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Pakistan Affairs (Pre-partition) Notes

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PAKISTAN AFFAIRS

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Role of Quaid-e-Azam in the creation of Pakistan

Or

Had there been no Jinnah, there would have been no Pakistan

Introduction:-

Speaking about the principal actions in the final act of transfer of power from the British to Indians, H.Y Hudson, the author of perhaps the most authoritative British accounts of imperial retreat from India, "**The Great Divide**", says that:

"Of all the personalities in the last act of the great drama of India's rebirth to independence, Muhammad Ali Jinnah is at once, the most enigmatic and the most important;"

Leonard Mosley:- even regards Pakistan as a one-man achievement.

ROLE OF QUAID-E-AZAM:

Quaid-e-Azam was not always a Quaid-e-Azam; Jinnah paid a heavy price to become Quaid-e-Azam. Jinnah whose true political career started from when he joined Muslim League in 1913, become politically a well-known figure by the episode of Lucknow Pact 1916, when he was coined as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity but the events ensuring gave a new shape to the events ensuring gave a new shape to the drama of politics in India. The slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity proved shot live. The failure of Khilafat movement and the Nehru report classified the Muslims minds from the illusion of Hindu-Muslims unity. During this course of events, it was nobody but Jinnah who interposed his person by the dint of his initiative and courage. He became successful in defending the Muslim cause so gallantly that evil designs of Hindus points saved the Muslims from the octopus of the Congress.

STRUGGLE FOR PAKISTAN:

The most critical phase of the Muslim struggle in the sub-continent comes during the period 1937 – 1947, when Quaid-e-Azam proved himself to "the real founder of Pakistan". It was no one else than Jinnah who re-organized Muslims League during the crucial period of Indian history (1936-1939). The League had not only lost 1937 elections but also lost its morale. At this critical juncture, Jinnah resurrected the Muslims League like a phoenix from its ashes. Had there been no such reorganization the League would have seen the same fate in 1945 - 46 General Elections.

The historical situation during the 1937-47 decade presented and permitted of two alternative paths of development of Muslims politics i-e

- (i) Going along with the congress view point or

(ii) Striking out an independent line.

These alternative paths were presented at least on seven different but specific occasions-1937, 1939, 1940, 1942, 1945 and 1946. But on no occasion did Jinnah waver, and each time he chose for himself and for Muslims India the path towards establishing Muslim, religio-political identity on a constitutional plane. The path concretized since 1940 in the Pakistan platform.

Starting from Jinnah Presidential address, to all India Muslim League at Lucknow session (1937), he always remained emphatic over the Muslim separatism and independent line of action for the league. Thus by the beginning of 1940, Muslim politics took a new and significant turn, and departed from pre 1937 policy. Jinnah's presidential address on March 22, 1940 at Lahore is a hallmark in the history of Muslim Nationalism in India. He made the concept of Two Nation Theory clear and 'out rightly rejected the idea of Indian nation The historic Resolution that ensured his address, become the clarion call, as well as morning star in the two hundred years dark night of the slavery of Indian Muslims. The mole which was roaming aimlessly in the desert of despondence started marching towards its destination under the leadership of capable, brave and upright leader indeed the great leader M.A Jinnah.

The Cripps' proposal-a devise of British diplomacy to appease Indians and to get their co-operation in the 2nd world war against 'axis powers' was an evil design to counter the Muslims demand for separate homeland. Nevertheless, non-accession clause opened the way for partition of country. The formation of Pakistan, as resolved in 1940, was dumped by other clauses of formula. It was Jinnah who perceived the mischievousness of the scheme and out rightly rejected the plan.

It is true that Jinnah accepted the cabinet mission plan initially, but his acceptance, though genuinely sincere at the time, primarily motivated by the fact that the plan contained the seeds of Pakistan. The plan provided for a somewhat limited Muslim religio-political identity in a confederal India with the prospects of Pakistan after a decade, if the proposed arrangement failed to work to the satisfaction of the Muslims

It may be argued that the fateful decision to continue boycott of the constituent assembly, after having got the Muslims League entrenched in the Interim Government in October 1946 was solely Jinnah. This decision led directly to his Majesty's government's declarations of 6th Dec 1946, and of 20th Feb, 1947 which paved the way for the partition. Not only in regard to this constituent assembly boycott decision but in several other crucial decisions during the moments 1937-47 decade as well, Jinnah alone mattered, and Jinnah alone or for the most part, determined the cause. Muslim India and Muslim politics were to traverse.

3rd June plan of Lord Mountbatten and Radcliff award, no doubt, eclipsed the Muslims optimism of restoring their land by the right justification of numerical majority of the areas (esp. Bengal and Punjab) yet it was Jinnah's Sagacity to handle Mountbatten who had no intention to give Jinnah 3 Pakistan. The allegations against

Jinnah's accepting the moth-eaten Pakistan can be refuted through the evidence on the record. In fact, Jinnah had no expediency other than to accept the offer, because refusal of the offer must have amounted to be lingering on the process of transfer of power.

CONCLUSION:-

Indeed, even as late as June 1946 whatever the political forces and conditions at work likely and more imminent choice, and it was Jinnah alone who made the crucial decision that led Muslim India directly to Pakistan within a year that transformed the possibility of an independent Muslims homeland into actuality. Thus Jinnah's person was crucial and critical in the making of Pakistan: The whole world acknowledged that had there been no Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan and the nation rightfully acclaimed him Quaid-e-Azam the great leader.....

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Role of JINNAH as Governor General:-

INTRODUCTION:-

The man who piloted the ship of Muslim freedom movement and ultimately brought it to the shores of independence was not destined to live long after the realization of his age long dream. His sagacious decision during the struggle for Independence is uncountable.

It is highly unfortunate for a man who dedicated all his life to transform the dream of Iqbal into reality, to die after (shortly) realization of poet's dream. The freedom movement drained even the last ounce of the energy out of him. The Lord gave him slightly more than a year to look after the newly created state. Due to precarious health he could not dedicate all his time to build the fabric of infant state. But in more than a year, in face of enormous problems, he did a lot for the consolidation at Pakistan.

The real assessment of his achievement as Governor General can only be made if we go through briefly over the problems which were forced by Pakistan in its early year of independence.

PROBLEMS:-

1. Administration:-

- (i) A part of the govt. record was destroyed during transit through Indian Territory.
- (ii) Personnel for govt. were yet to be assembled from various provinces.
- (ii) Lack of trained staff in govt. depts.
- (iv) Disorganization in communal system.

2. Defense

3. Riots in Punjab

4. Economic constraints

5. Rehabilitation of refugees

But in spite of all these problems, Jinnah did a lot to extricate the infant state from unthinkable difficulties. He was successful to redress these problems turn by turn

1) Revival of the doomed spirit

He had realized that the morale of the public was at the lowest off. He therefore decided to rehabilitate and restore the confidence and morale of the people. He delivered inspiring speeches which filled people with enthusiasm. His words made a profound impression on the public and mitigated the existing despair and tension.

His first stem was to address the government servants in Karachi on Oct 11th 1947; Quaid-e-Azam gave a clarion call to the assembled officials of civil and military bureaucracy. An extract of his speech gave message to the audience.

"Thus is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survey as a nation we shall have to face the problems with redoubled goal and energy, Our masses are today disorganized, their morale is exceeding low and we shall, have to do something to put them out of this state and galvanize them into activity. All throws additional responsibility and government servants to who our people are looking for guidance"

His words revived the drooping spirits.

2) Removal of military from Waziristan and Tribal Areas:

The decision of reduction of force from Waziristan and tribal areas was amply justified by the events. This step earned a considerable increase in the tribal goodwill. Instead of heavy military expenditures Pakistan concentrated on economic amelioration, spread of education and medical relief.

3) Steps to mitigate tensions with India:

Jinnah's government followed a policy of goodwill and friendliness towards India. The two PM's were able to establish personal rapport. Jinnah in an interview, with a Swiss journalist himself offered to enter into an agreement for joint defense.

4) Transfer of Karachi to Govt. of Pakistan:

Serious questions of separation of Karachi from Sindh arose. The Sindhis, in general, and Sindh government, in particular, were offered to the transfer of administrative control of Karachi, the capital of Pakistan as well as of Sindh. Jinnah was facing the threat of "Direct action" and "mass agitation". Nevertheless, he gave his verdict in favor of transfer of Karachi from Sindh to the government of Pakistan. As this was the verdict of the father of the Nation, not a single word was uttered against it and the issue was settled.

5) Accession of Kallat:

Apart from being governor General, Jinnah towards the end of his life assumed the responsibility for the newly created "Ministry of state and Tribal Areas". His memorable achievement in this Sphere was setting of the question of accession of the huge borders of State of Kallat - which could have given much more trouble in Pakistan

than settlement of Hyderabad question brought to India.

6) Formation of First Cabinet:

Under the leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan, a loyal lieutenant of Jinnah, was established the first Pakistan Cabinet. This newly formed cabinet aimed at the construction of administrative structure and rehabilitation of refugees.

7) Stat Bank of Pakistan:

He fully realized the financial problems and need for around financial institutions. He therefore, took personal interest in the economic activity of the newly independent state and established SBP. Its functions were specified.

8) Establishment of the Federal court:

Being the constitutionalist and apostle of indiscriminate justice, he laid the foundation of federal court at Lahore which later on became the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

9) Membership of UNO

Jinnah was a firm believer of peaceful existence and fully realized the importance of UN membership for Pakistan. It could help Pakistan establish friendly relations with other member states. Therefore Pakistan became the member of UNO.

10) Relations with Islamic world.

Jinnah was a staunch lawyer of Muslim Unity. Even during the freedom movement supported Palestinians and Indonesian for their right of self-determination. The cornerstone of his foreign policy was solidarity among Muslims. His main emphasis was a Middle Eastern country. He sent delegations to different Islamic countries.

Ideology of Pakistan

Pakistan, an ideological state

Islamic concept of nation and nationality and Pakistan ideology

INTRODUCTION:

By no streak of imagination can a life without purpose be deemed fruitful. This is true of nations as individuals. In the ultimate analysis, the raison d'être of a nation is defined and determined by the ideals to which its members subscribe. And ideals alone help endow a nation with a sense and tenacity of purpose

to pursue diligently and resolutely the goal set before itself.

Despite the widespread Machiavellian philosophy, few indeed, could afford to ignore the dire need, for basing a polity and the highest ideal of righteousness and justice. The democratic west, for instance has established a code of morality of its own, derived from its particular individualistic, historical experience. Notwithstanding the claim of the west to a secular orientation, their code has been profusely influenced by Christian ethics and morality. Same is the case in Burma or some other countries where Buddhism has provided the ethical code to the people. Similarly Islam provides ethical bases of life to the Muslim nation to the Muslims; Islam is more than a religion against the perception of the west. Rather it provides a complete code of life, and addresses the individual and collective life. Thus Islam embraces social, political, cultural and economic of human life.

IDEOLOGY OF NATION:

Ideology of a nation may be defined as;

“The representation of its socio-political state of people’s mind, their emotions, feeling, not that it reflects the touchstone on which a nation upon the extent of the people’s dedication to it”.

PAKISTAN AN IDEOLOGICAL STATE:

Pakistan claims itself to be an ideological state because it is founded on a certain specific ideology of Islam. It came into being because Muslims of the India-Pak subcontinent developed a specific attitude of mind an attitude which was determined by the consciousness of certain principles or objectives which they felt must be realized. These were the eternal spiritual and ethical values of Islam.

Islam gives an ethical basis of life to the Muslim nation. To them Islam is more than a religion as considered in the Western sense. It is in fact a complete code of which embraces social, political, economic and cultural aspects of human behaviour agency of Islam. On the basis of these principles the Pakistanis seek to build their national life and a good society.

ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY:

Pakistan, both at the time when it was demanded and when it became a political fact, was envisaged as an Islamic democracy. And in Pakistan, Islam is the only ethical element which alone could spell out the social significance of democratic dispensation on Pakistan.

Thus, Pakistan as an Islamic and democratic country was aspired by the Muslims and is envisaged in the ideology of Pakistan.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CREATION OF MUSLIM NATIONALISM IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan ideology was based on a separate nation having their own culture, civilization, customs, literature, religion and way of because their philosophy of life is based on the principles of Islam. Pakistan ideology was erected on the Two Nation Theory which meant that Hindus and Muslims were two separate and distinct nations. There is a general impression that the concept 'of Muslims nationalism in the Indian subcontinent arose as a result of certain developments in this view. We can trace the roots of Muslims nationalism in the following factors.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR MUSLIM NATIONALISM:

HISTORICAL FACTOR:

The concept of Muslims Nationalism is as old as Islam itself. It was Muhammad Bin Qasim who established the first Muslim empire in the subcontinent. Later on sultanate of Delhi was established. Then enter the great Mughals, who gave India pace and glory for two centuries. Muslims maintained their separate identity throughout the history. They were 'a separate nation. The Muslims were the rulers and the Hindus were their subjects. It was the rise of British which brought a change in the status of Hindus and Muslims. This brought a new zeal to the Muslims nationalism because Muslim is there on the earth to rule.

POLITICAL FACTOR:

Muslims came to India as conquerors and had established an empire which lasted for hundreds of years. This factory melded their outlook in many ways. Imperialism and pride go hand in hand. In India, their imperial past produced among Muslims a sense of pride-Hindus become loyal towards the British. Hindus tried utmost to dominate the Muslims as they were in minority. The political events of 20th century, India brought a new unity among Hindus but it created tear and suspicion in the minds of the Muslims because of the events like Partition of Bengal and Congress attitude. Thus these political events enhanced the sense of Muslim Nationalism among Muslims.

IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN:

The ideology of Pakistan, the overwhelmingly Muslim country is the ideals which comprises the dictates and sanctions which are attributed or prone to the Islam, concept of nation and that of state.

MUSLIMS NATIONHOOD:

As regards the Muslims their basis of nationhood is neither geographical

boundaries nor social or linguistic similarities but their religion. Islam all Muslims are a nation without any distinction this is the first principal of Pakistan ideology Quaid-e-Azam demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. To Pakistan, Islam is the basis of Nationalism.

ISLAMIC STATE:

The ideology of Pakistan is based on the principal and ideals of Islam. Islam is the ideal for which Muslims struggled and on which the ideals of the newly born nation were based at.

ANCIENT IDEOLOGY:

Ideology of Pakistan the Islamic way of life is not something like a manifesto that Pakistani adopted on the morrow of their freedom. On the contrary, it is as old as Islam itself. Indeed Indo-Pakistani Muslims emerged as a new, nation because they had stood fast to this ideology. They founded a new state because they had desired to enthrone the values underlying this ideology without being checked by the domination of other confliction values.

It has been sufficiently warranted by the historical facts that notwithstanding a thousand years of coexistence of the two communities. The Hindus and the Muslims, in the Indian subcontinent, they could not become harmonic, cohesive or united. Their social t. intercourse, for sometimes, was the expediency which was based on regionalist But this regionalist community is own moods and methods, names and nomenclature, legends and heroes, language and literature, this concept of co-existence between them even at the regional levels could not prove a success. Thus, started their struggle for a separate homeland, on the basis of Islamic ideology.

ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY:

Now the question is what is an Islamic ideology, which led the Muslims of the subcontinent to and demand a separate homeland.

Briefly described, it is a set of universal principle and cultural values given by Islam for the social and moral guidance of mankind. First and foremost among them is the belief in God and His supreme Sovereignty.

Islam believes in the unity of mankind and brotherhood, in fundamental rights and freedom and equality.

Islam also stands for social and economic justice'for one and all. The fortunate Ones whether in wealth, knowledge, wisdom 'or fitness, in an Islamic society have a moral responsibility towards the unfortunate ones. The relations between the nations also demand justice and morality.

These in brief, are the principles, the eternal values, underlying the Islamic ideology. For Pakistan, these are Islamic values because they have received them through the

RELIGIOUS FACTOR:

Religion is an essential element of Indian Nationalism and exerts a decisive influence on the National life of the people. Earlier, Indian nationalism was both religious and (religion) and racial (anti British). Both Hindu and Indian nationalism were based on religion Hinduism is absolutely incompatible with Islam. It is based on caste system whereas, Islam 'advocates egalitarian society. In India, Pan-Islamizing movement was imitated by Jamaluddin Afghani. The doctrine was that Muslims all over the world would be brother. In India, the doctrine had stronger appeal than in other countries.

CULTURAL FACTORY:

The partition of India was due to the forces of cultural separatism. Cultural is a greatest determination of a nation which lives in the minds of the men and moulds their way of thinking. In India, Hindu and Muslim cultures existed ever since the Muslims came to India. The background and contents and contours of the two cultures were so different that they never evolved a common society. Their different cultural bodies preceded their political bodies.

The difference of language was another factors Urdu was the language of the Muslims and Hindi was of Hindus. The more the Hindus laid stress on Hindi, the greater emphasis the Muslims put on Urdu. Muslims claimed by a separate nation. A nation was supposed to have a language of its own. Urdu was an important stimulant of Muslim nationalism. (Urdu-Hindi Controversy)

EDUCATION:

In education, Muslim ideals differed from those of Hindus. In the beginning, the Muslims were against English but Hindus adopted it quickly. Aligarh was the symbol of Muslim nationalism in the field of education and learning, Hindus opposed the establishment of Muslim university Aligarh and introduced Wardha Scheme which was against the Muslim ideals.

LITERATURE:

Muslims literary productions were of different nature, had a different background and were inspired by different sources-religion, history, influence of Persian and Arabic. Hindus were inspired by Kalidas Gupta, in promotion of Urdu Hali, Shible, Sir Syed, Nazir Ahmed, Abdul Haq played a vital role.

PHILOSOPHY:

Hindus looked to their own ancient philosophy just as the Muslims traced their intellectual ancestry to Muslim thinkers like Iqbal, Ghazale, Abne-Sena, Ibni Khaldon. Hindus got inspiration from Rahda Kirshan, Ghandi.

ART:

Muslims looked towards Mughals building as their artistic heritage, Lal Qela, Taj Mahal, Shahe Mahal are their masterpieces. Art of miniature painting was introduced by Shah Jahan Hindus were equally impressed by the architecture of South India temples.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR:

The difference in psychology played an important role in the rise of Muslim nationalism. Their Myths and symbol were different ("Pakistan Zindabad", "Allah-o-Akbar", "Bharat matta ke jaa", "Jaa Hindh"). The fear and insecurity of the Muslims and pride in their heroes was another factor of Muslim Nationalism.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: (Spiritual Factor)

The essence of nationality lies, above all in the will of people, the will to live together. Muslims nationalism has existed in history for a long time but it is only through consciousness or awakening of it, that it became the absolute factor. Muslim Nationalism was the result, not of blood, nor of common language, not even of shared territory but of consciousness. Material facts of course helped the configuration but the real driving impetus behind the movement was spiritual.

CONCLUSION:

It was not enough to have a common religion common history or language. People must be conscious about their past and future. This consciousness was a great force behind the Muslim Nationalism.

TWO NATION THEORY

Jinnah was not the first to call the Muslims of India a nation. Before him Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had addressed them as a "qaum" .an Urdu word which can be paraphrased as "nation". The Agha Khan; Aamir Ali and other often referred to their community as "nation". But it was Jinnah who for the first time, distinct nations. Hindus and Muslims, which could not live as one state.

Thus the two nation theory initiated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and further expounded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his colleagues, became the future of the Muslims of India. It finally came to be announced on the eve of Pakistan Resolution and culminated in the making of Pakistan, an independent state for the Indian Mohammedans.

THE THEORY ENUNCIATED:

The most clear and emphatic exposition of the theory is to be found in statements and speeches of Jinnah. He was the main expounder of the theory who made most of the Muslim and even some Hindus to believe in the truth of two nation theory.

Jinnah said, Hindus and Muslims represented two different and distinct separated civilizations and in fact as different and distinct from one another in origin traditions, and manners of life as were the different European nations. In India there was a major and minor nation and a parliamentary system based on principle of majority rule must inevitable mean the rule of the major nation. Therefore, Jinnah demanded the British government to evolve such a constitution that recognizes the fact that there were two nations in India, both of whom must share the government'. It Jinnah made it clear that Muslims of India were by no means a minority but a solid and distinct nation.

LAHORE RESOLUTION:

The resolution demanded the partition of the sub-continent, explains the theory in detail. Jinnah in his presidential address at Lahore said:

"Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact,

Nationalities, which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to, transform themselves into one nation.

Merely, by subjection them to democratic consolidation and holding them forcibly together of British Parliamentary statute.

The problem of India is not inter-communal but it is international one and it must be treated as such, Hindus and Muslims belonged to two different realisms of religion, philosophy, history, social norms and moral standards, language and literature and such diversity could never merge into unity.

Quaid-e-Azam therefore, made it clear to the British, if she was really sincere to secure the peace and happiness of India, it should allow the major nations separate homeland by driving India into autonomous national states Jinnah declared it many times

Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a

Nation and they must have their homeland, their

Territory and their state

To the Hindu objection, that the Muslims were mere invaders and outsiders and had thus no territory right to India, Jinnah replied logically that if Muslims were invaders, so were

the Aryans(Hindus). They were not the India.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE:

Not only Jinnah and Muslims were convinced to the two nation theory, but there are several other external evidences of the genuineness of the claim,

- 1) India is a land of nation. (B. K Krishna-1939).
- 2) The reality is the Muslim population in India, some 90 million, with its own system of law and social organization, its won distinct language, its own historical traditions proves to be a separate nation. (Economist 1946).

THE SEPARATE ELECTORATES: MANDATE OF THE TWO NATION THEORY:

The demand of separate electorates was a manifestation of Muslim feeling of separateness and the announcement of two nation theory The raison desire of separate electorates was an affirmation to the cause of separate homeland.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, for the first time demanded separate electorate for Muslims when not a single member from Muslims had been recommended for the council of United Provinces in 1892 elections. The argument of 1906 Simla Deputation was also the same The demand of separate electorates was based on truce grounds.

(a) Since, Muslims were in a minority in all but in two provinces, it was difficult for a Muslim candidate to be elected in the general elections owing to the existing state of tension between Hindus and Muslims.

(b) If, the two communities were not separate at the polls, every election would result in communal riots.

(c) Wherever the system of separate electorate had been introduced, it worked were and recurred peace.

Muslims were given the right of separate electorate on the basis of there separate identity in the British Indian polity in Minto-Morley (1909) reforms which were highly condemned by the Hindus. They opposed the system on purely rational basis in India. They this system in "Cyclone" where they were in minority, to safeguard their interests. But they resisted the system in India to dominate the whole subcontinent, since they were in majority here. Thus Muslims gradually felt that they could not live together with Hindus under one political roof.

The weight age-two-ration theory remained the sheet-anchor of Muslim League policy till the late thirties, after which the faith in the concept of separate electorates disappeared and Muslims launched their struggle for establishing a separate Muslim state, and that is whit Pakistan was a corollary to the system of separate electorate.

CONGRESS AND TWO NATION THEORY:

Congress reaction towards the formula was irritating and by no means could she compromise with this formula. The attitude of Congress further activated the Muslims towards separatism.

CONCLUSION:

The two nation theory acted as a soul in the body of Pakistan movement. Without the two nation theory, the Muslim political Nationalism would have never seen the reality of the day.

IDEOLOGY – TWO - NATION THEORY

- a. SIR SYED
- b. ALLAMA IQBAL
- c. QUAID-E-AZAM

(i) SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

The man who spoke first of the Muslims as a "nation" in the modern times was none other than Sir Syed Ahmed. In 1867, he said:

"I am convinced that both these nations will not join whole heartily in anything. At present there is no open hostility between the two nations. But on account of so called educated classes it will increase in the future".

Analysing on the demand of Indian National Congress for introduction of Parliamentary elections he said:

"The proposals of congress are exceedingly expedient for a country which is inhabited by two different nations. Now suppose, if the English leave India who would be the ruler of India's? Is it possible under these circumstances, that the two nations the Indians and the Muslims would sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should surrender to the other. To hope that both would remain equal is to desire the impossible"

(ii) ALLAMA IQBAL:

He was a great philosopher and political thinker. He had studied Islam deeply and had a profound liking for the Islamic principles. He compared the western culture with Islam and reached the conclusion that the welfare of mankind laid in the adoption of Islam as a way of life. He awakened the Muslims of the subcontinent and asked them to struggle for a separate homeland. This he did through his poetry. He said:

"I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a

separate homeland or they cannot time with Hindus in United India”.

Allama Iqbal openly negated the concept of one nation and emphasized on the separate national identity of Muslims. He was against the separation of religion from politics.

India is a continent of Human beings belonging to different layout ages and religions. To base a constitution on the conception of homogeneous India is too prepared here for civil war. I, therefore demand separate Muslims state in the best interest of the Muslims of India and Islam.

The Allahabad address: of Allama Iqbal carries great importance in the freedom struggle of the Muslims of India. In his presidential address he classified the two nation theory and demanded for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims: He said:

“I believe that the protection of separate identity is in the best interests of Hindus and the Muslims. Since the Muslim of the subcontinent is a separate nation with their distinct culture and religions values and they wanted to have a system of their own liking, they should be allowed to live under such a system in a separate state comprising of North Western frontier province Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan”.

The Spirit which Iqbal infused in the Muslims by his Allahabad address developed into an ideological basis for the Pakistan movement. The famous Pakistan resolution passed on March 23, 1940 at Lahore was in tact based on Allama Iqbal, presidential address of Allahabad.

(iii) QUAID-E-AZAM:

Quaid-e-Azam gave practical shape to the ideology given and enunciated by Allama Iqbal. He was at last successful in convincing the Hindus and the British of the reality of the two nation theory and the Pakistan ideology. Jinnah, after entering into politics advocated Hindu- Muslim unity. He wanted to get rid of the British rule through the saint effort of Hindus and Muslims. Thus he came to be known as the "Ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity " luck now pact became possible for his sincere acts in (1916) but later on he was greatly disappointed by the prejudicial attitude of Hindus and Congress towards Muslim.

Now Jinnah believed that Congress will never recognize the rights of Muslims. He said in the second round table conference (1931):

“I want to inform everybody openly the settled before the enforcement of any system or constitution. United you cannot provide guarantee for the safeguard of the Muslim interest, united you do not win their cooperation, any constitution you enforce shall not last for every 24 hours.

Jinnah was a firm advocate of two nation theory on .March 23, 1940, he said:

"It has been taken mistaking that the Muslims are a minority. They are not a minority. They are a nation by all definitions. By all canons of international law we are a separate nation from Hindus"

In 1942 he said:

"We are a nation with our distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art goods, architecture names and nomenclature, sense of values, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendars, history and traditions. In short we have our own distinct outlook on life and of life.

He further defined the two nation theory:

"The Muslims are a nation every right to establish their separate homeland. They can adopt any means to promote and protect their economic, social, political and cultural interest"

In 1942 he said:

"Islam teaches equality, justice and fair play with everyone. We should base our democracy on the principle and concepts of Islam".

He said on (1947) at Islamia College Peshawar:

We did not want Pakistan to have a piece of land simply but we wanted a laboratory where we could experiment the Islamic principles.

- (a) SIR SYED
- (b) ALLAMA IQBAL
- (c) JINNAH

FROM UNITY STANCE TO SEPARATISM:

INTRODUCTION:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah are considered as the key personalities in the history of Muslim nationalism in the sub-continent. Sir Syed gave the idea of the two nations; Allama Iqbal dreamed a separate homeland for the Muslims on the reality. But the history is self-evident of the facts that Syed, Iqbal and Jinnah originally, were not in favour of separatism but the coalitions were created in which they were forced to shift from unity stance to separatism. Let's now see why Muslim leaders changed their stance.

SIR SYED:

Sir Syed the pioneer of Aligarh Movement is criticized by some Hindu Historians as anti-

Hindu or a marrow communalist in his outlook. This can be repatriated by the fact that, his efforts were directed toward the promotion and advancement of all his countrymen, with of course a special reference to the position of Muslims as they were the follow community. The translation society established at Ghazipur in 1864 which later on developed into Aligarh Scientific Society, whose object was to translate European literature into under was being managed by Syed Ahmed's lifelong friend. Raja Kishan Das similarly the prudish Indian Association established in 1866 with the object of keeping in touch With the members of the House of Commons was composed of both Hindus and Muslim. He was eventually not addressing his own community whom at the inauguration of the British India Association, he said:

The Indian (Hindus and Muslim) are loyal to the British

The year 1867 is particularly significant in the life of Indian Muslim. Syed Ahmed Khan was posted at Banaras when he sent a communication to the Viceroy suggesting the establishment of a vermicular University and a bureau of translation to translate university and books into Urdu. As counter proposal certain Hindu leaders of Banaras proposed that the Urdu Language written in Persian script should be discontinued in the government, courts and therefore should be replaced by hew language written in Devanagri script. It was the first occasion when the felt that it was now impossible for the Hindus and the Muslims to progress as a single nation and for anyone to work for both of them. Simultaneously, he met the commissioner of Banaras and discussed the problems of Muslim education. The British official was suppressed at the change and said. "Hitherto, you have always been keen about the welfare of Indians in general; this is the first occasion that I have heard about the progress of Muslim alone.

ALLAMA IQBAL:

Allama Iqbal was a poet and philosopher of India. He too was an ardent advocate of Indian nationalism and Hindu Muslim unity in his early career. He was shifted from other stance in England during his study of western Nationalism. The local political situation and Hindu Muslim rights left it impression over his mind. But the thing, which transferred him from a great exponent of Indian nationalism to the advocate of internationalism and pan-Islamizing was the modern nationalism, which has divided nations into warring group resulting into two world wars. His was a positive approach. He wanted to solve Hindu Muslim, problem for once and. all. In hi only career he did his utmost to integrate Indian nations. But the time proved that his spiritual and dialogical as change as the exigency of the time.

In 1909 when he was invited to Amritser to attend a meeting of a cosmopolitan organization with the membership opened to the Hindus and the Muslim. Iqbal polity declined the invitation and in the course of correspondence that ensued he wrote:

I have myself been often view that religious difference should disappear from this country, and never now, I act on this principle in my private life. But now, I thank the preservation their separate nation entitle is desirable for both, Hindu and the Muslim.

