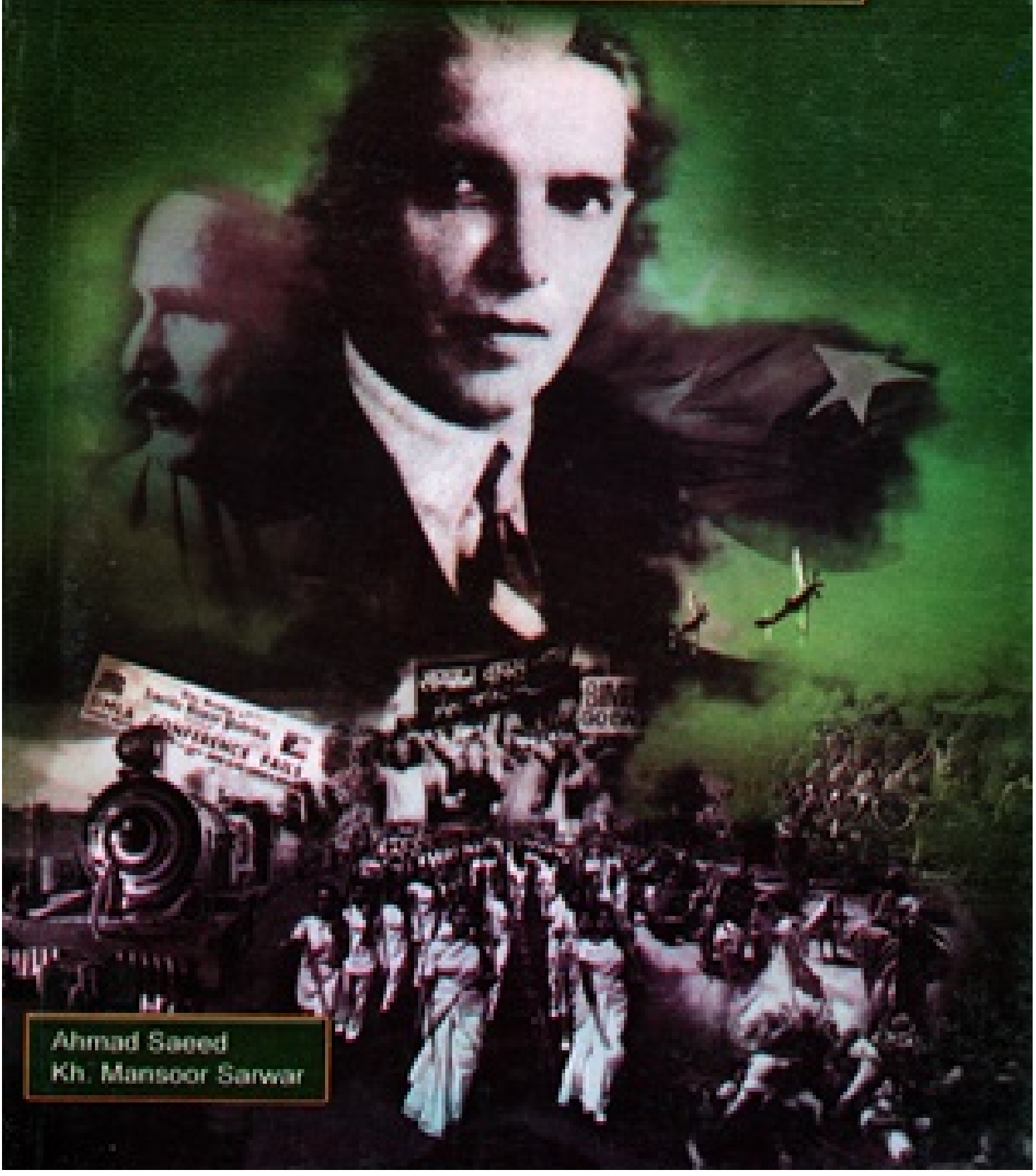
www.CSSExamPoint.com

TREK TO PAKISTAN



Ahmad Saeed
Kh. Mansoor Sarwar

Daniyal Ahmad Thanvi 16/9/17

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

www.cssexampoint.com

TREK TO PAKISTAN

"Living nations remember their heroes so as to get light from them"

www.cssexampoint.com

TREK TO PAKISTAN

Ahmad Saeed
Kh. Mansur Sarwar

AL- FOUZI PUBLISHERS
Zeeshan Plaza Basment Ahada Shahdarian Urdu Bazar, Lahore
Ph: 042-37234007 Cell: 0322-4121006, 0321-4600410

www.cssexampoint.com

TO
MY TEACHER
LATE KHWAJA SADIQ HASAN
(HEADMASTER)
CHISHTIA HIGH SCHOOL, LAHORE

www.cssexampoint.com

SESSIONS

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE 1906-1943

BENGAL:	Dhaka:	30-31 December, 1906, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, **Shah Bagh**
	Calcutta:	3-4 March, 1912, Nawab Salimullah Khan, **Town Hall**
	Calcutta:	30 December, 1917, Maharaja of Mahmudabad
	Calcutta:	7 September, 1920, M.A. Jinnah
	Calcutta:	26-30 December, 1928, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, **Ilbert Hall**
	Calcutta:	30 Dec. 1927 – Jan. 1, 1928, Moulvi Muhammad Yaqóob, **Haliday Street**
	Howrah:	21 October, 1933, Mian Abdul Aziz, **Town Hall**
	Calcutta:	17-18 April, 1938, M.A. Jinnah, **Mohamed Ali Park**
PUNJAB:	Amritsar:	30-31 December, 1908, Sir Ali Imam
	Amritsar:	29-31 December, 1919, Hakeem Ajmal Khan, **Bande Matram Hall**
	Lahore:	24-25 May, 1924, M.A. Jinnah, **Globe Theatre**
	Lahore:	31 Dec., 1927 – 1 Jan., 1928, Sir Muhammad Shafi, **Habibia Hall**
	Lahore:	22-24 March, 1940, M.A. Jinnah, **Minto Park**
SINDH:	Karachi:	29-30 December, 1907, Adamjee Peerbhoy
	Karachi:	24-26 December, 1943, M.A. Jinnah
U.P.	Aligarh:	18-19 March, 1908, Mian Muhammad Shah Din
	Lucknow:	22-23 March, 1913, Sir Muhammad Shafi, **Kaiser Bagh**
	Agra:	30-31 December, 1913, Sir Ebrahim Rahmatulla, **Baptist Mission School Hall**
	Lucknow:	30-31 December, 1916, M.A. Jinnah

www.cssexampoint.com

	Lucknow:	31 March-1 April, 1923, Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari
	Aligarh:	30-31 December, 1925, Sir Abdur Rahim
	Allahabad:	29-30 December, 1930, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, **Duazda Manzil**
	Lucknow:	15-18 April, 1937, M.A. Jinnah, **Lai Bagh**
	Allahabad:	3-6 April, 1942, M.A. Jinnah
BOMBAY:	Bombay:	30 December, 1915, Moulvi Mazharul Haq
	Bombay:	31 August-1 September, 1918, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, **Empire Theatre**
	Bombay:	30-31 December, 1924, Sir Raza Ali, **Globe Cinema**
	Bombay:	11-12 April, 1936, Sir Wazir Hasan
	Ahmadabad:	30 December, 1921, Moulana Hasrat Mohani
DELHI:	Delhi:	29-30 January, 1910, Sir Ghulam Ali Khan, **Sangam Theatre**
	Delhi:	30 December, 1918, Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq
	Delhi:	29-31 December, 1926, Sir Abdul Qadir
	Delhi:	26-27 December, 1931, Sir Zafrullah Khan
	Delhi:	25-26 November, 1933, Hafiz Hidayat Husain, **Anglo-Arabic College Hall**
	Delhi:	24-26 April, 1943, M.A. Jinnah
C.P.	Nagpur:	28-30 December, 1910, Sayyid Nabiullah, **Macdonnel Town Hall**
	Nagpur:	30-31 December, 1920, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari
MADRAS:		12-15 April, 1941; M.A. Jinnah
BIHAR:	Patna:	26-29 December, 1938, M.A. Jinnah

www.cssexampoint.com

(VIII)

SESSIONS

ALL-INDIA MUHAMMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE 1886-1945

U.P.	Aligarh;	1886	Sami Ullah Khan
	Lucknow:	1887	Imtiaz Ali Kakorvi
	Aligarh:	1889	Sardar Mohammad Hayat
	Allahabad:	1890	Sardar Mohammad Hayat
	Aligarh:	1891	Nawab Eshaq Khan
	Aligarh:	1893	Nawab Mohsinul Mulk
	Aligarh:	1894	Mian Shah Din
	Shahjahanpur:	1895	Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk
	Meerut:	1896	Sayyid Husain Bilgrami
	Rampur:	1900	Theodore Morison
	Lucknow:	1904	Sayyid Mohammad Husain
	Aligarh:	1905	Sayyid Hasan Bilgrami
	Lucknow:	1912	Mian Shah Din
	Agra:	1913	Mian Mohammad Shafi
	Aligarh:	1916	Mian Fazle Husain
	Aligarh:	1922	Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan
	Aligarh:	1923	Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum
	Aligarh:	1925	Ross Masud
	Banaras:	1930	Shaikh Abdul Qadir
	Meerut:	1934	Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad
	Agra:	1935	Sir Aga Khan
	Rampur:	1936	Nawab Abdul Hakeem
	Aligarh:	1937	Zaheer Yar Jang
	Aligarh:	1943	Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan
	Agra:	1945	Sayyid Husain Bilgrami
PUNJAB:	Lahore:	1888	Sardar Mohammad Hayat Khan
	Lahore:	1898	Nawab Fateh Ali Qizalbash
	Amritsar:	1908	Nawab Khawaja Salim Ullah
	Rawalpindi:	1914	Maulvi Sir Rahim Bakhsh
	Rohtak:	1931	Sir Raza Ali
	Lahore:	1932	Col. Maqbool Husain Qureshi
BENGAL	Calcutta:	1899	Sayyid Ameer Ali
	Dhaka:	1906	Sayyid Sharfuddin
	Calcutta:	1917	Sir Akbar Nazar Ali Hyderi
	Calcutta.	1939	Moulvi Fazlul Haq
BOMBAY:		1903	Badruddin Tayyabji
	Poona:	1915	Sir Abdur Rahim
BOMBAY:		1924	Sir Ebrahim Rahmatulla
	Poona:	1940	Moulvi A.K. Fazul Haq

www.cssexampoint.com

SIND:	Karachi.	1907	Altaf Husain Hali
	Khairpur	1919	Shamsul Huda
MADRAS:		1901	Justice Boddam
		1927	Sir Abdul Qadir
C.P	Nagpur:	1910	Abdullah Yusuf Ali
	Amravati	1920	Ebrahim Haroon Jafer
	Jabalpur	1944	Sir Aziz ul Haq
		1892	Moulvi Hashmat Ullah
DELHI:		1902	Sir Aga Khan
		1911	Sir Aga Khan
		1926	Sir Abdur Rahim
AJMEER:		1928	Shah Mohammad Suleman
SURAT:		1918	Sir Ebrahim Rahmatullah
RANGOON:		1909	Maharaja of Mahmudabad

www.cssexampoint.com

CONTENTS

	Preface	v
1.	The War of Independence (1857)	1
2.	Sayyid Ahmad Khan	14
3.	Development of Legislative Council (1861-92)	38
4.	The Indian National Congress	44
5.	Urdu-Hindi Controversy	51
6.	The Partition of Bengal	60
7.	The Simla Deputation	72
8.	The All-India Muslim League	80
9.	The Minto-Morley Reforms	89
10.	A New Path of the All-India Muslim League	93
11.	The Kanpur Mosque Tragedy	101
12.	The Making of the Lucknow Pact	105
13.	The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919)	112
14.	The Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh	116
15.	The Khilafat Movement	123
16.	The Delhi Muslim Proposals	138
17.	The Simon Commission	145
18.	The Nehru Report	151
19.	Jinnah's Fourteen Points	160
20.	The Allahabad Address	164
21.	The Round Table Conferences 1930-1932	175
22.	The Government of India Act 1935	185
23.	The Congress Raj (1937-39)	189

www.cssexampoint.com

24. The Quaid-e-Azam and Reorganization of AIML, Vision of Pakistan 203

25. The Lahore Resolution 222

26. The Cripps Mission 233

27. The Final Years of the British Raj 241

28. Wavell Plan/Simla Conference 251

29. The Cabinet Mission Plan 254

30. The Interim Government 261

31. June 3rd Plan 268

32. The Radcliffe Award 281

33. Muslim Leaders 292
Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Vaqar-ul-Mulk,
Sayyed Ameer Ali, Nawab Salimullah Khan,
Maulana Mohamed Ali Johar, Maulana Shoukat Ali,
Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum,
Sir Aga Khan Choudhary Rehmat Ali,
Mian Fazale Hussain, Molvi A.K. Fazalul Haq,
Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan,
Saith Abdullah Haroon

34. Educational and Social Institutions of the Muslims 334
Darul Uloom Deoband
Nadvatul Ulama, Lucknow
Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Lahore

Bibliography 346

www.cssexampoint.com

(XII)

PREFACE

There is an inescapable verdict of history, and it does not take a genius to comprehend, that nations which ignore their history are ignored by their geography. History is not simply a record of past events; it is the quintessence of the accumulated ethos of .the generations of mankind. It does not, however, make history or its lessons remote, alien and elusive. Its immediacy, its relevance and its importance assume greater worth and value, specially, for a nation which has suffered geographical split in the recent past. Study of the history of Pakistan, in this regard, presents a classic example of a stupendous struggle for freedom, a villainous neglect of its ideology and a criminal betrayal of the idealism of its founding-father.

All the great nations of the world, therefore, remain devotedly attached to the achievements of their ancestors, learn valuable lessons from their mistakes and determine their future course of action accordingly. Unfortunately, ours is a nation, which is utterly oblivious of its past.

Pakistan was an idea in 1930, ah ideal in 1940 and reality in 1947. Pakistan appeared on the map of the world as a result of an incredible miracle but it also had to grapple with enormously painful ordeals and turmoils. Those who were born at the dawn of independence, themselves became fathers and mothers without ever being told by anyone that the freedom, peace and prosperity being enjoyed by them were not achieved overnight. These were the outcome of several years of valiant and titanic struggle of men of courage, determination and prudence.

It is so often projected by the Hindus and by some of our own so-called intellectuals that Pakistan is a product of the British Imperialism but history bears witness to the fact that the Muslims of the subcontinent achieved their cherished goal of freedom by the Grace of Allah and by virtue of their own heroic struggle which was full of supreme sacrifices. They were not indebted to anyone for their freedom, nor was it given to them in charity. On the contrary, it was the Indian National Congress which had been born and brought up under British patronage. It were the Hindus themselves who had received in charity from the British the resources, the assets and the territories which were earmarked for Pakistan. Even after six decades, the Hindus are still conspiring to undermine our very existence.

It is, therefore, the need of the hour that every Pakistani should be made fully aware of that mighty struggle which led to the creation of

www.cssexampoint.com

Pakistan. Every Pakistani must understand the necessity, the rationale and the genesis of Pakistan – a promised land and country full of promise for the Muslims of the subcontinent. He must, as a first step, know the answer to the questions concerning the Hindu bigotry, their psychic vindictiveness and ego-centric views of *Akhand Hindustan*. He must also understand the socio-economic, religious and political endeavours that contributed to the establishment of the All-India Muslim League and the righteousness of its struggle to maintain the separate identify of the Muslims.

All the Pakistanis should be in no doubt about the answers to these questions. In this book, we have endeavoured to answer these and other such crucial questions. The degree of our success in this connection will be judged from the feedback that we hope to receive from our readers. We shall also be looking forward to the suggestions from our readers about further improving the quality of this book.

This is a humble attempt on our part to portray the creation of a Muslim homeland in its true perspective. We firmly believe that the contemporary newspapers, both English and vernacular, clearly reflected the genuine feelings and thinking of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Keeping in view this fact we have fully used the available newspapers.

In this book, we have presented purely Pakistani point of view. We often hear that a historian should be objective whereas it is humanly impossible to detach one's feelings from one's writings. H.V. Hodson's case is a test case who takes every care to justify the policies of the British and the last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, in his book *The Great Divide*.

We are grateful to our friend, Sher Muhammad Garewal, Deptt. of History, Government College, Lahore who read the manuscript carefully and suggested some useful amendments. We owe special thanks to Saleemullah Khan, Research Coordinator, N.D.C., Islamabad, for providing material for the book out of the precious collection at the N.D.C. Our thanks are due to our colleague Abdur Rauf who translated some of the chapters of the book, and Tariq Mahmood of the Lahore Museum who composed the manuscript with utmost care. Above all, we are thankful to Allah who, in His unbounded grace and mercy, helped and sustained us in accomplishing this task.

Ahmad Saeed
Kh. Mansur Sarwar

MAO College,
Lahore
March 23, 2000.

www.cssexampoint.com

1

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1857)

The year 1857 is highly significant in the political and cultural history of India. It marked the eventual collapse of the Mughal Empire which had given birth to a great civilization. With this, the history of India entered a new phase. It was a transitional period between two civilizations, educational systems and philosophies of life. The old political and social systems were replaced by new ones. Before analysing the causes that led to the War of Independence, it seems necessary to determine whether we are justified in using the term War of Independence for it, or, we should use the words like mutiny, rebellion or military uprising for the violent events that took place during that period.

In the first place, it should be remembered that soldiers alone were not involved in the events of 1857. In fact, the entire population of India, actively and directly participated in the uprising. Even the British politicians had to admit that the uprising was not confined only to the soldiers. Lord Salisbury stated in the House of Commons that it was impossible to believe that such a widespread and massive movement was triggered only by the cartridges.[1] On July 27, 1857 Benjamin Disraeli who later on became the British Prime Minister declared that he had no hesitation in saying that the revolt in India was not merely an outcome of the sufferings of the soldiers. In fact, the soldiers had resorted to violence against the backdrop of the general political unrest prevailing in the country.[2] According to Justice Carthey, "the truth is that the peoples in most parts of Northern and North-Western parts of India, had risen in revolt against the English domination. The cartridge affair was only a spark which found its way into this ammunition depot and ignited it. It was indeed a religious and national war".[3]

The reality is that not only the soldiers but ordinary people as well took part in this large-scale rioting in such large numbers that the Company found it too difficult to control the situation. Pointing towards this

---

[1] Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami, *1857 Ka Tareekhi Roznamcha*, Delhi, 1958, p.8
[2] Edward Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal*, London, 1926, p.32.
[3] Sundar Lal, *San Sattawan*, Delhi, 1957, p.65.

www.cssexampoint.com

difficulty, a London newspaper wrote, "If the unrest is limited to the soldiers alone and the people are on our side, we are at a loss to understand as to why the Indian Government is sending telegrams upon telegrams for more and more reinforcements from Britain. If the general public is on our side, as is claimed by the ministers and directors of the Company, they can easily find in India so many soldiers as to form ten armies".[1]

A study of Sayyid Ahmad's treatise *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* clearly reveals the fact that this was not merely a military uprising. According to him, a single event can never become the cause of a general uprising. The same was the case with the uprising of 1857. For a long time, excruciating grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people, which ultimately drove them on to the course of an all out rebellion.[2]

Moreover, if for a moment, we believe that it was a military uprising we should not forget that the Indian soldiers had revolted on several earlier occasions. Thus, at Madras in 1806, the soldiers rebelled against the ban on using the *tilak* (A Hindu insignia). There was another revolt at Barakpur in 1824. In 1842, four regiments of Bengal refused to go to Sindh. There were similar revolts in July 1849 at Rawalpindi and in December 1849, and 1852 in the Punjab and Bengal respectively. But why on all such occasions, the ordinary Indians were not subjected to the kind of brutalities which were witnessed during the uprisings of 1857. If it was a military revolt, which law justified the British rulers to inflict the most inhuman atrocities on innocent people? Why were villages and towns burnt to ashes? Even Lord Canning himself regarded it as an "organised rebellion" instead of a scattered uprising.[3]

Another question is that .if the Indians had gone to Britain as traders and in the same cunning and treacherous manner had succeeded in establishing their political domination over that country and if the. British had resorted to a violent struggle to win back their freedom, what name would they have given to their struggle? Would they call it the War of Independence or mutiny or military uprising? The fact is that the British troops tortured, mutilated, burnt to death and killed hundreds of thousands of Indians and in this atmosphere of constant terror and bloodshed, the common people were afraid to speak out in public about the real nature of their struggle. The overwhelming terror which ruled the hearts of the common Indians can be imagined from an incident narrated by Mrs. Coupland. Once an Indian jeweller went to an English lady with a view to selling some of his jewels. While discussing the price, the lady

---

[1]Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami, *op. cit.*, p.5.

[2]Hafeez Malik (ed) *Political Profile of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan – A Documentary Record*, Islamabad, 1982, p.134.

[3]Mian Mohammad Shafi, *1857*, Lahore, 1957, p.147.

www.cssexampoint.com

jokingly remarked that she would send him to Metcalfe.* Hearing this, the jeweller took to his heels and never returned.[1] In such an atmosphere of horror when the English used the term of "mutiny" for the events of 1857, the Indians had to follow suit. Later on, when the clouds of terror began to disperse and the Indians became more and more vocal and outspoken, they began to realise the real nature of the struggle of 1857 and started using more realistic and nationalistic terms for it. Ultimately, this event became known as the War of Independence. Now even the modern British historians have started to accept the half-truth about the War of Independence. Michael Edwardes after quoting British and Indian historians writes that "the truth is that the rebellion was more than a mutiny but a lot less than a War of Independence".[2]

CAUSES

1. Military Revolt

The reaction of the Indian soldiers fueled to the fire of hatred which was burning in the hearts of the common people against the British. These soldiers were fed up with the inhuman and unjust treatment meted out to them by their English masters. The Company officials did not feel any hesitation in injuring the religious sentiments of the soldiers. In 1806, Sir George Barlow ordered that from then onwards the Indian soldiers would not be allowed while at parade to use the *tilak* and to cover their heads with the *safa* (A traditional Indian headdress or scarf). These orders infuriated the local soldiers. Similarly, there was a huge difference between the salaries and living standards of the Indian soldiers and their English counterparts. This injustice created an infinite hatred in the hearts of the local soldiers against their foreign officers. The Indian army consisted of 315520 men, and in all, 9802235 pounds were spent on them. Out of it, 5668110 pounds were spent on the English soldiers who were only 51316 in number. An Indian infantry soldier earned only Rs.7 per month whereas a cavalry man got Rs.27 per month. This discrimination had generated a great deal of unrest and unease in the hearts of the Indian soldiers.

The Indian soldiers had no chances of promotion. An Indian who was ready to even sacrifice his life for the British Company could never think of attaining a higher rank. If an Indian soldier demonstrated his potentials and deserved some higher rank, his abilities were acknowledged in the form of premature retirement. According to Holmes, the Indians knew very well that even if they were as gallant as Hyder Ali, they would never be

*Metcalfe was Resident of Delhi.

[1] Khurshid Mustafa Rizvi, *Jang-e-Azadi 1857*, Delhi, 1959, p.9.

[2] Michael Edwardes, *The red Year*, London, 1973, p.11.

www.cssexampoint.com

able to earn a salary equivalent to that of a low ranking English soldier.[1] Such unfair treatment only served to incite the feelings of hatred in the hearts of the Indian soldiers against the Company.

The preaching of Christianity was a part and parcel of the official responsibilities of the Company and the military cantonments and barracks were considered to be the ideal places for this purpose. During peace times, when the soldiers had nothing to do, the Company officials tried different methods to attract them towards Christianity. Lt.-Col. Wheeler, the Commanding Officer of a sepoy regiment at Barrackpur, used to distribute religious tracts among the sepoys and openly addressed them with a view to proselytise. Referring to this the *Englishman of* Calcutta on April 2, 1857 commented that "unless we are very greatly misinformed Wheeler continues the practice even with increased zeal to the present day. It was no wonder therefore that the men should be in an excited state specially when such efforts at conversion are openly declared, and that they would discover what they considered a plot to betray them into loss of caste".[2] An English army commander stated that for the last 28 years, he had been trying to convince the Indian soldiers to become Christians. He further stated in his official report that it had always been an essential ingredient of his official duties to save the souls of the non-Christians from the clutches of Satan.[3] Such policies embittered the religious sentiments of the local soldiers.

When the Company officials ordered the Indian soldiers to go to the overseas war-fronts, the Brahman Hindus felt it to be a direct interference in their religious affairs, because overseas voyage was considered to be a sin by the orthodox Hindus.

2. Religious Cause

The East India Company had arrived in India for the purpose of trade and commerce but along with trade, it always regarded the propagation of Christianity as its first and foremost duty. The Company officials were keen to see all the Indians united under the banner of Christianity. Expressing this desire, Mangles, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Company once stated in the House of Commons in 1857, "Providence has bestowed upon us the Empire of India so that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other.[4] The British Government generously patronised the Christian Missionaries who came to India in large numbers. During their stay in this country they not only

---

[1]Khurshid Mustafa, *op. cit.*, p.107.

[2]R.C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, Calcutta, 1957, p.249.

[3]Sundar Lal, *op. city.*, p.42.

[4]Sundar Lal, *op. cit.*, p.43.

www.cssexampoint.com

propagated their religion with full zeal and fervour but also unduly condemned and criticised the religions of the local people. A priest named Dr. Pfander came to India in 1854, made scathing attacks on Islam in his book *Mizan-ul-Haq*. It enraged and shocked the Indian Muslims. Another priest named E. Edmond declared in an open letter in 1855 that since India had come under one government, it should also have only one religion i.e. Christianity. Still another missionary Rev. Kennedy wrote, "We must continue our efforts till all the people right from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas embrace the religion of Christ and India becomes a magnificent nation, the bulwark of Christianity in the East.[1]

The Company officials invited their subordinates to their houses and forced them to listen to the sermons of the priests. Sometimes, the priests were accompanied by the local policemen. Every possible effort was made under the official patronage to spread Christianity. In case, a region was hit by famine, the orphans were admitted into orphanages where they were forcibly converted to Christianity. Such incidents were witnessed in the orphanages of, Sikandra during the famine of 1837.[2] These incidents opened the eyes of the local people. They were convinced that the Company was bent upon converting them to Christianity. In 1850, the Company passed a law stating that the change of religion would have no impact on inheritance. Such steps transformed the suspicions of the people into conviction. And they became fully aware of the Company's real intentions. The Indians became so sceptical that they even looked upon the positive steps of the British Government such as the introduction of railways and telegraph with suspicion, taking them to be the means of spreading Christianity to the far off areas. It may be a revelation for many people that until 1922, the money which was spent on Churches was drawn from the Indian exchequer.[3] Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that this very intervention in religious affairs was the most important cause of the violent uprising of 1857.

3. Political Causes

The English had become the rulers of India by depriving the Muslims of their government. They left no stone unturned in wiping out all the traces of Islam and the Muslims from the country. After defeating the Muslims politically, the English colonial rulers now started a well-organised campaign to malign the history, culture and religion of the Muslims. The history books which were prepared and compiled under their patronage presented a distorted picture of the Muslim history. These books portrayed the Muslims as barbaric, brutal, wild, uncultured and

[1] V.D. Savakar, *The Indian War of Independence 1857*, London, 1909, p.47.
[2] *Political Profile of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p.145.
[3] *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), July 27, 1922, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

uncivilised whereas the Hindus were depicted as innocent and oppressed. The cunning Lord Hastings with the intention of exterminating the remaining few traces of the dignity and prestige of the Mughal Empire, instigated the ruler of Avadh to abandon his earlier title of Nawab Wazir and to rule that tiny state with the title of Shah. This was meant only to humiliate and degrade the Mughal Emperor whose Empire had then been confined to the city of Delhi. When the rulers of Avadh became kings, their Empire was also confiscated by the English.

Gradually, the English established their firm grip over all the regions of India. However, they knew very well that in order to establish their real glory and authority, they would have to remove the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar from the Red Fort. The old authority and glory of the Mughals had already vanished and now the English became busy plotting to wipe out the last vestiges of the Mughal rule. No doubt, the Mughal. Empire had now been confined to the four walls of the Red Fort (the Mughals were heirs to the illustrious traditions of the past). They were the successors of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. They still evoked respect and devotion in the hearts of common people. Thus, the English could not tolerate the presence of the powerless Mughal Emperor. First step towards diminishing even the symbolic existence of the Mughal Empire was taken in 1827 when Lord Amherst gave up the old style of writing letters to the Emperor. In the new strategy the Emperor's superiority was recognised but all references to his suzerainty or to the vassalage or allegiance of the East India Company to the Mughal throne were excluded. In 1843, Lord Ellenborough stopped sending gifts to the Emperor on behalf of the Company on *Eid*, *Norooz* and other important occasions. Charles Metcalfe even did not like the idea of giving a formal respect to the Emperor. This act, he thought, would amount to reviving the Mughal Empire.

Although the Company had established its hold all over India, it did not like the presence of helpless and nominal Mughal Emperors whose Empire was confined to the four walls of the Red Fort. The humiliating and insulting attitude of the English towards the Mughal Emperors enraged the Muslims and wounded their pride. Lord Dalhousie further aggravated the situation by issuing a decree stating that after the death of Bahadur Shah Zafar, his heirs would have to vacate the Red Fort and would not be allowed to use the title of Emperors for themselves. This, of course, meant that the Mughal dynasty would lose even the nominal historical vestige of its Imperial past. Such measures generated an immense amount of sympathy among the masses .for their titular Emperors.

www.cssexampoint.com

4. Accession of States

Right from the beginning, the Company had been cherishing the desires of conquering the whole country and ruling over it single-handedly. Thus, one by one, it started occupying and annexing the independent Indian states. This forcible annexation of states was carried out on a massive scale during the period of Lord Dalhousie. He did not tolerate the existence of any other state which could pose a threat to the activities and interests of the Company. Thus, he annexed the following eight States to the British occupied territories: Satara, Jhansi, Sambalpur, Jaitpur, Tanjore, Carnatic and Avadh. This long list of annexations looks disproportionate to the couples of wars that were fought namely, the Second Sikh War and the Burma War during his reign.

The Company resorted to an extreme form of injustice and cruelty in this whole process. Hundreds of thousands of people, who were associated with the courts of these states were faced with dire economic problems and hardships after the annexation of their states. Lord Dalhousie used to say openly that it was the duty of the British Government to avail itself of every fair and unfair opportunity which would increase its wealth and domination.[1]

Let us have a look at the annexation of the state of Avadh and the Marhatta state of Satara which had by then, assumed a symbolic status. In order to occupy the state of Avadh, the notorious subsidiary system was enforced and the Nawab of Avadh was forced to pay sixteen lac rupees in exchange for the military expenses. This was the first step towards ruining of the state exchequer. The Company went a step forward and started a gradual confiscation of the fertile lands of the state. Thus, very soon, the Company seized the important territories of Rohailkhand and Doaba. The fertility of this region can be gauged from the fact that even at that time, it was the source of savings worth two crore rupees. Under the subsidiary system, a Resident was appointed in Avadh. He started undue interference in the internal affairs of the state. The English Resident Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in the *Calcutta Review* (1845), "Avadh is a shameful and ignominious episode in our history of India". All the events relating to the annexation of Avadh, as depicted by the historians reveal the fact that the illegal interference by the English in the affairs of the state, tarnished their own reputation and ruined the lives of the rulers and the masses of the state.

In 1849 and 1850, the Company's Resident in Avadh, Colonel Henry Sleeman, who was opposed to the idea of annexing the State with the British Empire, undertook a detailed tour of the State. Due to his

[1]Mohammad Shafi, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

www.essexampoint.com

steadfast opposition of the Company's intentions, he was removed from the office in 1854 and was replaced by James Outram who was assigned the duty of thoroughly reviewing the whole situation. In 1855, he prepared a detailed report analysing the state of affairs of all the departments and institutions of the State which included roads, courts and public works as well. Outram strongly recommended the annexation of the State. Thus, on January 2, 1856, after seeking the permission of the Board of Control, the State was annexed to the British Empire. Outram went to the court of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah with a letter which said, "I willingly hand over the charge of the State to the English". The Nawab refused to sign the document. Offers of large sums of bribery were made. Then, he was threatened with dire consequences. But, he remained defiant and held his ground for three days. At last, the English army marched into the palace, ransacked it and humiliated the ladies residing there. In this way, the State was forcibly annexed.

Colonel Sleeman had warned Dalhousie that the annexation of Avadh would lead to a mutiny in the Bengal army, for the State was the great nursery of the sepoys.[1] Eventually, his apprehension came true. The afore-mentioned tragic events provoked widespread anger and hatred among the people of this region against the English. The people were hit hard by the economic collapse which followed the State's annexation. The hardest hit were those eighty thousand soldiers who suddenly found themselves jobless. "The soldiers of Avadh belonged to the privileged class and almost every family had some of its members in the army. The annexation of the State brought degradation and despair for them and gone was the respect among the people which they had earlier enjoyed. An ex-Avadh soldier reported to Henry Lawrence that in the past, whenever he visited his village, all the people would stand up in reverence for him, the moment they saw him coming towards them. However, with the fall of Lucknow, things had gone to the other extreme. When he visited the village, even the lowest villager took pleasure in puffing the smoke of his *Huqqa* (Indian pipe) in his face. These frustrated and jobless soldiers of Avadh fought desperately during the War of Independence.

The people associated with the court were faced with starvation. Properties and lands were confiscated and auctioned in an unprecedented fashion. After 1853, 21000 out of 35000 properties were either confiscated or auctioned. The extent of outrage and anger sparked off by the annexation among the inhabitants can be judged from Trevelyan's remarks that even the water-carriers refused to bring water for the English.

---

[1] *The Red Year*, p.97.

www.cssexampoint.com

5. Injustice with Nana Sahib

The Hindu religious law not only permits but makes it almost obligatory for a Hindu to adopt a son if he has no male offspring. The Hindu law recognizes an adopted son to possess the same rights as a real son does. On the other hand the Doctrine of Lapse laid it down that the adoption of an heir would not be recognised and that in case a ruler died issueless, his state would be annexed to the British territories. The main sufferers, who took a leading part in the rebellion were Dhondu Pant better known as Nana Sahib who was an adopted son of last *Peshwa*, and the Rani of Jhansi, Lakshmi Bai, whose adopted child was deprived of the right to succeed to the throne.

In 1818, the last Marhatta leader Baji Rao was removed from power with the promise that he would get eight lac rupees annually as pension from the Company. In 1827, Baji Rao nominated Nana Sahib as his successor but with his death in 1851, Nana Sahib's pension was immediately stopped by the English. He was further told that the Company could, at any moment, seize back the *Jagir* of Bithur. In order to plead for the resumption of his pension, Nana Sahib sent a lawyer named Azeem Ullah Khan to London. But it proved a futile attempt. Nana Sahib was filled with disdain for the English and actively participated in the War of Independence.

6. Economic Exploitation

The brutal economic exploitation of the Indians at the hands of the Company is a unique phenomenon in the whole human history. Before the arrival of the Company, all the government posts were held by the Indians. The Hindus and the Muslims worked alike in all the government departments. When the Company started occupying different regions of the country, the local inhabitants had to undergo severe economic hardships which were of two types. Firstly, all the key posts were reserved for the English. The doors of all the high posts were barred for the Indians. Secondly, the officials of the Company did not come to India with the intention of a permanent residence here. The moment they were retired or left the job due to some other reason, they would transfer all their assets immediately to England. Thus, slowly but surely, the wealth of India began to be transferred to England. At the same time, the Company started plundering the wealth of the natives by indulging in illegal private trade and other business transactions. Moreover, those hundreds of thousands of people who were formerly associated with the courts of the rulers of the Indian States became bankrupt as soon as these states were annexed to the British Empire.

www.cssexampoint.com

The Company deliberately destroyed the native industries. The Indian silk could easily compete with the European silk. According to Shieldon, England soon stopped the import of silk from France and Italy, because the silk of Bengal, which was bought at half the price of the French and Italian silk, soon flooded the markets of England.[1] The Indian silk was cheaper in rate and, at the same time, much better in quality than the French and the Italian silk. In order to ruin the local industry, the British Government imposed heavy taxes on it. As a result, the export of Indian cloth was substantially reduced. In 1793, cloth worth 3645745 pounds was exported from India to England. However, by 1849, this export had been reduced to just 36151 pounds. Besides imposing heavy taxes on the Indian manufactured high quality cloth, the native carpet makers were subjected to dire cruelties. They were forced to abandon their profession and in many cases they had their thumbs cut off.

In the judicial system, the Stamp Act was introduced which not only made difficult for the Indians to seek justice but also added to their economic hardships.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE

The Enfield Rifle (invented in 1852) was also introduced in India in 1856. Its cartridges had greased shells. In early January 1857 a Brahman sepoy of the British Regiment stationed at Dumdum, north of Calcutta, was walking leisurely to his *chowka* to prepare his food, with his *lota* full of water in his hand. On the way, he was asked by a low caste to let him drink from his *lota*. The Brahman refused. The low-caste rejoined with some amount of pungency that, "You think much of your caste, but wait a little, the *Sahib-log* will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?"[2] This rumour spread everywhere in the twinkling of an eye and in the words of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the cartridge incident detonated the whole magazine. Lord Canning and Henry Lawrence were of the view that the cartridges formed the real and proximate cause of the War. In a letter to Lord Elphinstone on May 6, 1857 Lord Canning wrote, "It is not possible to say with confidence what the causes are, but with the common herd there is a sincere fear for their caste, and a conviction that this has been in danger from the cartridge and other causes".[3] Sir John Lawrence was also of the belief that the cartridge question was the immediate cause of the War.

---

[1] Mohammad Shafi, *op. cit.*, p.84.
[2] Anderson and Subedar, *The Last Days of the Company*, Vol.I, London, 1918, p.117.
[3] J.W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1870, Vol.I, p.550.

www.cssexampoint.com

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

In April 1857, some soldiers stationed at Meerut cantonment refused to use these cartridges. Instead of settling the whole dispute peacefully, the Company sentenced the rebel soldiers to ten years of rigorous imprisonment. The remaining soldiers of the regiment then also joined the rebellion and by May 1857, the whole city was engulfed in the flames of this rebellion. The common people also joined in. Government buildings were set ablaze and telephone wires were cut off. The mutinous soldiers marched towards Delhi and on reaching there on May 11, declared their support for the government of Bahadur Shah Zafar. The flames of this rebellion soon reached Lucknow and Kanpur. General Bakht Khan, Rani Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Nana Sahib and Ahmad Ullah Shah displayed unprecedented gallantry on their respective fronts. However, the Company successfully put down the rebellion with the help of the Sikhs, the Gorkhas and other loyalist factions.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

The fact that within a short span of three weeks, the mutiny spread through the length and breadth of the country shows the extent to which the natives were furious at the policies of the English. Unfortunately, this movement could not succeed to achieve its objectives due to the following reasons:

1. Changes in the Plan

The revolutionaries had planned to start the War of Independence throughout the country simultaneously on May 31, 1857. But it was started prematurely due to the cartridge incident and the plan to wage the war simultaneously throughout the country could not materialise. If the proposed plan had worked, the Company would have found it impossible to control the whole country. British experts like Malleson and Wilson have acknowledged that if the war had started on schedule, the Company would have failed to overcome it.

2. The Treachery of the Sikhs

Besides keeping away from the War, the Sikhs provided every possible assistance to the English army. The Sikh states of Jind and Patiala in the Punjab gave generous financial and military assistance to their English masters. In the words of John Lawrence, if the Sikhs and the Gorkhas had not helped us, it would have been impossible for us to recapture India. Besides the Sikhs and the Gorkhas, a large number of Indians helped the English in regaining control over India.

www.cssexampoint.com

According to W. Russel, "If all the natives had joined hands against us, we would have been completely annihilated despite all our courage and bravery. Our fortified armies, no doubt, showed great courage while defending themselves but the courageous natives also had an equal share in this defence. If the Rajas of Jind and Patiala had not sided with us and if the Sikhs had not joined us with their gallant contingents, we would never have been able to besiege Delhi".

3. Absence of an Active and Efficient Leader

The freedom fighters were not fighting under a single commander. No doubt, they had pledged their support for and loyalty to Bahadur Shah Zafar yet, he, who was then in his eighties, could not be expected to play the role of an energetic and experienced commander to lead and guide the people. Moreover, he himself was surrounded by a host of traitors and flatterers. Behind the scene, they were working for the Company. Similarly, the role played by Ahsanullah and Zeenat Mahal was also quite suspicious.

4. The Company's Control Over the Means of Communications & Transport

Another cause of the failure of the freedom fighters was that they did not have access to those quick and reliable means of communications which were at the disposal of the Company. An English man wired the news of the mutiny in Delhi to Ambala and other places even by risking his own life. This enabled the Company to make the necessary defence arrangements. In the words of Robert Montgomery, "India was saved by the electronic wire."[1]

5. Economic Condition

Indians were, at that time, facing acute economic problems. The revolutionary soldiers who had gathered around Bahadur Shah Zafar were crippled by severe economic hardships. He had to ask for loans in order to provide for the needs of his army. In the presence of such an economic crisis the soldiers could not be expected to fight properly and devotedly. On the one hand, the Company, was in control of all the prosperous regions of the country which can be termed as the jugular vein of India. On the other hand, the regions where the mutiny had originated and flourished had already been plagued by political

[1] Khurshid Mustafa Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p.511.

www.cssexampoint.com

inefficiency, internal conspiracies and the economic exploitation by the Company. Thus, the economic conditions prevailing in these regions were quite appalling and could not sustain another war.[1]

RESULTS

The War of Independence would surely go down in history as the first and direct challenge to the British rule in India, on an extensive scale. It was a desperate attempt of a subjugated people to cut off the shackles of a repressive colonial power which sought to keep them in bondage. As such it inspired the genuine national movement for the freedom of India from British yoke which started half a century later.

The War of Independence produced far-reaching implications for the history of India. It gave the final blow to the nominal rule of the Mughals and India came under the direct rule of Great Britain. The Board of Directors and the Board of Control of the East India Company were disbanded and instead, a Secretary of State for India was appointed to manage the Indian affairs. A council was set up to assist the Secretary of State.

After the war came to an end the British made it no secret to wipe out the Muslims. The following gives some idea of the spirit in which the Government officers conducted post war changes. "The Muslims deliberately planned and tried to carry out a war of extermination, Lyall told his father in 1858, and retaliation in such a case is sanctioned by every human law. If the Musalmans could by any means be entirely exterminated it could be the possible step towards civilising and Christianizing the Hindustan".[2]

The memory of this war kept alive the hatred for the English in the hearts of the Indians. R.C. Majumdar has very rightly observed that the memory of the war and not the war itself, did more damage to the cause of the British rule.[3] After their failure in the War of Independence, the Muslims of India, entered a new phase of their history.

Francis Robinson Separatism among Indian Muslim

[1] Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami *op. cit.*, p.35.
[2] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, U.P., 1974.
[3] *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, p.278.

www.cssexampoint.com

2

SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN (1817 – 1898)

The War of Independence, in 1857, brought in its wake untold misery and unending troubles and tribulations for the Indian Muslims. They were made the special target of the British wrath. The cruelty that the British perpetrated on the Muslims, the torture and agony of it, the sadistic acts of genocide and all, could not find adequate expression in words though, yet W.W. Hunter epitomised it saying, "If a politician wanted to create sensation in the House of Commons, he could do it by relating the conditions of a single Muslim family of Bengal".

The War of Independence, finally and irrevocably put an end to the Mughal Empire and firmly established the British Raj in India. As the English had no enmity or *causes belli* against the Hindus either historically, politically or religiously, so, now they had no bones to pick with the Hindus. Contrarily, they deemed it as an act of urgent exigency to eliminate the Muslims as a nation; a precondition to their strangle-hold on India. During those days of terror and persecutions when being a Muslim was considered crime enough to invite the white wrath, it took a lot of courage for an Indian Muslim to come to the forefront and hold brief for his nation with the pen or with the words of mouth. In these circumstances, it was Sayyid Ahmad Khan who dared to take up this delicate but highly important task of defending the rights of the Muslims.

HIS LIFE

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was born on October 17, 1817 in Delhi. He belonged to a family that had been associated with the Mughal Court at Delhi. His grandfather Sayyid Ha'adi had been awarded the title of *Jawwad-ud-Daula* in the reign of Emperor Alamgir II. His maternal grandfather was also an influential person who was sent to Iran by Lord Wellesley as attaché. Later on, Sayyid Ahmad's father was offered a high post in the Court by Emperor Akbar II.

www.cssexampoint.com

As it was customary, Sayyid Ahmad learned the Holy Quran at home. A well-known sufi-saint Shah Ghulam Ali initiated his religious education. As for worldly education, his maternal uncle taught him mathematics while a family Hakeem, Ghulam Haider, taught him early courses in medicine. He also had the opportunities of attending literary meetings where he had the good luck of enjoying the company of the literary stalwarts of his time like Mirza Ghalib, Imam Bakhsh Sehbai and Sadrud Din Azurda.

In his education, nurturing of his personality and in the development of his moral character; the one who played the most significant role was Azeem-un-Nisa Begum, Sayyid Ahmad's mother. One instance, here, would reveal the quintessence of the moral standard his mother had made as her guiding principle to inculcate into her child. Once Sayyid Ahmad slapped a servant. When his mother came to know about this incident, she, banished Sayyid Ahmad from home immediately, and did not allow him back till he apologised to the servant.

Sayyid Ahmad's father died in 1838 forcing the young man to look for a job to meet family expenses. In his quest for a gainful employment, he sought permission of his aunt's husband, who was working as *sadar amin* in Delhi, to learn to work in the *katchehry* (tehsil courts). After training, he was appointed as *sarishtadar*. In February 1839, he joined the Commissioner's Office as *naib munshi* (Deputy Reader) and, soon after, in 1841, became sub-judge in Fatehpur Sikri. He was transferred to Bijnor in 1855. Only three years later, he was promoted as *sadr-us-sudur*. 1867 saw him rise in rank to become judge of the Lower Court.

By this time Sayyid Ahmad had established himself as a person of some potentials. His son Sayyid Mahmud, a promising young man, won a government scholarship to go to England for higher studies. The opportunity helped Sayyid Ahmad Khan to proceed to England with his son. They sailed for England on April 10, 1869. His seventeen month stay, though not very long, was fruitfully used in studying system of education in England in general and that of the Cambridge University in particular. He also collected material to write *Khutbat-e-Ahmadia*.

Sayyid Ahmad settled permanently in Aligarh after retirement in 1876, and decided to pursue his life-time plan for education. In the meantime, Lord Lytton appointed him member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He became the first Indian to introduce bill for the welfare of his fellow countrymen, envisaging compulsory small-pox vaccination for everyone and appointment of Qazis. For four years, he performed his duties most efficiently and with devotion and expressed his views most eloquently and fearlessly. A case in point is the Ilbert Bill which was to empower Indian judges to adjudicate in criminal cases involving Englishmen all over India. Sayyid Ahmad supported

www.cssexampoint.com

the bill vehemently while a Hindu member of the Council, Shiv Prasad, opposed it.

Sayyid Ahmad lived a vigorous and eventful life. Working as a public servant, he found time to write books on topics as varied but as important as religion, history archaeology, politics and literature. He left behind a treasure trove of 42 books that influenced and inspired movements in thought, and generated a lot of heat through intellectual debates in his life time as well as in the times to come. To crown his achievements, there existed a large number of organisations and societies that contributed to the speedy reawakening of the Muslims of India which resulted in resurgence of Muslim nationhood through length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent. He founded the following societies and organisations .which stood testimony to his unflinching dedication to the cause of the Indian Muslims

(1) Scientific Society (1864)
(2) British Indian Association (1866)
(3) A Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning Among the Mohammedans of India
(4) Mohammedan Civil Service Fund Association (1883)
(5) All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference (1886)
(6) Indian Patriotic Association (1888)
(7) Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association (1893)

In 1895, the College treasurer, Sham Bihari Lal, embezzled a large sum of one lac and seventeen thousand rupees from the College fund which brought the College almost to the brink of collapse. This incident adversely affected Sayyid Ahmad's health. Added to it was the constant torture of his son Sayyid Mahmud's habit of drinking. He died on March 27, 1898.

INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Sayyid Ahmad was a man of robust intellect. In his own words, nothing pleased him as much as writing, which is undeniably vouchsafed through his singular gift of writing. In writing, his main interest lay in producing works of literary and intellectual nature. The genius in him did not feel shackled in the least. During his tenure as government servant, Sayyid Ahmad wrote no less than a dozen books on religious, social and historical topics from 1840 to 1857.

Important Books

Jam-e-Jum (1840): It comprises of short narratives about 43 kings from Amir Taimur to Bahadur Shah Zafar.

www.essexampoint.com

Jila-al-Quloob Ba-zikar-al-Mahboob (1842): It is a short biography of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Tuhfa-e-Husn (1844): This was the translation of two chapters of Shah Abdul Aziz's *Tuhfa Asna Ashria.*

Aasar-us-Snadeed: It is a descriptive account of old Delhi, with drawings of the monuments, together with a chapter on the famous persons of Delhi. It was this book which evinced deep interest in the western intellectual circles. Sayyid Ahmad had put in tremendous hard work to collect material for this book. Collecting material on the subject was an uphill task as the buildings of archaeological importance had been almost destroyed by the ravages of time and inscriptions on them had been rendered illegible. Many a time, putting his personal safety aside, he climbed crumbling walls, dilapidated columns or tall towers to cast a closer look at the indecipherable inscriptions. Describing one such precarious venture Sayyid Ahmad underlined the hazards of his adventurous task. He recalled, "To read those inscriptions, on *Qutab ke Lath* in Delhi, which could not be read because of the height, a sort of trapeze or a *machaan* had to be erected opposite those inscriptions. Moulana Sehbai would watch me with great anxiety and would pale for fear underneath while I read the carved words perched dangerously high above".

The first edition of *Aasar* was published in 1847 and two more editions (1854 Delhi, 1870 Lucknow) came out subsequently during Sayyid Ahmad's life. Garcin-de-Tassy, the famous French orientalist, translated it into French. On the basis of this translation, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, conferred honorary fellowship on Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Tasheeh Aaeen-e-Akbari (1855): This is one of the important and valuable works of Sayyid's early intellectual accomplishments. It is a testimony to his special interest in historiography. He not only edited, corrected main body of Abul-Fazal's *Aaeen-e-Akbari* but also explained and elucidated difficult points, interpreted outlandish Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sanskrit terms and added a large number of pictures making the book all the more valuable, in content and approach.

Tasheeh Tarikh-e-Feroze Shahi (1862): Sayyid Ahmad brought out a corrected version of the *Tarikh-e-Feroze Shahi* after comparing four manuscripts.

The Causes of the Indian Revolt: From 1857 to 1870, Sayyid Ahmad concentrated on explaining to the Government about the Indian "Mutiny". He felt that the Muslims had suffered greatly at British hands, and yet it was vital to restore them to the confidence and patronage of their rulers. This short but important booklet traced

www.cssexampoint.com

the causes of the War of Independence which Sayyid Ahmad chose to call 'mutiny' or 'revolt'. In his opinion its most important cause was that the Indians were not associated with the process of legislation and consequently they had failed to comprehend the intentions behind the writ of the Government. The activities of Christian missionaries, he thought, proved catalyst in igniting the simmering discontent into a blazing conglomeration.

During this reign of terror, violence and persecution, Sayyid Ahmad openly accused the British of exacerbating the situation without giving any thought to his personal safety. He published five hundred copies of his book and sent all but two copies to members of the British Parliament. On coming to know his intentions, his friend Roy Shanker Das had suggested to him to put all those books to torch to save his life. But Sayyid Ahmad had argued, "I consider it as a service to the country, nation and the Government to make all my views public and, therefore, any harm that befalls me by doing anything which is beneficial both for the people and the Government is acceptable to me". On reading this book, the Secretary of State for India, Cecil Beadon, said, "This man has written an essay of highly rebellious contents, therefore, he must be asked to explain and if he fails to give a satisfactory answer, he must be severely punished". Later on, in 1873, this book was translated into English by Graham and Auckland Colvin. Sayyid Ahmad's interpretation of the events of 1857 gave him first chance to step into the limelight as a spokesman of his community.

Tabeen-al-Kalam: This book provides a comparative study of the Quran and the Bible and its interpretation. For this onerous task, Sayyid Ahmad hired the services of Moulana Inayat Rasool Charayakoti – a multi-linguist – who knew English, Arabic and Hebrew languages. He bought a printing press from Roorki for several thousands to publish this book.

Khutbat-e-Ahmadia: This book is ranked among the representative works of Sayyid Ahmad. In actual fact, the inspiration to write down this book sprang from his deep religious indignation , caused by the criticism of the life of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) by William Muir in his book *The Life of Mohmet*, Sayyid Ahmad decided to write such an authentic book which could provide satisfactory answers to all those questions Muir had raised. It seemed a monumental task which needed comparable efforts and research work. Therefore, Sayyid Ahmad travelled all the way to England to collect material for his book. Simply reaching England did not make things easy for him. Numerous impediments he had to overcome and difficulties of various kind he had

www.cssexampoint.com

to suffer in his mission in accomplishing the task of writing and publishing this book. His letters to his friends from London provide a glimpse of what he had to suffer. On August 20, 1869, he wrote to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, "These days, I have feelings of heart-burning. I am going through Muir's book which he has written about the life of the Holy Prophet. It has broken my heart and his bigoted views and injustice have grievously hurt me. I have resolved as decided earlier that I will write a book on the life of the Holy Prophet even if all the money is spent and I become a pauper – fit only to bag, yet, no harm, as at least, I shall be called up on Doomsday as the Beggar Ahmad who lost every penny in the name of his Grandfather".[1]

In another letter on October 1, 1869, he again wrote to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, "I am busy, day and night, writing *Essays on Life of Muhammad* and nothing else crosses my mind. Social contacts are totally suspended. On receiving this letter, go to Mir Zahoor Husain and together with him contact some money-lender to get rupees one thousand on loan for me. I shall return the amount with interest myself. I have also written to Delhi for one thousand rupees suggesting to collect and send the amount after selling my books, belongings and even utensils. May God help me! My eating and sleeping have become irrelevant in pursuit of this book".[2] In yet another letter he wrote, "I am busy, day and night, in writing the account of the life and activities of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). I have abandoned everything else. My back is aching because of continuous writing".

SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

Sayyid Ahmad founded this Society on January 9, 1864 during his stay in Muradabad. Its purpose was to translate books of foreign languages, and to search for rare and valuable books of Asian authors and, in particular, those books which discussed the rise and fall of nations and publish them. Another objective of this Society was to provide opportunities for contacts and interaction between the Indians and the British. However, the main thrust of the Society remained focused on translating books on science, mathematics and mechanical engineering.

The first ever meeting of the Society was held on January 9, 1864 at which the Duke of Argyll was appointed its patron. The membership of the Society was not restricted to any particular nationality. Besides Englishmen, there were eighty-two Hindus and one hundred and seven Muslim members who worked hard to achieve its objectives.

---

[1] Ross Masood, *Khutoot-e-Sir Sayyid*, Badaun, 1924, p.49.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.49.

www.cssexampoint.com

With the transfer of Sayyid Ahmad to Aligarh in 1864, the office of the Society was also shifted to Aligarh. The Society was formally launched on February 14, 1864 with its inaugural session in Aligarh. An independent building was constructed at the cost of thirty thousand rupees to house various departments of the Society. By 1875, it had translated and published 27 works from English into Urdu. During 1875-98, the Society managed to translate only 19 works due to Sayyid's ever widening activities.[1] Notable works which were translated included *History of India* by Elphinstone, *History of Iran* by Sir John Malcolm, *History of China* by Rollin, *Political Economy* by J.S. Mill and Harris' *Rudimentary Electricity*.

The Scientific Society launched a weekly *Aligarh Institute Gazette* on March 3, 1866. It was meant to project views on social, moral, educational and political matters. It had, basically, two goals to achieve – a two-way projection project – which aimed at informing the British about the feelings of the Indians regarding problems ignored as peripheral by the rulers but fundamental by the ruled, and, at the same time, sought to familiarise the Indians with the British system of government and the English way of life. Moulana Hali put it aptly when he said that after examining the earlier issues of the paper it was unmistakably clear that it wanted to bring the two nations closer by clothing the English views in Indian dresses and the Indian views in English out-fits.[2]

Earlier issues of the *AIG* carried political articles which were penned down by Sayyid Ahmad himself. The most distinctive feature of the paper was that it was bilingual with English and Urdu columns running side by side. Another feature of the *AIG* was the section at the end of each issue where the historical background of any significant contemporary event was given, with the editor's comments. In this way events were illuminated by being set in perspective, and Sayyid's aim of creating a historical consciousness among his readers was further pursued. Thus at the end of the Turko-Russian War of 1878, the *AIG* included a retrospective survey of its origin, progress and results, illustrated with maps.[3] The *AIG* attached great importance to the honour and dignity of the native press. It would give a befitting rebuttal if any Anglo-Indian newspaper ever dared to criticise the Urdu press.[4] However, the paper consistently maintained its image as an emblem of serious and serene journalism and never published any unconfirmed news or news from dubious sources. As a policy matter it never indulged

---

[1] Rahmani Begum, *The Politics of Educational Reforms*, Lahore, 1985.
[2] Altaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-e-Javeed*, Lahore, 1966, p.155.
[3] *The Politics of Educational Reforms*, p.85.
[4] Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sahafat Pakistan-o-Hind Main*, Lahore

www.cssexampoint.com

in Hindu-Muslim communal conflict but did its best to project the Muslim cause whenever the situation so demanded. A case in point is the paper's vigorous struggle to defend the Muslim point of view with regard to Urdu-Hindi conflict. The bulk of the material, in this regard, appeared in this paper. For twenty-two years of its life, the *AIG* appeared with consistent regularity without failing to appear on its appointed day.

TAHZEEBUL AKHLAQ

Sayyid Ahmad established a magazine on December 24, 1870 on the lines of the *Spectator* of London, under the title *Tahzeebul Akhlaq*. Enunciating the purpose of such a magazine, he wrote in its inaugural issue, "The purpose of this magazine is to motivate the Muslims to acquire civilization to its perfection to neutralize the hatred with which civilized nations view them so that they may also be regarded as respectable civilized nation".

Those who contributed regularly for *Tahzeebul Akhlaq* included Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Moulvi Chirag Ali and Sayyid Mahmud; most of the articles, though, were written by Sayyid Ahmad himself. The measure of his prolific pen is the number of articles he contributed in the first six years of publication. Out of two hundred & twenty six essays, Sayyid Ahmad wrote no less than one hundred and twelve. After the lapse of three years, when the magazine was restarted, Sayyid's share was thirty three out of seventy six essays.

Tahzeebul Akhlaq, in its own peculiar way, endeavoured to dispel doubts about Islam, created by the European writers. It tried to make the Muslims conscious of the social misdemeanour like spitting everywhere, backbiting and jealousy, etc., and exhorted them to improve their social behaviour. The magazine could also claim credit for popularising words like "nation", "national sympathy", and "national interest", creating at the same time feelings of Islamic brotherhood and nationhood among the Muslims. Sayyid Ahmad also tried to draw their attention towards the usefulness of the western education through this magazine. He adopted a specific linguistic policy to purify and purge Urdu verbosity, exaggeration, and sycophantic approach.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

After the War of Independence, Sayyid Ahmad grew more and more convinced that existence and survival of the Muslims of India depended on better relationship with the English, on western education and eschewing politics. In his opinion, cure for all kind of sufferings and difficulties facing the Muslims lay only in western education, therefore, he urged the nation to adopt "education, and only education" as its motto.

www.cssexampoint.com

The Muslims of India, prior to Sayyid's exhortation, avoided sending their children to the English schools for various solid reasons despite the fact that Shah Abdul Aziz had permitted them to acquire western education. They were genuinely apprehensive that their children might deviate from religion under the influence of western education. The Hindus took full advantage of the new situation and proceeded to acquire western education with utmost zeal and zest. This state of affairs compelled Sayyid Ahmad to take upon himself the daunting task of convincing and persuading the Muslims to get this education.

COMMITTEE FOR THE BETTER DIFFUSION AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA

Sayyid Ahmad's dilemma, in this regard, appeared unsurmountable. His first task was to know and analyse the reasons behind the Muslim reluctance to send their children to government schools. Keeping this problem in view, a committee calling for the Muslim educational uplift was formed in Benaras. One of the aims of the Committee was to know why the number of Muslim students in school and colleges was so low, why they had lagged behind in classical eastern learning and why they showed little interest in modern sciences.

The Committee launched an essay-writing competition on this topic promising reward for the best essay. It received 32 essays in all and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk's essay was adjudged the best. After going through these essays the Committee arrived at the conclusion that in order to attract the Muslim youth, there was an urgent need of opening academic institutions, free from the governmental influence, where they could also get their own religious education as well. Therefore, a Committee was set up to collect funds needed to establish such an institution. Sayyid Ahmad was appointed the life Secretary of this Committee. This proposed Muslim educational institution was decided to be established in Aligarh, in 1873.

THE M.A.O. SCHOOL, ALIGARH

The M.A.O. School, Aligarh was inaugurated on May 24, 1875 which coincided with Queen Victoria's birthday. Henry Siddons (June 28, 1875 – May 5, 1883), an Oxford graduate, was appointed as headmaster, with a salary of Rs.400/-per month.[1]

In the beginning, the M.A.O. School offered courses in Arabic, Persian, English, Mathematics, History and Geography. The School

[1] S.K. Bhatnagar. *History of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh*, n.d., pp.37-38.

www.cssexampoint.com

was affiliated with the Calcutta University. Regular classes at School began on June 1, 1875 and the first batch of outgoing students took their examination in 1877.

The opening of the School was well-received and many well-to-do families and organisations came out with promises of financial help. The U.P. Government sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs.350/- for the School. Prominent Muslim leaders supported the School with endowments commensurate with their financial and social status. The Nizam of Hyderabad appropriated a *Jagir* worth Rs.90,000/- yielding a monthly income of Rs.2007/- and Sir *Salar Jang* gave a grant of Rs.30,000/- from his personal *Jagir* with a monthly income of Rs.100/- for the assistance of the School. Hindus, for once, also extended financial help for the School. Maharaja of Vizianagram and Maharaja of Patiala contributed a handsome amount of Rs.3000/- each for the construction of the School.

The School which started with only four students (one of them, Hameed Ullah, the son of Sayyid Ahmad's right hand man, Samiullah Khan) took rapid strides as its total strength surged to 70 odd students, in a short span of only six or seven months. Sir William Muir paid a visit to the School on November 12, 1875 and the Maharaja of Patiala visited it on December 6, 1875. The School had, by then, earned a place for itself in academic field. If one man was ever to be named for this rapid progress, it was Moulvi Samiullah Khan who deserved the whole credit.

THE M.A.O. COLLEGE

Two years after the inception, the School was upgraded to College. Lord Lytton, the Governor-General, laid the foundation stone of the College on January 8, 1877. The establishment of the College was the crowning success of Sayyid Ahmad's work and it is by that work that his name will always be revered amongst the Indians.

It was not an easy task to run a college. In its initial stages, besides facing severe financial constraints, it had to confront stiff opposition from a section of the Muslim community.. Certain articles in Sayyid Ahmad's *Tahzeebul Akhlaq* had created misunderstanding about his religious views among the Muslims. Therefore, at the outset, when the College was still in its embryonic stages, there was a widespread impression that the religious views of its founder were bound to affect the minds of the Muslim youth studying in this institution. Such apprehensions greatly hindered Sayyid Ahmad's efforts to collect donations for the College. But he was not to be deterred by these odds. His dedication to the cause and unflinching determination met with the crowning success when he was able to accumulate so much funds that eight lac rupees were spent on the construction of the College building

www.cssexampoint.com

in twenty years. Sayyid Ahmad put aside his ego and condescended to perform masquerades, sang *ghazals* on stage beside selling his books to accomplish the onerous task of establishing a College for the Muslims.

In a significant show of support to the great cause of education and Sayyid's mission, the Muslims of the Punjab were the first to offer financial help. As early as September, 1873, Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali Khan launched a publicity campaign in Lahore for the proposed College, while Sardar Mohammad Hayat Khan, in an article contributed to the monthly Urdu magazine *Koh-i-Noor*, Lahore, appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to come forward and contribute generously for establishing the College.[1]

After Siddons, the first Principal of the College, Theodore Beck took charge on February 1, 1884 and worked as the Principal till September 2, 1899. Beck, a Cambridge graduate, had the distinction of being the President of the University Students Union. He, along with Sayyid Mahmud, succeeded in hiring the services of renowned teachers like T.W. Arnold, Walter Raleigh and Theodore Morison. The College also utilised the services of Moulana Shibli Nomani and Moulvi Abdullah Ansari.

From the very outset, the College laid special emphasis on religious education. Attendance was registered at daily prayers and no one could get promotion to the next class without passing the examination in *Diniyat*. All boarders had to fast in Ramazan. *Dars-i-Quran* was included in the courses of studies in 1887.

On another level the College sought to provide the cross-section of the Muslim students chance for social interaction to promote social, cultural and ideological cohesion for the sake of national integration. This was done by providing residential facilities to the students. In 1875, the College accommodated only 66 students in its hostels and in 1898 the College provided lodging and boarding to 250 out of 349 enrolled students. This facility for the Muslim students to live together enabled them, on the one hand, to study, analyse and comprehend the various problems of their fellow brethren and widen their vision but also cultivated a deep sense of camaraderie and national integration. Theodore Beck very aptly observed that through the residential system the College would form a little world of its own. Daily intercourse between the students themselves, common interests, common pursuits, studies, sports, conversation and meals awakened a keenness of fellowship and intellectual life that nothing else could do.[2]

It can be claimed without fear of contradiction that there was no modern academic institution prior to the establishment of the M.A.O. College,

---

[1] *History of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh*, p.37.
[2] *The Politics of Educational Reforms*, p.231.

www.cssexampoint.com

Aligarh where the Muslim students could get together in such large numbers to identify, discuss and resolve problems facing the Muslim community on the whole. Such a situation would have been conducive to the progressive evolution of national fervour and a vigorous national aspirations. The College at Aligarh did precisely the same by making available to the Muslims a platform to crystalize their thinking into national ideology. A time came when the old students of Aligarh College came to be recognised as a community distinguishable for the similarity of their deportments and fraternity of views. The life in Aligarh began to set a particular stamp on the students. On October 23, 1892 Sir Auckland Colvin said, "To have been an Aligarh man is, I have found, over and over again, a passport to the respect and confidence of both the Englishmen and the natives"'.[1] Tufail Ahmad Manglori aptly describes the situation saying, "With the passage of time the M.A.O. College, Aligarh became a centre for the whole Muslim nation from where national feelings originated and spread throughout the sub-continent. A point was reached when the voice of Aligarh echoed all over the country".[2] This statement is substantiated by what Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari said. This inimitable orator, while addressing the students in the Union Hall of the Aligarh College remarked, "When I left Lahore, a friend of mine said that I should address in the Jamia Masjid of the city if I wanted to address the Muslims of Aligarh but if I wanted to address the Muslims of India I should deliver the speech in the Aligarh Muslim University".[3]

All this was achieved by setting up numerous societies in the College. The first of the kind was Siddon's Union Club which was established on August 26, 1884 or, the pattern of Cambridge University. It was meant to hold discussions, debates and speech-contests. Both students and teachers participated in these debates. In 1880, another society *Anjuman Alfarz* (انجمن الفرض) came into existence at the behest of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. It had two main objectives: firstly, to help remove the existing prejudices amongst the Muslim public about the College and secondly, to help the needy students.

ALL-INDIA MOHAMMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

آل انڈیا محمڈن ایجوکیشنل کانفرنس

Although Sir Sayyid's greatest dream had been fulfilled in the form of MAO College Aligarh, yet he had a strong realization that this single college was too small to fulfil the educational needs of all the Muslims of India. In order to create educational awareness among all

---

[1] Iftikhar Alam, *History of the Mohammaden College*, Agra, 1901, p.168.
[2] Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945, pp.219-220.
[3] Mohammad Saeed, *Ahang-e-Bazgasht*, Lahore, 1979, p.112.

www.cssexampoint.com

the Muslims of India, he laid the foundation of All India Muhammadan Educational Congress. Sir Sayyid was of the view that taking part in politics would be extremely harmful for the national interests of the Muslims. He, therefore, urged them to remain away from the Indian National Congress and concentrate on getting modern education.

It is noteworthy that the meetings of the Indian National Congress and Muhammadan Educational Congress were held on similar dates, so that the Muslims could easily distance themselves from politics. During Sir Sayyid's life, the head office of Educational Conference was set up in Aligarh College and the secretary of the college management committee used to be the secretary of the Educational Conference as well. But After Sir Sayyid's death, the two institutions were separated from each other. In 1890, All-India Muhammadan Educational Congress was renamed as All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference. In 1923, it was named All-India Muslim Educational Conference. In the first twelve years of the Conference, its sessions were mainly held in Northern India, especially, in UP and Punjab. During these years, five of its sessions were held in Aligarh, one in Delhi and two in Lahore.

The first meeting of this Conference was held in M.A.O. College, Aligarh on December 27, 1886 with Moulvi Samiullah Khan in the chair. The Conference was attended by 161 delegates from the Punjab, Central India, Agra and Avadh. The Conference adopted a charter of aims and objects detailed as under:-

(a) It would seek to arrange for higher studies for the Muslims.

(b) It would apprise itself of the state of religious education in the English (medium) schools for the Muslims and try for its improvement.

(c) It would aim at popularizing the education of oriental studies and *Diniyat* and helping the *Ulama* – the religious scholars – in their effort to carry the task forward.

(d) It would try to comprehend the causes of the decline of religious institutions and tide over them.

The AIMEC continued to hold its annual meetings regularly. The moving spirit behind the Conference, Sayyid Ahmad, served it as its secretary for ten years, personally supervising the arrangements for the moot many days prior to its commencement. He took special care to see that the proceedings of the meetings were published every year.

The moots convened under the Conference proved great success for their results. People would travel long distances from every corner of India, sit together, talk about national problems and undertake to pursue the path of national welfare and integration with renewed zeal and zest. Prior to that, there existed a paranoic apathy among the Muslims towards

www.cssexampoint.com

their community welfare problems and problems of national unity. They hardly ever gathered at one platform to discuss matters of mutual interests. What to speak of provincial level, the Muslims never assembled even at the local levels to identify or mull over their imminent sufferings. The AIMEC provided a unique. opportunity to the Muslims of not only the cities but also of various provinces to sit together and think of ways and means for progress and national reformation.

The AIMEC was also instrumental in providing opportunity to the Muslims to display their inborn qualities. People like Moulana Shibli Nomani, Moulana Altaf Husain Hali, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Moulvi Nazir Ahmad, to name the few, used their various talents, through oratory and poetry, to develop in them, a desire for education and to enkindle courage of conviction, a passionate self-respect and national sympathy. Abul Kalam Azad affirmed, "In fact, this Conference is the training institute for Urdu oratory where the oratorical qualities of the greatest contemporary literary figures were sharpened".

After Sir Sayyid's death, the Conference entered a new phase of its life and its meetings were held in Calcutta, Rampur, Delhi, Madras and Bombay. A meeting of the Educational Conference held in Dacca in 1906, was attended by eminent figures from Lahore, Patiala, Hyderabad Daccan, Patna, Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, Delhi, Calcutta and Assam. Such grand congregations were seen only in one or two other meetings of the Conference. The 1909 session of the Conference held in the Burmese capital Rangoon, was attended by 250 delegates from Punjab, Bengal, Bihar, Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad Daccan and Asam. It was chaired by Mhahraja of Mahmudabad. All the delegates reached the venue of the meeting after travelling for thousands of miles by sea. With the passage of time, the Educational Conference was able to gain the support of even those people who were opposed to the political views of Sir Sayyid. For this very reason, its meetings in 1899 and 1903 were presided over by Sayyid Ameer Ali and Badruddin Tayyabji respectively.

In 1893, the Conference approved Theodore Beck's proposal for conducting educational census, aimed at finding out the causes of educational backwardness. It attempted to investigate as to why some well off Muslims were also reluctant to educate their children. Those who were given the task of gathering facts and figures of educational census tried to explore some of the main factors which kept the children of school going age away from schools. Some of the factors discovered by them were poverty, religious reasons, carelessness and indifference. This research work continued very successfully for three years and the findings of this research were regularly presented in the meetings of the Conference. In the light of interviews with 1932

www.cssexampoint.com

families, conductors of the educational census concluded that most of the families did not send their children to schools, only because of carelessness. The task of educational census was revived in 1905, but no significant progress was seen. As long as Theodore Beck remained alive, this project was highly successful. As an experiment, some members of the Conference were sent to Punjab, UP and Bihar for gathering information. Historical essays were read out and lectures were given on morality and educational progress of the Muslims, during the annual sessions of the Educational Conference. For instance, Sayyid Mahmud delivered a lecture on the promotion of Western education in India from 1881 to 1893. The Educational Conference gave its full backing for Gokhale's bill regarding compulsory and free elementary education. At different points of time, the Conference set up six sections or wings. In 1899, female education wing was set up with Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah as its secretary. It held regular meetings on the occasion of each annual session of the Conference. The Aligarh girls' school, which was afterwards, upgraded as Intermediate College, was the outcome of the efforts of the female education wing of the Educational Conference.

Social Reform Wing was set up in 1901, with Khuaja Ghulam-us-Saqalain as its secretary. Social reform is an essential component of social life and no social progress is possible without it. The wrong ideas and destructive customs of the Muslims had ruined their social life and destroyed their ethical values. Under the auspices of the social reform wing of the Educational Conference, useful literature was prepared and distributed among the Muslims.

In 1903, from the platform of the Conference, a strong voice was raised against the social evils prevailing among the Muslims. They were urged to abstain from extravagance, futile customs and un-Islamic rites performed at the time of marriage and death. They were also advised to discourage the practice of begging by healthy and professional beggars.

The Educational Conference drew the attention of untrained teachers to receive professional training from training colleges. Scholarships were sent to the principals of provincial training colleges for the assistance of those teachers who were keen to receive training from these institutions. The Educational Conference laid emphasis on the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University Training College. At the same time, it laid the foundation of Teachers' Conference, to enable the Muslim teachers teaching at various Muslim educational institutions to assemble at one place in a year, to share their experiences and in the light of their mutual consultation, draw up practicable proposals for facilitating and promoting the education of Indian Muslims.

www.cssexampoint.com

Of the multifarious branches of the Conference, the one which devoted itself for the development and preservation of Urdu language was *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu*. Many valuable articles and important tracts were published under the aegis of the Conference which included *Musalmanon ki Guzishta Taleem, Al-Jazia,* and articles "*Kutab Khana Sikanderia*", "*Huqooq-uz-Zimmiyeen*" and "*Musalmanon ki Taraqqi-o-Tanazzuli kai Asbab*".

On another level the Conference undertook to ensure that material prejudicial or repugnant to the Muslim culture or religion was not taught. It forced the Allahabad University to exclude a book titled *Cox's History* from its syllabus as it contained derogatory material against the Muslims. It also prevailed upon the University to refrain from dropping Persian language from its courses. The Government was forced to accede to the demand that religious education should be taught in the government institutions.

Although the AIMEC was a non-political organisation yet anything delivered from its platform was readily claimed as the unified demand of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Sayyid Ahmad delivered his first anti-Congress speech from its pulpit and the first ever political organisation of the Muslims – the All-India Muslim League – used it as its launching pad.

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT – POLITICAL ASPECT

In the disastrous aftermath of the 1857 "Rebellion" the Muslims for the first time in their thousand-year encounter with India had found themselves a subject race, with their power finally broken, their dignity outraged, their sheer survival extremely doubtful and their very existence at stake. After the War the Muslims were subjected to relentless torture and sufferings of unprecedented proportions. The following give some idea of the spirit in which some of the British officers conducted post war changes. Lyall told his father in 1858, "If the Musalmans could by any means be entirely exterminated it could be the greatest possible step towards civilizing and Chritianizing the Hindustan".[1]

Sayyid Ahmad, for once, felt so deeply agonised at these miseries that he decided to settle in Egypt but he changed his mind a little later. The reasons for his earlier decision to quit India were as cogent and strong as were the reasons for his later retraction. His explanation testifies how strongly he felt for his people. He said, "I was extremely shocked when I was offered the property of a family, worth one lac rupees, in exchange for my loyalty. 1 said to myself, "There would be no one more silly and insensitive in this world than I, if I accepted to

[1]Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*,, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p.102.

www.cssexampoint.com

become a *Taalluqadar* by usurping their property while the nation faced annihilation. Therefore, I refused to take it and said that I had no mind to stay in India. In fact, it was absolutely correct and, at that time, I did not think that the nation would ever again rise and become respectable. I could not endure the plight of my nation. For a few days, I suffered this agonising thought. Believe me, this sadness and sorrow made me look aged and turned my hair grey. In those days, I realised that it would be gross impotence, and rank apathy on my part to leave my nation in the lurch and seek a safe haven for myself somewhere else, – nay! I ought to share their sufferings, and it was my national duty to gird up my loins to tide over those difficulties that befell them. I gave up the idea of migration and chose the path of national love".[1]

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONSHIP

Sayyid Ahmad was a strong advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. It explains why there was never any discrimination between a Hindu and a Muslim in either Aligarh Scientific Society, Aligarh School or College. He used to refer to Hindus and Muslims as two beautiful eyes of a charming bride. But Urdu-Hindi controversy exerted so deep an influence on his thought and activities and changed his political outlook altogether that it can be regarded as a turning point in his public career.

In the wake of a Hindu movement started to press for *Bhasha* language and Devnagri script, Sayyid Ahmad's political views started to evolve into definite shape and form. He came to believe that the Two Nations could not co-exist. During the course of a discussion in those days, his friend Mr. Shakespeare remarked in amazement that he (Sir Sayyid) was talking about education for the Muslims in particular for the first time. Sayyid Ahmad's rejoinder to him carried a prophetic note. He stated, "I am now convinced that these Two Nations will never participate in anything together from their heart. This enmity and conflict, though less emphatic at present, will gain in intensity with the passage of time due to the educated people. He who lives, will see". Shakespeare remarked that it would be regrettable if his prophecy came true. Sayyid Ahmad replied, "I too should much regret, but I am sure it would prove true".[2]

Sayyid Ahmad believed that survival of Urdu was extremely important for the Muslims. During his stay in England, Babu Shiv Prasad pushed his dislike for the former Muslim rule in India and its heritage to the extent of pressing the Hindu members of the Scientific Society to replace Urdu by Hindi as the language of translation in the

---

[1] *Hayat-e-Javeed*, p.117.
[2] *Hayat-i-Javeed*, p.162.

www.cssexampoint.com

Society and the publication of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in Hindi as well. These demands jolted Sayyid Ahmad. In a letter to Mohsin-ul-Mulk from London on April 29, 1870, he warned, "If it comes to be, it would open an ending saga of split and strife between the Hindus and the Muslims. The rupture would never be healed. The two communities would be irrevocably rent asunder".[1]

Sayyid Ahmad considered *Bhasha* a dead language. In a letter to the *AIG* on May 7, 1869, he wrote, "Wherever I went from Allahabad to Bombay, I conversed with everyone i.e. peons, officials and collies, in Urdu. Everyone understands it fully well and answers in the same. I tried my utmost to find the ancient *Bhasha* which Allahabad Association wished to put into vogue, but could not locate it". In this way, .the Urdu-Hindi conflict convinced him that the Hindu interests were at variance with those of the Muslims.

OPPOSITION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Sayyid Ahmad strongly opposed the Indian National Congress and its demands. He suggested to the Muslims to stay away from the Congress. His letters to the first Muslim president of the INC, Badruddin Tyabji, throw light on his views on the question of Muslim participation in the Congress. Sayyid Ahmad entered the lists against Tyabji, with a forthright assertion that there was no such thing as India as one Nation. "Is it supposed that the different casts and creeds living in India can become a nation? Can their aspiration and goals be similar? In my opinion it is quite impossible and when it is impossible then there can be no such thing as the "National Congress".[2] In another letter on February 18, 1888, Sayyid Ahmad called the Congress "Misnamed National Congress".[3] Sayyid Ahmad's relentless opposition to the Congress based on strong weighty arguments and a widespread resentment among the Muslims against it, forced Tyabji to write to Hume that "The Nizam and all the dignitaries of the State such as Salar Jung, Munirul Mulk, Fateh Nawaz Jung and above all Husain Bilgrami have joined the opposition led by such well known men as Sayyid Ahmad, Ameer Ali and Abdul Lateef – under these circumstances I have come to the distinct conclusion, after the most careful consideration of which I am capable, that it is time to cease holding the Congress every year".[4]

---

[1] *Khutoot-e-Sir Sayyid*, p.66.
[2] Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Karachi, 1973, pp.128-129.
[3] Shan Mohammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan – A Political Biography*, Lahore, 1976, p.149.
[4] *Ibid.*, p.152.

www.cssexampoint.com

DEMANDS OF THE CONGRESS

Demands of the Congress included the election of the members to the Legislative Councils and holding of the civil service examination in India as well. Sayyid Ahmad kept silent on these demands for two years. But in 1887, he raised his voice against these demands from the platform of the AIMEC for the first time, in its meeting held in Lucknow.

Then, what was the solution to the problems of Hindu-Muslim conflicts? Of the various ways suggested as possible means to resolve the complicated controversy, elections leading to the formation of democratic set up attracted the most attention. Sayyid Ahmad came out, immediately, with an outright rejection of the proposal. He thought that a system of elections did not suit the Indian malaise. Elections, and a consequent parliamentary system of governance could suit a place where there were no differences of colour, culture, race and religion among its inhabitants. But, in the case of India, in addition to these, there existed a disproportionate imbalance between the Hindus and the Muslims in population, education and wealth. He argued that "They want that the House of Commons and House of Lords should be copied. Let us imagine that the Viceroy's Council is formed in the manner desired, i.e. members are elected by the people. And let us suppose all Muslims vote for a Muslim candidate and all Hindus vote for a Hindu. Now count how many votes the Muslim candidate will get. It is certain that the Hindu candidate will have four times as many, because their population is four times as numerous. It will be a game of dice in which one man has four dice and the other only one".[1]

Sayyid Ahmad was of the firm opinion that since India was a multi-national country, this system was likely to meet with failure besides proving a trap of slavery for the minority. He said, "I deeply pondered over this matter even before the Congress came out with such a demand and have come to hold this conviction, after due consideration of John Stuart Mill's opinion, that in a political system where majority vote enjoyed supremacy, it was of fundamental importance that people governed by such a system should have unity of race, religion, language and historical traditions. Presence of these things make a responsible government viable and useful, but nothing would be gained in their absence except annihilation of the country".[2]

Sayyid Ahmad's apprehensions, in this regard, were not unfounded. He was afraid, and quite justifiably, that under this system of elections, Muslims could not be elected as members of the Councils.

---

[1] Jamiluddin Ahmad, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, Lahore, n.d., p.24.
[2] Ameen Zubairi, *Tazkira-e-Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, n.d., pp.198-199.

www.cssexampoint.com

Pointing out these perils, he explained, "Just consider the election situation. The Hindus and the Muslims are not equal in numbers in any district. Can you say that the Muslims will dominate the Hindus and capture self-government. Recently, a venerable Muslim belonging to an ancestrally bearded family of Calcutta met me and complained "that it was a great tragedy that eighteen Muslims were likely to be elected to the city Municipal Committee but none had succeeded: all the Hindu contestants were elected, instead. Now, the Government should nominate a Muslim. The situation is similar in every city. Even in Aligarh, had there been no special arrangement, no Muslim, not even our most respected friend, Moulvi Khawaja Mohammad Yusuf, could ever have got votes sufficient for his election, and, as a result, would have waited expectantly to be nominated by the Government".[1]

Again on November 23, 1886, Sayyid Ahmad further explained his point of view in an article published in the *AIG*. He argued, "If at any future time there should be a Parliament with Hindus and Muslims sitting on two sides of the House, it is probable that the animosity which would ensue would far exceed anything that could be witnessed in England. Moreover, the Mohammedans would be in a permanent minority and their case would resemble that of the unfortunate Irish members in the British Parliament who have always been outvoted by the Englishmen".[2]

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

The examination for the Civil Service, responsible for the administrative set up of India, was held in England which prevented the Indians from competing for it. In addition, the Government decreased the age limit for the examination from 21 to 19.

In this background, Surendranath Banerjea started an agitation against the downward revision of the age limit. Sayyid Ahmad fully endorsed this protestation. He considered this decision a .conspiracy to close the doors of the services on the Indians. Once again through the columns of the *AIG*, Sayyid Ahmad urged the Indians to hold meetings all over India and to draw up memorials protesting against the change".[3]

Both Banerjea and Sayyid Ahmad, with mutual understanding on the subject, carried on the campaign against this decision of the Government. Banerjea visited Aligarh on June 21, 1877, where a meeting was held which was presided over by Sayyid Ahmad. As expected Sayyid Ahmad strongly criticised the Government, in his presidential address, on this controversy. On May 17, 1884, another meeting was held in Aligarh, at

---

[1] Sirajuddin Ahmad, *Sir Sayyid Key Lecturon Ka Mujmooa*, Lahore, 1890, p.253.
[2] M. Yusuf Abbasi, *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia*, Islamabad, 1981, p.237.
[3] *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia*, p.24.

www.cssexampoint.com

which Banerjea delivered a strong speech demanding that the Civil Service Examination should be held in India as well.

Gradually this protest started gaining momentum and assumed the form of anti-government movement. It forced Sayyid Ahmad to review his stance, as fidelity to the British Government was an element of faith with him. Therefore, he disassociated himself from the agitation as he saw it assuming violent proportion. Consequently, he opted to oppose the holding of the Examination in India because he also saw little opportunity for the Muslims in it. He termed the suggestion for the Civil. Service Examination to be held in India and England simultaneously as a demand resulting from the clamouring of the Congress and that the Congress might be projecting views of other nationalities but not those of the Muslims.[1]

REVIEW OF ALLEGATIONS ON SAYYID AHMAD KHAN

Apart from some Hindu historians, a few Muslims, like Moulvi Tufail Ahmad Manglori and Atique Siddiqui were of the view that Sayyid Ahmad Khan's opinion about the .Congress were formed under the influence of Theodore Beck – Principal of M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Manglori ventilated his outburst saying, "During the reign of the Company (East India Company) the drummer announced the state proclamation that public belonged to God, country to the king and command to the Company *Bahadur*. Similarly, but unfortunately, the same was true of Aligarh College in Sir Sayyid's old age which announced that the nation belonged to God, College to Sir Sayyid and command to Beck *Bahadur*.[2]

However, the facts point to the opposite and contradict the alleged tutelage of Sayyid Ahmad to Beck. The year 1887 saw Sayyid Ahmad taking up cudgels against the Congress. Sayyid Ahmad took this stance at the ripe of age of 70, while Beck was only greenish 28. A young raw mind that Beck was in those days, could hardly be fancied to have influenced a man of Sayyid Ahmad's intellectual calibre, experience, insight and political acumen – and at that advanced age. The allegations were highly improbable as Sayyid Ahmad was under no obligation to Beck as the former was the employer, the latter an employee. Sayyid Ahmad was, in no way, obliged to follow Beck's counsels. As far as his views on method of election were concerned, he had aired his opinion long before the inception of the Congress. Once, speaking on Local Self-government Bill on January 12, 1883, he postulated, "Hindustan, in itself, is a continent that inhabits different nations which follow different

---

[1] *Tazkira-e-Sir Sayyid*, p.205.
[2] *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, p.299.

www.cssexampoint.com

religions. A strict adherence to these religious codes separates even the neighbours. In India, where differences based on caste system still exist and where different nations have not blended well and where religious conflicts are in full swing, where education in its modern meanings has not developed in all sections of. the society in equal proportions, I believe election to Local Boards and District Councils, for the sake of supporting various demands, based on its simple and pure principle of majority shall create larger problems rather than producing civilized concepts. So long as religious conflict and caste discrimination persist as the greatest factors in the socio-political situation in India, the pure system of election can not be set into motion satisfactorily".[1]

These views reveal Sayyid Ahmad's approach to the problem and thinking of a mind steeped in and imbued with the futuristic concern for the well-being of his nation. He laid bare his considered opinions on the subject on January 12, 1883, whereas, Beck arrived in India in November, 1883, nine months after his speech.[2]

Moulvi Tufail Ahmad also alleged that "Beck had so dominated Sayyid Ahmad in his later days that Sayyid Ahmad willingly surrendered *Aligarh Institute Gazette* to him". The fact is that Sayyid Ahmad's name always appeared as Editor on the *AIG*, right from its inception. Whereas the Gazette volumes from November, 1897 to 1899 are not available even in Aligarh itself.[3]

That the allegations against Sayyid Ahmad were ill-founded and biased are amply borne out by their inherent flaws. Those who levelled these charges of contradictions in Sayyid Ahmad's character and flaws in his personality, perhaps, failed to realize that the man was made of sterner stuff. He would openly and dauntlessly support a cause, without fear of criticism or condemnation, if he thought it was in the interest of his nation. Even Beck, once had the taste of Sayyid Ahmad's courage of conviction and bold defence of his national honour. The Principal, Theodore Beck, had made a particular uniform necessary for the students of the College for daily 'Drill'. The students, opting the easy way out, started wearing the same uniform to College. It was enough to make Sayyid Ahmad extremely angry. He condemned Beck saying, "There is a trick in it. He wants to ruin my life-long achievement". He delivered a lecture, afterwards, in the presence of Beck. Beck did not like the dress-uniform comprising Turkish cap (Fez), coat and the English shoes.

---

[1] *Tazkira-e-Sir Sayyid*, pp.169-170.

[2] A Mayers, *Theodore Beck and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan – The Myth of Provocateur and Puppet* (Unpublished Thesis), 1973.

[3] *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan – A Political Biography*, p.172.

www.cssexampoint.com

Sayyid Ahmad referred to Beck's disliking saying, "This dress of yours that is Turkish cap, coat and the English shoes is very nice. The same dress is used by the Sultan of Rome, his courtiers and servants. We have adopted the same. In India, some short-sighted, proud and myopic Englishmen wish to keep the Indian in an abject state and look down upon them. They oppose the use of this cap and shoes".

Moulvi Abdul Haq stated that the last sentence was applauded so enthusiastically that the hall echoed with it. Theodore Beck turned pale and became extremely nervous. At the end of the meeting, all the students tore off their coloured silk turbans. Some made shirts and some curtains out of them.[1]

As stated in the preceding lines, Sayyid Ahmad always gave priority to the interest of the Muslim nation and never cared for any opposition in this regard. Hume, the founder of the Congress, in order to coax the Muslims into joining the Congress, "gave a press statement in November, 1888, that the Congress enjoyed the support of Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of India. Sayyid Ahmad issued a very strong riposte. He wrote that the activities of the Congress were against the interests of the Muslims as a nation. They would, therefore, oppose this party even if it enjoyed the support of Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, Secretary of State for India and all the members of the British Parliament.

Similarly, the daily *Pioneer* of Allahabad suggested in February, 1878, that the Director, Public Instruction should be included in the Managing Committee of the M.A.O, College. Sayyid Ahmad, without wasting any time, issued a rejoinder explaining that the suggestion was unwarranted and unacceptable. He took the plea that the fundamental principles of the College, i.e. self-help, cultural training and system of education, did not permit any English DPI to be installed to supervise these activities.[2]

All these facts go to prove conclusively that Sayyid Ahmad's ideas and thoughts about the Congress were the result of his considered personal opinions and, thus, Moulvi Tufail Ahmad's allegations had nothing to do with reality.

By and by, as the time passed, the profound wisdom and futuristic import of Sayyid Ahmad's views gained widespread approbation. In 1926, Moulana Mohamed Ali praised his political stance paying tribute to Sayyid Ahmad Khan with his typical objective aplomb, "Viewing the acts and deeds of the last generation today, it is very easy to be wise after the events. In my opinion, Sir Sayyid's methodology was based on wisdom

---

[1] Moulvi Abdul Haq, *Chund Ham Asar*, Karachi, 1959, pp.270-271.
[2] *History of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh*, p.71.

www.cssexampoint.com

and though I wish, he had not said that which slipped through his mouth, I am impelled to admit that no well-wisher of the Muslims of India could adopt a way other than that, for the guidance of the Muslims".

