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COMPREHENSIVE

PAKISTAN STUDIES



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COMPREHENSIVE PAKISTAN STUDIES

(Compulsory)

(Revised and Enlarged)

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M.A (Political Science) M.A (History) M.A (Sociology)

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NOTE

I'm capturing all those topic which Wahid ullah sir had learned in the class and skip reminder.

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Chapter 1

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN

*Over thrown remove party
from government*

WHAT IS AN IDEOLOGY?

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

In view of the different approaches towards the meaning of an ideology, a working definition can, however, be evolved to reach at a conclusion. Ideology is a different form of those comprehensive patterns of moral beliefs about man, society and the universe in relation to man and society. Ideology is often understood as a way of thinking about the cultural and social programme of a political movement launched to emancipate a suppressed group from the exploitation of a more dominant social class. The (ideologies) deal with idea or abstract speculations and are a systematic set of arguments and beliefs used to justify an existing or desired social order. "**A political ideology is a system of beliefs that explain and justifies a preferred political order, either existing or proposed and offers a strategy (institutions, processes programmes) for its attainment**".³

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

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1. Reo M. Christenson, *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, p. 2.
 2. Ibid., p. 3.
 3. Ibid., p. 4.
 4. Reo M. Christenson, *Ideologies and Modern Politics*, p. 7.

HOW IDEOLOGY EMERGES?

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

Ideologies tend to arise in times of crisis and social stress. They originate and get support among those sections of society who have rejected the prevailing conditions. "An ideology emerges when people feel strongly that they are being mistreated under an existing order, when their status is threatened by fundamental changes occurring in the society, and when the prevailing ideology no longer satisfies them".⁵ This state of affair drives the ignored and maltreated groups towards other ideologies, which show them a new horizon of better life.

IMPORTANCE OF AN IDEOLOGY

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

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

BASIS OF PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

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

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY

DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION

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

5. Ibid., p.7.

TWO-NATION CONCEPT

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

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

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

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTAN

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

1. Enforcement of the Sovereignty of God Almighty

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

2. Establishment of Islamic Democracy

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

administration of the state affairs. The Khalifa has dual accountability on earth he is responsible to the people and in heaven to God Almighty.

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

3. Revival of Muslim Image and Identity

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

4. Protection of Muslim Culture and Civilization

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

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

One of the great objectives of the Pakistan movement was the protection of Muslim culture and to save it from Hindu domination. The Muslims were not prepared to accept Hindu superiority over them. They were very much alive to their sense of supremacy as a separate and distinct nation. In fact this feeling of separateness was

motivating element of the Pakistan movement. The Muslims wanted to give stability to their nationhood which was not possible in the United India under the Hindu hegemony. The Muslims, therefore, decided to separate themselves from the Hindus in order to safeguard their cultural values.

5. Two-Nation Theory

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

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

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

6. Emancipation from the prejudicial Hindu majority

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

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

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

The British and the Hindus adopted a cruel policy of mass elimination against the Muslims in order to erase them as a nation and subsequently merge them in the Hindu nationalism. This policy created great difficulties for the Muslims in their social life. The Congress ministries further strengthened Muslim suspicion who were now fully convinced that there was no other way than separating themselves from the Hindus in

order to avoid total elimination. The demand for Pakistan was based on this very feeling that the Muslims should be emancipated from the clutches of the eternal Hindu domination.

7. Establishment of a Balanced Economic System

The economic condition of the Muslims, before partition, was deplorable. The Hindus had monopolised commerce and trade. The Muslims were not in a position to enter in the business and trade because of biased policy of government. After the war of Independence of 1857, the British government had banned Muslims entry into government service. All high civil and military positions were reserved for the Hindus. The Muslims were considered eligible only for peon's and low ranking jobs. The government had confiscated estates and properties of Muslims to punish them for their involvement in the war of independence. The agricultural land was mostly owned by the Hindus who fully exploited the Muslim cultivators. The Government policy provided no shelter to the Muslims for earning their sustenance in a respectable manner.

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

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

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

The economic system of Islam is based on the balanced principles which do not permit an individual to keep wealth and economic resources more than one's needs and requirements. By the systems of Zakat and Ushr, extra wealth is extracted from the people and distributed amongst the poorer and more needy persons of the society to maintain economic balance. The Quaid-i-Azam, while inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on 1st July, 1948, said, "The bank symbolized the sovereignty of our people in the financial sphere. The Western economic system has created many problems for humanity. The Western economic system would not help us in setting up a workable economic order. We should evolve an economic system based on Islamic concept of justice and equality."

PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY & ALLAMA IQBAL

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

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

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

Allama Iqbal considered Islam a complete code of life. He said, "I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in the United India". He advised the Muslims to understand their real position and shed away their mental confusion and narrow approach to life. He clarified the glorious image of the Muslim Ummah and said.

کبھی اسے نوجوانِ مسلم تدبیر بھی کیا تو نہ
وہ کہا گردوں تھا تو جس کا ہے اک طوفان ہوتا رہا

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

اُن تازہ خداویں میں بڑا سب سے دُن بے
خوبیوں کے اس کا وہ ذہب کافی نہ

He said Islam guides the mankind in every aspect of worldly life and, therefore, must be enforced in an Islamic State as a code of life. He based the foundation of homeland on the religion which later on became the ideology and basis of Pakistan. He

said, "Islam strengthens the life by infusing spiritual unity". He said, "in Islam the Almighty 'God and Universe' the 'soul and matter' are the different part of "One Whole". He did not believe in any system separated from religion and declared that religion and politics are not separated from each other in Islam.

نظام پادشاہی جو کر جووری تھا شاہ برو بناہو دین سیاست سے تورہ جاتی ہے چکنیزی

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

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

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

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

are a separate nation with their distinct cultural values and religious trends, and they want to have a system of their own liking, they should be allowed to live under such system considering their separate religious and cultural identity".

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

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

Allama Iqbal infused a spirit of nationalism amongst Muslims with his stirring and thought-provoking poetry. He preached an idea of nationalism based on Islamic unity and brotherhood. He was of the opinion that the individual is not linked with the geographical boundaries but with a spiritual relationship. He negated the concept of territorial nationalism and brought to light its adverse affects and influence on the Muslim. He said:

یہ بُت کو تراشیدہ تہذیب نہیں ہے
غارت گر کا شانہ دہن نبوی ہے
ہاذ تیرا توحید کی قوت سے قوی ہے
اسلام پیرادیس ہے تو مصطفوی ہے

Advocating Islamic unity and brotherhood he said:

ایک ہوں مسلم جم کی پاسہان کے ہے
نیل کے ساحل سے چلتا بنا کہ کاشفہ

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

League repudiated Jinnah's leadership and organized itself separately under the leadership of Sir Muhammad Shafi. Feeling peeved and disgusted Jinnah decided to leave India and settle in England. From 1930 to 1935 he remained in England. During this period he devoted himself to legal practice appearing before the privy council. He also represented the Muslims in Round Table Conferences (1930-32). He was, however, persuaded by Liaqat Ali Khan to return to India when the constitutional changes were introduced. He returned to India in the beginning of 1935.

When Jinnah returned to India, Congress was a far better organization than Muslim League. Provincial elections under the Act of 1935 were held in 1937. The Quaid-e-Azam was still thinking in terms of cooperation between Congress and the Muslim League. The elections of 1937 proved to be a turning point in the relations between the two organizations. The Congress obtained clear majority in six provinces. When the Muslim League desired to form coalition government with Congress, the Congress refused unless the Muslim League subscribed to its creed. As a consequence the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League started to deteriorate and soon Muslim discontent and disillusionment became boundless.

At this moment the Muslim India were a disunited, disgruntled and despaired mass of men and women. The Congress decision of eliminating the Muslim League from the ministries widened the gap between the Muslims and the Hindus. Quaid-e-Azam was extremely pained to find Congress acting in a highly anti-Muslim behaviour. He had to change his views about Hindu — Muslim unity and repudiated his belief that India was a homogeneous country. He declared, "Muslims can expect neither justice nor fairplay under Congress Government".