The vision of a common nation hood for India is as beautiful ideal, and heads a poetic appeal. But looking to the present conditions and the unconscious to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two communities this idea appears incapable of fulfilment.

JINNAH:

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who led the battle for the creation of Pakistan, was however quite a late convert to the creed of Pakistan nationalism. He strived for a "modus vivendi" between Hindu and Muslim's in an undivided India. He was described liberal leader of Indian National congress who emphasized Hindu Muslim unity and under his influence Jinnah join Indian national congress in the hope to serve Indian Muslim and to bring the two communities into closer accord. From 1906 to 1920, when he left the congress, Jinnah stood for separate electorates into so much to strengthen the Muslim, separatist tendency, but to bring them upon the economic and cultural level of the rest of the Indian. His efforts in the direction of Hindu Muslim efforts in the direction of Hindu Muslim unity were unquestioned. Even when the relation between Hindus and Muslims were steadily deteriorating despite numerous effort made between 1921 and 1928 to bring the Hindu Muslim, unity did not weaken. But the cunningness of the Nehru report and later events slowly and gradually transformed this ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity to an extreme concept of Muslim separation in India.

CONCLUSION:

Already drained Jinnah could no longer witness his newly created state become mature. But the time he got from the lord was fully utilized by him to build Pakistan into a strong and organized state where the Muslim of subcontinent could be according to the ideas of Islam. His efforts to put the infant state on the path of stability and progress are uncountable. His efforts to enthuse people, steps for rehabilitation of refugees, endeavours to settle internal disputes and his manoeuvres in diplomatic arena speak of his sagacity and iron will against all

QUAID'S CONCEPT OF STATE:

ISLAMIC OR SECULAR:

INTRODUCTION:

Some people claim that Quaid-e-Azam ideal was a modern national secular state. They base their claim on the report of the court of Enquiry 1953. The enquiry was presided over by C.J Mr. M.Munir quotation from speeches of Jinnah Reports says that the Quaid said,

The state would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty vested in the people and the members of the new nation would have equal rights of citizenship regardless of their religion caste or creed.

ISLAMIC STATE OR SECULAR STATE?

The Quaid's speech of 11 August 1947 to the constituent assembly of Pakistan had led some people to argue that he was not in favor of the idea of an Islamic state. But a careful analysis of the same speech and his other utterance before and after partition convinces me that he had no objection to a state based on the broad principles of Islam.

PRESS TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AUG 11, 1947:

He said,

If we want to make Pakistan a happy and prosperous state, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the wellbeing of the people and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in Spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community, he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, last second in a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

In fact Quaid wanted to establish an Islamic welfare state where no one is exploited. Where it is the duty of the state to see that none goes without food and clothes, and every individual is provided with all the basic necessities of life.

Moreover have examples of Holy Prophet (PBUH), forgiving his enemies who did not believe him well in the past at the historic victory of Mecca.

THE VISION OF ISLAMIC STATE IN HIS SAYINGS:

Quaid-e-Azam always wanted Pakistan to be an Islamic state and did not want and other doctrine for state craft other than Islam.

1. Quaid concept of Islamic state:

During his visit to Usmania University Hyderabad he delivered a lecture to the students:

The concept of an Islamic state which should always be kept in mind is that in it one has to obey Almighty Allah faithfully. This obedience is through the injunctions and principles of the Holy Quran. In Islam sovereign powers are not vested in the person of king or parliament or any particular person or institution. Quran has prescribed the limits of our political or social life. In other words Islamic government is the rule of the Quranic injunctions and principles for establishing such a government a separate country or a state is must.

2. A non-Islamic State:

Quaid was against the exploitation of the masses in the name of Islam. He believed that state which may allow the exploitation of the masses cannot be an Islamic state which addressing All India Muslim League in 1943 at Delhi he said:

Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who flourished at our expense. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood.

They have forgotten the teachings of Islam. It is there that we are not in power today. I have visited villages. There are millions and millions of people who hardly get one meal a day. If this is the idea of Pakistan. I would not have if.

3. Anti-Imperialism:

Quaid was an anti-imperialism democrat. He hated imperialism and he was one of those rare leaders who never made any compromise with imperialism.

4. Islam as a code of life:

The Quaid had a clear concept of Islam as a code of life. During his interview with a journalist in 1943 he said:

Islam is not a mere religious doctrine but a realistic and practical code of conduct. In all things we are fundamentally different from Hindus. There is nothing in life which likes us together. Our name, our clothes, our foods, our economics life, our educational ideals all is different. We challenge each other at every point.

5. Real democratic popular government:

Before the establishment of Pakistan Quaid said:

“Pakistan is the Muslims demand for freedom because Muslims in Pakistan want to be able to set own real democratic popular governments”.

6. **Pakistan a Muslim State:**

During his address to the last session of All India Muslim League in 1947, he said:

Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim state based on Islamic ideals. The whole World even UNO has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim state.

7. **Future of constitution of Pakistan:**

I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of democratic type embodying the essential principles of Islam. (1048)

8. **Economic system: anti-communism:**

I warn the communities to keep their hands off the Muslims. Islam is their guide and complete code of life. They do not want any “ism”. The object of Islam is to establish a balanced economic order based on fundamental human rights.

9. **Islamic democracy:**

It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law giver the Prophet (PBUH) of Islam Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the bases of truly Islamic ideals and principles.

CONCLUSION:

Quaid understood Islam and wanted Pakistan to be a true Islamic state. He believed in Islamic democracy, social. Justice, equal rights of citizens, and non-discriminatory treatments towards minority.

SHEIKH AHMED SIRHINDI

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF INDIA:

The social conditions of Muslims in India were constricting. The enforcement of Din-e-Ellahi badly affected the Muslim fundamentalism and their spirit towards Islam.

Politically, Akbar’s concept of sovereignty such as din-e-Ellahi made an attack on

Islamic concept of sovereignty of Allah and the practice of prostration to the emperor demoralized the Islamic concept of the supremacy of God.

Spiritually and ideologically, the Muslims were discomfited and scattered. The result of these was:

- i. Muslim society was ridden with un-Islamic practices and trends. Under the Hindu influence a firm and wide spread belief in Karamat (miracle of saints) had developed in the society which misguided the people.
- ii. In Sufism many means of developing magical and supernatural power, alien to Islam, had been developed. The mystic and Sufis of those days openly denied the authenticity of Shariah. They even proudly manifested their indifference towards the Sunnah.
- iii. Ulemas and theologians Ceased to refer to the Quran and Hadith in their commentaries and considered jurisprudence as the only religious knowledge.
- iv. Akbar promoted Hinduism by marrying Hindu ladies and by giving high posts to Rajputs and Hindu in his court.

SHEIKH AHMED REVIVAL EFFORTS:

- i. He sent a member of his disciples in all directions to preach true Islam. He asked them to emphasize on Ittiba-e-Sunnah and the commandments of Shariah in their sermons and preaching. The work was vigorously pursued in India and neighbouring countries.
- ii. He also began correspondence with the prominent scholars of all Muslim countries. In his letters, he emphasized and explained the religious doctrines and put great stress on the Ittiba-e-Sunnah.
- iii. Sheikh Ahmed was greatly opposed to the concept of atheism and openly denounced un-Islamic practices. He emphasized on the concept of Tauheed.
- iv. He exposed the fallacy of Din-e-Ellahi and came out to curb the influence of its satanic creed.
- v. He declared that the mysticism without Shariah was misleading and denounced those Ulema who had questioned the authenticity of Shariah.
- vi. He labored diligently to settle the differences between the scholars and the mystics.
- vii. He initiated the leading nobles near the emperor into his discipleship and through them exerted influences to bring about the change in the tide of the court. He was able to enlist Abdul Rahim Khan-e-Khanan, Khan-e-Azam, Mirza Aziz and Mufti Sardar Jahan.
- viii. In the time of Jahangir, Sheikh Ahmed was successful to a greater extent to extract a solemn undertaking from the Muslims that they would not obey any orders repugnant to Islam.
- ix. He persuaded Muslims to adopt simple habits in the light of Islam and Sunnah. He revealed the importance of Namaz and Fasting.

WAHDAT-UL-WAJOOD and WAHDAT-UI-SHAHOOD:

The philosophy of Wahdat-ul-Wajood was presented by some Sufi's and Akbar era. They believed that there was no living difference between the man and his creator God and both, individual and God is not separated by, each other. They also advocated that every particle of the universe represented the presence of God and, therefore the worship of God's creatures amounted to worship of God.

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

SHEIKH AHMED IMPRISONED:

Sheikh Ahmed raised voice against the practice of prostration in the court of Jahangir. He was imprisoned in the fort of Gawalior but remained confident. After one year, Jahangir feeling resentful released him and honoured him to be his religious advisor. The auspicious rank' helped him to mould emperor's life according to Shariah. This provided him an opportunity to preach his views.

SHEIKH AHMED AND TWO NATION THEORY:

In order to popularize Islam, a number of Muslim reformers adopted a liberal point of view in their preaching. They however were successful to attract a large number of people towards Islam but at the same time this is liberal strategy gave rise to the concept of joint nationalism.

This trend proved injurious to the separate and distinct national image of the Muslims.

Shaikh Ahmed put and ends to this concept and negated the philosophy of Wahd-ul-Wajood. He labored to keep alive the national and the religious identity of the Muslims. He was a staunch advocate of Muslims separatism and adopted very stern attitude toward Hindus. He wanted Jizia to be imposed on Hindus and demanded the destruction of hindus temples.

MUJADDADI'S INFLUENCE ON THE HISTORY OF MUSLIM INDIA:

Sheikh Ahmed, the most forceful and original thinker produced by Muslim India before the days of Shah Waliullah and Iqbal, occupies a high place not only in Muslim India but in the entire Muslim world. He was the first man who could be called as a profounder of Muslim Nationalism in the sub-continent.

He was a staunch advocate of separateness of Muslim Ummah. The swing of balance from metro dory of Akbar to the orthodoxy of Aurangzeb was, in considerable measures due to the influence and teachings of Mujaddids Alf Sani. The re-imposition of Jizya on Hindu subjects during the reign of Aurangzeb was a far-reaching result of his work.

CONCLUSION:

The movement of Mujaddid restored Shariah and Islam, became the symbol of unity. His revival movement opened new avenues towards pan-Islamism. Shaikh Ahmed according to Iqbal a call back to prophet-hood” became the pioneer of religious nationalism. It was under the influence of this movement that the future movements of reforms and revival came to be represented by Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmed Shakeel which ultimately made their headway to the destination of Pakistan movement.

SHAH WALI ULLAH (1703-1762)

INTRODUCTION:

THE MOVEMENT OF Shah Waliullah was the first of its kind in the sub-contents which aimed mainly at socio-politico-religio and economic reformation of the degenerated Muslim community.

The departure of Aurangzeb from the scene of Mughals Empire caste a havoc not only for the future of Mughals Empire but also for the future of Islam and Muslims or the India.

CAUSES OF MUSLIM DECLINE:

- i. Nobles of Humayun (Iranian)
- ii. Petticoat government influence
- iii. Lack of understanding religion in its proper prospective and true spirit.
- iv. Emergence of rich class of feudal lords and nobles sank.
- v. Revision from the principle of Khilafat to kingship
- vi. Sectarian conflicts
- vii. Money obtained from the exchequer by those who do not perform any corresponding duty-people such as Ulemas and Sufis
- viii. Heavy taxation of peasant, merchants and workers. The prosperity of a country depends on light taxes

To address the situation Shah Wali Ullah aimed at a moral, social and political regeneration of Muslims in the true spirit of Islam, so that ideally equitable and social system could be brought in vogue.

RELIGIOUS EFFORTS:

1. CRUSADE AGAINST SECTARIANISM:

The nine Muslim communities was rift from top to bottom, the nobles grouped themselves into Turani and Irani parties-which were euphemisms for Sunni and Shia and common soldiers and citizen also were affected. SHAH WALI ULLAH tried to wipe out differences based on religious convictions. He wrote “IZALAT-UL-KHIFA” and “KHILAFAT-IL-KHULAF” to remove misunderstanding between Shia and Sunnis.

2. TRANSLATION OF QURAN INTO PERSIAN:

The differences between on the minute of details of interpretation were magnified in to disputes. These controversies on minor issues tended to take the mind of the believers from the fundamentals and instead of uniting them, created division in their ranks He emphasized on the fundamentals of Islam He introduced the people once again to the main sources of Islamic doctrine and law. In order to make it understandable to all, he translated Quran into Persian.

3. BALANCE BETWEEN FOUR SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT:

He wrote AL INSAF FI BAYAN SAHABAL IKHITLAF in order to create balance between the four schools, Hanafi, Hanbali, Shafi and Maliki. He was also opposed to limiting the universality of the applications of the injunctions of the holy Quran.

4. SCHOOL OF HADITH:

He established a school for study of Hadith. He selected Imam Malik's AL-MAWATA as the most authentic of all collections of Hadith and took steps to popularize its study.

5. REINTRODUCED IJTIHAD:

It had been established by the then orthodox circles that after the final codification of Islamic law by the four great jurists, the doors of interpretation were closed for ever. He denounced this principle and adopted Ijtihad richly.

6. CONTROVERSY BETWEEN SUFIS AND ULEMAS:

Shah Waliullah tried to reconcile the controversy between Sufis and Ulemas about Wahdatul-Wajood and Wahdatul-Shahood.

7. SOCIAL-MORAL REGENERATION:

It was not enough to remove doctrinal differences among the Muslims. Since they were plunged, in a moral crisis, which lead to grave dimensions. He presented Islam in a rational manner and urged the Muslim masses to mould their lives accordingly to the teachings of Islam.

8. ECONOMICS:

Shah Waliullah pointed out that economics played a vital role in the social life of human beings. He raised his voice for economic equilibrium, removal of inequalities and equal distribution of wealth. He appealed higher classes to realize their responsibilities towards the nation. He was against heavy taxes and

accumulation of wealth.

9. POLITICAL SERVICES:

A part from his religious services, Shah Wali Ullah provided leadership to the Muslims in the political field. He came out with his great wisdom and foresight to create political awakening in the Muslims of India. The rise of Marahattas and Sikhs had posed serious problems to the Muslim rulers. The Mughals rulers were no more in a position to withhold the supremacy of the Muslim rule which was gravely jeopardized by the emergence of Marathas raided Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Empire. The Marathas wanted to crush the Muslims ruler forever.

Shah Waliullah came up to tackle the precious situation. He had rightly noticed that if the Marahattas were not checked effectively, the political powers of the Muslims would disappear forever. He wrote letters to the noble Muslims leaders and informed them of the critical situation hanging on the head of the Mughals rule. He asked formulating assistance and was successful in bringing some Muslims leaders sound. He eventually won over Najib-Ud-Daula and Shuja-Ud-Din against Marathas.

However the Muslims chiefs were unable to face Marahattas. There sources were inadequate to crush the Marahattas. Shah WaliUllah, therefore, looked towards Ahmed Shah Abdali, who came in India and inflicted a crushing defeat on Marahattas on the third battle of Panipat in 1761. The victory blasted the Marahattas power and paved way for the revival of Islam in India.

