Islam is a foundation of the Muslim nation which is a distinct nation with regards to religious, cultural and linguistic differences. Now he started emphasizing on Islamic terms and principles in his political discourse. He appealed the Muslim masses to unite under the flag of Muslim league. The Quaid projected

Islam as base of his political philosophy. In order to unite geographically scattered Muslims in Indian subcontinent, he instilled the sense of Muslim Nationalism through their common links with Islam. Moreover, only Islam would link the Muslims of minority provinces with those residing with the Muslim majority provinces. In his address to the Muslim League conference at Goya he said "Islam gives us a complete code. It is not only religion but it contains laws, philosophy and politics. In fact it contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. When we talk of Islam we take it as all embracing world. We do not mean any ill. The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty, equality and fraternity".

### Muslims as a Nation

Quaid presented definition of Muslim nationalism which was most lucid and appealing to the Muslim as well as other international communities. Expressing his views about the Muslim nation, he wrote to Gandhi in September 1944 "we are a nation with our distinct culture and civilization language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and passion, legal laws and moral code, customs and calendars, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and off life".

### Right of self determination

He was convinced that Islam and Hinduism were not religions in the strict sense of word, but were different and distinct social orders as well as those having two separate religious philosophies. The Muslims and Hindus were really two civilizations easily distinguished from each other, which derive their reasons for existence from different sources of history with dissimilar apex, different heroes and divergent episodes. Thus, the followers of Islam and Hinduism are separate nations and the Muslims deserved the right of self determination in his separate state, so, that they could lead individual and collective lives free of Hindu influence.

### Fourth Phase

#### Objectives of an Independent state

After independence of Pakistan in 1947, which marks the beginning of the fourth stage of Quaid's philosophy, he stressed on securing "liberty, equality as enjoined upon us by Islam" he wanted to build Pakistan on the "sure foundation of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasized the equality and brotherhood of Islam".

#### Islamic Democratic State

After the birth of new state, Quaid insisted on laying "the foundation of our democracy on the basis of true Islamic ideals and principles". He perceived Pakistan as a democratic state which served as a bull work for Islam and where its citizens could live up according to its traditions. Quaid really desired to develop Pakistan as a democratic state. In his broadcast statement in February 1948, highlighting the aspiration, he said, "I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and Fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan.

### Opposition of Theocracy

Jinnah opposed theocracy because the concept does not exist in Islam. In the context of the system for the newly established, state Jinnah envisioned Pakistan as a progressive, modern and Islamic democracy. In his statement he said "in any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with the divine mission. We have many non-Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Parsees but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan".

### Opposition of Secularism

If Jinnah was not desirous of creating a theocratic state his political struggle was not to establish a secular state. He always emphasized on Islamic civilization, culture and history for Muslim political identity and their political mobilizations. Now, he wanted to develop a democratic state based on Islamic principles. When he was asked, whether Pakistan would be secular or theocratic state, he stated "you are asking me a question that is absurd. What I have already said like throwing water on a ducks back. When you talk of democracy, I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learned democracy thirteen centuries ago" in short Quaid did not want to establish in secular democracy but he stressed upon Islamic democracy. According to Quaid views "this system should possess democratic structure and features; and should have congruent with Islamic principles and code of morality".

### Protection of Rights of Minorities

In the pre-independence period Quaid always advocated for full guarantee of

religious and cultural freedom to the minorities and equal citizenship irrespective of religion, cast, creed and ethnicity. He was still committed to the perception because Islam shows great tolerance for the convictions of other creeds. Quaid was a great protector of the rights of minorities and their cultural heritage. Replying to a question about the minorities in New Delhi on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1947 he said "let me tell you that I should not depart from what I said repeatedly with regards to minorities. I meant what I said, and what I said I meant they will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, life and culture. They will be citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of cast or creed".

In his presidential address to constituent assembly he remarked, "You are free, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the state.....we are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state...."