From the onward Jinnah re-organized the Muslim League from being a debating party for Muslim landed aristocracy and went to the masses for support. Within a brief period of four years Jinnah awakened the slumbering Muslim masses, brought them on platform and under one banner and gave coherence to their innermost but vague urges and aspirations. The sincere and dauntless leadership of Jinnah stirred Muslim consciousness and a hundred million people discovered their soul and destiny. They shed their minority complex and developed a national consciousness of their own. Thus Jinnah became the unquestioned leader of the Muslim community and was elected each year as President of the Muslim League. The bulk of Muslims from all over India supported the Muslim League. They assembled under the flag of the Muslim League like a united whole and extended their full support to Jinnah. And it was out of sheer gratitude for the stunning discovery of Muslim nationhood that the Muslim India hailed Jinnah as the 'Quaid-e-Azam'. Jinnah became the great leader of the Muslim India to take them to their destiny of Pakistan.

Creator of Pakistan

By 1939 the Quaid-e-Azam had emerged as undisputed leader of the Muslims who had embarked upon a new line of action. On December 29, 1939 soon after the resignation of the Congress ministries, the Quaid-e-Azam gave a call to his Muslim brethren to observe the Day of Deliverance and thanks giving. The call was widely supported.

Three months later on 22-24 March, 1940, the Muslim League in its annual meeting at Lahore passed the famous Lahore Resolution for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The Congress opposed the idea of Pakistan. The Muslim League under the dynamic leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam strove very hard to accomplish Pakistan on 14th August, 1947.

Two Nation Theory and Quaid-e-Azam

Quaid-e-Azam was a staunch believer of Two Nation Theory and considered the Muslims a separate and distinct nation. He said, "Pakistan was created the day the 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".

Quaid-e-Azam laid great stress on the Islamic Ideology as being the basis of the struggle for Pakistan because he believed that Islam was the only unifying force of the Muslim Millat. He said, "What relationship knits the Muslims into one whole, which is the formidable rock on which the Muslim edifice has been erected, which is the sheet anchor providing base to the Muslim Millat, that relationship, the sheet anchor and the rock is the Holy Qur'an". In 1946, addressing a gathering at Islamia College, Peshawar, he said, "We did not demand Pakistan simply to have a piece of land but we wanted a laboratory where we could experiment on Islamic Principles".

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

RELIGIOUS AND REFORMATIVE MOVEMENTS THE EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM NATIONALISM IN INDIA

The Advent of Islam in the Sub-Continent

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

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

This is how the Muslim society originated in India. When a separate and distinct system, culture and religion took shape in entirely alien atmosphere. With the initiation of Islam in the sub-continent, a separate nation, having its own understanding of life came into existence, which was to leave its impact on the Indian civilization and way of life in the years to come. The Quaid-i-Azam rightly said, "**The Pakistan came into existence the day the first Indian national embraced Islam.**" By this statement of the founder of Pakistan, it becomes clear that Pakistan was a reality a long time before because it was to become an abode of a nation who was the torch-bearer of the great religion of the world, Islam.

Spread of Islam in other parts of India

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

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

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

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

Delhi sultanate was established in India after the death of Muhammad Ghori. The span of Delhi sultanate ranges from 1192 to 1526 when Babur, invaded India in 1526 to establish Moghal empire. During sultanate period forty sultans ruled Delhi.

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

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

The spread of Islam in the other parts of the sub-continent owes much to the selfless and dedicated services of other eminent sufis, mystics and religious leaders Baha-al-Haq, later on known as Baha-ud-Din Zikriya of Multan spread the light of Islam in the plains of Punjab along with Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar of Pakpattan. Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaki, Nizam-ud-Din Olia, Mujadid Alf Sani, Shah Wali Ullah, Muin-ud-Din Chishti and many other devoted their lives for the spread of Islam in the sub-

continent. Ultimately with the spread of Islamic learning and an increase of orthodoxy, many who were on the fringes of Islam were absorbed and gradually became part of orthodox Muslim society¹.

There are some writers who are of the view that the spread of Islam in India is mainly because of fear. The view is no longer held as valid and authentic in the presence of historical evidence which openly repudiates this version. "The Holy men would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and pagans of this part of India, and it is to their persuasion rather than the sword the people of West Punjab owe their faith in Islam."²

THE IMPACT OF ISLAM

Islam and Hinduism

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

Cultural Influence

Before the advent of Islam in India the people were divided in several social factions because of the caste system. An intense and perpetual strife was going on between all social groups of society. Conditions which extremely lacked in solidarity and homogeneity prevailed in the society. The people were greatly perturbed and worried over the unstable social conditions. The caste system had divided the society in different social groups with antagonistic approach and feelings towards each other. The prevailing conditions were ripe for the introduction of a new religious faith and system which was to negate the existing philosophies of life based on inhuman trends and customs.

When Islam was introduced to the people of the sub-continent, it attracted many followers because of its simple and easily understandable principles. The social and cultural impact of Islam was on the pattern which characterized a new social system. Islam challenged the Hindu society, with its strong traditions of social and religious democracy. It presented a striking comparison between Islamic and Hindu societies where the spiritual and intellectual superiority was wrested by the privileged classes.

The advent of Islam, therefore, completely changed the character of Hindu society. A new understanding of human relationship emerged giving shape to tolerance and acceptance of each other. Consequently, with the lapse of time, reformers like Ramananda, Guru Nanak and Chaitanya emerged in the Hindu society, who being impressed by the simple and glorious principles of Islam openly denounced the rigid caste system of India. They emphasised on the doings of the individual rather than the superiority or inferiority of the birth.

Islam, therefore, became a blessing for the lower classes of India. The occupational groups, doomed and suppressed under their existing system willingly

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

embraced Islam to shed away the yoke of their perpetual subordination. The rigours of the caste system diminished and the life became happier and bearable for the under-privileged groups. Islam showed them a new way of life which they had never experienced before in the Hindu society. The respectable way of life, ensured by Islam, gave the masses a feeling of being human beings. The people rejected the outdated and absurd customs of Hindu society and showed their inclination toward the new trends of life. The old languages Sanskrit and Parakrit were influenced by Arabic, Persian and Turkish. By the interaction of these languages new languages like Urdu and Hindi developed.

Religious Influence

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

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

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

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

Chaitanya of Bengal, although not deeply acquainted with Islam, does show some influence of Islam in his teachings. His disciples were well versed in Arabic and some of them are said to have embraced Islam at a later stage.

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

HINDU RE-ACTION

Hindu Nationalist Movements

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

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

Bhakti Movement

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

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

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

Din-i-Ilahi

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

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

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

The gist of Din-i-Ilahi was the introduction of un-Islamic trends. Akbar sanctioned a number of un-Islamic practices which included the worship of sun, fire and artificial lights. Jizya and pilgrimage tax of 6 per cent per head were abolished. Din-i-Ilahi elevated Akbar and declared him God's shadow on earth. It was required of all by this creed to bow before the emperor in adoration. Cow slaughter was prohibited and Azan, call for prayers, was forbidden. He encouraged the people who adopted un-Islamic practices and readily accepted them in the fold of his disciples. The mosques were to be used as warehouse. Akbar ordered that no child will be named as Muhammad in future. He also proclaimed that any opposition on the part of his subjects to an order passed by the His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come.

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

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

Akbar's attempt to bring about a fusion of society by merging the different religious faiths, bitterly failed. It was a disastrous failure as it did not please the Hindus.

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

even who were given a tremendous boost under Din-i-Ilahi. Akbar's experiment in the religious field gained nothing. It invited a vigorous reaction by the Muslim saints and particularly by Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani who exposed the fallacy of Din-i-Ilahi.

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

Imam Rabbani Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani (Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi)

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

Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani, whose real name was Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi was a descendant of the second pious Caliph Hazrat Umar Ibn Al Khatab for which he was also referred as 'Farooqi'. He was a prominent disciple of Khawja Baqi Billah, an eminent saint of the Naqshbandia spiritual order. He is popularly known as Mujadid-i-Afl-i-Sani (Receiver of Islam during the second Millenium). Sheikh Ahmad was born on June 15, 1564 at Sirhind, the Capital of Eastern Punjab during Moghal rule. He received education under the most prominent and learned teachers at Sialkot and Sirhind. He memorized the Holy Quran and then switched over to the study of Hadith, Tafsir (commentary) and Ma'qul (philosophy). He travelled from place to place to benefit from the renowned scholars. During his wandering to quench his thirst for the mystical knowledge he came into contact with the leading lights of Akbar's court Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi. When Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi learnt of his brilliance and extraordinary mystical insight, they tried to draw him into the Court of Akbar. However, Sheikh Ahmad's connection with the celebrated brothers Abu-al-Fazl and Faizi did not prolong because of Abu-al-Fazl's un-Islamic trends.