Allama Iqbal also commended the political stand-point of Sayyid Ahmad when he said, "I admit of this fact that the strategy adopted by, Sir Sayyid, half a century ago, was right and, after the bitter experience of the present times, importance of this strategy is being felt".[1]

In the same way, a famous nationalist newspaper *Madina* (Bijnor) commented, "When the Congress was established, Sir Sayyid restrained the Muslims from joining it and it is a fact that Sir Sayyid's action proved much useful. Exigencies, on which Sir Sayyid's restrictions were based, were absolutely justified and correct".[2]

[1] M. Rafique Afzal (ed) *Guftaar-e-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1969, p.73.
[2] *Madina* (Bijnor), editorial, October 22, 1913.

www.cssexampoint.com

3

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS (1861-1892)

The East India Company in order to augment their trade established factories in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, which were later on, known as Presidency Towns. In the beginning these Towns were independent and autonomous.

To streamline the Company affairs, the British Parliament passed the Regulating Act (1773) and the Pitt's India Act (1784). These Acts changed the administrative structure of the Company. The Bengal Presidency became the premier Presidency and its governor became the Governor-General of India, (b) Calcutta became the capital of the Raj. (c) The British Parliament began indirectly controlling and supervising the Company's Government in India.

The Charter Act of 1833 centralised the law-making process and all laws now began to be made in Calcutta. An ordinary Member was included in the Governor-General's Executive Council known as the Law Member. In 1834 T.B. Macaulay, the famous historian, was appointed the first Law Member or the law minister.

Before the War of Independence, it was the Governor-General and his Executive Council which performed the dual duty of making law and its execution. But the War underlined the need for associating Indians with the process of law-making in India. It was felt by some of the British administrators that the association of Indians with the law-making process of the country was essential. In 1860, Sir Bartle-Frere, a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, commented, "The addition of the native element has, I think, become necessary owing to our diminished opportunities of learning through indirect channels what natives think of our measures and how the native community will be affected by them.... It is a great evil of the present system that the Government can rarely learn how its measures will be received or how they are likely to affect even the European subjects".[1]

---

[1] Rashiduzzaman, *The Central Legislature in British India 1921-47*, Dacca, 1965, p.1.

www.cssexampoint.com

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in his small but important treatise *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* had pointed out the non-association of the Indians with the law-making process as the main cause of the 'revolt'.

So the War of Independence underlined the need for associating Indians with the law-making process in India. The British Government realised that it was dangerous to continue to legislate for millions of people with few means of knowing except by rebellion, whether the laws suit them or not.[1]

The British Government very wisely decided to associate the Indians with the law-making process and in 1861 the Indian Councils Act was passed.

MAIN FEATURES

(a) The Act provided that for legislative purposes the Governor-General's Executive Council should be enlarged and not less than 6 and not more than 12 members should be appointed. These members were called the **Additional Members** of the Executive Council. The **Additional Members** attended the meetings of the Executive Council only and when the Council had legislative work on its agenda.

(b) The **Additional Members** were to be nominated by the Governor-General for a period of two years. The Act provided that half of the members must be non-officials.

(c) Previously the Governor-General's Executive Council consisted of 4 members. Now its number was raised to 5 and the Commander-in-Chief was appointed as an extraordinary member of the Executive Council.

(d) The Governor-General was the President (speaker) of the Council as he used to preside over the meetings of the Council. In his absence either a senior members or a nominee of the Governor-General used to preside over the meetings.

(e) The Act also gave limited powers of legislation to the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Not less than 4 and not more than 8 Additional Members were added to the Governor's Executive Councils. The Governor-General was authorised to create similar Councils for N.W. Provinces and the Punjab.

(f) All the bills and regulations passed by the Provincial Council required the assent of the Governors and the Governor-General.

(g) The **Additional Members** were given no powers. They could neither ask questions in the Executive Council nor move any resolution.

(h) The Governor-General was authorised to issue ordinances.

[1] S.R. Mehrotra, *Towards India's Freedom and Partition*, Delhi, 1979, p. 160.

www.cssexampoint.com

(i) Before the Indian Councils Act of 1861, the Executive Council at Calcutta behaved almost like a "petty parliament", the Act gave an opportunity to the Secretary of State for India to clip the wings of the Calcutta Council. The Act introduced safeguards of requiring the Governor-General's prior sanction for the introduction of bills and contentious subjects and preserved his veto.

As Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, once wrote to the Governor-General that every care should be taken to prevent the Council from developing into a ".miniature parliament", the British Government took every precautionary measure to prevent such a happening.

The Imperial Legislative Council functioned more or less as a *Durbar* of the Viceroy. The **Additional Members** were carefully hand-picked and their role and status were advisory only as Subramania Iyer in his address to the first session of the Indian National Congress commented that the function of those Councils were limited to registering the decree of the Government and stamping them with legislative sanction.[1]

From 1861 to 1892 the **Additional Members** who were nominated to the Imperial Legislative Council were either the Indian princes or big landowners, rich merchants or retired officers. By modern standards of representative institutions they could hardly be called the spokesmen of the Indians at large. The Indian members had hardly shown sufficient interest in the debates on rare occasion. Their speeches were, as a rule, short, read out of manuscripts prepared before the actual debates. They showed keener interest only in discussing the Bills relating to property, taxation, and inheritance.

Most of the Bills were passed without discussion and often at a single sitting. The Indian members did not present any opposition to the Government. In 1878, the Vernacular Press Bill was passed at a single sitting. It was one of the most discreditable measures passed by the then Viceroy Lord Lytton. Curiously enough, not a single Indian opposed the Bill on the floor of the Council, though it was universally condemned throughout India as the "Black Act".

Furthermore, the non-official Indians did not show eagerness to attend the meetings of the Council. Sir Henry Maine wrote in a minute in 1868 that offers of seats in the Legislative Council were often declined and the nominated Members showed the "utmost reluctance to come and the utmost hurry to depart".[2]

With all its limitations and drawbacks the Indian Councils Act of 1861 was a milestone in the constitutional history of India. A Chinese proverb says, "Even the longest journey begins with one small step", so the Act was

---

[1] K.V. Punnaiah, *Constitutional History of India*, n.d., p.95.
[2] *The Central Legislature in British India*, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

Trek To Pakistan

that small step in the long journey of constitutional development. Once the Indians were admitted into the Legislative Councils the demand naturally grew that their number and powers should be enhanced.

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT 1892

With the formation of the Indian National Congress the political climate in India began to change gradually. The public opinion in India began pressing the Government for further expansion of the legislative councils.

Secondly, the establishment of the universities at different places brought in their wake the political awareness to demand representative institutions in India.

Thirdly, Lord Lytton's repressive policies like the imposition of the Vernacular Press Act or the "Gagging Act", his Afghan policy and the Ilbert Bill controversy all contributed to the "nationalism" among the Indians.

In a letter to the Secretary of State for India in 1881, Lord Ripon, the Viceroy, had suggested that the indirect election to the legislative councils through the local bodies should be introduced so that the Government could run in accordance with growing public opinion.[1] But the Secretary of State regarded the suggestion as premature and ignored it. Lord Dufferin in 1888 set up a committee with Sir George Chesney, as chairman, to consider the question of Reforms. Dufferin made it clear that he was not contemplating to set up a parliamentary system after the British model in India. The British Government was in no hurry to introduce reforms as is revealed by the fact that the Bill was introduced in the House of Lords in 1890 and kept lingering till 1892 when it was passed.

MAIN FEATURES

(a) The number of **Additional Members** of the Governor-General's Executive Council was further raised. Now the Council was to consist of not less than 10 and not more than 16 members.

(b) Two-fifth of the **Additional Members** of the Council were to be non-officials.

(c) The **Additional Members** were given limited powers. Under the previous Act they could not ask questions. Now they were granted this privilege of asking questions on matters of public interest.

(d) The number of **Additional Members** of the Provincial Councils was also raised. Now their number was fixed between 8 and 20. For Bengal the number was fixed at 20.

---

[1] S.Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, 1880-84*, London, 1953, p.85.

www.cssexampoint.com

(e) The Act authorised the Additional Members to discuss the annual financial statement under certain conditions and restrictions. An opportunity to "indulge in full, free and fair criticism of the financial policy of the Government" was given to the members.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was a "cautious extension" of the Act of 1861 which aimed at conciliating the Indian's demand for steady development of representative institutions in India. It was an attempt at compromise between the official view of the Council as "pocket legislatures" and the educated Indian view of them as "embryo parliament". As Dufferin had emphatically declared that it should not be concluded that he was contemplating to set up a parliamentary system after the British model.

Under the Act of 1892, the legislative councils became a centre of political training. As the Aga Khan affirmed in his memoirs that the Viceroy's Legislative Council in those days was a small select body of influential people, wielding real authority and his tenure as a member there gave him the political training.[1]

In the Imperial Legislative Council now men like G.K. Gokhale, Sir S.P. Mehta, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Rashbehary Ghose and Nawab Salimullah Khan made their position felt and respected by the Government. It was during the working of the 1892 Reforms that Indian politicians began to show greater interest in the debates of the Council. Their speeches generally lasted longer than those of their predecessors in the earlier councils. Most of the leading members in the Council were prominent lawyers in the country.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE ACT

Although Lord Curzon in a confidential letter on June 20, 1902, to Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, described the Reforms as a great success, yet the Act of 1892 also did not come up to the expectations of the Indians.

Firstly, the inability to influence the administration on important matters such as Indianisation, reduction of military expenditure and taxes, admission of. Indians in the Executive Councils caused frustration to the non-official members.

Secondly, the non-official members constituted a permanent minority before the official bloc. It was impossible for a non-official member to press any demand against official bloc.

Thirdly, questions asked on the whole had been rare and supplementary question could not be put. Only 13 questions about services, railways, revenue and foreign exchange were asked in 1905-06.

[1] *The Memoirs of Aga Khan*, London, 1954, p.73.

www.cssexampoint.com

There were very few questions on political grievances but from 1905 there were some questions on the partition of Bengal.

Fourthly, sometimes the information was denied if the answer to any question involved the official in lengthy preparation. On March 10, 1905, Gokhale's question was not answered on the plea that it would involve unnecessary pressure on the officials.

Fifthly, on many occasions, the Government passed many bills disregarding the strongest opposition by the Indian members. For example, in 1905, the Indian Universities Bill was passed though it was strongly opposed by the Indian members. The Government failed to pay attention to non-official opinion on some very vital issues which later took the shape of political grievances. In 1875, the Government imposed excise duty on cotton goods. During the discussion of the budget this matter was raised in the Legislative Council, but the Government did not take any significant step to redress the grievance.

www.essexampoint.com

4

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Common skills and functions, a common education and common aspirations and resentment against the Raj held the Indians together in the form of associations.

The earliest associations were organised in the Presidency Towns where the commerce and administration of the East India Company had first unsettled the traditional order. In 1853, the Company's Charter was to expire. For Indians the time was ripe to float new political ventures whose petitions might influence the legislature in making up their mind. Hence the discussions over the renewal of the Charter gave birth to the British Indian Association (Calcutta) the Bombay Association and the Madras Native Association which were to dominate the politics of the Presidency Towns for the next quarter of a century. These associations brought nineteenth century India across the threshold of modern politics.[1]

In 1883, the Ilbert Bill was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council over which the Europeans raised so much hue and cry that the Bill had to be withdrawn. Consequently the events of 1883 widened the rift between the natives and the Europeans. Henry Beveridge, in August 1884, wrote to Annette, "India is getting very unpleasant with the strife".[2] The Bill rocked the students community which went into a frenzy of protest, noisy enough to make the editor of *Englishman* fear for the Raj. J. Farrell wrote, "We are on the eve of a crisis which will try the power of the British in a way in which it has not been tried since the Mutiny".[3]

The Ilbert Bill controversy showed the Indians the way to the Indian National Congress as rightly verified by B.C. Pal. The plan of the creation of INC was conceived, nourished and nurtured by Allen Octavin Hume a retired British Officer of the Bengal Civil Service ostensibly for political reasons. Hume was a very staunch well-wisher of the Raj. His resignation from the Bengal Civil Service was not prompted by any distrust against the

---

[1] Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1971, p.194.
[2] Edwin Hirschmann, *White Mutiny*, Delhi, 1980, p.282.
[3] *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, p.217.

www.cssexampoint.com

Government or by love of the down-trodden multitude of India. On the contrary, he resigned to serve the interests of the Empire in a different capacity. With this goal in view, Hume had apprehended towards the end of 1878, while still in service, that the prevalent political unrest, widespread economic depression and increasing number of conspiracies might, once again, culminate into a situation similar to the one in 1857. Therefore, he thought of ways and means to provide the Indians with opportunities to give vent to their pent up feelings, suppressed ambitions and unrealised aspirations, so that they would not entertain any idea of secret plots. It is worthwhile here to mention that such an idea cropped up in Hume's mind after reading Sayyid Ahmad Khan's book *The Causes of the Indian Revolt.* This was stated by Hume himself to Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.[1]

After resigning his post, Hume, in order to give a concrete shape to his plan, wrote a letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University on March 1, 1883, exhorting them to shun self-interest, and self-aggrandisement and to develop selflessness and love for the country .in them.

In fact, Hume wanted to establish a social platform more than a political one, where the Indian could openly discuss and deliberate upon the problems of their social and community – welfare and development. He had suggested that governor of the province should preside over meetings of this forum to cultivate closer liaison between the rulers and the ruled. This plan, as it was designed to serve the Empire, received unqualified support from the rulers. Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of India, added a new dimension to Hume's brain-child. He suggested Hume to transform his proposed organization into a political party as there was no "Her Majesty's Opposition" in India. He. thought that in this way, the Government could know the nature of reaction among the Indians to the measures taken by the Government.[2] The Congress was established to serve the purpose of 'safety valve' and overt constitutional channel for the discharge of Indian ferment. The most interesting aspect of this consultation is that Lord Dufferin extracted a solemn promise from Hume to keep it a secret so long as he was in India. It was neither the first, nor the last of the treacherous moves that characterise the British rule in India.

Thereafter, Hume went to England in connection with the establishment of the INC and held parleys with a large number of members of the British Parliament including John Bright, Sir James Caird, Lord Ripon, Lord Dalhousie and many more. Before his departure for England, Hume founded "Indian Telegraph Union", in Bombay to reflect Indian public opinion, and to transmit news, about

[1]Ameen Zubairi, *Tazkira-e-Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, n.d., p.171.
[2]William Wedderburn, *Allan Octavin Hume*, London, 1913, pp.59-60.

www.cssexampoint.com

important problems of India, to the British press. During his sojourn in England, he exchanged views with the editors of the leading newspapers to elicit their sympathies for the problems of India.

Hume's return from England was marked by hectic preparations for holding the inaugural session of the Congress which was to be held at Poona from December 25-30, 1885. But the venue was shifted to Bombay where W.C. Bonnerjee presided over the session at Gokaldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on December 28, 1885.

In this inaugural session, K.T. Telang on behalf of the Congress moved a resolution stressing the absolute necessity of expansion of the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Councils. The Congress also demanded that the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected by the people. Secondly, it also put forward a demand that the Civil Service examination should be simultaneously held in England and India.

The INC, in its early days, supported the British Raj. It was a pro-British party. It was not only conceived and brought up by a Britisher but it also received support and blessing from several other Britishers. Congress party's proclivities were established by the perpetual presence of members of the British Parliament at its sessions like W.S. Casson, Charles Bradlaugh and Semuel Smith. Among those who presided over Congress sessions during its embryonic stages for several years were people like George Yule (1888), Sir William Wedderburn (1910), Alfred Webb (1894), Sir Henry Cotton (1904). Wedderburn felt so devoutly attached to the cause espoused by the INC that he opened its branch in England and spent one thousand pounds yearly to promote its activities.

There is no denying the fact that the INC had established very warm and cordial relation with the Raj. It is quite evident from the fact that in 1886, the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, invited the Congress delegates to tea in the Government House and very next year, Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras also graced the Congress delegates by treating them to tea. A year earlier, in 1885, a few days before the inaugural session of the INC a large number of Bombay dignitaries, including Justice Jardine; Wedderburn and Principal Wordsworth, met the delegates and assured them of their support.

The INC had won over the sympathies of the members of the British Parliament to use them to enhance its credibility and support among the masses. It succeeded in goading Charles Bradlaugh in 1888. In the meantime, the Congress continued to tap all resources, in men and material, to accelerate its propaganda campaign and to ingratiate with its white godfathers. It formed a committee by the name. "Indian Political Agency" which spent a large sum to the tune of 2500 pounds in 1889 only for its propaganda in Britain to create a favourable public opinion

www.cssexampoint.com

for its working.[1] Similarly, British Committee for Indian National Congress came into existence on July 27, 1889 which launched a journal *India* in 1890 to present problems of India from India's point of view.

For an endless number of years, the Congress kept on harping on the same tune of its unequivocal loyalty to the Raj. The first president of the Congress, Bonnerjee, affirmed in his first presidential address, stating, "There is no one more complete and consistent well-wisher of the British Government than I and my friends sitting here around me". In 1886, Dadabhai Naoroji went a step ahead. Proudly proclaiming allegiance to the British Government in his presidential address, he suggested, "We should, like men, declare that we are loyal to the backbone and we appreciate the benefits which the English Government has bestowed upon us. We value the English education which has transformed our darkness into sunshine". Sir Pherozeshah Mehta expressed similar views in 1890. Confirming his loyalty to the British Crown, he said, "The question of our allegiance has been settled for ever".

There is almost total consensus on the point that the Congress looked at the British as its benefactor and repeatedly pledged its unconditional fidelity to the Crown. Sitaramaya, the "official" historian of the INC had conceded this fact saying, "Congressmen loved to parade their loyalty in the earlier days". When in 1914 Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, visited the Congress pandal, not only did the whole House rise and applaud the Governor, but Mr. A.P. Patro who was speaking on the despatch of Indian Expeditionary force was stopped abruptly and Surendranath Banerjea was asked to move a resolution on the loyalty of the Congress to the Crown which he did with his usual exuberance of language.

A similar incident occurred at Lucknow in 1916, when everyone in the Congress meeting stood up to greet Sir James Meston.[2] Another very significant feature of the Congress meetings in those days was hoisting of the Union Jack at its opening sessions.

Some prominent Hindus acknowledge the fact that "The. Congress was in fact brought into being through the initiative and in pursuance of direct British governmental policies on a plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy, as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling".[3] Lala Lajpat Rai also affirmed: "It is an undisputable historical fact that the idea of the INC was a product of Lord Dufferin and that the Congress was established more with the object of saving the British Empire from danger than that of winning political liberty for India".[4]

---

[1] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, p.31.
[2] Pattabhi Sitramaya, *The History of the Congress*, Allahabad, 1935, p.101.
[3] P.R.Dutt, *India Today*, Bombay, 1949, p.289.
[4] Lajpat Rai, *Young India*, Lahore, 1927, p.131.

www.cssexampoint.com

These accounts reveal, in appropriate measures, the extent to which the Congress was socially, morally and above all intellectually, subservient to the British Imperialism.

CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIMS

Hume, the godfather of the Congress, invited Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Nawab Abdul Latif (Secretary, Mohammedan Literary Society) and Sayyid Ameer Ali (President, Central National Mohammedan Association) to attend the inaugural session of the Congress. All the three leaders refused to attend, and rightly so, because they thought, their participation in the session would be repugnant to the interests of the Muslims. Separately though, they took the same decision, despite the fact that they had divergent views on political issues.

In 1886, the Congress session was held at Calcutta. But surprisingly, not a single Muslim delegate from Calcutta attended the session lending credence to the inference that the Bengali Muslims concurred with the opinion of Sayyid Ameer Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif on the question of Muslim participation in the Congress. However, in 1887, in the second session of the Congress, out of the total delegates of 607, only 76 were Muslims. Of these 76 Muslim delegates, 56 belonged to Madras and the remaining twenty represented all the other provinces. This tiny group of Muslims which was projected to reflect Muslim representation prompted Sayyid Ahmad Khan to remark that these Muslim delegates were not elected even by ten Muslims, therefore, they could not claim to represent the Muslims.

As the time passed, the INC succeeded to spread its roots and felt more at ease with itself, its honeymoon with the Government firmly consummated, it placed a Muslim, Badruddin Tyabji, in the top slot, to make him the first Muslim president of the Congress. In times Tyabji initiated a debate through his letters to Sayyid Ahmad Khan on the merits and demerits, advantages and disadvantages for the Muslims of joining or avoiding to join the Congress. But, subsequently, Tyabji had to concede that the majority of the Muslims was opposed to the Congress.[1]

In this regard, after a cursory glance at the record of the annual sessions of the Congress, one thing that comes to light, through comparative study of the number of Muslim participants on different occasions, is the fact that a large majority of the Muslims did not support the Congress. The following table shows the strength of Muslim delegates in annual sessions of the INC between 1885 and 1910.

---

[1]Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Karachi, 1973, p.131.

www.cssexampoint.com

Congress Session	Place	Total Delegates	Muslims
1885	Bombay	72	2 (Both Bombay Attorneys)
1886	Calcutta	440	33 (27 from Bengal)
1887	Madras	607	79 (59 from Madras)
1888	Allahabad	1,248	219 (152 from N.W.P. and Avadh)
1889	Bombay	1,889	248 (80 from Bombay)
1890	Calcutta	677	116 (82 from N.W.P. and 29 from Bengal)
1891	Nagpur		List not available
1892	Allahabad	625	91 (81 from N.W.P. and Avadh)
1893	Lahore	867	65 (51 from the Punjab)
1894	Madras	1,163	23 (17 from Madras)
1895	Poona	1,584	25 (21 from Bombay)
1896	Calcutta	784	54 (42 from Bengal)
1897	Amraoti	692	57 (53 from Berar)
1898	Madras	614	10 (10 from Madras)
1899	Lucknow	789	313 (308 from N.W.P. and Avadh)
1900	Lahore	567	56 (52 from the Punjab)
1901	Calcutta	896	74 (54 from Bengal)
1902	Ahmedabad	417	20 (19 from Bombay)
1903	Madras	538	9 (5 from Madras)
1904	Bombay	1,010	35 (25 from Bombay, 1 from Bengal)
1905	Benares	756	20 (9 from U.P.)
1906	Calcutta	1,663	45 (24 from Bengal out of 686 delegates)
1907	Surat		Adjourned *sine die*.
1908	Madras	626	10 (3 from Madras)
1909	Lahore	243	5 (3 from Bengal, 2 from the Punjab)
1910	Allahabad	636	19 (8 from U.P.)

It would be interesting to note that the Congress offered return fare to persuade Muslim delegates to attend its sessions. The twenty two years long period (1885-1906) saw only two Muslims becoming the president of the Congress. During a much larger chunk of its life, stretching over sixty three years, since the inception of the Congress from 1885 to the partition of India in 1947, it remained dominated, in consonance with its political colour and creed, by Hindu leadership. There were only seven Muslims who became the presidents of the Congress till 1946. They were Badruddin Tyabji (1887), Rahmatullah Siani (1896), Sayyid Mohammad Bahadur (1913), Hasan Imam (1918), Mohamed Ali Johar (1923), Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1927) and Abul Kalam Azad (1940-46).

www.cssexampoint.com

No doubt, there existed a sharp difference of perception with regard to the INC among the Muslim leadership in India but as it is evident from the facts and figures mentioned above, a large majority of the Muslim populace viewed the Congress with an inherent hostility born of centuries old experience of betrayal and treachery. This hostility was manifestly projected by the Muslim press, from Calcutta to Punjab, which unanimously opposed joining the INC. The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) reflected the anti-Congress feelings of the. Muslims of the Punjab and asserted that the Muslims could not continue to participate in the Congress agitation as their interests differed from those of the Hindus. The *Muslim Herald* (Madras) questioned the application of the word 'National' for the Congress since .this term could only be applicable to a people "descended from one stock, speaking a common tongue, amenable to a uniform law and united under one Government". The only thing common between the Hindus and the Muslims was their common alliance to the British, otherwise, "In all respects, they are widely sundered in race, religion, social forms and customs". Similarly the *Mahomedan Observer* of Calcutta dispelled the fear that abstention from the Congress would undermine Muslim political interests.[1]

On the other hand, a large number of Muslim *Anjumans* including *Anjuman-i-Islam* (Bombay) *Anjuman-i-Islamia* (Amritsar) *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Lahore) and *Anjuman-i-Rifa-i-Aam* (Allahabad) decided to stay out of the INC.

It is a significant fact that Muslim opposition to the Congress continued even after Sayyid Ahmad's death. Alfred Nandy, Secretary of the INC, in a statement claimed that now Sayyid was dead so his policy of opposition to the Congress was also dead. The *Muslim Chronicle* reacted that the opposition to the Congress of the general body of Musalmans was as strong as it was 14 years ago. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan reminded Nandy that the Muslims of the present day might be poor and backward but with all their poverty and backwardness they still had some sense of self-respect and honour and no sensible and responsible Muslim would ever join the Congress.[2]

The present day Hindu historians have now begun to concede the fact that the Muslims were strongly opposed to the Congress in its nascent period and that a large majority of them stayed away from it. B.R. Nanda testifies: "It must be acknowledged that Muslim opposition to the INC in these early years was stronger and more stubborn than the Congress leaders then – and for many years later – were prepared to recognise".[3]

---

[1] M. Yusuf Abbasi, *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia 1876-1892*, Islamabad, 1981, pp.238-39.

[2] Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, *The All-India Muslim League*, Bahawalpur, 1988, p.70.

[3] B.R.Nanda, *Gokhale – The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, Delhi, 1977, p.322.

www.cssexampoint.com

5

URDU-HINDI CONFLICT

A renowned French orientalist, Garcine-de-Tassi; once wrote, "The Hindus, because of their prejudice resist everything that may remind them of the Muslim rule".[1] His statement stands corroborated by the stance the Hindus took in respect of the Urdu language. Indeed, it was this unjustifiable posture of the Hindus towards Urdu that created an unbridgeable chasm between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Historically, Urdu language had its seeds sown when the Mughals ruled India and it prospered during their reign. In fact, it had come into being through a combination of dialects and .words of different languages. *Farhang-iAasfia,* an authentic dictionary best illustrates the claim that Urdu came into being by intermingling of words of *Bhasha,* Persian and Arabic. The Dictionary contains 54014 words in all out of which 22198 words are of Hindi.[2] It may be recalled that Urdu was not the language which the Muslims had brought into India with them, it was born, matured and nourished on the Indian soil.

Contrary to a common misconception, the Hindus evinced keen interest in the development and propagation of the. Urdu language. Their contribution in the enrichment of the language is the one thing that can not be minimised. Great fiction writers like Ratan Nath Sarshaar (who wrote *Fasana-e-Azad* spreading over four thousand pages, Munshi Prem Chand, Krishan Chander, great critic like Chakbast, translator like Munshi Teerath Ram Ferozepuri, and great poets like Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad, Pandit Dya Shankar Nasim, Firaq Gorakhpuri and Tilouk Chand Mahroom are few of the celebrated Hindu litterateurs without whom no literary history of Urdu language would be considered complete. It again goes to the credit of a Hindu, Ram Babu Saxena, to have written the first ever formal literary history of Urdu. To no less measure was their contribution in the field of literary magazines. Several popular literary magazines were brought out by the Hindu literary figures like Naubat Roy Nazar editor *Khadang-e-Nazar,* Diya Narain Nigam editor *Adeeb* and *Zamana* to name the few. To give just one example of

[1] Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat-i-Javeed*, Lahore, 1984, p.144.
[2] Siddiq Ali Khan, *Bey Tegh Sipahi*, Karachi, 1971, p.119.

www.cssexampoint.com

the Hindu patronage of the language, it would suffice to mention that there were 19 journals and periodicals edited by the Hindu editors out of a total number of 64 published from Lucknow from 1872 to 1888.[1]

In this background, it looks rather odd that the Urdu-Hindi conflict took the centre stage as the most tenuous problem in the Indian politics, during the forty years from 1860 to the end of the century and played an important role in creating a feeling of 'national identity' and 'separatism' among the Indian Muslims. In fact, the Urdu language and its Persian script had become the emblem of the power and glory of the Muslim past during the second half of the 19th century. It would be no exaggeration to say that these two had assumed the status of a dogma among the Muslim populace. As language, Urdu received tremendous boost when it was declared the official language in 1837. In U.P. alone, out of 23 newspapers in 1863, 17 were in Urdu and only 4 were in Hindi language. This situation though less enjoyable to the Hindus, forced a contrite statement out of a fanatic Hindi supporter, Babu Shiv Prasad, who said, "Now, Urdu is assuming the status of our national language".[2]

There is no denying the fact that Urdu-Hindi conflict was an offshoot of the interminable conflicts of the Hindu-Muslim politics. As a result, ripples of distrust and subsequent current of political maelstrom had engulfed the whole religio-social scene on the Indian sub-continent. The movement for the establishment *of Ram Raj* by the bigoted Hindus was based, fundamentally, on their inveterate enmity for the Muslims. This movement spilled over and targeted Urdu as one of its main enemies and, when, pushed to its logical end, it started demanding for the abolition of Persian script and introduction of Hindi and *Nagri* scripts in its place. In this connection, the first practical step was taken under the patronage of Maharaja of Benaras who patronized the establishment of "Benaras Institute" in 1861, to oppose Urdu, which was followed by the setting up of "Allahabad Institute" for the same purpose. Hindus had always opposed the use of Urdu on the flimsy argument that Hindi was more popular among the masses. Their claim could not be substantiated as the circulation of Hindi papers was woefully less than the Urdu papers. The myth of Hindi popularity was exploded when Babu Shiv Prasad's Hindi newspaper *Shimla Akhbar* failed to enhance its circulation beyond a paltry 52 copies. The situation was not encouraging for Hindi in other areas either. In one of his reports in 1874, the Chief Commissioner of Avadh wrote that only 41 books were published in Hindi in Lucknow as compared to 172 books in Urdu.

It is, therefore, quite evident that the movement against Urdu was in, no way, an intellectual or a literary movement. It was, indeed, a political

[1] *Sidq-e-Jadeed*, weekly, Lucknow, January, 15, 1960.

[2] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among the Indian Muslims* Cambridge, 1974, pp.70-71.

www.cssexampoint.com

putsch. Its main objective was, as of many other Hindu maneuvers, to strike at the root of the Muslim culture and to completely eliminate all the vestiges of the Muslim rule in India. It was in spite of the fact that the Hindus themselves and the Congress itself had been using this language for their personal motives till today.[1] They never used the ghastly language they so vehemently struggled to revive and preferred instead to speak and write highfalutin, decorative and pompous Urdu. In 1916, the wedding card of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, was printed in highly flowery Urdu dialect which reveals that the animosity of the Hindus and that of the Congress towards Urdu was mainly an extension of their ingrained hatred for the Muslim. The wedding card ran as under:

تمنا ہے کہ بتقریب شادی برخوردار جواہر لال نہرو ساتھ دختر پنڈت

جواہر مل کول بمقام دہلی بتاریخ ۷ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء و مابعد تقاریب

تواریخ ۸-۹ فروری ۱۹۱۶ء جناب معہ عزیزان شرکت فرما کر

مسرت وافتخار بخشیں۔ پنڈت موتی لال نہرو آنند بھون الہ آباد

In 1867, during the days of Sayyid Ahmad, a campaign was launched from Benaras to replace Urdu and Persian script with *Basha* and *Nagri* scripts in government offices and courts. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was so utterly disgruntled with this campaign of vilification against Urdu that he was compelled to remark to his friend Shakespeare that the current disputes had convinced him of the futility of expecting the two communities to join hands on any issue whatsoever.[2]

As a reaction to and concurrently with anti-Urdu campaign, an organisation under the name of "Central Association" came into existence, with a view to safeguard and defend the Urdu language, at Allahabad. Simultaneously, various newspapers including *Al-Absar, Benaras Gazette* and *Aligarh Institute Gazette* took upon themselves the responsibility of launching a counter-offensive in favour of Urdu and began pinpointing perils and nefarious motives hidden in the Benaras demands.[3]

---

[1]The above statement is testified by Nisar Ahmad Farooqi of Delhi University who in his article published in *Hamari Zuban* (Aligarh) disclosed that during the last general elections the number of posters and advertisements sent by the All-India Congress Committee to the Provincial Committees in three languages was as follows:-

English	=	25925
Hindi	=	24725
Urdu	=	29100

(See *Sidq-e-Jadeed*, Lucknow, weekly, May 5, 1967, p.22.)

[2]*Hayat-e-Javeed*, 1964, pp.163.

[3]*A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. III, Part II, Karachi, p.36.

www.cssexampoint.com

Anti-Urdu movement gradually gained momentum. One such incident, in a long chain of vents, took place during a meeting of the Bhagalpur Scientific Society on November 7, 1871. The Lt.-Governor of Bengal, George Campbell, attended the meeting. Moulvi Imdad, while delivering the presidential address, drew heavily from his Arabic and Persian vocabulary which did not go down well with the audience. Beharis were, perhaps, already waiting for such an occasion. They protested and suggested to the Lt.-Governor to decree the use of the local dialect instead of a 'foreign language'. Taking a cue from the audience, the Lt.-Governor condemned Urdu as a foreign language, went a step forward and ordered the education department to exclude the Urdu text books from the curriculum.

However, this decision of the Lt.-Governor was not looked upon favourably by the high officials of the Government machinery. Even the semi-official newspaper of Calcutta *the Englishman* criticised the decision.[1]

The Hindus received another chance to damage Urdu when, in 1882, Hunter Education Commission was set up. This time, it was in the Punjab and the U.P. where this spectre raised its head. A large number of societies and organisations presented countless Memorials against Urdu before the Commission. Once again, Sayyid Ahmad Khan came forward and succeeded in convincing the Commission that the problem was not simply a linguistic conflict but had assumed an aggressive political overtone.

The Hindus, true to their evil nature, never let any opportunity slip by to damage the cause of the Muslim through their clandestine stratagem, or wherever possible, by their vulpine methods. In March 1898, a Memorial was presented to the highly partisan Lt.-Governor of U.P., Anthony Macdonnell, to introduce Hindi and *Nagri* scripts in the government offices and courts. It happened during the last days of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Anthony Macdonnell, the Lt.-Governor of the U.P. was highly biased against the Muslims and he always suspected Muslims hatching conspiracy against the Raj.* Conjuring up a dreaded spectre of revolt by the Muslims, he proposed to the Governor-General that the Muslims were a threat to the British Empire and, therefore, their strong position in the government service should be politically undermined as far as possible.[2] With this objective in view, he not only ordered the use of *Nagri* alongside Urdu in government offices and judicial courts in U.P. on April 18, 1900, but also

---

[1] Monthly *Urdu* (Jubilee Number), Karachi, November, 1953, p.9.

* Anthony Macdonnell's anti-Muslim proclivities can be gauged from his statement on the partition of Bengal in 1905. He denounced the Partition of Bengal as the greatest administrative blunder in India since Clive's victory at Plassey. [Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India*, p.67].

[2] *Separatism Among the Indian Muslims*, p.43.

www.cssexampoint.com

notified to the departments concerned that in future only those candidates should be given jobs who knew both Persian and *Nagri* scripts.[1]

Anthony Macdonnell's order, undoubtedly, was the outcome of his disdain for Muslim culture that extended to the language they used. But, it is interesting to note that even the Indian Government itself termed the second part of the order as severe and eventually changed it. Now, the Indian Muslims found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand, the English were planning to evict them from government jobs and on the other, the Hindus were bent upon exterminating whatever symbolised a separate Muslim identity in an attempt to revive *Ram Raj*. It goes without saying that changing the script of a language sounds as a death knell not only to the language and its literature but also to the separate entity of a nation. Pandit Nehru himself once admitted that, "A change of script is a very vital change for any language with a rich past, for a script is a most intimate part of its literature. Change the script and different word-pictures arise, different sounds, different ideas".[2] Toynbee, the illustrious historian, has also observed and quite aptly too that there was no need to burn the great libraries of a nation: it, unnecessarily, brought bad name; enough is it to change the script of a nation's language.[3]

REACTION OF THE MUSLIMS

The Indian Muslims, quite naturally, reacted strongly to Macdonnell's orders. These orders were viewed as an assault on Muslim nationhood. .The counter-attack was launched by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in a public meeting on May 13. 1900. In an emotionally charged speech he declared, "We shall present a memorial to the Governor through a delegation. If we succeed, well and .good, if we don't, we would feel satisfied that we did our duty. Come on, Muslims! let us make a last attempt with confidence in God's mercy and in official justice regardless of whether we win or lose so that we could say with Mir:

شکست و فتح نصیبوں سے ہے ولے اے میر

مقابلہ تو دلِ ناتواں نے خوب کیا

Nawab Mohsin ul-Mulk organised the Urdu Defence Association which convened several public meetings at various places to protest against the Government's decision. In this connection a meeting was held at Lucknow on August 15, 1900, even at the risk of enraging the authorities. In this meeting Nawab Sahib moved a resolution which is as follows:

---

[1] *Separatism Among the Indian Muslims*., p.44.
[2] Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, New Delhi, 1982, p.452.
[3] Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Karawan-i-Zindagi*, Karachi, n.d., p.43.

www.cssexampoint.com

"It is certainly not the opinion of this congregation that the resolution of April 18, 1900, regarding the imposition of *Nagri* script is passed by Sir Anthony Macdonnell deliberately in partiality with any particular party or with the intention of hurting the followers of Islam by taking an unjust step. On the other hand, as it would be evident from His Honour's statement, his resolution is only beneficial to the people of Western and Northern Avadh, though this meeting can not agree to the opinion of His Honour".[1] Addressing the meeting he said, "Though we do not have pen in our hands and there is no power in our pen and because of it we are less visible in offices, we have, nevertheless, power to hold the sword in our hands". He finished his speech on a melancholy note that reflected the scary atmosphere prevailing in the province.

Sir Abdul Qadir, who was among the audience, later recalled that he had never seen such zeal, fervour and passion before, with which Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk delivered his speech. It was like lava of words that flowed down in spurts of eruptions from the mountain. At the end Nawab Sahib said, "Well, if the Government is bent upon destroying Urdu language, we, will cast the corpse of Urdu in the river Gomti and die with it". In an emotionally charged voice he recited the following verse:

چل ساتھ کہ حسرت دلِ محروم سے نکلے

اردو کا جنازہ ہے ذرا دھوم سے نکلے

On this, there rose such a thunderous applause and roar of approval that it looked as if the roof of the hall would be blown off.[2]

The Governor was so terribly annoyed with the tone of the Nawab that he immediately called a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh and threatened that Mohsin-ul-Mulk would have to choose between the secretaryship of Urdu Defence Association and the government's grant for the College. Nawab Sahib resigned the secretaryship of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. Macdonnell did not leave it at that. On October 19, 1900, he debarred the Nawab from using the title of Mohsin-ul-Mulk.[3]

ATTITUDE OF THE HINDU LEADERS

Though Urdu-Hindi tussle subsided for the time-being during the time of Anthony Macdonnell's successor Sir James La Touche, yet the advent of twentieth century saw ascendancy of Hindi over Urdu. Hindi

---

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Hayat-e-Mohsin*, Aligarh, 1934, p.155.
[2] Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Chand Yadain Chand Taassurat*, Lahore, 1970, pp.43-44.
[3] *Hayat-e-Mohsin*, p.91.

www.cssexampoint.com

came to be used in the government offices and judicial courts of the C.P., the U.P. and Bihar. Now, the narrow-minded Hindu leaders like Savarkar, Hardyal, Sampoornanad, Malavia and Tundan started conspiring to impose Hindi on the whole of India. For this sinister objective, several groupings like *Hindi Sahaita Samailon*, Allahabad, *Hindi Parcharni Sabha*, Benaras and Hindu Mahasabah came into being.

A slightly different but more diabolical attitude was adopted by the so-called 'unbigoted' Gandhi. In 1917, he declared that Hindi was the only language capable of becoming the national language of India and that by Hindi he meant the language which was written both in *Nagri* and Urdu scripts. Realising the stupidity of his enunciation he modified his stand and started using a euphemistic term 'Hindustani' for both Hindi and Persian scripts. It was on his insinuation that the INC adopted a resolution in 1925, stating that Hindustani would be the only national language of India. Only ten years after, in 1935, Gandhi came out in his true colour and used the term 'Hindi Hindustani' instead of 'Hindustani' for the national language of India, which betrayed his true motives.

In 1937, the Congress Ministries availed of this opportunity to settle scores with the Muslims in a most blatant manner. Their first target pertaining to the ongoing tussle, obviously, was the Urdu language. On February 20, 1938, Subash Chandra Bose, the president of the INC declared, "Only Hindi can be the common language of India and those who have not learnt it yet should learn it because it will help them transforming into an Indian nation".[1]

Likewise, B.C. Khare, the Chief Minister of Bombay declared on April 10, 1938, "Nobody should have any doubt that there should be a common language in India and it has been accepted by all that language is Hindi".[2]

URDU AND THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

As a reaction to the naked partiality and injustice of the Government and brutal hostilities of Hindu majority, Sayyid Ahmad, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the All-India Muslim League took up cudgels to defend and protect the Urdu language. In this connection Anjuman-e-*Taraqqi-e*-Urdu was formed in 1903 for the progress and propagation of Urdu.

The AIML began its activities in defence of Urdu in right earnest. It passed numerous resolutions defending the rights of Urdu. In 1910, it deplored the attempts to damage the cause of Urdu. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who moved the resolution, described the attempt to elevate any other language to make it a common language with Urdu "as an effort

[1] Farman Fatehpuri, *Hindi Urdu Tanaza*, Islamabad, 1976, p.397.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.398.

www.cssexampoint.com

to dig a well for water while the river is already in flow".[1] He warned that any attempt to damage its importance would be fatal to the best interests of the progress of India. Moulvi Mahboob Alam, while supporting the resolution, remarked that Urdu was the *lingua franca* of India and the development of the Muslim community was synonymous with the preservation of the Urdu language.

The AIML kept on building pressure and mobilised the public opinion in its efforts to forestall any more steps by the Government inimical to the interest of the Urdu language. In December 1910, at Nagpur, Shaikh Zahoor Ahmad moved a resolution that the League viewed with a sense of shock and deep indignation all the measures taken for the projection of Hindi and Punjabi compared to Urdu and demanded the Government not to encourage anti-Urdu movements. Sayyid Nabi Ullah, in his presidential address, declared Urdu as the national language and said that the language was capable of fulfilling the national needs. He urged the Muslims to take firm steps for the progress and protection of Urdu.

In the Lucknow session of the AIML in 1916, Moulvi Wahid Husain moved a resolution which expressed deep concern over the steps taken by certain quarters to displace Urdu from the legitimate position it occupied as the *lingua franca* of India. The resolution stressed upon all those interested in the growth and formulation of Indian nationality, the desirability of encouraging Urdu, which alone could be the common language of the country.[2]

The AIML severely condemned the measures adopted by the Congress ministries to suppress Urdu. In 1937, at another session of the AIML at Lucknow, the Raja of Mahmudabad moved a resolution which called upon all Urdu-speaking people of India to make every possible endeavour to safeguard the interest of their language, in every field of activity with which the Central & Provincial governments are concerned.[3]

Thus the Hindi-Urdu conflict not only transformed the political ethos of the Indian sub-continent but also, in some ways, accelerated the pace of socio-political polarisation between the two cardinal communities i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims, which, in turn, rejuvenated the potentials hitherto lying dormant in the Muslim psyche. The Muslims of India, though still not fully aware of the full extent of the nefarious designs of Hindu bigotry active behind their movement for Hindi domination, yet they realised their right to defend their culture and language. The conflict between Hindi and Urdu may well be regarded an important link in the

[1] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.I, Karachi, 1969, p.132.
[2] *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.I, p.384.
[3] *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League*, Oct. 1937-Dec 1938.

www.cssexampoint.com

long chain of socio-political events that finally culminated in a clear-cut demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims of Indian sub-continent. Paul Brass testifies that the Urdu-Hindi controversy of the 19th century was the critical factor in the development of Muslim separatism.[1] Similarly, Dr. K.K. Aziz also holds the linguistic conflict responsible for the Indian disunity which helped the formation of more than one nationalism.[2] Aziz Ahmad is also of the same opinion that these developments lit the first spark of modern Muslim separatism.[3]

It will only be pertinent to refer to a prophetic statement of Moulana Sayyid Suleman Nadvi. The Moulana, while delivering his presidential address in Urdu Muslim Conference in Calcutta on December 31, 1939, said, "In the brightness of the modern-daylight, something darkly unfair is being done and which is that every government official from top to bottom is engaged in doing his utmost in promoting the cause of Hindi. In my opinion, it is a disfavour to the Congress rather than a favour; it is reinforcing the misconception in the minds of the Muslims that it is what we can do with half the powers, what else we will do with full powers; as a result of which the country will be divided into two parts.[4]

A renowned Congressite, Tufail Ahmad Manglori, once admitted that when a resolution against Urdu was passed in the U.P. it caused deep agony among the Muslims and the Hindi-Urdu controversy created a gulf of disunity between the two nations which widened day by day.[5]

---

[1]Paul Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge, 1974, p.137.
[2]K.K.Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*, London, 1967, p.126.
[3]Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Karachi, 1970, p.260.
[4]Sayyid Suleman Nadvi, *Nuqoosh-e-Sulaimani*, Karachi, 1967, pp.163-165.
[5]*Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, p.333.

www.cssexampoint.com

6

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Curzon assumed the Viceroyalty of India on December 30, 1898. He soon drew up a programme of administrative reforms, most of which evoked opposition. But none of his measures generated so much heat and aroused opposition and excitement as did the partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition was, in no way, directly related to events during Curzon's tenure in office; it hung in balance since 1853 when Charles Grant proposed the partition of Bengal. Lord Dalhousie in 1854 complained about the tremendous administrative burden on the Lt.-Governor of Bengal. Later on, when Orissa was in the grip of a severe famine in 1866, the committee investigating the causes of the famine, recommended that the boundaries of this huge province should be re-demarcated. Six years later in 1872, the Lt.-Governor, Sir George Campbell submitted in his report that one man alone could not supervise the affairs of the province efficiently.[1]

CAUSES OF PARTITION

The population of the province of Bengal in 1903 was seven crore eight lac and its area measured 1,89,000 miles. Only one Lt.-Governor was responsible for the administration of this very vast area. It is quite evident that it was impossible to look after multiple administrative problems of this huge Province. How much the Lt.-Governor remained over-burdened by hectic day-to-day affairs of the province could be understood by the fact that he found time only once to pay visit to important places of the Eastern wing of the Province like Dacca & Chittagong during his five years term of office. Similarly, various other areas of East Bengal remained neglected for a long time. The Government had failed to do anything for the socio-economic development of the poor and down-trodden people of this area. These were the causes which brought about the partition of Bengal.

The most interesting aspect of this partition, however, was that Lord Curzon took this momentous decision for some other reasons. As it

---

[1] *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi, 1961, Vol.III, Part I, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

happened, the Government of India decided to create a separate administrative unit for the Uria speaking people who lived in different provinces. In 1901, the Chief Commissioner of the C.P., Andrew Fraser, proposed that Sambhalpur after merging it with Orissa be placed under the administration of Bengal. In the same year, the. Chief Commissioner requested to be relieved of his duties from the district of Sambhalpur.

In the meantime, the government of Madras also complained about its administrative problems due to ethnic polarisation as various language groups speaking Tamil, Uria and Malayalam, created administrative and law and order problems. The move for joining area of Uria speaking people with Bengal was initiated solely with a view to solving such a problem, but it was bound to further complicate the matter. Therefore, a decision was made to merge Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong with Assam.

Towards the end of 1903, when the Bengalis came to know about this readjustment of areas, they protested very strongly against merger with such an underdeveloped area as Assam. They maintained that acceptance of this plan would deprive them of all those facilities which accrued to them as citizens of a province ruled by a Lt.-Governor.

As the events unfolded, Lord Curzon undertook a tour of East Bengal in February, 1904. He assured the people of Dacca, Chittagong and Mymensingh that the Government would enlarge the proposed province and establish a Board of Revenue and a Legislative Council. Furthermore, Dacca would be made the capital of the new province and a Lt.-Governor would be appointed. Eventually on July 20, 1905, the sprawling province of Bengal was divided into two parts to solve its administrative problems as a result of which a new province came into existence on October 16, 1905. This new province comprised an area of 1,06,500 square miles with a population of 31 million, two third of which were Muslims. The province included Assam, Eastern and Southern Bengal, Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi and Malda districts. As promised, Dacca was declared the capital of the new province. Consequently, a Legislative Council and Board of Revenue were also established.

THE DEPLORABLE PLIGHT OF THE EASTERN WING

As already mentioned, East Bengal was totally ignored by the Government before partition. It was only Calcutta that attracted government's undivided attention. It was wrongly presumed that development of Calcutta meant the development of the whole of Bengal. A cursory glance at the various developmental activities and the funds allocated for these purposes would reveal a different story. For example, the amount spent in 1901 on education in Calcutta was

www.cssexampoint.com

much larger than what was spent in East Bengal on the whole. East Bengal neither had a university nor a good college. Due to persistent criminal discrimination East Bengal woefully lacked reliable means of communications. Dacca, the largest city of East Bengal was situated at a distance of only 264 miles from Calcutta. But, it took 24 hours to cover this distance by train, owing, mainly, to an obsolete Railway network. Following details testify to the backwardness of the area and deplorable apathy of the Government in this regard.

		Metaled Roads	Unmetaled Roads	Total
East Bengal:	Chittagong	11 miles	1311 miles	1322 miles
	Dacca	170 miles	887 miles	1057 miles
West Bengal:		1154 miles	1822 miles	2796 miles
North Bengal:	Rajshahi	204 miles	4643 miles	4847 miles
Central Bengal		526 miles	3569 miles	4095 miles

Another example would reveal the extent to which East Bengal's development was ignored.

It seems that the Government had developed Railways and other means of communications with a view to link only Calcutta with other parts of the country. It would be interesting to study the comparative time-period a letter took to reach its various destinations. A letter posted from Calcutta reached Benaras, 479 miles away at 9.15 a.m. next morning, Allahabad, 564 miles away, at 1.00 p.m., Dacca, 330 miles away, at 12.00 noon and Chittagong; 264 miles away three days later. Following chart amply reveals the discriminatory treatment meted out to East Bengal with regard to postal and telegraphic network.[1]

Postal Circle	Year	Post-Office	Letter-Box	Postmen
Bengal:	1898-1899	1757	4909	2395
	1899-1900	1816	4971	2453
East Bengal:	1898-1899	460	1140	600
	1899-1900	471	1172	622

Besides, the Chittagong port of East Bengal did not function properly as it was not connected with the rest of the Province either by road or by train.

HINDU OPPOSITION

In 1903, when the Hindus came to know about the proposed partition of Bengal, they kicked up a severe storm of protest. Calcutta became the centre of this protest as the Hindu lawyers apprehended that establishment of Dacca High Court would not only adversely affect their

[1]Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal, 1884-1912*, Dacca, 1974, p.239.

www.cssexampoint.com

legal practice but also damage their political interests. Similarly Calcutta-based Hindu newspapers especially the *Bengalee* (ed. Surendranath Banerjea) and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (ed. S.K. Ghosh) opposed the partition tooth and nail. They were in the forefront of this agitation because they feared that the establishment of the Muslim press in Dacca would badly affect their circulation and business interests.

The other Hindu group opposed to the plan was the powerful class of absentee landlords, who had their agricultural land in East Bengal but lived in Calcutta. For them, the partition of Bengal was a death-knell for their political and feudalistic supremacy. In short, every section of the Hindu community reacted sharply and opposed the partition of Bengal with the same degree of severity they thought their material interests were threatened with. Partition of Bengal, in fact, meant a death-blow to the monopolistic interests of the whole Hindu nation. They felt threatened by this division because the Muslims of the Province could launch a struggle now for the restitution of their long-usurped civil and political rights. With these apprehensions in mind, a Hindu leader, Mahindra Chandra of Kasim Bazar, in his speech against the partition remarked, "In the new province the Muslims will be in majority and, the Bengali Hindus will be in a minority. We shall be strangers in our own land, I dread the prospect and the outlook fills me with anxiety as to the future of our race".[1]

The culminating point of the Hindu agitation was reached on October 16, 1905, the day when the new province of East Bengal was officially created. The Hindus of Calcutta celebrated this day as Black Day. On that day, they wore black dresses, smeared their foreheads with ash. Business remained closed and they kept fast unto death (*Maran Barat*). Surendranath Banerjea has recorded that the announcement fell like a bombshell: "We felt that we had been insulted humiliated and tricked".[2] They used inflammatory remarks and aroused religious sentiments to make the anti-partition movement more effective. They declared that partition was an insult to the goddess *Kali Mata* and that it served a mortal blow to the Bengali nationalism.

The Indian National Congress, which claimed to represent all the Indians, was in the vanguard of the opposition to the partition of Bengal.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

The Hindus had started Swadeshi movement on August 7, 1905, to strengthen their movement against the partition of Bengal. It called upon all and sundry to start using only those things which were locally-made. It had

[1] *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol.III, Part I, p.14.
[2] Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, London, 1925, p.189.

www.cssexampoint.com

two purposes to serve. On the one hand, it was aimed at patronising the Hindu industry and, on the other, to boycott goods manufactured in Britain whereby pressurising the British Government to rescind its decision.

This movement gained popularity and momentum. Foreign cloth was readily put to torch whenever and wherever it was found. The Hindu students did not hesitate even from attacking their own friends who were found using foreign cloth. These students went so far as to refuse to take their examination on imported paper. To top it all, a telegram was sent to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce saying that it would have to help reversing the decision of the partition of Bengal if it wanted to sell British cloth in India.[1]

It is an admitted fact that all Bengali Hindus took part in the movement against the partition of Bengal. It gave birth to a popular joke that every Bengali Hindu who participated in the movement either became an orator or a professional journalist.

Gradually, the movement was led to assume an anti-Muslim posture. Hindu press started a vilification campaign against the Muslims and threatened them openly with dire consequences. Every day, the Hindu newspapers came out with allegations and accusations that the Government was encouraging Muslims to attack Hindus and, therefore, the Hindus should take up arms against them. A newspaper went to the extent of suggesting that unless and until all the rascals (the Muslims) and the government officers who supported them, were burnt alive, the fire of Hindu vengeance would not be put out.[2]

Next weapon in Hindu armoury was the subtle use of art and literature to spread hatred against the Muslims. Hindu writers, playwrights in particular, chose the anti-Muslim themes for their plays to fan the feelings of distrust and disdain against the Muslims. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was the most popular writer in those days. His claim to popularity rested solely on his ability to malign Muslims; he had no match in this field. .Nirad Chaudhri, in his autobiography, has observed that the partition of Bengal left a permanent legacy of estrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims and that a "cold dislike" for the Muslims settled down in our hearts. We declined to sit with our Muslim class-mates who smelt of onions. New arrangements were made to meet the Hindu demand by dividing each of the school classes into two sections, one formed exclusively of Muslims and the other of Hindus".[3]

---

[1] Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India*, Lahore, 1967, p.56.
[2] Sardar Ali Khan, *India of Today*, Bombay, 1907, p.87.
[3] Nirad C. Chaudhry, *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, London, 1951, p.237.

www.cssexamportal.com

Another measure of Hindu opposition to the partition of Bengal is the rapid increase in the circulation of the Bengali newspapers which poured oil on the fire of anti-Muslim sentiments. Circulation *of The Bengalee* jumped from three thousand to eleven thousand and that of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* from two thousand to seven thousand five hundred.[1]

REACTION OF THE MUSLIMS

The partition of Bengal proved to be a blessing in disguise for the Muslims. Now, they could avail of this opportunity to reclaim their usurped rights. So, naturally they welcomed the partition of Bengal wholeheartedly. Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca addressing a meeting in Munshiganj, supported the partition vehemently. He observed that "The partition of Bengal had aroused us from inaction and directed our attention to activities and struggle".[2]

On another occasion, Nawab Sahib while addressing the Imperial Legislative Council, spoke the language of reason and moderation: "Time would show that there had been no severance in the sense understood by those who opposed the creation of the new province; no division of the Bengali-speaking people, Hindus or Muslims; no weakening, but on the contrary a greater development of the two sister provinces, better government, better education in both, better means of intercommunication, and generally a great accession of strength to the Bengali race".[3]

Nawab Ali Chaudhri, declaring the partition as a step favourable to the Muslims said, "The Partition has infused a new life in the Bengali Muslims and now they feel that their rights are readily accepted and their importance has increased manifold as compared to earlier times".

A contemporary Muslim writer, Sardar Ali, aptly observed: "All the hue and cry which has been raised, and all the patriotic movements which have been so suddenly started have nothing whatsoever, to do with the Motherland or with the welfare of India. They have no nobler purpose than the maintenance of a class predominance in a province wherein the Hindus are in a distinct minority".[4] This is quite interesting that the partition of Bengal was welcomed and supported by the Muslims of Calcutta who had nothing materially to gain from the measure.

---

[1] J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society – Twentieth Century Bengal*, California, *1968, p.31.*

[2] *Muslim Separatism in India*, p.55.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.55.

[4] *India of Today*, p.62.

www.cssexampoint.com

BENEFITS OF THE PARTITION FOR THE MUSLIMS

Before the partition of Bengal, East Bengal was extremely backward in education. In 1905, it had only three colleges compared to twenty six excellent colleges of West Bengal. It was only in colleges of Dacca and Rajshahi that education upto post-graduate level was imparted. East Bengal did not have a single science college, whereas, there were three such colleges in West Bengal.

The partition of Bengal provided an opportunity to the Muslims to forge ahead in every field of education. Besides opening new primary schools, the existing primary schools were provided with better facilities. As a result, the number of Muslim students in these school increased considerably. In 1905, the total number of Muslim students in primary schools was 3,17,699 which increased to 4,51,157 in 1912. In addition, special attention was paid to the female education also. High schools of the Province also saw a rapid increase in the number of Muslim students. Total number of Muslim students in high schools in 1905 was 8869 which increased to 20,729. Similarly, teaching community also saw more and more Muslims joining its rank and their number jumped from a meagre 9654 to 14,656; in 1912.

In a short span of six years after the partition of Bengal till 1911, colleges had been opened in all the five divisions of the Province. In view of the growing number of students in colleges, teaching staff of colleges had to be strengthened with .more teachers. There were only twelve teachers in Dacca College in 1905, but by 1911, the staff had been expanded to thirty teachers. Likewise, the number of teachers increased from five to fourteen in Chittagong College. Librarians were also appointed in colleges and the dilapidated college buildings were renovated.

The other most important, but sorely neglected civic sector before partition, was the field of communication and transportation. It was only after the partition of Bengal in 1905, that attention was paid to the improvement of means of transportation in East Bengal. During the period between 1906 and 1911, more than two hundred miles of railway track was laid down while one hundred and forty miles of branch-lines were under construction. This not only helped in the improvement of transportation facilities but also gave necessary boost to commerce and trade. As a result, business activities flourished and businessmen prospered.

East Bengal is an area where natural waterways are one of the greatest means of transportation. This new Province had about thirty five large rivers including the river Ganges, the Brahamaputra, the Kernaphuli and the river Surma. There were about 24 thousand miles of waterways

www.cssexampoint.com

in Bengal and Assam which desperately needed to be repaired, improved and made navigable. These waterways had also been rendered unsafe for travelling and transportation because of the rapidly deteriorating law and order situation and because these had been turned into happy hunting grounds by dacoits and pirates. In 1905, there was a small force of river-guards comprising thirty-five personnels to patrol the waterways. It was too small a force to ensure safe journey. Therefore, this force was considerably enlarged after the creation of the new province. The new administration also introduced a steamer service which provided a quick means of transport to the general public and specially to the business community. It also facilitated the Postal Service. A letter which reached Shillong from Dacca in 72 hours, now reached in 46 hours.

As already mentioned, the Chittagong port had never received the attention of the government of united Bengal. After the partition, the port was modernised and now foreign ships could enter it to load and unload cargoes. New dockyard facilities augmented the export of jute from 68,919 tons in 1905-1906 to 7,02,72,050 tons in 1911-1912. In the same period, an increase of 1,97,78,125 pounds was registered in the export of tea. All this was intolerable for the Hindu traders of Calcutta. Therefore, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce suggested to the Calcutta Port Trust to keep a tight grip on the sea-trade of East Bengal, so as to reduce the Chittagong port to only a coastal-trade facility.[1] In short, the partition of Bengal ushered in a new era of progress and prosperity for the Bengali Muslims, intrigues and conspiracies of the Hindus notwithstanding.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER'S RESIGNATION

Bampfylde Fuller was appointed the first Lt.-Governor of East Bengal. He tried hard to ameliorate the miserable condition of the Muslims and to extricate them from the yoke of Hindu domination. Fuller concentrated more on the Bengali farmers who were ruled and exploited by absentee Hindu landlords living in Calcutta. These landlords used to extract illegal and arbitrary taxes and rents, besides official taxes, from their Muslim tenants in addition to a tax for the repairs of Hindu temples. They had also built their personal jails where they imprisoned their 'criminals'. Fuller also tried to stall the Swadeshi movement and particularly tried to prevent the students from taking part in the political agitations through administrative orders. Two schools in Sirajganj defied his orders and the Lt.-Governor approached

[1] M.K.U. Molla, *The New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*, Bangladesh 1981, p.88.

www.cssexampoint.com

the Senate of the Calcutta University to disaffiliate them as punishment. It infuriated the Hindus. It also sparked off a bitter tussle between the Indian Government and the Lt.-Governor. This confrontation resulted in Fuller's resignation which gave the Muslims a very rude shock. The Hindus, however, termed it as their triumph. A letter from Nawab Ali Chaudhri to Mohsin-ul-Mulk is the evidence of the degree to which the Muslims felt perturbed over Fuller's resignation. He wrote that the Bengali Muslims had been apathetic but now they had realised the consequences of their apathy. If the Muslims instead of supporting the Government had started agitation like Hindus, they would not have to face the present situation. From one angle, the Government had taught a good lesson to the Muslims by accepting Fuller's resignation. Now they would adopt the same way the Hindus had followed.[1]

ANNULMENT OF PARTITION

The movement against the partition of Bengal gradually lost its momentum. Even Surendranath Banerjea himself conceded: "We indeed recognise the fact that this partition has come to stay, and we are not anxious to upset it".[2] By all accounts the agitation was dying out. But, unfortunately, King George V of Britain annulled this 'settled fact' in his Royal proclamation during Delhi Darbar on December 12, 1911. This Royal declaration rejuvenated the Bengali Hindus. They took out a mammoth procession to celebrate the declaration and demanded that the Day should be included as a national event in their calendar. Ambka Charan Mauzamdar, expressing great joy over the decision of the Government, said, "I am ready to die happily today". The Bengali Hindus were so overjoyed by this decision that on the occasion of the Royal visit to Calcutta, many journalists suggested to include the King and his Queen in the Hindu pantheon.

On the other hand, this decision was a shattering blow to the Muslims. It left them sullen and disillusioned. Their anger and indignation had widespread repercussions. The Muslim leaders and intelligentsia condemned the decision as a betrayal of worst kind. Abdullah Al-Mamoon Suhrawardy expressed his anger in a letter to Lord Curzon which read: "If we are silent and less vocal, our silence is the silence of anger and sorrow and not that of acquiescence. The Muslims deeply resented the fact that the Government employed the cowardly device of putting the announcement in the mouth of the King-Emperor and thus muzzling us effectively".[3]

---

[1] *Muslim Separatism in India*, p.86.
[2] *Muslim Separatism in India*, p.86.
[3] Matiur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation*, London, 1970, p.237.

www.cssexampoint.com

He called a meeting of the Muslims on December .24, 1911, to deliberate upon the situation created by the announcement at the Delhi Darbar. The meeting was presided over by Nawab Sayyid Mohammad, The meeting, after thorough deliberation, stressed upon the, need to bring about a change in the strategy of the Muslims and called for close cooperation with the Congress. Another meeting was held on December 30, 1911, which was presided over by Kh. Mohammad Yusuf. In this meeting a resolution was moved by Nawab Ali Chaudhri which expressed a deep sense of frustration and grief on the decision taken by the Government.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk in an article strongly criticised the Government and called upon the Muslims to rely upon Allah and on their own efforts. He wrote: "The partition proved to be Allah's blessing for the Muslims and the rights of 66% of the population which were hidden from the eyes of the public and the Government, were brought to light. The Muslims of the Province started making progress day by day. It was a great political blunder on the part of the Government to revoke the partition without assuring the Muslims about steps to be taken for their security in future. It could be said that the Government had shown an unjustifiable apathy towards the Muslims. Judging from the events which-have been witnessed, it is as clear as the day that suggesting to the Muslims to rely upon the Government is a futile proposal. Now the days for such proposals have gone. What we have to trust, after our trust in the blessings of Allah, is to trust our own strength".[1]

He expressed similar views about the decision of the Government in a letter to his friend. He wrote to him: "The Muslims should, .at least, make a strong attempt to demonstrate that they have looked upon Government's indifference towards them with utter disgust, and that the Government's present policy is like the thrust of an artillery which trampled over the dead corpses of the Muslims without giving thought to the fact that, a corpse among those poor dead bodies, might have some life and it might have felt a little pain".[2]

Nawab Salimullah Khan in his presidential address to the AIML in March, 1912, echoed the popular Muslim feelings on the subject saying: "The partition had given us an opportunity to bestir ourselves and it awakened in our hearts the throbbings of a new national life. We, so far as the Muslims of East Bengal are concerned, felt for the first time, that we too had rights and privileges British subjects. We got the chance, to get freedom from the nation which dominated us before the partition. Annulment of the partition for us means the deprivation of those splendid

---

[1]Ikram Ullah Nadvi, *Viqar-e-Hayat*, Aligarh, 1925, pp.689-693.

[2]Ameen Zubairi (ed), *Mukateeb-e-Viqarul Mulk-o-Mohsinul Mulk*, Agra, n.d., p.117.

www.cssexampoint.com

opportunities at self-improvement which we had secured by the partition. This loss has grieved us a lot, specially because we were neither consulted nor informed of this change, nor even we had any inkling about it. Had the Muslims of Bengal also started a similar rebellion, the announcement of His Majesty the King would have gone waste".[1]

Mohamed Ali spoke about the annulment of the partition with great bitterness: "The Muslims of East Bengal had been made to fight the battles of their rulers, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they made their own peace with all convenient speed. It would be hard to discover in history a more ignoble instance of betrayal, in which loyalty had been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and contentment had been punished as the worst of crimes".[2]

Lord Minto, the erstwhile Viceroy of India, condemned this decision of the Government. He said, "We assured the Muslims off and on that the partition was a settled fact. We had also assured the Muslims to safeguard their interests and value their fidelity. None among the experts of the Indian politics and whole of the civil service could ever think about the revocation but the annulment proved that it was a human possibility".[3]

Muslim reaction to the decision culminated in the form of a resolution presented in the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held in Calcutta in March, 1912. The resolution expressed deep disgust at the Government's decision. Moulana Mohamed Ali who moved the resolution said that it might look odd to many people that the mover was a non-Bengali and added that he regarded all the Muslims as one nation.

The Muslim press did not lag behind in this campaign of criticism. The Muslim newspaper castigated the Government on this issue. *Zamindar* (Lahore); *Vakil* (Amritsar), *Al-Bashir* (Etawah), *Zulqarnain* (Badaun), Comrade (Calcutta), *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), and *Mussalman* (Calcutta), were unanimous in their opinion that the Government had taken this step only to win the goodwill of the Hindus. Abu Saleh observed in the columns of *Mussalman* (Calcutta) that, "Agitate and you will get what you want, remain calm and you will have your heads chopped. This is the moral we are given".[4]

The most forceful indignation was expressed by *Zamindar* over the British Government's decision. In a very strong worded editorial the newspaper wrote:-

---

[1] Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, Vol.I, pp.236-37.
[2] Afzal Iqbal, *Life and Times of Mohamed Ali*, Lahore, 1974, p.66.
[3] Ameen Zubairi, *Siasat-e-Millia*, Agra, 1941, pp.89-91.
[4] Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, 1979, pp.53-54.

www.cssexampoint.com

"In the British Parliament when a few sympathizers of Bengali Hindus raised their voice against the partition of Bengal, the Secretary of State for India with a scowling look, could make only one sentence statement that it was a **Settled Fact**. On the other hand the Indians also received news by telegrams that the line of partition had been drawn on the land of Bengal like an indelible line. Now rubbing of the hands in regretful distress may rub off the palm lines but the issue of the partition of Bengal has become a line of fate. The annulment of the partition can be possible if only fate can be altered. But the Royal edict which was read out to the Indians on 12 December at the Delhi Darbar proved that the line of fate could be obliterated, destiny could be changed but not the Royal edict, and the Muslims who had been slumbering in the dome of *Bismillah*, covered in the sheet of contentment and obeisance could be pulled out of it."[1]

The annulment of the partition of Bengal left indelible marks on Muslim politics. This decision of the Government led the Muslim young lawyers and journalists, Moulvi Mujibur Rahman, Abdulla Al-Mamoon Suhrawardy and A.K. Fazlul Haq to establish links with the Congress. Only after six weeks of annulment of partition, Muslim leaders like Sayyid Ameer Ali, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Moulana Mohammad Ali, Sayyid Raza Ali, Abdul Aziz, Samiullah Beg and others felt a strong need to bring about a change in the political strategy of the Muslims. In short, the annulment of the partition of Bengal brought about as tremendous a change in the body-politic of the sub-continent as was done by the partition of Bengal itself. Later trends of the Muslim politics amply testify the cataclysmic transformation it underwent in the wake of the announcement at the 'Delhi Darbar'. Muslim politics had now turned the corner and changed from passive acquiescence to active and vigorous participation in the national affairs.

[1] *Zamindar*, 2 January 1912.

www.cssexampoint.com

یہ مہم ایجیٹیشن کا حاصل مطالبہ ہے کیونکہ اس کے تحت
پہلی مرتبہ ہندو مسلم فساد کو حل کرنے کیلئے قانونی دائرہ جوڑی
کو بروئے کار لایا گیا۔
(1 Oct. 1906) یکم اکتوبر سن انیس صدی

7

THE SIMLA DEPUTATION

The Simla Deputation is a .landmark in the history of Modern Muslim India, because for the first time the Hindu-Muslim conflict was lifted to the constitutional plane.

In fact, the Indians were not satisfied with the Indian Councils Act of 1892. They were agitating for more powers. Bowing to the growing political pressure and increasing social unrest, the Government decided to increase the number of seats for the Legislative Councils and their powers. On July 20, 1906, John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, speaking on Indian Budget in the British Parliament, announced that the Government wanted to bring about more constitutional reforms in India. Morley's speech necessitated the formation of Simla Deputation.

John Morley's speech had caused ripples of anxiety among the Muslims of the sub-continent. His proposed remedy envisaging an electoral system for the formation of Legislative Councils, if implemented, as was demanded by the Congress, would have reduced the Muslim to an irreversible state of subjugation to Hindu majority. With these apprehension in mind, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan in a letter to the *Pioneer* (Allahabad) on August 11, 1906, wrote, "At a time when the question of enlarging the scope of the Indian Legislative Council, as far as it concerns the Indian element, is before the Imperial Government, it seems proper to point out that the interests of the Indian Muslims should receive special consideration". Sahibzada was of the view that neither elections nor nominations were suited to the requirements of the Indian Muslims and that "Their position in this country demands that a certain number of seats be allotted to them both in the Imperial and the Provincial Councils and their seats should be filled up by Mohammedans elected by votes of their own community".[1]

The weekly *Muslim Patriot* (Madras) took the clue and penned down an editorial on this important issue on August 24, 1906. The weekly clarified the assumption that India was inhabited by one class or by one race of people, but by a heterogeneous mass of different races and creeds whose interests were often at variance. The paper although supported the

[1]Muniruddin Chughtai, "Simla Deputation", Journal of the Research Society of ıkistan, January-April, 1966, pp. 160-161.

www.cssexampoint.com

extended representation in the Legislative Councils but wished "It were based on the recognition of class interest, each distinct community having representatives of its own in proportion to its importance".[1]

Now, many Muslims including Nawab Ismail Khan of Datawali, Khawaja Yusuf Shah, Nawab Ali Chaudhri and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk drew the attention of Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Secretary of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to John Morley's speech.[2] This prompted Nawab Sahib to write a letter on August 4, 1906, to Archbold, Principal of the College, which said, "You must have read and thought over Morley's speech. It is very much talked of among the Indian Muslims. There is a general complaint that we take no part in politics". Mohsin-ul-Mulk expressed his apprehensions about the forthcoming constitutional changes saying: "If the new rules are to be drawn up to introduce 'election' on a more extended scale, the Mohammedans will hardly get a seat, while Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority". Mohsin-ul-Mulk asked Archbold to advise whether "It would be advisable to submit a memorial from the Mohammedans to the Viceroy and to request His Excellency's permission for a deputation to wait on His Excellency to submit the views of Mohammedans on the matter".

In response to Nawab Sahib's letter Archbold contacted Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to the Viceroy and on August 10, 1906, from Simla informed him that the Viceroy was ready to meet the Deputation.[3]

On receiving Archbold's letter, Mohsin-ul-Mulk set upon probing the possibilities of putting together a deputation for this purpose. Nawab Imadul Mulk Sayyid Husain Bilgrami prepared an address which was finalised in the meeting of important and leading Muslim leaders after thorough deliberations on September 16, 1906, in Lucknow. Finally, 29 years old the Aga Khan led a deputation, comprising 35 notable leaders of the Muslim public opinion to a meeting with the Governor-General, Lord Minto in Simla on October 1, 1906. The deputation included the following gentlemen:-

Bengal:
(1) Shahzada Bakhtiar Shah
(2) Sir Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law
(3) Nawab Bahadur Sayyid Amir Husain Khan
(4) Naseer Husain Khayal
(5) Sayyid Nawab Ali Chaudhri
(6) Mirza Shujat Ali Beg

---

[1] Muniruddin Chughtai, *op. cit.*
[2] Matiur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation*, London, n.d., pp.18-19.
[3] Syed Razi Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905-1910*, Oxford, 1964, pp.62-63.

www.cssexampoint.com

Punjab:	(7)	Mian Mohammad Shah Din, Bar-at-Law
	(8)	Malik Umar Hayat Tiwana
	(9)	Khalifa Sayyid Mohammad Husain
	(10)	Khan Bhadur Col. Abdul Majeed Khan
	(11)	Khan Bhadur Khawaja Yusuf Shah
	(12)	Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law
	(13)	Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq
U.P.	(14)	Munshi Ehtesham Ali
	(15)	Sayyid Nabi Ullah, Bar-at-Law
	(16)	Moulvi Sayyid Karamat Husain, Bar-at-Law
	(17)	Sayyid Abdur Rauf, Bar-at-Law
	(18)	Munshi Abdus Salam Khan
	(19)	Nawab Muzammil Ullah Khan
	(20)	Mohammad Ismail Khan Datavali
	(21)	Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law
	(22)	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk
	(23)	Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Shirvani
	(24)	Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk
Bombay:	(25)	Sultan Mohammad Shah Khan, the Aga Khan
	(26)	Moulvi Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law
	(27)	Ebrahimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy
Madras:	(28)	Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohay-ud-Din Khan
	(29)	Moulvi Sayyid Sharf-ud-Din, Bar-at-Law
	(30)	Sayyid Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law
	(31)	Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan
Sindh:	(32)	Sayyid Allah Dad Shah
C.P.	(33)	Moulana H.M. Malik
Daccan:	(34)	Sayyid Sardar Ali Khan
Delhi:	(35)	Hakeem Ajmal Khan

The Simla Deputation was composed of members drawn from the Muslim nobles, *Jagirdars, Zamindars, Talluqadars,* lawyers, merchants and retired officials. Members of the legal profession formed the largest single group. Two members of the pre-British ruling families of Mysore and the Carnatic represented the old ruling aristocracy; two retired high officials of the Hyderabad State service, the Foreign Minister of Patiala and three Nawabs came from the higher officials and social groups; and the 10 barristers, one retired sub-judge, two honorary magistrates, one special magistrate, were drawn from the English educated upper middle class. An important feature of the Deputation was that most of its members were closely connected with the Aligarh movement through the AIMEC. Besides, many of them were associated with various political and semi-political parties and

www.cssexampoint.com

Anjumans like Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar, Mohammedan Political Association, Mohammedan Literary Society, Calcutta, Central National Mohammedan Association and Eastern Bengal and Assam Provincial Mohammedan Association.

The Memorial which was presented to the Viceroy carried 14611183 signatures of the Muslims from Peshawar to Madras.[1]

DEMANDS

The Simla Deputation presented the following charter of demands to the Governor-General:

(1) The Muslims should be given the right of vote under separate electoral system.
(2) The Muslims should be given representation on the Imperial Legislative Council in excess of their population.
(3) Electoral system should be given preference over nomination system as far as possible.
(4) The Muslims should be given their due share in the gazetted and non-gazetted cadres according to a specific proportion.
(5) The Muslims should be appointed as judges of the High Courts as well as the Chief Courts.
(6) Seats should be reserved for Muslims on the senates and syndicates of the various universities.
(7) Financial help should be given for the setting up of a Muslim University.
(8) The Muslims should be given representation on the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

Lord Minto told the deputation that so long as he was associated with the country's administrative affairs, the Muslims should rest assured that their national rights and interest would be preserved.

HINDU ALLEGATIONS

The Hindus did their best to malign the Simla Deputation by alleging that "it was engineered" by the Government to offer "a staunch resistance to all nationalist ambition and activity" or that it was a "Command Performance" or that Archbold was its originator or that the "inspiration came from Simla" or that Mohsin-ul-Mulk was "at the beck and call of the Government of India" or that it was "a counter poise to the Congress aims".

[1] *From Consultation to Confrontation*, pp.8-9.

www.cssexampoint.com

The Congressite newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* tried to downplay the importance of the Deputation stating that it "did not represent the whole of India and self-serving British officers were involved in its formation".[1] This propaganda of British 'conspiracy' was backed up, among others, by people like Rajindra Prasad, G.N. Singh, Ashok Mehta, R.C. Mujamdar, Patvardhan and above all by Moulvi Tufail Ahmad Manglori. In fact, the above mentioned had developed the theory of 'conspiracy' on the contents of Tufail Manglori's book in which he criticised Archbold's letter of August 10. It says, "The most significant aspect of the letter is that it was written in response to the letter to Archbold from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India. The letter contained instructions to Mohsin-ul-Mulk regarding the contents of the Address, mode of election, and the complexion of the delegation and after saying all this tried to keep himself in the background. Therefore, it clearly reveals that the real motive behind this move is the vested interest of the Anglo-Indian community rather than the well-being of the wretched Muslims".

First of all it must be clarified that the above mentioned letter of Archbold (10 August) was in reply to Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter of August 4, 1906.

Let it be presumed that the letter was, in fact, written by Archbold, even then, the allegation of official involvement in the formation of Simla Deputation does not hold water because Mohsin-ul-Mulk had outrightly rejected the suggestions regarding his emphasis on system of nomination instead of election and the preparation of address, it is worthwhile to point out that Mohsin-ul-Mulk had expressed his strong disapproval of the draft of the address sent to him by Archbold. He wrote to Archbold, "I firmly believe that the opening remarks of your address which suggest that the Muslim shall keep away from political activities in future, shall be resented by every Muslim".[2] Therefore, Archbold's letter itself is sufficient to disprove this allegation. It must be kept in mind that Archbold's role was limited to that of an emissary of Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Hindu historians fondly allege that it were the British who masterminded the demand for separate electorate. It is a frivolous accusation as the British were deadly opposed to the idea of separate electorate. Harcourt Bulter, the then Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow (later on became the Lt.-Governor of U.P.), strongly criticised the meeting of September 16. 1906, which gave the final shape to the address of the Simla Deputation, for he had proposed that the Muslim

---

[1] *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement*, p.73.

[2] Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945. pp.350-51.

www.cssexampoint.com

should not put up a demand for separate electorate.[1] Similarly, Dr. Lal Bahadur's allegation that Archbold's presence in Simla, while the Aligarh College was still in session, was an 'official conspiracy' is contrary to the factual evidence.[2] In fact, the Aligarh College was closed for summer vacation in those days as is revealed by Tufail Manglori who wrote, "In those days, Archbold, the Principal of the Aligarh, was present in Simla due to summer vacation".[3] Secondly, people familiar with the Aligarh tradition, know that the English Principals of the College used to spend the Monsoon season either at Simla or at some other hill station.

In order to prove his 'conspiracy' theory, Lal Bahadur has referred to a certain letter of Archbold's which he wrote to an unknown person of Aligarh. In this letter Archbold wrote, "I have played an important part in this drama and I have with me unpublished but interesting correspondence relating to this matter which I do not wish 'to bring out".[4] This assertion seems untenable and self-negating because Archbold, according to his own words, did not want to publish the material, then how come, Lal Bahadur happened to lay hand on an unpublished letter. Moreover, considering the circumstances in which Archbold had to leave the College, it was quite unexpected of him to have shown such magnanimous restraint to malign the Aligarh College.

Hindus, as they were peerless in the art of garbling statements and twisting meanings, tried to ferret explanations in the expression of 'command performance' which Moulana Mohamed Ali Johar used, to describe the .Simla Deputation while presiding over the Coconada session of the INC in 1923. They took this expression out of its context and attempted to prove that Moulana too regarded the Simla Deputation the result of a conspiracy by the British. In fact, Moulana had said, "To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, there is no harm now in saying that the Deputation was a 'command' performance. It was clear that the Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Muslims had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation and those who

---

[1] Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Karachi, 1973, p.156.

[2] Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League, Its History, Activities and Achievements*, Book Traders, Lahore, 1979, pp.35-36.

[3] *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, p.349.

[4] *The Muslim League, Its History and Achievements*, p.35.

www.cssexampoint.com

denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Muslims had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequences, and not the cause, of the separation between Muslims and their more numerous Hindu brethren".[1]

However, the facts belie these attempts at denigrating the Simla Deputation. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Deputation was put into place as a result of efforts done by Mohsin-ul-Mulk and other Muslim leaders. Mohsin-ul-Mulk had informed Harcourt Butler on September 2, 1906, that a Muslim delegation would meet the Governor-General and present a memorial, if **permitted** to do so".[2] It simply demolishes the conspiracy theory as there was no need to pass through the labyrinths of bureaucratic formalities to arrange a meeting with the Governor. As alleged, if this 'drama' was being enacted at the behest of Minto or the Government, the request for a meeting should have been accepted promptly. But, on the other hand, Lord Minto was still undecided till August 8. On this date, he wrote to John Morley, "I have not yet decided to meet the deputation". Two days later, on August 10, Ibbetson, a member of the Viceroy's Council suggested to Minto to meet the deputation. Therefore, Dunlop Smith informed Archbold of the Viceroy's decision the same day. He also intimated to him that a proper request should be made for this meeting and the draft of the Address should reach at least two days before the proposed meeting.[3] Therefore, Mohsin-ul-Mulk made a formal request for the meeting on 7th September, 1906, while the copy of the address had not reached the Viceroy till September 19.[4]

A recent study of the All-India Muslim League's record had provided a further proof that contradicts this allegation. It reveals that Mohsin-ul-Mulk had borrowed a sum of Rs.4000/- from King, King and Co. at the interest rate of 7% to meet the expenses of the Simla deputation. He had hoped to return the amount after collecting contributions but, somehow, it could not be done. After his death, the Company started correspondence with the Muslim League for the return of the loan and, at one stage, threatened to get Mohsin-ul-Mulk's property confiscated.[5] Now, the question is, if the Simla Deputation was arranged at the behest of the British Government, could it not foot the bill also.

---

[1] Afzal Iqbal (ed), *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali*, Vol.II, Lahore, 1969, pp.115-16.

[2] *The Muslims of British India*, p.156.

[3] *From Consultation to Confrontation*, pp.19-20.

[4] *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement*, p.67.

[5] Syed Razi Wasti, "New Facts about Simla Deputation" in *The Political Triangle in India*, Lahore, 1976, pp.73-82.

www.cssexampoint.com

Now, after a prolonged bickerings and acrimony, the Hindu historians have seen the light of the day and have started conceding that the Simla Deputation was, after all, not organised through a British conspiracy but was formed by the Muslims of India by themselves on their own. Tripathi, in his book *The Extremist Challenge*, conceded that the Simla Deputation was not the result of any conspiracy but was arranged by the Muslims themselves.[1] Similarly, M.S. Jain also explained that it could be said without fear of contradiction that, the Government had no hand in the formation of the Simla Deputation and that its formation was the crowning achievement of the Muslims themselves.[2] In the same way, Dr. Shila Sen opines that proponents of the Simla Deputation were no other than Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and his friends.[3] B.R. Nanda has also confirmed that Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was responsible for the formation of the Simla Deputation.[4]

The Simla Deputation was unique in that for the first time the Indian Muslims were not only prepared but also anxious to take their full share in the political activities of the country as a **Distinct Identity**.[5]

The importance of the Simla Deputation lies in that fact that Minto's acceptance of the demand of separate electorate was the foundation of all future constitutional proposals made for India and in the words of the Aga. Khan: "Its final and inevitable consequence was the partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan.[6]

For Sayyid Ameer Ali, the Simla Deputation and Lord Minto's address carried a two-fold significance as a turning point in Muslim politics and British policy. He hailed the Simla Deputation "as the first concerted Muslim action conceived in a constitutional spirit".[7]

Even the die hard Congressite Moulvi Tufail Ahmad Manglori has admitted the fact that "the Muslims at large were very happy at the success of the Deputation".

---

[1] Armales Tripathy, *The Extremist Challenge*, Calcutta, 1976 p.164.
[2] M.S.Jain, *The Aligarh Movement*, Karachi, 1979, pp.154-156.
[3] Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal*, Delhi, 1976, p.37.
[4] B.R.Nanda, *Gokhale – The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, Delhi, 1977, p.331.
[5] *From consultation to Confrontation*, p.8.
[6] *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time*, London, 1954, p.94.
[7] M.Yusuf Abbasi, *London Muslim League 1908-1928: An Historical Study*, Islamabad, 1988, p.71.

www.cssexampoint.com

8

THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Sayyid Ahmad Khan had advised the Muslims to stay away from politics and to devote themselves to acquiring of western education. The Muslims as a whole, acted upon this advice. However, after his death in March, 1898, the situation took a dramatic new turn which forced the Muslims to decide whether to continue with their adherence of Sayyid Ahmad's advice or to adopt a new course of action.

The anti-Muslim movement of Bal Gangadhar Tilak intensified the feeling of insecurity among the Muslims. His movement was based right from the beginning on hatred for other religions. He laid the foundation of Cow Protection Society. In 1892, he wrote a series of articles against the cow-killing in his newspaper *Kesri*. At last, he succeeded in generating a new religious fanaticism among the Hindus. This led to a series of bloody Hindu-Muslim riots. He presented Shivaji (the notorious anti-Muslim campaigner) as a natjonal hero. In his newspaper the *Marhatta* he wrote, "Living nations remember their heroes so as to get light from them". At this stage, without a political party the Muslims cringed helplessly during the upsurge of Hindu agitation.

Besides these movements of Tilak, the Urdu-Hindi controversy also awakened the Muslims to the realisation of the need for a political party The anti-Urdu posture of Anthony Macdonnell in the year 1900 also played a vital role in the political awakening of the Muslims. According to Sayyid Raza Ali, the seed planted by MacDonnell on April 18, 1900, slowly got firm roots in the ground and in six years' time, appeared in the form of a plant in December 1906, at Dhaka.

In the meantime, Muslim newspapers and journals began to carry articles and letters calling for a separate political party of the Muslims. In support of this growing demand, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Moulvi Mahdi Hasan and Sayyid Raza Ali wrote forceful articles in the *Paisa Akhbar*, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and the *Pioneer* respectively. Sayyid Raza Ali even went to the extent of writing that the Muslims should no longer remain away from the Congress.

Muslim newspapers like *Shifa-ul-Mulk*, *Asr-e-Jadeed*, *Qulqul*, *Zulqarnain*, *Al-Azeem* and *Urdu-e-Mualla*, produced among their

www.cssexampoint.com

readers, the realisation of the need for a separate Muslim political organisation in order to safeguard their rights in the Legislative Councils and at other such important places.

The *Shifa-ul-Mulk* observed that as the state of things had greatly changed the Muslims could hardly expect to gain their objective by relying on the Government and that it was high time for them to take steps to bring their grievances to the notice of the Government respectfully but fearlessly through a separate political association of their own. The *Asr-e-Jadeed* held that the Muslims would not get "their rights in the shape of responsible and lucrative appointments, seats in the Legislative Councils or in the University without agitating for them through a political organisation".[1]

Mian Fazle Husain, during a meeting of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam at Lahore, drew the attention of the Muslims towards the need for a separate political party.

At the provincial level, the Muslims did have their political parties such as the Mohammedan Political Association (U.P.), the Provincial Mohammedan Association of Eastern Bengal and the Punjab Muslim League. But until then, there was no political party on an All-India level. At last, the Muslims held a meeting at the house of Nawab Hamid Ali Khan in Lucknow on October 20-21, 1901. At this meeting, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk stated this position by underlining the decline of the Muslims, their ever-decreasing number in government offices, attacks on their political rights and their deprivation in central and provincial councils. He concluded that it had become indispensable for the Muslims to have their own political party. Thus, a political party named "Political Organization" came into being but it could not achieve any significant success. The need for a Muslim political party was once again discussed on the eve of the Simla Deputation in 1906.

MOSLEM ALL-INDIA CONFEDERACY SCHEME

On November 11, 1906. Nawab Salimullah Khan went to the press with his scheme of the Moslem All-India Confederacy, Salimullah was not content with merely approaching the press, he circulated his scheme to various associations and individuals all over India.[2] In this proposal, he laid great emphasis on the need for establishment of a separate political party for the Muslims. This scheme had the following important objectives:-

(1) The Government should be supported and the rights of the Muslims should be safeguarded in every possible manner.

---

[1] Matiur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation*, London, n.d., p.33.

[2] *From Consultation to Confrontation*, pp.30-31.

www.cssexampoint.com

(2) The growing influence of the Congress should be checked and the Muslims who have already joined the Congress should be convinced to withdraw. The scheme also aimed at "to enable our youngmen of education, who for want of an organisation, could not find scope to exercise their fitness and ability for public life".

This proposal of Nawab Salimullah Khan was vehemently opposed by the Hindus. Severely critiçising this proposal, the *Bengalee* (Calcutta) expressed the hope that the Muslims would not join the new scheme. The newspaper also ridiculed the name Moslem All-India Confederacy and wrote: "it reminds us of Mahratha Confederacy of the old and the Khalsa Confederacy of more recent times". The *Beharee* characterised the scheme as "hopelessly preposterous" and calculated to embitter the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. It hoped that none of the Muslims would associate with "Salimullah tomfoolery".[1]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

In December 1906, after the annual session of All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference, the All-India Muslim League came into being during a meeting presided over by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. Stressing the need for a separate political organisation for the Muslims, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk said in his presidential address: "The aim for which we have gathered here is not something new. We had realised its need at the very moment when the Congress was founded. As the time passes, we are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for the protection of the political rights of the Muslims. That is why, we have got together here so as to resolve the issue which, hitherto, has been lying in cold storage".

Nawab Salimullah moved a resolution about the formation of the All-India Muslim League which was supported by Moulana Zafar Ali Khan, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Moulana Mohamed Ali. The following aims and objectives were set for the All-India 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 intentions of the Government with regard to any of the measures.

2) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

---

[1]Syed Razi Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905-1910*, Oxford, 1964, p.77.

www.cssexampoint.com

3) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objectives of the League.

Here, one very interesting comparison would not be out of place. The Congress was the creation of those Hindus who largely belonged to the three Presidency towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. They were all English speaking men of upper castes. In the making of the All-India Muslim League those who got together belonged to the Urdu speaking background. These Muslims, unlike their counterparts, came from all provinces under the British control.[1]

Another interesting point is that the organizers of the AIML borrowed the name "Muslim League" from the League, which already existed in the Punjab. Moulana Mohamed Ali admitted the fact to the Punjab Muslim League leaders saying, "Yes, I know that your League was started in June 1906, we liked the name 'League' and copied it".[2]

The Indian press gave a mixed response to the formation of this new political organisation. It was welcomed by the *Times of India* (Bombay) and the *Daily Telegraph* (Lucknow), the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) gave a neutral response. However, the pro-Congress newspapers such as the *Bengalee* started a series of hostile and abusive condemnation. Condemning this new development the *Bengalee*, on January 8, 1907, deplored the League and its founders and predicted that "it will, if it seeks to fulfil its mission fraternize with the Congress, and eventually coalesce with it. If not, it will go the way of the Patriotic Association of the late Sir Sayyid". This newspaper often called it, "Salimullah League". It is also quite interesting to note that the political party which was to split India and create the world's largest Muslim state went unnoticed in Britain. According to *The Spectator*, the objectives of the League were excellent, but "we confess that we do not like this feeling among Muslims that they must organize in a camp by themselves". The only other notice of the League's birth was an enthusiastic article in the *Contemporary Review* which accorded a warm welcome to it. It declared "that the Indian Muslims had forsaken the shades of retirement for the political arena, henceforth a new factor in Indian politics had to be reckoned with".[3] We find no mention of this new party in the official as well as private correspondence between Lord Minto and John Morley. The India Office did not take any note of the event.