### Vision of Islamic Society

Quaid gave the vision of an Islamic society which would be equitable, compassionate and tolerant; from which the cancer of corruption, nepotism, mismanagement and inefficiency would be eradicated. Several statements of Quaid highlight this vision, i.e. while addressing a public meeting in Chittagong at 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1948 he said "The great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also provide limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our state".

### Commitment to the Cause of Muslims

Unlike other Indian politicians, Jinnah shunned cheap popularity and refrained from making statements, which did not reflect his conviction. Jinnah's address to the All India Muslim League session of 1939 revealed his inner self, dressed in a double-breasted elegant suit of Civil Rowe Vintage, and speaking in English, he addressed the Muslims and poured out his heart:

"I have seen enough of the world and possess a lot of wealth. I have enjoyed all comforts of life. Now my only desire is to see the Muslim flourish and prosper as an independent community. I want to leave this world with a clean conscience and content with the feeling that Jinnah had not betrayed the cause of Islam and the Muslims. I neither want your praise nor any certificate. I only want that my heart, my conscience, and my faith should prove at the time of my death that Jinnah died defending Islam and the cause of the Muslims. May my God testify that Jinnah lived

and died as a Muslim fighting against the forces of 'kufar' and holding the flag of Islam high.

### Socio Economic Justice

Pakistan was to be a state having strong beliefs in democratic values. The objective for the creation of Pakistan was to provide socio-economic justice to the Muslims who were facing the Hindu exploitation particularly, in this field under British rule. Consequently, he had always strongly advocated for an economic system based on the principles of Islam. He had a vision of welfare state in his mind. His vision was also based on the geo economic importance of Pakistan. If Pakistan wishes to play its significant role in the world it must develop its industrial potential along with its agricultural sector. The opening ceremony of Pakistan was the last public function he attended and presented the vision of Islamic System on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1948. Inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan he expressed:

"The adoption of western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind".

He was fully aware of vast resources of Pakistan and the potential of Pakistani nation. So, he was hopeful for a strong and prosperous Pakistan according to his vision. During his speech delivered on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1948 he said, "I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized. The road that we may have to travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan".

### Welfare of Masses

The one aspect of the creation of Pakistan and its economic policy envisioned by the Quaid was the welfare of masses and uplift of the poor. Quaid economic vision became evident when he said "the Muslims were asking for Pakistan. If the government did not mean the equality of manhood what would be the use of it? The purpose of whole struggle was that we want to do everything that is possible for the poor".

In his address to constituent assembly 11 August 1947 he further said "If we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely

concentrate on the well being of the people and especially of the masses and the poor”.

### Nature of Polity

The Quaid also defined the exact characters of the polity of Pakistan which are guiding principles for the Pakistani nation. According to Quaid point of view

- 1) Pakistan would be a federation in which federated units would have adequate autonomy.
- 2) The system would work according to the will of people which could be ascertained only through the system of direct elections.
- 3) He visualized the system of competing political parties working within the constitution and democratic framework.
- 4) He declared provincialism as a great curse.
- 5) According to Quaid view corruption is a great curse in India and among the Muslims.
- 6) Fundamental rights should be provided to all, was an important matter of concern of our Quaid.
- 7) The Quaid believed that independent judiciary was the basic need of the time.
- 8) Quaid was a strong supporter of “Rule of Law”.
- 9) With regard to external relations Quaid emphasized on friendship with all for promotion of peace and harmony, support to the oppressed people of the world and a strict observance of the principles of international conduct as enshrined in the U.N.O charter.
- 10) The most important principle which was emphasized by Quaid to follow unity, faith and discipline to meet the complex situation of new born state. As he declared “I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline, we will not only remain the fifth largest state in the world, but will compare with any nation of the world”.