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

Baqi Billah's discipleship brought Sheikh Ahmad into close contacts with the leading Muslim nobles of his days. He received spiritual training from Baqi Billah who encouraged him to utilize his tremendous spiritual gifts by freeing of his creative qualities. Baqi Billah bestowed Khilafat on Sheikh Ahmad soon after he joined his discipleship. Khawaja Baqi Billah, was greatly impressed by his mystical qualities and wrote about him "Sheikh Ahmad is an individual from Sirhind, rich in knowledge and vigorous in action. I associated him for few days and found truly marvellous things in his spiritual life. He will turn into a light which will illuminate the world."⁴

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

Social Conditions of India

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

During these days Akbar ruled the sub-continent whose anti-Islamic outlook had aggravated the social environs. Akbar had no leanings towards Islamic principles and tenets. He promoted Hinduism by marrying Hindu ladies and by allowing free access to the Rajputs and Hindus in his court. He also appointed Hindu Rajputs on higher civil and military positions. The introduction of Din-i-Ilahi by Akbar was a grave attempt to distort Islam. He assumed the title of **Mujadid-i-Azam** and **Imam-i-Adil** and issued orders pertaining to the religious matters which were to be considered as authentic and final. The impact of Din-i-Ilahi greatly affected the Muslim beliefs and trends. It split the Muslim society into several factions and promoted heretic attitudes and practices.

Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts to Purge Muslim Society of Atheist Values

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

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

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

Sheikh Ahmad stressed on the Muslims to revert to the purer Islam by giving up heretical customs and practices. He laboured diligently to settle the differences between the scholars and the mystics. He initiated the leading nobles near the emperor into his discipleship and through them exerted an influence to bring about a change in the life of the Court. He was able to enlist Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khana, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz and Mufti Sardar Jehan, the most influential personalities of Akbar's era into his discipleship. He also persuaded the great men of Jehangir's period to take an oath of Allegiance at Sheikh Ahmad's hands. In the time of Jehangir Sheikh Ahmad was successful to a greater extent to extract a solemn undertaking from the Muslims that they would not obey any orders repugnant to Islam.

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

Sheikh Ahmad's Letters

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

Sheikh Ahmad Imprisoned

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

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

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

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

Sheikh Ahmad and Two-Nation Concept

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

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

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

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

Wahdat-ul-Wajud and Wahdat-ul-Shahud

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

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

The Influence of Sheikh Ahmad's Efforts

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

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

and cow slaughter to be carried out as required by Islamic principles. Jehangir also agreed to the construction of a big mosque on the advice of Mujadid.

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

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

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

Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah Muhadis Delhi

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

Imam-ul-Hind Hazrat Shah Wali Ullah, a great saint, scholar and reformer is one of those great personalities of Islam who, with his dedicated services had brought the Muslim society together on the stable foundations. He continued the work of Hazrat Mujadid Alf Sani and struggled for religious, cultural political and social revival of the Muslims.

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

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

Shah Wali Ullah excelled in every discipline of the Islamic learning. He completed his studies in the fifteenth year of his age in all the prevalent customs and traditions of his country. He studied *Sahih-i-Bukhari* and often attended his father during

the reading of the Holy Quran. Shah Wali Ullah also acquired knowledge of various branches of jurisprudence (**Fiqh**). He studied **Sharh-i-Waqaya** and **Hidayah** and some portion of **Usul-i-Fiqah**.

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

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

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

Social Conditions of India in Shah Wali Ullah's Time

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

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

SHAH WALI ULLAH'S MOVEMENT

Religious Reformation

Shah Wali Ullah during his stay in Hejaz, received reports of unstable and chaotic conditions in India. He was advised to stay on in Arabia which he did not accept

6. Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, p. 125.

7. S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan*, p. 392.

and returned to Delhi on July 9, 1732. He immediately set himself to the sacred task of spiritual consolidation of Muslim society. He prepared a few students and gave them knowledge in different branches of Islamic learnings. They were entrusted with the job of imparting the knowledge to others.

Shah Wali Ullah persuaded the Muslims to strictly follow in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He introduced the basic tenets of Islam to the people. He advocated the Quranic education for the welfare and benefits of the Muslims and asked them to abandon un-Islamic trends and practices. He urged the people to lead a simple life and avoid involvement in the luxuries of the world. He initiated *tatbiq* (integration) of the Muslim society which was on the verge of destruction. By adopting the method of *tatbiq* he introduced a liberal element and thus brought elasticity in the understanding of Islam.

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

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

Political Services

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

The rise of Marhattas and Sikhs had posed serious problems to the Muslim rulers. The Moghal rulers were no more in a position to withhold the supremacy of the Muslim rule which was gravely jeopardized by the emergence of the Sikhs, Marhattas and other non-Muslim forces. Marhata forces raided Delhi, the capital of the Moghal empire, at

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

will. The Marhatas wanted to crush the Muslim rule for ever to put Peshwa's son Biswas Rao on the throne of Delhi.

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

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

Works of Shah Wali Ullah

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

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

In his time the Shias and Sunnis were aggressively hostile to each other and their rivalry was damaging the Muslim unity. Shah Wali Ullah wrote 'Izalat-al-Akhifa' and 'Khilafat-al-Khulafa' in order to remove misunderstanding between Shias and the Sunnis. He refused to denounce Shias as heretics. Shah Wali Ullah adopted an analytical and balanced approach towards the four schools of thought of mysticism. In order to create a balance between the four schools, i.e. Hanafi, Hambali, Shafii and Malaki, he wrote 'Al Insaf fi Bayan Sahab al Ikhtilaf' in which he traced their historical background.

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

strict in punishing those landlords who preferred to go to a court of law for the recovery of debts instead of coming to him for redress.

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

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

Titu Mir

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

Titu Mir went to Makkah in 1819 for performing Hajj where he came into contact with Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi, who extremely inspired him with his spiritual insight. After his return from Makkah, Titu Mir began preaching the poor classes of Jessore and Nadiya in Central Bengal. Soon he formed a sect known as **Maulvis** among his followers.

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

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

The War of 1857 had ended in disaster. The glorious Moghal Empire was liquidated and the direct British rule was established over the whole of the sub-continent. The British had put the entire responsibility on the Muslims and, therefore took severe action against the Muslims to eliminate them from the society. The Britishers,

connivance with the Hindus, adopted a policy to ruin the economic condition of the Muslims which would have automatically stamped out the Muslims from the Indian society. Every action which the British took after the War of 1857 affected the Muslims directly or indirectly. All high Government civil and military positions were reserved for the Hindus and non-Muslims. Since the social position of the Muslims heavily depended on their government employment, this measure clearly affected the economic and social position of the Muslims.

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

ALIGARH MOVEMENT (SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN)

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

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

Sir Syed received education in Holy Quran, Arabic and Persian literature. He also acquired excellence in history, mathematics and medicine. His mother was a very wise lady who trained Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in various subjects. With the guidance he received in his family Sir Syed developed a profound love for learning which enabled him to guide his people in the intellectual and political fields.

After completing his education, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had to join government service as his father died in 1838. The death of his father and grandfather increased financial problems of the family. In the beginning he was offered a clerical job in 1839 but he soon qualified for the post of Munsif (Sub-Judge) in 1841 and was posted at Fatehpur Sikri. When his elder brother died he sought his transfer to Delhi where he remained from 1846 to 1854. After serving in different capacities he was elevated to the position of Chief Judge in 1846. During his stay at Delhi as Chief Judge, he wrote his

famous book Asar us Sanadid (Antiquities of Delhi) in 1847. In this work Sir Syed Ahmad Khan prepared an account of the famous buildings in and around Delhi. In 1855 Sir Syed was transferred to Bijnaur where he compiled the History of Muslim Rule in India. The first work which he produced was Ain-i-Akbari by Abu-al-Fazal. He also wrote the History of Bijnaur in 1855.