In the opinion of Dr. K.K. Aziz, four factors were responsible for the creation of the All-India Muslim League. First the old belief uttered

[1] Mohammad Saleem Ahmad, *The All-India Muslim League*, Bahawalpur, 1988, p.89.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.85.
[3] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, pp.63-64.

www.cssexampoint.com

by Sir Sayyid that the Muslims were a separate entity. Secondly, the Hindu character of the Indian National Congress which did not allow the Muslims to associate themselves with other Indians. Thirdly, the agitation against the Partition of Bengal which conveyed to the Muslims the Hindu designs of domination over the whole of India. And finally the Muslim desire to have their own exclusive electorate for all representative institutions.[1]

Those who were desirous of forming a new Muslim political party were divided into four groups.

1) Nawab Saiimullah Khan and Nawab Ali Chaudhry of Bengal who wanted to use the new party as a forum to confront the movement of the Hindus against the Partition of Bengal.
2) The second group consisted mainly of educated people who believed that it was impossible to acquire the right of separate electorate and due share in government services without agitation. They included Yaqoob Hasan, Abdul Aziz, editor of the *Observer* (Lahore), Khwaja Ghulamus Saqalain and Mohamed Ali Johar.
3) The third group comprised mainly those who wanted to use the League for the protection of Urdu and other rights of the Muslims. The prominent members of this group were Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.
4) The fourth group consisted of radicals like Mian Fazle Husain and Moulana Hasrat Mohani who, besides safeguarding the rights of the Muslims, stressed the need for cooperation with the Indian National Congress.

The central office of the League was set up at Aligarh. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were appointed as its joint secretaries for the time being. A sixty-member committee was set up to prepare the constitution of the League within four months and to make necessary arrangements for its first session. In this way, the first All-India based political party of the Muslims came into existence. It should be kept in view that it was the outcome of the political consciousness and awakening of the Muslims and that no external pressure or factor was involved in it. The AIML came into being as a result of the awakening of the Muslim community from its slumber. The Congress was started thirty years after the establishment of the Calcutta University and after a lapse of almost the same period from the foundation of the Aligarh College (January, 1877) the Muslims established the AIML. The political awakening among the Muslims had been in direct proportion to the spread of education in the community. Matiur Rahman has very aptly summed up the formulation of the AIML "that it was no mushroom

[1] K.K.Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*, London, 1967, p.29.

www.cssexampoint.com

growth. Nor was it the creation of any individual or group of individuals. It was the inevitable product of the forces, on the one hand of Hindu exclusiveness and revivalism and on the other of the educational and political activities of the Muslims starting with the foundation of the Aligarh College and the Central National Mohammedan Association".[1] Moreover, it was neither founded by an Englishman, nor was it presided over by any Englishman from its inception till the end. On the contrary, the Congress was founded by an Englishman and its various sessions were presided over by the English.

STRUCTURE OF THE AIML

According to the rules adopted the membership of the League was limited to just 400 with a proviso that the limit could be increased. A Central Committee, subsequently renamed Council, was to be established. The League was to have an executive comprising a President, six Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and two Joint-Secretaries. The Central Committee was to elect a president for each annual session. Between 1908 and 1919 two permanent Presidents, the Aga Khan and Maharaja of Mahmudabad, served the. League. After 1934 the League elected its president annually. The AIML started with Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk as Joint Secretaries. From 1908 to 1933 seven Secretaries (Major Hasan Bilgrami, Aziz Mirza, Wazir Hasan, Zahur Ahmad, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Mohammad Yaqoob and Malik Barkat Ali) served the League. In 1936, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan became the Secretary and continued to hold this office till 1947.

The League depended on membership fees and donations mostly coming from the Aga Khan. Although concern was frequently expressed regarding shortage of funds yet no effort was made to increase the League's membership.

PROVINCIAL LEAGUES

The Muslims warmly welcomed the All-India Muslim League and very soon its branches were set up in various provinces. In April, 1907, Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad set up one such branch at Poona. He himself was appointed as its secretary while the Aga Khan was named as president. In 1909, the League was organised at district level in various parts of Deccan. In the same year, the Deccan League began to be known as Bombay Presidency Muslim League. A similar branch was set up in East Bengal in October, 1909. Moulvi Raziuddin and Nawab of Dacca

[1] *From Consultation to Confrontation*, pp.43-44.

www.cssexampoint.com

میاں محمد شفیع نے دسمبر ۱۹۰۶ کو پنجاب مسلم لیگ کی بنیاد رکھی۔

were nominated as president and secretary. In November, 1908, the Prince of Arcot and Nawab Yaqoob Hasan were elected as the president and the secretary of the Madras League. Mian Muhammad Shafi founded the Punjab Muslim League on December 1, 1907.

THE LONDON MUSLIM LEAGUE

It was being felt right from the beginning that the All-India Muslim League would not achieve considerable success without winning the British public opinion to its side. Therefore, it was decided to establish the London Branch of the League. The inaugural meeting was held on May 6, 1908, at London's Caxton Hall. It was participated by the Muslims and those British people who favoured their viewpoint. This meeting was presided over by Sayyid Ameer Ali. It had the following aims and objectives before it.

1) To promote accord and harmony among different nationalities of India.
2) To work for the advancement of the general interests of the country in harmony with and in concert with other Indian communities.
3) To advance and safeguard by all constitutional and loyal methods the special interests of the Mohammedan subjects of the King.
4) To bring the Mohammedans so far as possible into touch with leaders of thought in England.[1]

Ameer Ali, in his presidential address, stressed that the Muslims had their particular problems and interests which had to be taken up separately. Ameer Ali made it clear that it was impossible for the Muslims to merge their separate communal existence into that of any other nationality or to strive for the attainment of their ideals under the aegis of any organization other than their own. Ameer Ali acknowledged that diversity of religion and ethical standards make the absolute fusion of races and peoples of India impracticable, but there was no reason why they should not work in harmonious concord in the promotion of common interests.[2]

It must be remembered that separate Muslim representation was not the spontaneous outcome of the Simla Deputation but was largely wrested by Ameer Ali and his London Muslim League from John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, supported by Anthony Macdonnell and an influential pro-Congress lobby. John Morley, influenced by Gokhale and the Congress lobby in England, was a stout

---

[1] M. Yusuf Abbasi, *London Muslim League 1908-28: An Historical Study*. Islamabad, 1988, p.19.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.20.

www.cssexampoint.com

opponent of the separate electorate. Deeply conscious of the political import of Gokhale's presence in England and the consequent mounting tempo of pro-Congress lobby the London Muslim League took upon itself the onerous duty of defending the right of separate electorate. Ameer Ali made a representation to the Under-Secretary of State for India on November 11, 1908, about the separate electorate. Four days after the representation of LML hosted a breakfast party attended by 60 guests including four Members of Parliament. On that occasion, Ameer Ali explained to the British people that "in view of traditions, religion and race Muslim interests could not be identical in all respects with other communities inhabiting the country".[1]

The LML started a press campaign which proved quite successful. Ameer Ali wrote many letters to *The Times* over the separate electorate. On January 14, 1909, expounding the rationale of the Muslim demand, he observed that in India, "the two communities are still widely divided in habits, customs and traditions of race and religion".

On January 27, 1909, a LML delegation, headed by Ameer Ali, waited upon John Morley in the India Office. Never before a Muslim deputation was received by the Secretary of State. Ameer Ali emphasized in clear words the Muslim claims to separate nationhood that "the Muslims have common ideals, and by tradition of race and religion form a nationality quite apart from all other peoples of India". Ameer Ali pleaded separate representation starting from the lowest level of District Boards and Municipalities to the Imperial Legislative Council.

It is quite interesting to note that the Hindu press right from Bengal to the U.P. and the Punjab denounced the right of separate electorate. The Hindu press of Bengal was more vociferous, influential and commanded larger circulation than the handful of the Muslim press. The *Bengalee* dismissed the demand of separate electorate at every level "as altogether a new thing". The paper deplored that John Morley had held out hope to the Muslim deputation; and in sarcastic words remarked that "Muslims may congratulate themselves on an easy victory, but if they had vision they would perceive what mischief they had done". The *Hitavadi* denounced "Ameer Ali and Company for sowing seeds of dissension between Hindus and Muslims".

Although the Muslim press was too weak but it unanimously raised its voice in defence of separate electorate. The *Mussalman* (Calcutta, ed. Mujeebur Rahman) was surprised that the provision of separate electorate for the Muslims should have "caused considerable uneasiness, if not heart-burning in certain quarters" and regretted that the "effusion of wounded sentiments in this respect have, though well-guarded, been

[1] *London Muslim League 1908-28: An Historical Study*, p.86.

www.cssexampoint.com

rather distasteful". The *Soltan* (Calcutta) took the *Basumati* (a Hindu paper) to task for publishing a derogatory cartoon of Ameer Ali.

In the Punjab the press debate was running on the same lines i.e. Muslims vs. Hindus. The *Punjabee* (Lahore) considered Morley's willingness to receive LML deputation as a surrender. The *Tribune* (Lahore) threatened that "if John Morley's scheme of separate representation is carried into effect in its present form, the Hindus will drive Urdu language and character out of India .

On the other hand, the Muslim press of the Punjab applauded Ameer Ali's efforts. The *Paisa Akhbar* referring to Surendranath Banerjea's statement that Muslims should ponder over the consequences of separate representation which might lead to (which really led to) permanent separation, the *Paisa Akhbar* retorted "needless to say, Muslims have given deep thought to the question. Ameer Ali and his colleagues in London are fully alive to the political aspirations of Muslim nation". The *Zamindar* of Moulana Zafar Ali Khan denounced the *Tribune's* opposition to separate electorate.

In the U.P. the *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) claimed that all right-thinking Muslims were opposed to the separate electorate. The truth is that the Muslim press throughout India i.e. *Al-Haq* (Karachi) *The Muslim Herald* (Bombay) *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* (Aligarh) *Zulqarnain* (Badaun) and *Al-Bashir* (Etawa) supported the separate electorate, while the Hindu press totally opposed it. Dr. Yusuf Abbasi has very rightly observed that the configuration of Hindu and Muslim opinions on the separate electorate issue was more than divergent perceptions in a political debate but reflected their inherent polarization as naturally exclusive national groups, and may be seen as an indicator of the degree of separation which divided them in their aspirations of a shared future".[1]

The London Muslim League remained actively engaged in its mission till at last the British Government had to grant the right of separate electorate to the Muslims under the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. Thus it would not be wrong to say that the right of separate electorate was the outcome of the untiring efforts of Sayyid Ameer Ali and his London Muslim League.

[1] *London Muslim League 1908-28: An Historical Study*, p.120.

www.cssexampoint.com

1935 کی اصلاحات ایک تعزیتی پیکج تھا۔

9

THE MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS (1909)

Agitation and constitutional reforms have always gone hand in hand with each other in India. The Minto-Morley Reforms were introduced to bring an end to the agitation against the partition of Bengal. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was an attempt to heal the wounds inflicted upon the Indians during the Khilafat Movement and in the Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. The 1935 Reforms came as a relief package following the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress in 1930. The Cripps Proposals which were meant to change the non-cooperation of the Indians into cooperation during the Second World War, can be regarded as the continuation of the same process.

The Minto-Morley Reforms was another step, on the part of the British Government towards the establishment of a representative government in India. The process of constitutional reforms in India began with the Indian Councils Act of 1861. The creation of the Indian National Congress and the political awakening of the Indians forced the Government to amend the Act of 1861 and another Act was enforced in 1892 but it too, failed to quench the political thirst of the Indians. The various steps taken by Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty, provoked a sharp unrest among the Indians. The partition of Bengal, the Universities Act and other such steps incited the anti-government feelings in the hearts of the Indians. Meanwhile, the inception of the All-India Muslim League made the Muslims conscious of the need to protect and preserve their rights.

When Lord Minto (1905-1910) became the Governor-General, India was engulfed by a political storm. The Hindus were waging a forceful campaign against the partition of Bengal. In such precarious circumstances, Lord Minto was keenly desirous to win over to his side, the Muslims and the moderate elements within the Congress. The Congress at that time, was divided into the "moderate" and the "extremist" factions led by G.K. Gokhale and B.G. Tilak respectively. Lord Minto wanted to win the support of the Indians by increasing the number of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Legislative Council. He used to say that the .welfare of the Indians was not possible through constitutional reforms.

www.cssexampoint.com

According to him, the secret of the welfare of the Indians lay in the continuation of the British Raj over India. He believed that the participation of the educated Indians in the government affairs was the only means of continuing the British rule. The working of his mind can clearly be seen in the Minto-Morley Reforms. Lord Minto had categorically stated in the House of Lords that he would have nothing to do with the reforms if they directly or indirectly led to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India. While opening the first session of the Imperial Legislative Council, Lord Minto again made it clear: "We have distinctly maintained that representative government in its western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not the creation of Parliaments". The Reforms were intended to establish a kind of constitutional autocracy blending the principle of absolutism derived from the Mughal Emperors with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament.

Lord Minto and Secretary of State for India, John Morley, exchanged correspondence on this issue. Lord Minto was of the view that the new Reforms would have no attraction for the Muslims as long as an adequate representation was not provided to them. The Minto-Morley Reforms were originally aimed at giving representation to the maximum number of sections of society in order to win their support for the Government. In this connection, special consideration was given to the representation of the loyalist classes. For this reason, the feudals who were, at the time, most loyal to the British Raj were given six seats in the Imperial Legislative Council under the Act of 1909. The Minto-Morley Reforms had the following main features:

1) Under the Reforms, the number of the **Additional Members** of the Governor-General's Executive Council was increased to 60 (nominated and elected). It can be termed as a step towards creating an Assembly on a small scale. The majority of the official members was maintained in the Imperial Legislative Council. Out of the total members, 23 were non-official while the others were official members.
2) The Muslims were given the right of separate electorate.
3) The powers of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council were enhanced. Now they were entitled to discuss the budget and move resolutions regarding tax amendments but certain restrictions were also imposed on their powers. Interest on loans, religious grants and debate over railways were declared beyond the jurisdiction of the Council.
4) Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the members could ask questions but they could not ask supplementary questions.

www.cssexampoint.com

Now the members were given the right to ask supplementary questions but at the same time, those in charge of the concerned departments were also given the right to refuse to give immediate answers to the supplementary questions.

5) Members of the Imperial Legislative Council were allowed to move resolutions but the Council President was authorised to disallow the debate over any part of any resolution.

6) Rules and regulations were framed about the debate over public interest in the Legislative Councils but certain checks were imposed on them including the relations of the Indian Government with other States and the debate over the matters being discussed in the courts.

7) The number of the members of the Executive Councils of the Governors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were increased to four.

8) The number of **Additional Members** in the various provinces was also increased. The maximum number of these members in the big provinces which included Bombay, Madras, U.P. and Bengal, were fixed at fifty. The number of the members of the Punjab and Burma was fixed at thirty.

9) For the first time, an Indian, S.P. Sinha, was included in the Viceroy's Executive Council although, the step was bitterly criticised in England. Previously, Muslims had demanded that two Indian members including one Muslim should be included in the Council. When the Muslims reiterated this demand following the appointment of Sinha, the Government promised to appoint a Muslim, the next time. Thus, Sayyid Ali Imam was appointed as a Member of the Executive Council after Sinha's resignation.

The Minto-Morley Reforms were welcomed in the moderate circles. Speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, Gokhale said, "My Lord, I sincerely believe that you and Lord Morley have saved the country from anarchy and chaos". However, these reforms failed to satisfy the Congress hard-liners. They believed that there was a hell of difference between the Reforms and John Morley's Despatch dated November 27, 1908. Surendranath Banerjea and Madan Mohan Malvia bitterly denounced these Reforms. Banerjea was of the view that bureaucracy was hindering the success of the Reforms. Under this Act, those accused of rebellious activities were disqualified for the elections. Madan Mohan Malvia was highly critical of this clause and asserted that if two Britishers Michael David and John Bernard who were tried for seditious activities could become members of the British Parliament and the British Cabinet, why were the Indian Nationalists subjected to this ban? The *Bengalee* also condemned these Reforms and described them as against the British

www.cssexampoint.com

political system. The All-India Muslim League welcomed these Reforms. A resolution was passed in the Delhi session of the League in 1910 which offered cooperation with the Government for the success of the Scheme.

The chief contribution of the Minto-Morley Reforms was the experience it imparted to the Indian members. The quality of speeches in the Councils improved; there was less reading of manuscripts prepared earlier without any reference to the actual debates. Now the members were required to stand up to make any speech. A system of elections was introduced in the country under the Minto-Morley Reforms but the franchise was extremely restricted and as such it failed to give adequate political training. Moreover, elections were also indirect. At some places, the number of voters was not more than nine or ten.

These Councils were only consultative in nature. They could only criticise the Government and ask questions. The Government therefore did not give any special importance to these Councils nor did it give any value to the resolutions passed by the Councils. For instance, in the first eight years (1909-1917), a total of 168 resolutions were presented in the Imperial Legislative Council. Only 24 of them were accepted by the Government. Similarly, in 1911, 30 non-official amendments were presented in the Indian Factories Bill. Only seven of them were approved. The members of the Legislative Council did not take much interest in the activities of the Council. For instance, 131 bills were presented in the Council in the eight years between 1910 and 1917. Seventy-seven of them were passed without any discussion.

Non-official members sometimes tried to discuss very elaborately certain Bills of great importance, for example, the Indian Court Fee Bill (1910) Indian Factories Bill (1911) the Indian Companies Bill (1911) the Criminal Tribes Bill (1912) and the Indian Patent and Design Bill (1911) which were also modified by their amendments.

Private Members' Bills had been rather scanty. Only 5 private Bills were passed by the Council upto 1917. M.A. Jinnah was the first Private Member whose *Waqf-alal-Aulad* Bill was passed by the Council. As has been mentioned before, Lord Minto wanted to give maximum representation to the Indians but he had no intention of setting up self-government. Professor Coupland rightly remarked that the Minto-Morley Reforms brought about a representative government rather than a responsible government. Another drawback of the Minto-Morley Reforms was that although non-official members had a majority in the provincial councils, the nominated non-official members always sided with the Government and in this way, the Majority became ineffective. In other words, the Government gave something with one hand and took it back with the other.

But despite all of their drawbacks, the Minto-Morley Reforms constituted a decided step forward in the constitutional evolution of India.

www.cssexampoint.com

10

A NEW PATH OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The All-India Muslim League came into being as the first all-India based political organization of the Muslims in 1906. In the beginning, its aims were confined to the protection of the rights of the Muslims and creating the feelings of loyalty in them for the British Government. However, with the passage of time, the need for the change in the League's goals and objectives began to be felt. In the meantime, "young group" had taken over the leadership of the League from "old guards". They began emphasizing on finding ways and means of getting rid of the policy of "British loyalism" and adopting a new angle of vision. The following factors were responsible for amending the constitution of the League.

ANNULMENT OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

In December 1911, the British Government annulled the partition of Bengal which prompted hostile reaction, not only from the Muslims of Bengal but those of the whole of the Muslim India. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk expressed his deep anger and shock at this decision and remarked that it was crystal clear in the light of those incidents being witnessed at that time that advising the Muslims to trust the British Government was a futile exercise. He further said that under the new circumstances the Muslims could not afford to follow such an advice. He urged the Muslims to trust in the grace and bounty of Allah and to rely on their own powers.[1]

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Sayyid Ahmad Khan was keenly desirous of upgrading the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, into a university. Although, he could not see the fulfilment of his desire during his lifetime, the Muslim leaders who came after him vowed to fulfil his mission. The Muslims of India had

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Makateeb-i-Viqarul Mulk o Mohsinul Mulk*, Agra, n.d. p.115.

www.cssexampoint.com

since long been aspiring to have a university of their own. Therefore, during the Lahore session of All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference in 1889, Theodore Morison presented a proposal regarding a separate university for the Muslims.[1] In 1906, the Simla Deputation besides making some other demands also asked the Government for financial assistance for the proposed university. The lack of financial resources had been the main obstacle in the way of the establishment of the Muslim university. The College building was still incomplete and due to a massive fraud, the College lost all its capital. For this very reason, people stopped giving financial aid to the College.

In these difficult and unfavourable circumstances, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk established the Sir Sayyid Memorial Fund. One of its branches was set up in Bengal in 1899. After the death of Mohsin-ul-Mulk a similar fund was started in his name for the same purpose. By 1910, Rs.163460/- had been deposited in this fund. In that year, the demand for a Muslim University became more vocal. On January 10, 1911, a Central Foundation Committee was set up with the Aga Khan as its President and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk as its Secretary. Its aim was to collect the money needed for the proposed university. Its branches were opened throughout the country. Moulana Mohamed Ali devoted some columns of the *Comrade* to the cause of the University. Moulana Shaukat Ali, who at that time was a government servant in Delhi took leave for two years and started his mission to collect money for the university, in the capacity of the secretary to the Aga Khan. On this occasion, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk made a heartrending appeal in which he said, "In these last days of my life, my only desire is that all of you, thinking it to be your duty, must dedicate all your efforts to the noble task of the provision of money for the Muslim University and, thus, give a practical proof of your national life".[2]

Muslims from all over India, contributed to this fund. The great sacrifices which the ordinary people made for this noble cause can be judged from the fact that by October 31, 1911, out of the total amount, which had been collected, Rs. 24863, eleven *annas* and six *paisas* were contributed by the. N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, Rs. 20308 by Bengal, Rs.43545 by Bihar.[3] The contributions made by the poor and backward people of the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and the Punjab were more than

---

[1] Anwaar Zubairi, *Punjah Sala Tareekh All India Muslim Educational Conference*, Badaun, 1936, p.69.

[2] Ikramullah Nadvi, *Viqar-i-Hayat*, Aligarh, 1925, pp.165-66.

[3] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1974, p.199.

www.cssexampoint.com

what they could afford. Such was the enthusiasm among the Indian Muslims for the proposed University.

The ruler of Bhopal, Sultan Jahan Begum, donated one lac rupees for this fund. This generous display of charity delighted the Aga Khan who remarked:[1]

دلِ بندہ را زندہ کردی دلِ اسلام را زندہ کردی

دلِ قوم را زندہ کردی خداوند تعالیٰ بہ طفیلِ رسولش اجرش بہ دہید

The Aga Khan toured round the country in order to collect the amount required.

A great aristocrat of Meerut Bhayya Nizamuddin donated five thousand rupees. He owned a Rolls Royce car the price of which in those days was Rs.80000. At this, the Aga Khan remarked, "We have come here to get some contribution and not the *zakat* of your Rolls Royce".[2] Responding to it Nizamuddin announced to double his contribution.

An important point to be noted here is that the Aga Khan himself and some of his wealthy companions were in a position to pay all the expenses of the University but in that case the Government would have concluded that perhaps only a few rich Muslims were interested to have a university of their own. Thus, each and every Muslim made contributions according to his or her position and proved to the Government that the demand for a separate Muslim university was the demand of the entire Muslim nation.

On February 16, 1911, a committee under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Ali Muhammad Khan, was set up to frame the constitution of the proposed university. Ali Bilgrami and Dr. Zia-ud-Din were appointed as secretary and joint secretary respectively. In April 1911, Ali Bilgrami presented the manuscript of the constitution to the Committee.

At this point, the Government announced that the proposed university would not be called as the Aligarh Muslim University nor will it have the power of affiliation. By doing so, the Government lost its credibility with the Muslims. Particularly, the issue of affiliation provoked deep differences among the Muslims. In his newspaper the *Comrade*, Moulana Mohamed Ali strongly opposed the idea of not allowing the Muslim educational institutions to affiliate with the proposed university. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk while severely condemning the Government remarked, "If today, we agree to it, it will amount to the cutting off our hands and that of our future generations, who would be affected by this policy of affiliation. They would damn us for having accepted such a mechanism for the university which deprive our progeny of its real benefits". Mian Muhammad Shafi

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Agha Khan*, Karachi, 1950, p.63.
[2] Saeed Ahmad Hashmi, "Bhulee Bisri Yadain", article in *Urdu Digest*, February, 1978.

www.cssexampoint.com

threatened to take a legal action against the Committee if it accepted a local university.[1]

Lord Hardinge was not unaware of the wave of unease which this decision had swept through the entire Muslim community. He criticised this decision of the Secretary of State and called it highly disappointing. He declared that it was simply an absurd thing that a handful of government officials and .foreign elements should make decisions against the opinion of the Government and the people of India. He further expressed his fears that the decision might trigger agitation in the country.[2]

Besides affiliation, another important issue was related to the autonomy of the University and the Government's control over it. The Muslims wanted the proposed university to be free from all governmental control. They wanted its administration and management entirely within their own hands.

This issue created so much anger and outrage among the Muslims that when the Aga Khan justified state control, the *Muslim Gazette* in its issue of March 18, 1912, criticised him and wrote that in that matter he was not at all representing and advocating the true feelings and sentiments of the Muslims. It warned that in such a case, the Muslims would use for some other purpose the money which they had collected for the proposed University. Criticising the policies of the Government, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk declared that if the Muslims would not have as much control on their university as they have on M.A.O. College, they had better abandon the idea of a separate university. The Muslim leaders were divided into two groups on this issue. Aftab Ahmad Khan and Shaikh Abdullah were in favour of giving up their demand of affiliation if they got full control over the university. On the other hand, the Ali brothers were demanding both the right of affiliation and complete autonomy for the University. Fed up with the policies of the Government, the Muslims started seriously considering the idea of spending the collected money for some other purpose.[3]

Meanwhile, the attitude of the Hindus was also extremely negative. As the demand for a separate Muslim university gained momentum, the opposition of the Hindus also became stronger. According to a Hindu leader Bepin Chandra Pal, the setting up of a Muslim University, meant nothing but a centre for Pan-Islamic propaganda.[4] Thus, the extreme frustration generated by the

---

[1] Gail Minault, "The Campaign for a Muslim University" (article), p.170.
[2] Gail Minault, *op. cit.*, p.170.
[3] *Paisa Akhbar*, 29 November, 1912, p.6, 23 April, 1913, p.2.
[4] *A History of the Freedom Movement*

www.cssexampoint.com

attitude of the Hindus and the British Government paved the way for a change in the constitution of the All-India Muslim League.

THE WRETCHED CONDITION OF THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES

The Muslims of India were still recovering from the injuries inflicted upon them by the English, when they started receiving disturbing news from other Muslim countries.

In September 1911, Italy invaded Tripoli which had been under Turkish rule for several centuries. The Muslims of Tripoli were subjected to inhuman atrocities. This invasion sent a wave of unease in the Indian Muslims. Anti-Italian rallies were held in several cities including Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, Poona, Allahabad, Lahore, Karachi, Lucknow, and Gorakhpur.[1] The Muslim of Calcutta took the initiative and on October 2, 1911, formed the Indian Red Crescent Society for helping the Turks.

On October 7, 1911, the Council of the All-India Muslim League held its session at Lucknow and passed three resolutions condemning the Italian invasion and calling for the boycott of Italian goods. These resolutions reflected the emotional attachment which the Indian Muslims felt for the Ottoman Empire. The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, also noticed the anxiety of the Muslims. He informed the Secretary of State for India that he had received reports indicating that the Italian invasion had become the burning topic in the N.W.F.P. Furthermore, the Muslims had the feeling that the English were siding with the Italians.[2]

THE INVASION OF TURKEY BY THE BALKAN STATES

In 1912, the Turks were faced with yet another calamity that deepened the wounds of the Indian Muslims. With a view to driving Turkey out of Europe, the Balkan States, instigated by Britain and other European states, invaded Turkey. On this occasion, too, the Indian Muslims provided valuable assistance to their Turkish brethren. The students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh created a noble example of sacrifice by refusing to eat meat and sweet-dishes and donating the money thus saved to the Turkish relief fund. They even sold the curtains of their rooms and deposited the money in the fund.[3]

---

[1] Matiur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation*, London, n.d., p.229.
[2] Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Karachi, 1973, pp.182-83.
[3] Ameen Zubairi, *Zia-i-Hayat*, Karachi, n.d., p.54.

www.cssexampoint.com

A 23-member medical team headed by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari was sent to Turkey to help the wounded Turkish soldiers. The team included five M.B.,B.S. doctors [M.A. Ansari, Ali Azhar Fayzee (Bombay), Naseem Ansari (Jonpur), Mohammadullah (Calcutta) and Shamsul Bari (Goya)] and seven dispensers [Ghulam Ahmad Khan (Lahore), Mohammad Nurul Hasan (Meerut), Chiragh-ud-Din (Delhi), Sayyid Tawangar Husain (Karnal), Etemad Rasul (Chappra), Abdul Waheed Khan (Mirzapur)] and ten Ambulance workers [Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Shoaib Qureshi, Aziz Ansari, Khaliquzzaman, Abdur Rahman, Qazi Bashir-ud-Din, Manzoor Ali, Yusuf Ansari, Ismail Husain Shirazi, Tawangar Husain]. It may be mentioned here that 19 out of these 23 members of the team went to Turkey on their own expenses. One of them, Abdur Rahman, sold all his clothes, books and rare photographs to the teachers and students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh in order to meet the necessary expenses.[1]

Referring to the sentiments of the Muslims of that time, Dr. Ansari wrote that only the Muslims of Delhi collected fifty to sixty thousand rupees. A huge crowd gathered outside the Jamia Mosque in order to give a hearty send off to the delegation. With regard to the number of its participants and the spirit of these people, this gathering had a historic significance and in its grandeur and magnanimity was unique and unparalleled. In fact, perhaps, such a charged gathering was never seen on the streets of Delhi since the times of the Mughal emperors.[2]

To quote another example of the love and devotion which the Indian Muslims had for the Turks. Moulana Mohamed Ali went to Bombay in order to see off the delegation. On their way, the medical mission had a group photo with him at Bhopal. It was printed in the September 18 issue of *Al-Hilal,* Calcutta, with Moulana's following remarks and two heartfelt Persian lines.

> "O you people who are going to the land of the wounded, do not be harsh on them while dressing their wounds because those wounds are in fact not their wounds but the wounds of Islam".[3]

دیدہ سعدی و دل ہمراہ تست

تا نہ پنداری کہ تنہا می روی

The exciting poems of Moulana Shibli also played an important role in provoking the sentiments of the Muslims. At a meeting in Lucknow, he recited a poem. Not only the audience but he himself burst into tears. This poem clearly mirrors the love and anxiety which the Indian Muslims had for the Turkish Muslims.

---

[1]Mohammad Yusuf, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari*, Karachi, pp.245-46.
[2]Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, *Hayat-i-Ajmal*, Aligarh, 1950, p.122.
[3]*Abdur Rahman Peshawari*, p.128.

www.essexampoint.com

حکومت پر زوال آیا تو پھر نام و نشاں کب تک — چراغِ کشتۂ محفل سے اٹھے گا دھواں کب تک
مراکش جا چکا فارس گیا اب دیکھنا یہ ہے — کہ جیتا ہے یہ ٹرکی کا مریضِ سخت جان کب تک
یہ سیلابِ بلا بلقان سے جو بڑھتا آتا ہے — اسے روکے گا مظلوموں کی آہوں کا دھواں کب تک
یہ مانا تم کو تلواروں کی تیزی آزمانی ہے — ہماری گردنوں پر ہو گا اس کا امتحاں کب تک
زوالِ دولتِ عثمان زوالِ شرع و ملت ہے — عزیزو فکر و فرزند و عیال و خانماں کب تک
بکھرتا جاتا ہے شیرازہ اوراقِ اسلامی — چلیں گی تند بادِ کفر کی یہ آندھیاں کب تک

The true spirit of the members of the delegation can be gauged from a letter written by a compounder Tawangar Husain to his brother: "Do not complain of not writing letters for, we remember nothing except serving the nation. We have forgotten our home, our brothers, our relatives and everything. We are too busy with our own state of affairs".[1]

This medical mission was given a tumultuous reception when it returned home after nursing the wounds of the Turkish soldiers. Moulana Shibli who was present on this occasion tried to touch the feet of Dr. Ansari. When the latter hesitated the former remarked, "These are not your feet but the feet of Islam's paragon of poverty".[2]

Besides the Turks, the Iranians were also being persecuted by the Russians. On March 3, 1912, the Russians bombed the Iranian city of Mashed and damaged the tomb of Imam Ali Raza. Iranian scholars were hanged. All these events severely wounded the sentiments of the Muslims. Consequently, the poems of Shibli, the editorials and articles of *Al-Hilal, Comrade* and *Zamindar* and the fiery speeches of orators ignited the fire of hatred for the English in the hearts of the Muslims. In these circumstances, the All-India Muslim League came under strong pressure from the public opinion to make changes in its constitution. Things went so far that the Muslim press threatened to form a new and more valiant political party unless the League amended its constitution.[3]

Radical changes were witnessed within the League itself when in 1910, its central office was shifted from Aligarh to Lucknow. The age limit for joining the League was reduced from 25 years to 21 years whereas the membership fee was reduced from Rs.25/- to Rs.20/-which could be paid in instalments. That very year, Aziz Mirza was appointed as its new Secretary. He belonged to the "young group". After taking office, the new Secretary infused a new spirit in the League. In his very

---

[1] *Paisa Akhbar*, 12 March, 1913, p.4.
[2] Ubaidullah Khan (ed), *Maqalat-i-Youme Shibli*, Lahore, 1961, pp.14-15.
[3] *From Consultation to Confrontation*, p.256.

www.cssexampoint.com

first year, he travelled to all the major cities like Calcutta, Bareli, Poona, Bombay, Madras, Banglore, Wimbari, Simla and Dacca. The office work of the League increased so much that the need was felt to recruit an assistant secretary.[1]

On the proposal of Wazir Hasan the constitution of the League was amended on March 22, 1913, and instead of "loyalty towards the British Government the League decided to wage a constitutional struggle to attain suitable self-government for India under the aegis of the British Crown".

The important thing is that, for the preservation of the Muslim rights, the demand of self-government was made conditional to suitable to India. The Muslim press all over the country hailed the change in the constitution. The *Mussulman* (Calcutta) on March 28, 1913, welcomed the change of objective with the remarks that "the last session of the All-India Muslim League was a unique event not only in the history of Muslim India but in that of India as a whole. The new policy inaugurates a new era in the political history of the country". The paper declared "the goal of self-government" set up before them as the "national aspiration".[2]

From 1913, the All-India Muslim League entered a new phase.

...a Akhbar, 24 August, 1911, p.2.

...mmad Saleem Ahmad, *The All-India Muslim League*, Bahawalpur, 1988, ...9.

www.cssexampoint.com

11

THE KANPUR MOSQUE TRAGEDY

According to Sayyid Raza Ali, the tragedy of the Kanpur Mosque can be regarded as one of the worst examples of the British statesmanship in India. In 1908, the Government .of U.P. approved a total amount of two and a half lac rupees to widen the roads of Kanpur and to accomplish other welfare works. This scheme also included the A.B. Road. The widening of this road became a serious issue. If it were widened straight, there lay in its way, a Hindu temple just opposite the Mosque in the *Machli Bazar*. When the Hindus came to know of this proposal, they forced the Government to abandon this scheme. The only way left to protect the temple was to turn the road into some other direction, because between the mosque and the temple, there was not much space for the road to commence. Therefore, the Muslims were faced with the dangerous possibility that the eastern part of the mosque which was used for baths and places for ablution might have to be demolished to make room for the road. Thus, on April I, 1912, during the session of the Improvement Trust Committee, the Muslims requested that no portion of the mosque should be included in the road for the sake of its widening. But they had a feeling that the Government had determined not to pay heed to the demands of the Muslims.

In the eyes of the Muslims, a mosque is a sacrosanct and enjoys immunity against perfidious acts. In April 1913, Sir James Meston, the Lt.-Governor of the U.P., received a petition, through Shahid Husain, from a group of Muslims of Kanpur including *fatwa* against the "alienation of any part of the mosque".

During a meeting of the Muslims of Kanpur, five eminent scholars proved that the controversial portion was, from the religious point of view, part and parcel of the mosque. Moreover, if required, this place for ablution was used for offering *Juma* and *Eid* prayers. In this connection, a delegation of the Muslims had a meeting with the collector but to no avail. On April 12, 1913, a Memorial was presented to the Lt.-Governor by Barrister Shahid Husain. The Memorial called for protecting the eastern part of the mosque against the possible demolition. On May 6, 1913, James Meston sent a letter

www.cssexampoint.com

to the Memorialists concluding that "The washing place is not part of the sacred building and must be removed. The authorities of the mosque will be asked to choose another site on which a washing place will be built for them by the Municipal Board".[1]

On July 20, 1913, the Lt.-Governor, Sir James Meston, himself visited Kanpur and inspected the Mosque. On the very next day, police was deployed around the Mosque. Showing complete disregard for the feelings of the Muslims, the Government demolished the eastern part of the Mosque. The news of the demolition provoked anger and outrage among the Muslims and the Muslim press strongly protested against it. This Government action was deplored and condemned throughout India. In the meanwhile James Meston asked Tyler, Kanpur Magistrate, "to take effective measures to prevent any breach of peace in connection with the execution of the orders, if he wants extra police let him have so".[2]

While the parleys were going on, the portion of the Mosque was demolished. This act aroused strong feelings. The Muslims of Kanpur gathered at *Idgah* on 3rd August. When the meeting was over an angry and agitated procession carrying black flags appeared before the Mosque and began to place loose bricks in place of the dismantled structure as a symbol of reconstruction.

A police force which was sent to disperse the mob, opened fire under Tyler's orders. The firing continued for 15 minutes and six hundred rounds of cartridges were used. The event was depicted in prose and verse in the Muslim press throughout India. Some of the most moving verses in Urdu poetry were written by Moulana Shibli Nomani.

کل مجھ کو چند لاشے بے جاں نظر پڑے
دیکھا قریب جا کے تو زخموں سے چور ہیں
کچھ طفل خرد سال ہیں جو چپ ہیں خود مگر
بچپن یہ کہہ رہا ہے کہ ہم بے قصور ہیں
آئے تھے اس لئے کہ بنائیں خدا کا گھر
نیند آ گئی ہے منتظر صبح صور ہیں
پوچھا جو میں نے کون ہو تم آئی یہ صدا
ہم کشتگان معرکۂ کانپور ہیں

The Muslim Anjumans all over India (Anjuman-e-Ziaul Islam, Bombay, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Amritsar, Anjuman-i-Hidayatul Islam, Badaun and Anjuman-i-Islamia, Kohat to name a few) strongly protested

[1]Spencer Lavan, "The Kanpur Mosque Incident of 1913" in *Punjab Past and Present* (Quarterly, Patiala), April, 1974. p.99.
[2]*Ibid.*, p.101.

www.cssexampoint.com

against the firing on the Muslims. The Muslim press also condemned the Government's action. The *Zamindar* commented, "The demolition of the part of the Kanpur Mosque at the point of bayonet and the characterisation of the Muslim outcry caused thereby – a spectacle so heartrending that it has shaken the faith of the Musalmans in the Government's principle of non-interference in religious matters".[1] The *Observer*, Lahore, expressed 'surprise' that Tyler should have given orders to fire at the crowd, the paper termed it as an "unnecessary step". It is interesting to observe that the Hindu press did not sympathise with the Muslim cause. The *Tribune*, Lahore, referred to Sir James Meston as a "kind-hearted and humane ruler" while referring to those killed as "the ignorant fanatics who took the law into their hands".[2]

The Muslim press in Bengal and U.P. also opposed the action of the Government. Most outspoken of the Bengal Muslim papers were the *Hablul Matin*, the *Muhammadi* and the *Mussalman* all of which were continuously critical of the Government and supportive of the Muslims of Kanpur. An article published in *Muhammadi* on August 15, 1913, stressed how the Kanpur killings had united Muslims all over India. The Editor saw the event as a repudiation of Queen Victoria's royal proclamation of 1857 and as a cruel attack on the religious faith of the Muslims.[3] In U.P. the most outspoken of the Muslim newspapers were the *Muslim Gazette*, Lucknow, *Musawat*, Allahabad, *Al-Musheer*, Moradabad, and *Tauheed*, Meerut.

The AIML did not remain quiescent during the Kanpur Mosque tragedy. Two notable resolutions were passed by the Council of the AIML on August 31, and on September 19, affirmed the criticism of the Muslim press. The resolution urged the appointment of a committee comprising both officials and civilians to conduct an impartial inquiry. More significant was the resolution of September 19, which expressed gratitude to Sayyid Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali for going to England to present the Muslim case.

Sir James Meston's attitude further deepened the wounds of the Muslims. A few days afterwards, he visited Kanpur and distributed merit certificates among those policemen who had taken part in the firing. In the opinion of Sayyid Raza Ali, it clearly manifested the fact that the British Government wanted not only to show injustice to the Muslims but also to degrade and humiliate them.

Lord Hardinge, as the Government documents show, was never in agreement with Meston about his policies. He was of the opinion that "the demolition of the Mosque at a moment when Sir James Meston and

---

[1] *The Kanpur Mosque Incident of 1913*, p.104.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.105.
[3] *The Kanpur Mosque Incident of 1913*, p.108.

www.cssexampoint.com

everybody else knew that the nerves of the Muhammadens were on the edge was a stupid blunder. I really see nothing to justify the action". He further described actions of Tyler and Meston as shortsightedness.

On August 19, 1913, a delegation headed by the Maharaja of Mahmudabad had a meeting with the Lt.-Governor and told him that the demolition of the Mosque had sparked off anger and shock among the Muslims of India. He was further told that the feelings of the Muslims in that case were not artificial, individual or local. Sayyid Wazir Hasan and Moulana Mohamed Ali went to England in order to brief the British people about the tragedy.

Lord Hardinge visited Kanpur alongwith Sayyid Ali Imam on 13-14 October. He worked out a compromise with the Muslims allowing them to build a new arcade over the public road to make up for the lost accommodation. He visited the Mosque, ordered the release of prisoners and withdrew the cases. Lord Hardinge recollected in his memoirs that, "My speech and act of clemency were not only received in Cawnpore but throughout India with the greatest enthusiasm".[1] It is interesting to note that quite a number of Englishmen viewed Hardinge's attitude as submissive in a colonial territory, and openly stated that it was unwise of Hardinge to have adopted a policy of appeasement.[2] The Anglo-Indian press also did not approve of his act of clemency because, according to them, it would lead to more troubles by various Indian factions.

Thus this tragedy played a significant role in awakening political consciousness among the Indian Muslims and stimulating their hatred for the Raj.

---

[1] Charles Hardinge, *My Indian Years 1910-16*, London, 1948, p.88.
[2] Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India*, Lahore, 1967, p.97.

www.csstexampoint.com

12

THE MAKING OF THE LUCKNOW PACT

In December 1916, an agreement was reached between the AIML and the INC which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact.

The run up to this Pact was marked by long and arduous rounds of negotiations spreading over a considerable period of time. The revocation of the partition of Bengal in December, 1911, brought about a tremendous transformation in the Muslim politics. So much so, the All-India Muslim League changed its constitution in 1913, which paved the way for the Congress and the League to come closer. Together with these developments, there rose a demand – which started as a fuzzy whimpering, attained crescendo and became popular frenzy – for Hindu-Muslim unity. As early as. 1910, Sayyid Nabiullah voiced this demand while delivering his presidential address in a Muslim League session. He said, "The alarm which my fellow country-men are raising about possible break-up of unity on the implementation of separate electorate is false. We do not want unity on paper only but we want a real unity from the heart in the interest of our country. Aren't our Hindu friends satisfied with their everlasting and permanent majority? What else do they want? Why do they look at our separate representation with jealousy? It appears as if they intend to muffle even our weak voice, intoxicated by their heavy majority. Is it the way of reconciliation? I appeal to the good sense and patriotism of my Hindu leaders that Hindu and Muslim statesmen, particularly, members of the Legislative Council should exchange views on the problems pertaining to the interest of the country".[1]

The first ever initiative undertaken in this regard came from the president of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, who convened a "Unity Conference" on January 1, 1911. This Conference was attended by sixty Hindus and forty Muslims including Surendranath Banerjea, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Madan Mohan Malavia, Motilal Nehru, G.K. Gokhale, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the Aga Khan, Ebrahim Rahmatullah

[1]Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.I, Karachi, 1969, pp.164-165.

www.cssexampoint.com

and Syed Mohammad.[1] But the conference failed to achieve any significant breakthrough.

The question of Hindu-Muslim unity had assumed an importance well before the outbreak of World War I in 1914. There existed an atmosphere of total consensus among almost all the political circles in India. But with the outbreak of War, political thought on this question crystallised, Indian statesmen were of the opinion that they would have to overcome their mutual differences if they were to achieve anything from the British after the War. They knew that they would have to close their ranks to present a united front to the British and to adopt collective measures for the attainment of their goal. It was, however, a hard nut to crack. A real difficulty in this regard was to bring all those Indian leaders at one place. Muslim statesmen were eager to hold meetings with the Hindu leaders but the AIML and the INC held their respective sessions in different cities. According to Raza Ali, "Mohammed Ali Jinnah prevailed upon the Council of the AIML to decide that the annual session of the League would be held in Bombay towards the end of December, 1915".[2]

Eventually, the two political parties held their meetings, simultaneously, in .Bombay in December, 1915, due to M.A. Jinnah's untiring efforts. The 'shamiana' covered venue carried the thematic message atop its main entrance in Urdu: *Ittfaq Main Barkat Hai,* which translated into English would read "Union is Strength". The atmosphere of *bon homie,* desire for understanding and cooperation, great expectations about the success of mutual consultations had generated a lot of euphoric enthusiasm among the participants on both sides. No greater achievement in the complex Hindu-Muslim relations could be envisaged than to have among the distinguished non-Muslim visitors in the AIML session, men like B.G. Tilak, M.K. Gandhi, S.P. Sinha, Pandit Malavia, B.C. Pal, B.G. Horniman, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu and others.[3] Similarly, the League leaders reciprocated the good-will gesture by attending the session of the Indian National Congress.

The speeches delivered at the meetings reflected the common desire for cooperation. Moulvi Mazharul Haq of the All-India Muslim League and S.P. Sinha of the Congress spoke eloquently in support of the Hindu-Muslim unity in their respective presidential addresses. It is worthwhile to mention here that the presidential address of the Congress president was 'moderately' worded whereas the speech of the president of the League was .full of enthusiasm. This provoked Mrs. Sarojni Naidu to comment "Mazharul Haq's address, though it lagged behind in political affairs, was the address of an

---

[1] *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol.III, Part I, Karachi, 1961, pp.120-121.
[2] Sayyid Raza Ali, *Aamāl Nama*, Delhi, 1945, p.348.
[3] A.H.Dani, (ed.), *World Scholars on Quaid-e-Azam*, Islamabad, 1979, p.100.

www.cssexampoint.com

independent, brave and truthful person. On the contrary, Sir Sinha's address was careful and full of inapt moderation". It gave rise to a joke that the two gentlemen happened to read each other's speech during their train journey together, but forgot to return the same which created this funny situation.

The two parties agreed to set up reforms committees at their meeting in Bombay and which eventually held their combined meeting in Calcutta in November, 1916. After four days of deliberations, a scheme was prepared which was approved both by the Congress and the League in their Lucknow sessions.

In December 1916, the two parties met in Lucknow. The session was attended by Fazlul Haq, Abdur Rasul, Akram Khan and Abul Qasim from Bengal, from the Punjab Mian Fazle Husain, Zafar Ali Khan, from U.P. Sir Raza Ali, Moulvi Mohammad Yaqoob, Syed Aale Nabi, and Aftab Ahmad Khan and from Bihar Husain Imam and Mazharul Haq participated. In his presidential address while emphasising the need of introduction of self-government in India, M.A. Jinnah said, "If the Indians are not the pariahs of nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organise together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government. The vital question today is: Is India fit to be free and to what extent? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It has to be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit today, she has got to be made fit for self-government. This, I maintain, is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than of the people themselves. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not, and will not, be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India".[1]

IMPORTANT FEATURES

Following were the important aspects of the Lucknow Pact:

1) The Hindus agreed to the right of separate electorate for the Muslims, for the first and the last time.
2) The Hindus conceded that the Muslims would have one third representation in the Imperial Legislative Council.
3) A 'weightage' formula was proposed under which the Muslims would get less representation than their population in the Legislative Council in those provinces where they were in majority but more in provinces where they were in minority.

[1] *The Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. I, pp. 37-38.

www.cssexampoint.com

4) The following were the proportion of Muslim representation that were agreed to for the Provincial Legislative Councils:-

Province	Muslim % of population	% of total Legislative seats for Muslims	% (3) of (2)
Central Province	4.3	15	349
Bihar & Orissa	10.5	25	238.
Madras	6.5	15	231
U.P.	14.0	30	214
Bombay	20.4	33.3	163
Punjab	54.8	50	91
Bengal	52.6	40	76

5) It was decided that no non-official member would present any bill, resolution or a part of it, related to another nation in any elected body if three-fourth of the members of the affected nation opposed it.
6) It was demanded that the number of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council be increased to 150 and 4/5 of its members be directly elected by the public. The president of the Council be elected by the members themselves and not selected by the Government. It was proposed that total members of the Legislative Councils of the larger provinces should be 125 and that of the smaller should be from 50 to 75.
7) It was demanded that members of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils be given the right to move adjournment motions.
8) It was demanded that the control of the Secretary of State and that of the Government of India over the provincial governments be curtailed to give them more autonomy. Nobody from Indian Civil Service should be made either the Governor or Head of the provincial governments.
9) It was demanded that all the members of the Councils should have the right to ask supplementary questions. Till then only the questioner himself had this right to do so.
10) All sources except customs, post & telegraph, salt, opium and railways be transferred to the provincial governments.
11) The Council of the Secretary of State for India be disbanded and two Assistant Secretaries may be appointed to assist him instead; one of them must be an Indian. Besides, the salary of the Secretary of the State must be disbursed from the British exchequer instead of from the Indian treasury.
12) Half of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General must be Indian who should be elected by the members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

www.cssexampoint.com

13) The same method should be adopted for the members of the Executive Councils of the governors.
14) Judiciary must be separated from the executive and no officer should be delegated with judicial authority.[1]

REACTION OF THE MUSLIMS AND THE HINDUS

The Lucknow Pact evinced different reactions from the Muslims and the Hindus. The Hindus of the U.P. opposed the Pact on the ground that it ensured the right of separate electorate for the Muslims. On the other hand, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha strongly criticised the whole Pact but their opposition was ineffective as some of Hindu leaders like Tej Bahadur Sapru, Motilal Nehru, Jagat Narain Mulla and Chintamani had themselves taken part in the formulation of the Pact.[2]

Similarly, the Muslim opinion on the subject was also divided. Those Muslim leaders who were in favour of cooperation with the Congress supported the Pact but the followers of "Sir Sayyid school of thought" opposed it as they were not ready to countenance any link with the Hindus whatsoever. Mian Mohammad Shaff, though himself a member of the Reforms Committee, opposed the Pact tooth and nail.. His opposition to it became so vehemently scathing that his Punjab Provincial Muslim League had to be scuttled from the All-India Muslim League and the Provincial Muslim League of Mian Fazle Husain was accorded recognition because he supported the Pact.[3]

The *Paisa Akhbar* vehemently condemned the Lucknow Pact. The paper wrote dozens of leaders criticising the Pact. It was of the view that by bringing the policy of the League in line with the Congress, Wazir Hasan had done grievous injury to the Muslim cause.

The Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab also opposed the Lucknow Pact but from a different angle. The Punjab Hindu Sabha strongly opposed the inclusion of separate electorate in the Pact as "undue appeasement of the Muslims".

The Bengali Muslims had a special reason to object to the Pact. Their collective rejection of this Pact was based on the fact that their majority in the provincial legislative council was turned into minority. The young League leaders were accused by the "old guards" of selling out their

---

[1]Shan Mohammad, *The Indian Muslims – A Documentary Record*, Vol.4, Meerut, 1981, pp.305-310.
[2]Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, 1979, p.88.
[3]Huge Owen, "Negotiating the Lucknow Pact" (article) in *Journal of Asian Studies, May, 1972, p.582.*

www.cssexampoint.com

community to the Hindus. The Lucknow Pact produced widespread resentment amongst Bengali Muslims.[1] The provisions of the Pact were criticised by the League leaders many of whom left the Bengal League, worked through the Central National Mohammedan Association and then formed their own organisation – the Indian Moslem Association. They thought that Bengali Muslims were entitled to the percentage of seats coincident with their 52.6 percent of Bengal population.[2]

On the other hand Fazlul Haq and other supporters of the Pact held the view that the 40 percent representation for their community was "just and fair" in consideration of the facts that firstly this concession was far excess of what they enjoyed at that moment and secondly the Muslim community in Bengal was not socially and politically developed enough to claim larger representation.[3] The Bengal Provincial Muslim League, which had greatly contributed to the framing of the Pact, was compelled to present a memorandum to the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, demanding 50% representation for the Muslims in the Bengal Council. The opposition to the Pact gained momentum and by December, 1917, almost all notable parties of Bengal had become unanimous on this point. On April 17, 1917, *Risalat* an Urdu daily of Calcutta, voiced the common views saying "The success of the scheme will place the Muslims under the thumb of the Hindus. Muslim interests will not be safeguarded unless they get at least equal representation with the Hindus in the Council".[4] The Indian Muslim Association of Nawab Ali Chaudhry and Siraj-ul-Islam also demanded "generous representation" for the Muslims in the Legislative Council.[5]

The Bengali leaders as late as 1933 continued criticizing the Pact. Abdul Karim, presiding over the general meeting of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in 1933, warned that "Young Muslim Bengal now wide awake to their true interest are not likely to allow the bartering away of their birthright without a challenge". He accused that the Lucknow Pact had relegated the Muslim majority in Bengal to intolerable position of a permanent minority.[6]

In U.P. also, those followers of "Sir Sayyid school of thought", who rejected the Lucknow Pact, included Khan Bahadur, Shaikh Abdullah from Aligarh. Several newspapers of U.P. like *Al-Bashir, Al-*

---

[1]Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, 1989, p.18.
[2]Leonard A. Gordon, *Bengal – The Nationalist Movement 1876-1940*, Delhi, 1979, p.159.
[3]*The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, pp.18-19.*
[4]*Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, p.93.
[5]Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements*, Lahore, 1979, p.115.
[6]*The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh*, p.40.

www.cssexampoint.com

Mizan, Zulqarnain, Mashriq and *Aligarh Institute Gazette* were in the forefront of this campaign against the Pact. Thus the Muslim public opinion was split down the middle with regard to the Lucknow Pact.

IMPORTANCE

The Lucknow Pact was the culmination of the Quaid's persistence efforts for the Hindu-Muslim unity. It was for these efforts that Sarojni Naidu gave him the title "The Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" which he so richly deserved. The Lucknow Pact holds a special significance in the Indian history. For the Muslims, it had a value of central importance because the Hindus accepted the demand of separate electorate for the first and the last time. This was so despite the fact that the Muslims had to pay a heavy price in Bengal and the Punjab. By getting the principle of separate electorate incorporated in the Lucknow Pact presented to the Secretary of State, the Quaid had lifted the issue of separate Muslim representation beyond pale of controversy and paved the way for its presentation in the Montford Reforms.[1]

The Lucknow Pact, by its implications, exploded the myth of the Congress that it was the sole spokesman of the whole of India – a claim that it had consistently drummed up for years. A pact by its very nature and constitution predetermines the existence of two or more parties. Thus the Lucknow Pact negated the claim of the Congress to be the only single party representing the whole of India. At the same time it provided the Muslims with much needed guarantee that no resolution which they opposed would get legal sanction.

The Lucknow Pact not only hastened the important policy announced by the British Government on August 20, 1917 but in certain important respects it also influenced the course of events during the next few years.

An objective assessment of the Lucknow Pact, for its merits and demerits, its gains and losses, will reveal that parties concerned certainly showed flexibility in surrendering some of their own demands to accommodate the others with a view to achieving workable objectives. It manifested the Indian statesmen's sense of maturity and sagacious political manoeuvering. They established beyond doubt that they could sacrifice their personal interest for the sake of self-government for India. Unfortunately, this 'approach' and atmosphere of cooperation through compromise proved to be transient and India was soon gripped by Hindu bigotry and prejudice once again.

---

[1] *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam*, p.382.

www.cssexampoint.com

13

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS (1919)

While introducing the Minto-Morley Reforms, Lord Minto was aiming at winning the support of the moderate-faction within the Congress but these Reforms could not satisfy any section of the Indian society. As a matter of fact, the British Government was following a definite policy which implied that instead of fully curing the political ailments of India, occasional doses should be given as a momentary relief. But now, things had changed radically. The Indians had become fully aware of such tactics. The accelerated pace of political developments in India forced the Government to view the Indian problem from a new angle. The movement for self-government had gathered momentum in India in the wake of the First World War. The Home Rule League had become quite popular with the people. On the other hand. Hindu-Muslim unity had also seen the light of the day as a result of the I ucknow Pact. The demand for self-government in India was being made more vigorously. In these circumstances, Lord Chelmsford was sent to India as the new Governor-General.

During the First World War, the. Indians argued that if Britain was fighting for the survival of democracy, why was it hesitant to allow democracy to flourish in India. They asserted that if Britain claimed itself to be the champion of freedom, why was it reluctant to grant freedom to India. The British Government was finally induced to sense the wave of unrest among the Indians. The Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu made a statement in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917 which is known as the August Declaration. 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 of Indians in every branch of the administration of gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". In order to implement this Declaration, Montagu visited India (November 1917-April 1918) and held meetings with government officials and political figures regarding the establishment of a responsible government in India. In July 1918, Governor-General Lord

www.cssexampoint.com

Chelmsford and Montagu compiled a detailed report about constitutional reforms in India. According to the Report, the establishment of a responsible government in India had hitherto been impossible on account of the lack of education and the absence of political consciousness. The authors of the Report were of the view that the responsible government could only gradually be introduced in India. For the implementation of their plan, they presented the system known as Dyarchy. The publication of the Report provoked heated debates and discussions and diverse opinions were expressed about it. The 1919 Reforms were prepared on the basis of this Report. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had the following main features:

The primary objective of these reforms was to train the Indians for running their self-government. The training process was started from the provinces and for this reason, no arrangement was made for the transfer of responsibilities to the Indians at the Centre. However, certain initiatives were taken that enabled the Indians to take part in the administration.

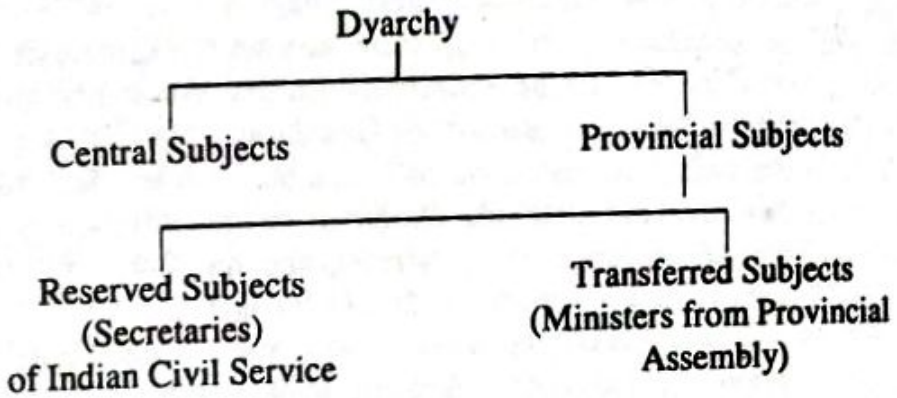
1) The number of Indians in the Governor-General's Executive Council was increased to three.
2) A bicameral central legislature was set up. The Lower House was known as the Indian Legislative Assembly while the Upper House was called the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members while the Council of State had 60 members. Members of the Lower House were elected for three years whereas the members of the Upper House were elected for a period of five years.

   Up to 1920, the Indian Legislative Council played, for all practical purposes, the role of an advisory body. It could not press any proposal against the official majority. Nor could it be successful in censuring the Executive. The financial powers were virtually restricted to the discussion of budgets. With a non-official majority and all the paraphernalia of the modern legislature, the new Central Legislature created under the 1919 Reforms came to exercise greater power. It marked a new milestone in the growth of Indian legislatures which was the avowed purpose of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The autocratic power of the Government of India and the local governments was veiled but the change brought by the Montford Reforms was so substantial as to amount to a political revolution.
3) Legislative work was divided into central and provincial subjects. The central subjects included defence, foreign affairs, customs, relations with the Indian States, telephone, currency and railways. Those subjects which were not transferred to the provinces were regarded as central subjects.

www.cssexampoint.com

Provincial subjects included local self-government, public health, education, irrigation and agriculture.

4) The powers of the members of the Assembly were also increased. .Before 1919, members of the Assembly could not move adjournment motions but they got this right under the Montford Reforms. Moreover, they were also allowed to move resolutions on their own behalf.
5) The right of separate electorate for the Muslims was kept intact.
6) Under the Reforms, the Secretary of State for India was to get his salary from the British exchequer. Previously, he was paid from the Indian exchequer.
7) It was announced that after ten years, a commission would be set up to assess the success or failure of these Reforms and to explore the prospects for further improvements in them.



The most important feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was the introduction of Dyarchy system. In line with the Report of 1918, the training of the Indians for running self-government was started from provinces. Provincial subjects were further divided into two categories; known as Reserved Subjects and Transferred Subjects. Reserved Subjects were related to those departments which were managed by the Governor himself with the help of his secretaries. Ministers were responsible for the Transferred Subjects. 'These ministers were members of the Assembly and were responsible to the Assembly for their actions. Thus, it was the start of responsible government on a limited scale. Reserved Subjects included police, irrigation, forestry, judiciary and revenue. All the unimportant affairs were included in the list of Transferred Subjects. They included departments like local self-government, education, cooperatives, agriculture and industry.

Provincial administration was also divided into two parts. Reserved Subjects were administered by the government appointed secretaries. Secretaries, who were not members of the Assembly, were appointed for five years. The Assembly was not entitled to dismiss them from their posts. A team of ministers was appointed by the

www.cssexampoint.com

Governors to manage the Transferred Subjects. They held their posts as long as they enjoyed the confidence of the Assembly.

Dyarchy was a unique system of government which remained operative in nine provinces for sixteen years. But this system did not succeed due to the following reasons:-

1) The introduction of Montford Reforms synchronized with a very inauspicious combination of circumstances. The political atmosphere was extremely tense due to the Rowlatt Act. The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh ended all prospects of improvement in the situation. Meanwhile, Britain's hostile attitude towards Turkey severely hurt the feelings of the Muslims. The Indian Muslims could not longer remain silent over the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. In such circumstances, the Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement gathered momentum and in no time, the whole country was engulfed in these movements. Assemblies were boycotted as a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement. In 1924, an enquiry commission acknowledged that the Reforms could somehow have been made successful, had there been no political tensions and had the Assemblies not been boycotted.
2) An important feature of the parliamentary system is that all the ministers are jointly responsible for their work. The Dyarchy system was an attempt to create a responsible government but this fundamental principle of parliamentary system was ignored. Under Dyarchy, all the provincial ministers were individually responsible for their actions. For this very reason it was aptly remarked that under Dyarchy, there were ministers but no ministries.
3) The distribution of provincial subjects was also inappropriate. Quite cleverly the Government declared all the income-generating departments as Reserved Subjects and all those departments where money was spent, were transferred to the provincial ministers. Consequently, ministers were left at the mercy of the provincial government. By keeping the all-important finance department with itself, the Government made the ministers dependent on the Government.
4) Under the Reforms, the Governors were given unlimited powers which literally destroyed the objective of the Reforms. In the parliamentary form of government, Governors are no more than constitutional heads but under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, they were given wide-ranging powers. They could veto the laws of the Assembly and the ministers and could also enforce their will in the Transferred Subjects. The undue interference of the Governors in the day-to-day affairs strangled the spirit of the Reforms.

www.cssexampoint.com

14

THE MASSACRE OF JALLIANWALA BAGH

Some places become so fused with the events, or one particular event, taking place in them that their very names are charged with a special meaning or significance. Examples are Mayerling, Verdun, Gettysburg and not least, Amritsar. Every time there is violence against a civilian population, such as at Sharpeville or Budapest, the name of Amritsar is mentioned.[1]

A brief period of Hindu-Muslim unity ensued in the wake of the Lucknow Pact 1916. Both the nations started working for the self-rule for India. In the meantime, the Government was much perturbed by the secret and revolutionary activities during the World War I. A committee headed by Justice Sidney Rowlatt was appointed to investigate into the causes of such activities and to suggest possible remedies. After his detailed investigations, Rowlatt presented a report to the Government on April 30, 1918. In the light of the recommendations of the report, the Government introduced a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. The Rowlatt Bill was supposed to give unlimited powers to the administration and the police. The accused neither had the right to appeal nor could take the services of a lawyer for his defence. The Government could put anyone under house arrest, without assigning any reason.[2]

The Indians who had made heroic sacrifices for the British Government during the First World War, were under the illusion that after the War, they would be granted self-government in return for their sacrifices. But contrary to their expectations they got their reward in the form of the Rowlatt Act. Thus, there was a storm of protest against this act from one end of the country to the other. When the bill was presented before the Imperial Legislative Council, all the 23 non-official members voted against it. They included some who were always regarded as ultra loyalists.

In his speech during the debate over the bill, the Quaid-i-Azam vehemently opposed it for being against all the fundamental notions of

---

[1] Arthur Swinon, *Six Minutes to Sunset*, London, 1964, p.2.

[2] Rupert Furnaeux, *Massacre at Amritsar*, London, 1963, p.36.

www.cssexampoint.com

law and justice. He said that the administration would definitely misuse the unlimited powers which it would get under the new Act. He further said that no civilised country in the world had such a law. He warned that the approval of the bill would trigger widespread agitation and unease throughout the country. This unrest would be unparalleled. Moreover, he pointed out that the new Act would have harmful effects on the pleasant relationship between the Government and the people.

When this bill was handed over to the Select Committee on. February, 1919, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Surendranath Banerjea wrote dissenting notes on it. Banerjea proposed that the bill should be sent to the High Courts, local governments and other public institutions in order to ascertain public approval. On this occasion too, the Quaid bitterly opposed the bill and demanded that the Government should advertise the bill to elicit public opinion.[1]

Despite all the opposition from the Indians, when the bill became a law, the Quaid resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest. In this connection, he wrote a letter to the Governor-General on March 28, 1919. Each and every word of that letter displays his feelings of nationalism and boldness. He wrote,

> "The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council, which is a legislature but in name – a machine propelled by a foreign executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect.
>
> The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated. I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the Bill and the manner in which it was passed tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council for I feel under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council nor consistently with one's self-respect is cooperation possible with a Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside".[2]

---

[1] M. Rafique Afzal (ed), *Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore, 1973, pp.84-85.

[2] M.H.Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*, Karachi, 1970, pp.81-82.

www.cssexampoint.com

The prediction of the Quaid came true and a storm of angry protest swept across the country. Strikes were planned throughout India and M.K. Gandhi started his non-violence movement against it.

It is to be noted that not only the Punjab politicians but the press in the Punjab also strongly condemned the Rowlatt Act. The *New Herald* (Lahore, 23 March 1919) wrote, "The expected has happened. Government, in opposition to the most considered opinion of the Indian public, passed the Rowlatt Bill. Government by its deliberate contempt for the Indian point of view has shown that it is not in a mood to be sympathetic towards our aspirations. It is now our duty to put the Government to trouble in every constitutional way.[1]

The *Vakil* (Amritsar, ed. Abdullah Minhas) on 26 March also criticized the Government, saying, "The Secretary of State also gives his assent to the Rowlatt Act. Signs go to show that if it comes to pass, an agitation will be set on foot in India the like of which the history of the country will be unable to show. Can it be hoped that if the Government of India has not realised the importance of the matter the Secretary of State will, with the help of Lord Sinha, endeavour to understand the situation." But, alas, no one was ready to understand the situation and the bill became an act. Majority of the newspapers in Lahore including the *Desh* (ed., Dina Nath), the *Hindu Gazette* (ed., Kishan Chand) the *Punjabee* (ed., S.K. Lehri), the *Tribune* (ed., K.N. Roy), the *New Herald* (ed., Sandal Singh, *Leader, Zamindar* all vehemently condemned the Rowlatt Act.

The *Siasat* (Lahore, ed., Syed Habib Shah) on the 10th April wrote a very forceful editorial note remarking that a government agency distributed not hundreds but thousands of Urdu copies of the Rowlatt Act among the people of Lahore. A note at the end pointed out that it has been very clearly stated in the act that the measure was meant for revolutionaries and anarchists only. The paper asked that if, as was stated, the act had been passed only to deal with the people fomenting rebellion against Government, why did the non-official Indian members of the Viceregal Council offer a strong and unanimous opposition to it? Why had Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Malviya resigned their seats on the council saying that they considered the law most fatal for the cause of freedom? The paper continued, "Are only a few highly placed officer of Government endowed with wisdom and are they alone the well-wishers of the hundreds of millions of Indians. Have all the great Hindu and Muslim leaders gone mad, and do they wish their nations ill? Have all the Indians became so foolish that they can't distinguish between friends and foes, good and bad?

[1] *Punjab Press Abstracts*, 1919, p.135.

www.essexampoint.com

At that time, Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the governor of the Punjab. He had an imperialistic nature and had a strong hatred for the Indian educated class. Lawyers too, were the target of his antipathy. He wanted to preserve the British Raj by all means. He often used to say that the English had gained the Government of India by force and only force could keep it intact. He believed that soft-hearted people could not manage the affairs of the state. He also did not like the idea of introducing constitutional reforms in India. That is why, he bitterly opposed the Secretary of State, Edwin Montagu, when he visited India regarding the constitutional reforms. He regarded talking and meeting with Indian politicians as an insult and believed that the only place suited to them was the jail. According to him, all the Indians were liars and were quite incapable of running the Government. He often sarcastically remarked, "It is a great irony that those who are unable to manage the affairs of a school or a newspaper are coming forward enthusiastically with the proposals of running a great state".[1]

Under these conditions when the whole country was at fire, O'Dwyer wished that the Punjab should remain free from all sorts of political activity. Thus, he banned all public meetings, processions and protests in the Province. In the meantime, M.K. Gandhi announced that he would start a tour of the Punjab from April 10. To curb the political unrest in the Punjab, the Government banned the two well-known leaders of Amritsar, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal from making speeches. Later on, a plan was made to arrest them. It was decided that both the leaders would be summoned by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to his office and would then secretly be taken away from the city. So, Miles Irving summoned them to his office and through a back-door sent them to Dharamsala.[2]

The news of their arrest soon spread like wild fire. On April 9, 1919 a large crowd gathered in a park began demanding the release of their leaders. When the situation was out of control, the police had to open fire which made the situation even more tense. The angry mob looted the city's National Bank and Chartered Bank. The bank manager and his assistant were killed. On April 10, General Dyer received orders to leave Jalundhar for Amritsar. He reached Amritsar with 475 English and 710 Indian soldiers and two armoured vehicles.

On reaching Amritsar, General Dyer issued orders banning all public meetings, demonstrations and rallies. On the morning of April 13, he toured round the city along with the Deputy Commissioner and made announcements at 19 places that all meetings and processions had

[1] Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Do Saal*, Lahore, 1969. p.85.
[2] *Massacre at Amritsar*, p.52.

www.cssexampoint.com

been banned and that if those orders were disobeyed the use of force would not be ruled out.[1]

At about four, when General Dyer was told that a meeting was being held at Jallianwala Bagh, he became furious. Military had already been deployed at all the important places in the city. Dyer started marching towards the Bagh with 90 troops and ordered them to open fire on that unarmed gathering. The audience were caught beneath the hail of bullets, all of them frantically trying to escape from quiet meeting place which had suddenly become a screaming hell. The firing continued for almost fifteen minutes which left 379 people dead on the spot and more than 1200 injured.

The savagery and brutality of General Dyer can be imagined from the fact that during investigations, Chimanlal Setalvad asked him, "Supposing passage was sufficient enough to allow the armoured cars to go in, would you have opened fire with the machine guns?" He replied, "I think probably yes". Asked what his objects were, Dyer said he was going to fire until the crowd dispersed, and he fired until they dispersed. They started to disperse at once but he went on firing. He looked upon the Indians as "rebels" and he considered it his "very horrible duty to fire and fire well".[2]

General Dyer believed that the Indians living in the Punjab were involved in an organised conspiracy against the Government and the events of Amritsar were a part of that conspiracy. However, the Hunter Committee arrived at the conclusion, in the light of the evidence brought before it, that the riots of Amritsar were not the part of a pre-planned conspiracy to overthrow the British Government.[3]

After the massacre at Amritsar, martial law was imposed on the Punjab and a brutal reign of terror was unleashed on the people of the province. The students of Lahore were ordered to walk for seventeen miles under the blazing sun of May with their beddings on their heads.[4] Col. Frank Johnson, the Martial Law Administrator at Lahore, when asked by the Hunter Committee to comment he protested it was only sixteen miles. He had consulted the map, he stated, and he explained that it was no hardship for able-bodied young men. It was only a mild type of physical exercise".[5] Johnson also ordered that all pedal-driven cycles in possession of students on the rolls of the D.A.V., Sanatan Dharm and

---

[1] *Massacre at Amritsar*, pp.74-75.
[2] *Massacre at Amritsar*, pp.121-122.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.105.
[4] *Iqbal Kai Akhri Do Saal*, p.107.
[5] *Massacre at Amritsar*, p.102.

www.cssexampoint.com

Dyal Singh College be delivered at Bradlaugh Hall.[1] All the citizens of Lahore were ordered to hand over all of their vehicles, bicycles, lamps and fans to the military. A judge of the Punjab Chief Court, Sir Shadilal, who later on became the Chief Justice, went to the office of Col. Johnson and told him that he was a judge of the Chief Court and that to enable him to discharge his duties properly, he might be exempted from the above-mentioned order and be allowed to use the car. Col. Johnson replied, "I don't care for the needs of anyone. I. am only interested in the maintenance of law and order so hand over your car to me".[2]

The martial law orders were pasted on the walls of the houses of the prominent citizens of Lahore including people like Sir Fazle Husain, Pir Tajuddin and Khalifa Shujauddin. They were responsible for their safety. Col. Frank Johnson admitted before the Hunter Committee that when a similar placard pasted on the wall of Sanatan Dharm College hostel was torn into pieces, he ordered the arrest of the professors along with 65 students. They were then ordered to walk for three miles. Later on, they were made to stand in the sun throughout the day. The Colonel said that he had been awaiting an opportunity to show the students the power of martial law and he took this opportunity to do so.[3] The Principal of Dyal Singh College was punished only because someone had pasted an objectionable placard on the College wall. In Lahore, water and power connections were cut off.

In Amritsar, Miss Manuella Sherwood, a missionary, was beaten by angry mob. To save her life, she rushed to a street but there, too, she met with similar treatment. As a consequence of this incident, people were banned from entering that street. They could enter the street only by crawling. That is why, this street came to be known as the "Crawling Street".

The Indian public opinion vehemently condemned the brutality of General Dyer. E.G. Horniman, editor of *Bombay Chronicle* wrote, "The Jallianwala Bagh battle is an achievement which has created for Dyer a special niche in the gallery of frightfulness... it will go down in history as an indelible blot on British rule in India".[4] Even Winston Churchill condemned saying, "This is an episode which appears to me to be without precedent or parallel in the modern history of the British Empire. It is an extraordinary event; a monstrous event, an event which stands in singular and sinister isolation".[5]

---

[1] "Martial Law Notice No.17", *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, April 20, 1919, p.1
[2] Zafrullah Khan, *Tahdees-i-Naimat*, Dhaka, 1971, p.183.
[3] *Massacre at Amritsar*, p.102.
[4] *Six Minutes to Sunset*, p.69.
[5] *Six Minutes to Sunset*, p.151.

www.cssexampoint.com

The public opinion in England was .divided .into two groups regarding the brutal tactics used by General Dyer. One group was of the opinion that this timely action of the General had saved India from another mutiny and that he had taught a good lesson to the blacks. But another group believed that the tragedy at Amritsar had played an important role in inciting the nationalistic feelings among the Indians. As a result, within a short span of 27 years, this precious jewel of the British crown was lost. These savage acts of General Dyer and Lt.-Governor O'Dwyer could not suppress the passions for independence among the Indians. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre shattered once for all the tradition of loyalty to the British Crown.

www.cssexampoint.com

15

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

In World War I the Ottoman Empire decided to side with Germany. During the war the Indian Muslims feared that if Germany was defeated, Turkey would also suffer badly. But Great Britain continued reassuring the world that they were not fighting the war to deprive Turkey of its capital city, Asia Minor or the fertile lands of Greece. President Wilson of the U.S.A. had also assured in his famous Fourteen Points that the Turkish sovereignty would continue on its original territories.

The question that had been continuously agitating the minds of the Indian Muslims was the fate of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the War. Before answering this question it is imperative to analyse thoroughly the religious and political concept and status of Khilafat in the hearts and minds of the Muslims. The fact of the matter is that sympathy of the Indian Muslims with the Khilafat was not the outcome of a temporary political agitation. On the other hand the Indian Muslims had developed a deep-rooted devotion with the caliphate over the years. The Muslims had always profound respect for the holy institution. It was during the reign of Hazrat Usman-i-Ghani that relationship between the Caliphate and India was established initially. After the pious Caliphate when the Umayyads came to power, the Muslims of Sindh also accepted their sovereignty. Hazrat Umar-bin-Abdul Aziz, after becoming caliph wrote several letters to the notables of Sindh. Their close contacts succeeded in leaving wholesome effects on the Hindu Rajas who after having been moved by the piety and austerity of the Caliph, converted to Islam and adopted Muslim names. During the Umayyad rule, various emissaries were sent to India as *Naib-i-Khilafat*. These contacts increased during the Abbasid rule. Caliph Abu Jafar Mansur appointed one Muflis Abdi as his vicegerent who laid the foundation of the city of Mansura in Sindh, after the name of the Caliph. These were the times when Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi had established a very powerful state in Central Asia. How much he valued allegiance to the Caliphate can be ascertained from the fact that he always considered it his religious obligation to inform the Caliph about every new achievement. Not only that but he always sought a formal permission of the Caliph before launching every

www.cssexampoint.com

new Indian venture. In recognition of his services of Islam the Caliph awarded him the title of *Yameen-ud-Doula* which he always regarded as an honour.[1] Sultan Shamsuddin Altamish was also granted a *Khlat* by Baghdad in 626 Hijra. The Sultan felt so elevated with this honour that he celebrated this occasion in his capital with great pump and show. However, it was during the reign of Mohammad Tughlaq that the contact between the Khilafat and India attained new dimensions. Ziauddin Barni, a renowned historian, describes the extent to which Mohammad Tughlaq held Khilafat in high esteem. He says that the Sultan had such deep devotion with the Khilafat which can't be described in words. The Sultan engraved the name of the Caliph on his coins in place of his own name. In 744 A.H., the Sultan received a *Khlat* from Egypt. The Sultan felt so honoured that he went outside the capital along with his courtiers and scholars to welcome it and placed this decree on his head after alighting from his horse and celebrated this occasion in the city.[2]

One can easily assess the extent to which the Muslim rulers attached respect and honour to the Khilafat from currency of the Delhi Sultanate. These coins carried .the name of the Caliph alongside the names of the Indian rulers. The study of these coins reveals that the king did not consider himself the permanent ruler but regarded himself as the vice-regent of the Caliph. Even the smaller independent states established thousands of miles away from Delhi also considered themselves subservient to the Caliph. Stales like Malva, Gujerat and Bengal engraved the names of the Caliph with the names of their own rulers on their coins.

As it happened that Ottoman Caliphate was founded in Turkey at the time when Mughal dynasty established itself firmly in India. Although in the larger context of tribal rivalries Ottoman and Tairmurites were rivals yet the Mughal dynasty did not ignore its obligations towards the protectors of *Harmain Shareefain*. So much so that the name of the Ottoman dynasty was mentioned in Friday *Khutba*.

After the fall of the Mughal dynasty when Sultan Tipu tried to outs the British from the sub-continent they obtained a letter from Sultan Saleem III through their ambassador in Constantinople addressed to the Sultan. In this letter the Caliph of Islam advised Tipu Sultan not to have any truck with the French, who were the enemies of Islam and the Muslims. It clearly proves the importance of Khilafat for the Muslims, In 1857, during the War of Independence, the British once again obtained a letter from Sultan Abdul Majeed for the Indian Muslims which exhorted them not to revolt against the British who enjoyed the friendship of the Caliph.[3]

---

[1] Sayyid Suleman Nadvi, *Khilafat Aur Hindustan*, Azamgarh, 1340 A.H., p.8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.17.
[3] *Khilafat Aur Hindustan*, p.79.

www.cssexampoint.com

For five hundred years, Europe was engaged in a crusade against the Ottoman Empire, with the ultimate objective of dislodging Turkey from Europe. In this process that began from the reign of Bayazid Yaldram and continued till the demise of the Caliphate, every possible tactics were employed by the European nations for the expulsion of Turkey from Europe. At times, they described Turkey as the religious leader and guardian of the Muslims and on some other occasions, they attempted to humiliate it by calling it "the sick man of Europe." In these circumstances, Muslims were fully justified in thinking that with the disintegration of the Ottoman Caliphate, they would lose all their honour and prestige throughout the world. Seen in this context, Khilafat Movement became a symbol of hatred against the British Imperialism. Another worth mentioning aspect of the whole affair is that European countries and Russia always portrayed themselves as the strong advocates and guardians of the rights of Christians and other non-Muslim minorities living in the various provinces of the Ottoman Empire and incited them against the Turks. But at the same time, the inhabitants of their own occupied territories were always kept deprived of their due rights.

The evidence mentioned above go to prove beyond any iota of doubt that the Ottoman Caliphate had an abiding relationship with India. On their part, the Indian Muslims had proved their love and sympathy with the Turks in the War of Tripoli 1911. One of the several gestures of good-will and fraternal love for the Turks was an Indian medical delegation which went to Turkey to express solidarity with the Turkish cause during the Balkan wars. It amply proved the willingness of Indian Muslims to sacrifice everything for their Turkish brethren. That was why the British, after having assessed the true feelings of the Muslims, were forced to declare that His Majesty's Government was only fighting against the Turks and not against the Caliph of Islam.

This could not, however, allay the fears of the Indian Muslims who were profoundly perturbed about the safety of their holy places. As a result an organisation, *Majlis-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba,* was set up on December 3, 1919, which ultimately succeeded in extracting a promise from the Government that the holy places of the Muslims would not be harmed at all. It is another proof of the brotherly concern of the Indian Muslims for their Turkish brethren. They were always ready to share their difficulties. Whenever the Indian Muslims received any information about the problems of their Turkish brothers, they would at once launch a campaign to accumulate moral and material support to alleviate their sufferings. On one such occasion when the Greek forces attacked Samarna and its adjoining areas on May 15, 1919, the Indian Muslims registered their resentment with the British in the form of a Memorial but

www.cssexampoint.com

to no avail. On June 1, 1919, Seth Yaqub Hasan, once again, presented another Memorial to the British Prime Minister, in which he had discussed the international importance of the Turkish problem, the survival of the Ottoman Empire and the significance of Khilafat.

Pacts and pledges are honoured only when the rival parties are of equal strength and status. On the other hand, history stands witness to the bitter fact that a treaty between the victor and the vanquished, the ruler and the ruled has been treated as not worth the paper it is written on. Similarly, the British commitments with the Indian Muslims on the question of Turkey were broken with arrogant disregard for all norms of morality for the sake of political gains. The British Government went ahead with its designs to dismember the Ottoman Empire, and entered into negotiations with other colonial powers to divide the Empire. It sent a wave of anger through the Indian Muslims who felt cheated and hoodwinked by this blatant violation of repeated pledges and commitment by the British. The Principal of M.A.O. College, Aligarh, Theodore Morison wrote an article which reflected the real extent to which this incident had infuriated the Muslims. By way of warning the British people he remarked that the "proposed division of the Ottoman Empire has ignited a fire from one corner to the other. Just meet those Muslims who live in London and try to assess how their hearts are burning. In India, the Muslims are deeply incensed from Peshawar to Arcot. Their women at home are grieving, wailing and mourning the fate of Turkey. Businessmen who do not generally bother about the matters of public concern, have ignored their business and are now concentrating on these matters. The religious scholars of *Deoband* and *Nadvatul-Ulama* have discarded their seclusion and are protesting. The Muslims have forgotten everything in the face of this grief. A few days ago, a Muslim remarked that he took extraordinary interest in the Constitutional Reforms as an Indian but failed to take notice when Edwin Montagu moved for its second reading in the House of Common because he was possessed by the fear of impending disaster of Islam."[1] The Aga Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Abbas Ali Beg continued to intimate to the British Government what did the Muslim feel about the Ottoman Empire and Khilafat.

During these turbulent period of British rule in India events of great disconcerting nature took place in rapid succession which fueled the fire of hatred in the natives against their masters. One of such events which eventually turned the tide of history was the brutal massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919. This pre-planned carnage paved the way for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindus and the Muslims now decided to forge

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Siasavi Milla*, Agra, 1941, p. 105.

www.upscexampoint.com

ahead unitedly and take steps against the Government. To begin with, almost 15 thousand Muslims assembled in Bombay on 20th March, 1919 where Khilafat Committee was formed with Seth Jan Mohammad Chottani as its president. In a public meeting under the auspices of this Bombay Khilafat Committee on 5th July, 1919, it was decided to set up a nation-wide organisation known as the All-India Khilafat Committee. Seth Chottani and Moulana Shaukat Ali were appointed the president and the secretary respectively. Branches of this Khilafat Committee were formed in every nook and corner of the country.

As a sequel to the new flip to the movement, All-India Khilafat Conference was held on November 23-24, 1919, which was presided over by Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq. Moulvi Fazlul Haq in his presidential address emphasised the need to seek cooperation from the non-Muslims. The following four resolutions were passed at the meeting:-

1) The Muslims of India should not participate in the celebration of Armistice to register their anger over the excesses committed against the holy places in Iran and Turkey.
2) The Muslims would be forced to adopt a non-cooperative stance against the Government if Turkey was treated unfairly in the Armistice.
3) They would boycott the British goods in case Turkey was treated unjustly.
4) A delegation was to be formed to abreast the British Government about the feelings of the Muslims on the question of Khilafat.

The worst fears of the Muslims regarding Turkey proved true when the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were made public in May, 1920. This pact was imposed on Turkey as a result of which the Ottoman Empire was divided. It made the Indian Muslims intensely angry. They lost their patience as well as their trust in British pledges. They believed that the Peace Conference was bent on the destruction of Islam. They gave vent to their ire in several ways. They passed resolutions, took out protest march and launched agitation. On December 6, 1920, Jamiatul-Ulama-i-Hind passed a resolution in an extraordinary meeting that the Muslims were now duty bound to boycott the enemies of Islam since Britain had openly violated the pledge by undermining the rule of Khilafat, uprooting the religious authority of the Caliph of Islam and thus had proved their religious prejudice against Islam.

Soon, after, a formal *fatwa* (a religious decree) was issued which was signed by 500 *ulama* calling-upon the Muslims to non-cooperation.[1]

[1] *Siasat-i-Millia*, p.156.

www.cssexampoint.com

KHILAFAT DELEGATION

In December, 1919, both the Congress and the Khilafat Committee held their sessions simultaneously at Amritsar. It coincided with the release of Moulana Mohamed Ali from jail who went straight to Amritsar to participate in the deliberations. The deliberations succeeded to arrive at a consensus point that a delegation from India should immediately proceed to England and other European countries to present the demands. Initially a delegation comprising Moulana Mohamed Ali, Syed Husain, and Sayyid Suleman Nadvi was elected which was later on expanded to include Shaikh Musheer Husain Kidwai, and Moulvi Abul Qasim. Moulana Mohamed Ali was to head the delegation while Hasan Mohammad Hayat was appointed as secretary. Moulana Mohamed Ali was to present the Muslim point of view on political matter while Sayyid Suleman Nadvi was to explain the Muslim conception of Khilafat from religious point of view. Sayyid Suleman Nadvi had the distinction of giving exhaustive rebuttals to all anti-Islam articles which appeared in the British press.[1]

The delegation prepared a charter of demands to be presented to the British. It contained the following demands:-

1) That the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of the Muslims should be kept as the sovereign ruler of an independent state comprising of Constantinople, Thrace, Anatolia and Armenia.
2) The areas of Hijaz, Syria, Palestine and Iraq which had the holy places of Islam should be protected from the rule of the non-Muslims.
3) Spade work should be initiated to pave way for the independence of India, without which it was impossible to protect the Islamic countries.

To achieve these goals and to project the views of the delegation, a magazine *Muslim Outlook* was stalled from London. This magazine carried a detailed account of the activities of the delegation. The delegation held a meeting with the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, which proved useless as he was not impressed by the arguments of the delegation. He rejected their point of view outrightly and remarked that the treaty with Turkey would be made on the same principles which formed the bases of treaties with Christian states and Turkey would not be allowed to keep non-Turkish areas in her possession.[2]

The delegation used all its resources to enlighten the people of Europe in general and those of London, Paris and Italy in particular on the Muslim point of view about Khilafat. However, the delegation met

---

[1]Sayyid Suleman Nadvi, *Bureed-e-Frang*, Karachi, 1952, p.11.
[2]Sayyid Hasan Riaz, *Pakistan Naguzeer Tha*, Karachi, 1970, p.91.

www.cssexampoint.com

with little success and returned to India in October, 1920 without any significant achievement.

This unsuccessful tour of Europe convinced Moulana Mohamed Ali and Sayyid Suleman Nadvi that the freedom of India was imperative to secure the freedom of Islam. The Khilafat delegation also came to the bitter but correct realization that it would amount to self-deception to rely on any British party whether it was the question of Khilafat or freedom of India.

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT تحریک عدم تعاون

The leaders of the Khilafat Movement realised that a new strategy should be adopted to reinvigorate the zeal and zest for freedom among the general populace. With this objective in mind they decided to launch a movement of Non-cooperation. An extraordinary meeting of Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind was convened on September 6, 1920, at the end of which the *fatwa* of *Tark-e-Mawalaat* was issued. The *fatwa* comprised the following injunctions.

1) Disassociation from all executive and legislative councils.
2) Boycott of courts.
3) Boycott of all such government schools and colleges which received government grants,
4) Relinquishing of all honorary offices and magistracy.
5) Renouncing government titles.
6) Resigning government jobs.

As a result of this proclamation of *fatwa*, hundreds of thousand people returned the titles and stopped sending their children to government schools and colleges. All those highly educated youngmen who could have risen to high government positions bade farewell to their bright future and accepted ordinary jobs in private sector.[1] Similarly, thousands of students left their studies to join the national movement. About three thousand students abandoned their studies in Calcutta only.

For the Hindus, it was a dream come true. True to their selfish nature and exploitative propensities, they manipulated the situation to their maximum benefit. The vacuum created in government offices was joyfully filled in by the Hindus, while the Muslim government employees willingly accommodated starvation for the sake of national freedom.

The *fatwa*, however, had its dissenters among the Muslims as well. In fact, the *fatwa* had called upon everyone either to boycott the government-financed institutions or refuse government grants. In this respect, the Muslim leaders pressurised the management of M.A.O.

[1] *Pakistan Naguzeer Tha*, p.80.

www.cssexampoint.com

College, Aligarh to turn down the offers of government financial aid. The management, however, did not oblige.