CONCLUSION:

The movement of political as well as spiritual regeneration didn't die with Shah Waliullah his talented son, Shah Abdul Aziz and his worthy disciples and successors strong for the realization of his mission. The echo of the third battle of Panipat was hear in the battle of BallaKot. Both are the landmarks of the same struggle".

SYED AHMED SHAHEED BARAILVI (1786 – 1851)

INTRODUCTION:

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

He was greatly impressed by the teachings of Shah Wali Ullah and was a staunch disciple of his son Shah Abdul Aziz. From the very beginning he had an inclination

towards becoming a soldier. During his service of Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk, he learnt military discipline and strategy which made him a great military commander in the years ahead.

He wrote SIRAT-E-MUSTAKEEM with the help of his great disciples Shah Ismail Shaheed and Maulana Abdul Hayee. The work is an excellent summary of philosophies, doctrines and reforms of Shah Wali Ullah.

PREPARATION OF JIHAD AGAINST SIKHS:

Syed Ahmed was extremely dismayed to see the decline of the Muslims in their religious and ideological commitments. He earnestly desired to see the restoration of the supremacy of Islam in India. The main objective before Syed Ahmed was to establish a state which was based on Islamic principles.

In the time of Syed Ahmed, Punjab was ruled by the Sikh ruler Ranjeet Singh who was regarded as autocratic despot. The Muslims heavily suffered under his rule and were denied liberty of freedom and worship. The N.W.F.P. had also fallen into Sikh regime. The holy places of Muslims were turned into temples. Azan was forbidden in mosques.

Syed Ahmed left for Mecca in 1821 along with Maulana Ismail Shaheed and Maulana Abdul Hayee and other followers to perform Hajj. He returned after two years and started preparing for Jihad as he had gathered a large number of followers on his return.

DECLARATION OF WAR:

Syed Ahmed believed, if Punjab and N.W.F.P. had liberated from Sikhs, the Muslims would regain their position. He therefore picked up Punjab to start his Jihad movement. He directed Shah Ismail and Maulana Abdul Hayee with 8000 followers to march from Rae Bareilly. He himself set out via other parts of Punjab to invite people to jihad against Sikhs.

Syed Ahmed reached Noshera in Dec'1826 and established his headquarters. He sent a message to Ranjeet Singh to embrace Islam or to be ready to face Mujahiddin. Ranjit Singh turned down the offer and expressed a high degree of rage against Muslims and Islam.

Syed Ahmed started jihad by challenging the Sikh army at Akora on Dec 21'1826. It was a successful mission and heavy losses were inflicted upon Sikh forces. Mujahideen fought second battle at Hazro which too was a great success.

Thus jihad movement got immense popularity. Many Pathan chiefs joined Syed Sahib and took an oath of allegiance at the hand of Syed Ahmed. Yar Muhammad, the governor of Peshawar also joined Syed Ahmed but later involved in a conspiracy against Syed Ahmed and tried to poison him ultimately he joined Sikhs against Syed Sahib.

He was killed in 1829 in an encounter with Mujahideen.

Syed Ahmed set out for Kashmir and Peshawar French general saved Peshawar Syed Ahmed reached Hazara and attacked Sikh forces but this assault was repulsed. Syed Ahmed again attacked Peshawar and occupied in 1830.

ENFORCEMENT OF SHARIAH:

After occupying Peshawar, Syed Ahmed paid attention towards introduction of Shariah. Syed Ahmed was declared Khalifa. The establishment of Islamic government reduced influence of tribal chiefs. He introduced social reforms. In November 1831, Syed Ahmed withdrew from Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad Khan who promised to pay a fixed amount to the Mujahideen.

BATTLE OF BALAKOT (1831):

After relinquishing Peshawar, Syed Ahmed went to Balakot, where they were attacked by huge Sikh army with sophisticated weapons under the command of Gen. Sher Singh, Syed Sahib, Shah Ismail and many other laid their lives while fighting.

The jihad movement did not die after Syed Sahib, but it greatly lacked the leadership.

FRAIZI MOVEMENT

Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840)

INTRODUCTION:

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

HAJI SHARIATULLAH:

The Muslim revivalism in Bengal began in the 19th century which was to put an end to the Muslim isolation and exploitation. The person who came forward to stir the dormant faith of the Bengali Muslims was Haji Shariatullah.

Haji Shariatullah left for Hijaz in 1799 at very young age of 18. After a long stay of twenty years, he returned from Mecca in 1820. During his stay in Arabia, he was greatly impressed by the doctrines of Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab who had initiated Wahabi movement in Arabia.

Haji Shariatullah began his reform movement known as Farazi movement in the centre of the Bengal. This movement was started in the reaction of the anti-Muslim policy of the British. The Farazi movement emphasized, on the performing of Fraiz, religious duties imposed by God and his prophet (PBUH).

Haji Shariatullah was deadly against the false and superstitious beliefs which had arsenic the Muslim society due to long contact with Hindus. He utterly disliked the expressions of PEER and MUREED. He strongly forbade the laying on the hands at the time of accepting a person into discipleship which had crept in to Muslim society.

His movement brought the Muslims peasantry together against the cruel exploitation by the Hindus Zamindars. His dispels and followers blindly took him as competent and able to pull them out of crisis and despair. He declared Jihad against the infidels as inevitable and termed the sub-continent Darul-Harab, where the offerings of the Friday prayers were unlawful.

The Fraizi movement of Haji Shariatullah injected a great deal of confidence among the Muslim masses He continued his religious preaching and fight against the non-Islamic forces till his death in 1840.

DADU MIYAN:

Haji Shariatullah was succeeded by his son Dadu Miyan. His real name was Mohsanuddin Ahmed. Dudu miyan became very popular in the districts of Dacca, Faridpur and Nokhali etc. When Dudu Miyan assumed the leadership of Fraizi movement; he divided the whole of Bengal into circles and appointed a Khalifa to look after his followers in each circle. Dudu Miyan vehemently, opposed the levying of takes by landlords. He declared that the earth belonged to the Almighty Allah and that no one could inherit it or impose taxes upon it Dudu Miyan believed in equality of the rich and the poor. For the amelioration of the Muslim peasantry he had establishment his own state where he used to administer just by setting disputes and by pushing the wrongdoers.

The Hindu Zamindars dreaded him most and conspired to check the spread of his movement. He was harassed all his life and was put in jail time and again on frivolous charges.

He died in 1852 in Dacca, the Fraizi Movement under Haji Shariatullah and Dudu Miyan cultivated a great deal of political awareness among the Muslims of Bengal and particularly among the peasantry, who put a formidable resistance against the Hindus Landlords and the British Rulers.

ALIGARH MOVEMENT AND SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

INTRODUCTION:

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan a prophetic revivalist and a man of predatory analysis who emerged at the time when Muslims were under the narrow of socio-economic-religio-politics circumstances.

“Since the war of independence the Muslims of India were facing strange circumstances and passing a miserable life. Although both Hindus and Muslims fought for liberation, but the heavy hand of the British fell more on Muslims than on the Hindus” ,says Jawaharlal Nehru in his autobiography. The consequences of 1857 war had reduced Muslims to a backward nation-"Education was their miserable politics was an enigma and religions was an obsession”

In this darkest hour of the Muslim national life, the life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan became multidimensional since him has to provide strength to the Muslims of India for all the frontiers. To him, education was the foundation on which to build the super structure of his religious, social and political ideas. He considered education to be the panacea for all ills of his community.

SIR SYED CRUSADE FOR THE MUSLIM UPLIFT:

The great leader set himself to the gigantic task of alleviating the miserable toil of the Muslim community. His task was by mean an easy one-on one hand he had to convince the British authorities that nobody ever panned the mutiny and that, at any rate the Muslims responsibility for its mass butcheries was mollifiable and on the other hand to dispel and fanatical belief of the Muslims that western education was inimical to their faith.

EDUCATIONAL WORK:

The educational set back of Muslims was because of the fact that they were inimical to western education. Learning English and acquire western knowledge went against their pride and they thought that the education saturated with Christianity might corrupt their views.

Sir Syed intellectually fought against all tendencies and attitudes with daring initiative. He provoked a new psyche in their minds and brains. He washed their brains thought his speeches, articles and pamphlets. Keeping in view the modern education in his mind, sir Syed established a scientific society in Ghazipur (1862) and Muradabad (1859) scientific society. It translated a number of valuable books in local languages. His visit to England in 1869 was purely to study English education institution. On his return, he published a monthly journal Tahzeeb-ul-Akhlaq to bring home to the Muslims the need for liberalizing their religious thoughts. Finally in 1875 he laid the foundation of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, at Aligarh.

After the model of Oxford and Cambridge, this converted to a university after his death. The college was the birth place of Aligarh movement and re-aimed the centre of Muslim political activities throughout the history of Pakistan movement. The foundation of

Mohammedan educational conference in 1886 intensified Aligarh movement and promoted education and social reformation of Muslim.

RELIGIOUS REFORMATION OF MUSLIMS:

In religious sphere, he stood as a rational philosopher. He argued that the revealed truth could be understood best through reasons. The revelations of physical sciences could not be ignored in the understanding of religion. He attempted to rationally interrupt Islamic ideas and concepts through the dictation of modern times. In this way he bridges the gulf between rational patterns of religious thinking. Thus he engineered the attitude of rapprochement between the traditional and neo-Islamism because of his rational ideas he was charged "infidel" or heathen. Nevertheless his services to the cause of Islam cannot be denied. His detailed reply in the form of essays to the blasphemous book of William Moors "Life of Mohammedan" was a great service to Islam. His essays were translated into Urdu and were published with some additions under the title of Khutbat-e-Ahrnedia. He wrote exegeses of Quran. He attacked the blind followers of Islam which had given ways to unwise conventions, corrupt customs and evils. He felt the necessity of Ijtihad in every age. He opposed the conventional type of Piri-Muridi and regarded it as the fountain of many evils.

SOCIAL SERVICES:

In the dimension of social life, he stood an ardent advocate to simplicity and austerity, honesty and integrity. In the second half of 19th century, Muslims of the sub-continent were suffering from different social evils-like literacy, disunity, jealousy, greed, pride and worship of past and indifference to present etc. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan suggested means and ways to do away with these evils.

He advised the Muslims to take agriculture and trade as professions and in order to solve their problem they should use their own wisdom and expend on themselves. He stressed on the need of national dress and he was the first who introduced it in Aligarh College.

In his celebrated magazine Tehzeeb-ul-Alchlaq, he preached the virtues of social ethics that a Muslim could better derive from western social life. He taught the people to accept what was sound and attractive in European manners and social life. The magazine played a very important role in improving the morality of the Muslims.

In the magazine, AHKAAM-I-TA'AM-I-AHLEKITAB, Sir Syed discussed the etiquettes of eating and dining in Islam and made it clear that it was not un-Islamic to eat with a nation-Christians who were the bearers of the holy book.

POLITICAL SERVICES:

Sir Syed had perceived with his farsightedness that if the exciting tension between Muslims and British continued, Hindus would get advantage of it and as a result

Muslims would be lost in the darkness of obscurity for ever. Thus to promote understanding between the ruler and the ruled, Sir Syed wrote a bold pamphlet on the causes of the Indian revolt. Whose pith and soul was that the estrangement between government and the governed led to the Indian mutiny and hence the Muslims were not entire responsible for the revolt of 1957. In the "loyal Mohammedan of India" he described the sincere services of the Muslims to the British government and defend them against the charges sedition and disloyalty. He also established British Indian association" under the same purpose. He pleaded for the inclusion of the Indian in the legislature council in order to represent the views of their fellow beings.

Sir Syed was the first mind whose prophetic foresight firstly visions the facts of the Two-Nation theory. He said that in India, Hindus and Muslims were two different nations, having their civilization culture, history, tradition and everything else quite different from each other. To him since Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations so their interest in political forum cannot be evolved altogether. In his view, the Muslims in choosing their political priority should prefers their loyalty to British first by keeping themselves aloof from the congress and should depend on their own strength. He did not belief in western democracy which gave authority to majority, in a country like India where Muslims were in minority. He electorate, and opposed the participation of the Muslims in congress. Sir Syed, thus unconsciously performed ground work for national freedom of the Muslims and for a separate homeland for them in the sub-continent.

To conclude his political activities gave great strength to Muslims. He advocated the aloofness of the Muslims from politics since they were educationally and economically backward. To him, their involvement in politics should be matured by the time until they have brought themselves up to the level of Hindus in prosperity and modern education.

CONCLUSION:

Sir Syed's contributions to the Muslims renaissance in India were unrivalled and unparalleled. He inculcated self-confidence in his people. The Muslims were under a cloud; he removed from them the stigma of disloyalty and tries to rehabilitate them with their rulers. He gave them a modern operandi which was not to their present but to their future. His greatness lies that he struggled to get Muslims out of frustration and provided a firm foundation on which those who came later could build with confidence.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

Nevertheless, his political philosophy of co-operation with British had serious limitations, his advocacy of uncritical acceptance of western education and thought could not provide a firm foundation for building up a nation with a well-defined entity, and his concept of religious truth was narrow and un philosophical, yet at the time when he advocated these ideas, they were opportune and saved the Muslims from economic, educational and philosophical inertia and from stagnation and even annihilation.

“People say Sir Syed set up a college, but he made a nation”

“DARUL-ULUM-I-DEOBAND”

INTRODUCTION:

The brain child of Haji Muhammad Abid and the foil of Maulana Muhammad Qasim-Darul-uloom Deoband, was the birth place of Islamic movement. The movement was launched in order to counter-act the growing tendency of Aligarh movement, whose motto was to adjust and reconcile with British rulers and the western Christian. Deoband movement was a struggle for the Welfare and renaissance of the desperate and hopeless Muslim community of India through Orthodox religious teaching.

CREDO OF DEOBAND:

As the Aligarh movement took upon itself the work of the renaissance and rehabilitation of the Muslim community by presenting Islam in a rational way and laying stress on the socio-economic aspect of the life, the deoband movement in its initial stage concentrated on minimizing the diversity of thought among the various sects and purifying the traditions of Islam from alien influences and unhealthy customs.

The first principle of Darul-Uloom Deoband ... Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautri along with his lieutenant had come into conflict with British during the war of independence 1857. The movement led them to expostulate Western thoughts.

Hence the institution and the movement committed to stand the religious nationalism in India. Their main Aim was to supplement the Muslims with the reawakening of religious nationalism, religious traditionalism and to refrain from them from the social and educational osmosis of the west: To the pioneers of the institution, who were mostly orthodox ulema, the defines of the religion was the only panacea to save the distinct identity of the Muslim nations and to avoid their extinction under the sway of Christian missionary work and Hindu practices.

PERSONALITIES OF DEOBAND:

The deoband movement was the healthy blend of spiritualism and mysticism. Its adherence was moderate and not-extremist Maulana Muhammad Qasim was in fact the speak-head of the movement and the institution. His efforts for the success of the institutions were so great that the Madrassah at the Deoband, with the time came to be known as “Qasimul Uloom Deoband”. Many other institutions established by him in various parts of the country served as branches of the movement and performed commendably for the spread of religious education. Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani extended his services for the institution without any recommendation. The role Sheikhul Hind, Maulann Ahmedul Hassan was very dynamic. He was first among the Deoband teachers to extend his co-operation forwards Aligarh. His liberalism brought the two institutions and the movement into the then should of

rapprochement.