By 1857 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had spent nearly twenty years in judicial service. He was known for his sense of justice, competence and for the love and keen desire of welfare and prosperity of his people. In 1857 Sir Syed was posted at Bijnaur when the War of 1857 broke out. It perturbed the local European officers and their families. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan saved many British officers even at the risk of his personal life. On one occasion when the lives of the Britishers, who had taken refuge in Collector's bungalow were precariously threatened by a mob, Sir Syed used his influence on the mutineers as a writer and trusted public servant to let the European refugees leave the place unmolested. He also saved many British women and children from being killed. He was offered an estate for his services which he ^{refused} ~~rendered~~ to the British, but he refused to accept. Sir Syed also served at Ghazipur and Benaras. In 1877 he was appointed a member of Imperial Council and was raised to Knighthood in 1888. In 1886 the University of Edinburgh of England conferred a degree of LL.D. on Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

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

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

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had rightly observed that the present condition of the Muslims was mostly because of their own extremist and conservative attitude. The Indian Muslims had always considered the British as their enemies and avoided social interaction with them, which had created a great deal of misunderstanding among the British about the Muslims. Sir Syed believed that the pitiable condition of the Muslims

shall not be improved unless the Muslims changed their behaviour toward the British. He was of the opinion that since the British were likely to stay in India as rulers, the Muslims should adopt a more lenient attitude towards them and extend the necessary loyalties to rulers of the country. He also believed that the Hindus would get an opportunity of getting closer to the British if the Muslims continued with their policy of hatred for the British rulers. He advised the Muslims to change their policy of keeping away from the British and come closer to them. He believed that only in this way the Muslims would be able to counter the Hindu and Congress propaganda to win back their position in society.

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

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Sir Syed's Aligarh movement was based on a two-fold programme for the Muslims renaissance which included modern education for the Muslims and co-operation with the British Government. He persisted to it even in the face of extreme opposition from the conservative elements. The next vital step for the uplift of the Muslims, he considered was the acquisition of modern knowledge by the Muslims of India to prepare them for taking due place in the Indian society. Modern education, he felt, was very essential to equip the Muslims to compete with the Hindus. He was of the opinion that the present deplorable condition of the Muslims was mainly because they extremely lagged behind in the modern and English education. The Muslims were not in a position to compete with the Hindus because they did not acquire modern education simply out of extreme hatred for the British. Sir Syed informed the Muslims clearly that if they did not acquire modern education they would not be able to get their due status in the society and would be ruined for ever. He told the people that Hindus progressed because they were well advanced in education. Sir Syed removed the misunderstanding of the people, created by the orthodox and conservative Ulema, and declared that it was not against the teachings of Islam to acquire English education.

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

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan went to England in 1869 with his son Syed Mehmud who was given a scholarship for higher studies in England. During his two years stay in England, Sir Syed closely watched the educational system of Britain. He was extremely impressed by the educational system of the Cambridge and Oxford Universities of

England. He made up his mind to set up an educational institution on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge Universities when he returned back to India.

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

Establishment of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh

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

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

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

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

MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

To carry the message of reforms to the masses Sir Syed set up the Muslim Educational Conference in 1886. The Conference held public meetings in various parts of the country. It established its sub-committees in all parts of the country. This conference rendered valuable services in cultivating spirit of action and self-help among the Muslims. The meetings of this conference discussed modern techniques for the development in the field of education and suggested ways and means for the adoption of modern technique for the improvement of the educational standard. Some very eminent scholars and leaders were included in this conference who with their dedicated approach aroused hope among their brethren. They were Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Shibli and Maulana Hali who inspired the people with their spiritual, academic and political acumen and insight.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

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

The Indian National Congress which grew in time to be the most powerful political organization in India, was originally meant to provide a forum in which the Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the government in what respects the government was faulty and how it should be improved. It had claimed at the time of its inception that it would strive for the safeguard of the interests of all communities of India irrespective of their religion or political leanings. But with the time it backed out of its stand and turned into a pure Hindu body. The demands which were projected from Congress platform appeared very innocent and democratic but actually were aimed at the complete elimination of the Muslims from the Indian society.

Sir Syed on observing the extreme Hindu posture of the Congress, advised the Muslims not to join it. He said that Congress was mainly a Hindu body which can never be sincere to the Muslims. He was of the view that since the Hindus had advanced far enough in education, political awareness and wealth, they could easily dominate the Congress for the projection of their interests and demands and to ignore the Muslims completely. Sir Syed felt that the Muslims should concentrate for the time being on the acquisition of education and economic rehabilitation before competing with the Hindus in the political field. He firmly believed that the political activity would divert their attention from the constructive task and revive British mistrust. He, therefore, emphasised on the Muslims to fully concentrate on the acquisition of knowledge and equip themselves with modern techniques of politics and then they should embark upon the political participation.

Steps for Creating Better Understanding Between the Muslims and British

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

Sir Syed believed that first essential step towards the betterment of the Muslims was to restore mutual trust between the Muslims and the British. Without it, he felt any plan for the renaissance of the Muslims would be useless. He wrote a pamphlet on the causes of Indian revolt in order to remove the misunderstanding about the Muslims' involvement in the War of 1857.

Sir Syed explained the real causes of the war in **Rasala-i-Ashab-Baghawat-i-Hind** and said that the Muslims were as much responsible for the war as were Hindus and other nations. He wrote that the Muslims were dragged into the war and that it was unworthy to blame the Muslims alone for the war. He put the responsibility of war on the government and declared that the dictatorial and oppressive policies of the government contributed a great deal toward the outbreak of the uprising against the government in 1857. He wrote that because of the ignorance and oppressive policies of the government the embers of discontent continued to smolder resulting in the armed clash with the Government. The armed rebellion, Sir Syed wrote, was in fact the manifestation of the discontent found among the people about the tyrannical rule of the British. He said that in these circumstances, to hold the Muslims responsible for the war was not justified as the Muslims were dragged into the war by the sway of events along with other nations.

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

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

In 1866 Sir Syed formed British India Association at Aligarh. The object of this organization was to express the grievances and point of view of Indians to the British people and the British parliament. The association made several important representations on behalf of the Indian people to the parliament and the British government regarding Indian grievances. He wrote "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he gave a detailed account of the loyal services of the Muslims which they had rendered to the British rulers.

Religious Services of the Aligarh Movement

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

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan went to England with his son, he devoted himself much towards collecting the relevant material to give a proper answer to William Muir's remarks in his most maligned work. He met John Devenport who had written a book as "**An Apology for Muhammad and Muhammadans**." Syed Ahmad got the book published at his own expense and got it translated into Urdu. He realized that a more elaborate effort was needed to give a proper answer to the Life of Muhammad and therefore wrote

"Essays on the life of Muhammad" (*Khutbat-i-Ahmadiya*). He spent huge amount on the publication of this voluminous book.

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

Sir Syed was a highly tolerant person in the religious affairs and, therefore, had a large number of friends in other circles. He brought a fairly large number of Hindu and British teachers on the staff of the Aligarh College. At the same time Sir Syed was greatly influenced by the teachings and doctrines of Shah Ismail Shaheed and Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab. He adopted a positive attitude towards religious tenets and openly negated the philosophy which he could not conceive. It was mainly for these reasons that some orthodox ulema of his time branded him as **Christian**.

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

Social Services of the Aligarh Movement

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

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

PIONEER OF TWO-NATION THEORY

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

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

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

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

The Hindi-Urdu controversy convinced Sir Syed that the Hindus will never be sincere to the Muslims because the culture, civilization and religion of both nations were distinct from each other. It was the cultural and religious differences which aroused Hindu jealousy and hatred towards Urdu, the language of the Muslims. They wanted Urdu to be replaced by Hindi in order to establish their cultural domination on the Muslims as to them this was the most effective way to eliminate the Muslims as a Nation.