As a result, a stiff conflict ensued between Moulana Mohamed Ali and the Trustees of the College. Consequently, the Moulana and his friends parted ways with the College and decided to set up an independent institution, Jamia Millia. Contrary to this tension in the Aligarh College, there was complete normalcy in the Hindu University at Benaras because Madan Mohan Malavia, not only spurned the demand of refusing the financial grants of the Government but also refused to allow Moulana Mohamed Ali Johar and M.K. Gandhi to address meetings in the University campus. M.K. Gandhi, on his part, finished the whole matter stating with convenient innocence that "Malavia Ji does not agree". In this way no damage was done to the Hindu University.[1]

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Though very short, it was the first and the last time when the Hindu-Muslim unity was at its peak. The Muslims did everything they could to cultivate the Hindus and win their hearts. The Muslims went to the extent of recognising the *Vedas* as the revealed book. They prayed in Hindu temples, participated in the *Ramayana Pooja*, painted their foreheads with *Tilaks*, flowed flowers and sweets (*Batashas*) in the river Ganges and arranged the purely Hindu religious ritual *Ram-Leela*. To top it all, the Muslims frequently announced "Gandhi deserved to be a prophet" and affirmed "Gandhi would have been a prophet, if the prophethood had not been stopped". Cow-slaughter was also abandoned. But the most highly deplorable thing they did to please the Hindus was to allow a fanatic and bigoted Hindu Shardhanand to deliver a speech from the Prophet's pulpit in the Jamia Masjid, Delhi. It was the same Shardhanand who started the *Shuddhi* movement. But, despite all these heretical overtures, the Muslims could not succeed in bringing about any change in the Hindu mentality.

That the Hindus remained adamantly intractable was reflected in Gandhi's statements. The Muslims were issuing *fatwa* against the slaughtering of the cow and the goat but Gandhi, on the other hand, was stating, "From the point of view of Hindu religion protection of the cow is extremely necessary. Only Non-Cooperation Movement can help in gaining *Swaraj* (independence) and through *Swaraj* they can protect the cow". Sita Dev, a disciple of M.K. Gandhi delivering a speech in Mathura said, "When we have the authority, we shall make as many laws as we can

[1] *Siasat-e-Millia*, p.161.

www.cssexampoint.com

Slaughtering cow is a problem of vital importance in India. The Government has done nothing despite our repeated requests. Numerous cows have been slaughtered in Kathiawar only. We shall ban slaughtering of the cow in India when we shall have the authority of legislation".[1]

HIJRAT MOVEMENT

During this period, Abul Kalam Azad and Moulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahali issued a *fatwa* which declared migration from India desirable for the Muslims of India after World War I. But, migration on the part of an individual 'incorrect' from the point of view of *Shariah* and, at the same time migration was declared *'unnecessary'* for everyone.[2]

Immediately after the *fatwa* was issued, *Nazims* were appointed in every city and a central office was set up in Delhi which was known as *Khuddam-ul-Muhajreen*. In the beginning the movement became so strong that even the Non-Cooperation Movement paled before it. Thousands of Muslims sold their property and headed for Kabul. A group of 750 *Muhajreen* set out for Kabul in a train from Sindh with Barrister Jan Mohammad Junejo as its leader. This train carrying *Muhajreen* received enthusiastic reception at every .railway station and enkindled a new vigour and zest for migration in the Punjab. How popular this Movement had become in a short time can be gauged from the fact that more than thirty thousand Muslims had left for Kabul by the second week of August, 1920.

The rural areas of Peshawar and Mardan were also deeply effected by the Hijrat Movement. For their selfish motives, the Hindus of these areas urged and encouraged the Muslims to emigrate to Kabul. They started buying their lands and property at throw-away price. So much so that, in some areas, a piece of land worth ten thousand was bought for a paltry amount of Rupees one hundred and a bull worth Rupees two hundred was purchased for only Rupees forty.

This Movement had caught the fancy of the Muslims of N.W.F.P. so strongly that people wrote and sang songs expressing their emotional fervour for the cause.[3] The following couplet reveals the sentiments adequately.

برباد ہوں پرواہ نہیں ناشاد ہوں پرواہ نہیں

اے دوستو جو کچھ بھی ہو کابل چلو کابل چلو

Translation:

It doesn't matter if I am destroyed. It also doesn't matter if I am grief-stricken. Whatever may happen, my friends (let's) go to Kabul.[4]

---

[1] *Siasat-i-Millia*, p.161.
[2] Ghulam Rasul Mehr, *Tabrrukat-e-Azad*, Lahore, n.d., p.203.
[3] Lal Baha, "Hijrat Movement and the N.W.F.P.", *Islamic Studies*, Islamabad, 1979, p.236.
[4] "Hijrat Movement and the N.W.F.P.", *Islamic Studies*, p.236.

www.cssexampoint.com

In the beginning the Afghan Government welcomed the Indian Muslims according to a well-thought-out policy. Later on considering her limited resources in the face of an advancing huge tide of refugees, it closed down its frontiers. On the other hand, the refugees who had succeeded in entering Afghanistan, soon became disgusted with the miserable conditions there and started to trundle homeward. Thousands of Muslims suffered innumerable difficulties while returning from Afghanistan.

The Hijrat Movement was an emotional and ill-advised movement which was not approved of by majority of the *ulama* and the learned leaders of the public opinion. They included Moulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Moulana Habib-ur-Rahman, Moulana Abdur Rauf Danapuri, Pir Mehr Ali Shah and Hakeem Ajmal Khan.[1] In the words of Dr. I.H. Qureshi, the Hijrat Movement did not have the potential to produce constructive results. Its only result was that the sincere and zealous people who responded to the call of Hijrat enthusiastically suffered severe hardships.[2] But inspite of that it must be remembered that the Hijrat Movement was a symbol of anti-British imperialism.

KARACHI TRIAL

In 1921, a resolution was passed in the Khilafat Conference meeting in Karachi, condemning military and. police service as unlawful and enjoined upon the Indian Muslims to leave the two departments. Angered by the demand the Government arrested Moulana Mohamed Ali and six other people on treason charges. The court proceedings against these persons started on December 26, 1926 in Khaliq Dina Hall, Karachi. During the hearing of this case, Ali Brothers, Moulana Husain Ahmad Madni, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Moulana Nisar Ahmad and Sawami Shankar Acharya, all took the position that since Islam does not condone the killing of a Muslim at the hands of another Muslim, therefore, it was against the dictates of the religion for the Muslims to join the British army and kill other Muslims.

Moulana Mohamed Ali Johar deposed before the court that it was his bounden duty to abide by Allah's law if ever there was to be a clash between His laws and the laws of the Government. He stated, "There are present clear verses in the Quran that 'he who purposely kills his (Muslim) brethren, will be punished in hell. Therefore, it is against their religion for the "Muslim soldiers to go to Arabian country and fight. It is sacrilegious for a Muslim to do so. I don't care if I am

---

[1] Dr. Mueemuddin Aqeel, "Tahrik-e-Hijrat", *Ilmo-Aaghe*, Journal of the National College, Karachi, 1982-83, pp.210-11.

[2] I.H.Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, Karachi, 1977, p.316.

www.cssexampoint.com

hanged for saying so. I hope, my dead body shall continue to cry even in my grave that it is the faith of the Muslims that it is against the religion to serve in the British army under these circumstances".[1] Moulana continued his arguments before the court for two days and ultimately the court released Shankar Acharya but sentenced the rest of the accused persons to two years rigorous imprisonment.

MOPPILLA REVOLT

Hindu-Muslim unity was still at its peak when a mutinous situation arose in Malabar District in Madras which came to be known as Moppilla revolt. This revolt created deep cracks in the Hindu-Muslim unity. Malabar had become the centre of .disturbances right from the beginning, because the Muslim inhabitants here were mainly ethnic Arab who were forced to live a life of slavery under Hindu feudal lords. Moppillas were extremely religious and emotional by temperament. Knowing their tendency to be easily fired up, the Government wanted this area to remain free of Khilafat influence.

In June, 1920, the Khilafat Committee was set up in Malabar and eventually in September, 1920, Moulana Mohamed Ali toured this area along with Gandhi. The Government panicked and consequently imposed a ban on Khilafat public meetings in Arnaud. Moulvi Yaqub Hasan, a leader of Madras, was arrested when he tried to violate the ban. The incident infuriated the Moppillas. The Government reacted swiftly and arrested many Moppilla leaders on August 20, 1921. It added fuel to the fire and riots broke out everywhere. In the beginning, only British officers were the targets but the Moppillas soon wreaked vengeance upon the Hindu landlords. The whole area was gripped by lawlessness: communication networks were attacked, railway tracks damaged and wires were disconnected rendering government authority virtually ineffective. The Government had to impose martial law to reimpose its writ. The administration put down the revolt extremely ruthlessly resulting in heavy loss of life and property. According to one estimate as many as 2339 Moppillas were killed, 1652 wounded and 5955 were arrested during these riots.[2]

THE END OF KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The end of Khilafat Movement was brought about indirectly by Gandhi's announcement to discontinue the Non-Cooperation movement.

---

[1]Mohammad Sarwar, *Musalman Aur Ghair Muslim Hukoomat*, Lahore, 1947, pp.114-19.

[2]Naeem Qureshi, "Some Reflection on Moppilla Rebellion 1921-22", *Journa of the Research Society of Pakistan*, April 1981, pp.1-10.

www.cssexampoint.com

Gandhi used an incident of arson on February, 1922, when a violent mob set on fire a police station at Chora Churi in Distt Gorakhpur burning twenty one constables to death as an excuse to call off the Non-Cooperation movement. It adversely affected the Khilafat Movement since it had come to be regarded as an integral part of the other movement. Soon after, in 1924, Ata Turk announced setting up of a democratic government in Turkey after abolishing Khilafat as a system of government which served a finishing blow to the Khilafat Movement in India and people lost whatever interest was left in this movement.

EFFECTS تحریک خلافت کے اثرات

The Khilafat Movement had come under severe criticism right from the beginning. Its carpers and critics believed that the leaders had unnecessarily shown enthusiastic interest in an alien concept and a problem extraneous to the Muslims of the sub-continent, thereby laying waste to their energies and resources. This was a nonsensical and preposterous objection as Khilafat was not a foreign problem for the Muslims of India. Islam clearly lays down that it is the duty of a Muslim to render succour of every kind to those Muslims who are in trouble. Turks themselves admitted that it was due to the speeches and articles of the Indian Muslims that they realised the importance of their national freedom.[1]

The Khilafat was a symbol which meant different things to different people, but the anti-British nature of the symbol provided some consistency and on this basis Hindu-Muslim alliance was built. For the *ulama* the Khilafat symbolised the continued supremacy of Islamic law in the world. For the western educated moderates, the Khilafat symbolised the principle of religious freedom and self-determination of peoples. For those more extreme in their political orientation, the Khilafat symbolised the futility of any accommodation with the western culture and political institutions. For Muslim labourer and peasantry the Khilafat symbolised Islam itself, their faith which was endangered by Christian hegemony and ultimately their chance for eternal salvation.[2]

The greatest affect of the Khilafat Movement was that it created in the Indian Muslims a strong political consciousness. The Muslim nation which began its political career in 1857 by pledging "allegiance" to the Government came to realize, as a result of the movement, their own identity as a political entity.

It was due to this movement that the Muslims ultimately succeeded in breaking free from the yoke of slavery. It neutralised the supposed

---

[1] Raees Ahmad Jafri, *Maqalat-e-Mohamed Ali*, Part I, Lahore, pp.217-18.

[2] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement – Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*. Columbia, 1982, p.210.

www.cssexampoint.com

"allegiance" of the Muslims to the rulers. They got over the terror of the Raj and considered going to jail for civil disobedience as a matter of national pride and honour.

The Khilafat Movement, in fact, proved to be a useful exercise in political manoeuvering and exigencies. In addition, it imparted training to the Muslims for agitational politics putting an end to "drawing-room politics" and politics of supplications to the Government. The Khilafat Movement destroyed the myth of Muslim loyalty. Now the Muslims were so emboldened that instead of presenting applications, requests and memorials, they resorted to staging demonstrations and public meetings in stark violation of government's warnings and ultimatums. It also brought 'extremists' and 'loyalists' on one platform. Apparently, there was little in common between the Aga Khan and Mohamed Ali or between Sayyid Ameer Ali or Dr. M.A. Ansari. Whether the 'extremists' were creating a furore in India or the 'constitutionalists' were writing to the *Times* in London the aim was identical.[1]

There is no denying the fact that the Khilafat Movement imparted training, lessons, political consciousness and courage of conviction to the Muslims of India. These years of trouble and turmoil prepared them spiritually and politically to launch another movement that came to be known as Pakistan Movement. History of those years stand testimony to the fact that the zest and fervour with which the Muslims of India rallied to the clarion call of the Quaid-i-Azam was the inevitable result of the Khilafat Movement. All the first and second ranking leaders under whose guidance the Pakistan Movement was launched had participated in the Khilafat Movement. The notable, leaders among them were Moulana Shaukat Ali, Nawab Ismail Khan, Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Moulana Akram Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishter, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Syed Rauf Shah, Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi and Moulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani to name the few.[2]

The influence of Khilafat Movement became significantly visible on the thinking of the two most active, energetic and indoctrinated sections of the Muslim nation – the students and the *ulama*. It established the tradition which saw the students and *ulama* taking active part in politics. The Khilafat Movement inspired the *ulama* to come out of their religious schools and discard their cloistered life to participate in politics and they have continued to do so since then. Similarly, the tradition of students politics which began with the

[1] K.K.Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*, London, 1967, pp.113-14.

[2] *Pakistan Naguzeer Tha*, p.146.

www.cssexampoint.com

Khilafat Committee continues till today. The students involvement in politics, according to I.H. Qureshi, continues to exist and throw its "sinister shadow" upon the academic life of the sub-continent.[1]

There was hardly any sphere of human life which did not come under the influence of the Khilafat Movement. Its effects were multifarious, comprehensive and everlasting. For the first time, the Muslims of the sub-continent realised the necessity of national education free from governmental control. Jamia Millia,, the educational institution for the Muslims, is a memento of Khilafat Movement. A host of other educational institutions were established to cater to the needs of the times in general and fulfil the national requirements of the Muslim populace. Noteworthy among them were Madrasa Islamia, Calcutta, National College, Patna and Qumi School, Delhi. According to official statistics, about 98182 students were enrolled from primary Madrasas to Jamia Millia level in 1340 national schools and colleges in 1921-22 during Non-Cooperation movement. These national schools and colleges were very well served in a crop of highly qualified and trained teachers at nominal emoluments thus establishing a strong tradition of sacrifice and selflessness in the nation-building efforts.

After the fall of Mughal Empire, it was Khilafat Movement which, for the first time, knitted together into one integrated and disciplined national entity the Muslims of the sub-continent. The call that was sent forth from the Khilafat House, Bombay, received widespread enthusiastic response all through the length and breadth of India from Peshawar to Calcutta and from Madras to Rangoon.

The Khilafat Movement gave birth to leaders of invincible conviction and unshakable faith who were glad to go to prison and even to accept the hangman's noose for what they believed to be true and right.[2]

Psychologically, the Khilafat Movement liberated the psyche of the Muslims which culturally they got over the slavish imitation of 'western style' of life. Those who proudly strutted in *Seville* suits burnt their costly apparels and started wearing ordinary *khaddar* (coarse cloth) suits. Many rich and well-to-do persons gave up the life of pomposity and affectation and voluntarily started living a life of austerity. For instance, Moulvi Mazharul Haq whose own house was no less than a grand palace opted to live in a hermitage known as *Sadaqat Ashram*.[3]

---

[1] *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, p.316.

[2] K.K.Aziz, *The Indian Khilafat Movement 1915-33: A Documentary Record*, Karachi, 1972, p.xxiii.

[3] Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Chand Yadain Chand Taasurat*, Vol.II, Lahore,.1986, pp.10-11.

www.cssexampoint.com

By actively participating in the Khilafat Movement, the Muslim women of India got their first practical experience of politics. During the movement, Bi Amman (Abadi Bano), the mother of Ali Brothers, regularly attended public rallies and processions. Following the arrest of her sons, she undertook a tour of various region of India, including Punjab. Besides attending the Congress and Muslim League sessions in 1917, she presided over a meeting of All India Women's Conference, held in Ahmadabad in 1921. Muhammad Ali Johar's wife Amjadi Bano also actively participated in the Khilafat Movement and later on, in the Pakistan Movement. She was nominated as a member of All-India Muslim League Working Committee and during the historic session of the League in March 1940, she was one of those who spoke in favour of the Lahore Resolution.

Begum Hasrat Mohani and Begum Shafi Daudi were also enthusiastic participants of the Khilafat Movement. As a whole, all of them were veiled women and in the existing social scenario, their enlightened political consciousness and active participation in the national political life, was indeed, a laudable and bold step.

The Khilafat Movement played a significant role in winning widespread fame and popularity for Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, following his return from South Africa. Abida Samiuddin has very appropriately pointed out the fact that the generous donations of the people during the Khilafat Movement played a key role in introducing Gandhi to the general masses of India, because with these donations and contributions, he was able to undertake an extensive tour of India.

Of the several important resultant developments of Khilafat Movement was that the Muslims developed a political consciousness – a consciousness which integrated them not only in the mainstream of national politics but also infused a new enthusiasm in the political activities of the sub-continent. The Muslims, uptil now had tread their separate path but during the Khilafat Movement they joined the Congress to transform it into a real party of the masses. Dr. Ambedkar, an untouchable-stalwart, noted that "Mr. Gandhi made the Congress a power in the country, which it would not have been, if the Muslims had not joined it".[1] Nawab Ahmad Saeed Chattari stated that one of the achievements of the Khilafat Movement was that it pulverised the British misconception of their omnipotence and forced them to moderation to a great extent.

crush to fine particles

[1]B.R.Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Delhi, 1945, p.142.

www.essexampoint.com

16

THE DELHI MUSLIM PROPOSALS

The beautiful dream of Hindu-Muslim unity seemed collapsing even during the Khilafat Movement and .the moment that movement weakened, a long and bloody chain of Hindu-Muslim riots started. On the eve of *Moharram* in 1922, there was rioting in Multan. The next year saw similar riots in Saharanpur that left more than a hundred people killed and wounded. The worst violence of this type erupted in Kohat in 1924, where a Hindu wrote a highly provocative poem that led to large-scale rioting. Since 1924 a series of Hindu-Muslim riots engulfed the sub-continent from one end to the other. Even according to modest estimates in about five years (1923-27) there were 117 riots which took a toli of 450 lives.[1] During the twelve months ending with April 1, 1927, there were 40 riots resulting in the death of 197 and in injuries more or less severe, to 15,598 persons.

It were the Hindus who started the fire of hostilities by their extremist movements like *Shuddhi* and *Sangthan* initiated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, Lala Lajpat Rai and Shardhanand. *Sangthan* means binding or holding together forcefully. As a core objective of this movement the Hindus were trained in the use of sticks, and pieces of bricks, etc., which they could use very effectively against the Muslims during communal riots. *Shuddhi* means purifying. It implied that the Hindus who had abandoned their religion and had embraced Islam should be forced to re-embrace their former religion.

Both these movements were meant to eliminate the Muslims from India. In his presidential address delivered on July .25, 1926, Dr. Moonje, the leader of the notoriously prejudiced movement, Hindu Mahasabha, declared that the objective of the Hindu Mahasabha was to unite all the Hindus and to promote the Hindu religion in such a way that Hindustan should really become worthy of its name that is, the land of the Hindus..

Similarly, while presiding over a meeting of the Avadh Mahasabha Dr. Moonje said, "As England is the land of the English, France that of the French, and Germany that of the Germans, similarly, Hindustan is

[1] K.K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, p.89.

www.cssexampoint.com

the land of the Hindus".[1] The Hindus wished that the Muslims should either be expelled from India or be converted back to Hinduism. Due to this very reason the Hindu daily *Partap* (Lahore) wrote on July 11, 1927, that *Shuddhi* had become an issue of life and death for the Hindus. In the following couplet, which was very popular in those days, the poet exhorted the Hindus:

کام شدھی کا کبھی بند نہ ہونے پائے
بھاگ سے وقت یہ قوموں کو ملا کرتے ہیں
ہندوؤ تم میں ہے گر جذبۂ ایماں باقی
رہ نہ جائے کوئی دنیا میں مسلماں باقی

The task of *Shuddhi* should never be allowed to cease, because it is only by a stroke of fortune that nations get such opportunities. O Hindus, if there is some remnant of faith left in you, let no Muslim survive in the world.

To counteract the activities of such organisations, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Meer Ghulam Bheek Nairang founded such Muslim organisations as *Tanzeem* and *Tableegh*. An interesting thing is that even in those days, there were some Muslim leaders. who were still harping on the tune of Hindu-Muslim unity and, thus, bitterly opposed the *Tanzeem* and the *Tableegh*. Conditions had deteriorated to such an extent that the Secretary of State for India stated in British Parliament that the greatest threat confronting India at that time was the communal differences. He predicted that if Britain quitted India at that moment, it would inevitably mean that the country would be engulfed in the flames of a bloody civil war between the Hindus and the Muslims.

During the Khilafat Movement, the All-India Muslim League had practically ceased to exist. Eventually, it held its session at Lahore in 1924, under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. In his presidential address, he stressed on Hindu-Muslim unity and said that the establishment and continuation of foreign rule in India was. the direct outcome of disunity among the Hindus and the Muslims. He regretted that the two communities did not trust each other and hoped that India would get a responsible government worthy of the status of a Dominion the moment the two nations began to work unitedly. At this session, the League passed the following important resolution and said that it must be included in any future constitution of the country.

1) India should have federal system of government with full autonomy granted to the provinces. The centre should manage only the affairs of common interest.

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Siasat-i-Milli*, Agra, 1941, p. 21.

www.exampoint.com

2) If at some point of time in future it becomes necessary to change the boundaries of the provinces, it should, by no means, affect the Muslim majority in the provinces of the Punjab, Bengal and the N-W.F.P.
3) The representation in the legislative councils should be in accordance with the population.
4) All the communities should have complete religious freedom.
5) The system of separate electorate must continue.
6) If three out of four members of a community in a council, opposed a resolution or a bill concerning their particular community, that resolution or bill should not be allowed to be moved.

This resolution clearly brings out the viewpoint of the Muslims. During the Delhi session of the League in 1926, the Quaid-i-Azam once again stressed the need for Hindu-Muslim unity and expressed the hope that the problems of India would be overcome by friendship and cooperation.

As mentioned earlier, it was a time when communal violence was escalating at an alarming pace and the bloodthirsty Hindus were tightening their grip around the Muslims. Even in these depressing circumstances, leaders like the Quaid-i-Azam were earnestly working for the Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindus believed that the right of separate electorate granted to the Muslims in 1909, was the main obstacle in the way of Hindu Muslim unity. Pandit Motilal Nehru had a similar opinion.[1] Meanwhile, the well-known jurist and deputy leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Legislature Srinivasa Iyengar and the Quaid-i-Azam exchanged views about the prospects of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In 1927, the Quaid was in Delhi in connection with the budget session of the Central Legislature. On his invitation, 30 eminent Muslim leaders got together at Western Hotel, Delhi and prepared a formula for Hindu-Muslim unity. This formula is known as Delhi Muslim Proposals. Some of the participants of this meeting were, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Moulvi Shafi Daudi, Nawab Ismail Khan, Sir Abdur Rahim, Moulana Mohamed Ali, Abdul Mateen Chaudhry, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Moulvi Muhammad Yaqoob, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sayyid Aal-e-Nabi, Anwar-ul-Azeem, Dr. L.K. Haider, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. For the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity, these Muslim leaders were prepared to forego their right of separate electorate if only .their following demands were met. In case, these demands were met, they would readily accept the joint electorate.

1) Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted as a separate province.

---

[1]Syed Nur Ahmad, *Martial Law Sey Martial Law Tak*, Lahore, 1966, pp.79-80.

www.cssexampoint.com

2) On the pattern of other provinces, legislative councils should be formed in the N-W.F.P. and Baluchistan.
3) Representation in the legislative assemblies of the Punjab and Bengal should be according to the population.
4) One-third seats in the Central Legislature should be reserved for the Muslims.

Explaining these proposals, the Quaid-i-Azam made it clear that this offer was inter-dependent and could only be accepted or rejected in its entirety and that the Muslims would, give up the separate electorate if the other party accepted the proposals. According to the Quaid the separate electorate was not an end itself but a means to an end the real issue was how to give a real sense of confidence and security to the minorities. He made it clear that an overwhelming majority of Musalmans firmly and honestly believed that the separate electorate was the only method by which they would be secure in all respects. The Quaid emphasized that no time should be lost in bringing about a speedy settlement at that critical juncture.[1] The real aim was to provide adequate guarantees for the protection of the rights of the Muslims.

The Delhi Proposals reflected his noble intentions and revealed his views about Hindu-Muslim unity. Calling Jinnah a great leader, M.A. Chagla had once enthusiastically exclaimed that it was Jinnah alone who with a magic wand accomplished the seemingly impossible task of Hindu-Muslim unity.[2] "We have after all succeeded". Sir Mohammad Yaqoob wrote triumphantly, "in finding out a formula on which there was a unanimity of Muslim opinion and which has shifted the burden of proof on the other party; it is for them (Hindus) to clasp the hand of friendship which the Muslims have extended".[3] Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave him the title of the "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity". The leaders of the Indian National Congress also welcomed these proposals. Expressing his opinion about these proposals, Srinivasa Iyengar said that it was for the first time after a long period that the prominent Muslim leaders had expressed their desire to build the national life on sound and permanent footings. He further said, "These proposals bear witness to the same desires of our friends. These proposals are being criticised by some quarters but the fact is that they can lay the foundation of a firm and real understanding between us. A strong and magnificent building of national life can be erected on these basis in future".

Pandit Motilal Nehru called them the best means to check the communal riots. When the Delhi Proposals were placed before the All-

---

[1] *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol.I, pp.36-37.
[2] G. Allana, *Quaid-i-Azam – The Story of a Nation*, Karachi, 1967, p.201.
[3] Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience – M.A. Ansari, the Congress and the Raj*, Delhi, 1987, p.153.

www.cssexampoint.com

India Congress Committee, Dr. Ansari, Motilal and Iyengar pressed for their acceptance as a basis for a political accord with the League. Such a conciliatory response paved the way for a very short-term rapprochement between the INC and the AIML. But very soon the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu press started bitterly criticising these proposals. The daily *Hindustan Times* commented at length on the Muslim proposals remarking that the spirit behind the proposals was one of "heads I win; tails you lose". The paper wrote, "in what way is the establishment of joint electorate connected with the separation of Sindh, and the introduction of reforms in the N-W.F.P. and Baluchistan". Arguing for the joint electorate the "paper wrote that besides "protecting" the minorities they help in the growth of a spirit of nationalism. Concluding the paper remarked that, "we cannot but condemn the spirit of petty bartering that has inspired the resolution and feel amazed that such leaders as Dr. Ansari, Moulana Mohamed Ali and Mr. Jinnah should have appended their signatures to it".[1]

Similarly, Motilal Nehru was severely criticised for supporting the Delhi Proposals. A Bengali newspaper *Surya* wrote that the "Congress had become a handmaid of Nehru and that the sole function of the All-India Congress Committee is to register his decrees". It concluded that it was an open secret that he favours the Muslims.[2] The Punjab Hindu Sabha passed a resolution denying the INC any *locus standi* to represent the Hindu community in negotiations with Muslim organisation and declared that any settlement arrived at would not be binding on the Hindus and that the Hindu Mahasabha was the only proper body to deal with such matters.[3] The Sikhs also denounced the separate electorates as ii was 'harmful to the healthy growth of nationalism".

The Congress Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee decided to accept the Delhi Proposals but changed their decision six months later. Meanwhile, a strange development took place. Sir Muhammad Shafi who had attended the Delhi meeting, on returning to Lahore, started a campaign against the Delhi Proposals and declared that under no circumstances the Muslims could abandon their right of separate electorate. It is interesting to note that when Sir Muhammad Shafi was criticised for attending the Delhi Conference and supporting joint electorate, the *Paisa Akhbar*, a spokesman of the Shafi League, wrote in an editorial that "Many newspapers have asked as to which Muslims Sir Shafi had consulted before giving his opinion and who are the Muslims of whom he is the leader. In the first place Sir

[1] *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol.I, pp.34-35.
[2] Mushirul Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, 1979, p.268.
[3] *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol.I, p.35.

www.cssexampoint.com

Shafi, Sir Abdur, Rahim, Mr. M.A. Jinnah and many other prominent Muslims were involved in these consultations. Thus, the opinion of so many leading figures of the Muslims can not be wrong. Secondly, the conditions which have been linked to the acceptance of the joint electorate are quite satisfactory".[1]

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League on May 1, 1927, at Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, Allama Iqbal presented the following resolution about separate electorate:

> "The Punjab Muslim League declares its firm conviction that under the present circumstances prevailing in the country only separate electorate can enable the Central Legislature and other provincial councils to become the true representative councils of the people of India. Only separate electorate can safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Muslims and can bring an end to the communal tensions gripping the country. It is, therefore, the calculated opinion of the League that as long as an effective and adequate arrangement for the protection of the rights of the minorities is not made, the Muslims must insist on preserving the right of separate electorate as a fundamental ingredient of the Indian constitution.[2]

Sir Fazle Husain deputed Sir Zafrullah and Dr. Ziauddin to propagate in the British press that the opponents of the Delhi Proposals were only few in number,[3]

In this way, the All-India Muslim League was divided into "Jinnah League" and "Shafi League" on the question of separate electorate.

It must be remembered that not only the leadership in the Punjab, a Muslim majority province, but the Muslim leadership of the Hindu majority provinces also raised their voice against .the joint electorate. On March, 29-30, 1927, the Muslim member of the Madras Legislative Council issued a statement expressing their fear that the "joint electorate will not only prove detrimental to the political advancement of the Muslim community but will also jeopardize the interests of the Muslims and to a very great extent hamper the friendly relationship that exists between the Hindus and the Muslims".[4]

At a special meeting the Muslim representatives of Bihar and Orissa had a prolonged discussion on the Delhi Proposals. Among those present

---

[1] *Paisa Akhbar*, March 31, 1927, p.9.
[2] M. Rafique Afzal (ed), *Guftar-e-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1969, pp.26-27.
[3] *Martial Law Sey Martial Law Tak*, p.83.
[4] *The Indian Quarterly Register*, 1927, Vol.I, pp.37-38.

www.cssexampoint.com

were Sayyid Ali Imam, Sir Fakhruddin, Sayyid Abdul Aziz, Moulana Shafee Daudi, and Sarfraz Husain Khan, Sayyid Ali Imam, Sayyid Abdul Aziz and Shafee Daudi supported the Delhi Muslim Proposals. Sir Fakhruddin was of the opinion that under the joint electorate chances of friction would multiply. Sarfraz Husain Khan was of the view that separate electorate was necessary as long as Hindu mentality was not changed. The meeting adopted a resolution which described the replacement of separate electorate as "premature" and harmful to the interests of the Muslims. The resolution called upon the Indian Government to introduce reforms at once in the N-W.F.P. and to separate Sindh at once from the Bombay Presidency. The Muslims expressed hope that the "Hindus as proof of their change of heart will support the demands of Musalmans and thus pave the way for settlement of political differences".[1]

Although these proposals created dissension among the Muslims yet, they demonstrated the Quaid's earnest desire to create unity between the Hindus and the Muslims even in those difficult and hostile circumstances.

---

1. ...an Quarterly Register, 1927, Vol.I, p.40.

www.cssexampoint.com

17

THE SIMON COMMISSION

The Montagu-Chemlsford Reforms (1919) had stipulated that after ten years the British Government would again go into the question of Indian constitutional progress. But the political situation in India forced the British Government to amend the Section 84A of the Act and the words "at the expiration of ten years" were replaced by "within". Accordingly, on November 26, 1927, the Government announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission which consisted of Sir John Simon (chairman), Viscount Burnham, Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, Edward Codogan, Veron Hartshorn, Richard Lane-Fox and Clement Attlee.

Two reasons were stated for the Commission's before time appointment. Firstly, the British Conservative Party feared that its rival, the Labour Party, could use Indian problem as an important issue during the 1929 elections. In anticipation of such a development, the Conservative Party appointed a commission in 1927, well before its scheduled time. Secondly, at that time, C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru's Swaraj Party was severely criticising the British Government in the Assembly regarding the reform process. The Government believed that the premature appointment of the Commission would be very helpful in suppressing the opposition and the aggressive criticism of the Swaraj Party. A notable point is that on March 11, 1926, while addressing the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Quaid-i-Azam had demanded the appointment of a commission as mentioned in the 1919 Act. During the speech, he emphasised that the Commission should consist of such members who could satisfy the people.[1]

The Commission appointed by the British Government did not have even a single Indian member. Thus, the appointment of this exclusive British commission sent a wave of shock and anger throughout India. The then president of the Congress, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari; asked the Viceroy to urge the Secretary of State for India and the British Government to withdraw its decision about the appointment of the Commission, otherwise, the Indians would be left with no option but to boycott it.[2] Sir

[1]Waheed Ahmad (ed), *Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence*, Lahore, 1969, p.3.

[2]Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience – M.A. Ansari – The Congress and the Raj*, Delhi, 1987, pp.43-44.

www.essexampoint.com

Tej Bahadur Sapru condemned the Commission as a blow against the national pride of India.

The Quaid, while criticising the appointment of all-whites commission said, "I cannot even imagine the appointment of a commission which has been given the task of deciding the future constitution of India and its 350 million inhabitants but which does not contain even a single Indian member". He opined that the appointment of a non-Indian commission was fundamentally wrong which must be responded with a total boycott. In a telegram to the Punjab Congress Committee he called for the boycott of the Commission and said, "I believe that treason against India would benefit no community except those who have been given the task of misleading the Indians".[1] In another similar statement he said, "The Jallianwala Bagh was a physical butchery the Simon Commission is the butchery of our souls".[2]

Two members of the British Labour Party sent a telegram to the Quaid in connection with the Commission. In his reply, he told them that exclusion of Indians from the Commission was a fundamental mistake and that no self-respecting Indian would associate himself with or serve on the Commission unless invited on absolutely equal terms and equal rights in it. He further requested the Labour Party officials that as a practical proof of their sympathy for the sentiments of the Indians, they should tell the other members of the party not to have anything to do with the Commission.[3]

M.A. Jinnah's attitude towards the Commission was not based on opposition for the sake of opposition. He earnestly desired to settle the dispute between the Indians and the British Government about the membership of the Commission. That is why, in March 1928, he presented two proposals to the Viceroy in order to deal with the situation.

1) The Simon Commission should be changed into a joint commission.
2) An Indian commission should be constituted and its powers should be the same as those of the Simon Commission.

Lord Irwin agreed to these proposals and wrote to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, about them. The latter disagreed with the proposals but on the insistence of the former, presented them before the British cabinet. However, by using his influence, Lord Birkenhead got them disapproved.[4]

The British viewpoint about the exclusion of Indians from the Commission was that if two or three Indians were included in the Commission, they could not represent all the political, religious and

---

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed) *Gufiar-e-Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1978, p.54.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.54.
[3] S.R. Bakhshi, *Simon Commission and Indian Nationalism*, Delhi, 1977, p.45.
[4] *Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence*, pp.9-10.

www.cssexampoint.com

economic interests of the country. If all the communities were rep
the Commission would have found it impossible to function effec

The Indian viewpoint was that if Indians could be included in [illegible] Skeen Committee and the Lee Commission (both appointed by the British Government) why could not they be included in the Simon Commission. Secondly, they asserted that a commission investigating into the affairs relating India must have included some Indians.

This is interesting to note that the personnel of the Commission came in for criticism in Britain also but for different reason. Here the weak membership of the body was strongly criticised. Geoffrey Dawson, the editor of *The Times* was shocked at the weakness of the team behind Simon. In his opinion it was really a one-man show.

In these circumstances, all the major Indian political parties such as the All-India Muslim League, the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Khilafat Committee and the Bengal Muslim League decided to boycott the Commission. Besides the Anglo-India [illegible]ess, most of the Indian newspapers favoured the policy of boycotting the [illegible]mon Commission. The *Hindoo* was much critical of it and called the appointment of the Commission an insult to India. The newspaper *Bande Mataram* hailed the Commission because it would show to the world that the British empire was based only on force and tyranny. The *Leader* of Allahabad declared the Commission to be a calculated affront to the Indian opinion and self-respect of the Indians. According to the *Bombay Chronicle* the exclusion of Indians from the Commission was indefensible, unjust and humiliating. The *Indian National Herald* stated, "The Viceroy's announcement fulfills the worst expectations. The British Cabinet has risen to the full height of Imperialist arrogance and contemptuously refused to Indians to the membership of the Commission in defiance of the obvious intention of the act of Parliament".[1]

In the Punjab, the daily *Paisa Akhbar* which represented the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was in favour of cooperating with the Commission. On the contrary, the *Zamindar* of Moulana Zafar Ali Khan was a bitter opponent of the Commission. It gave the name of "Simon-worshippers" to the supporters of the Commission. In its editorials, it vehemently opposed the Commission. A news carried by this newspaper would clearly reflect its attitude:

سائمن کمیشن کا استقبال

نوڈیوں کی طرف سے سائمن کمیشن کا شاندار خیر مقدم۔

ریلوے پلیٹ فارم پر ڈیڑھ درجن کاسہ لیسوں کا اجتماع۔

سٹیشن پر ہو کا عالم۔

www.cssexampoint.com

[1] *Simon Commission and the Indian Nationalism*, p.51.

> The reception of the Simon Commission. A very warm welcome of the Simon Commission by the Toadies. A congregation of half a dozen cup-bearers on the platform. A pin-drop silence at the railway station.[1]

Those who were in favour of cooperating with the Simon Commission argued that the Commission was only meant for preparing the recommendations for the future constitution and if on that occasion the Indians did not present their demands before it, it could damage their interests. In this connection, Nawab Ismail Khan insisted that if the Indians did not consider it an insult that the British Parliament had the right to formulate their constitution, why had they become so outraged on a minor issue of not including the Indian representatives in the Simon Commission.[2]

The appointment of the Simon Commission caused a rupture in the All-India Muslim League which was divided into the "Jinnah League" and the "Shafi League". Mian Muhammad Shafi was in favour of cooperating with the Commission. The Jinnah League held its session at Calcutta on December 3, 1927 where a resolution calling for the boycott of the Simon Commission was approved. The Punjab Provincial Muslim League held its session at the residence of Mian Muhammad Shaft on November 13, 1927. In a resolution it decided to cooperate with the Commission, Allama Iqbal was also in favour of cooperation with the Commission, although he disliked the idea of an all-white commission and called it unexpected, disappointing and painful.[3]

Besides the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, the other political parties which decided to cooperate with the Simon Commission were the Punjab Landlords Association, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the National Unionist Party, the Punjab Chiefs Association, the Central National Mohammedan Association (Calcutta), the European Association and the Justice Party (Madras).

The Indian Legislative Assembly also debated over the issue of cooperation or non-cooperation with the Simon Commission. Lala Lajpat Rai tabled a motion calling for the boycott of the Commission. It was approved by a vote of 66 to 59. On this occasion the Quaid-i-Azam supported the arguments of Lajpat Rai. He levelled trenchant criticism against the Government's stand and policy. He said, "Please do not mislead us. The whole question before you is this. Do you wish any decent party, any self-respecting man, to cooperate with you or do you want only those who come before you as petitioners? If you want petitioners only, I wish you luck. If you want decent, self-respecting men, to work with you, then

---

[1] *Zamindar* (Lahore), November 1, 1928, p.5.
[2] Nur Ahmad, *Martial Law Sey Martial Law Tak*, Lahore, n.d., p.94.
[3] Ahmad Saeed, *Iqbal Aur Quaid-i-Azam*, Lahore, 1977, pp.18-19.

www.cssexampoint.com

be frank, be honest and tell us plainly, you have not got equal status, you have not got power in the present constitution of the Commission".

The Simon Commission paid two visits to India. The first lasting from February 3 to March 31, 1928 and the second from October 11, 1928 to April 13, 1929. A countrywide general strike was planned for February 3, 1928. The moment this Commission stepped on the Indian soil the entire sub-continent was resounded with the slogans of "Simon Go Back". Wherever it went, it held its meetings with various delegations under police cover. Before the arrival of the Commission at a certain place, the whole area was invariably cordoned off by the police. The Raja of Mahmudabad has narrated an interesting incident in this connection. When the Simon Commission visited Lucknow the *taaluqadars* of Avadh gave a tea party in their honour to prove to the Government that the people of U.P. were cooperating with the Commission. When they were being entertained the people flew kites from various points in the city and were then cut in such a way that they dropped at the place of the feast. They carried on them the words "Simon Go Back". The administration was furious but helpless.[1]

The Commission reached Lahore on October 30, 1928. The Government took tight security measures at the railway station. At noon, a big procession chanting "Simon Go Back", left Mochi Gate for the Railway Station. Lala Lajpat Rai, Zafar Ali Khan and Abdul Qadir Qasuri were leading this procession. At the end of the Landa Bazar, there was a fence of barbed wires. At this point there was a clash between the police and the crowd. A police officer named Scot started batten-charge' on the protestors. During the course of this confrontation, Lala Lajpat Rai was hit near his heart. The blow proved fatal and he died a few days later.

The long awaited Simon Commission Report was finally published in May 1930. The first volume surveyed the Indian political, communal, constitutional, administrative, financial and educational systems and an examination of the problems facing India. The second volume set forth the proposals for constitutional reforms. It is interesting to observe that except for the *Daily Herald* the entire British press welcomed the Report. According to *The Times* the first volume was the refutation of the claim advanced by the Hindus that India was a 'nation' in the sense in which Germany or Sweden were nations.[2] The Commission made the following recommendations:

1) The Dyarchy system in the provinces should be abolished and all the portfolios should be handed over to the provincial

[1]C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Partition of India – Policies and Perspectives*, 1935-1947, London, 1970, p.383.

[2]K.K. Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, p.118.

www.cssexampoint.com

ministers. The powers of the central government and the provincial governors should be reduced.

2) Federal system of government should be introduced in India.
3) The right to vote should be extended to more people.
4) An expert committee should be constituted regarding the separation of Sindh from Bombay. The separation of Sindh was not granted in principle. First there would have to be a close and detailed enquiry into the financial consequences which would follow such a step.
5) The demand of the Frontier for equal status was also neglected. "The inherent right of a man to smoke a cigarette", said the Report, "must necessarily be curtailed if he lives in a powder magazine".

The Report's biggest bombshell was its hostility to the Muslim demand for majority rule by separate electorate in the Punjab and Bengal.

The Muslim response to the publication of the Report was one of annoyance and exasperation.[1] The Quaid expressed his dissatisfaction over the Simon Commission Report. On June 24, 1930, in a statement he declared that the Report was unacceptable both to the Hindus and the Muslims. In another statement he termed the Report as totally unsatisfactory and unacceptable to the elected members of the Indian Legislative Assembly.[2] According to Allama Iqbal, "A death blow has been struck at the Muslim majority in the Punjab". He was for starting a very strong and effective agitation against the Report and was prepared for every sacrifice. Ch. Afzal Haq was of the same view and said that he and other Congressites like Dr. Alam, Zafar Ali Khan and Abdul Qadir Qasuri were all for the Muslim majority in the Punjab. They would like to make a common cause, go to the villages and start an unprecedented agitation.[3]

The editors of *Inqliab, Siasat, Muslim Outlook* and other Muslim newspapers told Nawab Muzaffar Khan frankly that the scheme of provincial autonomy suggested by the Report was entirely unsatisfactory. They alleged that the Report had practically established Hindu Raj, under British protection, in all provinces throughout India including Bengal and the Punjab.[4]

The Executive Board of the All-Parties Muslim Conference described the Report as "unacceptable to the Muslims of India and retrograde and reactionary in spirit". It demanded that the Muslims be granted a clear majority in the Punjab and Bengal, that Sindh should be separated and that reforms must be introduced in the North-Western Frontier and Baluchistan.

---

[1] David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, Delhi, 1982, p.205.
[2] *Iqbal Aur Quaid-i-Azam*, p.28.
[3] *Prelude to Partition*, p.207.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp.206-7.

www.cssexampoint.com

18

THE NEHRU REPORT

The Nehru Report is an important document in the constitutional history of the sub-continent which helps in understanding the nature of Hindu nationalism.

The Montford Reforms (1919) had envisaged the formation of a statutory commission after ten years to determine the next stage in the realisation of self-rule in India. The commission which was to be formed in 1929, was constituted two years earlier on November 8, 1927, under Sir John Simon. However, the Indians were not pleased with its structural shape and form as all its members were the English and no Indian could find a berth on the Commission. Consequently, the Indians decided to boycott the Simon Commission. All the major Indian political parties, with the exception of Shafi League of the Punjab, refused to cooperate. M.A. Jinnah gave expression to the genuine reaction of the Indians saying, "The Jallianwala Bagh was a physical butchery, the Simon Commission is the butchery of our souls".[1]

Announcing the formation of this Commission, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, had challenged the Indians to frame a unanimous constitution. All the political parties of India accepted the challenge and called an All-Parties Conference to be held on February 12, 1928. This Conference was attended among others by National Liberal Federation, Hindu Mahasabha, All-India Muslim League, Central Khilafat Committee, Central Sikh League, Home Rule League and Nationalist Party. In this preliminary meeting more than one hundred delegates participated. Those who attended the meeting included Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, Moonje, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mohamed Ali Johar, Nawab Ismail Khan, Shoaib Qureshi, Hasrat Mohani, Shafee Daudi, Abdoola Haroon and the Raja of Mahmudabad.[2] In this meeting the first and foremost point of discussion was the question of the form of the Indian constitution. On this question, a controversy erupted which divided the participants into two groups. A few political parties insisted relentlessly that the constitution

---

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Gufiar-e-Quaid-e-Azam*, Islamabad, 1976, p.56.

[2] Mushir-ul-Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, p.271.

www.cssexampoint.com

should include declaration of complete independence while others felt satisfied with Dominion Status. After protracted deliberations, the Conference decided in favour of Dominion Status for India. In another related development, the Conference appointed a Committee on February 28, 1928, whose task it was to ponder over, discuss threadbare, the questions of fundamental rights, right of vote, position of Indian States and whether the Indian Parliament would be unicameral or bicameral. The Committee was required to submit its report as early as possible. In the meanwhile, arguments on these controversial matters raged on and on and the Conference had to convene a second meeting on March 8, 1928. To settle raging controversies between the Muslims and the Hindus particularly on issues of separation of Sindh from Bombay, separate electorate and reservation of seats, the Conference appointed two sub-committees on March 11, 1928, which were asked to present their reports in the next meeting in Bombay.

The next meeting of the Conference was held in Bombay according to the schedule. But the meeting remained inconclusive as, on the one hand, the two sub-committees had not been able to complete their task and on the other, the delegates having diverse opinions were sharply divided failed to arrive at any consensus point. Therefore, the Conference, as a way out, choose to appoint a small committee, headed by Motilal Nehru, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its secretary, to prepare the constitution. The Committee had Sayyid Ali Imam, Shoaib Qureshi, M.S. Aney, M.R. Jayakar, G.R. Pardhan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, N.M. Joshi and Sardar Mangal Singh as its members. Three members of the Nehru Committee did not show any interest in the task while Sayyid Ali Imam attended the meeting only once. .Despite these hurdles, the Nehru Committee completed its task in three months and its report was published on August 15, 1928. This report came to be known as the Nehru Report.

COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OR DOMINION STATUS

From the very out-set the Committee was dogged by multifarious problems. The All Parties Conference had been inconclusive at its meeting in Delhi due to difference of opinion. Therefore, in order to find a common ground between the divergent opinions, a compromise formula of a total responsible government was put forward. The Nehru Committee advanced this idea of complete Responsible Government within the ambit of Dominion Status for India. The proposal was criti- d harshly by Moulana Hasrat Mohani condemning it as a total

www.cssexampoint.com

betrayal. The Moulana went on to oppose even the vote of thanks for Pandit Motilal Nehru on this report. He blasted this resolution saying, "Pandit Nehru does not deserve our thanks at all because he has proposed Dominion Status as a goal for India which is treason and a vote of thanks for traitor is nothing but is a travesty of facts. Our destination is complete independence and we can not agree to anything less than that".[1]

SAFEGUARDS

The Nehru Report proved to be the proverbial fly in the ointment of Hindu-Muslim unity. Controversy on this Report between the Hindus and the Muslims opened up a whole new areas of reservations, conflicts and dissensions. In the aftermath of accusations and counter-accusations, an atmosphere of mistrust, distrust, mutual conflicts and substantial differences came to the surface which proved to be the stumbling-block in the way of freedom.

The ratio of Hindu and Muslim population weighed heavily in favour of the Hindus as they were larger in number than the Muslims in the Indian sub-continent. The Muslims, on their part, have seen through the treacherous mentality also over the past politically hectic years. Therefore, now they demanded certain safeguards as they had genuine reservations about Hindu mentality. In fact, the Nehru Report had categorically rejected the demand of safeguards or artificial nurturing by giving incorrect statistics. It purported to say that the Muslims were in dominant majority in the Punjab, Sindh, the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan and were so powerful that they could defend themselves. Besides, the Report declared that only those communities needed special protections which were only 10% of the population.[2]

SEPARATE ELECTORATE

The political existence of the Indian Muslims depended totally on the mode of elections. Keeping this in view and in peculiar political condition of India, the Muslim leaders had demanded separate electorate for their community. They had believed that the political rights of the Indian Muslims could only be safeguarded under separate electoral system. After much bickering, the British Government accepted this demand in the Minto-Morley Reforms. This system had also been maintained in the Montford Reforms of 1919 while in 1916 at the time of Lucknow Pact, the Hindus had, for the first time and the last, accepted the demand of separate

---

[1]Raees Ahmad Jafri, *Karavan-e-Gumgashta*, Karachi, 1971, pp.13-14.

[2]Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, *The All-Parties Conference Report*, Delhi, 1928, p.45.

www.cssexampoint.com

electorate for the Muslims. But, soon after, they had reneged the Pact and started a powerful campaign against the separate electorate. Quaid-i-Azam had consented to drop this demand in view of the Delhi Proposals but the Hindus rejected this offer.

The Nehru Committee also declared the separate electorate injurious for the minorities. It claimed "since separate electorate awakens communal sentiments, therefore, it should be scrapped and joint electorate should be introduced".[1]

RESERVATION OF SEATS IN THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL

The Nehru Committee had ignored the Muslim demand that they should be given representation in the Punjab and Bengal in proportion with their population and that their seats should be reserved. The Committee not only rejected this demand but it also dispensed with the weightage formula which had been guaranteed in the Lucknow Pact, it observed that the demand of reservation of seats was as dangerous as the demand for separate electorate. Expressing its opposition the Committee remarked. "It is impossible to voice support in favour of reservation of seats for the majority (community) because all nationalities in the Punjab and Bengal could protect their interests".[2]

Hindu opposition to this demand notwithstanding, the Muslims had definite justifiable reasons to agitate for reservation of seats. Shoaib Qureshi, a representative of the Muslims on the Committee explained the rationale of this demand. Elaborating his thesis on this point he said that the Muslims in these provinces were generally poor and uneducated while the Hindus, on the other hand, were educated, rich, well organised which enabled them to have complete monopoly in trade, commerce and banking sectors. Therefore, their ascendancy in all these fields neutralised and rendered ineffective the numerical strength of the Muslims; thus, the justification for reservation of seats. But the Nehru Committee rejected this demand.

SEPARATION OF SINDH FROM BOMBAY

The annexation of the province of Sindh with Bombay was a glaring example of peculiar British colonial strategy to rule foreign countries. The East India Company captured Sindh in 1843 and immediately after attached it with the Bombay Presidency for a few

---

[1] *The All-Parties Conference Report*, p.49.
[2] *Ibid.*

www.cssexampoint.com

specific interests despite the fact the two areas did not have anything in common. The obvious result of this step was that the majority of the Muslims in the province turned into minority. Ever since, the Muslims had been demanding that the decision be reversed and Sindh be given its rightful separate provincial identity.

The Nehru Committee deliberated on this question at length. It concluded that the provinces should be redivided on the basis of the language and aspiration of the inhabitants. The Committee also conceded that Sindh was a linguistic unit which implied that it ought to be a separate province as 74% of the population was Muslim. The demand of separation of Sindh was also favoured by the Parsees of Bombay. Ruling the attachment of Sindh with Bombay as 'unnatural', the Report, however, emphasised that the provinces could not be divided on ethnic grounds. Taking into account all the important matters, the Nehru Committee decided that a comprehensive investigation into the financial and administrative matters should be carried out before separating Sindh from Bombay. But afterwards in a meeting of the All-Parties Conference held on August 30, 1928, Nehru Report came under thorough scrutiny. The meeting decided to modify the earlier recommendation and proposed that Sindh could be separated and given a separate provincial status on the following conditions:-

1) Sindh would attain financial autarky.
2) A vast majority of Sindhis should accept to bear the financial responsibilities.
3) Sindh would have the same system of government as would be guaranteed under constitution for other provinces.
4) Non-Muslim minorities in Sindh would have same rights and privileges as Muslim-minority in other provinces.

REFORMS IN N-W.F.P. & BALUCHISTAN

In the case of N-W.F.P. and Baluchistan, the Nehru Committee proposed that like other provinces constitutional reforms should be implemented here also. Strangely, the Committee first omitted the name of Baluchistan in the Report but, later on, included it explaining that it had happened due to an error.

www.cssexampoint.com

REJECTION OF 1/3 REPRESENTATION OF THE MUSLIMS

The Muslims had demanded that they should be given 1/3 representation in the Central Legislature. The Nehru Committee rejected this demand on the plea that the Muslims formed less than one-fourth of the total population of British India and therefore they could not be given one-third representation. The Muslim representative on the Committee, Shoaib Qureshi, did not agree with the logic and reasoning of the authors of the Nehru Report. He kept insisting that the Muslims should be given one third representation in the Central Legislature.[1]

FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

All those concerned with the constitutional problems of India were unanimous on the point that solution to Indian malaise lay in according maximum autonomy to the provinces. They believed that the establishment of a federal government was indispensable. On their part, the Muslims also demanded that since they were in majority in some provinces, therefore, the central government should have lesser authority. It was all the more imperative so that the provincial autonomy was not compromised. However, contrary to this demand, the Nehru Committee proposed a unitary form of government making the central government all powerful. In addition, it also proposed to invest all the residuary powers in the central government.

In this way, the Nehru Report ignored all the vital demands of the Muslims. While the Nehru Committee was busy in preparing its report, the Quaid-i-Azam was in Europe. After returning to India, the Quaid, once again, made efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity, but failed due to strong opposition from the Hindu Mahasabha. The Quaid-i-Azam proposed a few amendments in the Nehru Report during a meeting of All-Parties Convention, held on December 22, 1928, which was convened to ratify or confirm the Report. The Conference held its meeting with Dr. M.A. Ansari in the chair. The Quaid-i-Azam, in this open session proposed (a) one third representation in the central legislature (b) reservation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal proportionate to the Muslim population and (c) investment of all the residuary powers in the provincial governments. All these proposals were opposed and rejected by the Hindu-Mahasabha. M.R. Jayakar, the Mahasabha representative stated in a highly derogatory language,

[1] *The All-Parties Conference Report*, p.67.

www.cssexampoint.com

"Jinnah's mind is turned due to Congress pampering. Whom does he represent? The Muslim community is with the Congress and Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind who have accepted the Nehru Report and, therefore, no need to accept Jinnah's proposals to please him".

Jayakar warned the Convention that "If you accede to Mr. Jinnah's demands the Report will be torn to pieces and will be rejected by important communities who have now accepted it as the final word in the matter".[1]

On the other hand, there were a few sagacious minds present at the Convention who were in favour of accepting the Quaid's proposed amendment for the sake of Hindu-Muslim amity. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru calling the Quaid-i-Azam 'a spoilt child' argued that he should be placated by accepting his demands. However, even Sapru's pleas failed to convince the Mahasabha.

The Quaid-i-Azam's proposals were entirely reasonable. Had these been accepted, they would have, in all probability, brought about Hindu-Muslim amity, albeit, temporarily. In Dr. Ambedkar's words: "These amendments show that the gulf-between the Hindus and the Muslims was not in any way a wide one. Yet there was no desire to bridge the same".[2] Motilal Nehru did not try to remove the misgivings of the Muslims. Uma Kaur, an Indian historian, has rightly commented that Jayakar was under the influence of Lala Lajpat Rai and both of them were averse to any compromise with the Muslims.

REACTION OF THE MUSLIMS

The Muslims of India reacted sharply to the recommendations of the Nehru Report. They were justifiably enraged because they considered the Report inimical to their interests. The Hindus however regarded the Report the ultimate solution of all the problems. Subash Chandra Bose went to the extent of saying, "This Report has done all that the Royal Commission was expected to do. What is now left for the Commission is to study the report and accept it". The Quaid-i-Azam, by now, had adopted a definitive mode of thinking. His ideas had crystallised by now. Talking to the special correspondent of daily *Inqilab,* he opined, "So far as the basic precept of the Nehru Report is concerned, I am totally opposed to it. I am against this Report. I consider it prejudicial to the interests of the Muslims".[3] The Aga Khan also rejected the Report saying, "No serious-minded person can even

---

[1] Waheed-ud-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1964, p.49.
[2] B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Lahore, 1976, p.304.
[3] Ahmad Saeed, *Hayat-e-Quaid-e-Azam: Chand Nae Pehlu*, Islamabad, 1976, p.40.

www.cssexampoint.com

imagine the Muslims accepting such degrading proposals".[1] Similarly, Moulana Shaukat Ali commented, "As a young man I had been a keen owner of greyhounds, but I had never seen greyhounds deal with a hare as the Hindus proposed to deal with the Muslims".[2]

Mohamed Ali Johar strongly reacted, and condemned the Mahasabhites that "During the times of the East India Company, whenever an announcement was made, it was prefaced with the words 'The people belong to God, the country to the King-Emperor, but the edict is of and from the *Company Bahadur*. On the other hand, what the Congress aims through the Nehru Report today is merely this 'The people belong to God, the country to the Viceroy, but the edict is that of and from the *Mahasabha Bahadur*".[3] He compared it to permanent slavery and Hindu bondage. He condemned it in the strongest terms on December 28, 1928 while presiding over the Khilafat Conference. He castigated the Report saying, "Our population is twenty five percent (of the total Indian population) and you refuse to accord us thirty three percent representation; you are Jews; you are *Bunyas*" (narrow-minded money-lender).

On March 12, 1929, the Nehru Report came up for debate in the Central Legislative Assembly. The Quaid-i-Azam along with all the other Muslim members, opposed it tooth and nail. *The Times* correspondent reported, "The solidarity of Muslim feeling in the Assembly was not unexpected but certainly disturbing to those trying to represent the Nehru Report as a demand of a united India. Henceforth such a claim must be manifestly absurd".[4] *The Times* concurred with those people who regarded the Nehru Report as a scheme for imposing Hindu Raj.

The Muslim print-media in the Punjab had launched a campaign against the Nehru Report. All the Muslim newspapers of the Punjab including the daily *Inqilab, Siasat, Paisa Akhbar* and the *Muslim Outlook* were in the forefront of sustained opposition campaign. The only exception was the daily *Zamindar* of Moulana Zafar All Khan which favoured the Report. Even the Muslim Anjumans rejected the Report outrightly. The Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar – a representative association of the Muslims of Amritsar – refused to accept the Report without the justifiable amendments proposed by the Muslims.

The height of the Congress ignominy was reflected in the complete rejection of the Nehru Report by the Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, a body which had, ever since its inception, stoutly sided with the Congress. The daily *Al-Jamiat*, a mouthpiece of the Jamiat, wrote an editorial

---

[1] K.K.Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism*, London, 1967, p.42.
[2] Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan – The Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960, p.72.
[3] Abdul Waheed Khan, *India Wins Freedom: The Other Side*, Lahore, 1961, p.200, f.n.
[4] *The Making of Pakistan*, p.42.

www.cssexampoint.com

commenting, "The recommendations of the Nehru Report cannot be termed as based on justice because all the recognised leaders of the Muslims, the Muslim populace and a dominant majority of the Muslim press regard these proposals most unjust and contrary to the Muslim interest and we also agree to it".[1]

The same newspaper, in another editorial commented, "The Nehru Report is not at all acceptable to the Muslims and neither they wish to vest the power to control their destiny in a constitution which is infested with the feelings of Hinduism and of communalism".[2]

The Hindus, themselves, recognised the strong opposition of the Muslims to the Report. Subash Chandra Bose admitted that the Nehru Report had lost its importance due to the opposition of the Muslims. Another Hindu politician, Sir Chamanlal Setalvad, thought that an excellent opportunity to solve Hindu-Muslim problems had been allowed to go waste.[3]

Dr. K.K. Aziz, a scholar and renowned historian, assessing the situation has expressed his views most aptly, "With the end of the Khilafat Movement the short honeymoon of Hindu-Muslim unity also came to an end and hostilities re-emerged but this time with a greater intensity and the prospects of unity between the two nations ceased to exist. The Nehru Report put a seal on this conflict and peace disappeared from India for good".[4]

Anyhow, one good aspect of the Nehru Report was the reawakening and growing awareness amongst the Muslims of the necessity of forging unity in their ranks and files. The daily *Mustaqil* of Kanpur commented in its editorial, "Nehru Report has rekindled and reinvigorated awakening in the Muslims and they, in various provinces, girded up their loins to protect and safeguard their genuine rights and interests".[5]

---

[1]The daily *Al-Jamiat*, Delhi, October 1, 1928, p.3.
[2]*Ibid.*, April 1, 1929, p.3.
[3]Chamanlal Setalvad, *Recollections and Reflections*, Bombay, 1949.
[4]K.Aziz, "The Road to Pakistan" (article) *The Pakistan Quarterly*.
[5]daily *Mustaqil*, Kanpur, November 19, 1928, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

19

JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS

The Nehru Committee made an unsuccessful attempt to prepare a constitution for India, acceptable to all. Thus, all the Muslim political parties opposed the Nehru Report when it was published. During the preparation of the Nehru Report, M.A. Jinnah was in England but he kept himself fully aware of the political developments in India. On his return, he made an unsuccessful attempt to include some amendments in the Nehru Report. And ultimately, this "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" had to say "From now onwards, this is parting of the ways".

A positive implications of the Nehru Report was that the Muslims felt the need of unity among themselves. At that time, the All-India Muslim League was divided into two opposing camps known as the Jinnah League and the Shafi League. The Quaid-i-Azam took the first step towards reuniting the party and called a meeting of the League in March 1929. During this meeting, the nationalist Muslims tried hard to get the Nehru Report approved. According to Sir Muhammad Yameen, a few Congress supporters who were in favour of joint electorate and who were much despised by the public reached the venue of the Muslim League meeting in Delhi. They wielded no influence and had no hope of being elected in the separate electorate system. They included, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Khwaja Abdul Majeed, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Dr. Alam. They tried to benefit from the absence of M.A. Jinnah and called upon the participants of the meeting to pass a resolution in support of joint electorate to give a false impression to the public that the Jinnah League had approved the Nehru Report and the joint electorate system. They elected one of their members Dr. Alam as the president of the meeting but the League's assistant secretary drove all of them out of the hall with the help of the police. During the meeting, M.A. Jinnah presented the demands of the Muslim League which came to be known as Jinnah's Fourteen Points. The points were as follows:-

The League after careful consideration most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no constitution would be acceptable to the Muslims of India, unless it contained the following basic ingredients:

www.cssexampoint.com

1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with all the residuary powers vested in the provinces, the Central Government to have the contrcl only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the constitution.
2) Uniform measure of autonomy shall be guaranteed to all provinces.
3) Adequate and effective representation should be given to all the minorities in all the assemblies and all other elected bodies of the country and no effort should be made by any territorial redistribution to reduce the majority of a community in a province to minority or even equality.
4) At least one-third seats in the central legislature should be reserved for the Muslims.
5) The representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.
6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way effect the Muslim majority in Bengal, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab.
7) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education should be guaranteed to all communities.
8) No bill or resolution nor any part thereof, should be passed in any legislative or elected body, if three-fourths of the members of a community directly affected by that bill or resolution oppose it.
9) Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.
10) Reforms should also be introduced in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving the Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the state and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the state and by self-governing bodies.
13) No cabinet, either Central or Provincial should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim ministers of at least one-third.

www.cssexampoint.com

14) No change or amendment should be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian federation.

Before these Fourteen Points, Gandhi had told M.A. Jinnah that he would send him a blank cheque in which he could fill as much money as he wanted. By this Gandhi meant that he would get approved from the Congress, whatever proposals Jinnah would present. But when M.A. Jinnah presented his Fourteen Points to him and asked him to get them approved from the Congress he replied that in his personal capacity he was ready to accept everything but could not guarantee their approval from the Congress.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points clearly reflected the demands, sentiments and aspirations of the Muslims. But as in the past, the Congress did not give them any importance and instead, determined to oppose them. Dr. Moonje, the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, bitterly condemned these Fourteen Points while presiding over a meeting of his party in Andhra on November 7, 1929. He declared these points to be contrary to the spirit of Indian nationalism. He called the separation of Sindh from Bombay a "luxury" and dismissed all the other points which in his opinion would eliminate the unity of India. Criticising these points for being sectarian and communal in nature, he said, "It would not be wrong to say that the ideology which has given birth to these points is only intended to create divisions among the Hindus and the Muslims forever which would make it impossible to preserve the unity of India. I believe that Hindus should, under no circumstances, accept communalism. The Muslims should be assured that the Hindus, by no means, would exert any force or pressure on them. At the same time, the Hindus must resist all efforts to incorporate communalism into the constitution. It is something which has already been created by the Nehru Report".

The Hindu press strongly criticised the Fourteen Points. The *Tribune*, in its issue of August 12, 1931, wrote, "As a matter of fact the demand, which is familiarly known as the Fourteen Points, is a simple conglomeration, a base summing up, of all the most extravagant and unreasonable demands ever made in any Muslim quarter, and it is easy to show that on not a single point could the communalists possibly have gone farther. The peace-maker who first states the case for one of the two sides between which he seeks to bring about peace in its most exaggerated form and then solemnly appeals to the other side to accept the terms in its entirety in the interest of peace and harmony, invites nothing but ridicule. That unhappily is the exact position in which Mr. Jinnah has placed himself in this case".[1]

---

[1] *Punjab Native Newspapers Report*, August 15, 1931, pp.737-38.

www.cssexampoint.com

In a letter to M.K. Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote about the Fourteen Points in this way: "If I had to listen to my dear friend M.A. Jinnah talking the most unmitigated nonsense about his Fourteen Points for any length of time, I would have to consider the desirability of resorting to the South Sea Islands, where there would be some hope of meeting with some people who were intelligent or ignorant enough not to talk of the Fourteen Points. I marvel at your patience".[1]

This letter of Pandit Nehru clearly reveals the fact that right from the beginning, the Hindus had adopted an absolutely irresponsible attitude towards the desires and demands of the Muslims. Their attitude towards separate electorate, Delhi Muslim proposals, Nehru Report and Fourteen Points prove that in every case, they wanted to enforce their will upon the Muslims. Secondly, it teaches a lesson to those who still argue that a compromise with the Hindus was and is still possible.

www.cssexampoint.com

s of Indian Unity 1917-40, Oxford, 1974, pp.241-42.

20

THE ALLAHABAD ADDRESS

On December 29, 1930, Allama Mohammad Iqbal presided over the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at *Duazdah Manzil*, a house belonging to a tobacco merchant named Rahim Bakhsh. The house was situated in the Yaqootganj Bazar of the Allahabad city. On four sides of its courtyard, or hall, there were twelve doors. Therefore, it was known as *Duazdah Manzil* (house having twelve doors).[1]

By that time, the AIML had not started holding open public meetings. Generally, the League held its sessions in cinema halls and town halls of the cities. In 1919, the League's session was held at a cinema in Amritsar.[2] In 1924, the League was to hold its session at the Habibia Hall of Islamia College Lahore, but later on, due to certain reasons, it was held at the Globe cinema (now Sanobar cinema) in Lahore. In 1929, the Roshan Theatre of Delhi became the venue of the League's session.[3] The 1933 session was convened at the Town Hall of Calcutta.[4]

The Allahabad session was not attended by a large number of people. According to Mufti Fakhr-ul-Islam, who himself attended the meeting, there were only four or five hundred people present on the occasion. Many of them were school children.[5] Information culled from other sources also indicates that the session was attended by only a handful of people. It is difficult to give the exact number of the participants, but a journal satirically stated that besides a number of honorary magistrates and civil servants, the meeting was also attended by Haji Abdoola Haroon (Karachi), Seth Tayyab Ji (Sindh), Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Nawab Ismail Khan (U.P.) Moulvi Ala-ud-Din, Moulana Mohammad Sadiq (Punjab), Moulana Abdul Majid Badauni (U.P.) Sayyid Husain Imam (Bihar), Sayyid Zakir Ali (U.P.) Abdul Qadir Qasuri (Lahore) Sayyid Habib (Lahore) and Nazir Hasan, who was a member of the Bihar Legislative Council. Some of the above mentioned names are quite unknown.[6]

---

[1] Mukhtar Zaman, "Duazdah Manzil Sey Manzil-e-Pakistan Tak" article in *Nuqoosh*, Iqbal Number, September, 1977, p.499.

[2] Abdul Majeed Salik, *Sarguzasht*, Lahore, 1963, p.110.

[3] *Inqilab*, April 12, 1929, p.6.

[4] *Paisa Akhbar*, October 24, 1933, p.5.

[5] *Nuqoosh*, Iqbal Number, p.501.

[6] *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol.II, July-December, 1930, p.334.

www.cssexampoint.com

According to Sayyid Shamsul Hasan, the Assistant Secretary of the League, the Allahabad session was attended by only few delegates and the League found it very difficult to complete the quorum.[1] The *Modern Review* of Calcutta had also pointed out the lack of quorum. According to the journal, 75 delegates were needed" for the quorum, but the delegates present there were not in that number. Moreover, the journal also wrote that Allama Iqbal, who had presided over the meeting, had departed from Allahabad even before the session was over.[2]

Is it just a coincidence that Iqbal went to Allahabad, the home town of Nehru and expressed his desire for a separate Muslim state. The very same year, Pandit Nehru visited Iqbal's city and demanded freedom for India.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE ALLAHABAD ADDRESS

Iqbal was the first Muslim League President to stress the role of Islam in moulding the character of the Indian Muslims and also in determining their future destiny.[3]

Iqbal, in his Address, discussed the role of Islam in India that "Islam as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity has been the chief formative factor of the life-history of Muslims of India". It has given them those "basic emotions and loyalties" which unify individuals and make them into a "well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own". He believes that "India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people building force, has worked at best".

Iqbal emphatically stated that Islam does not believe in the arbitrary segregation of religion and world. Iqbal strongly negated the Western idea that religion is one's private affair and has nothing to do with the temporal life. Islam does not believe in the duality of matter and soul. "In Islam, God and the universe, matter and spirit, and State and Church are organic to each other. In Iqbal's opinion, the division of spiritual and temporal worlds has seriously affected the political and religious ideas in the West. Islam rejected the idea of priesthood in Islam. He reaffirmed his firm conviction that Islam was still a living force which liberates man from the prisons of race and territory. In Islam religion enjoys a pivotal place in the life of the individual and the state. According to Iqbal "Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny". Iqbal vehemently opposed the idea that religion was one's private affair. He asked if the Muslims wanted to suffer the doom of Islam as a political and ethical code as has

---

[1] Shamsul Hasan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Karachi, 1976, p.52.

[2] *Modern Review*, February, 1931, p.259.

[3] K.K.Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol.I, Lahore, 1987, p.189.

www.cssexampoint.com

been the case with Christianity in the West "Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part"? he asked. Iqbal opposed the idea of a single Indian nation. He argued that the *Bhagti* Movement of Kabeer and the *Deen-e-Ilahi* of Akbar could only have a peripheral impact on the general public who continued to adhere to their ancestral religions. There was no such trend in India as to merge the divergent castes into a single nation at the expense of their separate individual entities. The reason was that each group or community was intensely jealous of the collective existence. Iqbal repeats the words of the French philosopher Renan on the making .of a national feeling and finds that by his definition India is not a nation. The various religious and caste groups "have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a large whole". Iqbal concluded that in the given circumstances, all such attempts should be opposed to bring about unity in India by the interaction and coordination of the various parties. Iqbal questioned as to why the two major nations in India had failed to reach a compromise and why all attempts to unite them had ended up in failure. Perhaps the two nations mistrusted each other or had doubts about the motives and intentions of each other. Another reason could be that secretly, both were desirous of dominating each other. They were not ready to accept that every nation had the right to progress in line with its own culture, civilization and traditions.

Iqbal categorically stated that if the communal problem of India could be solved keeping in view the principle that the Indian Muslims should have the right to flourish in accordance with their culture and traditions, they would be ready to stake their all for the freedom of India.

Iqbal promoted the ideas and concepts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and remarked, "India is a continent inhabited by people belonging to different races, communities and religions. Moreover, they speak different languages. For this very reason, the application of western democracy in India by ignoring the various religious groupings is impossible". In this manner, he fully justified the demand for a Muslim India within India.

Iqbal not only himself supported the resolution passed at Delhi during the All-Parties Muslim Conference but also called upon the House to do the same. He stressed that in order to create a balanced and integrated nation, it was imperative that they should be given the opportunities to develop and demonstrate their inherent capabilities. Iqbal with his foresight had visualised the implications inherent in the blue-print of the federation at the Round Table Conference. The inclusion of the Native States in the proposed federation would have ensured the perpetual servitude of India and the perennial subjugation of the Muslims by the Hindus.

www.cssexampoint.com

Pointing out to this fact the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) wrote, "Iqbal has made it very clear that the proposed federation to be discussed at the Round Table Conference is only meant to strengthen the hold of the British Government by including the Indian States into it". Due to this reason, the newspaper bitterly deplored the idea of including the Indian States into the proposed federation.

Giving the essence of his Address, Iqbal said, "I would like to see the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me the **final destiny** of the Muslims at least of North-West India". Iqbal told the Hindus and the British not to be scared by this proposal, as India was then the largest Muslim country in the world where, in order to preserve Islam as a cultural force, it was vital for it to be centralised in a specified territory. Iqbal reminded the English that despite their unjust treatment, the Muslims in their large numbers had joined the British police and army and ensured the continuation of the British rule. Thus, concentrating and integrating them into a certain area would solve the problem of India and that of the entire continent of Asia. It would rejuvenate their living spirit and strengthen their sense of patriotism. Iqbal stated that if the Muslims were given the right to flourish effectively and adequately, they (The Muslims of North-Western India) would prove the best defenders of the country against all sorts of invasions, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets. At this point, Iqbal's words "Within the political entity of India", are noteworthy. Iqbal negated the allegation made by Srinivasa Sastri that the demand for autonomous Muslim state on the North-West border was actuated by a desire to pressurise the Government of India, otherwise the Muslims of that region did not have any such intentions or desires. Iqbal frankly told him that "Muslim desire is actuated by a genuine desire for free development, which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India". Iqbal also denounced the idea that the demand for a Muslim state was being made in order to create some sort of "religious rule". After disposing all Hindu objections and fears Iqbal reiterated his proposal in clear terms that "I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam".

Iqbal reiterated the demand for the distribution of the British provinces with a view to finding a permanent settlement of the communal tensions. He further pointed out that the Muslims would

www.cssexampoint.com

never agree to a constitutional change which affected the Muslim majority in the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. Furthermore, the constitution should also guarantee that the Muslims would get one-third seats in the central legislature.

Iqbal laid a great emphasis on the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. He made it clear that Sindh had more in common with Iraq and Arabia than with India. In this connection, he quoted the well-known Muslim geographer Masoodi who had stated that Sindh was a country nearer to the dominions of Islam. At the same time, he quoted Hazrat Ameer Muaviah who had said about Egypt that "Egypt has her back towards Africa and her face towards Arabia".

According to Iqbal, the same was true of Sindh in the contemporary world. She has her back towards India and her face towards Central Asia. Moreover, Iqbal also argued that the Bombay Government was completely oblivious of the agricultural problems of Sindh. Keeping in view the tremendous trade potentials of Karachi, Iqbal predicted that "one day or the other, it would become the second capital of India".

Iqbal bitterly criticised the Simon Commission for its views regarding reforms in the N.W.F.P. Opposing the idea of reforms in the province, the Commission had argued that since its people lived in a powder house, they could not be granted the right to light the cigarette. In Iqbal's estimate, political reforms were like a "light" rather than fire. He asserted that no one could be deprived of the right to acquire light, even if he lived in an ammunition depot or a powder house.

He ended his Address, with a sensational note by saying, "I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an "**independent line of action**" to cope with the present crisis. But, such "**an independent line of action is possible only to a determined people possessing a will focalized by a single purpose**". Iqbal was definitely visualising the future Pakistan movement.

THE HINDU REACTION

The Hindu politicians and journalists reacted sharply and raised a great hue and cry at the Address. On January 1, 1931, the *Tribune* (Lahore) held the British Government and the Muslim leaders responsible for the Hindu-Muslim tensions and for the failure of the Round Table Conference. According to the newspaper, it was Iqbal, among all the Muslim leaders, who was solely responsible for the crisis, because he had delivered his Address at a time when there were obvious signs of an imminent solution to the communal problems. The *Tribune*

www.cssexampoint.com

also condemned Iqbal for sending a telegram to the delegates of the Round Table Conference, against joint electorate at a time when they had agreed to it. The newspaper also alleged that since Iqbal had not been invited to the first Round Table Conference, he had deliberately made his Address with a view to sabotaging the Conference.[1]

Another biased Hindu newspaper *Partap* (Lahore) wrote an editorial against Iqbal's Allahabad Address under the headline "A dangerous Muslim of North-Western India". This editorial conferred upon Iqbal the titles of *crazy, mischief-monger, prejudiced, narrow-minded* and *mean.*

In an editorial note, the monthly *Modern Review* (Calcutta) stated that the demand for a Muslim state comprising the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P., as envisaged in the Allahabad Address, had captured the attention of most of the people. The newspaper added, "Now on one hand, A.K. Fazlul Haq and his companions are desirous of domination in Bengal and, on the other, the poet Iqbal is keen to have a Muslim state in the North-West of India. To many people, both these statements provide a key to the better understanding of Jinnah's fourteen points".[2]

According to the daily *Inqilab* (Lahore), a cheap Hindu columnists went to the extent of saying that Iqbal wanted to snatch the country of the Hindus from them and to give it to the Muslims. Mr. S.W. Wilson, the London-based correspondent of the *Indian Daily Mail* (Bombay) reported that the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald was furious at the views expressed by Iqbal in his presidential address at Allahabad.[3]

THE REACTION OF THE HINDU POLITICIANS

Besides the Hindu journalists, Hindu politicians were also unanimous in their condemnation of Iqbal. A famous Bengali leader Bipin Chandra Pal wrote in an article, "Iqbal and his companions are still dreaming of that period when India was under the occupation of the Muslims. Iqbal wishes that his fellow Muslims should once again rule over India and Asia, but he has forgotten the fact that radical changes have come about in India and the rest of the world. Things have dramatically changed and even those people are no longer in a position to assist in the establishment of a Mughal or Pathan empire in India.[4]

M.R. Jayakar, who was one of the delegates at the Round Table Conference, criticised Iqbal's address in scathingly satirical terms. He ironically expressed his pleasure that Iqbal had at least conveyed his

---

[1] *Inqilab* (Lahore) January 3, 1931, p.3.
[2] *Modern Review*, February, 1931, p.259.
[3] Abdus Salam Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1977, p.77.
[4] *Inqilab*, January 21, 1931, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

true feelings so openly. Jayakar described his Address as untimely but based on the elements which were present in Jinnah's Fourteen Points and to which he had already alluded a long time ago, as pregnant with implicit ramifications for the Hindus. Commenting on Iqbal's telegram to the delegates of the Round Table Conference against joint electorate, Jayakar said, "I there and then, dismissed the whole issue of Hindu-Muslim understanding and refused to accept any proposal which could lead to the creation of a Muslim state in the North-West of India as desired by Iqbal". He threatened to use all available means to prevent the fulfilment of the international aspirations of the Muslims.[1]

In short, all the Hindu leaders spoke bitterly against Iqbal's Allahabad Address. Referring to this attitude, the daily *Inqilab* had written, "There is hardly any Hindu writer who has not hurled abuses in the filthiest of the language on Iqbal's Address. Even those Hindu writers who are only capable of writing a few lines have exploited this opportunity to improve their writing skill by criticising and venting their spleen on the Address. The mean and hostile propaganda being directed against Iqbal has even surpassed the vehemence of the venomous propaganda unleashed by the Hindus against Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi and Aurangzeb Alamgeer.[2]

An interesting thing to be noted in this connection is that besides the Hindus and the British, Iqbal's Address was also criticised by a section of the Muslims themselves. Its prominent critics were Seth Yaqoob Hasan (Madras) and Muhammad Ali Currim Chagla. They could not see eye-to-eye with Iqbal's desire for a separate Muslim state in the North-West of India. They were proud of being nationalist Muslims and one of them had even described Iqbal as the founder of the **Indian Ulster.**[3]

Mian Muhammad Shafi, a close political associate of Iqbal, while responding to an objection made by Dr. Moonje at the Round Table Conference said, "If Iqbal has mentioned an independent state out of the British Commonwealth, I reject any such proposal on behalf of all the Muslim delegates".[4]

In those hostile atmosphere, a handful of moderate Hindus made an attempt to understand the viewpoint of Iqbal. The *Times of India* carried an article written by someone under the pseudonym *A Liberal Hindu.* The writer fully supported Iqbal's views; especially on the ground that for the preservation and promotion of the Islamic culture it was indispensable for them to be concentrated in those provinces where they were in majority.[5]

---

[1] *Inqilab*, January 4, 1931, p.1.
[2] *Inqilab*, January 15, 1931, p.3.
[3] *Inqilab*, February, 1, 1931, p.4.
[4] *Sarguzasht*, p.396.
[5] *Inqilab*, January 10, 1931, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

THE ATTITUDE OF THE MUSLIM PRESS

We have no access to the reaction of the Muslim press towards the Allahabad Address delivered by Iqbal. However, the daily *Inqilab* and the daily *Hamdam* (Lucknow) ardently supported the views of Iqbal. The *Hamdam* agreed with Iqbal regarding his notion that the Muslims of India should be given a chance to establish Muslim India and this idea could only be put into practice if the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P. were included into a new single state.

The daily *Inqilab* was perhaps the only newspaper in India which wholeheartedly, fearlessly and unequivocally supported the ideas of Iqbal. In more than a dozen of its editorials, it appreciated the various contents of the Address.

In one of its editorials entitled "Iqbal and the Hindu Press – Is the Demand for Freedom by the Muslims Unjustified?", the daily *Inqilab* wrote, "It is amazing that those who are relentlessly demanding from the British to quit India so that they could benefit from freedom and independence by establishing a government of their own according to their culture, tradition and propensities are not prepared to give the Muslims any such rights and privileges. If the Hindus are eager to establish Hindu Raj in India on the basis of their majority, without caring the least for the Muslims then the Muslims also have the right to strive for a Muslim state consisting of the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P."[1]

In anticipation of the severe reaction of the Hindus, the daily *Inqilab* wrote another forceful article in which it said, "The fact is that Iqbal's Address is the first crushing blow to the Hindu concept of nationalism and their desire to establish Hindu Raj in India. It has shaken the very foundation of their secret ambitions. In fact, it has shattered and fragmented all those dreams which the Hindus believed to be on the point of fulfilment. Monjees, Jayakars, Gandhis, Malavias and Nehrus had hatched a cunning and treacherous trap to strangle all the non-Hindu communities of India, especially the Muslims by exploiting all the villainies of democracy and nationalism and to establish a purely Hindu Empire in India. However, Iqbal's bold Address has exposed all those nefarious designs".[2]

It is generally said that Iqbal was the first person who propounded the idea of the partition of the sub-continent, but historically, it is not true. Long before Iqbal's Address, several eminent figures had proposed the partition of India as the only possible solution of the on-going Hindu-Muslim rivalries. Secondly, researchers bitterly dispute whether Iqbal had talked of a Muslim state or a Muslim province. On

[1] *Inqilab*, January, 9, 1931, p.3.
[2] *Inqilab*, January 15, 1931, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

two occasions, in his Address, Iqbal talked of Muslim state and once he mentioned Muslim India. Later on, in letters to Edward Thomson and Raghib Ahsan, he discussed in detail the creation of a Muslim province. Edward Thomson, lecturer in the Bengali language at Oxford University, while commenting on Iqbal's Address, described him as a supporter of the Pakistan Scheme. Thomson himself was pro-Congress. Pointing out to this glaring mistake, Iqbal wrote to Thomson on March 4, 1934, from Lahore, "You call me a protagonist of the scheme called 'Pakistan'. Now Pakistan is not my scheme. The one I suggested in my address is the creation of a Muslim Province i.e. a province having an overwhelming population of Muslims – in the North West of India. This new province will be, according to my scheme, a part of the proposed Indian federation. Pakistan scheme proposes a separate federation of Muslim provinces directly related to England as a separate dominion."[1] An interesting thing is that just two days later, that is on March 6, he sent a copy of Thomson's comments in a letter to Raghib Ahsan and said, "Please note down that the commentator has been misled. He believes that my proposal is related to the Pakistan Scheme. As far as my proposal is concerned, it calls for the creation of a Muslim province within the Indian federation. The Pakistan Scheme, on the other hand, aims at the establishment of a new federation of the Muslim provinces in the North-Western parts of India. This new federation would be directly linked to England".[2]

The question arises as to why Iqbal felt it necessary to clarify his position. In this respect, Dr. Javeed Iqbal's explanation seems relevant and appropriate. According to him, till 1930, the All-India Muslim League strictly adhered to the Fourteen Points of Jinnah and there was also a possibility of the settlement of the communal problems. Thus, it was almost impossible to present such a revolutionary proposal at that time from the platform of the League.[3]

In the light of this explanation of Javeed Iqbal, we can say with confidence that Iqbal presented his revolutionary proposal consciously or unconsciously, but later on tried to reshape it in response to the hostile criticism that it received. However, in spite of describing the creation of a Muslim province as his sole objective, Iqbal was earnestly yearning for a Muslim state. On September 15, 1933, Iqbal wrote to Raghib Ahsan from Lahore, "The fulfilment of what you are thinking of, is dependent on several new causes and conditions. The most important among them is the need for the creation of an Islamic state in the North-West of India or the

---

[1]Hasan Ahmad (ed.), *Iqbal – His Political Ideas at Cross Road*, Aligarh, 1979, p.80.
[2]Faridul Haq, *Jahane Deegar*, Karachi, 1983, p.116.
[3]Javeed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood*, Lahore, 1984, p.415.

www.cssexampoint.com

implementation of the Pakistan Scheme. Despite all such schemes, much more struggle would be needed to attain complete religious freedom".[1]

In 1937, in his letters to Jinnah, Iqbal laid a great emphasis on the creation of a Muslim state in India. On May 28, 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah, "After a long and careful study of Islamic law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states".

He further writes, "But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve the problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim States with absolute majorities". He asked the Quaid: "Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived?"[2] In another letter on June 21, 1937, Iqbal described the Government of India Act 1935, as disappointing.

For the maintenance of law and order in the country and for protecting the Muslims from the domination of the non-Muslims, Iqbal suggested that a new federation consisting of the Muslim majority provinces should be created. The next line of the letter in particular, is worthy of our attention. Iqbal says, "This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.[3] Thus, it can rightly be said that historical factors brought Iqbal in conformity with the Pakistan Scheme of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali – something which he had vehemently denied in 1934.

On November 22, 1937, Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi had a meeting with Iqbal during which the latter described the establishment of a Muslim state in the sub-continent as indispensable. Iqbal told him, "Had not there been the struggle of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, Shah Waliullah and Aurangzeb, the Hindu civilisation and philosophy would have devoured Islam. A nation that does not have its state cannot preserve its civilisation and religion. Religion and civilisation survive only due to power and authority. Therefore, Pakistan is the only solution to the problems of the Muslims including their economic problems".[4]

Even if we accept that Iqbal, in his Address, only mentioned the formation of a Muslim province, his words "Final Destiny" deserve our attention and consideration. By these words, he was alluding to those circumstances and conditions towards which destiny was driving the Muslims of India.

---

[1] *Jahane Deegar*, p.51.

[2] *Iqbal's Letters to Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1956, p.18.

[3] *Iqbal's Letters to Mr. Jinnah*, p.19.

[4] Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi, *Nuqoosh-e-Iqbal*, Karachi, 1973, p.35.

www.iqbalcyberlibrary.net

In short, without indulging in the controversy whether Iqbal was in favour of a Muslim state or Muslim province, we must remember that he was earnestly desirous of the creation of a region in which the Muslims could model their lives in accordance with their cultural traditions and spiritual values.

Mukhtar Zaman is fully justified in saying that, "The Allahabad Address definitely contains the spirit of Pakistan if not its name. This very spirit infused by Iqbal penetrated into the political consciousness of the Muslims within ten years and reinvigorated and revitalised it".[1]

[1] *Nuqoosh*, Iqbal Number, p.503.

www.cssexampoint.com

21

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES 1930-1932

After the approval of the Nehru Report, the Congress, in its annual session at Lucknow in December 1929, empowered its working committee to launch a Civil Disobedience movement at some proper moment. Thus, on March 13, 1930, a Civil Disobedience Movement was launched under the leadership of Gandhi. Meanwhile, the Simon Commission had also completed its investigations. Before the publication of the Simon Commission Report, Governor-General, Lord Irwin, announced the decision of the British Government that a conference of all the political parties and rulers of the States would be held in London, to discuss the political tangles afflicting India. It is worth mentioning here that the Quaid-i-Azam had already presented a proposal to the similar effect, to the British Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald. On June 19, 1929, M.K. Gandhi made his participation into the conference conditional to fulfilment of the demand that the British Government should announce that the proposed conference would draw up a constitution which would grant the Dominion Status to India. The Congress leaders were arrested on starting the Civil Disobedience Movement. In this way, the Congress did not take part in the first Round Table Conference. The Muslims remained away from the Civil Disobedience Movement, because, as Moulana Mohamed Ali put it, "The aim of this movement, instead of complete independence for India, was to enslave the seventy million Muslims by the Hindu Mahasabha". The Quaid-i-Azam also opposed the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The All-India Muslim League in December 1929, welcomed the convening of the conference and demanded that only those Muslims should be invited to attend the conference who were the true representatives of their nation. Allama Iqbal and seven other leaders of the Punjab while welcoming this decision, linked the success of the conference with two conditions. In their opinion, the conference could not succeed without settling the Hindu-Muslim disputes. Secondly, the participants of the conference should be the true representatives of their communities.[1]

---

[1] M. Rafique Afzal (ed.) *Guftar-e-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1966, pp.101-02.

www.cssexampoint.com

THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

For the first Round Table Conference the British Government announced the names of 57 delegates which included eighteen Muslims and 16 representatives of the Indian states. The Muslim representatives included M.A. Jinnah, Moulana Mohamed Ali, the Aga Khan, Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq and Mian Muhammad Shafi. The other representatives were Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.R. Jayakar, Chamanlal Setalvad, C.Y. Chintamani and B.R. Ambedkar. The Conference was inaugurated by the King-Emperor George V on November 12, 1930, at St. Jame's Palace.

The Conference did not have a preset agenda. Its first decision was about the separation of Burma from India. The Indian representatives and those of the Indian States were unanimous in their opinion that India should have a federal system of government. Maharaja of Bikaner declared that the Indian States would also join the proposed federation provided, their rights were adequately safeguarded. During this session, Moulana Mohamed Ali made the final speech of his life. He said, "I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance .of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. If you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here".[1]

After lengthy discussions, various committees and sub-committees were formed regarding provincial constitution, minorities, reforms in the N.W.F.P., separation of Sindh, Defence and the federal structure. M.A. Jinnah fully participated in the proceedings of the first Round Table Conference. He served on (a) Federal Structure Sub-Committee; (b) Minorities Sub-Committee; (c) Defence Sub-Committee and (d) the Sub-Committee on the Separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency,[2] where he gave an ardent and free expression to his views and ideas as a true representative of the Indian Muslims.

He fully supported the demand of the separation of Sindh from Bombay. He proved with arguments that the administration of Sindh was entirely different from that of Bombay except that a few who were elected from Sindh, represent their constituencies in the Bombay Legislative Council and problems facing Sindh come under discussion perhaps once in a blue moon. The Quaid also pointed out that as far as the judicial system was concerned Sindh was completely separate from Bombay because in Sindh, there was a Chief .Court and the Judicial Commissioner's Court was the highest Tribunal, the appeal from there

---

[1] Afzal Iqbal (ed.) *Writings and Speeches of Moulana Mohamed Ali*, Lahore, 1969, Vol.II, p.345.