ROLE / INFLUENCE OF DEOBAND:

Deoband, no doubt cast an influence, not only over the sub-continent, but over the whole Muslim world. Muslims of Cairo Saudi Arabia and Palestine were totally aware of the movement. The institution attracted a largely and fairly number of students of the subcontinent and from other parts of the Muslim world. Its education standard was so maintained that it was soon rated as one of the religious seats of Islamic learning. Next to the Azhar University of Cairo, Deoband stand as an institution stood for defending religio-political goals of Shah Wali Ullah, who was their mentor. Religiously their plan was to train enough ulema to be able to spread the philosophy of Islam and they succeeded in producing many famous personalities such as Maulana Ashraf Ali Tharivi. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, Maulana Ubaid-ullah Sindhi, who spread Islam in the sub-continent. Quran, Hadith, Arabic, Islamic jurisprudence philosophy and Islamic jurisprudence were the main disciplines of the institution. The Fatwa of Deoband Ulema was of great authenticity and considered important in the sub-continent.

Administratively, Darul-Uloom was an excellent setup which provided administrative guidance to other educational institutions in sphere of syllabi, conduct of examinations and imparting education in different spheres.

Politically, the leaders of the movement aimed at closer relationship with the sultan of Turkey. Although the Indian national congress influenced deoband, but there was one clear group under Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani was counter acted the influence of the congress.

The group under Thanvi setup Jamiut-ul-Ulema Islam and supported Pakistan movement and extended valuable assistance to Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Notwithstanding the collaboration of Madni group with congress, the Thanvi group was more popular among the Muslims.

Socially, the institution, like Aligarh endeavoured, and did succeed to reawaken the Muslims with social consciousness. It stressed upon the need of social mobility and provided Muslims with new social psychics through religious education.

DEOBAND VS ALIGARH:

Deoband adopted the Ostrich like attitude towards the western culture and learning Nevertheless, the Ulema of Deoband, were more effective in combating the anti-Islamic missionaries but they failed to follow the teachings of their mentor-Shah Wali Ullah, and they could not provide any solid leadership to the Muslim community.

Whereas, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan highly felt the need of revitalizing and re-

evaluating the ideas of Islam in the light of the philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah, and became successful to help resolve the intellectual crisis that had been created by the traditional thinking and religious fundamentalism.

The Aligarh Movement, unlike Deoband, was very instrumental in the Muslim masses. Its impartment to entertain the religious thoughts or rationalism, highly achieved its manifesto.

Since the inception the Deoband movement worked on the strategy, anti of Aligarh. The Aligarh policy was based on the policy of reconciliation with the British whereas Deoband followed a conflicting attitude towards the British. Thus diversity of political approach widened the gulf between the two institutions. The two remained engaged in controversy. The advice of Sir Syed not to join Congress was opposed by Deoband leaders, Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi. This political tension between the two institutions continued till 1947.

CONCLUSION:

Whereas the Aligarh with its liberal attitude towards British and Islam succeeded in its mission and spearheaded Pakistan movement; but Deoband in its temperament dealt Islam on fanatic basis and failed to achieve desired results. Their leaders such as Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan and Ubaid-ullah Sindhi supported Afghans and Turks against British in First World War and subsequently the war over the influence of Hindu Congress.

NADWATUL ULEMA OF LUCKNOW

INTRODUCTION:

The Aligarh and Deoband movement stood apart and worked with going contrasts in their objectives and strategy. Aligarh was not a religious movement and emphasized on the need of western education. Due to its stress on western education the Aligarh completely ignored the religious aspect. As a result the graduates of the Aligarh seriously lacked in religious education and could not activate religious learning. Tehrik-i-Deoband rendered educational services to the cause of the Muslims but it was a purely religious movement and laid greater stress in religious education. The Deoband seminary was totally incapable with the modern trends of education. The students of Deoband were completely oblivious of the western and modern knowledge and were unable to guide the people in the modern education.

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

FOUNDATION OF NADWA:

Nadwa-tul-Ullama was established in 1894 to bring the ulema together in order to remove the sectarian differences. The main objective of this institution was to guide and prepare the Muslims well in religious and modern knowledge. Maulve Abdul Ghafoor, deputy collector is said to be its earliest founder: Maulana Shibli Naumani sometimes a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was closely associated with the Nadva.

OBJECTIVES OF NADVA:

The main work of the organization was the establishment of a Dar-ul-Uloom at Lucknow. The Nadva-tul-ulema stood for general reformation of Muslim society with a view of promoting religious knowledge moral uplift and social regeneration of the Muslims of India.... Apart from these objectives the Nadva worked to remove sectarian differences kept aloof from the political activity and stressed upon separating the political issues from its main objectives. The establishment of Nadva-ul-ulema was widely hailed in the Sub-Continent A large number of philanthropists contributed generously for the Nadva.

NADVA AND MAULANA SHIBLI:

Maulana Shibli was born in 1857 in Azamgarh. He attained highest Islamic education He joined Aligarh College as Assistance professor of Arabic. Shibli was a teen person and took his job sincerely Sir Syed Ahmed Khan observing the rich talent in the young Shibli greatly encouraged him Maulana utilized the opportunity with enthusiasm and soon became a valuable asset to the Aligarh College.

However, the cordial relationship could not last very long and some differences of serious kind, mainly due to the Maulana Shibli's nature, developed between Maulana Shibli and Sir Syed. He disliked the educational pattern of Aligarh and was the view that the ideal system of education would; be a mingling of the old and the new, a modified form of the old system and not the new which was being practical at Aligarh. He openly negated the religious views of Sir Syed and resigned from the Aligarh College in 1904.

The establishment of Nadva-tul-ulema was boom from heavens for the ambitions Shibli. He, therefore, actively took part in the meetings of Nadva-tul-ulema and finally joined it. Maulana Shibli's association with Nadva greatly enhanced the prestige of the institution. He worked very hard to make Nadva as useful institution for the people. He was made in charge of the Madrassah which was maintained by Nadva. He introduced a number of changes in the curriculum on the basis of his experience he had received at Aligarh. He also introduced English language as a compulsory subject.

He established an academy of authors (Darul Musannifin) at Azamgarh which produced several writers and authors to provide intellectual leadership. He laboriously tried to gather support from all quarters and maintained friendly relations with Waqar-Ul-Mulk and Mohsin-Ul-Mulk. Maulana Shibli suffered because of some personal lapses of character and he provided an opportunity of curriculum. His colleagues at Nadva soon got fed up of his views Maulana Abdul Karim wrote an article on Jihad in 1913. He

criticized the views of Maulana Shibli. Malana took disciplinary action against Maulvi Abdul Karim and removed him from the teaching staff. The led to a strong against him and Shibli had to resign. The resignation of Maulana Shibli adversely affected the working of Nadva which could never gain that glory which Maulana Shibli had brought to it.

CONCLUSION:

The Nadva Tul Ullema produced men with high academic and intellectual foresight. Although Nadva could not accomplish its desired aims yet its services for the promotion of Islamic education are immense. A number of students of Nadva led the people in the freedom struggle.

ANJUMAN HIMAYAT-I-ISLAM: (1884)

INTRODUCTION:

The Aligarh created awareness among the Muslims which set an incentive for the people of other areas as well Punjab was under Sikh domination those days where the economic social and educational conditions of Muslims were deplorable. Some leading and sincere Muslims leaders decided to set up Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Lahore. It was set up in 1884 in a Mochi Gate Mosque, where nearly 250 Muslims decided to set up Anjuman for the educational guidance of the Muslims of Punjab Khaleefa Hameed-ud-Din laid down the foundation of the Anjuman and became its first president, Dr Muhammad Nazir and Munshi Abdur Rahim sere also the prominent worker of the Anjuman. The Anjuman faced financial problems 1n the beginning. The workers of the Anjuman went you're door to door to collect finds for the Anjurnart. A scheme known as Muthi Bhai Ata was started to collect funds for Anjuman. However with the passage of time people began to donate generously.

OBJECTIVES OF ANJUMAN:

1. Establishment of educational institutions of Modern education for Muslims.
2. To counter the propaganda of Christian missionaries.
3. To look after the Muslim orphan children and to educate them.
4. Establish the Muslim society on sound and stable foundations.
5. To strive for the social and cultural progress of the Muslims.
6. To organize the Muslim masses politically for the safeguard of Islam.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES:

Anjuman began its educational program by establishing a primary school for girls. Its educational programme was simultaneously in the male and female sectors.

1. Islamia College for women, cooper road was established in 1938.
2. Islamia college Railway road was established in 1913.
3. Islamia College Civil lines
4. Islamia College Lahore Cantt
5. Himayat-i-Islam law College.

Apart from educational institutions Anjuman set up Orphan houses, Darul Aman Tibia College and Centres for adult education. Anjuman held its meetings every year presided over by important personalities like Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal, Mohsinul Mulk, Altaf Hussain Hali and Justice Shah Din.

POLITICAL SERVICES:

Anjuman performed commendable services in organizing the people under banner of Muslim League. It worked in dedicated way during the Pakistan movement. The annual meetings of Anjuman passed resolutions in favour of Pakistan.

The students of Islamia College railway road took the message of freedom to every corner of the country. They took active part in making the historic session of Muslims League a complete succession 1940. The Quaid-e-Azam was escorted to the meeting place by the students of Islamia College railway road. Muslims students Federation was founded in Islamia College Railway Road under the leadership of Hameed Nizami. MSF extended maximum assistance to Quaid-e-Azam in Pakistan movement. The Anjuman organized political meeting to promote the two nation theory.

CONCLUSION:

The role played by Anjuman-e-Hamait-e-Islam for the creation of Pakistan was creditable.

SINDH MADRASSAH KARACHI.

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

The British government had put to an end to the separate status of province of Sindh and attached it with Bombay Presidency. The British' government in order to please the Hindu majority did not pay any attention to the educational requirements of the Muslims of the Sindh.

Syed Hassan Ali Afani, a devoted Muslim citizen of Karachi was the founder and president of Central Mohammedan Association of Karachi which was established by Syed Ameer Ali.

Syed Hassan Ali was a great adviser of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and thus collected funds for the establishment of the Madrassah. He laid down the foundation of the Madrassah in 1885. The Madrassah was known as Sindh Madrasatul-Islam. After some time a large building was constructed for Madrassah.

Hassan Ali died and his son Wali Muhammad was administrator who succeeded in acquiring government allocated annual grant to the Madrassah but put certain conditions as well which created bad feeling among the administration.

Wali Muhammad was succeeded by his son Hassan Ali Ablureman in 1938 and managed to pull out Madrassa from government control. The administrator board of Madrassah decided to make it Sindh Muslim College in 1943. Quaid-e-Azam received his early education from Madrassah and through his will a sizeable portion of his property was surrendered to Sindh Muslim College.

Sindh Madrassah tul Islam took an active part in the freedom movement and became a centre of Two Nation Concept.

ISLAMIA COLLEGE PESHAWAR:

The Christian missionaries began their educational activities in the NWFP. A mission was opened in 1888 which came to Edward College Peshawar in 1888. It was known as Municipal High school. This school was made Government College Peshawar and Allama Inayatullah Mashraqi became its first principal.

There were no proper arrangements of religious education at NWFP. The Muslim leaders of NWFP felt the need of establishing an educational institution which could impart religious and modern knowledge to the Muslims. Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was one of those leaders who took initiative. With his sincere efforts Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was set up in the NWFP which opened a school in 1902 known as Islamia College Peshawar.

Quaid-e-Azam was very closely associated to Islamia College Peshawar and loved the students. Quaid-e-Azam visited the College several times and addressed the students there. The students' and teachers of Islamia College Peshawar rendered great services to the freedom movement.

SEPARATE ELECTORATES:

INTRODUCTION:

The demand for separate electorate was not made by the Simla deputation for

the first time. National Elections on the basis of two nation theory were demanded by Sir Syed in a debate on the Central Provinces local self-Government Bill in 1883. The demand for separate electorates, a manifestation of Muslim feelings of separateness, played a crucial role in the Muslim politics of India. The acceptance of Muslim demand for separate electorates in Minto-Morley reforms 1909 was a great victory a separate nation by the British. The separate the two-nation theory, and the two were responsible for the Pakistan Resolution 1940 and finally for the creation of Pakistan

S.E AND SIR SYED:

Muslims were not very enthusiastic about democratic reforms being introduction by self-Government 1861 as it could lead to complete domination by Hindus as they were in majority.

All India National Congress came into being in 1885 and demand western type of democracy. Sir Syed toe objectives of the Congress and asked Muslim not to join the Congress He made Muslims aware of the fact that policy of the Congress would adversity affect them. In his beech of 1883 he demanded separate electorate for Muslim and said," The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community". In 1888, he said," strength of Hindus and Muslims lie determined the Council of Viceroy. Hindus to elect their representatives thus Sir Syed was the pioneer of the concept of the separate electorates in India.

SIMLA DEPUTATION AND S.E:

Muslim delegation met the Viceroy in data on 1906 and presented the desires of the Muslims. The demand of the Separate electorate as the main theme. This demand of the Muslims was practically implemented under the of 1909 known as Mm to Morley reforms. Congress refused to accept it. Muslims were undoubtedly accepted as a separate nation, under this act.

LUCKNOW PACT:

Muslim league and Congress created an agreement at Lucknow in 1916 the congress under the agreement accepted the idea of separate electorates for the Muslims It was a great political achievement as congress had reconciled with the idea of Muslims as a separate reaction

ACT OF INDIA 1919:

The constitutional reforms under the act were based on the spirit of Lucknow act. This act (Montague Chelmsford reforms) kept intact the separate electorate for Muslims of India These reforms were the cause of cleavages between the Hindus and the Muslims.

DELHI PROPOSALS:

Jinnah called the conference of Muslim leaders in March 1927 at Delhi. He proposed certain proposals after mutual consultation. At that stage Jinnah was a staunch believer of Hindu Muslim unity. He asked the congress to accept the Delhi proposals and Muslims would be prepared to withdraw from their demand for separate electorates.

NEHRU REPORT:

In order to face the challenge thrown by the British government in the wake of Simon commission which was boycotted both by congress and Muslim League, All parties' conference at Delhi appointed a committee to propose commonly accepted proposals for future constitutional reforms This committee was led by motilal Nehru Report out rightly rejected the concept of separate electorate as it amounted to political disunity of India. Congress Was not prepared to accommodate the genuine demands of the Muslims. So the Muslims rejected Nehru report.

JINNAH'S 14 POINTS:

Jinnah was completely dismayed and disappointed by the Nehru Report He summoned meeting of all parties at the Muslims in his famous fourteen points the demand of separate electorate was one of the major demands.