Sir Syed quickly and shrewdly realized the Hindu designs behind this agitation and came to the conclusion that Hindus and Muslims were two separate and distinct Nations with their distinctive cultural identity. He therefore, used the word Two Nations for the Hindus and the Muslims in 1868 for the first time and this gave his famous Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of the Pakistan Movement.

The Impact of Aligarh Movement

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

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

Aligarh Movement after the Death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

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

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

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

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

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

sentiments among the Muslims. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk resigned in 1912 due to his deteriorating health.

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

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

TEHRIK-I-DEOBAND

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

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

Although Aligarh movement did a lot of work for the social, political and economic uplift of the Muslims, it, however, lacked in the religious sphere and could not work commendably for the religious training of the Muslims. The working strategy of the Aligarh was based on the co-operation with the British rulers which confronted it with the orthodox Ulema who did not consider it a reformatory movement for the Muslims. The orthodox Ulema believed that the Muslims welfare and renaissance could only be possible by pursuing Islamic way of life which the Aligarh glaringly ignored. The lack of

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

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

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

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

HINDI-URDU CONTROVERSY

Urdu was nearly 300 years old and considered as the language of the Muslims in the sub-continent from the early times. The amalgamation of Arabic, Persian and Turkish gave birth to a new language which was called Hindustani, Shahjahani and finally Urdu. It was also called as Lashkari because of the merging of other languages. Gradually the new language of Urdu became the media of expression of the Muslims of the sub-continent. They adopted this language for the expression of their social, cultural and regional feelings. Urdu soon passed through stages of development and became the symbol of Muslim unity and culture. The Muslim and Hindu writers worked a lot for the development of Urdu. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also rendered valuable services for the development and protection of Urdu. The Muslims, therefore, developed an emotional attachment with Urdu which had attained a status of their national language.

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

The Hindi-Urdu controversy began in the year 1867 when Hindus demonstrated against Urdu and demanded its replacement with Hindi as an official language. Some prominent Hindu leaders organized an agitation against the use of Urdu as official language and demanded that Hindi written in Devanagri script should be introduced in

the offices and courts as official language. Sir Syed was extremely disappointed to see the Hindus behaving in a prejudicial manner. He was now convinced that the Hindus would never be friendly with the Muslims.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PARTITION OF BENGAL

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

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

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

MUSLIM RE-ACTION TO THE PARTITION

The new province of Eastern Bengal brought happier prospects of political and economic life for the Muslims. The Muslims overnight turned into majority by the creation of the new province. The Muslims were 18 million out of the total population of 31 million in the new province. The partition of Bengal provided chances of great progress to the Muslims who formed the majority group in the new set up. In the combined province of Bengal the Muslims were a suppressed and dominated class of society. The Hindus had monopolized trade and Government services which aggravated the economic condition of the Muslims. The partition of Bengal provided them with a chance to rehabilitate their social position. They hoped that their social status would get a tremendous boost in the new province. The Muslims, therefore, expressed their utmost

happiness over the partition of Bengal. They offered their gratification in a loyal way to the Government for taking a step for their social, economic and political uplift.

HINDU RE-ACTION TOWARD PARTITION

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

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

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

The day of 16th October, 1905, when partition was enforced, was declared as a national tragedy. Strikes were held throughout the country. The Indian National Congress also jumped in to support the agitation against the partition. The Hindu students put up violent demonstration against the partition. The Congress severely criticised the partition in its annual session of 1906.

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

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

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

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

SIMLA DEPUTATION

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

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

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

The Muslim leaders decided to avail this opportunity in order to apprise the Viceroy of the Muslims demands.. A delegation of prominent Muslim leaders, from all over the country was formed under the leadership of His Highness Sir Agha Khan.

The Viceroy was vacationing at Simla. The Muslim leaders asked for the assistance of Mr. Archbold, the Principal of Aligarh College, to get an appointment with the viceroy. Mr. Archbold got in touch with the Private Secretary of the Viceroy Col. Dunlop Smith and requested him to get an appointment with the Viceroy and inform Mr. Archbold. The Muslim delegation comprising 35 Muslim leaders known as Simla Deputation, called on the Viceroy on 1st October, 1906 at Simla.

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

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

It was a great achievement of the Simla Deputation to have convinced the Viceroy about the genuineness of the Muslim's demands. The Muslims were now convinced that organized efforts were essential to press for the acceptance of the demands. The most important demand of separate electorate was accepted by the government and incorporated in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. At this time the Muslims had left the Congress and had no political platform to project their demands. They badly needed a forum for the projection and safeguard of their interests to counter the false propaganda of the Congress.

FORMATION OF ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

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

The annual session of All India Muslim Educational Conference was held in 1906 at Dacca. The prominent Muslim leaders from all over the country were attending this meeting. When the meeting ended, Nawab Salim Ullah Khan of Dacca, convened a political meeting of the Muslim leaders at his residence. The objective of this meeting

was to discuss the possibilities of forming a political association for the Muslims. The meeting was presided over by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk on 30th December 1906. Nawab Salim Ullah of Dacca had already circulated an idea of the political organization known as All India Muslim Confederacy. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, in his presidential address stressed the need for a political platform for the Muslims. He said that Congress political activities were highly injurious for the Muslims for which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had asked the Muslims to keep away from the Congress politics. He said that the Muslims form only one-fourth of the total population of India. It is very obvious that if the British leave the country at any time, the Muslims will come under the domination of that nation which is four times more numerous than the Muslims. The other participants also expressed their views in favour of forming a political organization for the Muslims.

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

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

Objectives of the Muslim League

1. To promote among the Muslims of India feelings of loyalty to the British government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the government with regard to any of the measures.
2. To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
3. To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other aforementioned objects of the League.

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

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

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

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

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

The Muslim League met with immediate success in the initial stages of its struggle. It drew government's attention towards the Muslims' demands expressed by the Simla deputation. It secured due share in the appointments for the Muslims and also seats in the legislative bodies on local, provincial and central level. It demanded the appointment of Muslim judges in the courts. It also secured adequate safeguards for the educational interests of the Muslims by getting due representation for the Muslims on the syndicate and Senates of the Indian Universities. The most important demand of separate Reforms 1909. Many Muslims rose to the judgeship of higher courts who were Mr. Sharaf-ud-Din (Calcutta High Court), Mr. Karamat Husain (Allahabad High Court) and Mr. Shah Din (Punjab High Court). The Muslim League endeavoured to get the Auqaf Bill passed by which the management of Auqafs in the country was taken over by the Government.

MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

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

Meanwhile an extremist Hindu organization **Hindu Mahasabha** had emerged in the Indian politics with a highly prejudicial concept of nationalism. This organization had some extremely narrow-minded elements who believed that the Muslims should be eliminated from the Indian society. The Muslims now stood exposed to the most blatant exploitation by the Congress and Hindu mahasabha. The Muslim League found itself at the precarious brink of its struggle for the Muslims cause. The circumstances drove the

Muslims to worry about their position in case the British left the country to be ruled by Hindu majority. The Hindu and Congress activities had exposed their heinous designs towards the Muslims which justifiably reinforced Muslims suspicions. The Muslims reached at the conclusion that they would be dominated permanently by the Hindus in case the British left the country at any time. The Muslims, therefore, decided to adopt a line of action in order to safeguard their separate identity. The demand for separate electorate by the Simla deputation and later by the Muslim League, was the first step taken into the direction to protect and maintain the separate image of the Muslims.

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

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

1. The long-standing demand of Muslims for a separate electorate was conceded and included in Minto-Morley Reforms.
2. The preparation of separate electoral rolls was ordered.
3. The legislative councils were expanded.
4. The authority of the council was increased. The members were given more liberties and they could present any resolution or motion before the council for discussion.
5. The Viceroy's Council's membership was fixed at sixty members.
6. The membership of the provinces of Bengal, U.P., Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Orissa was fixed at 50 members whereas the membership of the provinces of Punjab, Burma and Assam was fixed at 30 members.
7. The Indians were included in the Executive Council of the Viceroy and in the provincial Executive Councils.
8. The local bodies, trade unions and Universities were allowed to elect their members.
9. Lt. Governors were appointed in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. These provinces were given right to form their own Councils.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHANGE IN MUSLIM POLITICS (MUSLIM LEAGUE CHANGES ITS POLITICAL STRATEGY)

The Muslim League, with its establishment became active for the protection of the Muslims' interests. It took over the Muslims' struggle launched by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and was successful in securing a number of demands from the Government for the Muslims. The most important demand was the separate electorate, which the government at last conceded in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The acceptance of separate

electorate was the first step by the government taken towards the establishment of self-rule in India.