[2] Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah – Second Phase of His Freedom Struggle 1924-34*, Islamabad, 1994, p.132.

www.cssexampoint.com

lying to the Privy Council direct and not to the Bombay High Court. The Chairman of the Committee agreed with the Quaid that Sindh was not under the Bombay High Court. Continuing his arguments the Quaid argued that if Sindh was to be constituted as a separate province, the only question that would be left whether or not the new province be able to stand on its own economically". He strongly condemned the notion that Sindh was a deficit province. He blamed that it was only on papers that Sindh was shown as a deficit unit. On the other hand, if in reality it was so, as a representative of Bombay, he would like to ask as to why this province was linked to Bombay. "Bombay must get rid of this white elephant and Sindh should be linked with some other province. The Quaid further argued that the Congress itself during its Karachi session of 1913, had recommended the separation of Sindh from Bombay. He called upon the members of the Committee that while deciding the fate of the province, only the interests of its people should be kept in view.[1]

The Quaid also actively participated in the discussion about the state of the Indian army. Presenting solid facts and figures, he said that at that time, out of the three thousand officers of the Indian army, only seventy had received the Royal Commission. He recommended the gradual decrease in the number of British soldiers in the Indian army and the setting up of an institution on the pattern of Sandhurst. He also called for a timetable for the fulfilment of the above-mentioned demands. The Quaid also demanded that from then onwards no English soldier in the Indian army should receive the Royal Commission. He also emphasised the need that all recruitments should be made purely on merit so as to enhance the efficiency of the army.

The Quaid bitterly criticised the principle of the nominations to the sub-committee on the structure and nature of the federation. He asserted that no community or party would like the nomination of its representatives. The Quaid expressed his opinions on all important constitutional matters, carefully avoiding comments on communal issues. But at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee on January 13, 1931, he laid a great stress on the Hindu-Muslim settlement. He said, "We have now come to a stage, however, when I think I shall be failing in my duty if I do not tell this sub-committee what the Mussalmans' position is. I maintain that the Hindu-Mussalman settlement is a condition precedent, nay, it is *sine quanon* before any constitution can be completed for the Government of India; and I maintain that unless you provide safeguards for the Mussalmans that will give them a complete sense of security and a feeling of confidence in the future constitution of the Government of India

[1]M. Rafique Afzal (ed.) *Selected Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore, 1973, p.381.

www.cssexampoint.com

and unless you secure their cooperation and willing consent, no constitution that you frame for India will work for 24 hours".

During the discussion on federation, the Quaid visualised a federation for India, as he wrote to Abdul Matin Chaudhry, "If it can be genuine real one not artificial or fictitious".[1]

This Conference could produce consensus only on two issues i.e. (1) federal system of government for India and; (2) abolition of the Dyarchy system in the provinces and replacing it by a responsible government. Consensus was also reached on the separation of Sindh from Bombay. But issues related to the division of powers between the centre and the provinces and the Hindu-Muslim problems could not be settled. Thus, on January 19, 1931, the first Round Table Conference was formally wound up.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

After the first Round Table Conference, Lord Irwin realised that as long as the "Super President" of the Congress, M.K. Gandhi was in jail it would be a futile exercise to go for the second conference. On January 25, 1931, Gandhi and his colleagues were released unconditionally and the notification declaring the Congress Working Committee as unlawful was withdrawn. "I am content", announced the Viceroy, "to trust those who will be effected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it".[2] In the meanwhile, Lord Irwin was persuaded by the Liberals including Sapru, Jayakar and Sastri to see Gandhi if he sought an interview. Thus the stalemate was broken and Gandhi agreed to have a frank talk with the Viceroy. The "Super President" of the Congress and Lord Irwin met on February 16, for 4 hours. They had two meetings on the 18th and 19th for three and a half hours. The conversation was restricted mostly to the conditions on which a truce could be reached. At last the truce which came to be known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact, was signed. This Pact contained the following points:-

1) The Congress would effectively discontinue its Civil Disobedience Movement.
2) The Congress would take part in the second Round Table Conference.
3) The Congress would be allowed canvassing for the sale of Indian manufactured goods.
4) The Government would withdraw all the ordinances promulgated in connection with the movement.

---

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed.) *Quaid-i-Azam – A Bunch of Rare Letters*, Lahore, 1999, p.9.
[2] S.Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin 1926-31*, Oxford, 1957, p.99.

www.cssexampoint.com

5) All those arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement would be released.
6) All the lawsuits filed against the participants of the Civil Disobedience Movement would be withdrawn except those involved in violence.

The decision was Irwin's own. The bulk of the loyalist and official opinion in India believed that the Viceroy was mortgaging the future by setting up a defeated foe. The Home Government too expressed in private their dislike of the acceptance of the unique and semi-sovereign position of the Congress. As soon as the Pact was signed it appeared that the Congress had gained a good deal more than the Government. The whole pro-Congress press made the world believe that it had won a great victory and the *Ram Raj* was just round the corner.[1] The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore, 3 April, 1931) treated the Pact as a personal victory for M.K. Gandhi. The *Hariana Tilak* (Rohtak, 14 April, 1931) stated that the Government had to bow before the Congress and the Viceroy had to surrender before the country's united voices and great sacrifices.[2]

This Pact damaged the credibility of the British Government in the eyes of the Indian Muslims. Once again, after the annulment of the partition of Bengal the Muslims were forced to conclude that the British Government understood only the language of violence and agitation.

THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The second Round Table Conference lasted from September 7 to December 1, 1931. Under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the Congress also participated in it. Two committees were set up to resolve the federal and minorities issues. M.K. Gandhi, who was a member of both these committees, created hindrances in all constructive activities. First of all, he objected to the presence of other representatives at the Conference and asserted that they were only the self-appointed delegates and were not the true representatives of the Indian people. Secondly, he proposed to dissolve the Minorities Committee as it failed to achieve its objectives. Gandhi also insisted that communal question should not be allowed to become an obstacle in the way of the formulation of the constitution. Sir Muhammad Shafi out rightly dismissed his viewpoint and declared that any constitution that failed to address the communal problems would be totally unacceptable to the Indian Muslims.

---

[1] David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, Delhi, 1982, p.230.
[2] *...iab Native Newspapers Report*, April 18, 1931, p.325.

www.cssexampoint.com

The proposal presented by Gandhi for the solution of communal problem was not different from the Nehru Report that had already been unanimously rejected by the Muslims. In his personal capacity, Gandhi was ready to endorse the Fourteen Points and separate electorate for the Muslims on .the condition that the Muslims should not support the right of separate electorate for other minorities. But this proposal was rejected.

When Gandhi foiled all attempts of reconciliation, the Aga Khan brokered a deal regarding the minorities. Besides the Muslims, the Anglo-Indians, the Depressed Classes and the Indian Christians were parties to the agreement. All the groups included in the agreement supported the separate electoral system. Presenting the accord before the Minorities Committee on November 13, 1931, the Aga Khan remarked, "This agreement dealing with a highly sensitive and complicated issue has been reached after lengthy deliberations, therefore, all the people should regard it as a joint accord. It should be accepted or rejected as a whole". Gandhi not only rejected the agreement but also threatened to start fast unto death if the Untouchables were given the right of separate electorate. In a speech he said, "I can fully understand the demands presented by other nations but the demands made by the Untouchables are extremely shocking. We do not want to separate the Untouchables. The Sikhs, the Muslims and the Christians can live separately but those who talk of the political rights of the Untouchables are completely unaware of the conditions prevailing in India and its society. I want to declare it forcefully that I would resist this move even if I am left alone".[1]

COMMUNAL AWARD

Unable to resolve the communal disputes, the British Prime Minister made a fervent appeal to all leaders to reach a communal settlement and, at the end, told them that if such an agreement was not forthcoming within a reasonable time the British Government would have no alternative to laying down a provisional scheme of its own.

When there seemed no possibility of resolving the communal problems, on August 16, 1932, the British Government announced its famous Communal Award. It ensured the continuation of the separate electorate. The Muslims were given more representation on the basis of weightage in the Muslim minority provinces. In the same way, weightage was given to the European settlers in Bengal and Assam. The Sikhs got this privilege in the Punjab whereas the Hindus of the N.W.F.P. and Sindh also benefited from it. The Award also gave the right of separate electorate to

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Siasat-e-Millia*, p.264.

www.cssexampoint.com

the Untouchables. On March 11, 1932, in a letter to the Secretary of State for India, Gandhi wrote, "The separate electorate is highly damaging to the Hindus and the Untouchables and as far as the Hindu religion is concerned, the separate electorate would chop it into pieces". He threatened that if the separate electorate was not withdrawn from the Untouchables, he would end his life by observing the fast unto death.

Gandhi started his fast on September 30, 1932. Meanwhile, prominent Hindu leaders prevailed upon the Untouchables' leader Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to abandon the right of separate electorate under certain conditions. Thus, under the Poona Pact, the Untouchables got a specific number of seats in the general Hindu seats and, in this way, Gandhi's fast was brought to an end. Under the Communal Award, the proportion of the Muslim representation in the various provinces was as follows:-

Province	Total Seats	Muslim Representation
U.P.	228	66
Punjab	175	86
Bengal	250	119
Bombay	175	30
N.W.F.P.	50	36
Madras	215	21
Sindh	60	34
Orissa	175	42

The above figures clearly indicate that the Muslims did not get any special benefit from the Communal Award and yet, keeping in mind the greater interest of the country, the Muslims decided to endorse it for the transitional period. The Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference in its session at Delhi on August 21, 1932, passed a resolution declaring the Muslim representation in the various provinces provided in the Communal Award to be disappointing. The Board expressed its grave concern over the fact that the proportion of the Muslim representation in the legislative assemblies of U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Madras was reduced even from the former level. As against this, the representation given to the non-Muslims in the legislative assembly of the N.W.F.P. was three times more than that of their population. On November 20, 1932, in a joint statement issued by

www.cssexampoint.com

Moulvi Mazhar-ud-Din of Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Kanpur, Shafee Daudi, Secretary of the Muslim Conference and Sir Muhammad Yaqoob, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League declared that the Communal Award was against the political rights and aspirations of the Muslims. Despite this, the three leaders decided to endorse the Award.[1] Condemning the Communal Award in one of its editorials, the *Star of India* (Calcutta) wrote, "Juggle with figures, how you may, or haggle over percentage for ever, the basic fact remains that the Muslims of Bengal have not been given the majority to which they are entitled".[2]

Although the All-India Muslim League was divided into two factions, yet both of them expressed their dissatisfaction over the Communal Award. At the Calcutta session of the All-India Muslim League in 1933, Mian Abdul Aziz in his presidential address asked the Muslims to "accept the Award as an accomplished fact even though some of its provisions did not come up to our expectations which were based on definite promises made by the Prime Minister consistent with the justice of our cause". Hafiz Hidayat Husain of the Hidayat Group of the All-India Muslim League in his presidential address expressed the opinion that the Communal Award fell short, not only of the minimum Muslim demands, but even of the recommendations made in the Government of India's Despatch.[3] During the same session, Moulvi Shafee Daudi tabled a motion emphasising that although the Communal Award did not come up to the expectations of the Muslims, yet they had decided to accept it in the collective interest of the country.[4]

The League Council at its session on March 4, 1934, decided to accept the Communal Award until a substitute was agreed upon by the various communities, and on that basis, expressed its readiness for cooperation with other communities and parties to secure such a future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country. The Quaid, after the meeting of the Council, opined that "The emphasis which Muslims place on the Communal Award is only an indication of their desire to make sure that any national demand which they join to put forward on behalf of the country will incorporate the safeguards which Muslims consider to be minimum".[5]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also held the view that the Communal Award should be accepted till alternate proposals were formulated. On February 4, 1935, proposing an amendment in the Joint

---

[1] K.K.Aziz, *The All Parties Muslim Conference*, Karachi, 1972, pp.115-121.
[2] Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1964, pp.70-71.
[3] Shafiuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.II, Karachi, 1970, p.209.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol.II, pp.224-25.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol.II, p.233.

www.cssexampoint.com

Parliamentary Report in the Central Legislature, he said, "It may be that our Hindu friends are not satisfied with the Communal Award, but at the same time I can also tell the House that my Muslim friends are not satisfied with it either, because it does not meet their full demands. And speaking for myself, personally, I am not satisfied with the Communal Award, and again speaking as an individual, my self-respect will never be satisfied until we produce our own scheme".[1]

The Muslim press with one voice asked the Muslims to accept the Communal Award until some alternate was agreed upon. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) on December 21, 1933, observed that the only way to meet the present situation was to accept the Communal Award for at least 10 years and present a united front to the enemies of India's freedom.[2] In another editorial the *Eastern Times* expressed the view that the Muslims were insisting on the maintenance of the Award not because they were opposed to national unity or to an agreed settlement of the communal question, but because they were forced in defence of their existence to insist on the definition and protection of their rights.[3] The *Zamindar* on March 28, 1934, declared that the Muslims would not give up the Communal Award as long as the Hindu Mahasabhites were dreaming that they would make the Award ineffective by inciting the Sikhs and Christians against it or by seeking the support of Col. Wedgewood.[4]

The Indian National Congress adopted a wavering stand regarding the Communal Award. On June 17, 1934, the Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution neither accepting nor rejecting it. It said, "since the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of Communal Award, therefore, it can neither accept nor reject it as long as the division of opinion lasts".[5] But with the passage of time the Hindu leaders and their press raised great hue and cry against the Award. Jawaharlal Nehru calling the Award as "an undesirable thing" remarked that "if we think in terms of an independent India we cannot possibly fit that Award in it".[6] The Congress condemned the Communal Award as "inconsistent with democratic principles and disruptive of Indian unity".[7]

The Hindu press started a tirade against the Award. The *Bande Matram* (Lahore) on May 4, 1934, held that the Communal Award was

---

[1] M.H.Saiyid, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah –A Political Study*, Karachi, 1970, p.162.
[2] *Punjab Native Newspapers Report*, December 23, 1933, p.709.
[3] *Punjab Native Newspapers Report*, March 30, 1933, pp.132-33.
[4] *Punjab Native Newspapers Report*, March 30, 1934, p.133.
[5] *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.II, p.247.
[6] I.H.Qureshi, *The Struggle For Pakistan*, Karachi, 1965, p.111.
[7] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1936, Vol.II, p.181.

www.cssexampoint.com

opposed to the fundamental principles of nationalism.[1] The *Tribune* (Lahore) on August 27, 1934, supported Madan Mohan Malavia who denied that the British Premier's 'decision' was 'Award'. According to the newspaper it was just a Government proposal neither better nor worse.[2] Khushal Chand, in *Milap* (Lahore) of April 29, 1934, threatened the Swaraj Party that if it did not oppose the Communal Award it would not be able to achieve real success and no true Indian would support it.[3]

THE THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The third Round Table Conference lasted from November 17 to December 24, 1932. The Congress and the Labour Party did not take part in it. As in the past, the Muslims continued to insist that the residuary powers in the proposed federation should be given to the provinces.

The British Government issued a White Paper based on the recommendations of all the three Conferences. It was handed over to a Select Committee which published its final report in November 1933. Both the Houses of the Parliament approved this bill and on July 4, 1935 a new constitution of India came into being.

Newspapers Report, May 5, 1934, p.194.
e Newspapers Report, p.380.
Native Newspapers Report, May 5, 1934, p.193.

www.cssexampoint.com

22

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

Under clause 84 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Simon Commission was set up in 1927. This Commission was boycotted by the overwhelming majority of the Indians. The Nehru Report was an attempt to resolve the political disputes facing the country. But this Report further complicated the situation. M.A. Jinnah presented his Fourteen Points, however, the Hindus refused to accept them. The Simon Commission Report appeared in 1930. In the meantime, three Round Table Conferences were held in London from 1930 to 1932. As a result, the Communal Award was presented. The British Government issued a White Paper based on the recommendations of the three Conferences. It was sent to a select committee of the British Parliament in April 1933. This committee functioned continuously for 18 months. During this period, it held 159 sessions. Based on the recommendations of the select committee a bill was presented to the Parliament on February 5, 1935. This bill was debated in the House of Commons and the House of Lords for 43 and 13 days, respectively. The Government of India Act 1935 was the longest bill ever passed by the British Parliament. This Act had the following salient features:-

1) Establishment of an All-India Federation.
2) Establishment, of a semi-responsible government at the Centre.
3) Provincial autonomy.
4) Special powers of the Governors and the Governor-General.
5) Establishment of the Federal Court, the Federal Railway Authority, the Reserve Bank of India and the Federal Public Service Commission.

CREATION OF THE ALL-INDIA FEDERATION

During the Round Table Conferences, the Indian States had agreed in principle to join the proposed federation but later on, due to certain reasons,

www.cssexampoint.com

they refused to do so. Under the. Government of India Act 1935, powers were divided into the federal, provincial and concurrent subjects.

Dyarchy was abolished in the provinces but introduced at the Centre. Under the Act, the Central Government was given the charge of defence, religious, financial and tribal affairs. These were to be administered by the Governor-General with the help of his nominated secretaries. The remaining federal subjects were transferred to the ministers who were responsible to the Assembly for their actions.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

The Act provided a bicameral legislature, the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Assembly was to consist of 375 members out of which 250 represented British India while 125 were to be nominated by the Indian States.

The Assembly was to meet at least once a year. Both the Houses were to elect their own President and Vice-President from amongst its members. The life of the Assembly was five years but the Governor-General could extend it.

The Upper House, the Council of State, was a permanent body of which one-third members to retire after every three years. The Council was to consist of not more than 260 members of whom 156 were to represent British India and 140, the Indian States. The members from British India were elected while those of the States were nominated by their rulers.

The legislature was not an independent but a sham body. The Governor-General could veto the laws passed by the Assembly. In certain cases his prior sanction was necessary for introduction of Bills in the Assembly. The legislature had no control over the Executive. There were 80% non-votable items in the Budget over which the legislature had no control. The legislature had no power whatsoever to amend or change the Act of 1935.

POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The Governor-General who was appointed by the British Crown had a distinctive position in the constitution. He was given unlimited powers. He enjoyed the following special powers:

1) Financial credibility of the federal government.
2) Maintenance of law and order in India.
3) Safeguarding the legitimate rights of the minorities.
4) Safeguarding the public servants and their rights.
5) Checking the discriminatory taxes against the British goods.
6) Safeguarding the rights of the Indian States.

www.cssexampoint.com

In the following matters, he was not even bound by the advice of his Council:-

1) Appointment and sacking the Council of Ministers.
2) Issuing ordinances.
3) Suspending the constitution.
4) Summoning and adjourning the session of the Central Legislature and dissolving the Assembly.
5) Interfering in the provincial matters.
6) Disallowing the debate on any bill in the assemblies.
7) Sending back the already approved bills to the assemblies for further discussions.

The Governor-General was made in charge of the defence, religious and tribal affairs. He himself appointed the counsellors for administering these affairs. The Governor-General also had the power to approve the appointment and dismissal of the President of the Assembly. Even in the financial matters, he enjoyed wide-ranging powers. No tax could be levied without his assent. He had complete jurisdiction over 80% of the country's budget.

Like the Governor-General, the provincial governors also had unlimited powers. The special powers of the governors included the maintenance of law and order in the provinces, the protection of the state employees and their rights and the protection of the rights of the minorities.

FEDERAL COURT

A Federal Court was set up under the Act with jurisdiction over British India and the States. The court was to consist of a Chief Justice and six judges. A Judge of the Federal Court could hold office till the age of sixty-five. A person who had practised law for ten years in a High Court or acted as a judge in a provincial court for five years, could be appointed as a judge in the Federal Court. The Federal Court had original and appellate, jurisdiction. The Federal Court was authorised to interpret the constitution and to see that the provinces and the Centre acted only within those spheres which were reserved for them under the constitution. The Federal Court was also empowered to advise the Governor-General on constitutional matters. But it was up to the Governor-General to accept or reject the advice.

ABOLITION OF THE INDIA COUNCIL

The office of the Secretary of State for India was created by the Act of 1858. By the same Act a Council of the Secretary of State

www.cssexampoint.com

known as India Council was established to assist him in the discharge of his duties. The Government of India Act 1935 not only reduced the powers of the Secretary of State but also abolished the India Council. The Act empowered the Secretary of State to appoint not less than three and not more than six advisors. They were not entitled to sit in the Parliament and their function was merely advisory.

Although the Government of India Act 1935 was the outcome of prolonged discussions and debates yet, it could not come up to the expectations of any community of India. It did not transfer significant powers to the Indians. On the contrary, the Governor-General and the provincial governors were given so many powers that the federal and provincial legislatures could not function as law-making bodies in the real sense of the word. Discriminatory treatment was meted out to the States. They were given special powers and privileges. The proportion of their representation was more than that of their population. Moreover, the representatives of the British India were elected whereas those of the Indian States were nominated by the rulers of these States. These rulers were under the Political Department and, thus, their nominees always displayed their loyalty to the British Government.

Both, the League and the Congress, expressed their dissatisfaction over the Act. In a resolution, the All-India Muslim League deplored the enforcement of the Act despite the disapproval of all the political parties of the country. The League condemned the Act for being detrimental both to the British India and the Indian States. In the League's opinion, its aim was to create more hindrances in the way of giving a completely autonomous and responsible government to the Indians. Although, the provincial scheme of the constitution contained several objectionable points yet, in the League's view in the light of the prevailing circumstances, maximum benefit should be derived from it. Expressing his views about the Act, the Quaid-i-Azam remarked that it was "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable". A.B. Keith denounced the proposed Federation as "bastard federalism".

According to Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq, the Act ensured neither the Muslim Raj nor the Hindu Raj but the British Raj.[1] Condemning the Act the Congress declared in a resolution that any such constitution was totally unacceptable which usurped the rights and powers of the Indians and deprived them of their right to solve their political and economic problems in the manner in which they liked. Pandit Nehru equated the Act with a machine having strong brakes but no engine.

---

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1937, Vol.II, p.411.

www.cssexampoint.com

23

THE CONGRESS RAJ (1937-39)

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk had expressed his apprehensions in his presidential address at the inaugural session of the All-India Muslim League in 1906 about Hindu mentality. He had forewarned the Muslims that if Hindus ever came to power in the sub-continent they would most certainly, wreck vengeance upon them in return for Aurangzeb's rule. To the horror of the Muslims, the Nawab's prediction came true in 1937 when the Congress assumed power in eight provinces and started vandalistic policies to annihilate Muslim culture, civilization, language and religion to settle, presumably, old scores with them.

It all started when elections were held in India in February-March 1937 under the Government of India Act 1935. Both the major parties, the All-India Muslim League and the Congress, participated in these elections. The manifestoes of the two rival parties for the elections showed little difference. In essence the League's manifesto could be summed up in the following objectives:

a) Protection of the religious rights of the Muslims.
b) Quashment of all oppressive laws.
c) Opposing all those laws which were antagonistic to the interests of India and which adversely affected the basic human rights.
d) Curtailing administrative expenditure and using the savings on constructive projects.
e) Curtailing expenditure on Indian army, ensuring Indians' inducting into the army and using the savings on constructive projects.
f) Industrialization and improvement in the economic, social and educational conditions in rural areas.
g) Compulsory primary education.
h) Protection of Urdu language and its script.
i) Improvement in the general welfare of the Muslims
j) Cultivating correct public opinion and reawakening. of general political awareness.

In addition, the All-India Muslim League also announced that it would cooperate with the Congress in the Legislative Assembly.

The election manifesto of the Congress was not much different. Prof. Coupland, a renowned historian, after studying the two manifestoes

www.cssexampoint.com

concluded, "To all appearances the social policy it [the League] advocated was much the same as the Congress policy".[1] Even Prof Mohammad Mujib, a staunch Nationalist Muslim admits that "the manifesto issued by the League showed as much awareness of the peoples needs as that of the Congress".[2]

The Congress fought these election with money and material resources of Hindu capitalists of Bombay and Ahmedabad on the one hand and on the other, used its propaganda machinery and the Hindu demigod Gandhi's influence to its best interests. On the contrary, the All-India Muslim League did not have capitalists for financial support to match, neither it had any effective propaganda machinery to counter the Congress on any front. The All-India Muslim League had only one newspaper *The Star of India* to face the onslaught of the Congress media. The All-India Muslim League could not transform the political situation to any great extent as it had not yet become a popular party of the masses itself.

As a cumulative effect of all these factors, the Congress earned significant success in the elections as it won 711 seats out of total 1585 provincial seats. It won absolute majority in five provinces i.e. in Madras, U.P., C.P., Bihar and Orissa. In Bombay, though it could not attain absolute majority yet it was in a position to form the government, with the help of smaller groups. The All-India Muslim League could not get any notable success in these elections.

Long before the elections, the Congress party and its leaders were intoxicated with the prospects of success but the unexpected landslide victory at the polls virtually turned their heads. As the results of the election started to pour in, the real intentions of the Congress began to come to light. The president of the Congress, Subash Chandra Bose, was the first to declare that from now on the Congress would adopt the slogan of "Congress Dictatorship" and should abandon the idea of cooperation or formation of a coalition government. Pandit Nehru went a step ahead and declared that there were only two parties in India, the Congress and the Government. The others must line up. The Quaid-i-Azam promptly refuted this claim and said, "I refuse to line up with the Congress. There is a third party in this country and that is the Moslems. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody".[3]

Immediately after the elections the Congress started putting forward unscrupulous and unconstitutional demands reflecting how it was going to wield its brute majority. The Act of 1935 had invested the governors of the provinces with special powers to protect the rights of the minorities. As a first step to realise its dream of *Ram Raj* the Congress announced that it would

[1] R. Coupland, *Indian Politics 1936-1942*, London, 1943, p.13.
[2] M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, p.439.
[3] Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan – The Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960, p.85.

www.cssexampoint.com

form governments provided an assurance was given that the governors would not use their special powers. This unjustifiable demand, as a natural corollary, created a political impasse. The governors of the provinces, where the Congress party had won, invited to form the governments. The Congress reiterated its demand which created a deadlock. The deadlock intensified to such an extent that the Secretary of State for India had to announce in the House of Lords on April 18, 1937 that since the governors were invested with these special powers under the Act, therefore no assurance could be given as to their suspension. The impasse remained unresolved till June 1937. At last, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, made a categorical assurance that the governors would not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the provinces. In the same breath, he held out assurance to the minorities that the Government would protect their rights at all cost. The Viceroy appealed to the Congress to help the Government to form the ministries. The Congress Working Committee heeded the call and decided to form the ministries.

THE PROBLEM OF SETTING UP OF GOVERNMENT

As has already been explained that there was a common perception before the elections that the Congress and the League would form coalition governments, but as a consequence of unexpected Congress victory at the polls, the impression turned out to be false.

In U.P. the Congress displayed its customary Hindu narrow-minded mentality with regard to the formation of the ministry. This province had a special significance due to various reasons. Firstly, this area had been the citadel of Mughal glory and its remnants were present at every inch of the land. Secondly, the Indian culture and literature had developed here due to deep Hindu-Muslim social intermixture. Thirdly, the Muslims of U.P. despite being in minority had been leading the Indian Muslims in culture and civilisation, literature and traditional national aspiration. Fourthly, U.P. being the home province of Nehru family had been the hub of Congress activities. Therefore, the whole of India was watching intently the developments taking place in this province. It was commonly and popularly believed that whatever settlement was arrived at between the Hindus and the Muslims in this province was bound to throw its shadow on the whole of the sub-continent.[1]

In the U.P. Legislative Assembly the number of elected Muslim members was sixty-six. Out of these sixty-six only one Muslim member had been elected on Congress party ticket. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the president of the Congress, sent a letter to Chaudhry. Khaliquzznman,

[1] Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Do Saal*, Lahore, 1969, p.456.

www.cssexampoint.com

the President of Muslim League Parliamentary Party stating that the Muslim League could be allowed to join the Government only if it acceded to certain conditions. He put forward the following conditions:-

1) The U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Party shall cease to exist.
2) The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly shall become a part of the Congress Party.
3) These new members of the Congress would abide by the code of conduct prepared by the Working Committee of the Congress.
4) The Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be dissolved and the League would not put up its own candidates in any future elections.
5) In the event the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the Ministry or the Assembly seats, the new members would follow suit.[1]

The Muslim League could not have accepted these disgraceful conditions. These conditions had made the Congress intentions and prejudices quite clear to the Muslims. The Congress believed that the U.P. was the centre of power for the League and its elimination from there would automatically forecast its virtual demise all over India. Abul Kalam Azad had himself admitted, "If the U.P. League's offer of cooperation had been accepted, the Muslim League party would for all practical purposes have merged in the Congress. All students of Indian politics know that it was from the U.P. that the League was reorganised. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the s uation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan".[2] Even Jawaharlal Nehru, without mincing words wrote to Rajendra Prasad, 'This was the winding up of the Muslim League group in the U.P. and its absorption in the Congress. This would have a great effect not only in the U.P. but all over India and even outside. This would mean a free field for our work without communal troubles".[3]

Quaid-i-Azam rejected these untenable condition of Abul Kalam Azad outrightly. Not only the Muslims but also a large number of foreigners and some Hindus as well condemned this Hindu narrow-minded mentality. Sir P. Griffiths terming it as a grievous blunder on the part of the Congress, declared, that since there was no difference between the political and social programmes of the two parties so the coalition government could easily function. The Muslims, in this situation, were compelled to believe that they were removed from power only because the Congress was an utterly Hindu party.[4]

---

[1]Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Lahore, 1961, p.16.
[2]Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Calcutta, 1959, p.161.
[3]B.N.Pandey, *The Indian Nationalist Movement*, p.125.
[4]P.Griffiths, *The British Impact on India*, London, 1953, p.340.

www.cssexampoint.com

Dr. Sinha of a well-established daily the *Hindustan Standard* strongly condemned the Congress attitude and criticised its pre-conditions to allow the League to join the ministry as ridiculous.[1] Moulvi Tufail Ahmad Manglori, who was a great supporter of the Congress confessed that despite similarity between the programmes of the two parties and coordination during elections, the Congress, perceiving that it had attained majority refused to accept the Muslim League in the cabinet.[2]

Eventually, when the Congress formed its governments in various provinces, it adopted a dictatorial policy of highhandedness towards the Muslims. The Urdu biweekly *Madina* (Bijnor) which supported the Congress was forced to comment, "The Hindus developed a misconception that the sun of the Hindu Raj was now in ascendence, therefore, they should treat the Muslims like the rulers do".[3]

BANDE MATRAM — AS NATIONAL ANTHEM

Immediately after coming to power, the Congress declared the Tricolour (Flag) as the national flag and *Bande Matram* as national anthem. As. a deliberate attempt to further tease and pique the Muslim sentiments the Congress government issued orders that the assembly session and meetings of District Boards should begin with the singing of *Bande Matram*. In fact, this anthem had been picked up from a novel *Anand Math* by a Bengali writer, Bankim Chandra Chatterji. A cursory glance at the theme of the novel and the anthem reveals beyond any doubt that they are nothing but a heap of malicious and vicious propaganda against the Muslims. Pandit Nehru declared *Bande Matram* national anthem refuting the Quaid-i-Azam's objections. In response to the Quaid-i-Azam's letter, he wrote, "It is true that the *Bande Matram* song has been intimately associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiment and sacrifice have gathered around, it. Popular songs are not made to order, nor can they be successfully imposed. They grow out of public sentiment. During all these years the *Bande Matram* song was never considered as having any religious significance and was treated as a national song in praise of India".[4]

How far Pandit Nehru's claim was based on truth and sincerity can be gauged by throwing a glance at the novel and the anthem. The story of novel revolves round the life of a Hindu militant who decides to fight against the Muslim rulers as a defender of his faith. The plot of

---

[1] *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal*, p.480.

[2] Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945, p.459.

[3] *Madina* (bi-weekly, Bijnor), January 9, 1940.

[4] Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (ed.) *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Karachi, 1977, p.262.

www.cssexampoint.com

the novel is developed in the backdrop of Siraj-ud-Daula's defeat in Bengal. The Nawab now ruled Murshidabad. The hero of the novel Bhaonand plans to raise an army to topple the Muslim rulers. He meets one Mohinder and puts before him the plan of an armed revolt against the Muslims but Mohinder turns down the plan as impracticable. It infuriates Bhaonand. In utter frenzy and depression he says that their religion has been destroyed; their honour has been defiled, therefore, their religion can not be safeguarded unless those Muslims arc turned out. Mohinder asks him if he can turn them out all by himself. In answer, Bhaonand sings an anthem, "Will you consider the Motherland weak even when seven hundred million tongues raise the slogan and fourteen hundred million hands wield the sword?" Mohinder still refuses to believe him and Bhaonand tries again to convince him saying, "An Englishman does not flee the battlefield even when his life is in danger, but a Muslim runs away even if he perspires".

Then Bhaonand, takes Mohinder to a Hindu temple to take oath in front of a statue called *Jagat Dharti*. The Hindu priest of the temple narrates to them the glorious past of the motherland before the arrival of the Muslims. Then they go into a cellar where a dreadful black statue of naked *Kali Mata* is kept. The priest tries to incite their feelings saying "Look! what the Muslims have done to the mother". Afterwards they enter another room where another statue of female deity with ten arms is kept. The priest says that the mother will regain her youthful charm when they defeat the enemy.

Afterwards, Bhaonand and Mohinder together raise an army to liberate the mother (land) from the enemy (the Muslims). Every soldier takes oath that he will refrain from indulging in worldly pleasures unless he succeeds in evicting the enemy from the Motherland. After taking the oath, every soldier sings *Bande Matram* with utmost solemnity.

The controversy over this anthem continued to rage for a long time. Lord Zetland rightly pointed out to Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India that, in fact, it was not a song but declaration of war which the Hindus had adopted to start a national movement against the Muslims but if the Congress ministers of the U.P. thought that the Muslims, too, ought to sing this *Bhajan* (Hindu religious song) with love and devotion, then their ignorance was extremely regrettable. It tantamounts to saying that the people of Czechoslovakia and Poland should be called upon to raise slogans in favour of their common enemy Hitler. Quaid-i-Azam condemned *Bande Matram* as a war-song against the Muslims. He declared that it smacked of blasphemy.[1]

Commenting on Bande Matram, *Himayat-e-Islam*, a non-political magazine representing Anjuman-e- Himayat-e-Islam Lahore wrote, "We

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Guftar-i-Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1976, p.199.

www.cssexampoint.com

disagree with this song only because being Muslims, we believe that it is by no means appropriate for the Muslims to sing it. The reason is that the views expressed in it are quite contrary to the Islamic beliefs."

Adabi Dunia was another popular and non-political magazine published from Lahore. It was also critical of Bande Matram because it was written in a provincial language Bengali, expressing very limited and narrow minded views. According to *Adabi Dunia*, Allama Iqbal's national anthem "*Saray Jahan Say Acha Hindustan Hamara*" was a much better creation than Bande Matram on account of its forceful expression and thought content. Moreover, it had been written by Iqbal in a language which was much simple and easily understood by the people living throughout India from Peshawar to Calcutta and from Sylhet to Banglore and Srinagar.

WARDHA EDUCATIONAL SCHEME

Another vicious plan reflective of bigoted Hindu mentality was a report that came to be known as Wardha Educational scheme. The real purpose of this scheme was to brain wash the Muslim youth by infusing in them the ideology and theory of One Nation in place of Two Nation Theory. With this blatantly anti-Muslim intentions M.K. Gandhi appointed a committee in 1937 under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Husain to prepare a new educational syllabus. The committee comprised of ten member out of which only two were the Muslims. In fact, the committee which worked under direct control and guidance of Gandhi, prepared its report in December 1937. The report was called Wardha Scheme – an apt appellation, for it was titled heavily against the Muslims. The report, in essence, sought to erase from the minds of the Muslims the glory, importance, and love of their religion, culture, and traditional social values. It envisaged the culmination of this process by infusing in Muslim minds the supremacy of Hindu religion and culture. Of the multifarious designs, the two most crucial and most nefarious were the inculcation of the spirit of nationalism and *Ahimsa* (non-violence) in the context of Hindu domination. Obviously both these evil objectives were repugnant to the fundamental Islamic teachings.

The new educational scheme declared co-education and teaching of music as compulsory. Five new books for students were prepared, under the serial title of New Book, which described the qualities of Hindu culture in the most emphatic manner. The manner, approach and style of writing showed a deliberate attempt to minimise the glory, honour and achievements of the Muslim pioneers. For instance, the write-up of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) was done with the conscious effort to denigrate the veneration and esteem, in which he is held by the faithfuls. His biographical sketch ran like this: "Hazrat Muhammad

www.cssexampoint.com

worshipped in a cave. He started his work at the age of forty and left this world at the age-of sixty-three". Contrary to this, Hindu religion, philosophy and the achievements of its pioneers were admired in a highly hyperbolic style. The books propagated the concept vigorously that all the religions were genuine and, therefore, there was no need to follow any particular religion for salvation.

In C.P. and Berar, a new scheme under the name of *Vidya Mander* scheme was akin to Wardha scheme in purpose and intent. The new scheme for its very name was unacceptable to the Muslims. Secondly, the Muslims rejected it because all the members of this syllabus committee were non-Muslims. According to the scheme, schools were to be set up only in those rural areas where land for school was donated by a philanthropist whose annual income was not less than Rs.200/- and where at least forty educated, capable boys and girls were available within the radius of one mile. The medium of instruction, under this scheme of education, was to be the vernacular language. It meant that the Muslims were, per force, supposed to study Hindi or Marathi language. The Muslims, then, demanded that the name of the scheme should be changed and syllabus should be modified in such a way that their children could get education in their own mother tongue. These demands of the Muslims were deemed unworthy of consideration. Then, things came to such a pass that they were forced to start an agitation in front of the secretariat at Nagpur in January, 1939.

In fact, Wardha scheme was a part of Congress' grand political plan, the main objective of which was to prepare a generation of the Muslims devoid of knowledge and insensitive to their past cultural glory, civilization and religion. A glance at Moulvi Abdul Haq's letter to Gandhi would reveal the dangerous implications involved in this scheme for the Muslims. In his letter he stated, "You will be surprised to learn that when a representative of my *Anjuman* paid visit to a school in village Pandher of district Chindhwara, he was dumbfounded to see that most of the Muslims and the Hindu students were offering prayers in front of the statue of the goddess Sarsawati with hands clapped before the school hours. The students studying in such schools have forgotten their traditional greetings and in stead of exchanging *Assalamo Alaikum* they greet with *Namastay* or *Jay Ramji Ki*.[1]

On the Wardha scheme there is considerable agreement among neutral and foreign observers that it alienated the Muslims by cutting at the roots of their cultural tradition and educational system. "Was this not bound to be

www.cssexampoint.com

[1] Ameen Zubairi, *Siasat-e-Millia*, Agra, 1941, p.408.

regarded as a deliberate challenge to the Muslim hatred of the Hindu temple as the quintessence of idolatry? "asked Sir Reginald Coupland.[1]

Eventually, all the political and non-political parties of the Muslims declared the Wardha scheme as harmful and unacceptable. The All-India Muslim League at a meeting of its working committee with Quaid-i-Azam in the chair, rejected this scheme outrightly on July 2, 1939. In a resolution adopted on the occasion, it was clearly stated that the scheme was repugnant to the sentiments, ideology and religion and its real purpose was to destroy the Muslim cultural heritage gradually and elevate the Hindu culture to a place of dominance progressively.[2] Sayyid Suleman Nadvi criticised this so-called educational scheme as an attempt of the majority to dye the minority in their own colour. Even Moulana Ahmad Saeed of the *Jamiatul Ulama-e-Hind* – supporter of the Congress – threatened in a public meeting on March 5, 1939 to launch civil disobedience movement if the Congress implemented the scheme in toto.[3]

URDU LANGUAGE

The controversy over Hindi or Urdu has been raging since long but during these two years the Congress found the real opportunity to implement its nefarious designs. The Congress had adopted the kill-Urdu policy because Gandhi who was its spiritual mentor had once remarked that Urdu was the religious language of the Muslims and since it was also written in the Quranic script, therefore, only the Muslims could take the responsibility of keeping it alive.

In the beginning Gandhi raised the slogan of **Hindustani** language then carried the flag of Hindi language. Then all the leaders of the Congress, in a chorus, propagated the cause of Hindi. Pandit Nehru supporting the use of Hindi emphasised, "The national movements could gain great strength through Hindi language". Therefore, he suggested to adopt Hindi as medium of instruction. The then president of the Congress, Subash Chandra Bose joined the chorus reiterating that only Hindi could become the common language. The chief minister of Bombay, B.G. Khare, declared that nobody differed with the idea that India should have a common language and that everybody agreed that Hindi was the common language. Babu Rajendra Prasad declared that one common language was

---

[1] *Indian Politics 1936-42*, p.191.
[2] *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League*, December 1938-March 1940, pp.14-15.
[3] Daily *Inqilab*, Lahore, March 9, 1939, p.5.

www.cssexampoint.com

necessary to cement the relationship of nationalism and that common language was Hindi. For Gandhi, there was no better script for Hindi than Devnagri and so only that should be adopted.

Immediately after assuming power, the Congress leaders began to implement their schemes. In Orissa, the provincial minister of education issued orders that Hindi should be taught in every school, while in Madras province Devnagri script was introduced in two hundred schools for Hindi language. To top it all, all government announcements, statements and advertisements began to be issued in Devnagri script. This insistence on teaching of Hindi under duress provoked strong reaction throughout the province. The C.P. Legislative Assembly, then, also decided to publish its proceedings and minutes in Hindi and Marathi. On demand from the Muslim members that Urdu be also used for this purpose, one minister declared that printing and publishing of assembly speeches in Urdu for the sake of a handful of minority members would be wastage of time and money.

In U.P. the language which was sought to be introduced in government offices and courts was tempered and all the commonly understandable Urdu words were replaced by difficult Sanskrit words. When the school inspectors would visit schools, they would ask students questions in a language replete with difficult and uncommon Hindi words. Even in All-India Radio news broadcasts Sanskrit words replaced the current and easily understandable diction. Words like *Taleem* (education), *Azadi* (freedom), *Ailaan* (announcement), *Muddai* (plaintiff) and *Siasi* (political) were replaced with weirdly sounding Sanskrit words like *Shiksa, Sotantra, Ghoshna, Tabadi* and *Rajnaitik* respectively. Commenting on this state of linguistic affairs, the *Madina* (Bijnor) wrote, "News and articles which are being broadcast from the Radio stations these days are stuffed with majority of such words that cultured people feel impelled to plug their ears".[1]

In short the Congress, after coming to power tried its level .best to obliterate Urdu language but failed to achieve its goals. During this period, Baba-i-Urdu Moulvi Abdul Haq did a yeoman's service to protect Urdu language from the linguistic atrocities of the Congress. The All-India Muslim League and *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu* forged a joint stand and the Muslim League issued, as it did in the past, statements in favour of Urdu. In 1937, in the Lucknow session of the All-India Muslim League, the Raja of Mahmudabad, stressed upon the Urdu speaking people in a resolution that they should continue their efforts for the progress and protection of the language at every level.

---

[1]Farman Fatehpuri, *Hindi-Urdu Tanaza*, Islamabad, 1976, pp.423-24.

www.cssexampoint.com

In his speech in New Delhi in 1938, the Quaid-i-Azam dealt at length the ramifications and deadly after-effects of the coercive imposition of Hindi language and the extermination of Urdu. He said that forcible imposition of Hindi was a death-knell for Urdu. In another speech, he said, "Hindi is being taught at schools. Think what will become of their social, cultural and religious thinking when the Muslim children study Hindu religion and philosophy. Its unavoidable outcome is that Urdu language will be eliminated and the Muslims will loose their Islamic characteristics".[1] Similarly, Liaquat Ali Khan, another Muslim League stalwart, explaining the Muslim viewpoint with regard to Urdu-Hindi conflict, stated in 1939, "We left Arabic language for this India and for the Hindus, we left Turkish language and adopted a language which came into existence and made progress in this country – a language which is not spoken anywhere else. Now, it is demanded of us that we should speak the language of Balmeek. We have taken many steps forward for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. We shall not now take another step forward. We are standing at the edge of our limit. Anyone who wishes to meet us, should come here".[2]

PIRPUR REPORT

In 1937, the All-India Muslim League set up an eight member committee under the chairmanship of Raja Sayyid Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur to look into the complaints of the Muslims. The committee after thorough investigations and deliberations prepared a report which came to be called Pirpur Report. This report, spread over 96 pages and divided into three portions, covered a whole range of socio-cultural, political and intra-communal tensions. The first portion of the Report made a general review of the communal problem, the second encompassed Congress policies, the rift of anthem, *Bande Matram, Taranga* Flag, dismissal of the Muslims from Local Bodies, causes of communal riots and riots on language and culture, .while the third portion dealt with the complaints of the Muslim inhabitants of Madras, Bihar, Orissa, C.P., Bombay and U.P.

Analysing this report, Prof. Coupland remarked that the report was prepared with utmost wisdom and it presented the Muslim complaints in a logically argumentative style. Its notable quality was that nowhere it lost control over moderation and patience and, therefore, whatever was written was done with extreme care.

SHAREEF REPORT

Similarly, in Bihar, the All-India Muslim League, constituted an investigation committee under S.M. Shareef to probe into the complaints of

---

[1] *Guftar-e-Quaid-i-Azam*, p.214.
[2] *Hindi-Urdu Tanaza*, p.441.

www.cssexampoint.com

excesses committed against the Muslims by the Congress ministry. The report of this committee was also divided into three portions. The first portion presented a deep insight into the duplicity of the Congress and glaring dichotomy between its principles and practices and the third portion dilated upon the acts of suppression and oppression against the Muslims and violation of their rights with regard to government employment.

CONGRESS RAJ IN C.P.

A book under this title, having three hundred and sixty pages, was collated in 1941 by Hakeem Israr Ahmad Kurevi. This book is considered an authentic history of Congress ministry in C.P and Berar. The book contained report on .the state of law and order, Wardha Educational scheme, Vidya Mander scheme, exploitation and carnage of the Muslims, injustice and ill-will of Hindus and usurpation of rights of the Muslims to public sector jobs. In addition to this, two other booklets, *Muslim Sufferings Under the Congress Rule* and *It Shall Never Happen Again* were brought out. These two booklets too took stock of the exploits of the Congress ministry.

It is worth mentioning that everyone from the President to an ordinary worker of the Congress had come to believe that the time to take revenge of their thousand years slavery of the Muslims had arrived. Towards the end of 1938, a carefree Congressite from Lucknow said to his Muslim friend, "My dear, people have become unnerved only in a year and a half. Look at us! We did not loose heart when the Muslims straddled us for seven hundred years".[1]

The historical importance of the period of the Congress ministries lies not so much in the question of whether the Muslim grievances were greater or whether they were exaggerated, but in the fact that the overwhelming majority of Muslims believed them to exist.

THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE

The extent to which the Muslims suffered atrocities at the hands of the Hindus during these two years can be gauged from the statement that the Quaid-i-Azam gave at the end of the Congress ministries. On October 22, 1939, the Congress ministries resigned. On this occasion, the Quaid-i-Azam expressed his heartfelt satisfaction in a statement in which he appealed to the Muslims to celebrate the end of Congress ministries as a Day of Deliverance. He exhorted the provincial, district and primary Muslim League organisations to hold public meetings and offer thanks giving prayers to

[1] Sayyid Raza Ali, *Aamal Nama*, Delhi, 1945, p.503.

www.cssexampoint.com

express their sense of relief at this historical development. He hoped that all public meetings .would be held in an atmosphere of complete discipline, harmony and humility and nothing would be done to hurt the feelings of any other nation because all the excesses and atrocities on the Muslims and other minorities were perpetrated primarily by the Congress High Command.[1] The Quaid-i-Azam sent the following resolutions to be carried in public meetings on this occasion "This public meeting of the Musalmans records its opinion that the Congress ministries have conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy. That the Congress ministries have failed to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities. That the Congress ministries both in the discharge of their duties of the administration and in the legislatures have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture and have interfered with their religious and social life and trampled upon their economic and political rights.. Therefore, it expresses, its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime and rejoices in observing this day as the Day of Deliverance".[2]

The Quaid-i-Azam's appeal to the Muslims infuriated the Congress leaders to state of frenzy. They criticised the announcement as untimely, provocative and anti-national. They accused him of expressing delight on the termination of elected governments and welcoming bureaucratic arrangements. He was also arraigned for inciting the Muslims against the Hindus. This step of his, they declared, would add fuel to the already flaming fire of communal tension. Some Muslim leaders like the Prime Minister of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat and two other leaders of the Unionist Party, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Mir Maqbool Mahmood strongly objected to this resolution. .They declared that the decision was disturbing and inimical to the communal amity.[3]

The Quaid-i-Azam refuted all these impressions and stated that their movement was not against the Hindus but its object was simply to condemn the actions of the Congress governments. This statement was received warmly all over India. It is worth mentioning that not only the Muslims but other minorities i.e. Parsees, Depressed Classes and Justice Party responded to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam wholeheartedly. The Day of Deliverance was celebrated in all the villages, towns and cities in the most disciplined manner and with unprecedented fervour. It was such a tremendous success that S.P. Rath, editor of the *New Orissa,* declared the Day of Deliverance as a red letter day in the annals of political history

---

[1] Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1960 p.98:

[2] *Ibid*., pp.98-99

[3] *Reminiscences of the Day of Deliverance*, Islamabad, 1976, p.18.

www.cssexampoint.com

of India because on this day thousands of Muslims and Hindus were gathering together to pay their gratitude to Allah for delivering them from a nightmare of intolerance and authoritarianism.[1]

M.C. Rajha who was the president of the All-India Association of Depressed Classes welcomed Quaid-i-Azam's declaration and strongly supported the demand for setting up of a Royal Commission to look into the misdeeds of the Congress ministries. The Parsees, on their part, participated in the celebrations with full zeal.

In connection with the Day of Deliverance, a meeting was held in the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore after the Friday congregation. The meeting was presided over by Malik Barkat Ali. In his speech he said that the atrocities of Jallianwala Bagh paled before the huge loss of life, property and honour suffered by the Muslims of minority provinces during those two and a half years. As the representative of the Parsee community, Homi Rustam Ji addressed the meeting. He declared, "Today Jinnah is, undoubtedly, the hero of the minorities who is fighting against Congress fascism alone. The Parsee nation has full confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. We are part and parcel of Jinnah's army". On December 22, in Bombay, a resolution was moved by Currimbhoy Ebrahim in a meeting which was presided over by Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar. Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Untouchables, supported this resolution unequivocally and declared, "Today, the position of the British Government is that of a 'Receiver' who is the guardian of the disputed property of the two parties. If the Congress usurped this property through intimidation of the Receiver, this act would be regarded as a crime not only against the British Government but also against the minorities". This meeting was described by the *Times of India* as the most peaceful and disciplined meeting in Bombay.

The Day of Deliverance was celebrated through the length and breadth of India in a most disciplined and most graceful manner. Sir Arthur Moor, ex-editor of *The Statesman* expressing his views about the manner in which this Day was celebrated stated, "This day was celebrated with almost religious solemnity; there was no violence and 'thanksgiving' prayers were offered in the most responsible manner".

In short, the Day of Deliverance enjoys a place of prominence in the history of Indian Muslims. This incident established beyond doubt that the Quaid-i-Azam had cast his influence over the Muslims of India in a very short period of time and proved that he was their only genuine representative and true leader. This Day of Deliverance belied the Congress claim that it was the sole representative of India. It was also a strong testimony of the Quaid's political acumen and strategy. It manifested the fundamental quality of his leadership namely "when to strike and how to strike".

---

[1] *Reminiscences of the Day of Deliverance*, p.18.

www.cssexampoint.com

24

THE QUAID-I-AZAM AND REORGANISATION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The famous American writer Stanley Wolpert has paid glowing tribute to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his book *Jinnah of Pakistan* saying that "few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three".

M.A. Jinnah was born at Karachi on December 25, 1876. He, according to his biographers, M.H. Saiyid and Hector Bolitho, started his primary education from Gokaldas Tejpal School, Bombay. However, the latest findings of Rizwan Ahmad reveals that Jinnah started his early education on July 4, 1887, from Sind Madrasatul Islam, Karachi. After a while, he had to go to Bombay where he got admission in the Anjuman-e-Islam High School. On December 23, 1887, he returned to Karachi and continued his studies at the Sind Madrasa upto class three. On January 5, 1891, when he was in class four, his name was struck off from the school register on account of prolonged absence. From May 8 to October 31, 1892, he studied in class six at the Church Mission School, Karachi.

In January 1893, M.A. Jinnah left for England on a business trip. In their books, Mrs. Sarojni Naido, A.A. Ravoof, Hector Bolitho, M.H. Saiyid and Ghulam Ali Allana have stated that Jinnah left for England in 1892 in order to get higher education in law. However, according to Rizwan Ahmad, Jinnah went to England to receive the remaining amount of money to be paid on the trade goods which his father had sent from Karachi. He was sent to expand the business and get some practical training and experience in that field. But as ill-luck would have it, the business failed so miserably that the young Mohammad Ali Jinnah had to pursue studies leading to a law degree. On June 5, 1893, he joined the Lincoln's Inn and on April 29, 1896, he was called to the Bar.

On his return to India in 1896, the young barrister thought of testing his fortunes at Bombay instead of Karachi. The first three years

www.cssexampoint.com

of his practical life were spent in extreme hardship. He was almost unknown in that big city. He was confronted with acute financial problems. Daily, he used to go from home to the office on foot and would return empty handed. At last, fortune started favouring him. In the year 1900, a post of Presidency Magistrate was advertised. It offered an employment for three months. The Quaid took the job but when its period was extended for another three months again, he decided not to continue with it. When he was offered a job worth Rs.1500 per month, he turned it down saying that he would rather like to earn the same amount daily. He proved his worth with his hardwork and honesty. In 1936, he received 1500 rupees per day during a law suit. In his own words that success was the outcome of integrity of character, courage, perseverance and hardwork.

THE BEGINNING OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER

On his return to India, the Quaid decided to take part in politics along with his legal practice. He made his first appearance at a Congress session in 1906. In the beginning, he was a strong advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. That is why, during the Congress session of 1910, he bitterly opposed the introduction of separate electorate in the district boards and municipalities.

The Quaid-i-Azam started his parliamentary career in 1910. On January 4, that year, he was elected as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council from Bombay. At that forum he gave a frank and dauntless expression to his views and opinions. When the South African Government unleashed a reign of terror against the Indian community, the Quaid strongly and forcefully protested against these atrocities in the Imperial Legislative Council. At this, the Governor-General, Lord Minto, who was presiding over the Council meeting asked him to withdraw his words. But the Quaid refused to do so. His daring and defiant speech was widely publicised in the Indian press with prominent headlines. One newspaper quoted this incident in the following words: "During the course of a debate on the question of South Africa held at the Imperial Council, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah from Bombay made a detailed and argumentative speech. During that fiery speech he used the words "extremely brutal" for the atrocities committed against the Indian community of Nital. At this, the President of the Council, Lord Minto, the Governor-General, drew his attention to the choice of his words. Mr. Jinnah continued his speech and by changing the words to "harshest and the most unjust", made the debate even more interesting. Mr. Jinnah's behaviour and his style of making

www.cssexampoint.com

speech is very refined and it is hoped that he would prove to be a very aggressive member".[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam continued to take part in the proceedings of the Council. That is why, in 1913, Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, appointed him as a member of the Council. He also presented a bill regarding *Waqf-alal-Aulad* which was the first bill presented by a Private Member.

THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Although, he was not a member of the All-India Muslim League, yet, he had correspondence with Sayyid Wazir Hasan, the acting Secretary of the League during 1910 and 1912. On a number of occasions, he was invited to attend the meetings of the League Council. When Moulana Mohamed Ali and Sayyid Wazir Hasan went to England in connection with the Kanpur Mosque tragedy they had a meeting with the Quaid who was already there. On their insistence, the Quaid became a member of the League on October 10, 1913.

On December 30, 1913, he attended a meeting of the League Council. He was successful in persuading the party officials to amend the constitution of the League by including in it the demand of suitable self-government for India under the aegis of the British Crown.

The Quaid was of the view that in the absence .of Hindu-Muslim unity, India could never march on the road to freedom. Thus, he stressed the need for closer co-operation between the League and the Congress. It was the result of his sincere efforts that both the parties continued to hold their annual sessions simultaneously and at the same place from 1915 to 1921.

The first and the last agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims, known as the Lucknow Pact, was the fruit of his untiring efforts.

At the start of 1917, Mrs. Annie Besant launched the Home Rule Movement from Madras. She set up a party known as the Home Rule League. She demanded Home Rule for India in such a forceful manner that very soon the branches of her party were opened in several cities of the country. B.G. Tilak also established his own Home Rule League in Bombay. During 1916 and 1917, the Quaid was not a member of any of the two Home Rule Leagues, which were known as the Tilak League and the Besant League. However, due to his keen interest in the Home Rule, both the parties, on a number of occasions, asked him to preside over their meetings. He enthusiastically participated in the agitation against the house arrest of Mrs. Annie Besant. On June 18, the Quaid

[1] Ahmad Saeed, *Hayat-e-Quaid-i-Azam – Chand Nae Pehlu*, Islamabad, 1978, p.88.

www.cssexampoint.com

joined the Besant Home Rule League. Later on, he was elected as the President of the Bombay Home Rule League. In 1918, the led a vigorous campaign against the farewell party in honour of the Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon. On this occasion, the people of Bombay proposed to build Jinnah People's Memorial Hall. Within a month, a large sum of 65 thousand rupees was collected. Thus, to acknowledge his services, the Jinnah People's Memorial Hall was built.

The Quaid once again displayed his unique courage and forcefully opposed the Rowlatt Bill. Taking pan in the debate in the Assembly on, the Bill, he warned the Government that if it became a law "You will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed".[1] When, despite the bitter opposition of the Indians, the Bill became a law, the Quaid, as a protest, resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council.

Like the other Indian Muslims, the Quaid also had a great love and sympathy for the Turkish Muslims. In many of his photographs of that period, he is seen wearing the Turkish cap. During the Balkan Wars, he collected funds for the Turks. He expressed grave concern and asked several questions in the Imperial Legislative Council about the arrest of the Ali Brothers who had been arrested on charge of inciting pro-Turkish sentiments.

He was greatly concerned about the proposed disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. In 1919, he was staying in England where the fate of the Ottoman Empire was being decided. On August 27, 1919, he presented a Memorial to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George that: "On January 5, 1918, you, Sir, spoke 'not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the Empire as a whole' that nor are w. fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race. We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople. Now the victory has been achieved to which the Muslim blood and money have contributed not a little, the Muslims have a right to claim that nothing will be done to whittle down or alter the pledge you gave to the world generally and Muslims in particular in the above words".[2]

On his return to India, the telegram which he sent to the All-India Khilafat Conference clearly reflects the sentiments which he had for the Ottoman Empire. He sent a message stating: "Participation in the Peace Celebrations is impossible while the Punjab is crying for redress. We cannot

---

[1]M.Rafique Afzal (ed.), *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore, 1973, p.85.

[2]Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Writings of the Quaid*, Lahore, 1976, p.29.

www.cssexampoint.com

rejoice a peace which means the dismemberment of Turkey and which has filled our lives with all the apprehensions of an autocratic Government".[1]

While presiding over the special session of the League at Calcutta in 1920, the Quaid expressed his anguish over the Armistice: "First came the Rowlatt Bill and then came the spoilation of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty and the other our faith. Unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and been broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates". The Quaid strongly criticised the Peace Treaty saying "And what of the sacred land of the Crescent and Star and the blue and golden Bosphorus – its capital seized and the Khalifa virtually a prisoner, its territories overrun by Allied troops, groaning under an imposition of impossible terms. It is a death warrant, not a treaty".[2]

By temperament, the Quaid was against all unconstitutional activities. That is why, he showed a sharp reaction against the Rowlatt Act and even went to the extent of resigning from the Imperial Legislative Council but he remained away from M.K. Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement. He had a feeling that the League was being overshadowed by Gandhi's ideologies, therefore, he not only distanced himself from the Khilafat Movement but also strongly opposed the Non-Cooperation Movement. His attitude towards the Caliphate and Turkey was based on his political maturity.

The Quaid also decided to contest the elections when in 1923, the Swaraj Party also made a similar decision. Once again that year, he was elected as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council from the Bombay constituency. He still firmly believed in the Hindu-Muslim unity and continued his efforts in this direction. The Hindus were of the opinion that the separate electorate was one of the major causes of tension in the* Indian politics. They regarded it as a great hindrance in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In order to bring about the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Quaid decided to give up separate electorate. He agreed to abandon this right in exchange for the acceptance of the Delhi Proposals by the Hindus. Although, this issue divided the All-India Muslim League into two groups yet, the Quaid, through the Delhi Proposals demonstrated his utmost sincerity to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. But, unfortunately, the prejudiced Hindus never acknowledged his feelings.

The All-Parties Conference prepared the Nehru Report that rejected all the genuine demands of the Muslims. He tried his best to convince the Hindus to accept a few, if not all the demands of the

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Guftar-i-Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1976, p.17.
[2] Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.I, Karachi, 1969, pp-541-44.

www.cssexampoint.com

Muslims. At an open session of the All-Parties Conference, he proposed a few amendments to the Nehru Report but the Hindus once again rejected them. He was so much shocked by the negative attitude of the Hindus that for the first time people saw tears in his eyes. At that point, he was forced to say "This is the parting of the ways". It marked the beginning of the second phase of his political career.

THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Quaid left for England in April 1928, and stayed there till October. Thoroughly dejected by the political situation in India, he decided to settle in England permanently. After participating in the First Round Table Conference in 1931, he stayed on in England. This is quite interesting that even during his stay in London he wrote to Abdul Mateen on May 5, 1932 that "my heart is in India".[1] On the request of Abdul Mateen Chaudhry and some other leaders, he decided to bring an end to his self-imposed political exile and to return to India with a view to uniting the Muslims on a single platform.

Even during the days of the Khilafat Movement, the All-India Muslim League had become an ineffective political party. The number of its members could be counted on fingers. Its ineffectiveness can be judged from the fact that in 1923, its session could not be convened because of lack of quorum. Though the League continued to hold its annual sessions regularly, all of those remained lifeless as they were attended only by a handful of people. For instance from 1924 to 1927 the League's annual sessions were presided over by Sir Raza Ali, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Abdul Qadir and Seth Yaqoob Hasan respectively, but they all proved an exercise in futility as in one instance in 1931, the League's annual session at Delhi was attended by only 120 participants. Things went so far that the strength of the quorum had to be reduced. The activities of the League were very limited. For example, its total expenditure from 1911 to 1923 was Rs.3,000/-. Its annual sessions were confined only to discussions and resolutions. The lack of interest for the League among the ordinary Muslims can be imagined from the fact that its annual sessions were held in cinemas, hotels, Town Halls or private homes. Thus, in 1924, it held its annual session at Globe Cinema in Lahore. Similarly, the 1929 session was held at Delhi's Roshan Theatre. In 1923, the session was held at the Town Hall, Howrah.

[1] Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Quaid-i-Azam Moham[illegible] Ali Jinnah – A Bunch of Rare Letters*, Lahore, 1999, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

On one hand, there was no communication between the party and the masses and, on the other, there were sharp divisions within its own ranks. The League was split into the "Jinnah League" and the "Shafi League" on the question of separate electorate and cooperation with the Simon Commission. Even in 1934, the Quaid, on his arrival in India, found the AIML split into "Hidayat League" and "Aziz League". With the arrival of the Quaid, both these factions agreed to unite. He was elected as the League's President. Calling him the most capable and the best leader of India, the *Paisa Akhbar* wrote on this occasion, "At this moment, the nation is looking up to its most capable political leader. We hope that Mr. Jinnah would transform the League into a true representative political party of the Muslims and, thus, render a valuable political and national service".[1]

Supporting the League's decision, the daily *Inqilab* (Lahore) wrote, "Now Jinnah's presidentship would improve the condition of the League. Mr. Jinnah is one of those few Muslim leaders who enjoy complete trust of the maximum number of Muslims belonging to every shade of opinion. In the present political scenario, which places heavy responsibilities, only Mr. Jinnah can lead the Muslim League".

In these most unfavourable circumstances, the Quaid undertook the decision of reorganising the League. As a first step to popularise the League among the ordinary Muslims he reduced the annual subscription from rupees four to two *annas*. The central and provincial Parliamentary Boards of the party were set up. Moreover, a well-defined constitution was also prepared. A committee comprising Moulana Akram Khan, Husain Imam and Haji Abdus Sattar Essac Sait was set up to increase the membership of the League. The practice of electing fifteen Vice Presidents was done away with. District and primary Leagues were established. In 1938, a women's sub-committee was also set up. At the same time, the foundation of the Muslim League National Guards was also laid. A three member committee was formed in 1941, to organise and activate the National Guards. The National Guards acquitted themselves with much distinction. It was their duty to maintain discipline during the sessions of the League. During the massacre of the Muslims in Bihar, the National Guards rendered valuable services. The National Guards were also in the forefronts during the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab and at the time of referendum in the N.W.F.P. and Sylhet.

In 1938, the Quaid appealed for one million rupees to strengthen the financial position of the League. He reiterated this appeal in 1943. By that time, the League Fund had received five lac fifty thousand rupees.

For the first time in 1941, all the provincial presidents and secretaries of the League got together at Delhi in order to further strengthen the

[1] *Paisa Akhbar* (weekly), March 15, 1934, p.16.

www.cssexampoint.com

coordination between the central and provincial Leagues. Huge annual meetings of the League were arranged to enhance its popularity.

As a result of the reorganisation, a general swing in Muslim support for the League took place, which could be observed in the outcome of the by-elections and elections that took place from 1937 onwards. In the 61 by-elections to Muslim seats between 1937 and 1943, the League won 47, independent Muslims 10 and Congressi Muslims 4. Of the 14 Central Legislature by-elections, the League won 7 and the Congress only 2. And from 1943-45 of the 11 Muslim seats in the Provinces, the League won 8, independent Muslims 3 and Congress none.[1]

At its annual session in 1940, the League passed the Lahore Resolution under the inspiring leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. It gave a tremendous boost to its popularity. By virtue of his insight, statesmanship and dauntless courage, the Quaid successfully met the challenges posed by the Hindus, the British and the Nationalist Muslims. Within a short span of seven years, the nation was able to achieve the goal set before it by him in 1940.

MOUNTBATTEN VS. JINNAH THE ISSUE OF COMMON GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP

The common Governor-Generalship issue was raised for the first time in a meeting on May 15, 1947. Point 6 of the "Heads of Agreement" which was drafted by V.P. Menon and signed by Nehru on behalf of the Congress, read "The Governor-General should be common to both the states. We suggest that the present Governor-General should be reappointed".[2] Nehru on May 17, agreed to the proposal and requested Mountbatten to continue in his office and "help us with your advice and experience".[3] The Quaid had no objection if Mountbatten could continue even after August 15, in the capacity of a Super Governor-General. But the proposal was rejected both by the British Government and the Congress.

Mountbatten had another meeting with the Quaid on May 17, 1947, about which Mountbatten wrote to the British Prime Minister: "Jinnah had consistently impressed on me the absolute need for me to remain until the process of Partition was completed". Strangely enough, *Shri* Mountbatten

---

[1] Saleem M.M.Qureshi, "Muslim Nationalism and the Role of Jinnah", Paper read at International Congress on Asian History, Malaysia, August, 1968.

[2] Nicholas Mansergh (Editor-in-Chief), *The Transfer of Power 1942-1947*, Vol.X, p.341.

[3] M. Rafique Afzal, "The Governor-Generalship Issue and the Quaid-i-Azam", article in *South Asian Studies*, Lahore, January, 1986, p.37.

www.cssexampoint.com

who opposed tooth and nail the creation of a Muslim homeland still nursed the ambition to become its Governor-General. Leonard Mosley has very rightly observed: "The moment Jinnah considered that he was being rushed he became immediately suspicious. He said that he could not possibly commit himself on the subject straightway".[1]

On his return to Delhi from England on May 31, Mountbatten started fresh manoeuvres and even thought of invoking the services of Sir Walter Monkton to "concoct a convincing case for the Viceroy's assumption of twin positions".[2] He even deputed Lord Ismay and Eric Mieville to see the Quaid in this regard. The two approached Liaquat Ali Khan on June 20 but to no avail.

Shri Mountbatten even requested Nawab of Bhopal, a personal friend of the Quaid, to intercede on his behalf. Actually Mountbatten had made it a point of prestige and wanted to become the Governor-General at any cost and by all means. Had the League accepted Mountbatten as the common Governor-General it would have been a crowning glory for him.

On July 5, 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan confirmed in a letter to Mountbatten that the Quaid had made up his mind and "has asked His Excellency to formally suggest to the King the name of M.A. Jinnah as the first Governor-General of Pakistan". The Quaid's decision evidently dismayed the Viceroy and caused him a great deal of embarrassment. As Lord Ismay confirms that "this decision had not merely caused him political worry but had hurt him. Perhaps he had set his heart on becoming the dual Governor-General; the rebuff knocked against his most vulnerable point, **his pride.**[3] In retaliation Mountbatten threatened the Quaid and asked him, "Do you realise what this will cost you?" The Quaid said, "It may cost me several crores of rupees in assets". To which Mountbatten replied, "It may well cost you the whole of your assets, and future of Pakistan".[4]

The Quaid's decision has evoked sharp reaction not only among the non-Muslim historians but also among some of the Muslim politicians like Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Sardar Shaukat Hayat as well. Firstly, there are critics like Michael Breacher, B.N. Pandey, Larry Collins and Dominique Laperie who believe that the Quaid's decision was the result of "his long cherished ambition" and his inability "to resist the pomp, the gaudy ceremonials of the top office of the state for which he had worked so hard" In this regard, Dr. Waheeduzzaman has very rightly observed that this is an overdrawn interpretation of the Quaid's motives and betrays ignorance of his earlier career. **Had he been interested only in power and glory the story of his life as well as the history of the sub-continent would have been**

---

[1]Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, London, 1961, p.

[2]*The Last Days of the British Raj*, p.153.

[3]Ian Stephens, *Pakistan Old Country/New Nation*, London, 1964, p.214.

[4]H.V.Hodson, *The Great Divide*, London, 1969, p.331.

www.cssexampoint.com

absolutely different.[1] Secondly, what was the harm if the Quaid chose to be the first Governor-General of Pakistan for which he had struggled so hard.

Ayesha Jalal analyses the common Governor-Generalship issue on a totally erroneous premises i.e. "Jinnah did not have a real strong political party organisation". Therefore, he wanted to have a strong central government to "discipline the particularism of the Muslim majority provinces and his notoriously wayward followers".[2]

Such assumptions and conclusions are totally baseless and designed to belittle the Quaid's image and statesmanship, by underscoring and even ignoring facts and the hostile situation in which he had to function, especially during the Viceroyalty of Mountbatten.[3] As Dr. Rafique Afzal has very rightly observed that the Quaid could not get a more casual and hostile treatment from any biased Indian or a British writer than what he gets from the pen of Ayesha Jalal.[4]

While Alan Campbell-Johnson has traced his decision to the "pride" and vanity.[5]

First of all the decision taken by the Quaid was a sound one in principle and in the best interest of Pakistan. Both Auchinleck and Field Marshal Montgomery have confirmed that long before Partition Lord Mountbatten had lost the trust of Jinnah and the Muslim League and that he was in "Nehru's pocket".[6] Then how a statesman like Jinnah could have handed over the destiny of the state yet to be born to a person who was right from the start hated the creation of a Muslim homeland – Pakistan. The Quaid was deeply aware of the extent of damage which Mountbatten had already done to the Muslims. It would have been neither an act of statesmanship nor of service to his people if he had agreed to the proposal.

When Pakistan came into being there was such a dearth of Muslim officers, both Civil and Military that the Quaid had to appoint three Governors of the new State and all the three Chiefs of the Staff belonging to the British bureaucracy. Under these circumstances some symbolic act was necessary to highlight the fact that people of Pakistan were masters in their own house and no better symbol could have been exhibited for them than Jinnah – the founder of the State – taking over as the first Governor-General of Pakistan.[7]

---

[1] Waheeduzzaman's article in *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, July-October 1976, p.204.

[2] Rafique Afzal, *op. cit.*, p.31.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.31.

[4] *Ibid.*, p.30.

[5] Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission With Mountbatten*, London, 1972, p.127.

[6] S.M.Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1965, p.279.

[7] A.K.Brohi's article in *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1979, p.295.

www.cssexampoint.com

Leaving aside all arguments one must have a look at Quaid's life who by temperament for lifelong training had a constitutional bent of mind could not see how an unconstitutional governor-general faced with conflicting advice from two Dominion cabinets could discharge his responsibility properly. In Cha dhry Muhammad Ali's words: "A common Governor-General for two independent governments with opposed interests was, to his mind, a **constitutional absurdity.**[1]

Ian Stephens also supporting Quaid's decision observed: "As common Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten would have to spend less time in Karachi than in Delhi and when functioning in part on Pakistan's behalf, he would have been so near to Mr. Nehru, whom he liked, as to be influenced by him. And Mr. Nehru detested the very idea of Pakistan – point undeniably has weight".[2]

Besides the constitutional argument against the common Governor-General there was even a stronger political aspect. The powerful propaganda-machine of the Congress concentrated on the theme that Pakistan was nothing but a temporary secession of certain Indian territories that would soon be absorbed. The Hindus were confidently predicting that Pakistan was a mistake which history would soon rectify. A common head of the state would strengthen this belief throughout the world. What sort of independence we have got, the people of Pakistan might ask, when the Governor-General of India is our Governor-General and the King of England" is our King.[3]

According to A.K. Brohi, such was the situation in June and July 1947 that the very establishment of Pakistan was a matter of touch and go. And there was no guarantee that it would have been allowed to take off the ground and become a reality. At that time the Pakistanis needed faith in the viability of their infant state. The Quaid's undivided leadership alone could have dispelled their fears and provided the inspiration needed to overcome the dreadful odds poised to crush them.[4] It must be said to the credit of the Quaid that in those uncertain days when so much was happening and so fast, despite his advancing years, he undertook the responsibility of being the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

Time has amply confirmed that *Shri* Mountbatten did not act as a neutral empire and the Quaid's wisdom in keeping Pakistan's Governor-Generalship out of his hands.

---

[1] Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Columbia n.d., p.175.
[2] *Pakistan Old Country/New Nation*, pp.214-15.
[3] A.K. Brohi's article in *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam.*
[4] S.M.Burke's article in *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam*, p.305.

www.cssexampoint.com

QUAID'S VISION OF PAKISTAN

Before any discussion on Quaid's vision of Pakistan, it must be kept in mind that the Pakistan in which we are living is not what the Quaid had visualized for his **Ideal Muslim Homeland** Shamshad Ahmad Khan's (Retired Foreign Secretary) words are a true picture of our state of affairs, that we not only ignored his advice but are living remorsly with all these "**evils**" as an integral part of our society".

Regrettably, Pakistan of today is not what the Quaid has visualized. There have been deviations and departures from the Quaid's precepts in every sphere – political, economic, social and foreign affairs. The ruling elite and political and military "leaders" made a mess of Quaid's Pakistan.

In the annals of Pakistan, the Quaid stands gloriously at the same pedestal as the founding fathers of America, Turkey and China, George Washington, Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Mao Tse Tung respectively.

The Quaid all through his life struggled hard to save the Muslims from the British-Bania exploitations and he firmly believed that the creation of a separate and independent Muslim Homeland was the only panacea of Muslims' diseases.

As Pakistan was a land of his dreams so the creation of Pakistan was not an end itself but it was means to an end. According to his vision, Pakistan would be an ideal Islamic State with its socio-economic aspects based on the teachings of Islam.[1]

His ideal state, in the words of Husain Imam, "would be one where Islamic concept of equality, fraternity, liberty and justice would find play." The Quaid, speaking at the Lahore Session of 1940, emphasized the need for the creation of a *Muslim Homeland* "that would develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in a way that we think best and in accordance with our own ideals and according to the genius of the people."

His vision of an ideal Muslim State was the establishment of a base "where we would be able to train and bring up *Muslim* intellectuals, educationists, economists, doctors, engineers, technician who will work to bring about *Islamic* renaissance. These people will not confine their activities for Pakistan but would serve their *Muslim* brothers in other parts of the Islamic world. He had in his vision the creation of a *third Block* neither communistic not capitalistic but truly, *socialistic* based on the principles which characterized *Caliph Umar's regime*".[2]

---

[1] Waheeduzzaman, "Quaid-i-Azam's Vision of Pakistan in *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, edited by Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad, 1976, p.235.

[2] Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, "The Commander I served Under" in Jamiluddin Ahmad *Quaid-i-Azam: As seen by His Contemporaries*, Lahore, 1966, p.40.

www.cssexampoint.com

ECONOMIC VISION

The Quaid had a very clear and vivid picture of economic aspect of *his Pakistan*. There would be no place for exploitation of the common man by any group of society, be that of landlords, industrialists and business-cartels. As in the would be Pakistan there would be concentration of landlords, zamindars, vaderas, pirs-cum-vaderas, so he knew it well that these groups would continue their exploitation. As a precautionary measure he warned these vested interests who had flourished at the people's expense. He reminded them that they had forgotten the *lesson of Islam*. "There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is it civilization?" He made it categorically clear that if this was the aim of Pakistan he would not have it.[1]

The Quaid set a very clear direction to the future economy of the newly-born state Pakistan. While inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, his speech at the occasion, as his biographer Hector Bolitho has very correctly remarked, was "his last comment on the confusion of the world".[2] He rejected both the Western and Communist economic systems for Pakistan "as it will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a *happy and contended people*. He instead advised that we must have our own destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on the *Islamic concept of equality of mankind and social justice*. The Quaid advised not to follow the Western economic system and advanced two arguments in this respect. First the system has resulted in two world wars in the 20th century and secondly this was instrumented for increasing the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots".

Quaid's vision of Pakistan was to evolve Islamic social stability narrowing the gap between the two groups. He visualized the principle of social justice to be followed.

His denunciation of capitalists and exploitation of the poor clearly indicates his preference for an exploitation-free social welfare polity. He, thus, set a clear direction on the future economy of Pakistan. He asked the State Bank to evolve banking practices compatible with *Islamic ideas of social and economic life*. The ongoing economic crisis of America and collapse of communism validates Quaid's observations.

In September 1945, Sir Homi Moodi had enquired from the Quaid what would be the workable economic grounds when Pakistan would emerge as a sovereign state on the political map of the world. The Quaid's vision was crystal clear. He explained development, stability and economy three pillars would form the foundation of workable

---

[1] Ahmad Saeed, *Guftar-i-Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad 1976, p.265.

[2] Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, Karachi 1954, p.217.

www.essexampoint.com

economic grounds for Pakistan. He desired to ensure internal and external development. His vision had forecasted the presence of economic resources and potentialities in Pakistan. He had urged to make the best use of these resources.

According to Khawaja Amjad Saeed, Human Resource Development is considered as a pre-requisite for economic development. It is firmly believed that the man behind the machines is very important. The Quaid had clearly visualized this aspect as he said on 26 September 1947 that funds, no doubt, are necessary for development but at the same time national growth and regeneration did not depend on funds alone. "It is human toil that makes for prosperity of a people and I have no doubt that we have in Pakistan a nation of industrious and determined people whose past traditions have already distinguished them in the field of human achievements.

The Quaid strongly wished for a viable industrial base for the prosperity and progress of the country. He very rightly regarded industrial and economic development as a *sine qua-non* for preserving the national freedom and dignity.

The Quaid, even before the creation of Pakistan, was instrumental in the establishment of the Orient Airways, the forerunner of defaced PIA. The Orient Airways rendered yeoman service during the disturbances which followed Partition. Had there been no Orient Airways there would have been no link between East and West Pakistan for a long time.

It was the Quaid who encouraged and almost insisted on the creation of another just first class Bank, besides Habib Bank.

It was the Quaid's drive and inspiration which egged the Habib brothers in Bombay to float the Muhammadi Steamship Company that gave the Muslim nation an opportunity to create workers in another essential and nation-building understanding.[1]

The Quaid did not visualize privatization in *his* Pakistan. During his short span as Governor-General, he laid foundations of several mills which shows his interest in the industrial development of Pakistan.

Although the Quaid laid great stress on the industrial development of *his Pakistan* yet he was not oblivious of the agricultural [illegible]opment. While speaking at the League Session at Karachi in [illegible]r 1943, he upheld the cause of the agriculturists and producers of food-grains said that they were not to be left to fatten the industrialists. He raised his voice to protect the rights of the farmers.[2]

---

[1] M.A.H. Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: As I Knew Him*, Karachi, 1966, pp.145-146.

[2] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, p.454.

www.cssexampoint.com

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

As the Quaid firmly believed in Human Rights, so even before the creation of Pakistan he repeatedly emphasized that the Minorities would be protected and safeguarded to the fullest. He citied the example of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who gave the clearest proof and treated his non-Muslim people not justly and fairly but generously.

The last Governor-General of Pakistan *Pandit* Mountbatten, an inveterate adversary of Pakistan and Quaid presented on 14 August 1947 for the new state path followed by Akbar the Mughal king. The Quaid on the spot *rebutted* him by saying, "The tolerance and goodwill that Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when the Holy Prophet (PBUH) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he has conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and belief".

The Quaid knew fully that an isolated community could not make headway in the comity of nations therefore he assured the non-Muslim communities of full support and protection.

He envisaged Islamic, human and modern Pakistan ruled by justice irrespective of religion, colour, caste, where everybody would be equal before law. The Quaid had reiterated time and again during the struggle for Pakistan that every one, no matter what community he belongs to, would be entitled to full-fledged citizenship with equal rights, privileges and *obligations*, that there would be no discrimination between one community and another and that all would be equal citizens.

In November 1941, he assured the minorities that Islam stands for justice, equality, fairplay, tolerance and even generosity to the non-Muslims.

Next year again he reassured the Minorities that their rights would be fully safeguarded by the injection from the Highest authority namely Quran that a minority must be treated justly.

HISTORIC SPEECH OF AUGUST 11, 1947

While addressing the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the Quaid on August 11, 1947, gave us a road map of what he believed were the biggest challenges for the country's government and law-makers. According to him, the foremost duty of a government was to maintain law and order and to protect the life, property and religious beliefs of its citizens.

The above-mentioned speech is the *only speech* which is read and interpreted by every Tom, Dick and Harry according to his own perceptions. Two points must be made clear that this is not the

www.cssexampoint.com

"Solitary Speech" made by the Quaid in his long political career ranging over more than four decades.

His speeches have been collected by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad (2 vols.), Dr Waheed Ahmad (6 vols.), Dr. M. Rafiq Afzal (1 vol.), Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi (6 vols.) Ahmad Saeed, *Guftar-i-Quaid-i-Azam*, (vol 1). A few years back Dr. Mubarik Ali claimed that the speech was banned by the Government. This was a laughable claim because the speech was delivered when Pakistan did not come into existence secondly, the speech in full is available on the page of *Dawn* (Delhi), *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), the *Eastern Times* (Lahore).

Then there is a group of intellectuals and scholars who claim that it is a confession of *Secularism* by the Quaid. But as Shariful Mujahid, rightly refuting this conjuncture that the pronouncement prevail over a plethora of pronouncements made before and after the establishment of Pakistan, "Does one morsel make a dinner? Does one swallow make a summer".

Secondly, a close study of all his pronouncements during 1934-48 and even before 1934 shows that the word *Secular* does not find a mention in any of them.

If we go through this speech in its true perspective it will become crystal clear that the speech was, among other things, a road map for the state yet to be born. It was an assurance to the Minorities. The daily *Dawn* (Delhi) on August 13, 1947, reproduced his speech under the caption

Jinnah Assures Minorities for Full Citizenship
and Asks for Cooperation

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din's *Pakistan Times* on August 13, 1947, captioned the speech

Jinnah's call to concentrate on Mass Welfare
Hope for End of Hindu-Muslim Distinction in Politics
Equal rights for all citizens in Pakistan State

Times (London) published this historic speech with the caption

A Call for Tolerance

In 1949, S.A.R. Bilgrami published *Pakistan Year Book*, in which he reproduced the speech under the caption

Jinnah's Charter of Minorities Announce[1]

---

[1] Ahmad Saeed, "Secular Jinnah?" article in *Mujalla Tareekh-o-Sakafat Pakistan*, Islamabad, October 2006-March 2007, pp.22-23.

www.cssexampoint.com

The above-mentioned speech does not mention *secularism* as Hector Bolitho has beautifully summed up that "the words are Jinnah's the thought and belief are an inheritance from the Prophet who said these words 13 centuries ago".[1]

An incident, rarely quoted, explains his altitude towards minorities. Hector Bolitho writes that "Jinnah was never generous with tears. However, he had only been seen weeping, the one occasion being when he toured the riot-affected encampment of Hindus in Karachi in January 1948.[2]

EDUCATION

The Quaid firmly believed that there should be a uniform system of education. He emphatically urged for greater attention to be paid to promote technical, vocational and scientific education which was a pre-requisite to industrial and economic development. He wanted the educational policies and programme to be tailored to suit the genius of the people and having regard to the modern conditions and scientific and technological developments in the world.

Several centuries of the world achieved socio-economic driver. So he had clear vision in respect of using education as an economic driver.

He identified the primary aim of education as character-building and inculcating the spirit of altruism and self-less service in the youth.

The Quaid's concern for education can be judged from his will, through which he has nominated 6 educational institutions i.e. Anjuman-i-Islam School, Bombay (Rs.25 thousand), Bombay University (Rs.50 thousand), Anglo-Arabic School, Delhi (25 thousand), and all his remaining assets to be equally divided between Aligarh Muslim University, Sindh Madrasatul Islam, Karachi and Islamia College, Peshawar.[3] No other Pakistani leader has ever followed his suit.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Quaid, as a believer and upholder of human dignity and freedom, without mincing words condemned and denounced the British, French, Dutch and other colonists and imperialists in no uncertain words. His espousal of the cause of the subjugated nations, bears ample testimony of his conviction in the right of self-determination.

The Quaid had always been sensitive to the developments which were taking place across the globe and would not hesitate in taking sides.

---

[1] *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, p.

[2] Hector Bolitho.

[3] *Quaid-i-Azam ki Jaidad and Sarmayakari*, edited by Malik Muhammad Riaz, Karachi. 2008. p.226.

www.cssexampoint.com

The trouble-spots which attracted his attention most were Turkey, Palestine and the colonies which were aspiring for independence.[1]

The Quaid all through his political career tried to settle with the Hindus on the principle of equality and as far as foreign affairs of his Pakistan would be conducted on the same solid principle.

In his interview with a Swiss journalist (March 11, 1948), he made his stand very clearly that "Pakistan wants to have friendly relations with India provided the Indian Government sheds the superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan *on an equal footing* and fully appreciates the realities.

The basic tenants of the foreign policy of the state were outlined by him in Delhi on July 14, 1947 that Pakistan "will be most friendly to all nations. We stand for peace of all the world".

When he became the Governor-General of Pakistan he reiterated that "our object shall be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain friendly relations with all the countries".

The Quaid on numerous occasions stressed that Pakistan's foreign policy would be based on the principle of *mutual respect* and understanding with all countries of the world. He visualized Pakistan to emerge as an honourable state in the country of nations".

POLITY

During the last years of his life, the Quaid addressed almost every segment of society including legislators, armed forces, civil servants, educationists, students, business community workers, lawyers and public providing guidelines in every aspect of national life for building up Pakistan into a modern and democratic Islamic welfare state.

The Quaid firmly believed that Islam was not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines, but it was a *code of life* which regulated Muslims' life and conduct in politics and economic alike. In February 1948, at the Sibi Darbar he reiterated that our salvation lies in *following* the golden rules of conduct set for us by our *great law-giver*, the Prophet of Islam (PBUH).

In accordance with the interpretation of the Quaid, the charter of polity of Pakistan, the ruling-elite, the legislators and the assemblies were committed to the creation of such social and political structure, which assured equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law and free from the evils of nepotism, bribery, corruption, black-marketing and hoarding. The Quaid visualized all these evils to be eradicated from *his*

[1] *Jinnah on World Affairs, Select Documents 1908-1948*, edited by Mehrunnisa Ali, Pakistan Study Centre, Karachi.

www.cssexampoint.com

Pakistan which are so flourishing here and are the golden principles of the *New Pakistan*.'

BUREAUCRACY

In Quaid's vision the bureaucracy of *His Pakistan* was not to act as *Masters* of the people but as *servants* of the masses. He laid down the code of conduct for the civil servants and directed them to serve as the true servants of the people. He wished the bureaucracy to wipe of the century-old reputation and prove that they did not belong to the *ruling class*.

He visualized a bureaucracy not to be influenced by politics and politicians and to have no connection with this political party or that political party. He warned the "not to let people leave you will this bearing that you hate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted or that you are rude to them.

He expected selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty from every civil servant. He never visualized "political army", always ready to take over, but dedicated defenders of the State. He, on June 14, 1948, reminded the armed forces of their constitutional responsibilities urging them to understand the true constitutional and legal implications of their oath of allegiance to the country's constitution.

www.cssexampoint.com

25

THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

Never in the history of the world a resolution consisting of mere four hundred words had changed the destiny of a nation. The Lahore Resolution passed at the 27th session of the AIML did this miracle.

The All-India Muslim League came into being in 1906, but it was only after 1936, that it really became a popular Muslim political party of the Muslim masses. Right from the start, the AIML effectively performed the task of safeguarding the rights of the Muslims. It was due to its untiring efforts that the Muslims were given the right of separate electorate in 1909. The Congress never appreciated the conciliatory gestures of the League. At one point, the League even agreed to forego the right of separate electorate but due to the uncompromising attitude of the Hindu leaders of the Congress, no understanding could be reached. The Quaid-i-Azam made every possible effort to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims but in the end he was forced to announce "the parting of the ways". The two year (1937-39) tyrannical Congress Raj further disillusioned the Muslims and they were compelled to conclude that only a separate and independent Muslim homeland could guarantee their rights. At last, in 1940, the AIML came up with the demand of a separate homeland for the Muslims and achieved its goal in the form of Pakistan within a short span of seven years.

PROPOSALS FOR THE PARTITION OF THE SUB-CONTINENT

Although the AIML formally demanded the creation of a separate Muslim state in 1940, yet long long ago, similar proposals had been put forward from time to time in order to bring to an end permanently the feud between the Hindus and the Muslims, The famous novelist and journalist Abdul Haleem Sharar (1860-1926) was the first notable and prominent Muslim intellectual who made this proposal. Discussing the oft-occurring Hindu-Muslim riots, he wrote in his weekly journal *Mohazzab* that the partition of India into Hindu provinces and Muslim provinces, was the only reasonable and plausible solution to the long

www.cssexampoint.com

standing rivalries, differences and disputes between the two communities.

Wilaiat Ali, who used the pen-name *Bambooq* used to write a humorous column entitled *Gup Shup* in Moulana Mohamed Ali's *Comrade*. In May 1913, he wrote a column under the title *Aek Mulaqat* (A meeting). It contained an interview with an imaginary person who was asked to suggest a permanent solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem. The illusory figure replied that the two communities should be separated from each other, with Northern India given to the Muslims and the rest of the country to the Hindus. Although, it was only an imaginary interview yet, it mirrored the thinking of the Muslims.

At the Stockholm Conference of the Socialist International 1917, Abdul Jabbar Kheri and Professor Abdus Sattar Kheri who were popularly known as the Kheri Brothers proposed the partition of India into a Muslim India and a Hindu India.

In March and April 1920, Qazi Aziz-ud-Din Bilgrami wrote an open letter to M .K. Gandhi in weekly *Zulqarnain*. The letter contained a proposal of dividing India between the Hindus and the Muslims. The letter also contained a list of districts for the proposed division. This list was not much different from that of the districts which were later on included in the East and West Pakistan.

In 1923, Sardar Gul Mohammad Khan, President of the Anjuman-e-Islamia, Dera Ismail Khan, while giving evidence before a committee proposed the partition of India. He further suggested that the areas from Agra to Peshawar should be given to the Muslims.

In December 1928, Moulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash , in a series of four articles contributed to the daily *Inqilab* (Lahore) proposed the creation of a Muslim national homeland consisting of the Punjab, Sind, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan in order to solve the Hindu-Muslim problems. The Hindu daily *Partap* denounced this proposal. But Moulana Maikash wrote a forceful reply defending his proposal.

In February 1929, Fazal Karim Khan Durrani, the editor of *Muslim India* wrote a book entitled *The Future of Islam in India* in which he wrote, "It is impossible for two conflicting cultures to co-exist. A clash between the two is inevitable. Thus, the only solution to the Indian problem is that the Muslims should either commit suicide or start growing long hair to prove that they have become Hindus. Or else, they should rise up resolutely like true Muslims and sacrifice everything to regain the empire of India".