### Role of Quaid-e-Azam

#### a. In creation of Pakistan

H.Y Hudson, the author of the most authoritative publication ‘The Great Divide’ describing about the principle actors, in the final stage of transfer of powers from the British to Indians, “...of all the personalities in the last act of the great drama of India’s rebirth to independence, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, is at once the most enigmatic and the most important. One can imagine any of the other principle actors”. He further says “A new nation state of Pakistan would have been created, but for the personality

and leadership of one man, Mr. Jinnah". Another renowned writer of Pakistan History, Leonard Moseley, regards Pakistan as the one man achievement. Quaid excels the criterion of national hero and leader due to his intellectual capacity, a deep understanding of the political situation in the then British India, and his excellent leadership qualities which enabled him to lead a movement that transformed the Muslim community of South Asia into a nation. He was truly the leader of stature who left a strong imprint in the course of Indian history. Quaid was not always Quaid he paid a heavy price to become Quaid whose political struggle started from 1905 to 1948. During this struggle several elements shaped Jinnah's personality and disposition. Those were the British legal education and law practice, association with liberal politics in India, inspiration from socio-economic justice and reformism in the teachings and principles of Islam.

Due to this egalitarian and liberal character he was equally respected, by all the communities of India. His real political disposition emerged when he joined Muslim League in 1913 and became a well known figure in the politics of India by achieving Lucknow Pact, 1916 by his acumen. Though, he succeeded in creating unity between the Hindus and the Muslims which later on proved short lived yet the protection of Muslim identity rights and interests became the main concern of the Muslim Leaders including Quaid especially after joining the Muslim League. They have to change their strategies over time to address the concerns. For example, Muslim demanded for:-

- 1) Separate electorate and set up a separate political party in 1906, All India Muslim League as a forum for articulating the Muslim demands and presenting them to the British government.
- 2) The Muslim League included demand of self-rule and cooperation with other Indian communities in its objectives.
- 3) They began to stress upon the constitutional safeguards and guarantee for the protection of Muslim interests and separate identity whenever the new reforms were enforced in India.
- 4) In the late 1920s, Muslim League opposed the unitary system and demanded the federation in India with adequate provincial autonomy.
- 5) Allama Iqbal Allahabad address highlighted the distinct political and cultural identity of the Muslims and tried to change the direction of Muslim struggle from constitutional safeguards to the demand of separate homeland.
- 6) After this new thinking, the transition from a community to nation started and reached on its final stage under the congress rule. Now, the sole demand became the formation of separate homeland and all political struggles revolved around the goal.

Quaid played a key role in formulating the strategies and changes over time in pursuing of Muslim demands.

### Lucknow pact

The influence of Quaid in both Muslim League and the Congress led these parties to agree to constitutional proposals in 1916 that included safeguards of Muslim representation in the elected and representative bodies. He indirectly got recognized the Muslims, a separate entity in subcontinent.

### Principle of Weightage

The principle of weightage was included in the Lucknow Pact, in order to improve the political conditions of Muslims and to make their voice more effective in the Muslim minority provinces by providing slightly more representation than their population. It was a great achievement of the Quaid. However, the same weightage facility was offered to the non- Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces.

### Protection of Muslim Interests

The proposals for reservation of one third seats for the Muslims in the central legislature and a quota for the Muslims in the government jobs were included in Lucknow Pact. All this was to mean to secure the Muslim rights and interests.

### Participation in Home Rule League

Being an advocate of self-rule in India he played active role in Home Rule League which was established by Mrs. Ainy Basant. He also remained president of Bombay branch of the League. He raised the voice against the dictatorial policies of the government and boldly resisted against the oppressive measures of Lord Willington. People of Bombay named a new constructed hall on his name because of his courageous and relentless services for the People of Bombay.

### Stand on Principles

Quaid always stood by his principles of liberalism and constitutionalism. He resigned from the imperial legislative assembly as a protest on the approval of Roulet Act 1919. He parted ways from Home rule League when it deviated from its principle stance. Similarly, when the congress gave up the principles of liberalism and constitutionalism the Quaid resigned from its membership in 1920.

### Delhi Proposals 1927

Hindu Muslim riots began after the tragic end of Khilafat movement. The gulf

between the Hindus and the Muslims was increasing. At that critical stage Quaid once again tried to bridge the gap. He presented a few proposals in Delhi for the rapprochement of both communities but Congress wasted the opportunity by ignoring Delhi proposals.