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

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

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

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

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

The Muslim League shifted its office from Aligarh to Lucknow in 1913. The younger generation had assumed the leadership of the Muslim League. Quaid-i-Azam

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had joined Muslim League in 1913. He was the member of both Congress and Muslim League and was greatly in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity. On 22nd March 1913, on the initiative of the Quaid-i-Azam the Muslim League passed a resolution to adopt the attainment of self-rule suitable to India under the British Crown through constitutional means. Another resolution was passed which contained Muslims' option for co-operation with other communities of India for the accomplishment of the common objectives. It was re-affirmed through these resolutions that the future progress of the Indian people depended on the mutual co-operation of various communities. It was hoped that the leaders of both sides would periodically meet together to chalk out a programme for joint action on the matters concerning the welfare of the people.

LUCKNOW PACT, 1916

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

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

In December, 1916 Muslim League and the Congress, for the first time in the history of India, held their joint sessions in Lucknow. The League session was held on 30th and 31st December, 1916 in Qaiser Bagh Baradari Lucknow. Muslim League, in recognition to the great efforts by Quaid-i-Azam for the safeguard of the Muslim interests and for securing Hindu-Muslim unity, elected him as the President of its eighth session. Quaid-i-Azam delivered an excellent address in which he presented a masterly survey of the political situation of India. He rejected all objections raised by the British against India's suitability to have a system of self-rule. He declared that the Indians were capable enough to run the Government's affairs and possessed all qualities of head and heart to deal with matters of national importance.

The Reforms Committees, appointed by the Congress and Muslim League at the Bombay session, had already devised an agreed scheme for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problems and constitutional reforms in their meeting at Calcutta in November 1916. The Reforms Committee once again met at Lucknow before the session of the Congress and League and finalised the proposals before placing it in the regular session. Quaid-i-Azam

informed the session that the efforts of the Reforms Committees, to find a settlement of Hindu-Muslim problems, have been successful and a new era had opened in the history of the country. He asked the government to accord the system of self-rule to India in the nearest future which was the definite aim of the Indian people.

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

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

shall be Indians elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

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

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

The Lucknow Pact was a bright chapter in the dark and gloomy environs of Indian political history marred with communal strife and narrow-mindedness. It was a political agreement which set in a new path leading towards a happy and prosperous future. The Lucknow pact created political homogeneity between the two separate political entities. Hindus and Muslims, who frankly and fairly admitted each others interests with sincerity. The credit for creating this harmonious situation undoubtedly went to the unflinching and untiring efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam who was conferred with a proud title of Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity by the famous poet politician Mrs. Sarojni Naidu.

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

MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS 1919

A committee under Justice S.A. Rowlatt was appointed to suggest ways and means to crush political conspiracies against the government. The committee presented its report to the government in 1918 which contained very strict measures to be adopted against those who were found involved in the political activities against the government. The report invited unprecedented re-action by the Indian people on its unethical and

heinous recommendations against the people of India. The political leaders expressed their utmost annoyance and declared the Rowlatt Committee Report as criminal. The Quaid-i-Azam resigned from the imperial legislative council in sheer protest against Rowlatt Act.

The most tragic incident of Jallianwala Bagh mass killing followed which extremely aggravated political situation of the country. The British commander General Dyer, opened fire without warning to disperse, on the people who had assembled at the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar to protest against Rowlatt Act. The indiscriminate slaughter of the people at Jallianwala Bagh infuriated the people and sent a wave of shock throughout the country.

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

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

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

1. Bicameral legislature was established in the centre. The Upper House was known as the Council of State and the Lower House was named as Central Legislative Assembly. The membership of the Upper House was fixed at 60 members while the Lower House consisted of 146 members.
2. The Upper House was elected for 5 years and the Lower House for 3 years.
3. Separate electorate was retained for the Muslims.
4. Self-Government would be established gradually in India.
5. The system of Dyarchy was introduced at the provincial level. By this system the provincial subjects were divided into two categories as the transferred subjects and the reserved subjects. The transferred subjects such as Health, Commerce

and Education were entrusted to the Indian Ministers who were responsible to the Council. The reserve subjects such as Law and Order, Finance, Police, Irrigation and Forests were placed under the direct control of the provincial Governors and their nominated Councillors. Under the system of Dyarchy the Governor-General could interfere in the provincial matters which was widely disliked.

6. The subjects were divided between the Centre and Provinces. The central subjects were Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency, Railway and Telecommunication. The provincial subjects included Education, Health, Irrigation and Local Government.
7. The Governor-General's Executive Council was responsible to the secretary of state for India who was sitting in London.
8. The Governor-General retained the right to certify any legislation which he considered essential.

The Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 conceded far less than the Lucknow Pact had demanded. Such concessions were not acceptable to the Congress and the Muslim League. The political circles declared these reforms as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Congress split into two factions over the question of accepting the reforms, one group was in favour of accepting the reforms while the other was for rejecting them. Muslim League too, was not very optimistic about the proposals as they did not contain any concrete suggestions about the introduction of self-rule in India.

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

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

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

The Institution of Khilafat

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

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

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

Movement for the Protection of the Institution of Khilafat

When the First world war broke out in 1914, the circumstances compelled the Ottoman Empire to fight against the Allies. Turkey, the seat of Khilafat, therefore, fought by the side of Germany. The Indian Muslims naturally attached their sympathies with their Turkish brothers. The government adopted a stern policy to keep the Muslims of India under control and did not allow them to raise any voice in support of Khalifa, the Sultan of Turkey. The Muslims of India had a proud history of coming to immediate help to their suppressed brethren in any time of need. They extended maximum support to the Turks and the Arabs in the Tripoli and Balkan wars.

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

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

Khilafat Committee

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

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

The Indian Deputation Calls on Viceroy

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

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

The Viceroy promised that the sentiments of the Indian people and particularly of the Muslims shall be given due consideration and that no harm shall be done to the Caliphate and the sacred places of the Muslims. He, however, made it known to the deputation that religious matters should be kept away from the political affairs and it was not a good policy to involve religion to put political pressure.

The war ended on 11th November, 1918 and a peace armistice was concluded between the Allies and Turkey on 13th November, 1918. The terms of this agreement were humiliating for Turkey who was dictated to accept it.

by the Allies. Turkey was divided into parts and Turkish army was disintegrated. All Turkish vessels were captured and the railways income was fixed for the allies. The allies were to determine new borders of Turkey and the internal administration was to be handled by Turkey itself. The Allies took every step to eliminate the religious places of Islam in Turkey.

TREATY OF SEVRES

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

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

The Muslims were not happy over the development in Turkey and were particularly saddened over the naked betrayal by the Government. A large scale hue and cry erupted in India on the shameful terms of the treaty of Sevres. The Muslim leaders called upon the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford and urged that the degrading terms of the treaty be withdrawn. They made it clear to the Viceroy that if the terms of the treaty were not withdrawn a non-cooperation movement against the Government would be launched. The Viceroy paid no heed to this warning. The Muslims decided to launch a movement for the safeguard of the institution of Caliphate and to express their resentment over the actions the Allies had taken in Turkey. The dynamic leadership of Ali Brothers, Maulana Abual Kalam Azad and other religious leaders flared up the deep anxiety of the Muslim masses which surpassed all previous limits of laying sacrifices for a national cause.

KHILAFAT DELEGATION

The Khilafat Committee met on 23rd November, 1919 and decided to send a delegation under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar to England to apprise the Government about the sentiments of the people. The delegation included Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Dr. Syed Husain and Malik Hasan Hayat, who was to act as Secretary of the delegation. The delegation left Bombay for England in March 1920. Muhammad Shoaib Qureshi and Abdur Rehman joined the delegation in London. On arrival in London Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar gave a number of interviews and expressed his determination that the Turks should not lose their independence and Istanbul remains as the seat of Khilafat. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar said that sheer injustice had been done to the Turks who were not given a chance to present their case. He urged that this grave injustice done to the Turks must be rectified and their old position should be restored. The delegation reminded that the Muslims

wanted justice with the Turks in the light of the fourteen points of U.S. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons on January 6, 1918 by which he had pledged to maintain the sanctity and freedom of the homelands of Islam in Arabia and Turkey.