In 1933, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali coined the word Pakistan. He founded the Pakistan National Movement and launched his campaign in the form of pamphlets, posters, placards and journals. On January 28, 1933, he brought out a brief pamphlet of four pages entitled *Now or Never.*

www.cssexampoint.com

It demanded the creation of a separate Muslim state. Sir Zafrullah Khan called this proposal "impracticable".

Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif of Hyderabad Deccan in his book *A Federation of Cultural Zones for India* proposed the partition of India into several cultural zones. Out of them, the Muslims were to get four cultural zones.

1) North-Western Zone consisting of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Khairpur and Bahawalpur.
2) North-Eastern Zone consisting of East Bengal and Assam.
3) The Zone comprising Delhi and Lucknow.
4) The Deccan Zone.

He proposed eleven zones for the Hindus. All of these zones were to be linked with a centre under a loose confederation. This scheme also mentioned the transfer of population within twenty-five years.

In 1939, Dr. Zafarul Hasan and Dr. Afzaal Husain Qadri presented a proposal called "The Problems of Indian Muslims and Its Solution". This scheme also popularly known as the "Aligarh Scheme" proposed the partition of the country into three completely independent and autonomous states.

1) North-Western India that would include the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sindh and Baluchistan.
2) Bengal, Sylhet Division.
3) Hindustan (India).

The proposed Hindustan was to include the two new provinces of Delhi and Malabar.

In 1938, the Sindh Provincial Muslim League held its session in Karachi. In a resolution passed at the meeting the AIML was asked to prepare such constitutional proposals that would give full autonomy to the Muslim majority provinces within their federation.

In February 1940, the Working Committee and the Council of the AIML held their meetings at Delhi, where it was decided to present the demand for a separate Muslim state before the full session. After the Working Committee meeting, the Quaid-i-Azam met the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, and informed him that the AIML in its Lahore session, would demand the partition of India.

It is to be noted that from June 4, 1858 to 1940 there were 170 proposals to divide the sub-continent and interestingly enough the authors of these schemes were not only the Indian and foreign Muslims (70+4) but also included British (33) and non-Muslims (10). Among the non-Muslims were included Bhai Parmanand, Beni Prasad, Lajpat Rai, Srinivasa Sastri, A.R. Banerji, Gulshan Rai, and C.R. Reddy.[1]

[1] K.K.Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol.III, Lahore, 1987, p.725.

www.cssexampoint.com

THE KHAKSAR TRAGEDY

A great tragedy took place at Lahore just four days before the Lahore session. This tragic incident appeared to cause the postponement of the session. It so happened that the Government of the Punjab outlawed the paramilitary groups and placed a ban on parading and wearing a military uniform. The activists of the Khaksar movement decided to violate this ban. So, on March 19, they started parading in their particular uniform within the Bhati Gate. The clashes that broke out with the police, resulted in the death of almost fifty Khaksars. The situation became very tense in the city. The Unionist Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar, tried to postpone the League session taking advantage of the firing on the Khaksars. Sir Zafrullah Khan was sent to the Quaid in order to prevail upon him to postpone the Lahore session. Besides that Sir Sikandar asked Khan Sahib Kuli Khan of the N.W.F.P. who was passing through Lahore to Delhi to see the Quaid to do his best to induce him to agree to a postponement of the session without mentioning Sikandar's name.[1] The Governor of the Punjab, Henry Craik, on March 20, 1940, informed the Governor-General that "Sir Sikandar is doing what he can "to influence the local organizers of the Conference to agree to a postponement".[2] However, the Quaid turned down all these requests and declared that the session would go ahead on the scheduled dates.[3]

A reception committee headed by Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot was formed to make arrangements for the session. Its secretary was Mian Bashir Ahmad. For the preliminary expenditures, the Nawab of Mamdot gave rupees six hundred, from his own pocket. The largest contribution was made by the Nawab of Kalabagh. He declared that if someone else made even a larger contribution he (the Nawab) would pay twice as much.[4]

The Quaid-i-Azam reached Lahore on March 21, went straight to the Mayo Hospital from the railway station to enquire after the wounded Khaksars. The citizens of Lahore had decided to take their Quaid in a procession but the programme had to be cancelled due to the Khaksar tragedy. Outside the station, a large number of people were insisting that instead of a car, the Quaid should sit in a phaeton so that

---

[1] Ikram Ali Malik (ed.), *Muslim League Session 1940 and the Lahore Resolution*, Islamabad, 1990, p.176.

[2] *H. Craik to Linlithgow* in Ikram Ali Malik, p.175.

[3] Siddiq Ali Khan, *Bey Taigh Sepahi*, Karachi, 1971, pp.208-09.

[4] *Meem Sheen*, "The Lahore Resolution", *The Pakistan Times*, March 23, 1966.

www.essexamipoint.com

they could drag his carriage and take him to the Mamdot Villa. However, the Quaid declined the offer.[1] The Punjab Police Intelligence Report had also appreciated "Jinnah's well-handling of the controversial issue of Khaksar disturbances".[2]

On reaching Lahore, the Quaid in a statement to the press revealed that the League would make a revolutionary decision during the session. This triggered a series of rumours and speculations in all quarters.

The inaugural session was held on March 22, 1940, at 3.00 p.m. in a huge *pandal* with a capacity of 60,000 persons. The session was attended by a large number of delegates, visitors, volunteers and enthusiastic audience. Admission was thorough ticket ranging from Rs.100 (dias), Rs.10 (chairs), Rs.2 (ordinary chairs) to annas 8 for floor. According to the Punjab Police Intelligence Report the inaugural session was attended by 25000 persons.[3] Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot presented the welcome address. Ashiq Batalvi has narrated that when during the course of his address he mentioned Sir Sikandar's name the audience became furious and started calling out "shame shame".[4] The Governor of the Punjab, H. Craik, in a letter (23 March 1940) to the Governor-General testifies Batalvi's statement that "There was, I was informed, some interruption of the speech of Mamdot when he made a complimentary reference to the work done by the Unionist Government. A certain section of the audience started to shout "Sikandar *Murdabad*".[5]

In his presidential address the Quaid alluding to the religious and cultural differences between the Hindus and the Muslims said, "The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together, and, indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, different episodes. Very often the hero of one is the foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and 'final' destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state".[6]

---

[1]Syed Shamsul Hasan, "Historic Lahore Session", *Dawn*, March 23, 1965.
[2]*NDC Newsletter*, No.2, April 1986, National Documentation Centre, Lahore.
[3]*NDC Newsletter*, No.2, April 1986, National Documentation Centre, Lahore.
[4]Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Chand Yadain Chand Taasurat*, Lahore, 1969, p.244.
[5]*Muslim League Session 1940 and the Lahore Resolution*, p.180.
[6]Jamiluddin Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, Vol.II, 1976, p.169.

www.cssexampoint.com

The Quaid-i-Azam forcefully refuted the notion that the Muslims were only a "minority". He asserted, "They are a nation according to any definition of a nationhood. Thus, they must have their separate homeland".

During his speech, the Quaid read out Lala Lajpat Rai's letter of 1924 to C.R. Das in which he had categorically stated that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate and distinct nations which could never be merged into a single nation. This letter stunned the whole audience. Malik Barkat Ali spontaneously remarked that Lala Lajpat Rai was a "nationalist" Hindu leader. At this, the Quaid emphatically said, "No Hindu can be a "nationalist". Every Hindu is a Hindu first and last".[1]

Dr. Mohammad Alam who, like our present-day politicians, changed political parties with the change of the season, was now with the AIML, said that "from his experience in the Congress he had come to realise that they wanted to establish Hindu Raj under British protection". According to the Intelligence Report "his speech met with great acclamation".[2]

Some of the prominent Muslim leaders who came to attend this historic session of the League from various Indian provinces were Sir Abdoola Haroon, Qazi Muhammad Isa, I.I. Chundrigar, Sayyid Rauf Shah, Dr. Alam, Sayyid Zakir Ali, Abdul Hamid Qadri, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, A.K. Fazlul Haq, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Abul Hashim, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Malik Barkat Ali.. According to a careful estimate, more than fifty thousand people attended the Lahore session. A well-known Congressi leader Moulvi Tufail Ahmad acknowledged that this meeting was very successful from the point of view of the number of its participants.[3]

On March 23, 1940, Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq presented the historic Lahore Resolution before the full house. It was supported by Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Moulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Qazi Muhammad Isa and Begum Mohamed Ali Johar.

THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Lahore Resolution consisted of four hundred words and four short paragraphs. It said, "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles viz., that geographically

[1] *Chand Yadain Chand Taasurat*, p.245.
[2] *NDC Newsletter*, No.2, April 1986, National Documentation Centre, Lahore.
[3] Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945, p.468.

www.cssexampoint.com

contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them".

A vast majority of the Muslims were readily moved by the Lahore Resolution. The idea of a separate state offered to them the only way in which freedom had meaning. The idea of a Muslim homeland brought a sense of identity and purpose and it soon became the symbol of Muslim nationalism and their ultimate goal.[1]

Some scholars, researchers and politicians turned historians have managed to identify some "ambiguities" in the Lahore Resolution. Firstly, they argue that the Lahore Resolution contains the idea of two states instead of one. There is no doubt that the Resolution contains the word **States**. However, the question is, were these **States**, supposed to be separate from each other or whether they were to be. two states of a single Muslim homeland. In 1941, a resolution was passed at the Madras session of the League. It stated, "Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim State". In October 1940, just seven months after the passing of the Lahore Resolution, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote, preface to *India's Problems of Her Future Constitution*. In his preface, he used the words "Independent State", with reference to the Lahore Resolution. This preface contains the signatures of the Quaid.[2] In a speech on April 1, 1940, he used the words "Muslim homeland". In another speech on April 14, 1941, he mentioned "An independent Muslim state". After 1944, he never used the word **states**,[3] in his speeches. On the eve of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, in 1944, the Quaid removed all sorts of doubts from the minds of the people by categorically stating that the two units

---

[1]Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, 1991, p.131.
[2]Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *Writings of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Lahore, 1[illegible]
[3]Abdul Wahid Qureshi, *Tareekhi Faisla*, Karachi, 1976, p.2[illegible]

www.cssexampoint.com

mentioned in the Lahore Resolution would be the provinces of a single state and not of two states.

The League Legislators' Convention at Delhi on April 7, 1946, which was attended by eight hundred elected representatives of the Central and Provincial Assemblies and the Council of State, members of the Council and Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. Husain Shaheed Suhrawardi of Bengal presented a resolution in which it was clearly stated that the Pakistan zones be constituted into a Sovereign Independent State.[1]

Some scholars including Penderel Moon, Durga Das, Kanji Dwarkadas and Ayesha Jalal have advanced the theory that the Lahore Resolution was meant to serve as a "bargaining counter". Ayesha Jalal's sensational and wild assumption that the Pakistan demand was not a spontaneous and genuine demand of the South Asian Muslims but merely a "bargaining counter", is not only uncharitable to the Quaid and an insult to the Muslims' urge for a separate homeland but is incorrect historically.[2]

The argument of the Quaid's use of the Lahore Resolution as a counter for bargaining is weakened by the fact that both the British and the Hindus accuse the Quaid of intransigence and obstinacy on the issue of Pakistan. V.P, Menon, B.R. Nanda, and Tara Chand all accuse him on that account. It is interesting to note the Quaid himself refuted the charge on March 2, 1941 that "I have said often that it is a matter of life and death to the Musalmans and is not a counter for bargaining.

Then there is a group of politicians turned pseudo-scholars who accuse that the Lahore Resolution was inspired by the British. One can only laugh at their accusation because right from Lord Linlithgow (1936-43) to Lord Wavell (1943-47) and from Wavell to *Shri* Mountbatten (March-August, 1947) on the one hand and from Zetland (1935-40) to L.S. Amery (1940-1945) and from Amery to Pethick Lawrence (1945-47) all opposed the division of their Empire. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, wrote very next day to Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State, "I do not attach too much importance to Jinnah's demand for the carving out of India into an indefinite number of so-called "Dominions". He termed the Lahore Resolution as "extreme and preposterous demand". Lord Zetland readily agreed. In his reply to Linlithgow, he stressed: "I shall be bound to express my dissent from the proposal". He disliked the creation of a number of "Ulsters" in India because that would mean the "wrecking of all that we have been doing for a number of years past".[3]

---

[1] *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League*, Jan-Dec, 1946, Delhi, n.d., pp.45-46.

[2] M. Rafique Afzal, "The Governor-Generalship Issue" in *South Asian Studies*, Lahore, January 1986, p.31.

[3] *Aspects of Pakistan Movement*, p.139.

www.cssexampoint.com

L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, was no less critical. On January 25, 1941, he wrote to the Viceroy, "Jinnah and his Pakistanis are beginning to be almost more of a menace and to have lost all sense of realities". Lord Mountbatten himself admits: "I was a great believer in a unified India. I thought the greatest single legacy we could leave the Indians was a unified country".[1]

None of the Governors of the provinces that the Quaid claimed for Pakistan favoured separate Muslim nationhood. Bertrand Glancy (Punjab) "firmly believed in a United India and could not see how Pakistan could work". Mudie (Sind) argued that the Muslims in his Province did not believe in complete separation but rather in association with the rest of India on a new basis that would ensure them against Hindu domination.[2]

The Hindu leaders and the Hindu press started a tirade against the Resolution the very next day. *Partap, Bande Matram, Milap, Tribune* and other Hindu newspapers called it as the Pakistan Resolution. It was done in spite of the fact that the word Pakistan was not used anywhere in the Lahore Resolution. Perhaps, the All-India Muslim League could not have succeeded in giving as much publicity and popularity to the Lahore Resolution as it received in the wake of the extremely hostile reaction and criticism of the Hindu press. The Hindus could not conceive of the religious sacrilege of their sacred soil, the vivisection of Mother India. On August 21, 1940, the daily *Tribune* (Lahore) called the Pakistan Scheme unacceptable and horrible. Declaring the scheme to be useless, the same newspaper wrote in another editorial that it offered no solution to the communal problem of India. The newspaper added that the scheme would, on the contrary, complicate the problem. In June 1940, the *Modem Review* (Calcutta) wrote that all the people except Jinnah and his Muslim League companions had a firm belief that the Pakistan Scheme was harmful not only for the Indian nation but for the Muslims as well.

In an editorial, the *Hindustan Times* wrote, "History had made Hindus and Muslims in India into one people which even the ingenuity of the most ingenious constitution-monger will be unable to divide. To break up the unity of India is not to satisfy the ambitions of this community or that, but to ruin the peace and prosperity of the people of this country as a whole. This is a solution which the Muslim community as a whole will reject, whatever the League and its leaders do".

Another newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dismissed the Pakistan Scheme as "absurd" and added, "If the Muslims cannot live as a

---

[1] *Mountbatten and the Partition of India*, p.42.
[2] R.J. Moore, *The Escape From Empire*, Oxford, 1983, p.81.

www.cssexampoint.com

minority community under an all India government how can they expect that the Hindus would like to live under the Muslim majority".[1]

Commenting on the Lahore Resolution, *the Statesman* wrote, "It is a revolutionary proposal but those who are willing to oppose it, must study it before criticising it. They must understand that the League has seriously presented it, therefore, it cannot be ignored as a mere fanciful dream. The Hindus may like it or not but it has to be admitted that eighty million Muslims living in India have a strong consciousness of their distinct cultural identity. This is a suggestion which has been presented in the present atmosphere of frustration. Thus, we would have to admit, that through this proposal, an honest attempt has been made to suggest a practicable solution to the on-going bitter dispute between the Hindus and the Muslims. Those who have presented this proposal believe that this is the only practicable solution".[2]

Like the Hindu press, the Hindu leaders also strongly condemned the Lahore Resolution. On April 6, 1940, Gandhi wrote in his newspaper the *Harijan*, "I think, the Muslims would not accept the idea of partition. Their interest itself would prevent them from partition. Their religion would not allow them to commit such a suicidal rebellion. The Two-Nation Theory is a lie, I believe in non-violence and cannot, therefore, violently stop the proposed partition. But I would not become a party to this slicing. Partition is meant to destroy the work of those innumerable Muslims and Hindus who, for centuries, tried to live together as a nation. Partition is a lie. My soul rebels against this viewpoint that Hinduism and Islam are two contradictory faiths and civilisations. We are all the children of one God. Definitely, I would revolt against the idea that the millions of Indians who were Hindus till yesterday can change their nationality, by changing their religion".

Criticising the Lahore Resolution, Rajagopalacharia said, "Mr. Jinnah's step towards the partition of India is like a dispute between two brothers over the ownership of a cow and the two brothers ultimately divide the cow between themselves by cutting it into two parts".

The Congress President *Shri* Abul Kalam Azad commented: "I must confess that the very term Pakistan goes against my grain. It suggests that some portions of the world are pure while others are impure. Such a division of territories into pure and impure is un-Islamic and a repudiation of the very spirit of Islam".[3]

The British press did not attach much importance to the Lahore Resolution. *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald*

---

[1]Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.II, p.xxvii.
[2]Ameen Zubairi, *Siasat-e-Millia*, Agra, 1941, pp.499-500.
[3]Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Calcutta, 1959, p.142.

www.cssexampoint.com

carried brief news items about the Resolution. The *Daily Telegraph* completely ignored it. According to *the Times*, the emergence of the Muslims as a nation was a product of the policy of the Congress. The paper disfavoured the Pakistan proposal because it would destroy the Indian unity. The *Manchester Guardian* stated that by getting the Lahore Resolution approved, Mr. Jinnah had re-established the reign of chaos in the Indian politics. According to the newspaper this resolution struck at the heart of Indian nationalism. All the prominent English newspapers either ignored the resolution or opposed it. However, surprisingly, a scientific journal the *Nature* made every possible effort to understand the importance of the Lahore Resolution. It wrote, "Apart from the fact that the voice of a minority of some eighty million or more, sectional differences, for once, forgotten, cannot be ignored, it is based upon a very real difference in a cultural tradition, as every student of Indian civilisation is aware, for the Muslim tradition fosters democratic outlook, while fearing and resenting Hindu domination in an independent India, which would from its immemorial tradition of caste be essentially oligarchic in practice. However impracticable the Muslim demand may be, no solution will secure the future of India in world affairs or internally which attempts to ignore or override the fundamental differences of culture and tradition".[1]

The Lahore session of the AIML proved a landmark in the history of the South Asian Muslims. Even the Governor of the Punjab, H. Craik, had to admit that three results had clearly emerged from the Lahore session, (a) The importance of the All-India Muslim League as the representative Muslim organisation had been immensely enhanced, (b) Jinnah's own personal prestige had greatly risen. His position as the only AIML leader was now unchallenged and in practice he alone was in a position to dictate the League's policy, (c) Muslim opinion was now outwards at least unanimous in favour of the partition of India.[2]

---

[1] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, pp.148-49.
[2] Telegram of H. Craik to the Governor-General in Ikram Ali Malik, p.186.

www.cssexampoint.com

26

THE CRIPPS MISSION

India was forced to get involved in the Second World War which broke out in September, 1939. On September 14, 1939, the Congress called upon the British Government to announce the aims and objectives of the War. Moreover, if its aim was the survival and strengthening of democratic forces, it must start from India.

The Congress began insisting on the "immediate unconditional and regardless of consequences, whether invasion, civil war or general anarchy" complete independence for India and on assigning the task of the preparation of the constitution to a constituent assembly. The real intention of the Congress behind this demand was that it wanted an opportunity to establish *Ram Raj* in India. M.K. Gandhi himself reflected the true Hindu mentality in an essay on June 15, 1940, in the following words:-

> "The Congress is the only democratic and elected political party in India. All other parties are self-created and communal".

Meanwhile, on September 18, 1939, the All-India Muslim League demanded from the Government the assurance that no constitutional reforms would be introduced in India without consulting it and without its consent.[1]

On July 1, 1940, the Quaid-i-Azam sent a few proposals to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, regarding the restructuring of the Viceroy's Executive Council and War Council. He demanded of the Governor-General to give a clear-cut assurance that no interim or final constitution would be imposed on India without the prior approval of the Muslims and the All-India Muslim League.[2]

THE AUGUST OFFER

On August 8, 1940, His Majesty's Government issued a White Paper that after the war a constituent assembly would be formed in India. It would include all the elements of the national life and its task would be to prepare the framework of the country's future constitution. The minorities were assured that "His Majesty's Government could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibility for the peace and

---

[1] *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League*, Delhi, n.d., p.28.

[2] M.H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, A Political Study, Karachi, 1970, pp.232-33.

www.caexampoint.com

welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life". Furthermore, the British Government would not force these elements into admission to such a government. The Government also announced that the differences between the two parties would not be allowed to become a hindrance in the way of the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The hope was expressed that various parties of India would cooperate with the Viceroy regarding the war efforts.

The August Offer revealed a clear and distinct change in the approach of the British Government towards the constitutional problems facing India. Until then, the British Parliament was considered to be the final authority with regard to the decisions about the Indian affairs. The Indians had no power to decide their own fate. The August Declaration, for the first time, promised the formation of a constituent assembly made up of Indian representatives. Secondly, in the proposed assembly, all the minorities, especially the Muslims, were assured that their rights would be adequately safeguarded. Thirdly, this Declaration removed the fears of the Muslims, and that of all other minorities, that the Government might surrender to Congress demands was set at rest.[3]

On September 1, 1940, the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, at a meeting, presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam, discussed the August Offer. It expressed its satisfaction over the British Government's decision that no future constitution would be adopted without the prior approval and consent of the League. In their speeches, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had talked about "national unity". The Working Committee clearly stated that throughout the history, "national unity" had been non-existent in India, that is why, such remarks would inevitably give birth to doubts and speculations in the hearts of the Muslims. The Muslim League, therefore, reiterated that it was still committed to the Lahore Resolution, which called for the partition of the sub-continent and the creation of a separate Muslim homeland consisting of the Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and North-Eastern parts of the country. The League Working Committee declared that the partition of India was the only solution to the complicated political problems facing the country.[4]

The Congress sharply reacted against the August Offer and its President, *Shri* Abul Kalam Azad, even refused to hold talks with the Government on this issue, because he believed that the declaration was "totally at variance with Congress policy".[5] The Congress completely rejected the August Offer and alleged that the British Government was

[3] I.H.Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi, 1965, pp.158-59.
[4] *Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League*, p.70.
[5] *The Struggle for Pakistan*, p.161.

www.cssexampoint.com

not sincere to the cause of Indian independence. It added that the Government was deliberately using the minority issue to create obstacles in the way of independence.

THE DEFENCE COUNCIL AND THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

On July 20, 1941, the Government briefed the Quaid about the proposed extension of the Governor-General's Executive Council. At the same time, the formation of a 30-member Defence Council was also announced. This decision had been taken without consulting the Quaid, so he summoned an emergency meeting of the Working Committee of the League at Bombay. The League severely criticised the Government's decision to encourage its members to join the Defence Council without taking its leader (M.A. Jinnah) into confidence. In this way, the Government had acted undemocratically. The League called upon its members, who had joined the Defence Council, to submit their resignations within ten days. The Muslim leaders who had joined the Defence Council were Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq, Sir Sa'adullah, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sir Zafrullah Khan, Sir Sikandar Hayat and Nawab Ahmad Saeed Chattari.

When Moulvi Fazlul Haq was asked to resign from the Defence Council, he not only did so but resigned from the League as well. In a letter on September 8, 1941, he accused the Quaid of adopting autocratic behaviour regarding the Defence Council. This attitude enraged the Muslims, especially those of Bengal. It was demanded that if Moulvi Fazlul Haq did not withdraw his charges, he should be expelled from the League. Thus, the All-India Muslim League Working Committee told him to withdraw his charges and to express regret over his remarks. At last, on November 14, he apologised to the Quaid in a letter and the Working Committee closed that chapter. Once again, he changed his mind and despite being the head of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, the President of the Bengal Muslim League and the member of the All-India Muslim League Council and the Working Committee, he initiated a move to form a progressive group within the Assembly. He also started a newspaper in which abuses were hurled at the League. Later on, he resigned from the Muslim League and in order to form his ministry, formed alliance with such anti-Muslim leaders as Sarat Chandra Bose and Shayama Prasad Mookerjee. At this, the Quaid-i-Azam was forced to expel him from the League. In April 1943, Moulvi Fazlul Haq had to yield to the pressure of the public opinion and resigned from the Government.

Begum Shah Nawaz also refused to abide by the decision of the League to quit the Defence Council. Thus, she too was expelled from the

www.cssexampoint.com

party for five years. Later on, she asserted that she had agreed to quit the League and to remain in the Defence Council, because she wanted to protect the rights of the Muslims whose proportion in the Army had been reduced from 72 per cent to 52 per cent.[6] On the other hand, Sir Sikandar Hayat and Sir Sa'adullah had resigned from the Defence Council.

CRIPPS PROPOSALS

At a time, when the gulf between the Congress and the League was widening, the rapid advance of the Japanese troops had brought the war on the Indian borders. When Burma was engulfed in the flames of the war, the Congress decided to take advantage of the seemingly helpless condition of the British Government. It believed that in case of the British defeat, it would have ample opportunities to fulfil its old dream of establishing *Ram Raj* in the country. Meanwhile, the British Government realising the gravity of the situation, decided to send a delegation headed by Sir Stafford Cripps to India to try to break the political deadlock. As Cripps was a regular and permanent supporter of the Congress, therefore, the Congress and the Hindus, expressed great delight over his appointment. Governor-General, Lord Linlithgow, himself told the Reforms Commissioner, H.V. Hodson, that with the appointment of the Mission, "the Hindus are jubilant. They think they have scored with the British Government and that Cripps is their man".[7] The N-W.F.P. Governor, George Cunningham, further confirmed these speculations. In a report, on the eve of the arrival of Stafford Cripps in India, he wrote to the Governor- General that the Hindus and some pro-Congress Muslims were pleased to think that Cripps was a friend of Nehru. They believed that all the practical difficulties would be solved in a way acceptable to Congress and the Hindus.[8]

L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made a statement full of truth about Stafford Cripps that "he had swallowed all Nehru's views and thus believed unquestionably in the unfailing virtues of arithmetical democracy and the sacred right of majorities and could only regard ninety million Muslims as a tiresome opposition".[9]

Cripps arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1942. He had meetings with the Quaid-i-Azam, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Moulvi Fazlul Haq, B.R. Ambedkar. V.D. Savarkar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He briefed them about his following proposals:-

---

[6] Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter*, Lahore, 1971, pp.174-75.
[7] H.V.Hodson, *The Great Divide – Britain-India-Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969, p.95.
[8] Nicholas Mansergh (Editor-in-Chief), *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.I, p.457.
[9] Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *The Nation's Voice*, Vol.II, Karachi, 1996, p.xxxiv.

www.cssexampoint.com

1) Complete independence would be granted to India at the end of the War.
2) The British Government wants to create a new Indian Dominion which, in spite of having complete external and internal autonomy, would be associated with U.K. and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown.
3) At the end of the War, a new constituent assembly would be formed to frame the future constitution. Its members would be elected on the basis of. proportional representation by the members of the lower house of the provincial assemblies. The Indian States would also be represented in the constituent assembly. The constitution prepared by this assembly would be acceptable to the British Government. A treaty would be concluded between the Assembly and His Majesty's Government. It would resolve all the issues and problems that would crop up at the time of the transfer of power from Britain to the people of India. All the promises made to the religious minorities would be honoured in these accords.
4) Any province would be free to keep itself out of the proposed Union and to retain its prevailing constitutional position. If such non-acceding provinces so desired they could have their own separate Union.
5) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution is framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for the control of the defence of India.

As it has been said earlier that Cripps was a "friend of the Congress". His proposals were mainly based on those broad principles which had been discussed at length by Nehru with him and Attlee in 1938.[10]

From their own points of view, both the Congress and the League rejected the Cripps proposals on various grounds.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League rejected these proposals on the following grounds:-

1) The announcement by the Government that a Union would be set up in India was not in line with the basic principles and desires of the League, because the League did not believe in the so-called Indian unity. The Working Committee emphatically declared that it was neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel to constitute One Indian Union.[11]
2) Since in the proposed assembly, in which the Muslims would get only one-fourth seats, all the important issues would be

[10] R.J.Moore, *Escape from Empire*, Oxford, 1983, p.11.
[11] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol I, p.749.

www.cssexampoint.com

decided by a majority vote, the Muslims would be left with no option but to surrender to the dictates of the majority. Keeping in view that fact the League opposed the setting up of a constitution-making body because the only solution of India's constitutional problem was the partition of India.

3) Although the provinces were given the right to secede from the Union but the proposals did not lay down the method and procedure to implement the provision. Secondly, no procedure had been laid down as to how the verdict of a province was to be obtained in favour or against accession to the one Union.[12]

The Quaid-i-Azam called these proposals very unsatisfactory and asserted that they amounted to taking the Muslims to the gallows. Expressing his views on the issue he said that the proposals have "aroused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions, specially with reference to Pakistan Scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the Document should be conceded in unequivocal terms".[13] The Quaid hoped that in order to give real effect to the principle of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination His Majesty's Government and Stafford Cripps would not hesitate to make the necessary amendments.

The Congress basically denounced the Cripps proposals because it contained seeds of Pakistan. It condemned the "novel principle of non-accession" as a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces. The Congress also demanded that the portfolio of defence should be immediately handed over to the Indians, It also objected to the power given to the rulers of the States to nominate their representatives in the constituent assembly. M.K. Gandhi was deeply distressed at the idea of the breaking away of the provinces from the Union. Rejecting the proposals as totally unacceptable, he said, "These proposals would only add to our difficulties and resolving the communal issues would become impossible".[14] Gandhi compared these proposals to a post-dated cheque on a liquidated bank.[15]

Commenting on this aspect of these proposals, Pandit Nehru wrote in an article in *New York Times* on July 19, 1943, that proposal had shown the Indians the way to divide their country not only into two but several parts.

---

[12] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1970, Vol.II, p.385.
[13] *The Nation's Voice*, Vol.II, p.429.
[14] Raees Ahmad Jafri, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Unka Ehd*, Lahore, p.476.
[15] *India Wins Freedom*, p.58.

www.cssexampoint.com

There are two worth-mentioning aspects of the above-mentioned non-accession clause of the Cripps proposals, which were so bitterly condemned by the Congress. Firstly, according to Lord Hailey, the non-accession clause was incorporated into the Cripps proposals not to the realisation of Pakistan but to pressurise the Hindus so that they could feel the need for making some sort of settlement with the Muslims. Besides him, Professor Coupland also believes that the non-accession clause was meant to preserve the Indian unity instead of allowing the provinces to break away which would mean the partition of the country.[16] Not to speak of Lord Hailey or Prof. Coupland even the author of the Cripps proposal Sir Stafford Cripps in a meeting with Gandhi on March 27, 1942, confirmed that "the document was primarily based upon the conception of a United India and it was only in the case of Congress being unable to come to an agreement with the Muslims in the constitution-making body that any question of non-accession would arise".[17]

Secondly, the British press also condemned that clause. The *Manchester Guardian*, on March 30, 1942, regretted "such a breach in Indian unity. Another newspaper, the *New Statesman* expressed the hope that none of the Muslim provinces would vote to opt out of the Union. The *Daily Herald* was ill-disposed towards the offer commenting on the non-accession clause its remark was pithy from the very beginning. "Every Punjabi, Hindu or Sikh or Muslim is proud to be an Indian. He will not sell that birthright in the name of Pakistan".[18] Besides the British press, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces, Lord Wavell, and the provincial governors bitterly opposed the non-accession clause of the Cripps Plan.[19] These facts are enough to open the eyes of those who still believe that Pakistan was a by-product of British conspiracy.

On April 3, 1942, the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha rejected the Cripps Plan. It said that the basic principle of the Mahasabha was that India was one and indivisible. The right to step out of the Indian federation "will stimulate communal and sectional animosities". The Mahasabha demanded that India should be immediately declared an independent country.[20]

Although the All-India Muslim League rejected the Cripps proposals the Quaid-i-Azam admitted that the only positive aspect of the

---

[16] *The Struggle For Pakistan*, pp.186-87.
[17] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.I, p.499.
[18] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, pp.153-54.
[19] *The Great Divide*, p.94.
[20] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.I, pp.627-28.

www.essexampoint.com

plan was that for the first time the British Government had agreed in principle to the idea of partition. Secondly, within two years of the Lahore Resolution, the British Government accepted the idea of partition as a fundamental principle of any future constitution. It was indeed a great achievement of the Muslims. It was for the first time that the idea of partitioning India was mentioned in the British official documents. The Governor of the N.W.F.P., George Cunningham, in a report to the Governor-General also testified that "the Muslims are obviously pleased at the thought that Pakistan is now recognised as practical politics by His Majesty's Government".[21]

www.cssexampoint.com

[21] ...fer of Power 1942-47, Vol.I, p.712.

27

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE BRITISH RAJ (1944-1947)

On July 14, 1942, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution calling upon the British Government to quit India immediately. It believed that as the war had reached the Indian borders the British Government would be compelled to yield to the demand made in the resolution. The Quaid-i-Azam called the Quit India Movement a step towards establishing Hindu Raj in India. Talking to some foreign correspondents on July 31, 1942, he said, "The decision is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of government and transfer power to that government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby placing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress Raj".[1]

With the passing of the resolution by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, a series of rioting and sabotage began throughout the country. Railway stations were set ablaze and railway tracks were uprooted. The Government outlawed the INC and on August 9, 1942, the whole Congress leadership including M.K. Gandhi was arrested.

On November 12, 1942, Chakarwarti Rajagopalacharia had a meeting with Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, and requested him to allow him to meet Gandhi so that he could arrange some sort of settlement between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League. However, the Viceroy refused to do so.

When Gandhi realised that the Quit India Movement was heading for a failure, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy on July 27, 1942. He assured the Viceroy that if the British Government announced the immediate freedom of India and created a national government accountable to the Central Assembly, he would ask the INC to withdraw the Movement. However, the Viceroy turned down his suggestion.

---

[1] Jamiluddin Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, Vol.I, Lahore, 1960, pp.397-98.

www.cssexampoint.com

C.R. FORMULA

In these circumstances, the INC had no option but to turn to the AIML for some sort of reconciliation. Before this time, Rajagopalacharia was the only person who was seeking some understanding with the Muslims although to further his own vested interests. In .a letter to the Quaid on April 8, 1944, he wrote, "Here is the basis for a settlement which I discussed with Gandhiji in March 1943, and of which he expressed full approval. He then authorised me to signify his approval of these terms should I be able to convince you of their being just and fair to all".

On April 17, 1944, C.R. in another letter to the Quaid expressed his disappointment at his inability to approve of the terms. C.R. hoped that the Quaid would reconsider his position.

On June 30, Rajagopalacharia in a telegram wrote, "Gandhi still holds by Formula presented to you by me. At this stage, I would like to publish my Formula and your rejection. However, I would like you at this juncture to reconsider your rejection".

On July 2, the Quaid-i-Azam denounced the unjust and falsified statement of Rajagopalacharia and denied his charge of having rejected his Formula. He wrote, "Although this Formula was not open to any modification, I was ready to present it before the Working Committee of the AIML. Since you did not agree to it, things could not move forward".

In reply, Rajagopalacharia wrote, "The proposal of presenting the Formula to the Muslim League Working Committee is useless. There can be no success as long as it does not have your own support".[1]

The above-mentioned Formula presented by Rajagopalacharia was as follows:-

This is the basis of the terms and conditions for an agreement between the INC and the AIML to which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah have agreed. They would try to get it approved from their respective parties.

1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution of Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will cooperate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.
2) After the termination of the war, a commission shall be set up to demarcate the contiguous Muslim majority districts in the north-west and east of the country. After the demarcation of these districts, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or some other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan.

[1] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Karachi, 1977, p.318.

www.cssexampoint.com

If the majority of the people living in these areas voted in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan the decision would be enforced without any prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

3) Before the referendum, all the political parties would be free to advocate their viewpoint to the public.
4) In the event of separation of the two states, mutual agreements would be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications and for other essential purposes.
5) The transfer of population between the states shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.
6) These terms and conditions would come into force only when the British Government transfers full power and responsibility for the governance of India.[1]

Making the best use of his legal expertise, the Quaid-i-Azam studied in detail each and every aspect of the C.R. Formula and rejected it. The first point that he raised was that if, as Rajagopalacharia had claimed, the Formula had the full backing of Gandhi, why he had not presented it directly to the President of the AIML. If the Formula did not enjoy the support of the Congress, a discussion only on its various aspects would only mean the wastage of time. The factual position was that, on one hand, Rajagopalacharia had been expelled from the INC and, on the other, Gandhi was not even a "four anna" member of that party. Thus, if the League had accepted this Formula, there was no guarantee that the Congress would have done the same. The Quaid declared the Formula to be nothing more than a sordid imitation of the Lahore Resolution. He opined that the Formula was only meant to sabotage the Lahore Resolution, because it was contrary to it.

The Quaid-i-Azam pointed out the following flaws and inconsistencies in the Formula:

1) The League was asked to support the Congress for the independence of India. In other words, the League was being accused that it had hitherto been opposed to the Indian independence.
2) Who would appoint the boundary commission? Who would be its members? Who would be responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the commission?
3) The Formula envisaged the transfer of responsibilities but it did not specify as to when and to whom these responsibilities would be transferred; to the Hindus, to the Muslims or to both?
4) Instead of the Muslims, all the people were being given the right to take part in the referendum.

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, pp.129-30.

www.cssexampoint.com

5) If the commission drew up the boundaries of the Muslim majority districts, then afterwards, there would be no need for any referendum.
6) Rajagopalacharia had claimed that his Formula contained all those things which the Muslims had demanded in the Lahore Resolution.

The Quaid-i-Azam called the Formula "a parody and a negation" of the Lahore Resolution. To him it was "the greatest travesty" to say that the Formula conceded all that the League had demanded. The Quaid was of the view that the C.R. Formula was "offering a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan".[1]

The Quaid further asked that if Gandhi and C.R. were ready to accept the demand for Pakistan why they had concocted a new formula instead of endorsing the Lahore Resolution straight away.[2] The interesting thing is that, on one hand, the Quaid brought out the inconsistencies and shortcomings in the C.R. Formula and, on the other, the Sikhs and the Hindus, opened a united front against the Formula. Their opposition was only due to the fact that they saw in it a slight touch of Pakistan. Criticising the Formula, N.B. Khare, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council said, "It is obvious that Gandhi has accepted the proposals of Rajagopalacharia. These proposals would inevitably divide the country into more than one political states. Gandhi had once said that the partition of India was a sin but now he himself is ready to commit that sin".[3]

Presiding over the council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, Shayama Prasad Mookerjee denounced the C.R. Formula under which the country was being divided on communal lines. He called the Formula an attempt to appease the fanaticism of Mr. Jinnah.

Whetting his fury over the idea of the partition of India envisaged in the Formula, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha V.D. Savarkar said that the Indian provinces of India were not the personal property of Gandhi or Rajagopalacharia who could present them as gifts to anyone. He appealed to the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha to observe the first week of August as "All-India Week" in order to oppose the C.R. Formula.[4]

Srinivasa Sastri of the Liberal Party also disliked the Formula. Gokal Chand Narang and other prominent Punjabi Hindu leaders opposed the Formula and declared that the Hindus of the Punjab were united to defend and safeguard the **geographical unity** of India. They

---

[1]Jamiluddin Ahmad (ed.), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah*, Lahore, 1952, Vol.II, pp.158-59.

[2]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, pp.181-91.

[3]*The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.5.

[4]V.P.Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, Calcutta, 1957, p.163.

www.cssexampoint.com

claimed that the Formula was only meant to dismember the country.[1] The Sikhs also vehemently denounced the Formula.

It would be interesting to note that besides the Hindu and Muslim political leaders, the intellectuals and writers of that time also rejected the C.R. Formula. D.N. Benarjea, the head of the Political Science Department at Dacca University, regarded this Formula as "harmful, damaging, problematic and communal". He believed that the Formula was contradictory to the policies and objectives of the Congress. He added that the Formula denounced and refuted the goal which the Congress had been cherishing for the last sixty years.[2]

The question arises as to why Rajagopalacharia presented such a vague and controversial formula. In the opinion of a Lahore daily, the *Eastern Times,* the Formula was devised to discredit the All-India Muslim League and the Quaid in the eyes of the people. At that time, Sir Khizr Hayat Tiwana had started an all-out campaign, against the League in the Punjab, that is why a very vague formula was presented against the background of the Hindu-Muslim hostilities to entrap the Muslim League. It was thought that in case of the League's acceptance of the Formula, it would be induced to join a coalition government. In case of its rejection, the League and its leader would be condemned for being obstinate and for creating hindrances in the way of peace and settlement of the communal problems In support of its viewpoint, the newspaper quoted an extract from an editorial carried by a leading newspaper, the *Hindustan Times:* "That so fair and whole-hearted an offer should evoke such an irresponsible and ill-considered reply from one who claims to speak for his community is nothing short of a betrayal of his community and the country at large. It is now upto the Muslim community to judge the offer on its merits and find the leader or leaders who will play the game".[3]

Pointing out to this conspiracy of the Congress, Governor-General Lord Wavell, on July 11, 1944, wrote in a report to the Secretary of State for India, L.S. Amery, "The Congress newspapers have opened a violent attack on Jinnah. I think what the Hindus generally want is the humiliation of Jinnah and his removal from all India politics".[4]

On July 12, 1944, in another report, Lord Wavell wrote to L.S. Amery, that "Rajagopalacharia is probably sincere but believes Pakistan impossible. Gandhi's aims are not known but he may wish to assess the strength of Hindu feeling against Pakistan and at the same

---

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.11.
[2] *The Modern Review*, October, 1944, p.189.
[3] Ahmad Saeed (ed.), *The Eastern Times on Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1988, p.145.
[4] Nicholas Mansergh (Editor-in-Chief), *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.IV, p.1078.

www.cssexampoint.com

time decrease Jinnah's prestige by sponsoring plan which is ostensibly generous but most unlikely to be accepted".[1]

Despite all its shortcomings, the C.R. Formula is significant in the history of the sub-continent, because it was for the first time that a prominent Hindu leader talked of an understanding with the Muslims on the basis of the partition of India. Secondly, in September 1944, Jinnah and Gandhi held negotiations in Bombay on the basis of this very Formula.

JINNAH-GANDHI TALKS

On July 17, 1944, Gandhi wrote a letter to the Quaid expressing his desire to have a meeting with him to discuss the on-going Hindu-Muslim disputes. The Quaid-i-Azam agreed and the All-India Muslim League Working Committee empowered him to hold negotiations with M.K. Gandhi.

The first meeting between the two leaders was held in Bombay on September 9, at the Quaid's residence at the Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill. This series of meetings continued till September 23. During the course of these meetings, twenty-five hours were spent in discussions. At the same time, both the leaders exchanged letters in addition to the verbal discussions. The first letter was written by the Quaid-i-Azam on September 10. Again it was he, who wrote the last letter on September 26. In all, 21 letters were exchanged. Out of which 11 were written by the Quaid and 10 by Gandhi. The failure of these talks was announced on September 27.

The following important points are noteworthy in connection with the Jinnah-Gandhi talks:-

1) On September 8, 1944, even before the start of these talks, Gandhi assured Hari Parsanna Mishra, the Secretary-General of the All-India Hindu Students Federation, that he would not ignore even a single interest of the Hindus nor he would bargain over it.[2]
2) Gandhi was taking part in the negotiations in his personal capacity and the Quaid did not like this posture. These discussions were useless as long as Gandhi did not negotiate in the capacity of a representative of the Hindus or the Congress. Moreover, there was no guarantee that the Congress would approve any agreement reached between the two. Referring to this fact the *Birmingham Post* wrote in an editorial that "Mr. Gandhi talked as a free agent without responsibility. Mr. Jinnah,

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.IV, p.1085.
[2] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.

www.cssexampoint.com

to be sure, already suggested otherwise – and it is perfectly true as he now complains, that no 'settlement' could have been effectively .negotiated by the two parties, one of whom represented nobody but himself'.

3) Gandhi continued to insist that constitutional issues could be resolved only when the third power was ousted. In that case, all the communal disputes would be resolved. The Quaid-i-Azam, on the other hand, argued that if mutual disputes were resolved, the third power would automatically have to go. In this connection Lord Wavell wrote to Amery, "Jinnah wants Pakistan first and independence afterwards. While Gandhi wants independence first with some kind of self-determination for Muslims to be granted by a provincial government which would be predominantly Hindu. Gandhi's ideal, though he is careful not to express it, is a **United India** in which the Hindus, given a free run, would inevitably dominate the Muslims".[1] Throwing light on the real intentions of Gandhi, the Governor of U.P. Maurice Hallett, wrote on October 13, 1944, "The Gandhi-Jinnah talks have made the position clearer, they have shown that neither of these two leaders have abandoned any of their former ideas; Jinnah emphasizes the two-nation theory and Pakistan more strongly than before, and clearly wants this question finally decided before the British leave; Gandhi, though he camouflages his position as usual, aims at a **Hindu Raj** and adheres to the view that independence must come before a settlement".[2]

4) In the beginning, the C.R. Formula was discussed in the parlance and in correspondence. Gandhi claimed that Rajagopalacharia had extracted the essence of the Lahore Resolution and presented it in a well-defined shape. The Quaid, on the other hand, alleged that the Formula had mutilated the Lahore Resolution. When he pointed out the shortcomings in the Formula, Gandhi retaliated with condemning the Lahore Resolution as being ambiguous and vague and full of flaws. He wanted the Quaid to answer fifteen questions about the Lahore Resolution and the demand for Pakistan. He called the Two-Nation Theory unrealistic.

In this connection, two letters can be referred to, which would be very helpful in understanding the minds and viewpoints of both the leaders. In a letter written on September 15, M.K. Gandhi deplored the Two-Nation Theory and wrote, "I find no parallel in history for a

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.V, p.75.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.V, p.65.

www.cssexampoint.com

body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from their parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children".

In reply the Quaid wrote, "We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation".[1]

The Gandhi-Jinnah parleys broke down, because of differences on such primary issues as the representative character of the All-India Muslim League, the Two-Nation Theory – the bedrock of the Pakistan demand and the scope and machinery of the plebiscite and whether independence should precede self-determination or *vice versa*.

Louis Fischer was justified in writing that there stood between Gandhi and Jinnah, the wall of the Two-Nation Theory.[2] The fate of these negotiations was apparent right from the start, because all the Hindu leaders were unanimous that the negotiations should be held only on the basis of a **United India** and nothing should be talked about the partition of India. M.S. Anney had expressed similar views at the start of these talks.[3]

Sir Chamanlal Setalvad expressed his delight at the failure of these talks and said that he not at all regretted at the breakdown of the negotiations, because they were based on the vicious principle of the partition of India.[4] Dr. N.B. Khare while expressing his strong opposition for the creation of Pakistan said, "I am glad that the failure of the negotiations at last has been announced and that the proposal for the vivisection of India has been buried – I hope for ever". Without mincing words he bluntly said that "Pakistan, as envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, cannot be obtained by negotiations; if at all, it can be carved out only by the use of sword".[5]

It is interesting to note the observations of the Muslims about the Jinnah-Gandhi parleys. Khawja Shahab-ud-Din, Minister of Industries & Trade, Bengal, was of the opinion that "The Congress and the non-Muslims will soon realise that Pakistan is **the only solution** of the

---

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.142.
[2] Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatama Gandhi*, Bombay, 1951, p.195.
[3] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.16.
[4] *The Indian Annual Rgister*, 1944, Vol.II, p.156.
[5] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.157.

www.cssexampoint.com

political and communal problem of India". Moulvi Tamizuddin Khan, Education Minister of Bengal, expressed full support of Muslim India over the stand taken by the Quaid in the negotiations.

The Hindu press continued venomous propaganda about the partition of India which formed the basis of the negotiations between Gandhi and the Quaid. Commenting on the failure of the talks, the *Hindustan Times* wrote, "The current negotiations indicate that some sort of confederation can be the only solution to this problem".

Reflecting a similar viewpoint the *Hindustan Standard* commented, "It is not oppressed with any sense of disappointment at the failure for it never expected that any negotiation on the present basis would succeed". The journal was confident that India would become independent at no distant future and it would not be necessary to wait for an agreement with Mr. Jinnah for this.[1] The remarks made by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) were quite interesting. The paper commented, "The procedure adopted by Mr. Jinnah in the talks smacked more of a law court than of a joint army headquarters. The lawyer in him got the better of Mr. Jinnah as a patriot. His approach to some of the important questions was more legalistic than practical". The paper paid tributes to M.K. Gandhi for his "inexhaustible patience".

In fact, the negotiations lacked the element of seriousness. The Hindus were deliberately trying to take advantage out of the failure of these negotiations. Pointing out to this fact, the Governor of C.P. and Berar, H. Twynam wrote to Lord Wavell, "My information is that at Sevagram itself there was never expectation of a successful outcome and I incline to the view that the talks were designed to trap Jinnah into an exhibition of unreasonableness which would be beneficial to the Hindu case in the eyes of the world".[2]

The Congress was successful in its endeavours. Thus, immediately after the failure of the talks, besides the Hindu leaders and the Hindu press, the British newspapers and the British politicians also started criticising the Quaid-i-Azam. The views expressed by Governor-General, Lord Wavell, were extremely hostile and full of bitter contempt and grudge.

IMPORTANCE

The failure of the Jinnah-Gandhi talks, in fact, was another victory of the Quaid-i-Azam and the All-India Muslim League. M.K. Gandhi who was a bitter opponent of the idea of partitioning the sub-continent was at last prevailed upon to discuss this issue at length during the course

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.160.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.V, p.94.

www.cssexampoint.com

of these marathon discussions. The *Morning News* (Calcutta) rightly commented that the termination of the talks was not a 'failure' because a good deal of mutual understanding had gone forth, from one side to the other. Mr. Jinnah wanted a partition and Mr. Gandhi notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary, had been converted to grant it.[1]

According to *Dawn* (Delhi), "The failure of the Bombay talks more as a stage of proceedings than the filing of an insolvency petition". The paper stressed some lessons of the failure and concluded, "The lesson of the talks is that Mr. Rajagopalacharia had not really succeeded in winning over Mr. Gandhi to the historical inevitability of self-determination for the Muslims of India. Darkly the Mahatma refers to **other elements** on whose cooperation the Congress would depend. We do not know if any tactics are applied, but the Muslims as a whole have a better inkling of the mind of the Mahatma and the value of solidarity in their ranks. Our earnest anticipation is that there will be greater efforts for mutual accommodation on the part of the Hindus despite the door banged by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Jinnah, it is clear from his letters, put the Muslim case with precision and profound faith in his cause and Muslims are fortunate that in him they have a leader, unselfish and farsighted, who is worthy of their confidence. Success has been described as the last phase of a series of failures".[2]

These negotiations afforded an opportunity to the Quaid-i-Azam to explain all the doubts and ambiguities about the. Two-Nation Theory and the demand for Pakistan.

These talks further strengthened the position of the Quaid-i-Azam. According to an Indian writer, "these talks were a clear-cut victory of M. A. Jinnah and, in this way, he had won half the battle for Pakistan". The reputation and position of the Quaid was considerably boosted by these talks. Moreover, the standpoint of the League was also strengthened.[3]

---

[1] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.160.
[2] *The Indian Annual Register*, 1944, Vol.II, p.159.
[3] S.K.Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi – Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*, Lahore, 1976, p.208.

www.cssexampoint.com

28

WAVELL PLAN/ SIMLA CONFERENCE

On June 14, 1945, Lord Wavell in Delhi and L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons announced that the Government would make some interim arrangements about the reorganisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council. The following arrangements put forward by Lord Wavell are known as the Wavell Plan.

1) The Executive Council of the Governor-General would be reconstituted. All the members of the Council, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
2) The Governor-General would convene a meeting of the party leaders, the provincial chief ministers and the ex-chief ministers, the deputy leader of the League and the Congress in the Legislative Assembly, the leaders of the Congress and the League in the Council of State so that they may propose the names of the members of the new Council.

The, Hindus were hoping that they would be in majority at the Centre and, in case of no compromise, their influence and authority would be established over the whole country. For this reason, the Hindus gave an immediate approval to these proposals. M.K. Gandhi did not attend the Simla Conference, because he claimed that he did not represent the Congress. Preliminary talks were held at Simla on June 24, 1945.

The Quaid-i-Azam, who was invited telegraphically to attend the Conference, readily accepted the invitation and in his telegraphic reply assured the Viceroy of his full cooperation but sought some clarifications with regard to the proposals embodied in his recent policy statement and asked him to postpone the Conference for a fortnight so that he might be able to discuss Government's new initiative with his Working Committee. The Viceroy was pleased to hear about the Quaid's cooperative attitude but refused to postpone the Conference.

The Quaid participated in the Simla Conference not only to make his contribution to the solution of the knotty problem, but also to see that the League's basic demands were conceded.

www.cssexampoint.com

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

The Conference started at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on June 25, 1945, at 11.00 a.m. All the invitees except M.K. Gandhi attended the Conference. The Viceroy addressed the first session expressing Government's viewpoint regarding new plan of action. Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and after him Quaid-i-Azam, President of the League, addressed the second (afternoon) session explaining the positions and viewpoints of their respective parties. Then followed general discussions. Controversy arose on the question of parity between the Caste Hindus, the Muslims, and the nomination of the representative of various minorities to compose Viceroy's Executive Council. The Muslim seats particularly became a bone of contention.[1]

The main parties were asked to submit a list of nominees from which Lord Wavell was to select his councillors. The Quaid rejected this procedure on two grounds. Firstly, he demanded that all Muslims appointed to the Council should be from among the All-India Muslim League; while the Congress insisted on nominating two Muslims of its own. Secondly, as the *Eastern Times* wrote that only the penetrating eye of a constitutionalist of the stature of the Quaid could see that what was being offered as an interim arrangement was in reality a dangerous trap.[2]

The Quaid contended that as there was no constitutional provision in the offer or anywhere else to prevent this interim-arrangement from becoming permanent so that if it once got going, the likelihood was that it would remain in force for an indefinite period and make the way smooth for the establishment of a Hindu-dominated unitary central government, reducing the Muslims for ever to political servitude.[3]

The Quaid insisted that instead of making temporary arrangements, permanent constitutional solution be sought and that the principle of Pakistan must be recognised first. The Quaid feared that if the League accepted the Wavell Plan, "the Pakistan" issue will be shelved and put in cold storage indefinitely"

The Quaid wrote to Lord Wavell asking him to choose Muslim members only from the Muslim League. Wavell in reply refused to give a guarantee to meet Quaid's demand and again appealed to him to furnish his list of nominees. The Quaid, after consulting his Working Committee, wrote to Wavell, reminding him that in the absence of the

---

[1] Sher Muhammad Garewal (ed.), *Jinnah-Wavell Correspondence 1943-47*, Lahore, 1986, p.xxx.

[2] *The Eastern Times*, Lahore, July 17, 1945, p.3.

[3] *The Eastern Times*, July 17, 1945, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

required assurances, he could not do what the Viceroy wanted. Thereupon, Lord Wavell, after consulting Amery, drew up his own list of 14 names including four Muslim Leaguers. And on the instructions of Amery, he arranged an interview with the Quaid to seek his consent but he refused even to discuss the names unless he could be given the absolute right to select the Muslim members for the Council, otherwise, he clearly told the Viceroy, the League would not cooperate. The Viceroy remained unreconciled on this issue and was finally compelled to abandon his plan. The Conference thus ended in fiasco on July 14. Though the Viceroy took the responsibility for the failure upon himself, the Quaid was widely criticised for his so-called "intransigence". The failure of the Conference, however, had weakened the position of the Muslim Unionists and Nationalists while it had enhanced and strengthened the position of both the Quaid-i-Azam and the League.

The Simla Conference failed mainly because of the refusal of the British Government and the Congress to recognise the All-India Muslim League as the only representative body of Muslim India.

The British press, as usual, blamed the Quaid for causing this failure. *The Times* found the Quaid's claim to appoint all Muslim members as "extreme proposition". The *Observer* put the most obvious blame on the Quaid, but reminded the Congress leaders, who were now pluming themselves on their cooperative attitude, that their past treatment of the Muslims was responsible for his intransigence. *The Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman* all held responsible the Quaid for the failure of the Simla Conference.[1]

Now the only way left for the League to justify its claim was to go to the electorate. Hence the All-India Muslim League under the Quaid's guidance now emphatically demanded fresh general elections which were overdue since long. The Congress was also in favour of fresh general elections. Other organizations, too, joined in the demand.

The Government, under the mounting political pressure, was compelled to hold elections in the winter of 1945-46. The All-India Muslim League, on the issue of Pakistan and the Congress on the basis of its Quit India resolution participated in the elections. The League had not done well during the general elections of 1937. But it had performed remarkably well in the by-elections held during 1937-45. Now in the general elections of 1945.-46, it astonished everybody by achieving overwhelming victories. It swept all the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and captured as many as 428 out of 492 Muslim scats in the provincial legislatures. Now the League's claim to speak on behalf of the Muslim India was fully vindicated.

[1]K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, pp.159.60.

www.cssexampoint.com

29

THE CABINET MISSION PLAN (1946)

The continuous sapping of energies and resources during the six years of the Second World War left Britain tired and impoverished. Besides, in India itself for the first time after the War of Independence there erupted a mutiny in the Royal Indian Navy on February 18, 1946. The British Government now realised that it would not be possible to rule India with the help of the army and the sooner India was given independence the better it would be. In these circumstances the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence on February 19, 1946, announced the formation of the Cabinet Mission to solve the Indian political tangle.

The Cabinet Mission consisted of A.V. Alexander, Pethick Lawrence and Stafford Cripps. In a statement, the Quaid-i-Azam said that he would try to convince the members of the Mission that the partition of India was the only and the best solution to the whole problem.[1]

On March 15, 1946, while announcing the appointment of the Cabinet Mission, the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee stated in the House of Commons, "We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and that minorities should be able to live free from fear. But we would not allow any minority to place a veto or obstruct the advance of the majority". Criticising the viewpoint of Attlee, the Quaid said, "I regret that Mr. Attlee has done the rope-walking when he says 'we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of a majority' and yet he has fallen into the trap of false propaganda. There is no question of veto or holding up the progress or advance of the majority. The issue is, to give a simile, says the spider to the fly, 'walk into my parlour' and if the fly refuses, it is said that the veto is being exercised and the fly is intransigent".[2] The Quaid's rejoinder forced Attlee to clarify that "That does not mean that the reasonable claims of minorities are to be disregarded".[3]

---

[1] Jamiluddin Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, Vol.II, p.277.
[2] *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol.II, pp.276-77.
[3] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.VII, p.6.

www.cssexampoint.com

The above statement of Attlee clearly indicates that till then he was not ready to accept the Muslims as a separate and distinct nation. Refuting this misconception of Attlee, the Quaid said, "We arc not a minority, we are a nation and it is our birthright to get the right of self-determination". The Congress, however, expressed great delight at Attlee's statement. It assumed that perhaps the British Government had decided to ignore the All-India Muslim League.

The Secretary of State for India on his arrival at Karachi on March 23, 1946, explained the purpose that "It is, in conjunction, with Lord Wavell, to discuss with the Indian leaders and selected representatives how best to speed the fulfilment of your aspirations to full control of your own affairs, and thus to enable us to complete the transfer of responsibility". The Mission continued to hold discussions and consultations with the leaders of the political parties, provincial chief ministers and opposition leaders for almost two weeks. Sir Stafford Cripps, who was the most active member of the Mission, was openly siding with the Congress. Welcoming the appointment of the Cabinet Mission the Congress President *Shri* Abul Kalam Azad said, "One thing seemed absolutely clear to me. The new British Government was not shirking the Indian problem but facing it boldly".[1]

The Congress President had a meeting with the members of the delegation on April 3 and told them about his viewpoint. The Congress was eager that the task of formulating the new constitution should be given to a constituent assembly. It believed that the best solution to all the problems of India lay in the federal system with maximum powers given to the provinces. It believed that the federal government should only deal with defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Congress did not even wish to consider the idea of the partition of India. Azad told his "honest and sincere view" that the kind of Pakistan they were talking about would be injurious and harmful and do the Muslims no good".[2]

On the next day, the Quaid-i-Azam had a meeting with Lord Wavell and members of the Mission. The Quaid attracted their attention towards the fact that throughout her history from the days of Chandra Gupta there had never been any government of India in the sense of a single government. The Quaid told them a historical truth that the Muslims had a different conception of life from the Hindus. They admired different qualities in their heroes, they had a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of on Sanskrit origins.[3] The Quaid also pointed out the communal differences in India were far deeper and

[1] Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, Calcutta, 1964, p.139.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.VII, p.112.
[3] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.VII, p.119.

www.upsexampoint.com

different from such differences in Europe and the partition of India offered the best chance for their solution.

The Quaid had another meeting with the members of the Mission on April 16. During the meeting, he was told that the League's demand for the partition of India could not be accepted at all.

From May 5 to May 15, the leaders of the Congress and the League had a conference in Simla where they presented their proposals about the constitutional problems facing India. However, due to the sharp differences between the two parties, the Mission announced its own plan on May 16.

THE CABINET MISSION PLAN

LONG TERM

1) There would be union of India embracing both British India and Indian States, which would deal with the following subjects: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the necessary finances required .for the above subjects.
2) The provinces would be divided into three groups. Group 'A' would consist of six (Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P. and Orissa) Hindu majority provinces. Group 'B' would include Punjab, the N-W.F.P., Sindh & Baluchistan. Group 'C' would comprise Bengal and Assam.
3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers would vest in the provinces.
4) The constitution of the Union and of the Groups would contain a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter. The Union would have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British India and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature would require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all members present and voting. Provinces would be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.
5) In order to elect the constituent assembly, seats would be reserved for every province according to its population.

www.cssexampoint.com

SHORT TERM

6) An interim government would be set up in which all the portfolios, including defence, would be handed over to the "Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people".

In the preamble to its plan, the Cabinet Mission rejected the demand for Pakistan, because it claimed that if the sub-continent were to be divided in line with the viewpoint of the League, it would not be helpful in solving the communal problems, because in that case, a large Hindu minority would still remain in Pakistan and similarly, a large Muslim minority in India.

The Congress expressed great delight over this announcement by the Cabinet Mission. The daily *National Herald* of Pandit Nehru commented "the Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's conception receives a state burial in the document submitted by the Cabinet Mission".[1] This opinion was widely shared by Congress leaders and press and the *Observer* was constrained to remark that "Congress can well afford to welcome a plan which comes down on its side by **ruling out the Muslim dream of Pakistan**".[2]

Expressing his regret over the rejection of the Muslim demand for a separate homeland, the Quaid-i-Azam said in a statement on May 22, "We still believe that partition is the only solution to the constitutional problems of India". Being a lover of democracy, the Quaid-i-Azam announced that the ultimate decision to approve or to reject the Cabinet Mission Plan would be made by the League Council.

The League Council discussed this issue at a meeting on June 6, 1946. The Quaid said that the Muslim nation was then faced by a daunting task. He expressed his firm faith that the Muslims of India would not feel at rest till the creation of a complete and independent Pakistan. He further pointed out that the scheme contained in itself, a basis for Pakistan.[3]

The Muslim League Council, while approving both the long term and short term sections of the Plan, passed a resolution, dispelling all the doubts and reservations regarding Pakistan made by the Mission. It declared "that, notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by the choice of injudicious words in the preamble of the statement, the League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and in as much as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in Mission's Plan, by virtue of compulsory grouping of the six Muslim Provinces in sections 'B' and

---

[1] A.A.Ravoof, *Meet Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1945, p.196.
[2] I.H. Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi, 1965, p.263.
[3] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1990, Vol.III, p.410.

www.cssexampoint.com

"is willing to cooperate with the constitution making machinery in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of complete sovereign Pakistan."[1]

The League approved the Plan, because the groups mentioned in it, in fact, provided the basis for Pakistan. The Council expressed the hope that the plan would eventually culminate as an independent and complete Pakistan.

In an editorial entitled, "The League's Correct Decision", the daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* wrote, "By accepting the Mission scheme, the League would be able to move a step forward towards the final destination of Pakistan. In support of this idea, we had argued that the grouping of the Muslim majority provinces was, in fact, the basis of Pakistan. The term Grouping is used in the Cabinet Mission Plan but, in fact, there is little difference in meaning between Group B&C and North-Western Pakistan and North-Eastern Pakistan"

The acceptance of the Plan by the League created an interesting situation. The leaders of the Congress, who had originally viewed the Plan as a death-knell for the idea of Pakistan, now saw the real scope for it in the Plan. The Hindu newspapers began unanimously calling upon the Congress to reject the Plan. The *Hindoo* (Madras) urged the Congress to reject the Plan. The daily *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) called the Plan a poison and warned the Congress not to take this poison. The *Hindustan Times* also openly expressed its opposition for the Plan and called upon the Congress to reject it. The daily *Tribune* wrote that "Mr. Jinnah had acquired the spirit of Pakistan". The daily *Partap* (Lahore) asked the Congress to reject the Plan, because the League had given its approval to it. The newspaper argued that the League could never have accepted the proposals if it had not seen a glimpse of Pakistan in the Plan. Another newspaper *Veer Bharat* wrote, "The fact cannot be ignored that instead of doing justice to India, the Cabinet Mission Plan is intended to please the Muslim League".

Now, on one hand, the Congress discovered the quintessence of Pakistan in the Cabinet Mission Plan and, on the other hand, a small group of Muslims started criticising the League. They alleged that by endorsing the Plan, the All-India Muslim League had put aside the demand for Pakistan. Such critics forgot the fact that at the time of approving the Plan the League had categorically reiterated that "the attainment of the goal of complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great". Secondly, the League

[1] *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol III, p.410

www.cssexampoint.com

d that its approval of the Plan was conditional and it "reserve ght to modify and revise the policy and attitude at any time during the progress of deliberations of the Constitution-making body, or the Constituent Assembly, or thereafter, if the course of events so require".

Moreover, the critics can also be asked that if by accepting the Plan the Quaid-i-Azam had given up the demand for Pakistan, would it not have been necessary for the Congress to strain every nerve in order to implement the Plan. Instead, the Congress left no stone unturned in sabotaging and denouncing the Plan. The Congress, as it is known to everyone, was the bitter opponent of the partition of India. Then why did it wreck the whole scheme, which was intended to keep the country united?

The Hindus, with their typical businessman-like mentality, have always been far more careful and cautious of their profit and loss than the Muslims in every field and in every deal. On that occasion, the Hindus feared that within ten years, a full-fledged Pakistan might come into being and they might have to wash their hands off the provinces of Assam, Bengal, and the whole of the Punjab.

For this very reason, they started dismantling the Plan. The fact is that the Hindus would never have attempted to wreck the plan if they had not perceived in it their own loss and the ultimate benefit of the Muslims. After all, the author of this scheme was a Hindu, V.P. Menon.

The daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* was of the view that the League had endorsed the Plan because it ensured the creation of an independent Pakistan after ten years. Moreover, within these intervening ten years, the Muslims in their majority provinces, could strengthen themselves economically, industrially and commercially and the League could organise them so as to enable them to manage the affairs of their new state after ten years.

The fact is that at that time, it had become impossible for any government or party to ignore the wishes of the Muslims. A British newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph* commenting on the Mission's Plan wrote, "While dismissing the demand for Pakistan, the Mission has presented sound and **solid arguments** yet the idea of a Muslim state has taken so firm a hold of the imagination of the Muslim people that it has become a religious faith ignoring alike question of economics and of the place that India might hold in the world as a united nation".[1]

The Congress endorsed the long-term plan but rejected the short-term plan. Now, it was the moral obligation of Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, to invite the All-India Muslim League to form a government, but instead of doing so, he initiated the moves to woo the Congress.

In July 1946, Pandit Nehru assumed the presidency of the Indian National Congress taking charge from Abul Kalam Azad. Gandhi and

[1] *Britain and Muslim India*, p.168.

www.cssexampoint.com

Nehru started interpreting the Plan in various different ways. Gandhi had already stated that the Plan was only an "appeal" and an advice and, that the new constituent assembly would have the right to amend it. Addressing a press conference on July 10, 1946, Nehru remarked that the Congress would join the constituent assembly but it would remain in the Assembly so long as we think it is good for India. He further declared that the Congress would be free to make any appropriate amendment in the Cabinet Plan. Nehru also denounced the proposed grouping.

According to Michael Breacher, the political biographer of Nehru, the above statement was the most provocative and the most intimidating one that he made during his forty-year long political career. Even Abul Kalam included that event into those unfortunate events which changed the course of history. Refuting that statement of Nehru, Azad wrote, "I must place on record that Jawaharlal's statement .was wrong. It was not correct to say that the Congress was free to modify the Plan as it pleased".[1]

Criticising Nehru's statement, Mosley wrote that the plan presented by the Cabinet Mission was based on common understanding and could not, therefore, be amended or changed by any of the parties involved. In these circumstances, the outrageous statements of Nehru were subversive in their essence.[2]

Penderel Moon expressed similar views on the issue,. According to him, Gandhi, by persuading the Congress Working Committee to reject the interim proposals, had already knocked down half of it. Nehru now proceeded to demolish the rest.[3]

Under these circumstances, the League, on July 27, 1946, decided to withdraw its support for the Plan and to take a direct action to attain Pakistan. In the words of Mukhtar Zaman, "Fighting simultaneously against two powerful enemies (Britain and the Congress) is a unique and unprecedented event in the history of the world. Moreover, achieving victory in this battle is even more amazing a phenomenon which is no less than a political miracle. This victory changed the South Asian history.

---

[1] *India Wins Freedom*, pp.154-155.
[2] Leonard Mosley, *The Last Days of British Raj*, London, 1961, p
[3] Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quid*, London 1964, p.56.

www.cssexa

30

THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

The Cabinet Mission Plan, which was intended to end the political deadlock in India, failed to do so; While endorsing the Plan, the All-India Muslim League had categorically stated that although it had announced its acceptance of the Plan, yet it still regarded the achievement of Pakistan as its final objective. On the other hand, the Congress started presenting its own interpretations of the Plan. Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders began to assign such meanings to it as had never been imagined by its authors. Compelled by such acts, one of the members of the Cabinet Mission had to refute the interpretations made by the Congress. On June 4, 1946, the Viceroy wrote a letter to the Quaid-i-Azam declaring that both the parties would be treated equally and without any discrimination. However his later attitude revealed that the British Government soon forgot its promises made to the Muslims. Furthermore, it wanted to please the Congress at every cost.

On June 6, 1946, the All-India Muslim League approved the Cabinet Mission Plan but at the same time it unequivocally stated that it would revert its decision during the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly or afterwards, if the other party tried to wreck the Plan. On June .8, the Quaid-i-Azam, in a letter to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, reminded him that he had given the assurance that the new Interim Government would consist of 12 members. However, the Viceroy went back on his promises and wrote, "this was what I had in mind".[1] He also said that it was not a final decision. On June 12, Nehru, during a meeting with the Viceroy, unfolded his plan about the Interim Government. According to the plan, five Congress members, four League members, one non-League Muslim member one non-Congress Hindu, one Scheduled Caste representative, one Christian and one Sikh would be represented in the Council. However, the Viceroy turned down this plan. On June 13,. 1946, the "showboy" President of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad told the Viceroy that the Congress would never approve a scheme, which provided equal representation to both the parties in the Interim

[1]Sher Muhammad Garewal (ed.), *Jinnah-Wavell Correspondence*, Lahore, 1986, p.43.

www.cssexampoint.com

Government. At this point, in order to seek the pleasure and goodwill of the Congress, the Viceroy presented a formula under which thirteen Members were to be appointed in the following proportion. Congress (six) Muslim League (five) other minorities (two).

The Congress, however, rejected this formula as well. According to Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, it proved that the Congress was obsessed with the desire that it should be entrusted with all the powers in the new set up. In other words, all powers were to be exercised by the Hindus and the Muslims were supposed to be excluded from all sorts of political activity.

At last, the Viceroy himself announced the names of the fourteen members of the Interim Government. At the same time, he made it clear that if one or both of the major political parties refused to join the Interim Government on the basis of his formula, he would be forced to take steps unilaterally for the formation of the Interim Government. In that case, the maximum number of people would be represented. The fourteen persons nominated by him included Sardar Baldev Singh. Sir N.P. Engineer, Jagjivan Ram, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Jawaharlal Nehru, M.A. Jinnah, Rajgopalacharia, Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Patel.

On June 16, 1946, the All-India Muslim League Working Committee agreed to join the Interim Government. On June 25, the Congress refused to join the Government but gave its assent to the long-term plan which meant that it would join the Interim Government but, at the same time, it would try to change the Cabinet Mission Plan into a Congress Plan by joining the Constituent Assembly. Now the position was that the Congress had rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan but the League had endorsed it. In the light of his announcement, it was the moral obligation of the Viceroy to invite the Muslim League to form the Interim Government. However, he continued his efforts to seek the goodwill of the Congress. *The Statesman* (Calcutta) commenting upon the pro-Congress attitude of the Viceroy, wrote "Politicians may do so but it is not the business of statesmen to eat their words. They should not risk bold, sweeping, unequivocal public undertakings unless they mean them, and can be relied upon to fulfil them. What was so emphatically considered needful and proper on June 16 cannot well, within ten days, have radically transformed its nature".[1]

DIRECT ACTION DAY

When in July 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru became the President of the Congress after Abul Kalam Azad, he began bitterly denouncing the Cabinet Mission Plan. The way he dismantled the Plan and presented his

[1] Ian Stephens, *Pakistan Old Country/New Nation*, London, 1963, p.119.

www.cssexampoint.com

own interpretations of its various sections at a Bombay press conference, compelled the All-India Muslim League to withdraw its acceptance of the Plan on July 27. It also decided to observe the Direct Action Day on August 16. The resolution passed by the League in this connection said, "Now the time has come for the Muslims to resort to a direct action to achieve Pakistan and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future caste Hindu domination. The All-India Muslim League Council expects all the Muslims to follow the footsteps of the League and with their full trust in their representative party, would be ready to make every sacrifice. The League Council instructs the Working Committee to chalk out an effective plan for the Direct Action in line with the policy pointed out here and to organise the Muslims for this movement which would be launched at the appropriate moment. At the same time, the Council demands the Muslims to renounce all the titles given to them by the British Government in protest against its policies".

The Muslims whole-heartedly responded to the call and at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League renounced their titles. M.A.H. Ispahani has narrated an interesting incident about that meeting. He wrote, "I remember the scene when each one of the title-holders walked up to the dais and announced his renouncement amidst loud cheers and vociferous appreciation. I also remember the scene when Sir Saadullah, the former Chief Minister of Assam, renounced his knighthood with such vehemence that his dentures parted from his gums and found a resting place in the palm of his right hand".[1]

Commenting upon the decisions of the Bombay session of the League Council, *Blitz*, a powerful pro-Congress weekly of Bombay wrote: "The worst enemies of the Muslim League cannot help envying the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Last week's cataclysmic transformation of the League from the reactionary racket of the Muslim *Nawabs, Noons,* and knights into a revolutionary mass organisation dedicated, by word if not by deed, to an anti-Imperialist struggle, compels us to express the sneaking national wish that a diplomat and strategist of Jinnah's proven calibre were at the helm of the Indian National Congress. There is no denying the fact that by his latest master-stroke of diplomacy Jinnah has outbid, outwitted and outmanoeuvred the British and the Congress alike and confounded the common national indictment that the Muslim League is a parasite of British Imperialism".[2]

---

[1] M.A.H.Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah As I Knew Him*, Karachi, 1966, p.188.
[2] Abdul Waheed Khan, *India Wins Freedom: The Other Side*, Lahore, 1961, pp.239-40.

www.cssexampoint.com

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Setting another example of their false promises with the Muslims, Lord Wavell invited the Congress to form the Interim Government. It had been done in spite of the fact that the Congress had refused to endorse the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Quaid regarded the inclusion of the Congress into the Interim Government as. against the interests of the Muslims. At this point, the Nawab of Bhopal had a meeting with M.K. Gandhi. They devised a formula which dispelled the objections of the League. The biggest objection posed by the League was that it wanted to be recognised as the sole representative body of the Muslims. Gandhi agreed to it. Meanwhile, in the light of the on-going political uncertainty and unrest and the escalating Hindu-Muslim riots, the Viceroy Lord Wavell had to conclude that the Interim Government could not function properly without the participation of the League. Thus, at last, the League was .also invited to join the Interim Government. On October 26, 1946, the Muslim League members joined the Interim Government.

The following portfolios were allocated to the All-India Muslim League:

Commerce: Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar
Communications: Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Law: Jugindarnath Mandal
Finance: Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Health: Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

After the participation of the League in the Interim Government, the League and the Congress had their first row over the distribution of portfolios. Sardar Vallabhai Patel had an intense desire to be made, in charge of the Home ministry. He declared that he would rather remain outside the Interim Government if his demand was not acceded to. On the other hand, the All-India Muslim League was also interested in this ministry.

At this point, a Muslim member of the Congress, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, in a bid to degrade the Muslim League, advised the Congress to hand over the ministry of finance to them. As it did not possess an experienced financial expert it would either refuse to accept the portfolio or, otherwise, would not be able to handle it properly. The daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* (Lahore) correctly pointed out that "of all the ministries, the finance ministry has always been the most important one. It is, in fact, the life and soul of all the departments. Although, the finance minister is in less contact with the general public yet the life of all other departments depends upon his ministry".

The reality also turned out to be not much different. The League's control over the finances forced every other department into submission.

www.cssexampoint.com

Altaf Husain, the editor of *Dawn* (Delhi) somehow came to know of the details of the large amount of money spent on the decoration of Sardar Patel's bungalow and published it in his newspaper. When the Information Department denied the charge, *Dawn* published the facsimile of the expenditure sheet which humiliated Sardar Patel.

Sardar Patel incapacitated himself by giving the finance ministry to the Muslim League. He could not employ even a peon without the prior consent of Liaquat Ali Khan. Liaquat Ali caused so much embarrassment to him that he, who used to be the bitterest opponent of the partition of India, soon became its most vocal advocate Abul Kalam Azad had to acknowledge that it was a blunder on the part of the Congress to make the League in charge of the Ministry of Finance. Sardar Patel found himself frustrated at every step by Liaquat Ali Khan as Finance Minister.

THE LAST BUDGET OF UNITED INDIA

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was the first Indian Finance Member who presented the last and the most controversial budget of United India on February 28, 1947. While presenting the Budget to the Central Assembly, he highlighted the aims and objects of it: "It will be my particular endeavour to reduce, to the maximum extent possible, the glaring disparities that exist today between the income and standards of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitude of poverty-stricken masses and to contribute to the best of my ability to the improvement of the lot of the common man".[1]

It is quite interesting to observe that Liaquat Ali Khan quoted from the Holy Quran and said, "I do believe in the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate among the wealthy and the stern warning given against accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals". It was against this background that Liaquat's budget proposals had been formulated.

The following were some of the main features of his budget:-

a) The salt tax was abolished.
b) Minimum exemption limit for income tax was raised from Rs.2000/- to Rs.2500/-.
c) The most important proposal was to levy a special income tax of 25% on business profits exceeding Rs.1,00,000/-.
d) A graduated tax on capital gains exceeding Rs.5000/-.
e) A Commission was to be set up to investigate the accumulation of wealth during the War and also the main taxation proposals.

[1] M.Rafique Afzal (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan*, Lahore, May 1975, p.61.

www.cssexampoint.com

HINDU REACTION TO THE BUDGET

In the beginning the Budget was acclaimed as the first National Budget and a Poor Man's Budget. Even Abul Kalam Azad admitted, "We were all anxious that there should be increasing equalization of wealth and that all tax-evaders should be brought to book. We were therefore not against Liaquat Ali Khan's proposals in principle".[1] But very soon a storm of opposition was raised by Hindu capitalists, as the Budget proposals hit them in their most sensitive spots – **their pockets.**[2]

The Congress was caught between devil and the deep sea. On the one hand it had to appease its paymasters, the Indian Jews who styled themselves as Industrialists and financiers and on the other it had to show its face to the vast bulk of the poorly clad starving millions.

The Poor Man's Budget caused serious consternation in the camps of different grades of the heartless capitalists. The Stock Exchanges at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were closed down as a protest against the Budget proposals. The Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, twisting the Budget proposals tried to make the world believe that "they were taxation of Industry and not on income".[3]

The Hindustan Times described the Budget as sensational. It paid tributes to Liaquat Ali Khan for "uttering many fine sentiments which will meet with universal approval".[4] *The Hindustan Times* welcomed the abolition of salt duty, the exemption limit for income tax, but it did not like "the new wholesale levy on industry and business, coupled in particular with the **mischievous** proposal to hold an inquisition into the accumulation of private wealth will be widely regarded and **condemned as an arbitrary act of vindictiveness on the part of the Finance Minister,** which is also against the interest of the country". The paper also criticised Liaquat All Khan's praise of regional planning as opposed to all-India planning.[5]

Sardar Mangal Singh had termed the hue and cry against the Budget proposals as "Millionaire's Howls", the *Morning News* (Calcutta) under the same caption, in a very 'strong-worded editorial, posed a question, "Will the Interim Government surrender itself to this **howl** and give in to the bullying tactics of the heartless capitalists, who pose as the builders of Industry?".[6]

---

[1] *India Wins Freedom*, p.175.
[2] *The Emergence of Pakistan*, p.108.
[3] *Morning News* (editorial), Calcutta, March 5, 1947, p.2.
[4] *The Hindustan Times*, March 1, 1947, p.3.
[5] *The Hindustan Times*, March 1, 1947, p.3.
[6] *Morning News*, March 5, 1947, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

Dawn (Delhi) congratulated Liaquat Ali Khan for presenting a revolutionary budget. After reviewing the budget proposals, the paper asked observers in the world outside "to reflect on the quality and the contents of the budget proposals, to ponder the tone and tenor of the great speech with which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan presented it, and to answer themselves the question they often ask: "What is the shape of things in Pakistan to be?" It is to be the common man's state run for his good, and by his own chosen representatives. Everybody else in Pakistan, irrespective of caste or creed will prosper, it will mean the doom of only one class of people – the blood-sucking profiteers and exploiters who are beyond the pale of all religions and are enemies of society and human progress".[1]

The Eastern Times (Lahore) paid tributes to Liaquat Ali Khan the way in which he had attempted to meet the deficit in the Budget without levying additional taxes on the poor classes. The paper rightly pointed out that Liaquat Ali had chosen a path which had won for him the appreciation of all sections of public opinion which had the interests of the masses at heart. The paper made it clear that the big businessmen, mill owners and financiers, who were rolling in wealth could not welcome the budget and "may find in it a deliberate and planned attempt to steal away their huge profits and a substantial portion of their unearned incomes, but the common man will have a sigh of relief; to learn that for the first time the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate only among the wealthy has been recognised in a concrete form in India".[2]

[1] *Dawn* (editorial), March 1, 1947, p.2.
[2] *The Eastern Times* (editorial), March 6, 1947, p.2.

CONSUMMATION

www.cssexampoint.com

31

JUNE 3RD PLAN

The last Governor-General of India, *Pandit* Mountbatten arrived in India on March 22, 1947. At the oath-taking ceremony, two days later, he ignored an old tradition and made a speech in which he repeated the words of the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee. In that speech, on February 20, the Prime Minister had informed the House of Commons that the process of transfer of power to India would be completed by June 1948.[1]

The British Government had sent Mountbatten on a special mission of transferring power to a **united India**. Thus, soon after his arrival, he began earnest efforts to infuse a new life into the Cabinet Mission Plan, which, by then was almost dead. On April 5, Alan Campbell-Johnson, Mountbatten's press attaché noted down in his diary, "The Governor-General is bending every effort to keep the Cabinet Mission Plan alive".[2] The concept of a united India was dominant in the staff meeting of the Governor-General held on April 25.[3]

Mountbatten was so much keen to preserve the unity of India that till the second of June, he was foolishly believing that only the Cabinet Mission Plan presented the best solution to all the constitutional problems faced by the country.[4] An even more amazing thing is that after announcing the June 3rd Plan, which provided for the partition of India, Mountbatten continued to be obsessed with the dream of a united India. Addressing his staff meeting on June 6, *Pandit* Mountbatten expressed the hope that being a very poor country, Pakistan, in the initial stages, would be able to send its representatives to Britain, America and the countries of the Middle East. But it was to be hoped that they would share either British or Hindustan representatives elsewhere.[5]

When, at last, he had to yield to the iron will of the Quaid-i-Azam, he was forced to consider the possibility of the partition of India. Thus, by

---

[1] V.P.Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, Madras, 1957, p.350.
[2] Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, 1972, p.55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.71.
[4] Nicholas Mansergh (Editor-in-Chief), *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, London, 1982, Vol.XI, pp.39-40.
[5] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.166.

www.cssexampoint.com

April 26, he prepared the plan of partition and decided to send it to England along with George Abell and Ismay. It had the following salient features:

1) That the responsibility of partition, if it comes to rest fairly upon the Indian themselves.
2) The Provinces, generally speaking, shall have the right to determine their own future.
3) Bengal and the Punjab are, to be notionally partitioned for voting purposes.
4) In case of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet would be given the option to decide whether or not it would join the Muslim majority province.
5) General elections would be held in the N.W.F.P.[1]

With a view to ascertaining the opinion of the governors, Mountbatten presented this plan to them at a meeting on 15-16 April. He also informed them about the views of the Indian leaders regarding his plan. It may be made clear at this point that by the Indian leaders, he meant only the Hindu leaders of the Indian National Congress. Later on, we would see that at every step, he took into confidence only Nehru, Patel and other Congress leaders but always deliberately kept the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan completely unaware of the various developments.

At the conference, the Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins, called the partition of the Punjab devastating whereas the Governor of Bengal, Frederick Bourne, also opposed the idea of the partition of that province.[2]

According to Campbell-Johnson, a press note was to be issued by the Governor-General on May 10 according to which he was to consult the Indian leaders about his plan on May 17, but it was abandoned on May 11. Why did it so happen? Behind this move lies a bitter tale of a clandestine alliance between the Hindus and *Pandit* Mountbatten. On May 10, 1947, George Abell and Ismay returned to India with important alterations in his plan. According to V.P. Menon, Mountbatten was anxious to discuss the altered plan with Pandit Nehru. Thus, on the night of May 10, he showed the draft of that modified plan to Nehru in order to bring an end to his own unease and anxiety. Nehru was furious to see the plan and declared that the Congress would never approve it.

On May 11, V.P. Menon had a meeting with Nehru and found that his usual charm and traditional smile had deserted him. Menon did not know that Mountbatten had already shown him the revised plan. Meanwhile, Mountbatten sent for Menon and told him that Nehru had expressed his outrage at the plan, thus, on May 17, the proposed meeting was postponed.[3]

---

[1] *Mission with Mountbatten*, p.62.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.354.
[3] *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.361.

www.cssexampoint.com

According to the draft plan, power was to be transferred to the provinces instead of the two states. Nehru and other Congress leaders were afraid that it might lead to the creation of several instead of one Pakistan. To them the inevitable consequence of the proposal would be to invite the Balkanization of India. Campbell-Johnson also noted down in his diary on May 11, that "It seems that last night Mountbatten gave Nehru the chance of reading the draft plan as revised and approved by London".[1] In this way the final chapter of the long and woeful tale of oppression and injustice against the Muslims began with an alliance of Nehru, Mountbatten and V.P. Menon.

According to Campbell-Johnson, V.P. Menon, who had been a key figure at the Simla Conference in 1945, and also in the formulation of the Cabinet Mission Plan was a trusted confidant of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the iron man of the Congress.[2] The interesting thing is that Menon himself admitted that he was keeping Sardar Patel posted with everything that was happening at Simla.[3]

In the meantime, V.P. Menon had gained access to *Pandit* Mountbatten. Mountbatten himself shamelessly admits: "I started using him – I always used to insist on seeing V.P. Menon alone and picking his brains in order to utilize his ideas as though they were mine. The truth is that, of course, he had access to me and he influenced me greatly".[4] In his presence, V.P. Menon strongly advocated the cause of the Congress. At the staff meeting held on the first of June 1947, there came up a proposal about declaring Calcutta a free city. At this, Menon remarked that the Congress reaction against any suggestion of Calcutta becoming a free port was likely to be extremely strong. However, Congress might consider it if it was only for a limited period and under a neutral authority preferably the Governor-General.[5]

Moreover, Menon acted as an intermediary between the Congress and *Pandit* Mountbatten. Menon had won the confidence of Mountbatten to such an extent that when the latter went to Simla for a few days' rest, the former accompanied him there. During his stay with the Governor-General, Menon prepared an alternative plan which Mountbatten took to London for final approval on May 18. The Viceroy took Menon with him who in the words of Campbell-Johnson "enjoys Mountbatten's complete confidence".[6]

---

[1] *Mission with Mountbatten*, p.89.
[2] *Mission with Mountbatten*, p.85.
[3] *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.365.
[4] Larry Collins, *Mountbatten and the Partition of India*, p.31.
[5] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.34.
[6] *Mission with Mountbatten*, p.94.

www.cssexampoint.com

Menon himself acknowledged that he had always been opposed to the Plan which Lord Ismay and George Abell had taken to London. "The theory that the provinces should become initially independent successor states was particularly abhorrent to me".[1]

PREPARATION OF THE ALTERNATIVE PLAN

On May 8, 1947, Nehru and Krishna Menon visited *Pandit* Mountbatten at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla as state guests. It was for the first time that V.P. Menon had an opportunity to present his viewpoint about partition before the Governor-General. Just imagine the cunningness and trickery of Mountbatten. He told Menon to brief Nehru about his plan and then report back to him about his reaction. At the same time, he was instructed to remain silent about the Mountbatten Plan.[2]

Menon discussed the plan with Nehru and reported his reaction to Mountbatten. In the meantime, on May 10, the modified plan reached Simla from London and received a hostile reaction from Nehru. Mountbatten asked Menon to prepare an alternative plan in the shortest possible time. Menon went back to his hotel on foot. It was almost 2.00 p.m. On reaching the hotel, he drank a strong and saturated whisky which he generally took after six in the evening. Then he became busy writing his judgement about the fate of India. In less than four hours, he prepared an alternative plan which was immediately forwarded to Mountbatten who showed it to Nehru and got his approval. Menon writes that on that very night, he had a dinner with Mountbatten at the Viceregal Lodge and found that "Mountbatten had completely regained his buoyant spirits and good cheer". Mountbatten told Menon that Nehru hoped that the Congress would accept the Plan as the approach contained in it was on proper lines.[3]

This is yet another proof of the cunningness of the British *Pandit* who willingly showed to Nehru an anti-Muslim plan prepared by a Hindu. However, it was kept hidden from the Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders of the All-India Muslim League. It is worth mentioning that Mountbatten himself went to Britain to seek the approval for the plan from the British Government. It may also be mentioned that George Abell and Ismay severely criticised the plan but Mountbatten was not ready to budge an inch. He even threatened to resign if his plan was not accepted.[4]

Without making a single change in it, the British Government approved it within five minutes. On his return from England, *Pandit*

---

[1] *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.359.
[2] *Ibid.*, p.360.
[3] *The Transfer of Power in India*, p.365.
[4] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, p.178.

www.cssexampoint.com

Mountbatten, convened a meeting of the leaders of the Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the Sikhs on June 2, in order to seek their consent and approval for the plan.

An important question that crops up in our mind is that when the All-India Muslim League was fully aware of the fact that Linlithgow, Wavell, Mountbatten and in fact, all the Governor-Generals had always been openly siding with the Congress and the Hindus, then why, at that critical juncture of the freedom movement, it could not sense the danger posed by the presence of a cunning Hindu on a very sensitive post in the Viceregal Lodge. Was the League at that time not in a position to demand that this key post should be given to some neutral Englishman or conjointly to a Hindu and a Muslim?

The history of the later years proved that this secret alliance of Mountbatten, V.P. Menon, and Nehru, did an irreparable damage to the interests of the Muslims. In this connection, an interesting thing is that George Abell, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, wrote about V.P. Menon on March 26, 1947, that "Until recently he knew everything in connection with high policy that was going on between the Viceroy and the India Office. Often he can be most valuable with his information of Congress reactions and intentions, but there is a danger that for such information he may pay a price **in revealing some of the secrets of the Viceroy"**. Abell continued, "The feelings between the communities are much the same as though a civil war was going on. Mr. Menon now is genuinely convinced of the rightness of the Congress view on the general political position. Thus, though he is an old friend of mine and one of the people I like best in Delhi, I am **convinced that it is not possible to take him into confidence as fully as has been done in the past.**[1]

The historic meeting on June 2, got underway in a highly tense atmosphere at 10.00 a.m. and continued for two hours.[2] Besides Mountbatten, other participants of the meeting were, the Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Sardar Patel, Acharia Kirpalani, Sardar Baldev Singh and Pandit Nehru. Mountbatten believed that the chances of the meeting's success would increase manifold if the Indian leaders held only a minimum amount of discussions. The tension that prevailed at the start of the meeting soon gave way to pleasant and cordial feelings from both sides.