### Fourteen Points 1929

By this famous Formula Jinnah advocated purely Muslim demands for the protection of their identity, rights and interests. Those points were presented in response to the negative disposition of Nehru report 1928 towards the Muslims.

### Stay in London

The Quaid participated in the first and second round table conference as the Muslim representative and presented the Muslim demands in a very effective and forceful manner. In the meantime he got fed up with Indian politics and decided to settle in London. He started his law practice in Privy Council during his stay in London.

### Reorganization of Muslim League

On the insistence of Allama Iqbal and many other leaders, Quaid came back to India in 1934. He was elected president of Muslim League on his return. He started the reorganization of Muslim League, constituted elementary board for the coming elections and went out to address Muslim gatherings all over India in order to gain support for the Muslim League but could not achieve the targeted success due to shortage of time for full campaign.

### Congress Rule 1937-39

The Congress party had adopted policy against the Muslim leadership since 1928 in shape of Nehru report but it turned to animosity in 1937-39 when the Congress party established its ministries in Hindu majority provinces. Quid-e-Azam kept on defending the Muslim cause so actively that throughout the Congress ministries, the evil design of Hindus could not succeed. He took upon himself the task of reorganization of Muslim League at that critical juncture, when it not only lost 1937 elections but also its morale. As the bitter experience of congress rule convinced him that the compromise with the congress may not be possible, so, he devoted his attention to mobilize the Muslims of India.

### Struggle for Separate Identity

He started the struggle for the transformation of Muslim community into a nation

hood. He began to argue that Muslims are not a community but a nation which is different from the Hindus. Jinnah highlighted this point of view in a decisive manner in his presidential address in All India Muslim League in the Lucknow session 1937. From now on, he always emphasized over the Muslim separation and independent line of action for the Muslim League.

### Demand for Pakistan

Muslim politics took a new and significant turn during the Congress ministries and departed from pre-1937 policy. Jinnah's presidential address is the hallmark of Muslim nationalism and clear cut of the rejection of the concept of Indian nationalism. It was Jinnah who gave the idea of Pakistan a concrete shape; gave it roots and muscles. In his address Quaid made the two nation theory more clear and the demand for Pakistan was justified on the basis of two nation theory. The demand for Pakistan meant that a separate nation needed a separate homeland in order to protect their rights and interests which cannot be protected living along with un-accommodated Hindu majority in united India. The Historic Resolution on the vision of Quaid became the clarion call and guiding star in the dark night of the Indian Muslims. Now the Indian Muslims started marching towards its destination under the leadership of capable and upright leader M.A. Jinnah.

### Struggle for Independence

After the Lahore resolution the achievement of separate homeland remained the focal point of the Muslim struggle under the leadership of Quaid. For example, when the British government presented Cripps proposals scheme to appease Indians and to get their cooperation in the second world war, Jinnah perceived it an evil design to counter the Muslim demand for Muslim homeland and out rightly rejected the scheme. During the elections of 1945-46 Muslim League won historical success due to the leadership of Quaid after the mobilization of Muslim masses. Similarly, another scheme of reforms as Cabinet Mission plan was presented by the government. Initially Jinnah accepted the plan primarily motivated by the fact that the plan contains the seeds of Pakistan.

Muslim League boycotting the constituent assembly and joining the interim government were the right decisions at the right time. Those decisions paved the way for partition. 3<sup>rd</sup> June plan of Lord Mountbatten and Redcliff Award no doubt were the partial and biased measures yet it was Jinnah's sagacity to handle these matters with utmost rationality. At that moment Jinnah had no option other than to accept the decisions because the refusal of offer might create hurdles in the transfer of powers.

Discussing the great man theory, a great scholar, Shareef-ul-Mujahid describes that "it is true, circumstances make the character what it is and what it tends to become but it is equally true that the character once it has emerged on the scene begins to play an increasingly critical role; he moulds, shapes exploits to the utmost the circumstances it inherits to suit, advance and achieve its ultimate purposes and objectives". Applied to the case of Pakistan it was the Jinnah who shaped the events according to his policy and this he did specially after the adaptation of Lahore resolution.