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

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

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

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

Gandhi's personality greatly appealed to the Hindu sentiments who came together under his leadership. The enthusiasm of the Muslims was already in a state of agitated mind due to the treatment extended to Caliphate in Turkey. Congress at a special session adopted the non-cooperation programme and later re-affirmed it at its Nagpur Session in December, 1920. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, was not in favour of Gandhi's non-

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

cooperation programme as to him the plan was bound to invite violence and eventually would lead to disastrous confusion. He resigned from the Congress Party in 13th April, 1923.

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

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

HIJERAT MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

MOPLAH UPRISE

Some Arab tribes, known as Moplahs had settled on the Malabar Shores. By faith they were Muslims. They invited Government's annoyance by actively taking part in the Khilafat movement. The government adopted repressive measures in order to quell the Moplahs activities which furthered Moplahs resentment. The government arrested a few

Moplahs who wanted to go to Kerala to organize Khilafat movement. The arrest of the leaders inflamed the sentiments of Moplahs who demanded the release of their leaders. Police resorted to firing on a mob killing nearly 400 persons.

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

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

CHAURI CHAURA TRAGEDY

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

Gandhi intended to begin his Civil Disobedience movement in the beginning of 1922 from a small town of Chauri Chaura in Farakhabad district. Under the Civil Disobedience movement all government taxes and revenues were not to be paid. The people of Chauri Chaura demonstrated in a form of procession on 5th February, 1922 and refused to pay government taxes. The police tried to disperse the procession which infuriated the demonstrating processionists. The hostile mob set fire to the police station where twenty-two policemen were burnt alive.

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

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

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

END OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

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

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

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

RESULTS OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

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

1. The Khilafat movement was a great Muslim struggle which provided dynamic leadership to the Muslims and established foundations to launch further Muslim Freedom movement on stable and firm basis.
2. The whole of the Khilafat movement was erected on the Hindu-Muslim unity which proved to be a fake idea when Gandhi, unilaterally ended his non-cooperation movement at the time when the government was to kneel down before the demands. The sudden decision of Gandhi caused anxiety amongst the bewildered Muslim masses who felt betrayed at the eve of victory. It confirmed to the Muslims that the Hindu mind can never be sincere to the Muslims' cause. Gandhi's action was instrumental to finish and destroy the Hindu-Muslim unity which had been accomplished through the sincere endeavours of the Quaid-i-Azam.
3. With Gandhi assuming the leadership the Khilafat movement turned into a purely political struggle thus putting aside the prime

institution of Caliphate. Gandhi, in fact, had no attachment with the Caliphate. He wanted to use the Khilafat agitation to press the government to give Swaraj — self-rule — to India.

4. The Khilafat movement effectively demonstrated the religious enthusiasm of the Muslims to the British. The British now seriously felt of giving independence to India.
5. The Ulema and Mashaikh worked as a well-knit team during the Khilafat movement. They provided organized leadership to the nation and stirred their religious zeal by their speeches. The Khilafat movement also cultivated a new outlook amongst the Muslims not to rely on others support and to wholly depend on self-determination for the achievement of national cause.
6. The Khilafat movement played an effective role in eliminating un-Islamic trends and concepts from the religion and politics due to its religious and political impact.
7. The Khilafat movement developed a sense of concern amongst the Muslims about their national matters and inculcated among them the awareness about their future.
8. The Khilafat movement immensely strengthened the Two-Nation Theory which became the basis of establishment of Pakistan.
9. The Hijerat movement caused enormous hardship to the poor people who responded to the call by Ulema to migrate from India. The Ulema issued fatwa that India was a country where the government had trampled with the laws of Islam and, therefore, was an infidel state where the faith of the Muslims was in jeopardy. The Muslims left India but had to be returned back by the Afghan government when the number of migrants grew beyond control. A large number of migrants perished on way back and still a large number who succeeded in reaching India found themselves homeless and without a respectable way of living.
10. The Khilafat movement added much to the economic miseries of the Muslims who resigned their jobs.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

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

1. Gandhi's action of calling off the Non-cooperation movement at a moment when the government was about to make major concessions, was a severe set-back to the movement.
2. The government arrested all important leaders of the movement which left the Muslim leaders who drifted aimlessly from one side to the other. The government after arresting leaders, adopted repressive measures on the masses to quell their agitation.

3. The grand National Assembly of Turkey elected Mustafa Kamal as their leader who abolished the institution of Caliphate and the last Caliph Sultan Abdul Majeed was banished from Turkey.
4. The Hindu-Muslim unity, achieved at Lucknow, disappeared in the beginning of the movement and could not be re-captured.
5. The extremist Hindu movements, Shuddi and Sanghatan, began converting the Muslims to Hinduism which provided a new cause of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims.
6. The communal clashes and riots erupted in the country which adversely affected the political conditions of India.

Chapter 4

PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

MUSLIM NATIONALISM

THE EVOLUTION OF TWO-NATION THEORY

Meanings of Two-Nation Theory

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

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

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

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

Hindus and Muslims, in spite of living together for centuries, could not forget their individual cultures and civilization and kept away from each other. They could not amalgamate in each other's way of life to become one nation. Al-Beruni who came to India with Mahmud Ghaznavi in 1001 A.D. records his experience of the Hindu outlook and way of life in his famous book Kitab-ul-Hind and says, "the Hindu fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them — and more particularly against the Muslims whom they call as Maleecha — impure, and forbid having any relation with them, be it by any kind of relationship by sitting, eating and drinking with

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

1. Religious Differences

Hindus and Muslims belong to different religions, Hinduism and Islam, which stand poles apart in their attitudes of life. Both religions differ with each other in their basic philosophies. Islam believes in Tauheed (oneness of God.) In Islam there is no one who could share the sovereignty of God and to consider anyone equal to God is the greatest sin in Islam. On the other hand Hinduism is based on the concept of multiple gods. How a nation which believed in the multiplicity of gods could repose its belief in oneness of God and there lies the basic difference between Hindu and Muslim way of thinking.

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

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

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

Islam and Hinduism co-existed in the same society with a manifest hatred and animosity towards each other.

2. Hindu Nationalism

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

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

3. Cultural and Social Differences

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

"Hindu and Muslim families which lived in the same neighbourhood for generations could be distinguished at a glance from each other. The clothes, the foods, the household utensils, the layout of homes, the words of salutation, the gestures and everything about them will be different and will immediately point to

their distinctive origin.¹² The Muslims were meat-eaters while the Hindus loved to eat vegetables and pulses.

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

4. Economic and Educational Difference

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

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

The Hindus had also advanced in the educational field because they quickly and readily took to the English education. It helped them a great deal to progress economically. The Muslims did not receive modern education which heavily affected their economic condition. The Muslims were not in a position to compete with the Hindus because they did not possess sufficient know how essential for competing in the economic field. The Muslims were mostly the creditors because they lacked economic resources and sufficient capital to embark upon economic struggle. They had to depend on the Hindu money-lenders for pursuing their trade and business and fell an easy prey to the most cruel exploitation by the Hindus.

5. Political Differences

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

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

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

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

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

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

the partition as a deliberate attempt by the Hindu majority to forcibly subjugate the Muslim population of India.

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

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

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

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

THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE MUSLIMS

The Britishers who had come to India as traders began to indulge in the political affairs of the country. They first of all acquired control of revenue collection in Bengal and very soon established their hold on the political matters of the province. They had quickly sensed the long-standing hatred and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims and rightly decided to play up the conflict to their own advantage. The British felt that the Muslims were the main hurdle in their ascendency to the political power in India and, therefore, adopted a harsh policy towards them. They came nearer to the Hindus in view of their numerical and political nuisance and extended enormous favours to them in order to win their confidence against the Muslims.

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

accounts with the Muslims who had subjugated them for centuries in spite of their majority.