Mountbatten presented the June 3rd Plan before the Indian leaders and urged them to accept it immediately. The Quaid-i-Azam remarked, "I can express my own opinion in this regard but the Muslim League is a democratic institution. Therefore, the League and the Working

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.X, pp.26-27.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.IX, p.46.

www.cssexampoint.com

Committee would contact the people before making any final decision". Mountbatten said, "At times, leaders themselves have to take important decisions instead of contacting their followers". At this, the Quaid replied, "In the event of putting a ready-made decision before the League Council, its members would gather the impression that the decision has been imposed on them without eliciting their opinion".

However, he assured the Governor-General that he would succeed in seeking the approval of the Council. According to the Quaid, the proper way was that the whole affair should not have been considered to be a predetermined one. Nehru also agreed to this viewpoint. The Quaid said that he would convene a meeting of the League Council within a week before taking any final decision. Mountbatten tried to pressurise the Quaid by telling him that he could not wait for even a single day, not to speak of a whole week. At this the Quaid told him that by the night he would verbally inform him of the reaction of the Working Committee. According to, Campbell-Johnson, Mountbatten threatened Jinnah and said, "If that is your attitude, then the leaders of the Congress party and the Sikhs will refuse final acceptance at the meeting in the morning; chaos will follow and you will lose your Pakistan probably for good".[1]

Thus, on that very night, the Quaid-i-Azam conveyed to the Governor-General about the protest and reaction of the Working Committee against the partition of the Provinces and told him that the Working Committee hoped the League Council to approve the Plan. The Quaid-i-Azam called the partition of Bengal and the Punjab a "scandalous move".[2]

THE RADIO ADDRESS OF THE INDIAN LEADERS

During the meeting, Mountbatten told the participants that he would announce the plan on the All-India Radio in the evening of the next day. At the same time, he invited the Quaid, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh to address their supporters on the radio. At this point, Sardar Patel, who was in charge of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, smilingly remarked, "Traditionally, the script of the speech should be submitted in advance to his Ministry". The Quaid responded by saying that he would say in his broadcast only what comes from his heart. Thus, it was decided that the speech of Mountbatten would be followed by the speeches of the three leaders.[3]

Throughout his speech, Mountbatten praised the Cabinet Mission Plan and the idea of a united India. In his speech, Nehru described the

---

[1] *Mission with Mountbatten*, p.103.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.161.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol.XI, p.47.

www.cssexampoint.com

separation of some parts of the country as painful. At the same time he paid rich tributes to the services rendered by Mountbatten. At the end of the speech, he uttered the slogan of *Jai Hind*. The Quaid-i-Azam expressed the hope that the partition of India would take place peacefully. He further said, "I express my regret over the fact that in certain matters, the plan does not fall in line with our viewpoint and we cannot say that we are fully satisfied with it. Now, we have to decide whether to accept this plan as a compromise or as a settlement. However, the League Council would make the final judgement on this issue".

Besides calling off the civil disobedience movement in the N.W.F.P., the Quaid also mentioned the referendum that was to be held in that province. He expressed his hope that the Muslims of that province would vote overwhelmingly in support of Pakistan. He concluded his speech with the exciting slogan of Pakistan Zindabad.[1]

As mentioned earlier, Sardar Patel was offended when the Quaid expressed his feelings in his radio broadcast from Delhi. 'Thus, on June 3; he complained to his political *Guru Pandit* Mountbatten that Mr. Jinnah had misused the hospitality of the All-India Radio and had violated the rules and regulations of broadcasting. He commented that "Jinnah has also committed a sacrilege by making a political, partisan and propagandist broadcast". He further wrote that if he had a prior knowledge of those things, he would have never allowed the All-India Radio to become the platform of the League. He was deeply distressed when the Quaid in his speech urged the people of the N.W.F.P. to vote in favour of the All-India Muslim League.[2]

IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE JUNE 3RD PLAN

1) The provincial assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab would be asked to meet in two parts, representing the Muslim majority and non-Muslim majority districts. In two separate sitting, the members of these assemblies would decide whether or not to partition these provinces. Adequate arrangements would be made if the simple majority in any of the provinces decides in favour of partition.
2) In case of the partition of the provinces, a Boundary Commission would be set up. It would partition the provinces on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. The commission would also consider "other factors".
3) At a special meeting, the Sindh Provincial Assembly would decide whether to remain a part of the present constituent assembly or to join the new constituent assembly of Pakistan.

---

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, pp.20-21.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol.XI, p.102.

www.cssexampoint.com

4) The N.W.F.P: is facing an unusual situation. Two out of its three representatives are already participating in the existing constituent assembly but if the province of the Punjab or some of its parts decide to join Pakistan, it would be incumbent on the N.W.F.P. to reconsider its future status keeping in view its geographical location and other factors. To provide this opportunity to the province, a referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General on the advice of the provincial government. It would be meant to find out as to which constituent assembly the province would like to join.

Assam is a non-Muslim majority province but the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is a Muslim majority district. Therefore, a referendum would be held in Sylhet to know whether it would remain a part of Assam or should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal.

THE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

On August 9, the League Council held an in-camera meeting at Imperial Hotel, Delhi. No news reporter was allowed to cover the meeting.[1] When the Quaid-i-Azam entered the Hall he was given a standing ovation. The Hall resounded with "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad" which continued for a long time. Majeed Malik has rightly stated that the faces of all the participants were glittering with the feelings of victory yet, many of them had the impression that they had failed to achieve their desired goals due to the conspiracies and guiles of Nehru and Mountbatten.[2]

The meeting began with the recitation from the Holy Quran by Moulana Abdul Hamid Badauni. The Quaid-i-Azam allowed the participants of the meeting to ask questions regarding the details of the plan. At this, the members from Bengal, U.P. and Bombay enquired about the powers of the Boundary Commission and the rights of the Muslims in the Muslim minority provinces. The Quaid replied that the issue of the treatment of the Muslim minorities would be directly connected with the nature of relationship between India and Pakistan. The House asked permission from the Quaid to move a resolution to know the opinion of the members about the Plan. The Quaid said that the Scheme had to be approved or rejected as a whole. He appealed to the members to express their views about the Plan freely and boldly.

Prof. Abdur Rahim described the Plan as devastating for the Muslims. He believed that it would eliminate peace from the sub-

[1] *The Morning News*, Calcutta, 5 June, 1947, p.6.
[2] Majeed Malik, "Chand Yadain" (article) in *Jang*, Karachi, 26 August 1968, p.20.

www.cssexampoint.com

continent for ever. He condemned the partition of Bengal and the Punjab as harmful to Pakistan and called for a total rejection of the Plan. He further said that four years ago, the Congress had made the offer of a similar truncated Pakistan. If the June 3rd Plan was to be accepted, then there was no sense in all the bloodshed which had taken place.[1]

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah from Sindh expressed similar views about the Plan and said that the Muslims were being offered a mutilated and crippled Pakistan and that the geographically best and most fertile regions had been robbed from Pakistan. However, he called for the approval of the Plan in the light of the following reasons:

Now that Britain was quitting India, it must transfer power to one or the other party. If power is transferred to the Hindus, we would be left with no option but to wage a war in order to acquire Pakistan. It would not be possible for any power to enslave a hundred million people. But there could be no guarantee that even then you could have obtained the full recognition of your demand even after bloodshed on a much more extensive scale. Calling for the approval of the Plan he said, "It is true that we are being offered a weak Pakistan but you must keep it in your view that you have been acknowledged as a separate nation".

Besides Moulana Hasrat Mohani, the June 3rd Plan was most bitterly denounced by Z.H. Lari, the deputy leader of the U.P. Parliamentary Party. He described the Plan as "extremely disappointing" and appealed for its rejection. He believed that the approval of the Plan would be a major catastrophe. He said, "We had initially accepted the May 16 statement, but, later on, rejected it, because we were not ready to be deprived of Assam. Now the question is, would we be able to get Assam under the June 3rd Plan".

Lari told the House that the Muslims had been deprived of Assam as well as a large part of the Punjab. He was of the opinion that the British Government had not accepted even a single demand of the Muslims. Instead, it had always been trying to gain the goodwill of the Hindus. The partition of Bengal and the Punjab was considered to be necessary, because the non-Muslim population in these areas was not willing to live under Pakistan. Lari argued that if this was the case, then the Muslims of U.P. and Bombay who were opposing the non-Congress governments should also be given their separate governments, after all; in those provinces, they were more in number than the Sikhs. Lari alleged that the British Government, through the Plan had only, befooled the Muslims and pleased the Congress.

Malik Ghulam Nabi (Amritsar) disagreed with Z.H. Lari and advised him not to be so sensitive about the Muslims living in the Muslim minority provinces. He admitted that several aspects of the Plan were

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.246.

www.cssexampoint.com

injurious to the interests of the Muslims but the best thing was that the Muslims had been acknowledged as a separate nation. Malik Ghulam Nabi tried to make a comparison between the June 3rd Plan and the Hudaibiyah Accord and requested the House to accept it. At this, the Quaid interrupted him saying that he was not giving a proper account and the right interpretation. Then, the Quaid himself explained what the famous Accord was and its implications and its bearing in the present context of the proposition before the House; whether to accept the Plan or not. Members of the Council were amazed at his knowledge of Islamic history, and the way he dealt with the matter.[1]

Moulvi Abdul Hannan from C.P. pleaded for the approval of the Plan and told the participants of the meeting that they should not forget that they were being offered a country much larger than Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Yemen and Palestine.

Abdul Hameed from Assam made an emotional speech and said, "I belong to a Muslim minority province and according to new plan, I will be a resident of Hindustan; yet I support the Plan. If, according to the Plan, the majority of the Muslims become free, I prefer to remain as a slave".[2]

According to the *Sind Observer*, Moulana Hasrat Mohani continued to criticise the Plan throughout the meeting. At one point, he became so inconvenient to the assembled luminaries that he was bundled out. According to Malik Ghulam Nabi, when the Quaid-i-Azam was enumerating the merits and demerits of the Plan, Moulana Hasrat Mohani stood up and angrily declared in his shrill voice that the League Council was not entitled to discuss the Plan and, therefore, the full session of the All-India Muslim League should be convened. At last, the House decided that the League Council was entitled to discuss and consider the Plan. As the Moulana stood up again and tried to say something in support of his standpoint, the Quaid remarked, "Oh Moulana, I can make the whole world understand but I cannot make you understand".[3] .Unfortunately, the speech of Hasrat Mohani could not be available but more than one sources confirm that he was the most ardent and the most vocal opponent and critic of the June 3rd Plan.

At last, winding up the debate, the Quaid-i-Azam paid glowing tributes to the Muslim minority provinces and openly admitted the fact that "Pakistan was being realised only because of their sacrifices". He urged the Muslim to remove the Sindhi-Punjabi and other such distinctions and advised them to pull their weight together.[4] Summing

---

[1] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol.III, Karachi, 1990, p.429.
[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.249.
[3] *Iqra*, MAO College Magazine, Quaid-e-Azam Number, 1976, p.77.
[4] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, ol. XI, p.249.

www.cssexampoint.com

up the debate, the Quaid said, "You may accept it or reject it. Before taking a decision please realise what you have achieved. It is indeed something unparalleled in the history of the world".

In the end with a voice choking with emotion and feeling the Quaid said, "I, as your Field Marshal, have been leading the battle of Pakistan. The battle has been won. My job is finished. Time has come for. the Field Marshal to disappear from the scene". The whole House stood as one man and shouted "No! No!".[1]

Liaquat Ali Khan read out a resolution which noted with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission Plan had been abandoned. According to the resolution, the Plan was accepted under protest and the League President was given full power and authority to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise and the Council empowered him to take all the steps and decisions necessary in that connection.[2]

Critics expressed their satisfaction over the contents of the resolution passed by the League Council but described its tone as prejudiced and its wording as complicated.

Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru deplored the resolution passed by the League Council. On June 10, Sardar Patel wrote to Mountbatten that the resolution was contradictory and there was studied evasion of straightforward acceptance of the June 3rd Plan. He further wrote that the deliberations of the League Council clearly indicated that the Pakistan, which would come into being as a result of the June 3rd Plan, would only serve as a spring-board for action against Hindustan. He called upon Mountbatten to ask the Quaid to issue a clear statement accepting the Plan.[3]

Nehru in a letter to Mountbatten on June 10, 1947, expressed his dissatisfaction over League's resolution. He hoped that "Mr. Jinnah will express his full agreement with HMG's Scheme as a settlement of our communal problems and that this will **be done in writing.** Unless this is done the presumption will be that he does not wish to commit himself to the Plan and does not wish to treat it as a settlement".[4]

THE REACTION OF THE BRITISH PRESS AND POLITICIANS

The reaction of the British politicians and the press towards the June 3rd Plan and the creation of Pakistan reflected their defeatist mentality. Even after the approval of the Indian Independence Act by the British Parliament

---

[1]Majeed Malik, "Chand Yadain" (article).
[2]*The Indian Annual Register 1947*, Vol.II, p.258.
[3]*The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.244.
[4]*The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.243.

www.cssexampoint.com

the politicians and the press found it difficult to come to terms with Pakistan. The *Daily Mail* described the June 3rd Plan as leaping in the dark and called it an inappropriate compromise. In the opinion of the newspaper, the proposals contained in the Plan and the subsequent speeches made by Mountbatten and other Indian leaders, failed to provide a solution to the Indian problem. The newspaper added that at that time, no one was demanding full independence and all the people were ready to accept a dominion status for themselves. One is simply flabbergasted at the information of the newspaper correspondent who sent that news item. The *Yorkshire Post* wrote, "The current plan is similar to the Cripps Mission Scheme of 1942. Had the Indians accepted the Cripps Mission scheme at that time they could easily have avoided the on-going bloodshed". The paper expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would give up his stubbornness and approve the Plan.[1]

The *Daily Telegraph, on* June 4, expressed its regret over the imminent partition of the sub-continent. On June 5, the *Manchester Guardian* expressed the hope that the partition would result in so many 'inconveniences and dislocations' that experience of them would lead to reunion.

Alfred Watson was convinced that the partition would prove to be a momentary affair and cherished the hope of one day seeing New Delhi as the throbbing heart of a United India.[2] Even, the British Prime Minister while speaking on the Indian Independence Bill expressed his hope that the separation would not be permanent and that both the Dominions would reunite.

THE REACTION OF THE MUSLIM PRESS

In an editorial entitled "The League Approves the Scheme", the daily *Inqilab,* a very enthusiastic spokesman of the Unionist Party wrote, "The League has given its approval to the British Scheme, In other words, it has accepted the partition of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. To God we belong and to God are we to return. To us, this scheme is totally against the best interests of the Muslims. We are not alone to have such ideas, until recently, the Quaid-i-Azam had similar views. But the nation does not possess the state of mind with which it can analyse its loss or profit in an objective manner". The paper prayed for the nation to realise its blunder without incurring any significant setback.[3]

Commenting upon the June 3rd Plan, the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* in an editorial wrote, "Call it partition of India or Pakistan. The League was ridiculed in 1940, for making this very demand. When mockery and

[1] *Inqilab*, Lahore, June 8, 1947, p.6.
[2] K.K.Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*, London, 1963, p.183.
[3] *Inqilab*, Lahore, 12 June, 1947, p.2.

www.cssexampoint.com

ridicule could not suppress that demand, heaps of abuses were hurdled on the League and Mr. Jinnah was called by the filthiest of names. But this weapon too, failed to hit its target! Afterwards, political threats and intimidations were resorted to and the attempts were made to force and terrorise the League so that it might give up its demand of Pakistan.. However, even this trick could not succeed. Then, those who had abused, ridiculed and threatened the League and the Quaid-i-Azam, approached the Muslims under the guise of their earnest well-wishers and tried to convince them that the creation of Pakistan would only add to their miseries, They argued that it would be impossible for that small country to survive. Even the British Government sided with these "well-wishers and preachers". An eminent Lord [Wavell] declared that geographically India was indivisible. Last year, three statesmen arrived in India from Britain and announced their verdict that the British Government could not transfer power to more than one governments in India. A charge sheet based on falsified facts and figures was prepared to announce the judgement that Pakistan could not come into being. However, in 1947, both the London and the Delhi Plans were unanimously advocating for the partition of India as it alone could solve the extremely complicated problems faced by the country.[1]

Regarding the June 3rd Plan, the *Morning News* (Calcutta) wrote an editorial entitled *Al-Hamdolillāh* (الحمدللہ) "Thank God", in which it wrote, "It has now to be acknowledged that Mr. Jinnah's solution of the growing Hindu-Muslim tension was, after all, the best remedy of bringing back peace and a spirit of accommodation into the country as a whole. The paper added that, "the Muslims are justified in expressing their frustration at the maimed, moth-eaten and truncated Pakistan being offered to them, because such a Pakistan would remain economically weak". *The Morning News*, however, stated with some degree of confidence that "the Muslim will prefer to be poor but free rather than continue in his servitude and helplessness resulting from British methods of administration in India established by Empire Builders and their non-Muslim adherents in this country".[2]

[1] *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 5 June, 1947, p.3.
[2] *Morning News*, Calcutta, (editorial), 5 June, 1947, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

32

THE RADCLIFFE AWARD

Under a section of the Indian Independence Bill the Governor-General was to constitute a Boundary Commission. The terms of the reference of the Commission were as follows:-

> "The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account **other factors**".

The total area of the Punjab was 99089 square miles and its population, according to the census of 1941, consisted of 28418819 people. In all, the Muslims were 16217242. The Province comprised of 29 districts and five commissionaires, namely, Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi.[1]

This province was to be the jugular vein in the new Pakistan. That is why, the Quaid had described it as the most important province of Pakistan. The Punjab was a Muslim majority province, therefore, the Muslim League wanted the entire province to be included in Pakistan after trivial geographical alterations,. For this very reason, the West Pakistan Assembly rejected the idea of partition by a clear vote of 99 to 27.[2] In a resolution, on June 9, 1947, the AIML rejected the partition of the Punjab.[3] The Quaid-i-Azam himself vehemently opposed the idea of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal.

It were the Sikhs themselves who raised the issue of the partition of the Punjab for which they are paying a heavy price now. In a memorandum to the Cripps Mission, they had demanded the partition of the Punjab.[4] On May 1, 1942, in a letter to Stafford Cripps, Master Tara Singh demanded the partition of the Province. As a further incentive to the Sikhs, the Congress passed a resolution to this effect on April 8, 1947.

It is important to note that the Quaid-i-Azam and the AIML gave assurances to the Sikhs that their fundamental rights would be fully

---

[1] Masuma Hasan (ed.), *Pakistan in a Changing World*, Karachi, 1978, p.23.
[2] *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, Lahore, 1983, Vol.I, p.VII.
[3] Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1970, Vol.III, p.568.
[4] Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of the Punjab*, Patiala, 1972, p.8.

www.cssexampoint.com

safeguarded in a united Punjab. The daily *Tribune* published an article of the Maharaja of Patiala on July 19, 1959 which reveals that the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan had even agreed to the formation of a Sikh state with its separate military establishment within Pakistan, provided the Sikhs abandoned their demand for the partition of the Province.[1] However, the Sikhs were taken in by the promises of the Hindus and insisted on their demand.

Two separate boundary commissions were constituted for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. The Quaid proposed that the task should be assigned to three Law Lords from the United Kingdom but Mountbatten rejected the proposal on the plea that the Indian summer would be unbearable for them.[2] On June 13, 1947, it was proposed that this delicate and critical task should be assigned to the United Nations but Pandit Nehru rejected the idea arguing that it would only delay the matters.[3] However, the Quaid was in favour of the proposal. After lengthy discussions, it was decided that each of the commissions would have four judges and a separate chairman. The Punjab Boundary Commission consisted of Justice Din Muhammad, Justice Mohammad Munir, Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice Teja Singh. Whereas the Bengal Boundary Commission included Justice C.C. Biswas, Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji, Justice S. A. Rahman and Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad Akram. Radcliffe was appointed as the joint chairman of both the commissions.

Reaching India on July 8, 1947, Radcliffe had meetings with Indian leaders. He believed that the important task of drawing the boundaries would require several years but he was stunned to know that the task had to be accomplished within forty days.

At first, it was decided that the "Award" would be based on the reports of both the commissions. But later on, on Radcliffe's insistence, it was decided that the Award of a Boundary Commission would mean the *Decision* of the chairman contained in his report to the Governor-General.[4] He was fully convinced that his colleagues would not be able to agree on any point.

The Commission was assigned the task of demarcating the contagious Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas of the Punjab and Bengal. The Commission was also asked to keep "other factors" in view while drawing up the boundaries. The Punjab Boundary Commission held its public sessions from July 21 to July 31, 1947, at

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p.31.

[2] *The Partition of the Punjab*, Vol.I, pp.32-33.

[3] Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Columbia, n.d., p.204.

[4] Nicholas Mansergh (Editor-in-Chief), *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, London, 1983, Vol.XII, pp.63-64.

www.cssexampoint.com

the Lahore High Court building. Radcliffe did not attend any of the meetings in person, although daily progress report was sent to him in Delhi by air. In the absence of Radcliffe, Justice Din Muhammad presided over the meetings as suggested by Justice Mahajan.[1]

Sir Zafrullah Khan, Chamanlal Setalvad and Harnam Singh respectively presented the viewpoint of the All-India Muslim League, the Congress and the Sikhs before the Boundary Commission. Fourteen out of 29 districts of the province were the bone of contention between the League and the Congress. The Sikhs claimed that the river Chenab should be declared as the border of the Punjab, because they had populated the canal irrigated colonies of the West Punjab. More than 75% of the commercial institutions and banks were owned by the non-Muslims. Similarly, 80% of the registered factories were owned by the non-Muslims. Only two of the 80 offices of the insurance companies belonged to the Muslims. Likewise, the Muslims owned only three out of the 90 branches of the banks. In the light of these and other such factors, the Sikhs demanded that the areas up to the River Chenab should be included in India,[2] In addition to the economic factors, the Sikhs further argued that their most sacred place (Nankana Sahib) was also situated in these areas, therefore, the entire region should be given to India.

On the other hand, the Muslim League was of the view that under the terms of the reference, the first and the foremost task of the Boundary Commission was to draw up the boundaries of the geographical contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas and that the **other factors** had only a secondary importance. Thus, the League argued that all the controversial areas should be given to Pakistan, because of their Muslim majority. Refuting the claims regarding the Sikh holy places, the League was of the opinion that if the Sikh demands were acceded to then areas up to Delhi, Ajmer and Sarhind should be handed over to Pakistan as they contained several holy shrines of the Muslims.

The Punjab Boundary Commission held its last meeting at the Services Club, Simla. At this meeting, Justice Mahajan requested Radcliffe to give his opinion in the light of his assessment of all the records and arguments. Radcliffe replied that since differences existed among the Commission members, he himself felt empowered to undertake the responsibility of accomplishing the commission's task.[3] Radcliffe further stated that he had not yet taken any decision and that he would consult the Governor-General. Justice Mohammad Munir was fully justified in writing that in the event of consulting the Governor-

[1] Mehr Chand Mahajan, *Looking Back*, Bombay, 1963, p.114.
[2] Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of the Punjab*, p.65.
[3] *Ibid.*, p.73.

www.cssexampoint.com

General, Radcliffe was bound to be influenced by him and the latter events also proved so.[1]

Radcliffe himself showed a flagrant disregard for his own rules and regulations and, under the pressure of Mountbatten, did a great damage to the Muslims. As far as the Muslim areas were concerned, Radcliffe applied different rules in different cases.

Calcutta, the capital of West Bengal, was its main seaport and the centre of trade, industry, transport and education. Although, the Muslim population of the city was only 23% yet, economically, it had a great significance for Pakistan. All the factories for the raw jute produced in Bengal were situated in Calcutta and its adjoining areas. In fact, Calcutta was indispensable for East Bengal. To use the graphic phrase of Tyson, the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal that without Calcutta, East Bengal would be a "rural slum".[2]

Now, Radcliffe awarded Calcutta to India on the basis of its non-Muslim majority but at the same time ignored the Muslim majority of most parts of the district of Nadia and its adjoining district of Murshidabad, which he also gave to India on the basis of "other factors". Justice S.A. Rahman described this decision as extremely amazing and unjust. In fact, the fate of Calcutta had already been sealed by the conspiracies of the Congress and Mountbatten. Acknowledging this conspiracy, Sardar Patel in a public speech at Calcutta on January 14, 1950, declared: "We agreed to partition because we saw the alternative was worse. Therefore, we agreed. But we made a condition that we can only agree to partition if we do not lose Calcutta. **If Calcutta is gone then India is gone**".[3]

Mountbatten's Chief of Staff, Ismay, wrote in his memoirs that the proposal regarding the partition of India that was approved by the British Government contained that Calcutta would go to India. This very fact was, however, concealed from the League. Until the last minute, the League was given the impression that the fate of the city would be decided by the Boundary Commission.

A similar injustice was done in the case of the Punjab. Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Ferozepur and Ambala were deliberately given to India in spite of their Muslim majority. The proportion of the Muslim population in these areas was, Gurdaspur 52.1%, Jullundur 51.1%, Ferozepur 55.2% and Ambala 59.4%.

Gurdaspur consisted of four tehsils namely Gurdaspur, Shakargarh, Batala and Pathankot. The non-Muslims were in majority only in Pathankot tehsil. The supplement schedule of the Indian Independence

---

[1]Mohammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, Lahore, 1980; p.15.
[2]*The Emergence of Pakistan*, p.205.
[3]Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969, p.275.

www.cssexampoint.com

Act showed Gurdaspur as a part of Pakistan but at the last moment, Radcliffe, under the pressure of Mountbatten, awarded three of these tehsils to India allowing her a safe passage to Kashmir. Andrew Roberts very rightly observes: "If gerrymandering took place in the case of Ferozepur, it is not too hard to believe that Mountbatten also pressurized Radcliffe to ensure that Gurdaspur wound up in India".'[1]

The same was the case with Ferozepur and Zira tehsils. The way in which these Muslim majority areas were awarded to India would always blot the reputation of the English judicial system. According to Justice Munir, when he tried to discuss the case of Ferozepur with Radcliffe, the latter remarked that the matter needed no argumentation as it would be undoubtedly a part of Pakistan.[2] On August 8, 1947, Governor-General's Private Secretary George Abell sent a map along with a note by Christopher Beaumont describing it to the Governor of the Punjab and informed him that Radcliffe intended to partition the Punjab according to that map. The map showed Ferozepur and Zira as parts of the West Punjab.[3] The Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins, wrote a note on the letter that since Ferozepur and Zira were to be included in West Pakistan, those tehsils should be transferred to the Lahore district.[4] He insisted that his instructions be carried out. On the evening of August 8, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur informed the irrigation's Chief Engineer, Sarup Singh about the instructions he had received from the Governor and told him to transfer his headquarter out of the three tehsils as the Ferozepur Headworks and the Ganga Canal were to be transferred to Pakistan.[5]

CHANGES IN THE AWARD

Sarup Singh secretly sent an envoy with this information to Dr. Kanwar Sain who was the Chief Engineer of the Bikaner State. On August 11, Dr. Kanwar Sain and Sardar Panikkar, the Prime Minister of Bikaner State had a meeting with Lord Mountbatten and told him that if Ferozepur Headworks and the Ganga Canal were given to Pakistan, His Highness would have to join Pakistan in the best interests of his subjects. In his memoirs, Dr. Kanwar Sain writes that "As I said this, I could see a change in the colour of the face of Mountbatten and that very evening it

---

[1] Andrew Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians*, London, 1994, p.105.

[2] Mohammad Munir, "Days to Remember", *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 23 June, 1964.

[3] *The Partition o the Punjab*, Vol.I, p.245.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p.247.

[5] *The Partition of the Punjab*, Vol.I, p.XXII.

www.cssexampoint.com

was announced on the All-India Radio that the announcement of the Radcliffe Award had been delayed for a few days.[1] When, on August 17, the announcement was made at last, both Ferozepur and Zira were awarded to India. An interesting thing is that one of the chapters of Kanwar Sain's book is entitled "Mountbatten Alters the Punjab Boundaries". On August 11, the Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins, received a telegram ordering him to exclude Ferozepur from Pakistan.[2]

In April, 1948, Evan Jenkins affirmed, in a letter to Mountbatten that "The enclosures were a schedule (I think typed) and a section of a printed map with a line drawn thereon, together showing a Boundary which included in Pakistan a short salient in the Ferozepur Distt. This salient enclosed the whole of Ferozepur and Zira tehsils". Jenkin also stated, "About the 10th or 11th when we were still expecting the Award on 13th August at latest, I received a secraphone message from the Viceroy's House containing the words **Eliminate Salient** This change caused some surprise, not because the Ferozepur salient had been regarded as inevitable or even probable, but because it seemed odd that any advance information had been given by the Commission if the Award was not substantially complete".[3] The most interesting thing is that the Viceroy very naively denies that "Abell sent the letter concerned **without my knowledge**. It may be hard to convince people that, that was not".[4]

Justice Din Mohammad has also narrated an interesting story in this connection. Radcliffe had already been in India for a week when he showed his intention to conduct an aerial survey of the disputed areas. Responding to his desire, Justice Din Mohammad observed that he would definitely be influenced in his decision if he went for an aerial survey. Therefore, it was his duty as a judge to give his verdict only on the basis of material presented before him. It is surprising that such a step had been taken clandestinely and without recourse to consultation with the Commission. It is all the more intriguing that the parties had not yet submitted their cases with regard to their respective positions on the disputed areas from which Radcliffe could have gathered information about the geographical situation of the areas. By chance, the flight had to be cancelled due to bad weather.[5]

As soon as the Quaid-i-Azam came to know of these undercover plots, he sent Chaudhry Muhammad Ali to Lord Ismay. On August 9 when Chaudhry Muhammad Ali met Ismay and told him about the

---

[1]Kanwar Sain, *Reminiscences of an Engineer*, New Delhi, 1978, p.122.
[2]*The Partition of the Punjab*, Vol.I, p.XXVI.
[3]*The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XII, p.579.
[4]*The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XII, p.579.
[5]Khalid Mahmood Rabbani, "Interview with Justice Di[illegible]d", *Nawai-i-Waqt*, Lahore.

www.cssexampoint.com

apprehensions of the Quaid, the latter replied that he could not understand what the former was trying to say. There was a map hanging in the room of Ismay. Chaudhry Sahib tried to draw his attention to the map in order to make him understand the whole affair. A line had been drawn with a pencil on the map. This line was exactly similar to the line about which the Quaid-i-Azam had been informed. At this, Ismay turned pale and asked as to who had been fooling with his map.[1] This is quite amazing that even by the first week of August it had become an "obstinate popular belief" that "Radcliffe will award as His Excellency dictates".[2]

In fact, the Punjab Award had been prepared and completed between August 8 and August 10. George Abell wrote to the private secretary to the Governor of the Punjab on August 8 that the Award was expected within 48 hours. Nehru's letter of August 9 to Mountbatten reveals that by that time, the Award was complete and the Viceroy, the Governor of the Punjab and his secretary were aware of its contents. On August 8, George Abell told Mountbatten that Radcliffe had dictated the Award.[3] Mountbatten's Press Attaché, Alan Campbell-Johnson, wrote in his diary on August 9, "Rumours are that this evening, Radcliffe would present the Punjab Award to the Governor-General".[4]

Hodson's case is a test point to show how much the British historians are anxious to exonerate both Mountbatten and Radcliffe from the charge of alteration in the Award. Commenting on George Abell's letter of August 8, Hodson writes, "This information was only up to the secretarial level. Although, Radcliffe was aware of the on-going correspondence yet, perhaps he neither saw the map nor the letter. It was later on that Mountbatten came to know of this letter and as far as the contents of the letter are concerned, he became aware of them much later. He never had a look at the map, because his private secretary had not placed any of its copies in the file".[5]

The above facts clearly prove that Mountbatten pressurized Radcliffe to make changes in the Award. It may be remembered that the office of Radcliffe was in a portion of the Viceregal Lodge. For this very reason, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali was justified in assuming that Radcliffe and Mountbatten could easily and frequently communicate with each other. On the other hand, the Governor of the Punjab was extremely cautious about the entire situation. When, before Radcliffe's arrival in India, the Governor was asked to make arrangements for his

---

[1] *The Emergence of Pakistan*, pp.218-19.
[2] *The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, Vol.XII, p.58.
[3] Major Short to Stafford Cripps, *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XII, p.663.
[4] Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, 1972, p.151.
[5] H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide – Britain, India and Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969, p.353.

www.cssexampoint.com

stay at the Governor House, Lahore, his secretary wrote to I.D. Scott, Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy on July 5, "The Governor says that much as he would like to stay at Government House, he must advise strongly against it. Communal feeling is so high and party suspicions are so strong that any close personal contacts between the Governor and the Chairman or Members of the Boundary Commission would be misinterpreted. The more innocent of the Governor's visitors are already suggesting that it is his business to advise the Commission or to bring pressure to bear upon it to secure an award of a particular kind".[1] For this reason, arrangements for his stay were made at the Faletti's Hotel, however, the Viceroy of India was keen to be his host. Why? Even some of the British officers did not like Radcliffe's stay at the Viceregal Lodge. On July 8, 1947, C.P. Scott, Assistant Personal Secretary wrote "Radcliffe is going to stay in the Viceroy's House, it will, I think, create a bad impression".[2]

The doubts and suspicions which the Muslims had regarding the Radcliffe Award, were further strengthened by the fact that on one hand Mountbatten was repeatedly reminding Radcliffe that he should prepare the Award as soon as possible. On July 18, 1947 Mountbatten himself in his Personal Report to the Secretary of State wrote, "Radcliffe thought that all four Judges were of a higher class and they were fully determined to work as a team which would enable Radcliffe to give me his decision by the 12th August".[3] On July 20, the Viceroy had a meeting with the members of the Punjab Partition Committee. He explained that it was the present aim of the Committee that their Award should be published on the 12th of August. The members of the Committee expressed their views that this date should be, if possible, brought forward and the Viceroy undertook to ask Radcliffe **if he could make a decision by 10th of August**".[4] On July 23, 1947, Radcliffe wrote back to Mountbatten that "Unless the Punjab Judges agree with each other, I do not think that could manage the 10th but I think that I can promise the 12th and I will do the earlier date if I possibly can".[5] Radcliffe himself promises that he would complete his mission within the shortest possible period. On the other hand, its publication was deliberately delayed only with a view to making alterations in it. It was done in spite of the fact that the Governor of the Punjab kept insisting on its immediate publication so that he could take effective measures to deal with law and order situation resulting from it.

---

[1] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XI, p.931.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p.6.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p.226.
[4] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XII, p.291.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p.305.

www.cssexampoint.com

Another astonishing aspect of this affair is that the English nation which is known for storing even the most trivial piece of private papers but one of its most important members Sir Cyril Radcliffe confirms in a letter, now in possession of the Foreign & Commonwealth Research Department, that he had destroyed his own notes and drafts in connection with the proceedings of the Boundary Commission and that he had in fact brought nothing at all of this sort home with him from India.[1]

In February 1992, Christopher Beaumont, I.C.S., Secretary of the Boundary Commission, made a series of revelations, after having obtained the Foreign Office's permission to do so, about Mountbatten's gerrymandering of the Awards in India's favour.

According to Beaumont, when it was decided that the boundaries of the Punjab would be announced around August 9, the Governor of the Punjab, Evan Jenkins, demanded information about the proposed boundaries of the Province in order to prepare himself for any unpleasant situation. Beaumont informed George Abell, the Viceroy's private secretary about the proposed boundaries of the Province. According to that information, the Governor of the Punjab received a sketch map of the Province and an accompanying letter which showed Zira and Ferozepur as parts of Pakistan. This map reached the Government House, Lahore, on August 8.

On August 11, the Governor received a telegram which simply read **ELIMINATE SALIENT**. Under the new instructions, Zira and Ferozepur were awarded to India. It may be remembered that in the United India, Ferozepur housed an important Indian army arsenal. Besides other reasons, perhaps the conspiracy was also meant to deprive Pakistan of that store of arms and ammunition. Beaumont also alleges that the Commission's Assistant Secretary V.D. Ayer was constantly keeping Nehru and V.P. Menon in touch with all the proceedings of the Commission.

According to Beaumont, V.P. Menon paid a visit to Radciiffe at midnight on August 11, to see him. Beaumont, who was residing with Radciiffe, told Menon politely that he could not. Menon replied that he had been sent by Mountbatten. Beaumont answered that it made no difference at all. At last, Menon departed.

Next morning, Beaumont told Radcliffe during breakfast about Menon's visit on the previous night. That very morning, Radciiffe told Beaumont that Ismay had invited him to lunch that day. At the same time, Ismay had asked Radciiffe not to bring Beaumont with him on the pretext that there would not be enough room on the table for an extra guest. Beaumont knew very well that it was only a lame excuse.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol.XII, p.579.

www.cssexampoint.com

It was for the first time that Beaumont and Radcliffe were separated at such a function. That very evening, the boundaries of the Punjab were changed and Ferozepur and Zira were awarded to India.[1]

Another revealing document is a note of A.N. Khosla, Chairman, Waterways, Irrigation & Navigation Commission. Pandit Nehru in a secret letter on August 9, 1947, requested Mountbatten, "If you feel that this note might be sent to Sir Radcliffe, perhaps this might be done".[2] Khosla in his note had argued that "both for the strategic and the point of view of irrigation it **will be most dangerous to let Ferozepur go to Pakistan**".

All the Muslim members of the Commission were stunned when the Award was announced on August 17. The Congress lawyer Chamanlal Setalvad had frankly told Sir Zafrullah if the boundaries were drawn in the light of the arguments, he would certainly have the upper hand. However, instead of being based on the given arguments, the Award was the result of a mean conspiracy between Mountbatten and the Congress. Justice Mohammad Munir rightly said, "If the Award was judicial, it lacked every attribute of a judicial decision. And if it was political, why lay claim to justice, fairness and impartiality? Why not say India belonged to the British and their Viceroy gave it to whomsoever he liked?"[3]

The Quaid-i-Azam expressed his grief and resentment at the Award that "We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible, and the latest blow we have received was the Award. **It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse award**".[4]

Altaf Husain under the caption "Territorial Murder" wrote a very strong-worded editorial in *Dawn*: "The decision of the Boundary Commission came for Pakistan like a bolt from the blue. This is an **unjust award, a biased decision, an act of shameful partiality** by one who had been trusted to be fair because he was neutral. We maintain that the person so chosen and so trusted having proved either unequal or unworthy of the task entrusted to him the present Government of Pakistan is not bound by the previous understanding. Let us make it perfectly clear that even if the Government of Pakistan accepts this **territorial murder** to Pakistan which is miscalled a Judicial Award the people will not".[5]

The Pakistan Times (Lahore) vehemently criticised the Radcliffe Award that "Despite the claims of its author, we hold that the Award is

---

[1] *Eminent Churchillians*, p.96.

[2] *The Transfer of Power 1942-47*, Vol.XII, pp.618-19.

[3] Mohammad Munir, "Days to Remember", *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, June 23-24, 1964.

[4] *Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah – Speeches As Governor-General*, Karachi, 1963, pp.32-33.

[5] Zeba Zubair, *From Mutiny to Mountbatten*, London, 1996, pp.69-70.

www.cssexampoint.com

most unfair and unjust and certainly not the non-political Award of a detached judge. In the Punjab the notional division had been unfair but the final award has gone much further and hacked off some of our richest tracts of land. The blow has been the hardest in Gurdaspur Distt where the two Muslim tehsils of Gurdaspar and Batala have been thrown into Hindustan along with the Pathankot tehsil taking away from Pakistan, the rich Muslim industrial town of Batata". In the end the paper wrote, "The Award is wrong, unfair and unjust and we cannot help hoping the day, however, far off it may be, when a return .to sanity on the other side of the border will see this wrong righted".[1]

[1] ...s (Lahore), August 19, 1947, p.3.

www.cssexampoint.com

MUSLIM LEADERS

NAWAB MOHSIN-UL-MULK
(December 9, 1837 – October 16, 1907)

After Sayyid Ahmad Khan's demise the Muslim community looked for a person who could lead the Muslims. In those days the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the MAO College was generally considered to be the leader of the Muslims. Thus the Muslims rallied around Mahdi Ali Khan, better known as Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Born in a scholarly family of Etawah, Nawab Sahib after completing his traditional education joined the collector's office. Within a short span of time he was promoted to the rank of *Sarishtadar*. Due to of his sharp faculties, he was appointed Tahsildar and soon became the Deputy Collector. At that time, it was the highest post an Indian could aspire for. In 1869, he so ably administered the famine-stricken areas in the U.P., that the Collector mentioned in his report that an employee more intelligent, more active and honest than Mahdi Ali could not be found throughout the United Provinces.

In 1874, the Nawab Shaib gave up the Government service and choose to serve Hyderabad Daccan up to July 18, 1893. During his 22 years of service there he held such key positions as political and financial secretary.

In March. 1884, in recognition of his services the State of Hyderabad conferred on him the titles of Muneer Nawaz Jang Bahadur and later on the title of Mohsin-ul-Mulk. In those days the British, Government did not recognize such titles but the Governor- General accepted these titles and allowed them to be used in the official correspondence.

Relations with Sayyid Ahmad Khan:

When Sayyid Ahmad published his *Tabeen-ul-Kalam* it was received with series of objections and criticism. Having read this book Nawab Sahib wrote a letter to him in which be condemned Sayyid's religious views. He even called him an infidel. Sayyid Ahmad's reply was so soft and tender that Mohsin-ul-Mulk became his devotee for the rest of his life. With the passage of time, their friendship was further strengthened. Nawab Sahib regularly contributed articles to the *Tahzeeb-ul-Akhlaq*.

During Sir Sayyid's [illegible], the Board of [illegible]stees Bill was passed to run administration of the [illegible]. His son Sa[illegible] Mahmud, was appointed

www.cssexampoint.com

as the life-Secretary of the College. However, after Sir Sayyid's death, Sayyid Mahmud tendered his resignation and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was unanimously elected as the new Secretary. The deep love and devotion which Nawab Sahib had for the son of his bosom friend can be judged from the following incident. On being elected as the Secretary, Mohsin-ul-Mulk made a speech in which he said, "I should have died at this very moment. I am sorry to see with my own eyes that after a friendship of thirty years, the post of Sayyid Mahmud has been given to me."

Coming out of the meeting, Nawab Sahib fell on to Sayyid Mahmud's feet and remarked "I will accept the post if you appoint me as Secretary."

After Sir Sayyid's demise the College passed through a very difficult period. It owed a debt of rupees fifty thousand. People had stopped contributing to the College fund on account of the embezzlement by a Hindu clerk, Sham Bihari Lai, during the last days of Sir Sayyid. The number of students also began to decline, in 1895, the College had 565 students, and this number fell to 343 just four days after the death of Sir Sayyid. In these extremely critical circumstances, Nawab Moshin-ul-Mulk took over the administration of the College. The College made considerable progress because of his personal efforts and hard work. Its income rose from Rs.76 thousand to Rs. one and a half lac. Similarly, the number of students rose from 343 to 789.

A number of eminent scholars visited the College during his secretaryship. The King of Afghanistan Ameer Habibullah also paid a visit to the College. In those days, a false propaganda was unleashed that the College authorities intentionally kept the students ignorant of Islam and made them atheists. Ameer Habibullah held similar views about the College. But during his visit, the students of the College read out to him the Holy Quran and discussed with him religious matters and answered his questions regarding various religious issues. In the light of all this, the Ameer openly admitted, that the people who were spreading false rumours about the College were "liars".

After Sayyid Ahmad, Nawab Sahib was elected the Secretary of the AIMEC. It was by no means a new institution for him. He had presided over its sessions in 1893 and 1894. During his tenure, the AIMEC further widened its scope of activity. Previously only one out of the ten sessions was held outside U.P. However, during. Nawab Moshin-ul-Muik's tenure the AIMEC held five out of its ten sessions outside U.P. It is a proof of the fact that the Muslims of other provinces had also started thinking it to be useful.

As a leader of the Muslim community the most important achievement of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was the formation of the Simla Deputation. It owed all its success to his untiring efforts. He also rendered a very vital and valuable service in connection with the establishment of the

www.cssexampoint.com

All- India Muslim League. At the League's inaugural session in Dhaka, he was appointed the Joint Secretary of the committee, which was to formulate the constitution of the new-born political party.

NAWAB VIQAR-UL-MULK
(March 24, 1841 – January 27, 1917)

After Sayyed Ahmad Khan and Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Mushtaq Husain better known as Viqar-ul-Mulk became the leader of the Indian Muslims. He was born in Meerut district. Mushtaq Husain was only six months old when his father died and the whole responsibility of his upbringing fell to his mother.

After primary education, he got admission in Rorki Engineering College, in 1859. But he could not achieve any significant success because the kind of education imparted there did not suit his temperament. So, he gave up his studies. Viqar-ul-Mulk started his career as assistant teacher but after a while, he joined the Income Tax Department, in September 1860. Although he served the department for seven months only yet his honesty and dedication were highly appreciated by John Strachey. After serving in several other capacities, he was appointed *Sarishtadar*.

In the meanwhile, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was appointed to deal with the crisis resulting from a devastating famine that hit Bengal and its adjoining areas in 1874. On his request, Viqar-ul-Mulk was appointed his assistant. This marked the beginning of a deep friendship between the two.

Right from the beginning, Viqar-ul-Mulk was very regular in his prayers. At the prayer time, he would leave the office to say his prayers. One of his English officers disliked this practice and prohibited him from saying prayers during office hours. But Viqar-ul-Mulk refused to obey the orders. When the matter became serious, he applied for leave but the officer refused even to entertain the application and, in a threatening way, asked him to resign. Nawab Sahib wrote another application to state that he could not leave his prayers, because they were a religious obligation for him. He offered that his salary might be deducted according to the time, which he spent in prayers during the office hours, otherwise, he might be granted leave for six months.

At this, a six months leave was granted to him. When Sayyed Ahmad Khan came to know of the whole affair, he wrote the following interesting letter to him on January 29, 1857.

I received, your letter today and came to know of the affairs. I am not so regular in my prayers, nor am I so careful about the timing of the prayers. Sometimes, I say two prayers at a time and during a long railway journey, I cannot say my prayers at all. I possess all these evil

www.cssexampoint.com

traits and yet, despite all these inefficiencies and bad deeds the prayers must be offered on time or afterwards. But it is simply intolerable if someone orders you not to say the prayers at all. In my opinion, not to say the prayers is a sinful act that may be pardoned but if someone does not say his prayers on someone else's bidding or shows laziness in this regard is, in my opinion, a non-believer and such an act would never be pardoned. Right from the start, you should have adopted an attitude that could have avoided the present situation and if you could not do so, there was no point in making such shameful supplications and applications as "deduct my salary" or "grant me leave, Sir". You should have resigned straight away and said that you would obey the commandments of Allah Almighty instead of an English officer. In that case, what could happen? You would have been rendered, jobless or died of starvation. But that would have been much better."

Viqar-ul-Mulk also had an opportunity to work with Sir Sayyed at the Scientific Society, Aligarh. In 1866, he was asked to translate *The French Revolution* and *Napoleon* into Urdu.

Nawab Sahib.was also included in the committee formed by Sir Sayyed to collect funds for Aligarh College. He dedicated all his faculties to that task. He toured Aligarh, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh in order to collect money for the college.

After Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, he was appointed the Honorary Secretary of the Board of Trustees, MAO College Aligarh for three years. On this occasion, the acting secretary Nawab Muzammul Ullah Khan said, "Ever since the death of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Muslims of India had been wistfully pleading that Viqar-ul-Mulk should be appointed the Secretary. All the Muslim newspapers were advocating that Nawab sahib was the most suitable person for the post." Mian Muhammad Shafi was also of the view that no one could be a better successor to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk than Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk.

During his life, Sir Sayyed had seen his college flourishing and progressing but he did not live to see the fulfillment of his greatest ambition i.e. the establishment of a Muslim university. In December 1898, the AIMEC held its session where impassioned speeches were made calling for the fulfillment of his dream. The Muslims were appealed to collect 15 lac rupees. The movement for the Aligarh University gained momentum during the secretaryship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk.

In 1910, at Nagpur session of the AIMEC a resolution regarding the Muslim university was moved. After the conference session, another meeting, presided over by Viqar-ul-Mulk, was held on January 10, 1911, to discuss the proposals regarding the proposed Muslim University. A committee was formed to conduct a campaign for the university. Sir Aga

www.cssexampoint.com

Khan and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were named Honorary Secretaries. When all the arrangements for a Muslim University had been completed then at the very last moment, the Government refused to grant the right of affiliation to the proposed university. The Muslims were shocked and enraged at this decision. Although, by that time, Nawab Sahib's health had run down and he had also distanced himself from the affairs of the College, yet he denounced the government decision and asked the Muslims to stick to their demand, despite the announcement by the government. "If today, we give our consent to this proposal, then tomorrow, we will find our hands cut off and our future generations who would be affected by the decision would damn us for having accepted a system which deprived them of the true benefits of the university".

Two important developments took place at the College during the secretaryship of Viqar-ul-Mulk. Firstly, the powers of the English principal were curtailed and secondly, the College started paving more attention to the religious education of its students.

Urdu-Hindi controversy:

The campaign to eliminate Urdu had started during the days of Sir Sayyed, but in the year 1900, this menace gained a fresh momentum. The government decided to introduce Hindi as the official language of the courts. In May 1900, a meeting was held at Aligarh to protest against the decision. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk played an active role in it. Similarly he presided over a meeting in Lucknow on August 18 and 19, in which he deplored the decision of the Government.

Political Association:

After the meeting, a series of discussions and articles began to stress that keeping in view the prevailing circumstances, Sir Sayyid's policy should be abandoned and the silence over the political matters must be broken. Thus, the eminent Muslim leaders held a meeting at the residence of Hamid Ali Khan, in Lucknow on October, 21 and 22, 1901. Referring to the aims and objectives of the meeting, Viqar-ul-Mulk said, "The Muslims all over the country are leading a life of degradation. Their rights are being usurped, in the light of the changing political scenario we have decided to form a separate political party for the Muslims to be known as Political Association."

Viqar-ul-Mulk undertook a tour of various provinces and spelled out the aims and objectives of the new party. Consequently, the Muslims in general, began thinking about taking part in political affairs. Unfortunately, this venture did not succeed.

www.cssexampoint.com

After the Simla Deputation the Muslims began to feel a greater urgency for their separate political party. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk presided over a meeting in Dacca, on December 30, which discussed the proposal of a new political party. In his presidential address, he said, "Gentlemen, that which has drawn us here today is not a need which has only now been felt by us. When the Congress was founded, this need had even then been felt. The Musalmans are only one-fourth in number as compared with the total population of the country, and it is manifest that if at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, the nation which is four times numerous more will rule the country. Now, let each of you ponder what will be our condition at that time. Then our lives, our property, our honour and our religion will all be in jeopardy. Woe betide the time when we have to live as subjects of our neighbours who want to take revenge on us for Aurangzeb's policies after hundreds of years.

At the end of the meeting, the AIML formally came into being. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was appointed the joint secretary of the new party.

Separate Electorate:

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 marked the beginning of a prolonged debate about joint and separate electorate. Some of the Muslim leaders were in favour of joint electorate but Nawab Sahib had a firm conviction that separate electorate was indispensable for the political survival of the Muslims.

The attack on Tripoli:

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was deeply disgusted at the tragic invasion of Tripoli by Italy in 1911. He wrote numerous articles in favour of the Turks. In one such article he wrote, "The calamity which is befalling the Turks is in fact befalling Islam. If the power of the Ottoman Empire is weakened and it is no more in a position to protect the holy places like Makka and Madina the Muslims must prepare themselves for the day, when the flag of some European nation will be hoisted in Syria and Arab.

The Kanpur tragedy:

In August 1913, the Kanpur Mosque tragedy took place, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk while condemning the firing on innocent Muslims by Taylor wrote that, "If we let go this incident, then, instead of one Taylor, even an ordinary policeman would become Taylor for us. Now, there must be no misgivings about the fact that we ourselves are the guardians of our freedom and self respect. It is up to us to protect it or to allow it to be trampled beneath the feet of the enemy".

www.cssexampoint.com

SAYYED AMEER ALI
(April 6, 1849 – August 3, 1928)

Sayyed Ameer Ali was born in Chansurs, Bengal, After getting primary education at home, he joined the Hugli College. From the very beginning, he was very fond of English literature, and even during his school days, he had read works of Shakespeare, Milton and Gibbon. After doing M.A. and LLB he started his law practice in 1868. After a while, the Government of Bengal awarded him a scholarship enabling him to go to England for higher studies. After doing Bar at. Law, he returned to India in 1873. It is worth mentioning that before leaving for England, he had obtained introductory letters from Lord Mayo and other eminent personalities. In England, while doing Bar at Law, he also took part in the academic, literary and cultural activities of London. On his return, he started his law practice at Calcutta, In 1875, he was appointed professor of Muhammadan Law at the Presidency College, Calcutta. In 1873 he was appointed Presidency Magistrate on the condition that the discrepancy between the salaries of the Indian and English magistrates would be removed. In June, 1881, he restarted his practice at Calcutta High Court. He was nominated as an Additional Member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1878. Similarly in 1883 he was offered a seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council. He fully participated in the deliberations of the Bengal Legislative Council. He played an active role in the approval and implementation of the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which was meant to improve the lot of the Bengali farmers. He served as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court from 1890 to April 1904, On November 23, 1909, he was appointed a member of the judicial committee of the Privy Council. He served at this post till this death. He was the first Indian to be appointed to that important assignment.

Political Services:

The Muslim leadership of the nineteenth century was facing a two-fold problem. Sayyed Ahmad Khan and Nawab Abdul Latif of Literary Society of Bengal were of the view that English education was the pre-requisite for taking part in any political activity. How could they run before learning to walk, was their argument. So they preferred to insultate the Muslims against any political activity. They feared that the political agitation was likely to deflect them from the path of education and loyalty. It is quite interesting to note that Sayyed Ahmad who had been preaching and advising the Muslims all through the years to shun politics reached the same conclusion towards the end of his life as A[illegible]d in the beginning.

www.cssexampoint.com

Sayyed Ameer Ali was of the opinion that Muslims, specially the Bengali Muslims could not sit back in time of crises to wait for the tardy results of English education and should organize themselves for political action. The educational policies of Nawab Abdul Lateef did not satisfy the reformist young generation, led by 29 years old young Barrister Ameer Ali and they established the first Muslim Political organisation of the sub-continent.

The Central National Muhammadan Association (CNMA):

Ameer Ali launched the Central National Muhammadan Association (CNMA) on May 12, 1878. Prince Farrakh Shah, who wielded great influence in official circles as well as among the Muslims of Calcutta became the President of the Association. Ameer Ali, the founder-secretary served the Association for 25 years.

Though the CNMA developed into a countrywide political organization, it was essentially a product of Muslim politics of Bengal. It must be remembered that political discontent was more marked in Bengal than anywhere else in the Indian sub-continent. The British repressive policies were strongly resented by the Indians especially by the Bengalis. The Bengali newspapers and Journals were in the vanguards of political agitation against Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act.

In Bengal the landlords, who were mostly Hindus, extorted high rents from predominantly Muslim tenantry despite the "systematic resistance" by the latter during the Pubna and Bogra riots in 1872. The Hindu Bania carried on their shylockian trade throughout the country but in particular had wrought great havoc to the helpless peasantry of Bengal. The half-starved and illiterate peasants put their thumb marks on documents which spelt their ruin and ultimately deprived them of their lands.[1]

The educated Hindus held a monopoly of public offices. It gave them political leverage. By 1876 S.N. Banerjea led the agitation against the reduction of age limit for the Indian Civil Services examination and organized the Indian Association on July 26, 1876 with the objective of creating strong public opinion and uniting different Indian communities "upon the basis of common political interest and aspirations."

Ameer Ali boldly urged his co-religionists to step forth in the political arena and organize themselves to stand up for their rights. Unlike Sir Sayyed and Sayyed Abdul Latif he did not look upon politics as a forbidden fruit. Politically unorganized, the Bengali Muslims could not stand up against the ruthless exploitation by the Hindus. Millions of poor Muslims were as powerless in the political field as they were helpless in the economic sphere. They irony of fate is that the Bengali

[1] M. Yusuf Abbasi, *The Political Biography of Syed Ameer Ali*, Lahore, 1989.

www.cssexampoint.com

Muslim tenants did .not get the help of law and enjoyed no rights as those conferred on the Hindu zamindars by the law.

The other side of the picture was that the Bengali Muslims were often denied entry into public service by the Hindus in the Government Departments. In these circumstances, the uneducated and unprivileged Muslims in their "Struggle for existence" were pitted against the educated and privileged Hindus.

There is no doubt that the Muslim grievances were mainly economic but those could only be redressed by political means. Here lay the rationale of a political organization specially for the Bengali Muslims.

The CNMA was established to protect and conserve general interests of the Muslims of India: It sought to obtain recognition from Government of their reasonable claims. The Association decided to achieve "political recognition of the Indian Mohammadan by a moral revival." Ameer Ali wanted to make the Association into an instrument of political training and progress. He could not afford to let his community lag behind in the political race. He sought to marshall the Muslims into an independent organization so that they could hold their own *vis-à-vis* the British Government and the Hindus.

Although the CNMA primarily stood for Muslim rights it was conscious of the fact that Muslim welfare was closely connected "with the well being of other races of India". Co-operation with other communities was the keynote of its policies. The aims of communal harmony were incorporated in the constitution of the Association with the result that it enjoyed the moral support of the non-Muslims. In 1883, Raja Inder Chunder Singh was an honorary Vice President and Babu Saligram Singh and K.M. Chatterji were members of the committee of Management.[1]

Syed Ameer Ali, the founder-Secretary, was given ample authority to shape and direct the policies of the CNMA. The election of members followed the club method of proposal and acceptance but the Association was more exclusive. It is quite amazing to note that hundreds of members from the lower middle class and poor segment of the community took up membership even though the annual subscription of six rupees was quite high in those days,

In 1883, the CNMA had 1518 members on its rolls and by 1883 their number had risen to 3232. All these people belonged to different social classes represented by lawyers, professors, editors, doctors, engineers, high officials, zamindars. ulama, pirs, merchants, shopkeepers, school teachers, patwaris, police constables, clerks and craftsmen made this Association a truly national organization.

[1]M. Yusuf Abbasi, *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia*, Islamab

www.cssexampoint.com

In 1888 the CNMA could boast of 69 branches scattered all over Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Punjab and N.W. Provinces. In the Punjab its branches were working at Lahore, Hissar, and Ambala. In 1884 the Lahore branch had 175 members which included 6 newspapers editors. This large network of branches was unique in contemporary Muslim politics. All these branches were not paper branches but took a leading part in the local affairs and cooperated with the parent body in all questions concerning the general Muslim community. Ameer Ali often toured the country to cultivate personal contacts with the leaders of the branch associations. The branches were required to guide the government in matters pertaining to the Muslim interests. The branches in Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Pana, Madras, Badaun and Surat commanded large and active membership and played a significant role in the Association. Bengal and the Punjab were the main centres of activity of the Association. In 1884 the CNMA proposed to hold an annual conference of the branch associations in order to discuss the common Muslim problems and to coordinate the overall activities of the Association. Although the proposed conference could not be held for some reasons yet the very idea of holding a moot on the National scale reflected the national character of the Association.

The CNMA approached the Muslins public opinion through a network of newspapers. In 1888 the *Urdu Guide* and the *Muhammadan Observer* both edited by Shamsul Ulama Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad, projected the views of the CNMA in Bengal. Muharram Ali Chishti, although in the beginning a stout champion of the Aligarh Movement, sided with .the CNMA and its powerful organ, *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) disseminated its aims in the Punjab. Generally the Muslim press was very well- disposed towards the Association and helped in the promotion of its cause.

In January 1882, the Hunter Commission was appointed to review the Indian educational system. The CNMA authorized Sayyed Ameer Ali to draft a Memorial embodying the various grievances of the Muslim community all over the Indian sub-continent. As the CNMA was of the view that Muslim education was not purely a matter of academic policies, but a politico-economic issue related to employment. For Muslims education and employment issues meant much more than mere assignment of their due share in state patronage, but called for the formulation of principles on which Muslim rights were to be secured in future. The Memorial prepared by the CNMA epitomized Muslim aspirations and crystallized their grievances.

The Memorial very rightly argued that the degradation of the Muslims was a product of the political, economic and educational policies of the Indian government. The CNMA urged the Government to accept its share of responsibility for having deprived Muslims of

www.cssexampoint.com

their due rights and it pleaded for compensation by way of special measures to ameliorate their poor condition.

The Memorial also pointed out that the educated Hindus held a monopoly of Government employment and even well-qualified Muslims found all avenues of public employment blocked for them by the Hindus.

For the last 15 years Urdu-Hindi controversy had been going on in the sub-continent and the Muslims were agitating against the Government decision of replacing Urdu by Hindi and Devanagri script. The Memorial drafted by Ameer Ali incorporated the Muslim demand emphasizing the value of Urdu as a common medium of expression both among the Hindus and Muslims. On the language question, the Memorial voiced the feelings of Muslims all over the Indian sub-continent.

The Memorial took notice of the administration of Muslim Law after the abolition of the office of Qazi-ul-Quzat and. the Qazis in the Mofussil. The European magistrates, the Muslims rightly felt, were not deciding their cases regarding marriages, divorces and alimony in accordance with their religious law. Ameer Ali also took up the question of Muslim endowments which had been a cause of concern to the Muslims for almost two decades. The Government had been diverting the income from Muslim Trust properties to its general revenues and spending it on those institutions from which the Hindus benefited the most. The Memorial urged the Government to adopt a uniform policy with regard to the Muslim Trust incomes which should be applied for the promotion of Muslim education only.

The Memorial created among the Muslims an awareness for the far-reaching socio-political issues like education, employment and Urdu. Ameer Ali and the CNMA made an organized effort to project the commonly felt Muslim grievances and aspirations on the Indian political platform.

The CNMA rightfully took pride in being the sole political organization with All Indian character. The branch associations address themselves to the needs of the local Muslim communities which formed their primary basis of cooperation with the central body. As the CNMA had created the nation-wide awareness of basic problems like the Muslim share in Government employment and due representation in the local bodies the branch associations pursued these policies vigorously. The Association started movement of educational reform. The Surat branch, within four years of its existence, established a school for teaching English with Gujrati, Urdu, Arabic, Persian and other subjects. The Patna branch set up an Anglo-Arabic school, the Ajmer branch transformed a Madrasa into a school.

Sayyed Ameer Ali was in London when the All-India Muslim League came into existence. In order to convey the demands and

www.cssexampoint.com

viewpoints of the Muslims, he decided to establish a branch of the new party in London. On May 6, 1908, the London branch of the League was inaugurated at Caxton Hall, London.

Ameer Ali had a special link with Turkey. During the Balkan War, contributions were sent to the Turks through his efforts. He was well aware of the significance of the Caliphate. To him it symbolized the unity of the Muslim world. When the European nations started a smear campaign against this institution, Ameer Ali wrote powerful articles to explain its importance for the Muslims. In June 1915, he contributed articles to the *Times,* which were intended to inform the British people about the status and position of the Caliph in the Muslim world. Similarly, in a letter to the Turkish Prime Minister Ismat Anono, Ameer Ali called upon him to uphold the Caliphate. However, Ismat Anono was enraged an asked him as to why he was pleading for Caliphate when he himself was a Shi'ite. Ameer Ali was deeply shocked when Mustafa Kamal brought an end to the Caliphate and founded the new Turkish Republic. On March 5, 1929, he predicted that the abolition of the Caliphate would be devastating for Islam and civilization.

Academic Services:

In spite of his numerous political services, Ameer Ali is well known in the sub-continent more for his intellectual and academic pursuits. His book, *The Spirit of Islam,* is regarded as a masterpiece. It consists of two parts: In the first, he has discussed the life of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon Him) and in the second, he has analyzed the teachings of Islam. In the second portion, with strong and convincing arguments, he has refuted the charges leveled by the non-Muslims against Islam. He has also made a thought-provoking comparison and contrast between Islam and other religions. According to an Orientalist, there could not be a better depiction of Islam and Ameer Ali has said in his book all that could be said in defence of Islam

In another book, *A History of the Saracens,* he describes the events from the birth of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon Him) till the sack of Baghdad and the fall of Gerenada. Discussing the motive behind the writing of the book, Ameer Ali said, "It is indeed shocking that the Arabs who are nearest to us among those whose glorious and magnificent deeds left their permanent marks on the history of the world and whose literary and academic achievements and researches, enlightened the whole world. But in the West, their history is known only to researchers whereas in India, the Arab history is shrouded in oblivion.

In the opinion of Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, besides depicting the historical events, Ameer Ali's book also reflects the social, mental and economic developments of the Muslims.

www.cssexampoint.com

NAWAB SALIMULLAH KHAN
(July 22, 1871 – February 12, 1915)

In line with their typical policy, the English deliberately kept East Bengal backward. This province was callously ignored economically, politically, and educationally while every effort was made for the progress of West Bengal, especially Calcutta. In these inhospitable circumstances, the leaders of East Bengal tried their best to improve the lot of the Bengali Muslims. Nawab Salimullah Khan was one of these prominent figures who rendered valuable services to the Bengali Muslims.

Nawab Salimullah's family, was renowned for its active participation in the public welfare programmes. His grand father Sir Abdul Ghani had provided Rs.12000 as a gift towards the construction of Calcutta Medical College lodge. The MAO College Aligarh was the recipient of liberal donations from him. His father Ahsanullah Khan had provided a lot of money for providing electricity to the streets of Dacca. After his father's death, in 1901, Salimullah became his successor. He was very fond of arranging *Majalis-e-Milad* (Functions commemorating the birth of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). During the holy month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, he was particularly fond of organizing such functions. During that month, he slept only for a few hours and spent much of his time in such functions where he himself recited the *Na'ats*.

He carried on his family tradition of actively participating in the welfare works. His residence named Ahsan Manzil was considered to be the centre of political and social activities of the Muslims of East Bengal. He founded the Anjuman-e-Mutee-ul-Islam, under which night schools were set up in mosques, where adults and children were imparted education. Under the auspices of the Anjuman, grain shops were opened in different parts of the city.

The Nawab Sahib was particularly interested in the educational progress of the Muslims. He lavishly contributed to the funds of the MAO College, Aligarh. He provided Rs.25 thousand for the construction of the Ranchi College and earmarked Rs.10 thousand , for the Dufferin Hostel. He also provided Rs.30 thousand for Calcutta's Baker Hostel. The Engineering School at Dacca and the Salimullah Hall of Dacca University bear witness to his generosity. For the upbringing of the Muslim orphans, he founded the Salimullah orphanage and dedicated a large part of his property to it.

Political Services:

The partition of Bengal created a great deal of political consciousness among the Muslims and they began to think about the

www.cssexamportal.com

protection of their political, social, cultural, and religious rights. At the critical juncture, Nawab Salimullah provided an exemplary leadership. Along with Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq, Nawab Ali Choudhary and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yousuf, he set up the Muhammadan Provincial Union in order to draw the attention of the government towards the political, social and economic problems of the Muslims.

On his proposal, the annual meeting of the AIMEC was held at Shah Bagh, Dacca. During that meeting, he proposed the creation of a new Muslim political party named All-India Muslim Confederacy. The Bengali Hindu newspapers bitterly denounced the proposal and began to draw parallels between the Muslim confederacy and the late Marhatta Confederacy and Sikh Confederacy. Nawab Salimullah played a pivotal role in the formation of the All-India Muslim League.

Nawab Salimullah Khan put up a stiff resistance to the Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal. Under his brave leadership the Bengali Muslims organized themselves. He was the acknowledged leader of the Bengali Muslims and their spokesman as well. He launched such a vigorous campaign in support of the partition of Bengal that the extremist Hindus even tried to assassinate him. In 1911, Nawab Salimullah Khan was horrified and shocked when the British government annulled the partition of Bengal. At the annual session of the AIML held in 1912, he expressed his heart-felt grief in the following words: "The partition gave us a great opportunity to bestir ourselves at it awakened in our hearts the throbbings of new national life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Bengal. We came to realize for the first time in our history that we too had rights and privileges as British subjects.

To us the annulment means the deprivation of the splendid opportunities at self-improvement which we had secured by the partition." Nawab Sahib lamented that the change had been brought about without even warning or consulting the Muslims. After the annulment, Nawab Salimullah reduced the scope of his political activities. He concentrated all his attention on welfare works. He started the repair work of the historical mosque in Lal Bagh.

MOHAMED ALI JOHAR
(1878-1931)

The dawn of twentieth century marked the growth of Muslim politics in India with constitutionalism and loyalism as its main policy. Circumstances, however, did not allow the continuance of this policy any longer and just at the beginning of the second decade a school of Muslim

www.cssexampoint.com

radicals became active with the avowed purpose of ousting the Britishers. Eminent personalities, the Ali Brothers being among them, appeared on the political horizon and made it their mission to firmly face their callous masters and were determined to over throw their treacherous rule.[1]

Mohamed Ali was only a teenager when, his father passed away. So, the entire responsibility of his training, upbringing and education fell on the shoulders of his mother Abadi Bano known as *Bi Amma*. He was educated at the Bareilly School and MAO College, Aligarh. There, his mental faculties had all opportunity of flourishing. In the College the Siddon's Club had turned into a students' Union in which he spoke freely and frankly. In 1896, he passed his B.A. examination from Allahabad University, securing a first position in the university.

Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan arranged for him a scholarship. In this way, he was afforded with yet another opportunity to nourish and demonstrate his innate faculties. In England, he joined the Oxford University. At that time, the greatest desire and ambition of an-Indian was to become an ICS officer. He also tried his luck but nature wanted him to lead the Indian Muslims instead of becoming a part of the bureaucracy. He did not qualify the examination and returned home with a B.A. Honour's degree in 1902.

On his return to Rampur, he started his career as the Inspector General of Education. Simultaneously he also acted as the principal of Rampur High School. During his stay at that Muslim state, he was shocked to know that there was no arrangement for the religious education of the Muslims. He did all that he could for the introduction of religious education in the State. Then he joined the Opium Department of the Baroda State.

During his service; Mohamed Ali also started contributing articles to the *Times of India* (Bombay) the *Observer* (Lahore) and *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) on various issues. It inculcated in him the desire and the spirit to serve the Muslims through journalism. After resigning from the service, he started his own weekly *Comrade* from Calcutta, which played an important role in the freedom movement.

From the establishment of the AIML – December, 1906 Mohamed Ali was in the center of every *melee* as a reformer and social radical, as crusader for the Turkish cause and as champion of Muslim political interests.

Besides being a great politician, poet and orator, Mohamed Ali was also a top class journalist. According to the famous English writer H G Wells, "he had the heart of Napolean, the pen of Macauley and the tongue of Burke". He considered journalism to be the best way by which he could

---

[1]Shan Mohammad, *Freedom Movement in India – The Role of Ali Brothers*, 1979, Delhi.

www.cssexampoint.com

serve his nation. He had specific views about journalism and he strictly adhered to them. He never allowed his newspapers to become substandard. His newspapers never published the vulgar and obscene advertisements of theatre, cinema, wine or medicines. Once, he went to England for medical treatment. His expenditures were borne by the Maharaja of Alwar. At that time, his journal *Hamdard* was facing an acute financial crisis and he was thinking of discontinuing its publication. In his absence, it was proposed that the *Hamdard* should bring out a special Alwar's Jubilee Number funded by the state. When Mohamed Ali came to know of this proposal, he outrightly rejected it, despite all the favours of the Maharaja.

Once, Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi got hold of a letter of Maulana's opponent which was published in many newspapers. Its publication in *Hamdard* could tarnish his reputation still further. When Abdul Majid begged his permission to publish that letter in *Hamdard*, he reprimanded him saying "No, never, it cannot work. Such are the tactics of Chintamani editor. From where are you learning this Chintamani techniques?"

Once, while commenting on the irresponsible Indian journalism he remarked, "People like those newspapers which are based on the principle of exchanging one vulgar abuse for one Paisa or those newspapers whose income depends upon pornographic advertisements."

On another occasion reflecting on the contemporary low standards of Indian journalism, he said, "Instead of newspapers, they have become views papers, because they present all the news item in a highly subjective manner. Thus, all such news items can be described as the views of the editors."

Some body from Gujrat was planning to start a newspaper, Mohamed Ali wrote to him the following golden principles of journalism which he believed essential for the success of a newspaper.

1) It should be free from subjectivity. It should not contain any false propaganda against someone or in someone's favour.
2) If someone or some newspaper is to be opposed, the opposition must be confined to the opinion and should be without the personal element. The writing should not be for the sake of writing nor for the sake of inciting or exciting the people. It must be replete with somberness and seriousness.
3) An editor must reflect on all the issues. He must be adequately familiar with other newspapers and magazines. You do not know the extent to which the editor of a daily newspaper has to work. Take my one example. I am to write about Egypt, I have come to know a great deal about Egypt through the newspapers which I read daily. Even then, I have to go through a number of books. Only then, I have been able to collect some material

www.cssexampoint.com

which I think, would be sufficient for writing a single column. If I wish to write at random, I can easily do that. But it would be a great injustice with the readers."

Comrade and *Hamdard*:

Mohamed Ali's journalistic venture met with success and he achieved unprecedented prominence during the tumultous decade following the Partition of Bengal.

The *Comrade*, launched on January 14, 1911 from. Calcutta, later shifted to Delhi, became the main spokesman of the angry and restless Muslim intelligentsia and its energetic editor was able to carve out his own independent sphere of influence in the U.P., the nerve-centre of Muslim intellectual, religious and political life. There were other newspapers like *Al-Hilal* (Calcutta) *Muslim Gazette* (Lucknow) and *Al-Basheer* (Etwah) but the influence of Comrade was unrivalled. It performed the important role of providing a frame work for the uneasiness and dissatisfaction of the Muslim educated elite, moulded their attitudes towards the government.

The *Comrade* became so popular even with the European community in India that Lady Hardinge, wife of the Governor-General, frequently enquired on the telephone about the timing of the next issue which she was always eager to obtain. It is interesting to note that there were about 300 subscribers to the *Comrade* from England. Once Mohamed Ali went to see Fleetwood Wilson, member Governor-General's Executive Council, who was leaving for England. During the meeting, Wilson took him to the room where his packed luggage was lying which contained a number of *Comrade's* issues. While pointing out to the *Comrade* Wilson told Mohamed Ali that there could be no better present than that for the editor of the *Punch*.

His other journal *Hamdard* gave seriousness and sobriety to the Indian journalism. Maulana Johar took a revolutionary step by printing *Hamdard* on the type instead of litho. Its editorial staff included well-known journalists like Hashmi Faridabadi, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Farooq Diwana Gorakhpuri, Sayyed Jalib Dehlvi and Abdul Haleem Sharar. The journal got direct services from the Associated Press and the Reuters.

In the Political Arena:

With the passage of time, several loopholes had started appearing in the MAO College, Aligarh. According to Mohamed Ali most of them were due to the English teaching staff. Keeping in view the deteriorating condition Mohamed Ali expressed desire to serve his *alma meter*. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk also wanted to benefit fully from

www.pastpapers.com

the capabilities of his ex-student. However, the college could not avail of his services due to the opposition of the principal, Theodore Morison. Mohamed Ali was deeply disgusted and he tried his best to improve the lot of the College after being elected as a member of the Board of Trustees on behalf of the old Boys.

When the movement for a separate Muslim university gained momentum, he dedicated the columns of *Hamdard* and *Comrade* to that noble cause. At the same time, he asked his brother Shaukat Ali to take a two years furlough and join the campaign for collecting money for the proposed university. When the required money was collected the government began to delay its establishment. The proposed university was not being given the right of affiliation. The Muslims were not ready to accept such a crippled and maimed university. At a meeting of the Foundation Committee on December 27, 1912. Mohamed Ali moved a resolution, which insisted on affiliation and the denominational character of the University. Earlier on July 20, 1912 he wrote in *Comrade* that "if the University is to be deprived of the power of guiding Muslim education throughout India by a well-planned system of affiliation, the main object of underlying the Muslim University movement falls to the ground."

In the meantime, he was imprisoned but his interest in the Muslim University movement did not lessen. A remarkable letter from the jail exhibits his unflinching love for Aligarh. Mohamed Ali who had been invited to attend the inaugural function of the University wrote to Maharaja of Mahmudabad, the first vice-chancellor, that "this was not the University of your dreams any more than mine, nor can we call this the achievement of a great and glorious undertaking to which you and I had both set our hearts."

The Balkan war and the Medical Mission:

In 1912, the Balkan States rebelled against the Ottoman Empire. On this occasion, the Indian Muslims made great sacrifices for their Turkish brethren. Mohamed Ali made arrangements for sending a medical mission, led by Dr. M.A. Ansari to help the wounded Turkish soldiers.

He also raised funds for the Turkish Muslims. Within no time, two lac rupees were deposited in the fund.

The Kanpur Mosque tragedy:

During the Kanpur mosque agitation it was decided to send Mohamed Ali and Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the AIML, to England to explain the whole situation to the British leadership and public. It may be pointed out here that, the departure of both these leaders was kept secret and people came to know of it only after they had boarded the

www.cssexampoint.com

ship. It was feared that Sir James Meston might sabotage the whole plan. On teaching England Mohamed Ali wrote several articles, made numerous speeches and held meetings with the members of the Parliament and conveyed to them the feelings of the Muslims regarding the Kanpur Mosque affairs. He also had a fruitful meeting with LaTouche, member of the India Council, who was greatly impressed by the arguments of Mohamed Ali. He sent certain instructions to Lord. Hardinge and the matter was peacefully resolved. The Kanpur tragedy brought young people like Ali Brothers to the political arena.

The Khilafat Movement:

Mohamed Ali and Khilafat Movement were indispensable for each other. Even before the First World War, he had practically assisted the Turks. Mohamed Ali's fame spread far and wide when the Government put him in jail for an article **Choice of the Turks**. Indeed jail had turned him into a bitter critic of the Raj. As a symbol of his protest he began to wear half moons in his grey cap and badge, compared with his European style of dress in previous years. The feelings which gripped him while he was writing the article can be guessed from the fact that he completed it after a laborious work of forty hours. During this whole period, he remained wide-awake. Whenever he was exhausted, he sent for the assistant editor of the newspaper and gave him the dictation. During all this period he took nothing except for a few cups of *Qehva*. The Government was infuriated at the article and it withheld the securities of the *Hamdard* and the *Comrade*. Mohamed Ali challenged the Government orders but in vain.

The Government placed him under house-arrest. At first, he was kept at Mehrauli, at a distance of 12 miles from Delhi, but when the people of Delhi started visiting him in large numbers, the Government shifted him to Lansdowne where more restrictions were placed on him. Later on, he was moved to a distant place Chindwara. At last, in December 1919 he was released after five years.

By the time he was released, India had been caught up in the whirlpool of political agitation. The country was rocked by strikes and demonstrations against the Rowlatt Act and the Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. Every Indian heart was filled with hatred against the British government. When Mohamed Ali was released, the Congress and the All-India Muslim League were holding their annual sessions at Amritsar. When he reached the conference hall, he was warmly welcomed by M.K. Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malvia and other leaders. When he entered the Congress pandal all the participants gave him standing ovation that lasted for fifteen minutes. Addressing the meeting he said, "for this very freedom, Mr. Tilak should go back to prison, I should be imprisoned for the rest of

www.essexampoint.com

my life, Mrs. Besant should face the gallows. But the kind of atrocities witnessed in the Punjab must be brought to an end forever."

The Khilafat Delegation:

The Khilafat Conference at its meeting in Amritsar decided to send a delegation to Britain whose mission was to convey to the top ranking officials the feelings of the Muslims pertaining to the Caliphate. Mohamed Ali was appointed as the head of the delegation. During his stay in England he tried his best to inform the British public and the leaders about the viewpoint of the Muslims. He also had a meeting with the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George. He stated the position of the Caliph and the Caliphate from the Islamic point of view. However, it failed to make any impression. At last, after six months, the delegation returned home without achieving any success.

The failure of the Khilafat Delegation convinced the Muslims that their constitutional policy was futile and only with agitation they could get their demands fulfilled.

Mohamed Ali's pan-Islamism was not instinctive, but the outcome of much thought and deliberation. Central to his belief was the view, based on the concept of *Umma* "that the basis of Islamic sympathy is not a common domicile or common parentage but a common outlook on life and common culture and the embodiment of that culture is the Khilafat." He was the chief-architect of the Khilafat movement in India.

The establishment of the Jamia Millia:

On the eve of the delegation's return, the Non-co-operation movement was at its peak in India. As a sign of hatred for the British, it was decided that all those educational institutions which received government fundings would be boycotted or else, they would be prevented from accepting the government grant. Mohamed Ali started the Non-cooperation movement from Aligarh. He asked the College authorities to refuse the government grant and to break all sorts of links with the government. However, the College turned down the demands. He tried to involve the students directly in his movement. He gathered a few students around him and announced the opening of Jamia Millia in a tent outside the College. This college did not have money, classrooms, laboratories, grounds and halls. Within a start span of time when tents could not accommodate the increasing number of students, a big house was hired. Mohamed Ali became the principal of the college but later on, he became so much involved in politics that he could not pay attention to the Jamia, although, throughout his life, he continued to do whatever he could, for the progress and welfare of the Jamia Millia.

www.cssexampoint.com

Simon Commission:

Mohamed Ali strongly called for the boycott of the Simon Commission. In several meetings, he made memorable speeches and wrote articles against the Commission. Expressing his views about the Simon Commission he wrote "The British Government has no right to decide our fate nor is it in a position to make correct decisions. The Commission is merely a group of people who are utterly ignorant of India. From among the British Parliament, it is difficult to find as many as seventy people who have some knowledge about India."

The Nehru Report:

When the Nehru Report was put before the All-Parties Convention for approval, Mohamed Ali forcefully objected to it. The Report had proposed the Dominion Status for India. He deplored the proposal and said, "Those who favour the Dominion Status for India are not the brave sons of the country. In fact, they are cowards". These words of the Moulana resulted in a pandemonium at the Convention. He was hooted down by the audience and he found it difficult to continue his speech. It was really shameful that a person of such eminence as Mohamed Ali was ill-treated by his contemporaries with whom he had worked for so long. His exit from the Convention was the beginning of the end of all prospects of unity between the two nations. While presiding over the Orissa and Bihar Muslim All-Parties Conference on December 9, 1928 he ironically remarked about the Report "that in a nutshell it meant that the creation was God's, the Country was the Viceroy's and the rule was that of Hindu Mahasabha."

Sarda Act:

The final political struggle of the Moulana was centered around the controversial Sarda Act. Harbalas Sharda of Ajmer, moved a bill in the Central Legislature which meant to abolish the practice of child-marriage among the Hindus. A Muslim member of the Assembly proposed that it should be applied to all the Indians. The Moulana wrote a series of articles against the bill in the *Hamdard*. He also drew the attention of the scholars towards that issue. In this way, a movement was started against the Bill. He wrote a letter to the acting Viceroy telling him that under the Islamic Shariah no Muslims was bound to marry at a specific age.

The Round Table Conference:

Mohamed Ali also attended the first Round Table Conference. During the long sessions of the Conference he always stood for complete independence for India and said, "I can go back to my country if I can *go* back with the substance of freedom in my hand.

www.cssexam[illegible].com

Otherwise, I will not go back to a slave country. If you do not give us freedom you will have to give me a grave here." On January 4, 1931, this illustrious son of India and its true freedom fighter passed away.

MOULANA SHOUKAT ALI
(March 10, 1873 – November 28, 1938)

Moulana Shoukat Ali was a great man not merely due to his excellent physique but also due to his enviable character and moral standards. After his father's death, his mother *Bi Amma* took the responsibility of his upbringing. The Ali Brothers studied at MAO College, Aligarh. Afterwards, Shoukat Ali joined service but sent his younger brother Mohamed Ali to Oxford for higher education. Despite his official position, he was always inspired by the spirit of serving his nation. In 1910-1911, when the movement inspired for the establishment of a Muslim university gathered momentum, he went on a two-year furlough as secretary of Sir Aga Khan, and started his campaign to collect the required funds. Within a short span of time, he was able to collect hundreds of thousand of rupees. Acknowledging his great services, Sir Aga Khan wrote in his autobiography, "The name of Aga Khan was used but the actual work was done by Shoukat Ali".

In view of the political conditions prevailing in India, the two brothers decided to devote themselves to the national service. Thus, Shoukat Ali resigned the government service and on May 6, 1913, founded the Anjuman-e-Khuddam-e-Kaaba, which became so popular with the Muslims that in less than six months, it had three and a half thousand members. The Khilafat Movement and Ali Brothers were now indispensable for each other. In 1919, Shoukat Ali was appointed the General Secretary of All-India Khilafat Committee. There is no denying the fact that the Congress and M.K. Gandhi gained popularity in India only due to the Khilafat Movement. That is why, Gandhi had said, "I live in Shoukat Ali's pocket". Shoukat Ali brought out an Urdu newspaper *Khilafat* from Bombay which helped a great deal in the promotion and propagation of Urdu in Bombay. During the Khilafat Movement, he toured extensively and continuously from one part of the country to the other. One day he was in Bombay, the next day, he was in the Frontier. There was hardly any city or town in the country, which he did not visit in connection with the meetings of the Khilafat Conferences.

After 1928, the Hindu-Muslim tension escalated in the sub-continent. The Quaid-e-Azam and the Ali Brothers were among those prominent Muslim leaders who were disillusioned with the Congress in the wake of the Nehru Report. Shoukat Ali projected the feelings and sentiments of the

www.pastpaper.com

Muslims by writing several powerful editorials against the Report in the *Khilafat*. During those days, a meeting was held in support of the Nehru Report at Sir Cawasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay. Most of its audiences were Hindus. The Moulana could not control himself. He went to the meeting and started condemning the Report. An infuriated Hindu spat at his face but he continued his speech despite that insult.

After breaking away from the Congress, Shoukat Ali decided to support and activate the AIML. During the 1937 elections, he canvassed for the League candidate in the Rohail Khand constituency despite scorching heat and his own diabetes. He himself was a member of the Central Legislature from 1934 to 1938. He was also appointed a member of the All-India Muslim League Council and the Central Parliamentary Board. The Quaid-e-Azam had full trust in him and valued his sincerity. That is why on the insistence of Shoukat Ali. Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and Abdul Majeed Sindhi were given the membership of the Working Committee of the AIML. When the Quaid-e-Azam's daughter began to be influenced by her maternal relatives, he consulted Shoukat Ali in confidence and requested him to arrange a talented Muslim tutor, well aware of English language and Islam so that he could instruct her in Islamic tenants and teachings.

On his part, Shoukat All also had full trust in the Quaid. Once an American correspondent came to interview him. He said to him, "Look, if you wish to ask me something about sports, I will say something but if you intend to discuss politics, you had better go to Mr. Jinnah, because he is my leader". On the eve of his death, the Quaid paid him glowing tributes and said, "with the death of Shoukat Ali, the Muslims of India have been deprived of their one such leader who was a gallant soldier. He was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause in which he believed. He was a colleague and personal friend of mine. He never swerved by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last. It is not only a personal loss but, I am sure, also a national Muslim loss, which is mourned all over India.

In a condolence resolution, the AIML described his death as a national loss.

HASRAT MOHANI
(1881 – May 13, 1951)

Hasrat Mohani was one of those few Muslim leaders who earned for themselves a special reputation in poetry, politics and journalism. In 1899, Hasrat passed the matriculation examination from Fatehpur

www.cssexampoint.com

Haswa in such a good first class that Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad invited him to get admission in MAO College, Aligarh. In 1903, he graduated from Aligarh. Even as a student, Hasrat had great interest in politics. Before passing his B.A. examination, he was expelled from college thrice on account of his political activities.

Hasrat started his journalistic career in 1903, with *Urdu-e-Mo'alla* and very soon became known throughout the country. This magazine lasted for forty years. Most of the articles in this magazine were written by Hasrat himself. In 1928, he started an Urdu newspaper *Mustaqil*. It was know for its bold comments on the Indian politics.

Hasrat Mohani had only one mission in life and that was the opposition to the British Imperialists and their expulsion from India. Except Hasrat Mohani, no Indian leader ever demanded complete independence for India in the early twenties of the 20th century. At the annual session of the INC in 1921, at Ahmedabad, Hasrat Mohani presented a resolution of complete independence for India, which was opposed by M.K. Gandhi. Though the resolution could not be passed yet if reflected the thinking of that dauntless man - Hasrat Mohani. He was a bitter critic of the idea of Dominion Status for India. He always demanded complete freedom for India. The Nehru Report, (1928) recommended Dominion Status for India. When the Report was presented at the National Convention at Calcutta a motion was presented calling upon it to express its gratitude to Motilal Nehru for preparing the Report. The moment the motion was presented, Hasrat Mohani stood up and said, "Pandit Nehru by no means deserves any thanks. In his report Nehru has proposed the Dominion Status for India. This is an act of treachery against the country and the motion of thanks to a traitor is the height of cruelty. Our final destination in nothing short of complete independence. We can never agree to anything less than that".

Hasrat Mohani was an embodiment of freedom and struggle. The whole of his life was spent in campaigning for truth and justice. On a number of occasions, he was sent to jail for his political views. In those days, there was no concept of "A class" prisoners and moral or political prisoners. In those days, prisoners were forced to grind corn. Once, at the time of his arrest, he was lying on the ground in miserable condition at the venue of the meeting. Some policemen were beating him while others were trying to raise him up. While, he held on to the grass on the ground. Within moments he was thrown into the police van as if he were some luggage Even at that dreadful moment he was shouting *Inqilab Zindabad.*

Hasrat was the first Muslim who went to jail as a political prisoner. He was imprisoned for the first time when his magazine *Urdu-e-Mo'alla* carried an article, which was in fact the translation of an

www.cssexampoint.com

Arabic article. The article was highly critical of the British policy in Egypt. He refused to disclose the name of the translator and was tried in a court and sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment.

Hasrat always led a simple life. In 1938, he went on a tour of Islamic countries. His journey took him to Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt Turkey, Eastern and Western Europe. At the time of his departure from Karachi, his luggage consisted of a blanket and two pairs of dresses. He bought a second hand lady's overcoat for rupees two from Karachi's Juna Market to wear When he was requested not to do that he remarked, "Well, the Europeans would laugh at us but then what harm would it do to us?"

M.H. Saiyed has narrated an episode revealing the honesty and integrity of Hasrat Mohani. The Quaid-e-Azam formed a committee to enquire into the atrocities of the Congress Ministries. Hasrat was entrusted with the task of preparing report about the C.P. He toured the province and prepared a comprehensive report. The members of the committee sent their expenditure bills. The bill sent by Hasrat amounted to Rs.22 and twelve and a half anna's. The Quaid-e-Azam thought that it was only by a mistake that he had sent such a meager bill. When asked, Hasrat replied that the actual expenditure was the same. He also sent details of his trip and honestly stated that at different places he did not have to spend a single penny, because he lived and dined with certain hosts.

A former Governor-General of Pakistan, Malik Ghulam Muhammad has also narrated an incident that bears testimony to the saintly life lived by Hasrat. Once during a visit to India, Ghulam Muhammad had a meeting with Pandit Nehru in which Nehru appreciated the knowledge and experience, which Ghulam Muhammad had of audit and accounts. Then, Nehru asked him to help him in connection with a very intricate problem, which had been presented to him by his parliamentary secretary. According to Nehru for several years, Hasrat had been refusing to take the daily allowance, which was entitled to every member of the Parliament. After several years, that amount had reached almost fifteen to twenty thousand. Despite numerous reminders, the Moulana always, insisted that he would not take the money as he did not need it. Ghulam Muhammad had a meeting with Hasrat and tried his best to prevail upon him to take the money, which he could then distribute among the poor if he so pleased. However, Hasrat always came up with the same reply "I don't want to get into that tedium"?