### (b) Role of Quaid for Solidarity of Pakistan

Quaid, the father of the nation, remained first governor General of Pakistan about 13 months. Though this is a short period, yet remarkable by dint of Quaid leadership. Immediately following the Quaid emergence on 14 August 1947, country had to face a number of problems either emerged naturally or on the instigation of Hindus. All those were crucial to the existence of new born state. It was the personality and political insights of the Quaid by which the core issues were handled and the state was strengthen enough to dive down. Those issues were the conflict of Kashmir, Pakhtunistan, annexation of Princely states, influx of refugees, setting up administration, arrangement for financial resources, division of assets, establishment of armed forces and setting up new foreign policy.

The Quaid took vital decisions on all these issues and most of them were settled properly. During this short period he gave special attention to the all important affairs which were necessary to the stability of Pakistan and provided guiding principles to the nation in its coming years. The account of the multiple role of Quaid and the guiding principles is as followed

#### Decision of Governorship

After transfer of power Lord Mountbatten was desirous of common governor general ship of India and Pakistan. Jinnah sensed the forth coming danger of this development because the Mountbatten sincerity to Pakistan was doubtful. So, Quaid brought the matter to all India Muslim League (AIML) council, which nominated Quaid as Pakistan's first governor general. This was a shock not only to Mountbatten but also to the entire Congress leadership. When Mountbatten in his meeting insisted Jinnah to change his decision, Quaid remained steadfast on this decision. Later events proved that if Jinnah would not have been governor general designated all the decisions regarding partition would have been done by Mountbatten and Nehru ignoring the national and state affairs of Pakistan.

In order to chalk out the administrative consequences of partition, a meeting was held

on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1947 under the president ship of Lord Mountbatten. The meeting was attended by Jinnah and Nehru along with other Indian leaders. Jinnah suggested the establishment of a partition tribunal instead of an executive council which should be the supreme and final authority and should be an independent body to carry out all assets and liabilities, failing these crucial matters would not be settled impartially. Jinnah's proposal was not accepted and consequently, many matters remain unsettled or settled partially by the council as Jinnah professed already.

### Partition of Armed Forces

During the meeting of the partition council with Lord Mountbatten on 27<sup>th</sup> June, Jinnah stressed upon the partition of armed forces before the transfer of powers because he opined that the united force could not save the minority Muslims from the cruelties of Hindu majority. During the meeting he said "I wish to have a Pakistan army ready by August 15 and that there must be an operational Commander in Chief in Pakistan by that time who would take orders from the Pakistan government". The history shows that the migrated populations especially, the Muslims of East Punjab have to face severe hardships by ignoring the Quaid's suggestions because there was no Pakistan army on the occasion of migration.

### Concern about the Important Appointments

Jinnah had grave concerns about the setting up of administrative machinery of Pakistan. Owing to that concern he was very keen to get appointed the governors of the provinces and diplomatic representatives of Pakistan. He wrote to Mountbatten on 9<sup>th</sup> June for those appointments and further emphasized on the matter of the appointment through another letter.

### Formation of Flag

About the formation of flag of Pakistan detailed discussions were held between Jinnah and Mountbatten on 12<sup>th</sup> July. Contrary to Mountbatten's desire of opting a modified shape of Union Jack, Jinnah adopted a unique flag of Pakistan which was the modified form of the flag of the Muslim League.

### President of Constituent Assembly

Quaid was elected on 11 August 1947 as the president of the constituent assembly of Pakistan. In his address to the assembly while highlighting the golden guiding principles he said "Justice and fairplay would be the guiding principles of the new state" he also made it clear that "we are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of Pakistan with no distinction of caste or creed".

Describing the functions of the constituent assembly he told that it had to frame the constitution of new state and it would also act as a legislative assembly of Pakistan.