COMMUNAL AWARD:

In 1930, the British government held a round table conference of Indian leaders to resolve the political constitutional problem of India. In the light discussion which took place in the conference the British government announced a formula to solve the communal problem of India. This formula is called communal awards. This formula not only aware Muslims the right of the separate electorates but also other minorities like Sikhs, Christians and untouchables were also given this right.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SEPARATE ELECTORATE:

1. The day, the demand for separate electorate was conceded the course for the Muslims freedom movement was charted. It laid the foundation for the growth of Muslim National consciousness which after a 40 years struggle was to achieve for the Muslims the culmination of their aspiration as a distinct nation.
2. Two nation theories was advanced because the working of separate electorate for runny years had made the Muslims conscious of their distinctiveness.
3. Opening the era of optimize.
4. Establishing Muslim League.
5. Denial of Separate electorate exposed Hindu mentality.
6. Muslim unity and 1945-46 Elections on this principle a proof and a

referendum for Pakistan.

Had there been no separate electorates the Muslims would have been absorbed and digested by the arrogant Hindu hidden Congress and hence there would be no Muslim leagues no political consciousness and no Pakistan....

There is no doubt about the fact that the separate electorate is one of the significance of Pakistan.

PARTITION OF BENGAL:

INTRODUCTION:

Perhaps nothing illustrates so all the validity of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan 5 reading the Hindu mind as the agitation against the partition of Bengal.

The partition was the most have faint measure of the Lord Curzon administration internal strife and his ought the two communities Open hostility, pulling the Muslim out of political lethargy.

CAUSES CIRCUMSTANCES:

1. Bengal use too big: Bengal with are area of 189,000 Square Mills, embracing the population of about 86 million was too unwieldy to he administered efficiently by are lieutenant Governor. He could not make even a tour of whole province when needed. Its huge size made it difficult for smooth sunning of administrator.
2. Limited sources of communication: Communication system was primitive.
3. Difference of language and civilization: There was a great different of language and civilization between the western and eastern districts. The Bengali language spoken in Eastern Bengal was known a Musalmani, Western people counted they superior.
4. Deterioration of Agriculture: The agrarian economy of Bengal was dominated by the capitalists of Calcutta and as a result million of inhabitants having the under developed areas were deprived of their due shares products. The personality of Eastern districts was crushed under the Calcutta land lords.
5. High rate of Crime: crime rate was very high. Policy system was almost non-existent.
6. Education: Funds for education in Eastern Bengal were meagre; East Bengal was victim of shameful government apathy.
7. Trade: Export trade of Assam was hampered because Calcutta authorities were indifferent to the needs of Chittagong port and there was an urgent need to take the matter out of their purview.
8. No progress in Eastern Districts: All Welfare funds were spent in western districts. Dr. Abdul Hamid said about the partition of Bengal that, "If it had not been attempted by Curzan, It could not have been delayed much longer after him.

PARTITION PLAN:-

In 1905, the provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted so as to form two provinces of manageable state, western Bengal with the population of 54 million with 42 million Hindus Eastern Bengal and Assam was the other province with the population of 18 million Muslims and 12 million Hindus. Decca was the Capital of the new Province. The Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam officially came into being on 16th October 1905. East Bengal and Assam consisted of 106650square.miles.

MUSLIMS RESPONSE:-

It received a favourable response from Muslims. Muslims never made a demand for partition of Bengal. It was beneficial for Muslims in many ways.

1. The new province had a population of 31 million with 18 million. Muslims having numerical superiority over Hindus.
2. The possibility of Muslim economic uplift grew brighter. It was hoped that they would get rid of the hundred years of exploitation.
3. Muslims hoped that their status would be raised in society as they were in minority numerical majority. They hoped that they would be free from the restraints of Hindu society.
4. The partition could result in the political uplift and securing representation in the government.
5. Need of Muslim Organization):-

"The events following the partition strengthened the desire of the Muslims to organize themselves politically as a separate community. The birth of All India Muslim League on 30th December 1906 came as an expression of that desire."

HINDU RESPONSE:

The Hindus did not accept it, as it dealt a telling blow to their monopolies and exclusive hold on economic, social, political life of the whole of the Bengal. They called it as an deliberate attempt by the British government to disrupt the national solidarity and Bengali nationalism. They termed Lord Curzan as the upholder of the British official policy of divided and rule.

1. Partition of Bengal had brightened the possibility of the betterment of Muslims. The Hindu capitalists wanted to continue the exploitation Muslims.

Hindu Lawyers opposed partition because they thought that the new province would have its separate courts and thus their practice would be affected.

2. Hindu press was not different from that of Hindu advocates Hindu had their monopoly over almost whole of the provinces press. They were afraid that

- new newspapers would be established in the new province.
3. Hindu did not want to lose their political dominance.

Even the Indian National Congress which Claimed to be the representation body of all the communities strongly opposed the partition. Congress asserted that the partition would lead into the disintegration of the Bengal Nationalism and would destroy Bengali language and literature.

4. Swadeshi movement brought economic pressure on British by boycotting British goods. 16 October was observed as a day of national morning.

ANNULMENT AT DELHI CORONATION DARBAR:

King George V announced the annulment of Bengal at Delhi Coronation Durbar on 12th December 1911. Prof. Shaiq-Rehman says, "The most settled of the entire announcement made by the King at Delhi".

RESULTS AND EFFECTS:

1. Nawab Salimullah says, "The partition of Bengal bestowed new life and new image to the Muslims".
2. Muslims developed self-confidence in themselves and were on the way of gradual progress.
3. It proved that congress did not care for any community except Hindus.
4. Annulment proved that in future Muslims will have to fight for their right alone.
5. The thinking of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations proved correct.
6. Decca remained the centre of Muslims Political power.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

The Muslims of India appreciated the step and started turning in the British but the British soon gave in against the mounting pressure of Hindus which helped the Muslims to realize the importance of standing on their own feet and to organize them politically.

We Will not be wrong in making the conclusion because of Partition of Bengal Muslims subconsciously embarked on the path of a separate homeland. It also affirmed the apprehension of Sir Syed that Muslims might be submerged in brute majority of Hindus and loses their separate entity. Hindus were really limited upon to sway over

whole of India.

SIMLA DEPUTATION:

INTRODUCTION:

Some of the reforms of Lord Curzan greatly harmed the British interests in India. So lord Minto had to face a wide spread political agitation after formers resignation.

CAUSES OF SIMLA DEPUTATION:

1. Joint electorates: The elections held in the country according to the Indian Councils act 1892, made it clear that the system of joint electorates is not good for a country with different communities and dominated by one community. During the period from 1892-1905 not even a single Muslim representative could secure his seat in the legislative councils.
2. Charging international situation: Victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 created a sense in India that finally East has renew. It was also felt that England was also declining. This encouraged Indian to secure more rights for themselves.
3. Congress attitude: The Hindu attitude over partition of Bengal convinced the Muslims of the futility of expecting any justice or fair play from the Hindu Majority. Therefore to safeguard their interests, the Muslim leaders now drew up a plan of separate electorates for their community.
4. Resignation of Fuller: Congress launched Swedish Movement to exert economic pressure on the British Fuller the governor of East Bengal and Assam had to resign as a result. Muslim demanded that his resignation should not be accepted. But it was accepted which showed that Muslim interest were least impolant.

5. Immediate Reason:

Constitutional Reforms:

Elections were held in 1905 in Britain and Liberal party came into Power. Literal party wanted to encourage the nations of India by giving them participation in the affairs of government liberal party announced to introduce constitutional reforms in India. In the wake of this announcement, Muslim leaders felt the need of articulating Muslim demand.

SIMLA DEPUTATION:

In the march 1906, Minto started discussing the scope of constitution reforms with the members of his executive council, a leading Muslim Haji Ismail Khan, Wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk drawing his attention to demand the right of

separate electorates for the Muslims.

FORMATION OF COMMITTEE AT ALIGARH:

Mohsin-Ul-Mulk consulted Waqar-ul-Mulk and constituted a committee at Aligarh. Mr. Archbold, the principal of M.A.O. College assign the duty of setting appointment from Lord Minlo. Muslims of all provinces gathered and finalize the text and decided that Sir Agha Khan would lead the deputation of 34-36 members. The delegation met Viceroy on Oct 1, 1906 at his residence at Simla.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (i) Muslims should be given weight age in the legislative assembly and their representatives should be elected on the basis of separate electorate.
- (ii) Quota will be fixed of all services for Muslims.
- (iii) Muslim judges to be appointed in High court and Chief Court.
- (iv) Separate seat be fixed in syndicates of universities.
- (v) Muslim universities to be established.
- (vi) Steps to be taken in order to protect the political, social and cultural identity of Muslims.

VICEROY'S RESPONSE:

Lord Minto assured the delegation that he was entirely in accord with their case and rights would be safeguarded.

WAS IT A COMMAND PERFORMANCE:

There is a controversy about the delegation; Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar is reported to have characterized the delegation as a command performance. Rajindra Parsad has tried to prove that the delegation was engineered by Mr. Archbold, the British principal of Aligarh College. This is a distortion of real facts. He, being the principal was very close to the Muslims. He was simply asked to contact the secretary of Viceroy Col. Dunlop for an appointment with the Viceroy.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

The Simla deputation is critically important in the history of modern Muslim India:

- (i) First time, the Hindu Muslim conflict was lifted to the constitutional plane. The rift in the society was now to be reflected in legal and political institutions.
- (ii) Muslims had made it clear that they had no confidence in the Hindu majority. They rejected the Idea of a single Indian nation on the ground that the Muslim minority had an entity which could not be merged into the Hindu majority.

(iii) It was but a further step to demand a separate state for Muslims.

The Hindu allegation that the Simla deputation was inspired by the British has to be rejected for two reasons.

No positive evidence is available in its support and what the Muslims demanded was in complete consonance with their thinking and philosophy.

The Simla deputation is also a milestone in the struggle for the freedom of Muslims. The concept of two-Nation theory as enunciated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was further strengthened by this delegation.

Because of it, the British government finally gave a legal sanction to the demand of separate electorate under Minto-Morley reforms known as "Indian Act of 1909".

INTRODUCTION:

The predication of Sir Syed soon proved to be a fact. The Muslims of India were greatly disappointed by the anti-Muslim stance of Congress. The events following the partition of Bengal strengthened the desire of the Muslims to organize themselves politically as a separate community. The Birth of All India Muslim League at Decca on 30th December 1906 came as an expression of that desire.

CAUSES:

1. ERUPTION OF A MUSLIM EDUCATED CLASS:

A new generation of Muslims educated at Aligarh or influenced by the ideas had come to the forefront. They were keen on securing an honourable place for their community in political sphere.

2. INDIFFERENT ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS TOWARDS MUSLIMS:

The All India National Congress was a purely Hindu body. Its interest was always antithetical to the Muslim. By 1905, Muslim leaders were convinced that they must have their own party which should spread for their community on all important occasions.

3. TO SAVE THEIR ENTITY:

The old belief uttered by Sir Syed Ahmed that the Muslims were somehow a separate entity. The Muslims did not behave that Hindus and Muslims formed one nation. They differ by religion, history, civilization, traditions and culture. Therefore it became essential for Muslims to establish a political organization of their own.

4. DIFFERENCE OF POLITICAL VIEWS:

The political views of Muslims were not in conformity with those of Hindus. The Congress supported joint electorates whereas the Muslims were staunch proponents of separate electorates. This led Muslims to the establishment of Muslim League.

5. EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS:

Muslims had lagged far behind the Hindus in education and economics. Educational and economic conditions could only be upgraded by establishing a separate Muslim organization.

6. THE EVOLUTION OF MINTO MORLEY REFORMS:

The turning point came in the summer of 1906. During John Morley's budget speech in which he hinted of constitutional reforms, at that junction Muslims did not have a political platform to demand their share. After all they wanted a separated political platform.

7. THE SUCCESS OF SIMLA DEPUTATION:

Minto offered fullest sympathy to Muslim demands. The success of deputation compelled the Muslims to have a separate political association of their own.

FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE:

In December 1906, an annual session of Muhammadan Educational Conference was held in Decca as requested by Nawab Salimullah. Almost all the Muslim leaders stressed the need for a separate political organization of the Muslim. Nawab Salimullah presented the outline of the proposed organization. A resolution moved by him was approved by all present and thus All India Muslim League was established. Nawab Waqar ul Mulk, Nawab Salimullah, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan played a vital role in the formation of Muslim League.

OBJECTIVES OF MUSLIM LEAGUE:

1. To create among Muslims the feelings of loyalty towards British government and to remove misconceptions and suspicions.
2. To safeguard the political rights of the Muslims and to bring them into the notice of the government.
3. To prevent among Muslims the rise of prejudicial feelings against the other communities of India.

The first formal meeting of All India Muslim League was Held on Dec 29-30-1907 at Karachi. Syed Ameer Ali organized the Branch of Muslim League at London.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

There came into being a political body which was to play a decisive role in the destiny of the Muslim nation. The day the Muslim delegation won recognition of the demand of separate electorate, the course of the Muslim freedom struggle was charted. It was the beginning of the growth of Muslim National consciousness. Its former visible institutional expression in the form of Muslim League which after a 40 years struggle was to achieve for the Muslims the culmination of their national aspirations.

In the beginning All India Muslim League was not a radical party and did not stand for any revolutionary change in India. It embarked on the task within the framework of the given situation. But as the events unfolded, Muslim League also changed its outlook and took up the task of political freedom for the Muslims of India. By the end of the 3rd decade of the 20th century, Muslim League really became a mass movement of the Muslims and succeeded in achieving Pakistan in 1947. Actually the new breed of leadership like Jinnah was instrumental in its metamorphosis.

After Minto's acceptance of the demand of separate representation, it was ordinary common sense to have a political party to fight elections.

Whatever may have been the effects of Muslim League, but it made clear that the interests of Muslims must be regarded completely separate from those of Hindus. Any fusion of both the communities in future was not possible.

It stressed the ship of Muslim destiny safely through the oscillation of political Chaos and turmoil to the safe harbour of Pakistan.

MINTO MORLEY REFORMS

INDIA COUNCILS ACT 1909

Introduction:

When Lord Minto came as Viceroy in India, the whole country was in a state of political unrest. He had to pass mainly drastic law to suppress the revolutionary activities. But at the same time, he in collaboration with Lord Morley, the then secretary of state for India introduced some reforms to give greater share to the local masses in government. These reforms are known as Minto Morley reforms.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REFORMS:

Dissatisfaction caused by the act of 1892:

Indian were not satisfied with the act of 1892 which did not give enough powers to Imperial and provincial legislative councils.

Authoritarian policies of Lord Curzon:

His administrative policies had alienated Indians. He opposed local self-government which annoyed the Indians.

Rise in Prices:

Inflation had brought people against the British government.

Victory of Japan over Russia **1905**:

Japanese victory had created a hope among Indians who started behaving that finally the East had renewed. It was also felt that England was declining.

All treatment with the Indian abroad:

Especially Indians in Africa, Ceylon, Malaya.

Separate electorate for Muslims:

Promised in Simla (1906)

To pacify the extremists:

Indian Councils Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1909.

FEATURES:

1. Expansion of Imperial legislative council:

Rise in number of additional members of all Governor General's Council to 60.

2. Expansion of provincial legislative councils.
3. Functions and Power of Imp L.C increased.

Members could move resolutions and ask supplementary questions. Government could refuse to answer the supplementary questions.

4. Increase in executive council's members:

The number of members of executive councils of Bombay, Madras and Bengal was raised from 2 to 4.