After 1947, he decided to serve the Muslims by living in India. He continued to defend the rights of the Muslims in the Indian Parliament fearlessly and courageously.

www.cssexampoint.com

SAHIBZADA ABDUL QAYYUM
(1863 – December 4, 1937)

Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum would always be remembered for his valuable services for the educational progress of the Muslims of the NWFP. He was born at a village named Kotha in Sawabi. After completing his primary education in his village, he went to the Mission High School, Peshawar. After passing the entrance examination from the same institution, he joined the government service. He began with a minor post but gradually rose to the position of the first Muslim Political Agent of the Khyber Agency.

On his retirement from government service in 1919, he decided to take part in politics. From 1919 to 1931, he acted as a nominated member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. During this period, he worked for the introduction of political reforms in the NWFP. In 1925, he moved a resolution to this effect in the Assembly, but the proposal was rejected due to the opposition of the Hindu members. However, the efforts of the Muslims bore fruit and, in 1932, he was appointed as the only minister for the NWFP. In 1937, he was elected as a member of the new Council of his province. Till September 1937, he served as the Chief Minister of the NWFP. Meanwhile, the Congress passed a no confidence vote against his government. He submitted his resignation and returned to his village where he died.

The most memorable achievement of Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was the setting up of Islamia College, Peshawar. This College was visualized by Sahibzada and the NWFP Chief Commissioner Ross Keppel between 1904 and 1906. At that time, both of them were serving at minor posts, so their dream seemed to have no chance of fulfillment. In August 1908, Keppel became the Chief Commissioner of the NWFP and the movement for the college started afresh. In the middle of the year 1909, he visited Islamia High School Peshawar. During the visit, the Muslims tried to make him realize the need for a college for the Muslims. Keppel and Sahibazada visited MAO College Aligarh. A committee was set up to collect funds for the proposed college with Sahibzada as its joint secretary. Within a short span of six months, the Muslims of the province collected five lac rupees. The head of the Afridi tribe contributed his one month's allowance to the fund. A Muslim contractor Raheem Shah Kakakhel promised to give one lac rupees.

210 acres of land were acquired on concessional rate for the college and it was decided that mosque would be the first building to be constructed in the college compound. The foundation stone of the mosque was laid on March 21, 1916, in the presence of the well-known

www.cssexampoint.com

religious leader Fazle Wahid 1856-1937 (*alias* Haji Turangzai) and Badshah Gul. The construction of the college began in October 1912 and the college was inaugurated by Harcourt Butler on April 1, 1913. In the beginning, 25 students got admission in the college and within three years, their number rose to 450. The construction of the science block of the college began in 1914 and B.A. classes started in 1915. B.Sc. class was initiated in 1920. The college was affiliated with Punjab University. In the beginning, the teaching staff of the college had three members, who had got their academic degrees from Cambridge University. They were Dipping, Inayatullah Mashriqi and Bousfield.

The keen interest shown by the British Government in the establishment of Islamia College was not without reason. It wanted to achieve some political aims and objectives through the college. The government hoped that the college would provide education to the children of influential and powerful families and would be very helpful in making them loyal to the government. Commissioner Ross Keppel wrote to the Governor-General Lord Hardinge that he would try his best to convince the children of all the tribal chiefs to get admission in the college, so that they could come to know that the face of the British Government was not so dark and ugly, as it was generally painted.

Another political objective which the British Government wanted to achieve through the establishment of Islamia College Peshawar was that it wished to deprive MAO College Aligarh of its existing elevated position. The wars in the Balkans and Tripoli had triggered massive hatred among the Indian Muslims against Britain and MAO College Aligarh was considered to be the main center of political agitation. For this reason, in April 1913, Harcourt Butler wrote to Lord Hardinge that in the prevailing circumstances, they should be wise enough to encourage the tendency of isolating Aligarh. He was of the view that if British Government provided full support to Islamia College Peshawar, Islamia College Lahore and other such institutions in future, Aligarh would not be able to retain its present status.

It was the time when the tribal warriors were giving a very tough time to the British Government and the Indian Government had to spend a considerable amount of money on its military activities in the tribal region for the extermination of the tribal people. Moreover, Britain claimed to have established its vast empire in order to civilize the uncivilized nations of the whole world. For this very reason, Harcourt Butler urged the government to provide fifty thousand rupees as grant to Islamia College Peshawar, to achieve the important political objective of civilizing the people living in the Frontier region. It is worth mentioning that Lord Hardinge fully subscribed to this policy

www.cssexampoint.com

because he was sure that the promotion of education in the region would prove to be "a satisfactory means" of changing the situation and silencing the tribesmen. The Chief Commissioner was of the view that the government should have full control over the college, but the common people had totally different views about it. Even the local press was vehemently opposed to the idea of government control.

It. may be quite appropriate to mention here that the Hindus had bitterly opposed the setting up of the College just like the Dacca University.

The Hindu newspapers and magazines of the Punjab were at the forefront of this opposition. In an article, entitled "The Heap of the sins of Sir George Ross Keppel", the *Punjab Advocate* wrote, "The darkest aspect of his sins is related to his great interest which he is showing in connection with the establishment of the College".

On the contrary, the Muslim press expressed great delight over the establishment of the College. On January 23, 1910, a Muslim newspaper, the *Afghan,* supporting the establishment of the College, wrote, "The new College would protect the Muslims of Peshawar from the deadly impacts of Arya. National School, which is only meant to incite rebellious sentiments against the government and to spread false propaganda about Islam and the Holy Prophet (PBUH)." The other well-known Muslim newspapers like the *Paisa Akhbar,* the *Zamindar* and the *Observer* ardently supported the idea of the establishment of the College.

The note on Islamia College Peshawar would remain incomplete without mentioning its debating society known as Khyber Union, which was inaugurated in 1921. It had the honour of inviting several eminent local as well as foreign dignitaries to attend and address its meetings. The important personalities who were invited to address the Union from 1922 to 1962 included Quaid-e-Azam, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Ralph Griffith, Khalida Adib Khanum, Jawaharlal Nehru, George Cunningham, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Miss Fatima Jinnah and Abdul Qayyum Khan.

Another worth mentioning fact about this College is that in around 1930, six of its students who were studying in England, set up a branch of Khyber Union in England. Three of them including Aslam Khattak, Inayatullah Khan and Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq signed Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's declaration **Now or Never.**

During the struggle for Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Islamia College Peshawar on two occasions. On an invitation from Khyber Union, he visited Islamia College Peshawar for the first time on October 20, 1936. It is interesting to note that the College administration was not pleased with this invitation and even Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was not present on that occasion. The College administration had to be assured that the Quaid-e-Azam would not make

www.cssexampoint.com

any political speech during his visit. In his welcome address, Professor Muhammad Shafi paid glowing tributes to the Quaid for creating mental harmony among the Muslims. In his speech lasting for half an hour, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah urged the Muslims to make headway in political and educational fields. He expressed the hope that one day, this centre of knowledge and learning would attain the glory of Cordova and Al-Azhar. He visited Islamia College Peshawar for the second time on November 25, 1945. On that occasion, he was warmly welcomed on the G.T. Road by the students, who took him to the college in the form of a procession near the White Mosque. The college Principal Shaikh Muhammad Taimur read out the welcome address. Muhammad Tehmasp, Secretary Frontier Muslim Students Federation, presented eight thousand rupees to the Quaid and said, "This time we are presenting to you eight thousand rupees, but next time, we will present to you eight thousand students, who would sacrifice their lives for Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, the Quaid once again, visited this college on April 12, 1948 and gave some valuable pieces of advice to the students in his inspiring address. His emotional attachment with Islamia College Peshawar can be imagined from the fact that in his will, he directed that 100811600 rupees from his property should be given to it. The stunning revelations made in Riaz Malik's research oriented book *Quaid-e-Azam Ki Jaidad Or Sarmayakari* (Quaid-e-Azam's Property and Investment), published by the State Bank of Pakistan in 2009, show how the remaining amount of his endowed property was embezzled.

SIR AGA KHAN
(November 2, 1877 – July 11, 1957)

Sir Aga Khan was born at Karachi. Besides getting religious education, he learnt Arabic, Persian, English and French. Right from the beginning, he took part in welfare works but in those days his activities were confined to his own Ismaili sect. His friendships with Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk widened his area of activities and he became interested in the Aligarh Movement. In 1896, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk held a meeting with him and briefed him about the aims and objectives of the Aligarh Movement. Later on, he visited the College. Sir Sayyed was highly pleased with his visit. Replying to the welcome address. Sir Aga Khan said that MAO College, Aligarh, enjoyed a distinguished place among all the educational institutions of India and that the country had no better institution than the one at Aligarh.

www.cssexampoint.com

Educational Services:

In 1903, Sir Aga Khan presided over the AIMEC, held at Delhi. In his presidential address, he proposed the creation of a separate university for the Muslims. He wished that Aligarh should be as good as Oxford and other world renowned universities. He started taking interest in the welfare of the College and paid special attention to the promotion of scientific education at the College. In those days, the science classes were in their preliminary stages. He donated thirty-five thousand rupees to the College for the progress of scientific education.

Aga Khan Foreign Scholarship:

Although MAO College Aligarh had come into being yet the presence of the English staff was considered to be indispensable. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk decided to reduce the influence of the foreign staff but at the same time, it was inevitable that the Muslims should be provided facilities to get higher education from foreign Universities. Sir Aga Khan provided a reasonable sum to achieve this end. In this way, Sir Aga Khan Foreign Scholarship was created and Dr. Ziauddin became the first recipient of the new scholarship. He was, at that lime, getting higher education in Europe.

Sir Aga Khan made special efforts to upgrade MAO College, Aligarh as a university. In his different speeches, he emphasized the need for the establishment of the university. In 1911, when the task of collecting funds for the proposed university began, he was elected president of the Central Foundation Committee. Sir Aga Khan toured the entire country in order to collect contributions for the proposed university. When the Aligarh Muslim University came into being in 1920, a result of his efforts, he was appointed Pro-Vice Chancellor of the new university.

On October 1, 1906, he led the Simla Deputation. In 1908, Sir Aga Khan was elected the permanent President of the AIML. The League was in desperate need of money for the propagation of its aims and objectives. Sir Aga Khan fixed an annual grant for the League and also reserved some amount for its urgent needs. In 1913, he resigned the post of the president when the League decided to amend its constitution. During the days of the All-Parties Conference and the Nehru Report, the League was divided into two factions. An All Parties Muslim Conference was convened by the prominent political leaders. The first meeting of the Conference was chaired by Sir Aga Khan. In his presidential address, he stressed the need for separate electorate. At the end of the meeting, he allocated ten thousand rupees for the Conference. During the First Round Table Conference, all the Muslim leaders elected him as their leader. He also attended the second Round Table conference during the course of

www.cssexampoint.com

which he prepared the Minorities Accord for which all the minorities expressed their gratitude to him. Later on, he reduced his interests in the political affairs of India. He died on July 11, 1957 and in accordance with his will, he was buried in Egypt.

CHAUDHARY RAHMAT ALI
(November 16, 1897 – February 3, 1951)

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, founder of the Pakistan National Movement, coined the word **Pakistan.** After getting primary education from his hometown and from Jalandhar, he went to the Islamia College, Lahore in 1912 and graduated from the same institution in 1918. Later on, he got admission in Law College Lahore but could not get the degree. For a while, he worked with the newspapers of Muhammad Din Fouq. He served as house Master at Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore from 1918 to 1923. From 1923 to 1930, he acted as the private secretary and legal advisor to Mir Dost Muhammad Khan Mazari. In October 1930, he went to England and joined the Cambridge University as a student. In 1933, he graduated from the same university and got his Master's degree in 1940. In 1945, he was called to the Bar. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali asserts that in 1915, during the inaugural address of the Bazm-e-Shibli at Islamia College, Lahore, he advocated the creation of a Muslim state in North-Western India. In his own words, "North of India is Muslim and we will keep it Muslim. But this we can do only if and when we and our North cease to be Indian. For that is a prerequisite to it. So the sooner we shed 'Indianism' the better for us all and for Islam.[1]

On January 28, 1933, he issued a circular named **Now or Never** from Cambridge. It had the signatures of Muhammad Aslam Khattak (President of the Khyber Union), Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq and Inayatullah Khan (Secretary of the Khyber Union). In his declaration he refuted the notion that India was one country, inhabited by only one nation. He wrote that out of a total population of forty-five million living in five provinces of North India thirty million were Muslims. He further pointed out that the religion, culture, history, traditions, economic system, law of inheritance, and the customs of marriage of the Muslims were entirely different from those of the other communities. They neither inter-dined nor inter-married. Rahmat Ali also stated that the nature of differences between the Hindus and the Muslims was different from the sectarian differences between Protestants and Catholics. He stressed that the Muslims were an entirely different nation from the Hindus and were therefore justified in demanding for themselves a separate federation consisting of five units. He maintained that it was indispensable for the survival of the Muslim nation.

---

[1] K.K.Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, Lahore, 1987, p.49.

www.essexampoint.com

Rahmat Ali described his scheme as different from the one contained in the Allahabad Address of Allama Iqbal. He used the word Pakstan in his pamphlet. He declared war on Indian nationalism and Indian Federation. The impact of **Now or Never** on public opinion in Britain and India was not as considerable as Rahmat Ali had hoped. His scheme gained massive approval from the educated class of the Punjab. All those related with *Majlis-e-Kabeer-e-Pakistan* were directly influenced by Rahmat Ali.

The movement which Rahmat Ali started in the form of pamphlets, posters and other written material, did not achieve significant success. In 1933, the Joint Select Committee of the British Parliament asked certain questions from the Muslim delegation about the scheme presented by Rahmat Ali. Replying to a question, Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali considered it chimerical and impractical. Sir Zafarullah called it a "students' scheme and "there is nothing in it." Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din stated, that "Perhaps it will be enough to say that no such scheme has been considered by any representative gentlemen or association so far."

The British public opinion also condemned the scheme as "irresponsible and non-representative". They thought it to be revival of the Mughal rule in India. The Hindus also bitterly denounced the scheme and compared it to the worst type of communalism.

Besides the above mentioned scheme, in 1947, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali also presented the scheme of Bang-e-Islam consisting of Bengal and Assam and Usmanistan consisting of *Hyderabad Daccan.*

It has become very essential to analyze a few points regarding Chaudhry Rahmat Ali. Some time ago, people belonging to a particular school of thought, attempted to portray Chaudhry Rahmat Ali as equal to Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam. But the question is, was the word "Pakistan" really coined for the first time by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali? A short while ago, it was revealed that Syed Ghulam Husain Kazmi, a former editor of the daily *Zamindar* (Lahore) had applied through Abdul Aziz Chishti for the declaration of a weekly newspaper from Abbottabad. He had proposed the name *Pakistan* for this weekly newspaper. On July 1, 1928, Abdul Aziz Chishti had requested Deputy Commissioner Abbottabad to give him a few minutes for discussing the matters pertaining to the proposed newspaper.

Secondly, Dr. K.K. Aziz writes that some of the sentences of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's 1940 presidential address were the same which had been used by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali in his declaration. But it is quite astonishing to note in this connection that just as Quaid-e-Azam's words have been described as a carbon copy or replica of Chaudhry Rahmat Ali's words, in the same way, eight years ago in 1925, All India Muslim League President Sir Abdur Rahim has also uttered the same

www.cssexampoint.com

sentences and stated the same historical facts. Like Rahmat Ali, Sir Abdur Rahim had also remarked that the Muslims and Hindus of India were not like the Roman Catholics and Protestants of England. Instead, they were entirely different and distinct communities, having their own separate attitudes towards life, culture, civilization, social norms, habits, traditions, beliefs, history and religion. Such glaring differences had made them so distinct and apart from each other that there was no hope for them to merge into one nation, in spite of living together for a thousand years.

The phenomenon of Hindu-Muslim conflict prevailing in India is a historical fact, which was mentioned by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and later on, by Sir Abdur Rahim, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. With the passage of time, this undeniable reality was becoming more and more vivid. It, therefore, seems quite inappropriate to describe the views of one person as the duplicate of the views of someone else. It should also be kept in mind that while Chaudhry Rahmat Ali was very active on the intellectual front, he had hardly any role to play in the Pakistan Movement.

As far as the comparison of Iqbal and Rahmat Ali is concerned, the latter always described himself as a devotee of the former. In a telegram to Iqbal in 1932, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali remarked that by means of separate electorate, the federation would be able to achieve that objective, which had been hinted at by him (Iqbal) in his famous presidential address during the historic session of the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. He further stated in that telegram that nothing other than this objective could satisfy those Muslim youngsters, who had been brought up under the influence of his (Iqbal's) views. Addressing a condolence meeting in London on the death of Iqbal, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali paid rich tributes to him and said, "Iqbal's death is the death of a prophetic poet of the nation. It is the death of a great hero and first precursor of Pakistan."

MIAN FAZLE HUSAIN
(July 14, 1877 – July 9, 1936)

The name of Sir Fazle Husain is at the top of the list of the political leaders of the Punjab. His father Khan Bahadur Husain Bakhsh started his life with a petty job. Gradually, he was promoted to the rank of District Judge. After matriculating from Gurdaspur High School, Mian Fazle Husain joined Government College, Lahore. Sir Abdul Qadir and Allama Iqbal were his classmates. He went to England for higher education. After failing twice to qualify the ICS examination he joined

www.cssexampoint.com

the Bar-at-Law and was called to the Bar. He started his legal practice from Sialkot in 1901. After a while, he shifted over to Lahore.

During his stay at Sialkot, he had started contributing articles to the magazines and newspapers of Lahore. After shifting to Lahore, he started taking interest in the activities of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam. In 1905, he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Anjuman and in the next year, he was elected as the secretary of the college committee and member of the General Council.

Fazle Husain started his political activities from the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. He attended the first annual session of the All-India Muslim League held in Karachi. Later on, due to his differences with Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League split into two factions. Afterwards, Sir Fazle Husain also joined the Congress party. By dint of his hardwork, he rose to a position from where he was elected as the unopposed member of the Punjab Legislative Council. On this occasion, he was bitterly opposed by the Hindus. And he was forced to say, "The Hindus would always vote against every Indian Muslim, however staunch a nationalist he may be." After becoming a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, he strongly opposed the urban-rural divide, created by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

In 1921 he was appointed Education Minister of the Punjab. In this capacity, his greatest achievement was that he issued orders, for the reservation of forty per cent seats for Muslim students at Government College, Lahore and King Edward Medical College, Lahore. In those days, the number of Muslim students in both these institutions were bare nominal. Moreover, there were very few Muslim parents who could afford the expenses of their children in these institutions.

On account of the sincere efforts of Sir Fazle Husain Muslims also started appearing in the civil service and competing for higher posts. The Hindus on the other hand, bitterly deplored all his actions and started a smear campaign against him by spreading false propaganda about him. Sir Fazle Husain was unbending and unyielding. When the Principal of the King Edward Medical College refused to carry out his orders, he forced him to resign his post. Another of his major achievements was that he allocated quota for the Muslims in Provincial civil services. As a result, the Muslims got opportunities to join the administration.

In 1926, Sir Fazle Husain founded the Punjab National Unionist Party. It was no more than a pack of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh landlords. It is ironical that Sir Fazle Husain who was at one time, a bitter critic of the urban-rural divide created by the government, started his own party on the same lines. Later on, this party acted as the rival of the All-India Muslim League and continued to create hindrances in the way of the

www.cssexampoint.com

creation of Pakistan. The successors of Sir Fazle Husain such as Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana created all sorts of difficulties for the Quaid-e-Azam. Inspite of that Sir Fazle Husain would always be remembered in good words in history for his laudable services in education and other fields for the Muslims of the Punjab.

In 1930, he became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He died on July 9, 1936. In a condolence statement on his death, Allama Iqbal described him as a true patriot of the Punjab.

MOULVI A.K. FAZLUL HAQ
(October 26, 1873 – April 27, 1962)

Abul Kasim Fazlul Haq after getting the elementary education of Arabic and Persian at home, joined the District Board School of Barisal. In 1893, he graduated from the Presidency College Calcutta, with first class in Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics. He was the first Bengali Muslim to attain that honour. In 1895, he took the M.A. examination and after two years, passed the law examination from University Law College, Calcutta.

He started his law practice in 1900. In 1906, he joined the government service and was appointed as Deputy Magistrate. In 1911, the partition of Bengal was annulled. This decision of the British government shocked the Muslims all over India especially those living in Bengal. Moulvi Fazlul Haq resigned government service in protest and once again resumed his law practice. By virtue of his hardwork, he soon came to be ranked among the eminent lawyers.

In 1913, he decided to contest a seat of the Bengal Legislative Council in a bye-election. His opponent was a Hindu and though the Hindu voters were in majority in his constituency and yet he won the elections. As a member of the Council, he delivered his maiden speech on educational problems, which won him acclaim from every side in the House and even the president of the council, who was also the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, congratulated him.

The Krishak Proja Party:

Moulvi Fazlul-Haq, moved by the miserable plight of the tillers of the land started the peasant movement in Bengal in 1915. In this connection, he organized the Krishak Proja Party with a view to improving the lot of the Bengali farmers. As a result of his efforts, many renowned personalities of Bengal joined his party. They included Moulana Muhammad Akram Khan, Moulvi Tamizuddin Khan, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin and Sayyed Badr-ud-Duja. In 1928, his movement met with its first substantial success when the Bengal

www.cssexampoint.com

Tenancy Bill was passed under which the peasants got numerous rights. This movement which was originally meant for the welfare of the farmers was transformed into a political party in 1924

Moulvi Sahib made valuable contribution to the educational progress of the Bengali Muslims. He believed that education was indispensable for the awakening of political consciousness. In order to remove the educational backwardness of the Muslims, he started the Islamia College in 1920. In 1937, when he formed the Ministry in Bengal, he kept the portfolio of education for himself and in that capacity took several appreciable steps for the educational uplift of the Bengali Muslims. During that period, Eden Girls' College Dacca, Agriculture College Tezgaon, Fazlul Haq Muslim Hall and Fazlul-Haq College Adina were established under his personal supervision.

He also played a pivotal role in the establishment of Dacca University. The English had done nothing to remove the educational backwardness of the Muslims. East Bengal did not have a single university until 1912. When in 1912, Governor-General Lord Hardinge visited Dhaka, a Muslim delegation headed by Nawab Salimullah presented to him a Memorial which called for the establishment of a university in Dhaka. Later on, Moulvi Fazlul Haq presented the Dhaka University Bill in the Legislative Council. This paved the way for the setting up of Dacca University. It may he mentioned here that the Bengali Hindus tried their best to block the establishment of the university. However, when despite all their opposition, the University finally started its work they called it the **Mecca University**, the ***Shaistakhani*** University and what not instead of Dacca University.

In 1924, Moulvi Fazlul Haq started the Muslim Educational Fund, which met the expenses of the poor Muslim students. In the same year, he set up a separate Directorate for the education of the Muslims. Earlier, it was compulsory for all the school-going Muslim students to study Sanskrit. Arabic and Persian were not taught on the plea that the number of the Muslim students was very small therefore, the Moulvis (Muslim teachers of the languages) could not be arranged.

In 1918, he presided over the annual session of the AIML held at Delhi. In his presidential address, he eloquently and aptly expressed the sentiments of the Muslims. At that time, the Indian Muslims were gravely concerned about the sad plight of Turkey, Fazlul Haq said, "The conditions prevailing all over the world are a cause of unease and anxiety for the Muslims. All the Islamic states in the world have become the victims of the selfish policies of the Christian states of Europe. We are greatly anxious about the Ottoman Empire because the continuation and the survival of the Khilafat and the protection of the holy places are linked to the stability of the Turkish Empire."

www.cssexampoint.com

On March 23, 1940, Moulvi Fazlul Haq moved the historic Lahore Resolution at the annual session of the AIML, in Lahore. During the meeting, a humorous incident took place. Moulvi Fazlul Haq, who was known as the lion of Bengal arrived at a time while Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was delivering his speech. On seeing the former, the latter sat down saying, "when the lion comes, the lamb should sit down. When Moulvi Sahib took his seat, the Quaid stood up again and said, "Now the lion is chained, the lamb must come out".

During the Second World War, Fazlul Haq joined the Defence Council As president of the League, the Quaid asked him to resign from the Council. He not only resigned, from the Defence Council, but also left the League.

Moulvi Fazlul Haq served as the Chief Minister of Bengal from 1937 to 1943. During this period, he got approved an amendment to the Bengal Tenancy Act under which the privileges and powers of the landlords were further curtailed and arrangements were made for the protection of the common people and the peasants. He also got approved a bill relating to the settlement of old debts. In this way, a large number of people were freed from the system of ever-multiplying interest conducted by the Hindu Mahajans. After the establishment of Pakistan, he held several key-posts such as that of the Governor of East Pakistan.

NAWAB BAHADUR YAR JANG
(February 3, 1905 – June 27, 1944)

The renowned orator of the sub-continent, Nawab Muhammad Bahadur Khan belonged to the state of Hyderabad Daccan. He studied Persian and Arabic at home. His father at the time of his death, owed several lac rupees to different people. His competent and able son managed to repay all the debts within five years.

The sub-continent produced many other great orators but Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang enjoyed a distinguished position among them on account of his unique mastery over the art of communication. His listeners included both the literate and illiterate villagers, and his speech had the same magical impact on every one.

A speech delivered by him on the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) earned him country-wide fame. At one such function, he addressed the Nizam of Hyderabad Mir Osman Ali Khan, who was also present there, in the following words, "O you, the crowned and throned slave of Muhammad, let me tell you the ways of ruling liked by that emperor of the universe". The Nizam was so much impressed that he awarded him the title of Bahadur Yar Jang.

www.cssexamportal.com

At every meeting of the All-India Muslim League, there was a tradition that the president used to make some concluding remarks as a formality. At the Lahore session, when Bahadur Yar Jang had completed his speech, the people thought that the Quaid-e-Azam who was .presiding over the meeting would make the concluding remarks.

The Quaid winded up the meeting by saying "it is a mistake for anyone to speak after Bahadur Yar Jang".

At the Allahabad session of the League, the Nawab Sahib appealed for one million rupees for the League Fund. While making that appeal, he uttered a touching remark, "Those who cannot sacrifice their wealth, cannot be expected to lay down their lives". The moment he uttered that sentence, he was showered with currency notes and ornaments, and within no time, one lac twenty-five thousand rupees were collected.

Mukhtar Masood, who had the honour of listening to some speeches of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang wrote in his book, "At times, his speeches were like volcanoes and at other times, like waterfalls. Some of the speeches contained both these elements. The speeches that contained the demand for freedom and Pakistan or which gave the message of positive thinking, struggle and sacrifice were just like volcanoes. They were like the rushing torrents of heat and energy, which could overpower and sweep away every opponent. The speeches dealing with the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the lack of faith of the Muslims, their disunity, their apathy, indolence and deviation from the path of truth and struggle were like water falls"

The following extract from one of his speech will demonstrate how he was able to cast a spell on his listeners. "The Muslims emerged from the valleys of Faran with the hammer of *La Ilaha Ilallah.* On one hand, they demolished the grand structures of the rich and, on the other, rebuilt the huts of the poor. They raised the stature of the entire universe. They marched forward, without caring the least for the heights of the mountains, the limitless expanse of the space and the widths of the plains. They bathed in the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans. They marched triumphantly into the snow-covered regions of the Antarctic Ocean and into the hot burning deserts of Africa".

In 1924, the Arya Samajis intensified their campaign in Hyderabad. The Movement *of Shuddhi* also became very active. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang could not remain a silent spectator. He set up the *Majlis-e-Tableegh-e-Islam* He toured around Hyderabad and within 3 years, managed to convert 5 thousand non-Muslims to Islam. To counter the aggressive activities of the Hindus of the State, *Majlis-e Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen* was set up with Nawab Bahadur Yar as its president. The Majlis had the following aims and objectives:

www.essaypoint.com

1) Unifying the various sects of the Muslims according to the Islamic principles, in order to protect and safeguard Islam.
2) The protection of the social, economic and educational interests of the Muslims.
3) Loyalty to the State and adherence to by the laws of the land.

The Majlis was at the start meant to be only a religious organization, but in February 1933, a political clause was added into its constitution and the survival and integrity of the *Aasfia* dynesty was declared to be indispensable for the survival and existence of the Muslims of the State.

The renaissance of the Majlis began in 1937, when Nawab Bahadur Yar was nominated its joint secretary. In 1939, he was elected its president and held that post throughout his life. When he took over the presidency of the Majlis, its financial condition was very unstable. With his earnest efforts, he transformed it into the most popular party of the-State of Hyderabad. Its head-office was set up at his residence. At that time, the state of Hyderabad consisted of four provinces, sixteen districts and 109 *ta'alluqa* zones. Nawab Sahib opened the branches of the Majlis in every town and city. Arrangements were made for the setting up of study circles in all the sub-branches. The recitation of at least three verses from the Holy Quran in the mosques and the offering of collective prayers were made compulsory for all the members of the Majlis. In 1937 the Majlis had 58 branches. The number rose to 384 in 1939. In 1942, the Majlis purchased the Qamar Bagh (Dar-us-Salam) which wa spread over 24 thousand yards and turned it into its headquarter. On March 10, 1940, a new constitution was formulated for the Majlis exactly in line with the new constitution of the AIML. Under the new constitution, an Independent Hyderabad within an independent India was declared to be the goal of the Majlis. All the progress and popularity of the Majlis was due to the untiring efforts of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang.

The Congress and the League both in the beginning confined their activities to the British India. Later on, the Congress started interfering in the affairs of the States. As a result the All-India States Peoples Conference was formed. In these circumstances, Bahadur Yar Jang decided to set up the All-India States-Muslim League. He was desirous of uniting all the Muslims of the States on one platform. The States Muslim League had its headquarters at Nagpur. All its expenses were provided for by him. Besides this, he also agreed to give. Rs.150 every month for the central office. Mahmood-uI-Hasan Siddiqi, the League's secretary, undertook a tour of twelve states and organized the Muslim League in all these areas. All the expenses of the entire visit were met by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang.

Nawab Sahib had devoted all his energies to the attainment of Pakistan. He regarded the creation of Pakistan as the only solution to the

www.essexampoint.com

political problems of India. To him, it offered the best chance for a honourable future for the Indian Muslims. He believed, that the sole objective of the establishment of Pakistan was the setting up of an Islamic government in line with the teachings of the Quran. In a letter he wrote, "I believe that all sorts of struggle for Pakistan is unlawful and futile, if the establishment of Pakistan does not imply the setting up of an Islamic government in line with the Quranic teachings. I consider the teachings of the Quran to be sufficient for each and every aspect of human life, whether it deals with the moral, intellectual, economic and political aspects of life or with .the affairs of war and peace. That is why, I want to make it very clear that I am not the follower of Rousseau, Marx, Lenin, Tolstoy, Annie Besant or Gandhi. I want to **make this defiant declaration that I am not the follower of Jinnah and Mashriqi if they are in favour of any other system**". Despite being a feudal lord, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang led a very simple life. In 1938, he wrote to a friend that for the last two years, the annual budget of his dress had been rupees one hundred, he further said that if somebody saw a *Sherwani* on his body he must rest assured that it had been bought two years ago.

MOULANA ZAFAR ALI KHAN
(January 27, 1874 – November 27, 1956)

Zafar Ali Khan was born at Kot Mehrath in Wazirabad, Punjab. He was a top-ranking journalist, renowned leader, great orator, excellent translator, great poet and successful politician. He is also well-known for his lucid verses written in praise of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). After graduating from MAO College Aligarh, he became the secretary to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in 1895. Right from the start he had a knack for poetry. While he was still a student he once, recited a Persian poem in Stratchey Hall which outlined the services of Sir Sayyid. Over whelmed with joy, Sir Sayyid embraced him.

After working for a while at Hyderabad's Translation Bureau, he joined the Home department of the same State. He was soon promoted to the rank of Assistant Home Secretary. He served Hyderabad for almost twelve or thirteen years. On June 1, 1902, his father Siraj-ud-Din started the *Zamindar* with a view to highlighting the problems and complaints of the Punjabi farmers and reforming the rituals and customs prevailing among them. Before his death, he had advised Zafar Ali to continue it. Zafar Ali obediently acted upon his father's advice and brought the newspaper back to Lahore again from Karmabad. Even before becoming associated with the *Zamindar*, Zafar All had an ample experience of journalism. In 1902, he started translating didactic English novels every month into simple and easy Urdu.

www.cssexampoint.com

These monthly translations were called *Afsana*. In 1904, he started a new magazine named *Daccan Review*. Besides editing the magazine, he contributed articles to the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Times of India*, the *Makhzan*, the *Zamindar* and the *Paisa Akhbar*.

Under his editorships the *Zamindar* brought out its first issue on January 1, 1910. The issue of May 1, 1911, came out from Katri Ameer Chand, Teksali Gate Lahore, instead of Karmabad. After taking over the editorship of *Zamindar*, the Moulana gave a new dimension and direction to Urdu journalism. The *Zamindar* was the first newspaper, which made arrangements to obtain news items from the Reuters and the Associated Press of India. According to Ashiq Husain Batalvi, the journalism in the Punjab was, by that time, dull, drab and dreary. Official patronage could be seen everywhere. During this period Tripoli and Balkan wars caused a political stir among the Muslims. The *Zamindar* appeared as an advocate of this new political awakening. With his forceful style, Zafar Ali not only revolutionized the thoughts but also invented a completely new diction for the expression of ideas.

Before the *Zamindar*, the newspapers carried single column headlines, which kept the readers unaware of the true significance of a news story. The *Zamindar* started giving two-column big headlines. The newspaper gave numerous political terms and words to the Urdu language.

The eminent figures associated with the editorial staff of the *Zamindar*, included Niaz Fatehpuri, Waheed-ud-Din Saleem, Abdul Majeed Salik, Ghulam Rasul Mehr, Hafeez Jalandhari, Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash and Chiragh Hasan Hasrat.

The *Zamindar* became extremely popular during the Tripoli and the Balkan wars. In those days, the illiterate people of the NWFP and the Punjab used to spend two annas to purchase the newspaper. They used to spend another one anna in order to ask someone to read out the newspaper to them. Similarly, when the bundle of newspaper reached Kanpur, the newspaper agent had to shut the door of his shop, otherwise, the impatient customers were likely to storm the shop and snatch away the copies. Another proof of its immense popularity was that by 10 O'clock in the morning the newspaper could be bought for one anna, but in the evening it could hardly be bought for eight annas. The *Zamindar* was the only newspaper in India whose publication had reached thirty thousand. Until 1947, no other newspaper could claim such honours. The greatest achievement of the newspaper was that it successfully removed from the hearts of the people the terror of the British Imperialism. One of the greatest opponents of Zafar Ali Khan was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab Michael O'Dwyer. In his book *India as I Knew It* he says that the editor of the *Zamindar* was a fiery, volatile and notorious Zafar Ali

www.cssexampoint.com

Khan. O'Dwyer decided to confiscate the security of the newspaper. The newspaper, however, was published again and this time, its style was even more defiant and aggressive. It openly incited the people to revolt against the British government. For this very reason, the newspaper frequently became the target of the government's fury and in annoyance, the government demanded guarantees from it fifteen times. The Moulana himself spent fifteen years of his life in prison.

Zafar Ali Khan was a man of parts. In the Punjab, he was the one and only writer of correct and idiomatic Urdu. In poetry, his spontaneity and fluency were at their best. Shorish Kashmiri was justified in saying that for Zafar Ali Khan, writing poetry was as easy as telling time by the watch. From his fluency, spontaneity and command over the expression, one could gather as if words arid idioms always waited on him like humble slaves.

As an orator too, the Moulana enjoyed a distinguished position. His oratory easily enthralled his audience. In fact, his speeches were another form of poetry in prose. At the annual session of the League in 1937, the Quaid-e-Azam, for the first time, hoisted the flag of the League and in a speech that lasted for eight or ten minutes, he spelled out the significance of the national flag. The audience requested Zafar Ali Khan to translate the speech which he did and spoke for about three quarters of an hour.

As a poet of the *Na'at* the Moulana will always remain immortal in history. Some of the collections of his poetry are *Nigaristan. Chamanistan, Baharistan* and *Armaghan-e-Qadian,* etc.

Zafar Ali had excellent command over Urdu and English. The English version of Maulana Shibli's book *Al-Farooq* and the extempore Urdu translation of the Quaid-e-Azam's historic 1940 address are the best proof of his abilities as translator.

Zafar Ali's political achievements were also not few in number. He was one of those who spoke in favour of the Resolution that led to the creation of the AIML at Dhaka in 1906. During the Tripoli and the Balkan wars Zafar Ali collected funds for the Turks. He was given a rousing reception in Delhi after his return from Turkey. It was a proof of his immense popularity that near the Badshahi Mosque the enthusiastic crowd unyoked the horses of his buggy ad pulled it themselves. In this turmoil one young man was killed in the stampede.

In the evening a tea party was given in honour of the Moulana. The father of the deceased young man was also present. He made a brief speech and said; "If I had ten sons and all of them had laid down their lives for the sake of the Moulana, I would not have the least touch of sorrow. We are all the devotees of the Moulana".

www.essexampoint.com

Zafar Ali Khan also played an active role during the Khilafat Movement. He was elected first as the secretary of the Punjab Khilafat Committee. Later on, he was elected as its president. In this capacity he participated in hundreds of Khilafat conferences. He used his powerful pen to counter the poisonous influence of *Shuddhi, Sangthar* and other such movements, which the Hindus started at the end of the Khilafat Movement.

In 1935, in the wake of the tragedy of *Masjid-e-Shaheed Ganj*, he set up a new organization called Majlis-e-Ittihad-e-Millat. In 1937, he was elected a member of the Central Legislature from Lahore and tried his best to strengthen the position of the All-India Muslim League and the Quaid-e-Azam. After the establishment of Pakistan, he went into seclusion and passed away on November 27, 1956.

SAITH ABDULLA HAROON
(1876 – April 27, 1942)

Haji Abdullah Haroon played a magnificent role in the political awakening and economic progress not only of the Muslims of Sindh, but those of the Muslims of entire sub-continent. He began his practical life as an ordinary trader but by dint of his hardwork and innate faculties, he carved an important place for himself in the world of business.

God had bestowed upon him a huge amount of wealth and generous disposition. He devoted a major portion of his wealth to the welfare and progress of the Indian Muslims. In 1922, he set up an orphanage for the upbringing and care of orphans. He actively participated in all sorts of welfare works. Mosques, orphanage educational and welfare institutions always attracted his attention. In 1922, the circumcision of two of his sons, Mahmood Haroon and Yusuf Haroon, took place. In his moments of rejoicing, he did not ignore the welfare institutions. On this occasion, he gave away rupees two thousand to various institutions. Out of this sum, Rs.250 were given to Hanfia Bai Memon Girls High School.

Abdullah Haroon was always concerned about the stability and progress of the Ottoman Empire. Once he contributed rupees Fifty thousand to the Angora Fund. He enthusiastically participated in the Khilafat Movement also. In 1923, he was appointed the secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee. In 1927-28, he held the presidency of the Khilafat Committee.

Abdullah Haroon's parliamentary career extended over a long period. In 1923, he was elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1926, he become a member of the Central Assembly and remained its member till 1942. He rendered valuable services for the

www.cssexampoint.com

welfare and progress of women and for the protection of their rights. As a result of his efforts, a law was passed under which the Muslim women began receiving a share from the inheritance of their parents, in accordance with the Shariat law.

Abdullah Haroon was a vocal advocate of the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. He waged a great struggle to achieve that end. Like other Muslim leaders, Abdullah Haroon also rejected the Nehru Report when it appeared in 1928.

Abdullah Haroon took the initiative in making preparations for the Sind Muslim League Conference in October 1938. The Conference was presided over by Quaid-e-Azam who was greeted at the Karachi railway station by Abdullah Haroon in a manner "befitting a king". Even the anti-League newspaper the *Sind Observer* described the reception as one "a prince might well envy". The session was attended by both the Premiers of Bengal. (A.K. Fazlul Haq) and Punjab (Sir Sikandar Hayat) Moulana Shaukat Ali and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. More than 20 thousand delegates attended the conference.

At the opening session Abdullah Haroon had the honour to present the welcome address. In a forceful and forthright speech he reviewed the efforts over the past 15 years on the part of the Indian leaders to reach a settlement with the Hindu, but he regretted the goal was as far off as ever. He declared that unless adequate safeguards and protection of minorities were forthcoming there might be no alternative for Indian Muslims but "to seek their salvation in their own way in an independent federation of Muslim states."

Abdullah Haroon warned that "until and unless the problem is solved to the satisfaction of all, it will be impossible to save India from being divided into Hindu India and **Muslim India** both placed under separate federations."

The Conference passed the following historic resolution prepared by Abdullah Haroon, Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi and Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi.

The Resolution said "this Conference considers it absolutely essential, in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.[1]

The adoption of the resolution signified for the first time that the League had defined political India as two separate nations and at the same

[1] Mohammad Aslam, *The Making of the Pakistan Resolution*, Lahore, 2001, pp.24-25.

www.cssexampoint.com

time advanced the claim of political self-determination as a legitimate means for the achievement of separate nationhood. The resolution marked a new departure in League thinking which prepared the way for the establishment two years later of the Leagues' ultimate goal of Pakistan. It was in this respect, as a forerunner of the historic Lahore Resolution that the Sindh Conference Resolution achieved its historical distinction,

Abdullah Haroon was also a member of the working committee which was the most important organ of the League. Till his last breath, he was counted among the loyal companions of the Quaid. The condolence resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League on the eve of his death described his death as a "great loss for the League and the entire Muslim India."

www.cssexampoint.com

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE MUSLIMS

DARUL ULOOM DEOBAND

The dawn of the nineteenth century saw the East India Company emerge as the new political power in India. Not only was the power of the Mughal Empire broken but the sub-continent was also subjugated by the British.

In the post 1857 period the need of a big Darul Uloom had become apparent. Muslim education was being deprived of state patronage, an active campaign of Christian missionaries was developing into a serious threat to Islam in India and lastly the western education with the patronage of the Government had completely ignored the Islamic learning.

Some followers of Moulana Mohammad Ishaq led by Moulana Qasim Nanotvi realized after the War of Independence that it was futile to use force against the overwhelming power of the British. Therefore they decided to capture the **minds** of the Muslims by teaching them in the mosques.

Established within 10 years after the War of Independence when bitter frustration prevailed everywhere and the future seemed dark and appallingly discouraging, it was undoubtedly a bold venture.

The Darul Uloom was established under a shady tree of an open courtyard in the old mosque of Chatta at Deoband on May 30, 1866. It stood for definite religio-political ends.

The main object of Moulana Qasim was to make Deoband the centre of movement for continuing the mission of Shah Waliullah who was their religious mentor, and his works their text-books.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

The Darul Uloom was established with the following aims and objectives:-

1) Providing comprehensive information to the Muslims about their religion and making necessary arrangements for the teaching of the Quran, its explanation and illustration, *Tafseer*. *Hadees* and all others related subjects.
2) Invoking the true spirit of Islam among the students and training them to act in accordance with the Islamic code of ethics.

www.cssexampoint.com

3) Propagation and preaching of Islam besides defending and protecting it.
4) Avoiding the influence of government and preserving the freedom of thought and knowledge.
5) The establishment of Arabic institutions for the propagation of Islam and their affiliation with the Darul Uloom at Deoband.

Moulana Mohammad Qasim Nanotvi (1830-1880) laid down 8 golden principles which were to form the core of the constitution of the Darul Uloom. He was fully conscious of the need of guarding it against the infiltration of government influence through grants-in-aid or donations. He wanted to collect subscriptions from comparatively poor people, who gave money without any hope of earning fame, equally important was the fact that the contacts with the common people would give the venture the status of a movement. He despised the idea of his Darul Uloom being run by the money obtained from, lands, factories or trade. He firmly believed that in case the school wholly depended on fixed source of income, the unseen and the real help of Allah would vanish.

A critical perusal of these principles gives idea of the independent and democratic spirit embodied therein. The school was to be based on public co-operation. It had to be run by the method of *Shura* and not by arbitrary decisions of a person or a group of persons. It rejected all possibilities of governmental interference. This independent attitude together with more and more emphasis on mass contact has been, throughout its existence, a chief characteristic of the Darul Uloom.[1]

Moulana Qasim, the founder of the Darul Uloom, was extremely selfless person and was wholeheartedly devoted to it. As an example of his unparalleled dedication it may be mentioned that the institution fixed his salary at Rs. 50 but he accepted only Rs.10 per month. Whenever a visitor came to see him, he would calculate the time lost in the meeting and at the end of the month rescheduled his salary keeping in view the total time lost in all such meetings.

There was a consultative council and an administrator to run the administration of the Darul Uloom. One of the chief characteristics of the teachers at the Darul-Uloom was their selflessness. Had they wished, they could easily have obtained very lucrative jobs at other places but they preferred to work at Deoband with low salaries. Moulana Muhammad Yaqoob, son of Moulana Mamlook Ali who was the teacher of Sir Sayyed and Moulana Qasim Nanotvi, resigned his post of a sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools at Ajmer and joined the Madrasa on a small salary of Rs.15 per mensem. Moulvi Rafiuddin, the chief administrator, got only Rs.30 per month. Shaikh-ul-Hind, Moulana Mahmood Hasan,

[1] Ziaul Hasan Faruqui, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan.*

www.cssexampoint.com

despite numerous requests, refused to get more than Rs.50 per mensem. Moulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri did not draw any salary before his marriage. Moulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, while serving as a teacher here, did not accept even a single penny. The Nizam of Daccan once invited Hafiz Muhammad Ahmad to Hyderabad for a few years. During that period, he used to get Rs.1000 per month and later on he rejoined Deoband on a meager salary of Rs.85 per mensem only.

SERVICES

Due to the sincerity and devotion of its founders, the Darul-Uloom received the blessings of Allah and soon acquired fame all over the Muslim world.

The following facts bear witness to the progress made by this institution during the last one hundred years. At the start, it had only 78 students but their number exceeded to 1485 by the year 1977. In the beginning, there were only six teachers but now their number had increased to 49. During the initial period the annual income of Darul Uloom was Rs.649 only which increased to Rs.687226. In the beginning, even the books were not available for the students. They had to be borrowed from the people living in the nearby areas. Now, the Darul Uloom's own library has more than one lac books.

During the last one hundred years, 1116 foreign students were educated here. They included 109 from Afghanistan, one from Indonesia, 11 from Iran, 160 from Burma, 2 from Thailand, 199 from South Africa, 44 from China, 7 from Sri Lanka, one from France, 445 from Malaysia, 7 from Siberia and Russia and 58 from Nepal.

Even within the sub-continent the Darul Uloom attracted students from as far as Assam, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Nepal, Travancore and Peshawar.

During this period, the institution produced 5888 teachers, 1164 writers, 1784 Muftis, 1540 Debators 684 journalists, 4288 orators and Missionaries and 288 physicians.

DARUL IFTA
(Centre for Religious Verdicts)

In 1893, one of the most useful and significant department was established under the. supervision of Mufti Aziz-ur-Rahman, to provide religious, social and economic guidance to the Muslims. The *Fatwa* issued by the Darul Ifta, dealt with all sorts of problems ranging from ordinary day to day problems to the socio-economic ones. The stupendousness of the task can be gauged by the fact that during a

www.cssexampoint.com

period of only 17 years, it issued a total of 37161 *Fatawa*. 147851 *Fatawa* were issued during the period from 1911 to 1951. The copies of the *Fatawa* issued during the first 47 years have not been preserved. The *Fatawa* whose copies have been preserved are being compiled and published in the book form. Up till now nine volumes of these *Fatawa* have been published. The ninth volume consists of 500 pages.

The Darul Uloom has also rendered valuable literary services. Moulana Mahmood Hasan's translation of the Holy Quran is regarded as a masterpiece of Urdu literature. The writings of Moulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Badar Alam Merathi, Sayyed Muhammad Mian, Manazar Ahsan Gilani, Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Hifz-ur-Rahman, Qari Muhammad Tayyab, Saeed Ahmad Akbarabadi and those of innumerable other such writers and intellectuals are highly scholarly, research-oriented and have a lucid style. According to a careful estimate, the writers associated with this institution produced ten to twelve thousand books on Quran, its explanation and interpretation, *Ahadees*, Islamic jurisprudence, mysticism, literature, history and books on the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Moulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi alone wrote about one thousand books.

A salient feature of all these writers is that, for the greater benefit of the Muslim nation, they did not reserve with themselves the rights of publication The Ulama of Deoband were effective in combating the Christian and Arya Samaj missionaries.

When the Hindus started the *Shuddhi* movement to convert the Muslims to Hinduism, the Darul Uloom took immediate and effective steps to counter this movement. One of its teachers Moulana Meerak Shah opened a preaching center at Agra. With a view to giving the first hand knowledge of Hinduism to the Muslim Missionaries, arrangements were made to teach the Sanskrit language at Deoband. As a result of the sincere efforts made by a convert -- Muslim Moulana Ghulam Muhammad, a team of well-trained Muslim preachers was prepared who, besides having a fair command over Sanskrit, knew well the art of forceful argumentation. The Darul Uloom sent 50 preachers and opened 20 preaching centers in the area where conversions were taking place. These devoted preachers educated the Malkana children about the teaching and obligations of Islam.

The Darul Uloom helped the growth and popularity of Urdu which was the medium of instruction. Students came even within the first year of its existence, far off places as distant as Afghanistan, Chittagong, Patna and Madras but all were to return with a common language Urdu. The Darul Uloom was instrumental in establishing Urdu as a language of communication among the Muslims of India.

www.cssexampoint.com

Politically, the Deoband School held the anti-British posture till 1947. The Aligarh school and the Darul Uloom followed two different paths as for as the British were concerned. Sir Syed's ardent and sustained pro-British policy had fortified the Deoband leadership that in its approach to Indian politics and the Ottoman Empire, it differed fundamentally from its counterpart at Aligarh. As for as the Ottoman Empire was concerned Sir Syed wrote articles in the Aligarh Institute Gazette refuting the pretentious claim of Sultan Abdul Hameed to the khilafat and preaching .of loyalty to the British rulers even if they were compelled to pursue an unfriendly policy towards Turkey, whereas Deoband was consistent, since the very beginning in its policy of friendship and alliance with the Ottoman Empire.

When Moulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi succeeded Qasim Nanotvi, he issued a fatwa in favour of the Indian National Congress and thus the gulf between Deoband and Aligarh became wider. When Moulana Mahmood Hasan became the principal of the Darul Uloom he decided to launch his programme to oust the foreigners from India. His programme consisted of bringing the Governments of Afghanistan and Iran closer to each other on some workable point of view and seeking the military support of Turkey to attack India through Iran and Afghanistan. In 1915 Mahmood Hasan went to Hijaz to avoid his expected arrest and to make direct contact with the Turkish Government to seek material help for his programme. At Madina Enver Pasha met him and appreciated his programme. But in the meanwhile the situation changed drastically and the Arab revolt resulted in his arrest and he was imprisoned at Malta.

During the Khilafat Movement the Ulama associated with the Darul Uloom formed a political party known as Jamiat ul Ulama-e-Hind which worked side by side with the Congress. The services rendered by Mahmood Hasan, Husain Ahmad Madni, Mohammed Mian, and Hifzur Rahman towards the freedom struggle will always be remembered.

In 1935-36 the Jamiat ul Ulama-e-Hind and the All-India Muslim League worked together but soon they parted ways.

The Darul Uloom, at the dawn of the Pakistan movement, .was itself divided over the Pakistan issue. Moulana Ashraf All Thanvi whole-heartedly supported the All-India Muslim League and its demand of Pakistan. The glorious services of Moulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Mufti Mohammad Shafi, Moulana Zafar Ahmad Thanvi during the Pakistan movement would always be remembered and applauded.

The Darul Uloom occupied a unique position not only in India but also in the Muslim world. Allama Rashied Raza of Jamia Al-Azhar visited Darul Uloom in 1913 he remarked: "had I not visited the school I would have returned to Egypt in deep dejection". He added that India still had maintained the high standard of teachings of Islam

www.cssexampoint.com

NADWATUL ULAMA, LUCKNOW

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the political and cultural dominance of the European civilization over the sub-continent. A very strong and powerful government on the Indian soil also encouraged the Christian missionaries to propagate their religion and impose it on the Indians. As a natural reaction a number of movements were launched to strengthening the faith of the Muslims by enlightening them about their own cultural and spiritual heritage and demonstrating the evils of an alien philosophy. One of the most significant of these movements was that of Nadvatul Ulama. It attempted to bridge the gulf between the old and the new ideas.

The Arabic institutions had the same age-old syllabus which could not meet the contemporary requirements. Logic, philosophy, rhetoric and other such rotten and useless branches of knowledge were being painstakingly taught in these institutions. The teaching of Quran and *Hadees* was not given adequate time and importance. A number of intellectuals associated with Darul Uloom Deoband severely condemned the teaching of philosophy and other such outdated subjects. In this educational system the capabilities of the students were wasted away in religious disputes, sectarian debates and logical argumentations and philosophical discussions. History, geography, science and other such modern sciences which spoke of the causes of the rise and fall of nations and which dealt with collective thought and new interpretations of religion to face the current situations and problems were being completely ignored. Instead of demonstrating generous open-heartedness and encouraging freedom of thought, the religious scholars were involved in petty disputes and debates about those minor issues which had nothing to do with the actual human life. Many of these scholars declared their rivals to be non-believers. Trivial issues became incentives for heated debates, ugly disputes and prolonged lawsuits.

Keeping all these facts, in mind, Moulana Muhammad Ali Mungeri decided to create a permanent council of intellectuals and scholars during a meeting held at Madrasa-e-Faiz-e-Aam in Kanpur on 22-24 April 1894. The aim of this council was to brood over the drawbacks, evils and flaws which had appeared among the Muslims, especially in their educational system, and to find effective remedies to improve the situation. Moreover, it was also assigned the task of discussing and suggesting practicable means of uniting the Muslims. It brought on one platform the leading Ulama of every school of thought. Besides the Hanfi Ulama, Maulana Ibrahim Aravi and Mohammad Husain Batalvi from among the *Ahle Hadees* and Moulvi Ghulam Hasnain from among the Shia Mujtahid participated in the session. In this way, Nadwatul Ulama came

www.cssexampoint.com

into being. The following aims and objectives were set before this new institution.

1) Introduction of fundamental and far-reaching reforms in the syllabi of Islamic studies and preparation of a new syllabus.
2) Producing such scholars who, besides being well-versed in all the aspects of Quran and *Sunnah*, should also be fully acquainted with the contemporary problems, challenges and requirements They should also be aware of modem thought.
3) Promoting the feelings of unity and brotherhood among the Muslims.
4) Propagation of Islamic teachings .and making the non-Muslims, especially the Hindus, aware of the merits of these teachings.

All the prominent scholars of India warmly welcomed the establishment of the Nadwa. In 1894, at a meeting of the AIMEC, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk also welcomed the establishment of this new institution. He appealed to all the Muslims of India to assist with heart and soul and with word and action the new institution which aimed at the religious and material welfare of the Muslims. Sir Sayyed also had similar warm feelings for Nadwatul Ulama and lauded its aims and objectives.

It was essentially a religious movement which concluded that the main cause of the decline and downfall of the Muslims was their deviation from religion and alienation from the true religious education. Scholars had the central role to play in this movement which was of an intellectual and literary nature.

This movement began with the reformation and improvement of the syllabi of religious institutions. This Darul Uloom was formally inaugurated at Khatoon Manzil Lucknow on September 26, 1898. The foundation - stone of its new buildings was laid by the Lieutenant-Governor of U.P., Sir James Meston on November 28, 1908. The government provided a vast tract of land and the Nawab of Bahawalpur gave generous financial help to the new Dar-ul-Uloom. In 1905, Moulana Shibli Nomani became the chief proctor and infused a new life and vigour in this institution. He also raised the standard of its magazine *Al-Nadwa*. Preparation of a comprehensive and authentic English translation of the Quran, a scholarly review of the existing translations of this Holy book, enactment of the Islamic law pertaining to inheritance, introduction of religious education and Islamic studies in government schools and campaigning for the Muslim government employees to be allowed to offer their Friday prayers were some of those numerous activities in which Moulana Shibli and his companions took part under the auspices of Nadwatul Ulama. In fact, Shibli with his open mindedness and courage played a pivotal role in all such activities.

www.cssexampoint.com

A special achievement of Shibli, while he was the chief proctor, was the holding of a unique exhibition at Banaras during a meeting of the Nadwa. Royal decrees, rare manuscripts, pictures, coins and other such objects were displayed at the exhibition. Furthermore, books of Persian literature and those of other subjects were arranged in a manner which depicted their gradual evolution.

SERVICES

The Nadvatul Ulama brought out its magazine entitled *Al-Nadwa.* in 1904 under the editorship of Moulana Habeeb-ur-Rehman Sherwani and Moulana Shibli, *Al-Nadwa* was considered among the country's best known magazines full of knowledge and research. All the associates of Nadwatul Ulama, who later on came to be known as renowned writers and intellectuals, started their writings with this very magazine. The famous historian of Islam Sayyed Suleman Nadvi sent his first essay for publication in *Al-Nadwa* while he was a student. This magazine introduced a large number of those people who, in the long run became prominent artists, journalists, scholars and literary figures. Moulana Abul-Kalam Azad acted as the sub-editor of *Al-Nadwa* from October 1905 to March 1906. The famous journalist Abdullah Imadi was associated with it who later on worked with the *Ahle Hadis* (Amritsar). Subsequently he worked on the editorial boards of the Vakil (Amritsar), the *Zamindar* (Lahore) and the *Al-Hilal* (Calcutta). Enumerating the services rendered by Al-Nadva, Sayyed Suleman Nadvi remarked that it produced a large stock of scholarly discussions and debates in Urdu language and literature. It acquainted the modern educated class with religious and intellectual achievements of Islam and made the Ulama to become acquainted with the new trends of thought and current problems. It also successfully answered the objections raised against the Islamic history.

Nadvat-ul-Ulama popularized the taste for using Arabic as a living and spoken language and gave to it, its rightful place in the curriculum and the entire educational system. While Dr. Sayyed Abdul Ali was serving as its Rector, attempts were made to widen and strengthen its ties with the rest of the Muslim world. Bilateral visits arranged and sincere efforts were made to improve cultural and literary ties. As a result, eminent personalities of the Muslim world including Mufti Amin-ul-Husaini, Muhammad Ali Aluba Pasha, the former Egyptian minister for Auqaf, Shaikh Abdul Wahab, General Rauf Pasha of Turkey, Allama Abdul Azeez of Tunis and Shaikh Ibrahim of Madina visited Nadva.

www.cssexampoint.com

In order to further strengthen its interaction and contact with the Muslim world, the Nadva started a monthly Arabic magazine *Al-Zia* in May 1932.

Nadvatul Ulama also took effective steps to check the menace of *Shuddhi*. When *Shuddhi* became rampant in 1908, Moulana Shibli toured Shah Jahanpur. The teaching of Sanskrit was arranged at the Nadva and Moulana Shibli re-compiled and published the book *Hifazat-i-Isha'at-e-Islam*. In 1923, Masood Ali Nadvi was made in charge of the practical plans to counter harmful effects of *Shuddhi*. Nadvatul Ulama can rightly be proud of those countless students who later on acquired immortal fame. Some of them are Sayyed Suleman Nadvi who earned the title of *Ustad-ul-Kul* from Allama Iqbal, Abdus Salam Nadvi, Shah Moin-ud-Din Nadvi, Najeeb Ashraf, Moulvi Abu Zafar and Moulana Abul-Hasan Ali Nadwi, etc. The editorship of the well-known journal *Mua'arif* was held by a former chief of Nadvat-ul-Ulama.

ANJUMAN-E-HIMAYAT-E-ISLAM, LAHORE

The Punjab, which, during the Ghaznavi period, was known for its educational institutions, had reached the other extreme by the end of the nineteenth century. Educationally, it had become extremely backward. In 1849, the English brought to an end the Sikh rule over the Punjab and annexed it. They brought Western education with them and established a number of schools and colleges. Government College, Lahore, was opened in 1864 and Mission College was built in 1866.

Due to certain valid reasons, the Muslims did not benefit from these institutions and went on sinking deeper and deeper into the depth of academic decline. On the other hand, the Christian missionaries found the soil of the Punjab fertile for them and started their activities. They began to attract the poor Muslims. The Arya Samajees also became very active trying to convert as many Muslims as possible to Hinduism. The Hindu and the Christian missionaries began succeeding in their nefarious designs.

In 1883, a Sayyed lady along with her three children was converted to Christianity. This incident was a serious challenge to the national pride of the Muslims. Although, as a result of the preachings of the Muslims, she re-embraced Islam yet the whole incident was shocking enough to open the eyes of the Muslims. In March 1884, the Muslims of the Punjab, laid the foundation of Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam in order to face this alarming situation.

In the beginning, the new Anjuman arranged a group of religious orators and rhetoricians who toured the towns and villages of the Punjab and prepared the ground to counter the poisonous propaganda

www.cssexampoint.com

of the Christian missionaries. Some of these committed and enthusiastic preachers were, Moulvi Sayyed Ahmad Ali, Munshi Shams-ud-Din, Moulana Abdul Majid Dehlvi, Moulana Muhammad Ibrahim, Sayyed Muhammad Shah Gilani, Mian Allah Yar and Moulvi Muhammad Mubarik. They spread throughout the province and rendered valuable services to check the influence of Christian and Arya missionaries and to preach and propagate Islamic teachings.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The Anjuman was set up to achieve the following aims and objectives:-

1) Providing for the religious and general education of male and female Muslim students so that they may be saved from the ill effects of secular education.
2) Protection and propagation of Islamic values.
3) Responding to the hostile propaganda of the Christian and Hindu missionaries in the written form and through speeches; and for this purpose, starting a magazine and appointing eloquent speakers to give sermons.
4) Creating a desire and love for social reform, moral uplift, religious and worldly education and unity among the Muslims.

Qazi Hameed-ud-Din was elected the Anjuman's first president and Ghulam Ullal Qasuri as its first secretary. For the fulfillment of its aims and objectives, the Anjuman started its operations from a scratch. Its workers would take utensils to the houses in which the women put a handful of flour daily. After a fixed period, the flour was collected from all the houses and was sold and the money thus obtained was spent on the activities of the Anjuman.

In its first year, the Anjuman's income was Rs.754 and the expenditure was Rs.344. Due to the sincere and concerted efforts of its workers, people began participating in the activities of the Anjuman enthusiastically. In 1885, the number of its members increased from 200 to 6000.

Another source of income for the Anjuman was the money obtained from the sale of books. For instance, Moulvi Ghulam Dastgeer wrote a pamphlet in defence of the Holy Quran and gave it to the Anjuman. Similarly, Sayyed Muhammad Husain donated three hundred copies of the book *Aijazut Tanzeel* to the Anjuman. They were sold for the total price of Rs.975. The Rulers of different States also made generous contributions. For instance, Shahjahan Begum, the Ruler of Bhopal, gave Rs.2000 to the Anjuman.

The Anjuman started its educational activities with a primary school in a hired house, at the monthly rent of Rs.2 and a half. It gave

www.cssexampoint.com

more importance to the establishment of female schools and during the first two years, opened ten such schools. Mostly, Muslim women used to teach at these schools. In 1886, a boys school was opened, which flourished so rapidly that with a view to accommodating all the students the school had to be shifted to a large Haveli of Sikandar Khan. In 1887, this school was upgraded to the middle level.

In 1892, Islamia College was established in two rooms of Sheranwala School. Later on in 1908, it was shifted to its present premises. The Anjuman also started a college for Muslim girls in 1939. The Islamia College, Lahore, played an important role in the political and academic progress of the Muslims of the Punjab. Some of the prominent teachers of the College were Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, M.D.Taseer, M.M.Sharif, Ghulam Husain, Khawaja Abdul Hai Farooqi, M.A.Ghani Allama Ala-ud-Din Siddiqui, Ilm-ud-Din Salik, Khwaja Dil Muhammad and Dr. Omar Hayat Malik.

Another important achievement of this Anjuman is the establishment of *Dar-ul-Aman* and *Dar-us-Shafqat*. Taking full advantage of the weaknesses of the Muslims, the Christians used to assume the guardianship of homeless orphan Muslim children and converted them to Christianity. In this situation, the Anjuman opened a *Dar-us-Shafqat* where thousand of Muslim orphans, besides being saved from the clutches of Christian missionaries, were brought up to live with dignity and honour in society.

In the field of knowledge, too, the Anjuman rendered laudable services. Its monthly journal *Himayat-e-Islam* was started in 1885. It became a weekly in 1926. A large number of comprehensive books on history, biography, life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), civilization and culture were published on behalf of the Anjuman. The Quran published by the Anjuman is considered to be the most authentic.

The annual meetings of the Anjuman are regarded as a significant chapter in the political, educational and cultural history of the Muslims, not only of the Punjab but also of the whole of India. These meetings were addressed by such men of eminence as Shibli Nomani, Nazir Ahmad Dehlvi, Moulana Hali, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Abdul Qadir and Allama Iqbal. In their speeches, they inculcated among the Muslims the passion for development, reconstruction and national unity. The political, cultural and educational condition of the Muslims was thoroughly discussed and reviewed at these meetings. At the same time, practical proposals for their progress and prosperity were discussed. Allama Iqbal recited many of his famous poems for the first time in these meetings.

The contribution made by the students of Islamia College to the Pakistan Movement would be remembered forever. It were the students of this very

www.cssexampoint.com

College who, during the historic session of the All-India Muslim League in March 1940, escorted the Quaid-e-Azam in a grand procession to the Minto Park. Students of this College such as Hamid Nizami, Zakaduddin Pal, Aftab Qarshi and others played a significant role in the formation of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation and the struggle for independence. The grounds of this college also had the honour of hosting that exciting ceremony in which the Quaid hoisted the proposed flag of Pakistan.

Some of those countless eminent personalities who had long been associated with the Anjuman include Allama Iqbal, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Fateh Ali Khan Qizalbash, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Maulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Qasuri and Syed Mohsin Shah, and others. The services and achievements of the Anjuman can be gauged from the fact that by the time of Nationalization of institutions in 1972, 26 institutions were working under its patronage. They include two degree colleges, one inter college, one law college, one Physicians college, seven high schools and three junior schools.

www.cssexampoint.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ENGLISH BOOKS

Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India,* Lahore, 1967.
Abdul Waheed Khan, *India Wins Freedom: The Other Side,* Lahore, 1961.
Abdus Salam Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan,* Karachi, 1977.
Afzal Iqbal, *Life and Times of Mohamed Ali,* Lahore, 1974.
——— (ed) *Select Writings and Speeches of Moulana Mohamed Ali,* Vol. II, Lahore, 1969.
Ahmad Saeed (ed) *Quaid-i-Azam – A Bunch of Rare Letters,* Lahore, 1999.
——— (ed) *The Eastern Times on Quaid-i-Azam,* Islamabad, 1988.
——— *(ed) Writings of the Quaid-i-Azam,* Lahore, 1976.
Allana, G., *Quaid-i-Azam – The Story, of A Nation,* Karachi, 1967.
Ambedkar, B.R., *Pakistan or the Partition of India,* Delhi, 1945.
Anderson and Subedar, *The Last Days of the Company,* London, 1918.
Azad, Abul Kalam, *India Wins Freedom,* Calcutta, 1959.
Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment,* Karachi, 1970.
Aziz, K.K., *A History of the Idea of Pakistan,* 4 vols., Lahore, 1987.
——— *Britain and Muslim India,* London, 1963.
——— (ed) *The All-Parties Muslim Conference – A Documentary Record,* Karachi, 1972.
——— (ed) *The Indian Khilafat Movement: A Documentary Record,* Karachi, 1972.
——— *The Making of Pakistan — A Study in Nationalism,* London, 1967.

Bakshi, S. R., *Simon Commission and Indian Nationalism,* Delhi, 1977.
Banerjea, Surendranath, *A Nation in Making,* London, 1925.
Bhatnagar, S.K., *History of the MAO College Aligarh,* Lahore, n.d.
Brass, Paul, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India.* Cambridge,
Broomfield, J.H., *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society – Twentieth Century Bengal,* California, 1968.
Campbell-Johnson, Alan, *Mission With Mountbatten,* London, 1972.
Collins, Larry, *Mountbatten and the Partition of India,* New Delhi, 1983
Coupland, R., *Indian Politics 1936-42,* London, 1943.
Dani, A.H. (ed) *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam,* Islamabad, 1979.
Dutt, P.R., *India Today,* Bombay, 1949.

www.cssexampoint.com

Edwardes, Michael, *The Red Year*, London, 1973.

Fischer, Louis, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, Bombay, 1951.
Furnaeux, Rupert, *Massacre at Amritsar*, London, 1963.

Gopal, S., *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin 1926-31*, Oxford, 1957.
——— *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon 1880-84*, London, 1953.
Gordon, Leonard A., *Bengal – The Nationalist Movement 1876-1940*, Delhi, 1979.
Griffiths, P., *The British Impact on India*, London, 1953.

Hardinge, Charles, *My Indian Years 1910-16*, London, 1948.
Hardy, Peter, *The Muslims of British India*, Karachi, 1973.
Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, 1989.
——— *A History of the Freedom Movement* by Board of Editors, Vol. III, Part I, Karachi, 1966.
Hasan Ahmad (ed) *Iqbal – His Political Ideas at Cross Roads*, Aligarh, 1979.
Hirschmann, Edwin, *White Mutiny*, Delhi, 1980.
Hodson, H.V., *The Great Divide – Great Britain, India and Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969.
Iftikhar Alam, *History of the Mohammaden College*, Agra, 1901.
——— *Iqbal's Letters to Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1956.
Ikram Ali Malik (ed) *Muslim League Session 1940 and the Lahore Resolution*, Islamabad, 1932.
Ikram, S.M., *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Lahore.
Iqbal Chawla, Muhammad, *Wavell and the Dying Days of the Raj*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011.
Ispahani, M.A.H., *'Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah As I Knew Him*, Karachi, 1966.

Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter*, Lahore, 1971.
Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, Karachi, 1979.
Jamiluddin Ahmad, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, Lahore, n.d.
——— (ed) *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1960.

Kanwar Sain, *Reminiscences of an Engineer*, New Delhi, 1978.
Kaye, J.W., *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1870.
Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan – The Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960.
Khaliquzzaman, Choudhry, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Lahore, 1961.
Kirpal Singh, *The Partition of the Punjab*, Patiala, 1972.

Lajpat Rai, Lala, *Young India*, Lahore, 1927.

www.cssexampoint.com

Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League, its History, Activities and Achievements*, Lahore; 1979.
Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan*, Karachi, 1969.

Mahajan, Mehr Chand, *Looking Back*, Bombay, 1963.
Majumdar, R.C., *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, Calcutta, 1957.
Majumdar, S.K., *Jinnah and Gandhi – Their Role in India's Quest For Freedom*, Lahore, 1976.
Mansergh, Nicholas (Editor-in-Chief) *The Transfer of Power 1942-47* (12 vols.) London.
Masuma Hasan (ed.) *Pakistan in a Changing World*, Karachi, 1978.
Matiur Rahman, *From Consultation to Confrontation*, London, 1970.
Mehrotra, S.R., *Towards India's Freedom and Partition*, Delhi, 1979.
Menon, V.P. *The Transfer of Power in India*, Calcutta, 1957.
Minault, Gail, *The Khilafat Movement, Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization In India*, Columbia, 1982.
Mohammad Ali, Chaudhry, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Columbia, n.d.
Mohammad Saleem Ahmed, *The All-India Muslim League*, Bahawalpur, 1988.
Molla, M.K.U., *The New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*, Bangladesh, 1981.
Moon, Penderel, *Divide and Quit*, London, 1964.
Moore, R.J., *The Escape From Empire*, Oxford, 1983.
Mosley, Leonard, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, London, 1961.
Mujeeb, M., *The Indian Muslims, London*, 1967.
Munir, Justice Mohammad, *From Jinnah to Zia*, Lahore, 1980.
Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience – M.A. Ansari, The Congress and the Raj*, Delhi, 1987.

——— *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, Delhi, 1979.
Nanda, B.R., *Gokhale – The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, Delhi, 1977.
Nehru, Jawaharlal, *An Autobiography*, New Delhi, 1982,
Nirad C. Chaudhry, *Autobiography of An Unknown Indian*, London, 1951.

Page, David, *Prelude to Partition*, Delhi, 1982.
Pandey, B.N., *The Indian Nationalist Movement*, New Delhi.
Philips, C.H. (ed) *The Partition of India – Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947*, London, 1970.
Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Karachi (Vol. I, 1969, Vol. II, 1970, Vol. III, 1990).
———*Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, Karachi, 1977.

www.cssexampoint.com

Punnaiah, K.V., *Constitutional History of India*, n.d.
The Partition of the Punjab,. Lahore, 1983.

——— *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah – Speeches As Governor-General*, Karachi, 1963.
Qureshi, I.H., *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, Karachi, 1977.
——— *The Struggle for Pakistan*, Karachi, 1965.
Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, *The All-Parties Conference Report*, Delhi, 1928.
Rafique Afzal, M. (ed) *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Lahore, 1973.
——— (ed) *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan*, Lahore, 1975.
Rahmani Begum, *The Politics of Educational Reforms*, Lahore, 1985.
Rashiduzzaman, M., *The Central Legislature in British India 1921-47*, Dacca, 1965.
Ravoof, A.A., *Meet Mr. Jinnah*, Lahore, 1945.
Razi Wasti, Syed, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement*, Oxford, 1964.
——— *The Political Triangle in India;* Lahore, 1976.
Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah – Second Phase of His Freedom Struggle 1924-34*, Islamabad, 1994.
——— *Reminiscences of the Day of Deliverance*, Islamabad, 1976.
Roberts, Andrew, *Eminent Churchillians*, London, 1994.
Robinson, Francis, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1971.

Saiyid, M.H., *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study*, Karachi, 1970.
Sardar Ali Khan, *India of Today, Bombay*, 1907.
Savarkar, V.D., *The Indian War of Independence 1857*, London, 1909.
Seal, Anil, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1971.
Setalvad, Chamanlal, *Recollections and Reflections*, Bombay, 1946.
Shamsul Hasan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Karachi, 1976.
Shan Mohammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan – A Political Biography*, Lahore, 1976.
——— *The Indian Muslims – A Documentary Record*, Meerut, 1981.
Sher Muhammad Garewal (ed), *Jinnah-Wavell Correspondence 1943-47*, Lahore, 1986.
Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal*, Delhi, 1976.
Sikandar Hayat, *Aspects of the Pakistan Movement*, Lahore, 1991.
Sitaramaya, Pattabhi, *The History of the Congress*, Allahabad, 1935.
Stephens Ian, *Pakistan Old Country/New Nation*, London, 1964.
Sufia Ahmad, *Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912*, Dacca, 1974.
Swinson, Arthur, *Six Minutes to Sunset*, London, 1964.

www.cssexampoint.com

Tripathy, Armales, *The Extremist Challenge*, Calcutta, 1976.
Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence*, Lahore, 1969.
——— (ed) *The Nation's Voice*, Karachi. 1996.
Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1964.
Wedderburn, William, *Allan Octavin Hume*, London, 1913.

Yusuf Abbasi, M., *London Muslim League, An Historical Study (1908-28)*, Islamabad, 1988.
——— *Muslim Politics and Leadership in South Asia*, Islamabad, 1981.
Zeba Zubair, *From Mutiny to Mountbatten*, London, 1996.

Urdu Books

Abdul Ghaffar, Qazi, *Hayat-e-Ajmal*, Aligarh, 1950.
Abdul Haq, Moulvi, *Chand Hum Asr*, Karachi, 1959.
Abdul Majeed Salik, *Sarguzasht*, Lahore, 1963.
Abdul Wahid Qureshi, *Tareekhi Faisla*, Karachi, 1976.
Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sahafat Pakistan-o-Hind Mein*, Lahore, 1963.
Abu Salman, *Ghazi Abdur Rahman Peshawari*, Karachi, 1979.
Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Nuqoosh-e-Iqbal*, Karachi, 1973.
——— *Karawan-e-Zindagi*, Karachi, n.d.
Ahmad Saeed (ed) *Gufhar-e-Quaid-i-Azam*, Islamabad, 1978.
——— *Hayat-e-Qwid-e-Azam, Chand Nae Pehlu*, Islamabad, 1978.
——— *Iqbal Aur Quaid-i-Azam*, Lahore, 1977.
Ameen Zubairi, Mohammad, *Agha Khan*, Karachi, 1950.
——— *Hayat-e-Mohsin*, Aligarh, 1934.
——— (ed) *Makateeb-e-Vigar-ul-Mulk-o-Mohsin-ul-Mulk*, Agra, n.d.
——— *Siasat-e-Millia*, Agra, 1941.
——— *Tazkira-e-Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, n.d.
——— *Zia-e-Hayat*, Karachi, n.d.
Anwaar Ahmad Zubairi, *Panjah Sala Tareekh All-India Muslim Educational Conference*, Badaun, 1936.
Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Chand Yadain Chand Taassurat*, Lahore, Vol.I, 1970, Vol. II. 1986.
——— *Hamari Qaomi Jiddo Johad*, May-Dec. 1938; Lahore, 1966.
——— *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal*, Lahore, 1969.
Faridul Haq, *Jahan-e-Deegar*, Karachi, 1983.
Farman Fatehpuri, *Hindi Urdu Tanaza*, Islamabad, 1976.
Ghulam Rasul Mehr, *Tabarrukat-e-Azad*, Lahore, n.d.
Hali, Hafiz Altaf Husain, *Hayat-e-Javeed*, Lahore, 1966.
Hasan Riaz, Sayyid, *Pakistan Nagazeer Tha*, Karachi, 1970.

www.cssexampoint.com

Ikramullah Nadvi, *Viqar-e-Hayat*, Aligarh, 1925.
Javeed Iqbal, Dr., *Zinda Rood*, Lahore, 1984.
Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami, *1857 Ka Tareekhi Roznamcha*, Delhi, 1958.
Khurshid Mustafa Rizvi, *Jang-e-Azadi 1857*, Delhi, 1959
Mohammad Sarwar, *Muslim Aur Ghair Muslim Hukumat*, Lahore, 1947.
Mohammad Shafi, Mian, *1857*, Lahore, 1957.
Nur Ahmad, Sayyid, *Marshal Law Sey Marshal Law Tak*, Lahore, 1966.
Raees Ahmad Jafri, *Karavan-e-Gumgashta*, Karachi, 1971.
——— *Maqalat-e-Mohamed Ali*, Lahore, n.d.
——— *Quaid-e-Azam Aur Unka Ehd*, Lahore, n.d.
Rafique Afzal, M., *Guftar-e-Iqbal*, Lahore, 1969.
Raza Ali, Sayyid, *Aamal Nama*, Delhi, 1945.
Ross Masud, *Khutute Sir Sayyid*, Badaun, 1924.
Siddiq Ali Khan, Nawab, *Bey Taigh Sepahi*, Karachi, 1971.
Sirajuddin Ahmad, *Sir Sayyid Key Lekcharon Ka Majmua*, Lahore, 1890.
Suleman Nadvi, Sayyid, *Nuqoosh-e-Sulemani*, Karachi, 1979.
——— *Bureed Farang*, Karachi, 1952.
——— *Khilafat Aur Hindustan*, Azamgarh, 1340 A.H.
Sundar Lal, *San Sattawan*, Delhi, 1957.
Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Musalmano Ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi,
Ubaidullah Khan (ed) *Maqalat-e-Youmi. Shibli*, Lahore, 1961.

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Paisa Akhbar, Lahore.
The Civil & Military Gazette, Lahore.
The Eastern Times, Lahore.
The Hindustan Times, Delhi.
The Indian Annual Register.
The Indian Quarterly Register.
Zamindar, Lahore.

www.cssexampoint.com

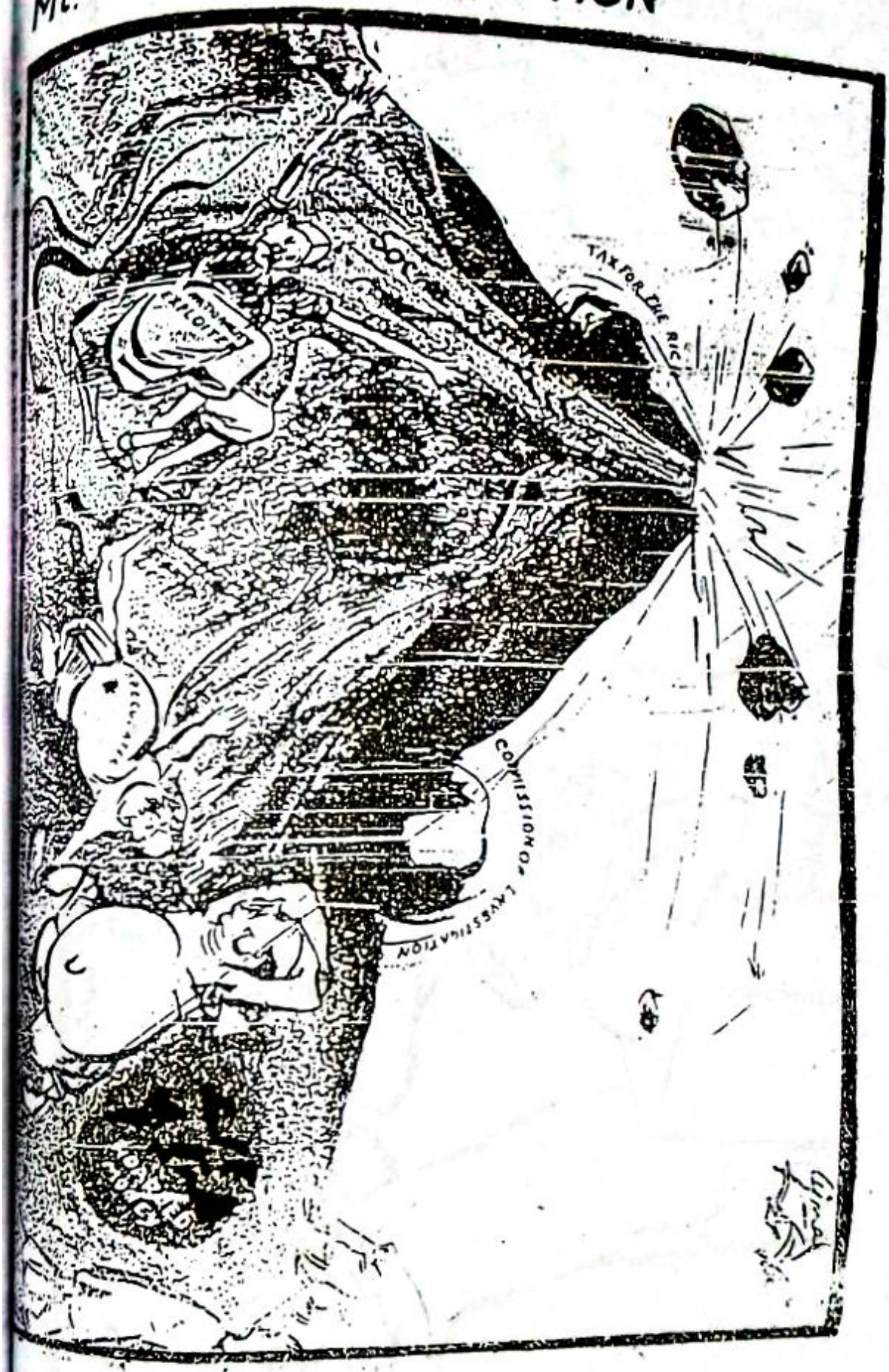
NADVATUL ULAMA, LUCKNOW 1894-1927

U.P.	Kanpur:	1894	Moulana Lutfullah Aligarhi
	Lucknow:	1895	Sayyid Mohammad Shah Rampuri
	Bans Bareli:	1896	Lutfullah Aligarhi
	Meerut:	1897	Lutfullah Aligarhi
	Kanpur:	1898	Masihuz Zaman Khan
	Shah Jahanpur:	1899	Ahmad Hasan Kanpuri
	Banaras:	1906	Shah Mohammad Suleman
	Lucknow:	1912	Allamja Rashid Raza
	Lucknow:	1925	Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani
	Kanpur	1926	Hakim Ajmal Khan
BIHAR:	Azeemabad, Patna:	1900	Ahmad Hasan Kanpuri
BENGAL:	Calcutta:	1901	Mufti Ghulam Rasul Amritsari
PUNJAB:	Amritsar:	1902	Masihuz Zaman Khan
	Ambala:	1925	Haji Rahim Bakhsh
	Amritsar:	1927	Moulana Ghulam Husain
MADRAS:	Madras:	1904	Abu Mohammad Abdul Haq
	Madras:	1917	Shah Mohammad Suleman
BOMBAY:	Poona:	1916	Shah Mohammad Suleman
C.P.	Nagpur	1918	Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani
	Belgam	1919	Haji Rahim Bakhsh
Delhi:		1910	Hakim Ajmal Khan

www.cssexampoint.com

www.cssexampoint.com

Mt. LIAQUAT IN ERUPTION



www.cssexampoint.com

TOP SECRET

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.

8th August, 1947.

My dear Chief,

I enclose a map showing roughly the boundary which Sir Cyril Radcliffe proposes to demarcate in his award, and a note by Christopher Beaumont describing it. There will not be any great changes from this boundary, but it will have to be accurately defined with reference to village and zail boundaries in Lahore district.

The award itself is expected within the next 48 hours, and I will let you know later about the probable time of announcement. Perhaps you would ring me up if H.E. the Governor has any views on this point?

Yours sincerely,

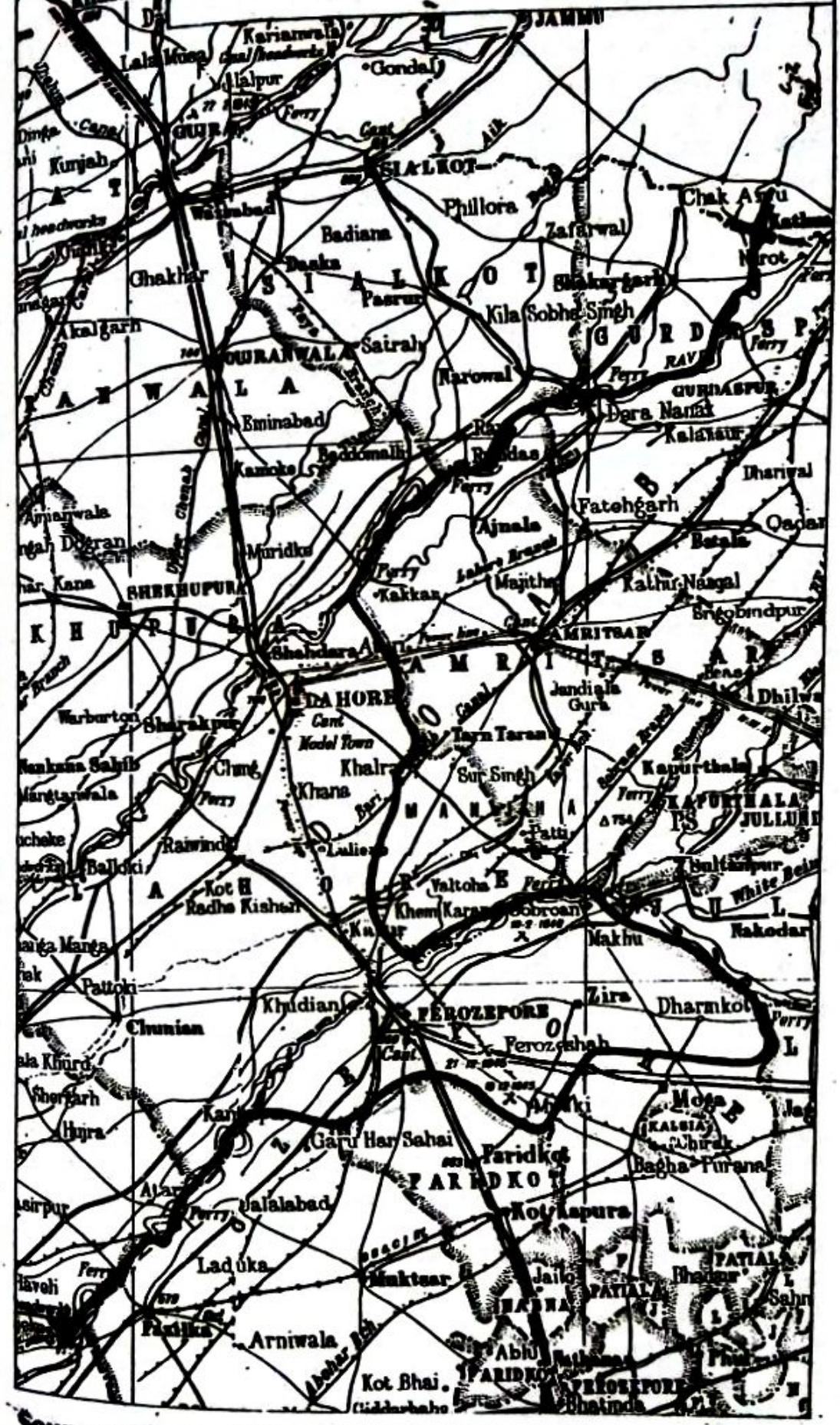
(G.E.B. Abell)

S. E. Abbott, Esq.,
O.B.E., I.C.S.

Source : *The Partition of the Punjab*, N.D.C. Lahore, 1983

www.cssexampoint.com

EXTRACT FROM THE MAP OF PUNJAB. PUNJAB STATES AND DELHI



Source : *The Partition of the Punjab*, N.D.C. Lahore, 1983

www.cssexampoint.com

PRESIDENTS
ANJUMAN-E-HIMAYAT-E-ISLAM, LAHORE
1884-1967

Khalifa Hameeduddin	1884-96
Mufti Abdulla Tonki	1898-1904
Nawab Sir Fateh Ali Qizalbash	1905-15, 1921-23
Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan	1916-21
Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi	1923-32
Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir	1933-34, 1937
Shaikh Sir Mohammad Iqbal	1934-37
Nawab Muzaffar Khan	1938-46
Khalifa Shujauddin	1947-55
Ghulam Mohiuddin Qasuri	1955-62
Sayyid Mohsin Shah	1962-67

Hum Sum is the Prime Minister of Centralia

www.cssexampoint.com

دیگر تصانیف
پروفیسر احمد سعید

1: مولانا اشرف علی تھانوی اور تحریکِ آزادی طبع اوّل ۱۹۷۲ء، طبع دوم ۱۹۸۴ء
2: ذکرِ مجذوب ۱۹۷۳ء
3: بزمِ اشرف کے چراغ ۱۹۷۵ء
4: اقبال اور قائداعظم طبع اوّل ۱۹۷۶ء، طبع دوم ۱۹۸۸ء، طبع سوم ۲۰۰۸ء
5: اشاریہ قائداعظم ۱۹۷۶ء
6: گفتارِ قائداعظم ۱۹۷۶ء
7: حیاتِ قائداعظم چند نئے پہلو [illegible]
8: قائداعظم مسلم [illegible]
9: روزنامہ [illegible] ایک توضیحی اشاریہ ۱۹۸۷ء
10: اسلامیہ کالج [illegible] تاریخ جلد اوّل ۱۹۹۲ء، جلد دوم ۲۰۰۰ء
11: روزنامہ سیاست اخبار اور تحریکِ آزادی ایک توضیحی اشاریہ ۲۰۰۳ء
12: مسلمانانِ پنجاب کی سماجی اور فلاحی انجمنیں ۲۰۰۴ء
13: نگارشاتِ حمید نظامی ۲۰۰۴ء
14: نوائے وقت اور تحریکِ پاکستان ۲۰۰۵ء
15: دو قومی نظریہ منہ بولتے حقائق ۲۰۰۶ء
16: حمید نظامی کے کالم ۲۰۰۶ء
17: انجمن اسلامیہ امرتسر تعلیمی و سیاسی خدمات ۱۸۷۳ء۔۱۹۴۷ء
18: روزنامہ زمیندار لاہور مقالہ ہائے افتتاحیہ و شذرات جنوری تا اپریل ۱۹۲۳ء زیرِ طبع

19: Writings of the Quaid-i-Azam, 1976
20: The Eastern Times on Quaid-i-Azam, 1983
21: Visitors of Quaid-i-Azam, 1989
22: Reflections on Pakistan- Economic Aspect, 1992
23: Reflections on Pakistan- Political Aspect, 1993
24: Quaid-i-Azam, A Bunch of Rare Letters, 1999

AL-Fouzi Publishers
Zeeshan Plaza Basmen' Ahada Shahdarian Urdu Bazar, Lahore
Ph 042-37234007 Cell 0322-4121006, 0321-4600410

www.cssexampoint.com