### Dismissal of NWFP Cabinet

After the creation of Pakistan, when Dr. Khan sahib, Chief Minister of NWFP hesitated to solute national flag, so, it became necessary to dismiss its cabinet in the interest of nation. Consequently, upon the direction from Quaid, Sir Connigam, the Governor dismissed the ministry of N.W.F.P on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1947.

### Acceptance of Redcliff Award

After the announcement of unjust award, there was great agitation in the minds of the Muslims. He pacified the unrest and advised to abide the promise. He said "the award may be wrong unjust and perverse; it may not be judicial, not political. But we agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us".

### Response on Hindus and Sikhs Atrocities

Hindus and Sikhs started attacks on the Muslim houses while killing men, abducting women and plundering their assets. These atrocities committed against the Muslims especially of East Punjab were not tolerable in any case. Many people telegraphed to Quid for retaliation. The Quaid in his reply called upon him that any type of "retaliation is most unwise" and he advised the Muslims to observe restraint in accordance to the teachings of Islam. Though the Quaid was very much in pain due to the violence of East Punjab, which had taken innumerable tragedies of hundreds of thousands of Muslims, still he advised the Muslims not to lose their temper and to behave reasonably.

### Formation of the Cabinet

Quaid took as Governor General of Pakistan on 15 August 1947. Immediately afterwards, on the same day cabinet headed by Liaquat Ali Khan comprising seven members was constituted. Similarly, the provincial administrations were also set up without wasting any time.

### Enforcement of Interim Constitution

For the functioning of state the government of India act 1935 along with some amendments was adopted as the provisional constitution by a notification on 3 September 1947. This was to be the interim constitution until a new one was framed by the constituent assembly.

### Attention towards sports

Considering the significance of sports in the life of a nation, Quaid gave the instructions to concerned quarter to participate in sports at World level. For this purpose All Pakistan Olympic Association under the president ship of E.H.Jaffar was formed in August 1947. The president of the association was also instructed to get it affiliated with World Olympic Association and to invite World Olympics of next year in January 1948 at Karachi.

### Settlement of Refugees

Quaid gave special attention for the relief and settlement of refugees coming from India. For this purpose, he established a refugee relief fund and appealed to the resourceful persons for contributions in order to help the refugee brothers. He visited Lahore for sometime in October 1947 and supervised himself the arrangement of food, health and accommodation.

### Nature of Constitution

Quaid was a democrat and staunch supporter of Islamic principles. Moreover, he had a clear nature of constitution and the type of government in his mind. Explaining the nature of system, in his broadcast statement to the people of USA in February 1948 he said "The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan constituent assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody".

Elaborating the system he further said "in any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims -Hindus, Christians, and Parsis, but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan".

### Warning against Social evils

As the Jinnah speech delivered on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947 in the inaugural session of constituent assembly is considered as the set of basic principles and instructions given to the new born nation. In this speech he discussed all requirements, needed to be the new state and its society. In his speech he also identified some harmful evils facing the new born country and warned the people of Pakistan to keep away themselves

from the evils. In this regard he said "one of the biggest curses from which India is suffering is corruption and bribery that really is poison. Another curse is the black marketing. You have to tackle this monster. The next thing that strikes me, is the evil of nepotism and jobbery

### Rights of Minorities

Quaid has bitter experience as a member of minority in united India. So, he remained always a great supporter of minorities.

Addressing the first press conference as a Governor General he said "Minorities to whichever community they may belong, will be safe guarded. Their religion of faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, and their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed".

### Membership of U.N.O

Quaid was deeply interested in getting the membership of united nation for Pakistan, in order to play an active role among the nations of the world. For this purpose, Quaid sent Mr. Baig on 13<sup>th</sup> August to convey the wish of Quaid to the UN Secretary General. Due to the keen interest and continued efforts of the Quaid, Pakistan was made the member of UNO on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1947.