5. Indian appointment in Executive councils:
6. Restricted franchise:
7. System of Communal and class electorates:

CONCLUSION:

1. The demand of responsible government was rejected only minor changes were introduced the act gave undue importance to Landlords and industrialists by giving them undue importance.
2. The franchise was restricted and number of votes was very small. They could be easily purchased:
3. 3. Minor changes were made in the powers of legislative councils.

HINDU REACTION:

Hindu politicians, esp the congress launched demonstrative campaign against the act They were against the Muslims right of separate electorates. It was because of this motive that at the 1910 session, the congress condemned the provision of separate electorates and demanded its withdrawal up to 1935, the congress kept on passing resolutions against the clause except in case of Lucknow pact(1916).

MUSLIM REACTION:

Despite certain flaws the reforms were considered as a great omen to the Muslim fate. Since they granted the Muslims, their long standing and cherished desire the separate electorate's in the provinces where legislative councils existed. The Simla deputation demand was met. Thus Muslim welcomed the act.

ROLE OF MUSLIM LEAGUE:

Minto Morley reforms are said to reflect the first achievement of newly founded all India Muslim League. Nevertheless the demand for separate electorates had already been made in Simla Deputation but the role of Muslim League to make this demand a reality was commendable.

All Hindus and several British observers of the Indian scene opposed and criticized the demand of communal electorates as a breach of democratic principle but it was the result of the tiresome efforts of the Muslim League that Morley considered the Muslim demand genuine and justified.

It was the achievement of the Muslim League that the British government for the first time accepted the in India where different communities live the Western type of democracy is not applicable. The voice of Sir Syed saw reality of the day.

It was the record achievement of the Muslim League with in its two years of inception. The acceptance of separate electorates set the cause of Muslim separatism

in India.

CONCLUSION:

The significance of Minto Morley reforms is not only the constitutional development in Indian politics but it also played paramount importance to the political fate of Muslims in India. Had there been no provision of separate electorate in the Minto-Morley reforms, there would have been least enhance of Lucknow Pact 1916 and consequently, there would have been no chance of concept of Pakistan Resolution in 1940.

LUCKNOW PACT

INTRODUCTION:

The Lucknow pact is of outstanding importance in the development of Indian Muslim nationalism for two reasons. It was the first Hindu Muslim compact in Modern Indian history and in the hopes of several leaders on both sides was expected to lay the foundation of a permanent united action against the British. It was also the first and the only occasion when the Hindus not only conceded separate electorates of Muslim representation in different provincial legislature and at the centre.

EARLIER EFFORTS OF RAPPORCHMENT BETWEEN THE TWO:

In 1910, Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Chairman of reception committee of Muslim League stressed the need for improvement of relation with the fellow inhabitants. There were other efforts also made but without any tangible results.

CUMSTANCES WHICH PROMOTED THE NEED FOR UNITY:

1. The annulment of partition of Bengal was a jolt for Muslims and it shattered the Muslim confidence in the British.
2. Certain events in the Islamic world, like Anglo-Russian agreement with regard to Iran and Balkan wars confirmed Muslim suspicions about the hostility of west towards Muslims.
3. The CONIRADE of Maulana Muhammad Ali and ALHILAL of Abula Kaleem Azad were the leading newspapers which were infusing new spirit in Muslims about their identity.
4. Reluctance of British to grant official status to Aligarh Muslim University compelled the Muslims to join hand with the Hindus against the British.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah at that juncture was ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. Lucknow pact was an example of Jinnah's sagacious statesmanship and a bridge to cover the gap between Hindus and Muslims.

He and his other colleagues succeeded in persuading both Congress and Muslims to

hold their annual session in Bombay 1915. A resolution moved Jinnah in the Bombay session calling upon the Muslim League to appoint a committee for negotiations with other political organizations. Similarly Congress also expressed its desire to have an understanding on political issues with the Muslim League. Both the parties agreed to hold a joint meeting in Lucknow.

JOINT SESSION OF 1916:

Congress and Muslim League held their joint session at Lucknow in 1916. The Congress adopted the newscheme of reforms on 29 Dec and the League on 31st.

FEATURES OF THE PACT:

1. Provinces should be given the maximum. Administrative and financial autonomy.
2. 4/5 member of the provincial legislatures should be popularly elected and the rest should be nominated.
3. The elections should be held on the basis of general adult franchise.
4. ½ of the members of the central and provincial governments should be elected by the members of their respective legislature councils.
5. The Governor General and the governors would be bound to the resolutions passed by their respective legislative councils. However the Governor General would be authorized to put such resolutions off for not more than a year.
6. The secretary of the state should be given the same powers as were enjoyed by the secretary of state for other colonies.
7. The executive and judiciary should remain separate from each other.

Provision about Communal issue:

1. The Muslim League and the Congress should jointly demand for the establishment of complete self-government in India.
2. The Muslims should be given separate reserved seats in the legislature with the right of separate electorate.
3. Any private resolution attraction a particular community should require ¾ majorities of the members of that community for its advancement in the council.
4. Muslim League withdrew from the claim that Muslim were in majority in Punjab and Bengal.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PACT:

The Lucknow pact prepared the ground for political collaboration among the Muslims and the Hindus and enables two peoples to put forward a joint demand before the British government.

To Muslims it conceded three advantages:

1. Separate electorates 111 the various legislative and representative bodies.
2. Weight age in provinces where they were in minority.
3. And the Provision that no non official bill affecting their position could be passed by any of the legislators if $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Muslim members of the House were opposed to it.

No doubt, the acceptance of these principles, particularly of separate electorates had very great importance for the future of the Muslims but the pact was by no means a one sided affair. The Muslims had indeed paid a big price, of losing majority in Bengal and Punjab to obtain these concessions.

The scheme came up for examination Mr, Montague and Lord Chelmsford and most of its recommendations of fundamental nature were rejected by them. However the only part of the scheme which was adopted was the communal scheme and even this was not adopted in its entirety.

The Lucknow pact not only hastened the important policy announcement by the British government on 20th August 1917 but in certain important respects. For the Congress it meant much because the Muslim support gave it added strength vis-a-vis the British government.

The Congress who had been scandal the Muslim League hitherto now acknowledged it as the only representative party of the Muslim of the sub-continent.

CONCLUSION:

Quaid-e-Azam was the principle architect for the Lucknow pact and was hailed as the Ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim Unity by Saroni Naido K.B Saud said, "The Hindu Muslim accord of Lucknow was the high water mark of the Hindu-Muslim unity". Most of the principles of the Lucknow pact were later incorporated in the government of India act 1919.

The Lucknow pact was hall mark in the political history of India because on one hand the demand for complete self-government brought the Muslim in the face of the British government and on the other hand they succeeded in getting the right of separate electorates Lucknow Pact in its real sense was an experiment to integrate Hindus and Muslim in political grounds.

INDIAN COUNCIL ACT 1919

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

INTRODUCTION:

Khilafat Movement had been started by the Muslim and the Hindu Muslim unity was gaining more and more strength side by side an organization namely Home Rule League

had emerged with the demand of complete independence of the Sub-Continent Under these developments the British government was obliged to bring about some radical changes in the Indian constitution. In July 1918 Montague, the secretary of state for India and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India published a joint report known as Montague Chelmsford report which was enacted in December 1919.

FACTORY WHICH LED TO INTRODUCTION OF ACT:

1. The demand for responsible government was rejected in 1909 act. Only minor changes were introduced in the powers of legislative councils.
2. Under importance was given to land lords and Chamber of commerce in 1909 act.
3. Less than 1909 act, the franchise was restricted and voters could easily be purchased.
4. Women were denied the political status in 1909 act.
5. The indirect method of election was introduced in 1909 act which was undemocratic.
6. In 1909 act, elected majority was not created as these representatives did not granted powers.
7. Racial discrimination continued even after 1909 act and no higher jobs were given to Indians.
8. Dissatisfaction of Muslims further grew because of the annulment of Partition of Bengal.
9. The India helped English during First World War. In return for their services they wanted self Government.
10. Home Rule League was established to demand self-government.

Owing to these Circumstances the British government decided to introduce new reforms to pacify the Indians.

FEATURES:

1. The salary of the secretary of the state for India was to be given by the British government and some of his powers were chipped down and were given to Indian High Commissioner.
2. Bi-cameral legislature was introduced. The upper house of legislation was Council of State and lower house was Central Legislative Assembly.
3. The life of Council of state was 5 years and it could be extended by the Governor General.
4. System of direct election for both the houses.
5. Voters for Council of state were those who paid tax of Rs 10,000 to 20,000 and for central legislative assembly those who paid 15 to 20 rupees per annum.
6. The governor General was given the powers to summon, dissolve and address the chambers.
7. Members of both the house were given the right of freedom of speech. They could ask questions and move resolutions.
8. The members of the Executive Council of the governor general were nominated

and were not responsible to the Assembly Vote of no confidence could not be moved against them.

9. DYARCHY system was introduced in the provinces under this act According to this act the subjects were divided into reserved subject, administered by Executive council and Transferred subjects, administered by governors' ministries.
10. The system of Communal elections/ electorates was not only retained for the Muslims. It was also extended to the SIKHS but refused to other communities.
11. Finally, at the end of 10 years, a commission should be appointed to examine the working of the system and to advice as to whether the time had come for compel to responsible government.

CONGRESS REACTION:

In the elections held in 1920 under the new constitution congress did not participate. It was against the Montague Chelmsford reforms. But National liberals participate in elections. In 1923 Congress decided to participate in elections with a view to destroyed it from within.

MUSLIM LEAGUE REACTION:

The Muslim did not reject the act as Congress did; though they were not completely satisfied but the initial response was favourable.

However they did not participated in election because of the understanding with Congress. Thus, some benefits which the Act could yield were reaped by Hindus alone. It was Muslims who suffered. Muslim League did not meet as a separate body between 1919 to 1924. It identified itself with the Congress.

CRITICISM:

The act had merits and demerits.

MERITS:

1. Secretary of state to be paid by British.
2. Creation of the office of High Commissioner.
3. Bicameral Legislature.
4. Powers of Legislature enhanced.
5. Extended franchise.
6. Separate electorate further extended.

DEMERITS:

1. Central legislature helpless before central executive.
2. DYARCHY was defective due to the water tight division of subjected.

3. Unscientific division of subjects' eq: Irrigation was reserved subject and agriculture was transferred subject.
4. Lack of co-operation between executive councillors and ministers.
5. Precarious position of ministers. Secretary of concerned department had a direct access to the governor.
6. As finance was reserved subject, ministers could not put their scheme into practice.

KHILIFAT MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION:

The institution of Khilafat has been coeval with Islam. The deviation of Muslims of India to the Khilafat was one of the basic features of the political life. Earlier, during the Balkan wars and 1st world war, certain developments beyond India were disturbing the Muslims of sub-continent. The Ottoman Empire was decaying in the beginning of 20th century and other European countries seemed to be bent upon grabbing the European parts of the Turkey. In 1913, Balkan states revolted against Turkey. The Indian Muslims psychologically were intensely attached with Turkey because it was the centre of Khilafat, although they did not own any political allegiance to Khilafat yet they considered him as the rallying force for the Muslims unity. After being deprived of power, Indian Muslims mentally compensated themselves by having spiritual links with the Turkish Empire.

ORIGIN OF THE MOVEMENT:

Turkey had chosen to fight on the side of Germany against allied power. The British government after declaring war against Turkey promised Indian Muslims that the sanctity of the Holy Places will be respected. Status of Caliphate would be respected and Ottoman Empire would be given back its possessions at the end of war.

VIOLATION OF PROMISE:

After the end of war treaty of Sevres was conducted whose harsh terms made it clear that the victorious allies were determined to destroy the Ottoman Empire. To Indian Muslims, Treaty appeared to be a deliberate attempt to exterminate the political power of Islam by the Christian west.

ROWLETT ACT, JALLIANWALA TRAGEDY AND HINDU MUSLIM UNITY:

A security act in 1919, known as Rowlett act was passed which gave arbitrary powers of arrest and trial to the government. These acts aroused widespread agitation. First session of Khilafat Congress was held in Delhi in Nov 1919 and Muslims were asked not to participate in victory celebration to boycott British goods and start non-cooperation women. Gandhi, who was also present in the session and offered Hindu cooperation with regard to Khilafat institution.

MUSLIM DELEGATION VISIT EUROPE:

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar led a delegation to Europe in March 1920 to muster support for Khilafat cause in to appease British Government of Muslim grievances and resentment. As British Prime Minister Lord George was implacable enemy of Turkey, the delegation returned empty handed in Oct 1920.

MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM:

During Muhammad Ali absence from India the Movement gained momentum. The participation of treaty of severe brought the movement and its full swing.

Ulema Pronounce Fatwa:

A fatwa was pronounce by Ulema in favour of no cooperation which had a marked influence on the movement Ulema also declared subcontinent as Dar-ul-Harab and asked Muslims to start hijrat Movement Maulana Muhammad Ali In the mean-time of tour the whole sub-continent with Gandhi and Azad.

BYCOTT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION:

SUSPENSION OF PAYMENT OF TAXES:

MUSLIMS RETUREND THEIR TITLES:

Student played a vital role 1n the movement. They boycott the government educational institution. In Calcutta about three thousand student went on strike. Lawyers boycotted the courts. Going to jail become a fashion. People denied paying taxes to government and boycotted British goods People and prominent figures returned then tuelles back to the British government.

HIJRAT MOVEMENT:

People started mass migration to Afghanistan to strength in the Khilafat Movement. Thousands of Muslims fails into the trap laid by Gandhi. Hijrat Movement spread form Sindh to NWFP. Thousands of people lost their lays and their homes under the leadership Gandhi.

KHILFAT CONFERENCE SESSION KARACHI:

In July, 1921 AIKC met in Karachi Maulana Muhammad Ali precedent was the session and delivered his famous Karachi speech. He urged the Muslim solider to live there and boycott military services.

MOPLAHS UPRISINC-CRICKS HINDU MUSLIM UNITY:

Moplahs of south India were religious and emotional people Government wanted to keep them out of non-cooperation. Section 144 was imposed in Moplahs dominated area. They arose against British. Hindus acted as spies of the government as a consequence Moplahs also acted on Hindus. Moplahs were severely butchered. The Hindu press expressed its utter satisfaction over the punishment meted out to Moplahs which caused mutual resentment among Muslims ranks.

KARACHI TRIAL OF ALI BROTHERS:

Ali brother were returned for two years for their role in the Khilafat Movement. It caused of a leadership gap in the movement.

INCIDENT OF CHURA CHORI-CALLIG OFF OF MOVEMENT:

On Feb 5, 1922 at chora churi, a village in UP, 22 policemen were burnt alive by the furious mob and all of a sudden Gandhi called off the movement without consulting any Muslim leader. He was bitterly criticized for his betrayal act behaviour because his national volunteers were responsible for the act.

ABOLITION OF KHILAFAT:

The institution of Khilafat revealed a dead blow under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Attaturk, who wanted to make Turkey a new state as a modern state. Thus they deposed khalifa and abolished sultanate. Now Khalifa Abdul Majeed had no temporal power and was exiled on March 3, 1924. This was the end of the institution of Khilafat. Indian Muslims were stunned by the decision.