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

Muslim Reaction

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

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

Demand of Separate Electorate

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

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

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

CHANGE IN MUSLIM POLITICS

Hindus Prejudice Towards Muslims

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

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

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

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

Congress and Hindu prejudice against Muslims did not stop here. An organized campaign of vilification was launched against Muslims and their national heroes. The Muslim leaders, reformers and conquerors were presented as looters, oppressors and persecutors. The miserable state of untouchables and Shodaras was attributed to the result of oppressive and tyrannical rule of Muslims. Hindus and founder of Shuddi levelled objectionable and ignoble allegations against the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in the most painful manner. The Muslims, however, effectively faced this shameful campaign against their highly revered personalities. A brave Muslim Qazi Abdur Rashid killed Shardhanand and Ghazi Ilam Din, a young lad of Lahore, finished a Hindu publisher who published a book on the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) containing highly objectionable and shameful material. The publication of the book immensely infuriated the Muslims of India who were stirred into shocking unity.

DELHI PROPOSALS

The conclusion of Lucknow Pact was a milestone in the history of the sub-continent as it had achieved Hindu-Muslim unity which always appeared an uphill task. The credit for this stupendous achievement goes to the Quaid-i-Azam who worked most

sincerely for this noble objective. The Congress, too, came out with open mind and expressed its readiness to accept Muslim demand of separate electorate. There is no doubt that Congress attitude during Lucknow Pact, helped a great deal in developing friendly relations between the two communities. Due to the Lucknow Pact, the next few years of Indian politics saw the sense of unity and brotherhood prevailing in the country leaving a soothing impact on every aspect of society.

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

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

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

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

SIMON COMMISSION

When the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in 1919, the government announced that a Commission would be sent to India after ten years to examine the effects of the reforms and to suggest more reforms for India. Accordingly, in 1927, the British government appointed a commission under Sir John Simon to report on the constitutional progress of India for introducing more reforms as had been promised. The most important work of the commission was to evaluate the political conditions of India for the introduction of constitutional reforms. Since the commission had no Indian member, the Congress and a section of Muslim League, under the leadership of Quaid-i-

Azam, decided to boycott the commission. The other group of Muslim League, headed by Sir Muhammad Shafi, was in favour of co-operating with the commission.

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

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

NEHRU REPORT

When the recommendations of the Simon commission were presented in the parliament in October, 1927, for approval, India was passing through a political turmoil of unprecedented intensity. The Congress and Muslim League had rejected the recommendations of the Simon commission and stood face to face with regard to the future constitutional pattern of India. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India was greatly annoyed with diverse public opinion prevailing in India. He was very much offended on the treatment extended to the Simon commission. When the Indian political parties rejected the recommendations of the Simon commission he declared in the parliament, "**The Indians are so divided, opposed and fed up of each other that they are unable to produce a unanimously accepted constitution.**"

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

1. Full responsible government on the model of the constitution of the self-governing dominions to be introduced in the sub-continent.
2. Separate electorate should be replaced by the joint electorate with reservation of seats for the minorities in proportion to their population.
3. The foreign affairs, defence and army should be placed under the control of parliament and Viceroy.

4. Sindh should be separated from Bombay to a new province if it were capable of bearing its expenditures.
5. Full provincial status should be given to N.W.F.P. and Balochistan.
6. Unitary form of government to be established in the centre.
7. Hindi should be made official language.

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

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

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

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

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

The amendments proposed by the Quaid-i-Azam were very reasonable and did not reflect a sharp contrast of ideas and point of view. Dr. Ambedkar says, "These amendments show, that the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims was not in any way a wide one. Yet there was no desire to bridge the same." All these amendments, proposed by the Quaid-i-Azam when put to vote, were rejected by the Hindu majority. The Quaid-i-Azam declared, "The Nehru Committee has adopted a narrow-minded policy to ruin the political future of the Muslims. I regret to declare that the report is extremely ambiguous and does not deserve to be implemented."

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

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

FOURTEEN POINTS OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

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

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

The reasonable and moderate demands, contained in the Fourteen Points, were rejected by the Hindu leaders which considerably widened the gulf between the two communities. Meanwhile the Congress made an abrupt demand that new constitution must be given to India by 31st December 1929.

*Lord Irwin's
First Line War*

first part related to the constitution. He said, "I am authorized by His Majesty's government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status." The second was the announcement of the Round Table Conference at which the British government would meet the representatives of British India and the princely States for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measures of agreement on constitutional proposals.

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

ALLAMA IQBAL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT ALLAHABAD, 1930

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

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Allahabad in 1930 which was presided over by Allama Iqbal. Allama Iqbal was a poet, philosopher and thinker who had gained country-wide fame and recognition by 1930. He awakened the Muslims of the sub-continent to demand a separate homeland. He had deeply studied Islam as a religion and system of life and believed that Hindus and Muslims were two separate and distinct nations who could never become one nation. He expressed his views while delivering his presidential address at Allahabad.

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

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

b/w
The no

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

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

First Round Table Conference → How to Unite the Parties?

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

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

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

The most important decision taken at the Conference was the approval of the federal system for India. The Princely States declared that they would extend maximum co-operation to form an All India Federation. There was unanimous agreement on all points. Muslim delegation favoured Sapru's proposal for dominion status and responsible government at centre by putting an end to the system of Dyarchy in the provinces. The delegates also agreed on giving Sindh a separate identity and for establishing a responsible government in the provinces. *(3)*

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

Franchise: Right to vote

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

Gandhi-Irwin Pact

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

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

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

Accordingly the government released all the persons detained during the Civil disobedience movement launched by the congress. On the other hand the congress, as decided by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, decided to attend the Second Round Table conference.

Second Round Table Conference

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

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

Gandhi adopted a stubborn and unreasonable attitude on all matters in the beginning. When the minority issue came up for discussion in the Conference, Gandhi refused to accept any rights of the minorities and demanded that the minority committee should be disbanded. He claimed that he, being the representative of the Congress, represented the Indian people. He refused to accept the representative character of other delegates as they did not belong to the Congress. After adopting the stiff attitude Gandhi sat back to quietly observe the proceedings of the committee. He did not at all give any practical suggestions of his own for reaching a settlement.

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

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

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

Third Round Table Conference

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

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

Communal Award

The British government gave enough time and chance to the Indian leaders to come with a workable constitutional set up. However, after a long period of some mutual settlement,

own scheme known as Communal Award in August 1932. It retained separate electorate for the Muslims and for all other minorities. But the Muslim majorities in Punjab and Bengal were reduced to minorities.

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

Government of India Act, 1935

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

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

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

Salient Recommendations of the Act of 1935

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

1. The provinces were given more authority and powers and for the first time the provinces were made the separate entities.
2. The system of 'Dyarchy' was scrapped in the provinces and introduced in the centre.
3. Three lists of subjects were drawn up which were the federal list, the provincial list and the concurrent list.
4. The provincial legislatures were given powers of legislation on provincial and concurrent subjects.
5. The provincial executive was handed over to the representatives of the people who were accountable before the provincial legislatures.
6. The country was divided into 11 provinces.

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

An Appraisal of the Act of 1935

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

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

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

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

1937 Elections

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

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

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

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

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

Formation of Congress Ministries

Congress adopted rigid attitude after winning elections in majority. The Congress leaders behaved in a dictatorial manner and imposed their own will. On 1st April, 1937 the Governors of Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, Orissa and Bihar invited the leaders of the Congress parliamentary groups in their respective provinces to form ministries. In reply to these invitations the Congress leaders put a condition on the government to give assurance that the Governors would not use their special powers of interference granted by the constitution for the protection of the minorities rights. This otherwise meant asking the government functionaries not to perform their duties. The government clearly expressed their inability to give such an assurance. However, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, issued a statement on 21st June, 1937 in which he clarified that the Governors would use their special powers in matters of utmost urgency and that the ministers would be allowed to work freely. After this statement the congress working committee on 7th July, 1937 passed a resolution permitting the Congress to accept the office.

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

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

1. The Muslim League group in the U.P. legislative assembly shall be dissolved.
2. The members of the Muslim League in the U.P. assembly shall join the Congress and would come under the party discipline.