### Stance on Kashmir Issue

Quaid had been raising voice against the atrocities of Dogra-raj in Jammu and Kashmir and also had been criticizing the ruler on its oppressive measures against journalists. On the occasion of partition when Kashmiri people started rebellion against the Dogra raja, he sought unlawful support from India. When the freedom movement of Kashmiries could not be controlled with the help of Indian Army, the Indian government had to submit a request to the U.N for its intervention. At this occasion Quaid once again supported the cause of Kashmiri people. The Pakistani representative pleaded with U.N commission to consult the people of J. & Kashmir for the solution of Kashmir issue for which the Pakistan government was ready to assist.

### Accession of the states

Apart from Kashmir the issue of accession of ten main princely states within the boundaries of Pakistan was causing tension especially the Khan of Kalat. These states were Chitral, Amb, Swat, Dir, Makran, Kharan, Lasbella, Kalat, Khairpur and

Bahawalpur. Quaid played very important role in convincing the rulers of these states for annexation to Pakistan. The Quaid struggle worked out the solution and this issue of great concern was settled in his lifetime.

### Economic Policy

Under the instructions of Quaid-e-Azam Pakistan issued its new coins and currency notes on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1948 but Pakistan could not establish its own state bank soon. It was on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1948 that the State Bank of Pakistan was established due to the keen interest of Quaid in this respect.

### Education Policy

Quaid-e-Azam gave due attention on the matter of education. The educational progress was the first among the priorities. He instructed to hold an All Pakistan Educational Conference in Karachi that was convened on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1947. He conveyed the main objectives of educational policy through his message as, "If we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the World...What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations....in short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honor, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan".

### Defense of Pakistan

The foremost priority of Quaid was the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan. For this purpose it was inevitable to make the defense of Pakistan strong and invincible. Therefore he wanted very modern and active armed forces for the protection of state boundaries and ideals of society. In his address to a military regiments at Malir on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1948, he advised, "Nature inexorable law is the survival of the fittest and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom. You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battle fields of the globe to rid the world of the fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and equality of manhood in your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time, for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve".

In the foreign policy of Pakistan Quaid also introduced guiding principles and helped to establish friendly relations with various countries of the World. The basic principle on which Quaid wanted Pakistan to establish its relation with the other countries was to pursue the goal of peace by the spirit of goodwill and sympathetic attitude towards all the human beings. Having such principles and the needs of people of Pakistan in mind, he wanted to establish good relations with their neighboring countries, the Muslim block, the world powers and all other countries having the same ideals.

Once he expressed his views about the foreign policy through broadcast to USA in February 1948 "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in international and national dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed people of the World and in upholding of principles of the United Nations charter".

### Message to the Students

Quaid was proud of his youth particularly the students who remained his committed supporter for the cause of Pakistan. Quaid considered them the builders of tomorrow and future of Pakistan. So, he gave them always very affectionate treatment and guided them in every sphere of life. In his address on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1948 at Dhaka he advised the students in the following words "My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning, you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or another.....your main occupation should be in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the state to devote your attention to studies".

### Message to the Civil Officers

The Bureaucracy is always an important element of the administration. Civil officers play key role in smooth and active functioning of various departments, the Quaid also focused on the character and capability building of this class. Addressing the civil officers on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1948, making the point clear to them he asked, "Work

honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan government. I can assure you there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness".

### Warning against Provincialism

Quaid always stressed upon unity and advice to get rid of any type of mutual difference like provincialism, sectarianism. In his public address on 21<sup>st</sup> March 1948 at Dhaka he advised the nation "I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a nation now... I ask you to get rid of provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politics of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation and you will never be able to achieve what I wish you could achieve".

### Other Services

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared Karachi as the capital of the state, framed the administrative structure, made various classes of society to their responsibilities, won the hearts of the tribal men after withdrawal of Army from FATA established a new ministry for the states and agencies, started negotiations on the issues of Kashmir and Jonagarh and above all he created the national sentiments in the nation and enhanced its morale. Though he performed his responsibilities in very difficult situations yet he succeeded in strengthening the nation. He expressed his expectations in his address on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1947 "I have no doubt that with unity, faith and discipline we will not only remain the fifth largest state in the World but any nation of the World".