GANDHI'S ROLE:

Gandhi's role in Khilafat had evoked widespread controversy among various historians. Some openly said that he was sincere with the Khilafat cause while other accused him of causing maximum harm to Muslims solidarity. They write "his aim was to persuade Muslims to leave Muslim league and he succeed in destroying Muslim's political organization. Thus Muslim lawyers boycott courts, students and teachers deserted schools and colleges. Even the migration was a trap set by Gandhi. In the nut shell, Gandhi's role in the movement is to question.

JINNAH AND KHILAFAT:

He considered the scheme as impracticable. He questioned the wisdom of withstanding children from schools and colleges.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

This movement is one and the only of its kind which bore the imprint of Hindu-Muslim unity. Its failure shattered all the hopes of Hindu Muslim unity. The Muslim got

fairly that they would gain by standing alone than adhering to the schemes of the Hindus. The Muslim political consciousness evoked during the movement, convinced them that they were not a minority but a nation.

Khilafat movement became an instrument of creating political consciousness among the Muslim masses. It produced broad based leadership and taught the techniques of organizing a mass movement to the Muslims. These proved great assets in the struggle movement for Pakistan.

Though t Khilafat movement failed to achieve it main objective yet it had some redeeming aspects. It was the first movement which united the Indian Muslims on one platform.

It was the first mass movement which practically organized Muslims and proved instrumental for Pakistan.

Khilafat movement also made Muslims aware of the real intentions of the British and they felt the need to stand on their own legs rather than relying on others. It also established the fact that the dream of educate middle class Hindus and Muslims for political unity was only a pipe dream. It created a permanent wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims which could not be bridged over.

However, Khilafat movement had adjusted religion into politics. Gandhi felt by supporting the Khilafat movement Hindus would peace Muslims in considerable ineptness and their mass strength could be exploited for the freedom of India. But such partnership went to winds by hostile circumstances.

CAUSES OF FAILURE:

1. Discontinuation of hind Muslim unity.
2. Moplah incident.
3. Chora churi incident.
4. Non-cooperation movement was abundant suddenly.
5. Turkey's abolition of Khilafat preaching.
6. Detention of Ali brothers.

RESULTS:

1. Educational loss
2. Muslims civil servants resigned from jobs.
3. Disastrous migration results.
4. Movement was followed by communal riots.
5. Hindu Muslim unity was shattered.
6. Facts-Muslims were an active nation.
7. Muslim Ulema in politics.

8. Disappointment of Muslims.
9. Show of Hindu motility.
10. Political awareness among Muslims.
11. Withdrawal from elections of 1920.

THE NEHRU REPORT:

BACKGROUND:

The British government announced the commission for the constitution under the Sir John Simon in Nov 1927. The commission was being sent to investigate constitution problems of India and a make recommendation on the future constitution of India. As the commission has no Indian member on it The congress decided to boycott and accepted the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, then secretary of state for India, to produce a constitution acceptation to the various elements in India All India Muslim League decided to support a sub-committee to confer with the working committee of Indian Nation Congress, an organization for the purposed of drafting a constitution for India.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE:

Lord Birkenhead. The secretary of state for India speaking on the appointment of the statutory commission in the House of Lord Threw a challenge politician to produce or agreed constitution for India. The Indian national congress accepted the challenge and in 1928 convened and all parties conference and appointed a sub community to determine the principles.

Punjab Motilal Nehru was president of the committee Sir Ali Imam and Shoaib Qureshi represented Muslims. Other parties also had their representatives in the committee.

RECOMMENDATION (NEHRU REPORT):

Recommendations of the committee are known Nehru report. It is an important constitutional document as it exposes the nature of Hindu nationalism.

1. Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
2. NWFP and Baluchistan to be autonomous provinces.
3. Principle of separate electorate rejected.
4. India as self-government dominion.
5. Residuary powers should be vested in centre.
6. $\frac{1}{4}$ Muslim representations in central legislative.
7. Separate electorate for minorities should be substituted with adult and universal franchise.
8. Hindi would be official language.
9. Central government would comprise of a prime minister and ministers

appointed by are Governor General.
10. The reservation of seats in Bengal and Punjab was ruled out as proposed by Quaid-e-Azam in Delhi proposal.

AMMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY MUSLIM LEAGUE (JINNAH):

All parties' conference was held in August 1928 at Lucknow to Consider the Nehru Report Jinnah as President of Muslim League expressed his misgivings about Nehru report and proposed following amendments.

1. Muslims should have 1/3 seats in central legislature.
2. Residuary powers should rest in provinces not in centre.
3. Muslims in Bengal and Punjab should be represented on the basis of population for 10 years.

These proposals were rejected by the congress. Jinnah was greatly disappointed at the outcome of the Nehru Report and short-sightedness of Congress leadership. He left the connotation in utter dismay and in checked voice; he said "Now it is the parting of ways to the report was a swift rejection. From this moment on congress became almost a completely Hindu body".

CRITICISM:

Though congress accepted the recommendations in toto but it failed to evoke response from other questions. Sikh Christians and other castes repudiated the recommendation adopted by the report In reference to the protection of minorities.

Report clearly rejected federation as a possible solution of the communal problem. The Nehru constitution was firmly based on the principle of unitary government.

The supremacy of central laws over provincial laws was recognized in the report. There was no concurrent list of distribution of powers between centre and provinces. The centre list of subjects consisted of 47 subjects.

CONCLUSION:

Indeed the extremis of Hindus exposed in the tractions of League (Jinnah) (Shafi) together. Jinnah emerged as a strict Muslim leader from his earlier position as an ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity. Muslims were a separate nation whereas Motilal Nehru said, "even a microscope would not reveal the existence of minorities in India.

JINNAH FOURTEEN POINTS

BACK GROUND:

The resolution passed by All India Muslim League at Delhi session 1929 is known as Jinnah's fourteen points. These points are logical off shoot of the failure of the Nehru Report.

The refused to accept any amendment to Nehru Report on the part of the Congress and the Hindu leaders united different factions of Muslims in the All India Muslim conference held in Delhi in Jan 1929. This was a constitutional era. But the reforms so far introduced by the British and proposed by the Hindus had failed to placate the Muslims. The basic difference was that congress always spoke on behalf of all Indians as a whole, while the Muslim always regarded them as a separate entity and as such its demands and aspirations differed from those of congress.

DEHLI MUSLIM PROPOSALS:

The Hindu political circles were of the opinion that the Muslims must accept joint electorates. The Muslims were of course very sensitive on this issue, but in order to compromise with majority, the Muslim League its claim of the maintenance of separate electorates on the following conditions.

1. Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
2. Reforms should be introduced in Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan like other provinces.
3. 1/3 Muslim representative in the central assembly.

These proposals were hailed by Hindus corners and were opposed the extremists and we're finally rejected by the all parties' conferences.

Mr, Jinnah, after overcoming his defection convened in March 1929 session of League and got his resolution passed. It is noteworthy that Sir Muhammad Shafi was also present and attended the session.

POINTS:

1. Future constitution of India should be federal with residuary powers vested in provinces.
2. Uniform autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. Adequate and effective representation should be given to minority of all provinces in all legislatives and elected bodies without rendering a majority in a minority in any province.
4. 1/3 Muslim representation in central legislature.
5. Representation of communal groups through separate electorates. It should be open to any community at any time to abandon. Its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.
6. Any territorial redistribution that might any time be necessary should not affiant

- the Muslim majority in Punjab Bengal and NWFP.
7. Full religious literate should be guaranteed to all communities.
 8. No bill or resolution on any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or any elected body of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of any community in that particular body opposed such bill resolution part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that particular community.
 9. Sindh should be separated from Bombay.
 10. Reforms should be introduced in Baluchistan and NWFP on the same footing as in other provinces.
 11. Provisions should be made in constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indian in all the services of the state and in the local self-government in central and provincial cabinets.
 12. $\frac{1}{3}$ Muslims representation in central and provincial cabinets.
 13. Adequate safeguards for the protections of Muslim culture, religion, education and language.
 14. No change should be made in the constitution by the central legislature except with the concurrence of the federal units.

SIGNIFICANCE:

There is nothing new in these fourteen points but they are an elaborated and systematic draft of the Delhi proposals plus some other demands put forward from time to time by the Muslims on various political platform. These points constituted the entire political, constitutional and socio-cultural problems of the Muslims confronting them. They also contain the germs of the idea of Pakistan as they postulate the Muslims as a separate identity on the base of these points. It was suggested that the political power and opportunities for development were to be equally divided among the Hindus and Muslims.

One fails to understand why an experienced politician could not regard the views and interests of the Muslims while drafting the Nehru report. Actually he submitted to the pressure of the Hindu Mahasaba. Even a liberal and democratic leader like Jinnah was badly shocked by the recommendations of the Nehru report He made last ditcher to save the Hindu Muslim unity, but all his skills of statesmanship proved to be alone cry in the wilderness. Nehru report shattered all his political ideals and his hope for the close Co-operation between Hindus and Muslims. His dreams of Hindu Muslim unity had shattered on the rock of Nehru's attitude. His aspiration for the political salvation of the Indian Muslims was envisaged in his fourteen points. Congress attitude at this point came as a starting point of the permanent Muslim separation from Hindus.

SIMON COMMISSION REPORT

INTRODUCTION:

The Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919 met a further at the very outset, as they were not acceptable to the most of the political parties keeping in view, the failure of the

reform and the ever increasing interest among the people the British government decided to introduce ' some constitutional changes before the expiry of the reforms.

APPOINTMENT AND THE COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION:

Towards the end of 1927, the Indian viceroy Lord Irwin appointed a statutory commission headed by Sir, John Simon to enquire in to the working and the future of the constitution of the commission included seven British, all members of parliament. The report of the commission was published in June 1930. It consisted of two volumes, the first include the survey of the whole social problems and the second represented the commission's recommendations.

INDIAN REACTION TOWARDS THE COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION:

The composition of the commission spread a wave of unrest all over the country. It was of course not wise on the part of British government to compose all white commission to find out the solution of the constitutional issue of the Indian people. Jinnah in his statement criticized the composition of the commission. The secretary of the state for India argued that all the members of the commission were honest, sagacious and unprejudiced and that nobody among Indians could represent the different sects of native people. In fact he made a satire that Indians were not capable of solving the constitutional issue through mutual understanding. This remark of the Lord Birkenhead led to the convening of all parties' conference by the congress.

PROPOSALS OF THE SIMON COMMISSION:

- i. The only political solution for the vast and varied land was that the future framework must be federal.
- ii. The Diarchy system should be abolished and the provinces should be given full autonomy. Legislatures should be popularly elected.
- iii. The governors would be empowered to choose the ministers who commanded a majority in the assemblies.
- iv. The prime minister would not be under the control of the governor. However in matters like the safety of the provinces and the protection of the minorities the governor could intervene.
- v. The franchise was to be extended and provincial assemblies enlarged so as to facilitate the work of ministries.
- vi. N.W.F.P. would have a legislative council but not a responsible government.
- vii. The question of separating Sindh was to be further examined.
- viii. Federal Assembly should be elected by the provincial councils and each province should have three members in council of state.
- ix. There would be no substantial change in the central executive and provincial councils would be shoulder the new heavy responsibilities.
- x. A council of greater India representing both British India and the states would be set up for consultation in the matters of common concerns.
- xi. The new constitution would be able to develop by itself. Hence the procedure of periodical enquiries into the working of constitution would not be needed.

CONGRESS REACTION:

It was greatly resented by the congress that authorized its working committee to start a civil disobedience movement. As a result violent demonstrations were held. The government declared the working committee unlawful and Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested.

MUSLIM REACTION:

The Muslim showed mixed reaction to the Simon commission. They were opposed to the British government as well as Hindu domination. They could not approve of Simon Commission report but they did not join the Hindu movement.

Jinnah said, "We refuse to join Mr, Gandhi because his movement is not a movement for complete independence of India but for making the 70 million of Indian Mohammedans dependent of Hindu Mahasaba"

In the meantime labour party came into power and declared that Simon commission report was not final and the matter would be finally decided after holding consultation with the leaders representing all communities in India. This would be done at a round table conference in London.

IQBAL ADDRESS AT ALAHABAD:

BACKGROUND:

The Muslims sentiments and political views manifested by Muslim league, the representative party of Muslims in India, were based upon the two-nation theory put by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. According to this theory, there were two big nations, Hindus and Muslims living in India and the ideas of two people from one nation was a blunder. This was the beliefs which became the motive of the practical measures taken by the Muslims and determine the lines of the Muslim politics in the history of the sub-continent The demand for separate electorates, reservation of Muslim seats in 'Muslim minority provinces and one third Muslim representation in the central legislature clearly showed that the Muslims of India considered themselves to be a separate nation from Hindus. However some questions regarding two nation theories were still to be answered. What was the ideological basis on which the Muslims should be considered a separate nation?

Nehru report fell very short of Muslim expectations and the congress, instead of demanding autonomy to the provinces insisted on unitary system. Jinnah proposals for Nehru report were rejected. Jinnah uttered the prophetic sentences." It is the parting of the ways". He countered Nehru report with his famous 14 points which represented aspiration of Muslims.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ANNUAL SESSION AT ALLAHBAD ON DEC'30 1930:

It seemed as if the Muslims were hoarding towards a separate state but at best it was an uncertain picture. A clear concept was given by Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address at Allah bad session of all India Muslim league on Dec 30, 1930. His conception was not only clear but comprehensive in the sense as it had both geographical ideological under tones.

Allama Iqbal explained in his address that Islam was not simply name of a few creeds the oral recognition of which could make one an accomplished Muslim.

On the other hand, it has given it followers the concept of particular and a unique type of political society which covers all the phases of their life. The social covers all the phrases of their life. The social unanimity and the common spirit were two such elements which stitched the Muslims of India into one nation. They had the same cultural traditions, the same mode of life, the same history and the same civilization. All these similarities made them quite distinct from Hindus. This was the reason that they could not merge themselves into another nation. Naturally they wanted to maintain their entity as a separate nation and proper in compatibility to their own ideology. Allama Iqbal also pointed out that Hindus who were in all respects different from Muslims wanted to gain an upper hand and, dominated the Muslims and was the very root cause of the large communal riots all over the sub-continent.

Iqbal said,

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

Thus, Dr, Iqbal was the first man to propose formal politico-religious problems of the sub-continent argued to the idea of Muslim state to be past Indian federation, if residuary powers were yeasted self-government state. It is important to be note that Iqbal's idea was the ideological basis of the state. Although he had no ill-will towards communities yet he loved his own communal group. That is why he said,

"The formation of the consolidated Muslim state is in the best interest in India and Islam, for Islam an opportunity to get rid of the stamp that Arabians imperialism was forced to give"

His concept of Islamic state was extremely real and flexible. Islam was very liberal in his caption of Islam. His classic book "reconstruction religious thought in Islam" testifies to this fact.

RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS IN ISLAM BY IQBAL:

As far as the permanent solution of the Hindu Muslim problem was concerned, Allarna Iqbal .proposed that the Ambala division where non-Muslim population formed a

majority should be separated from the rest of the Punjabi province and that the West Punjab, these Muslims formed a majority, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sindh should be converted into one province. Thus quite a large Muslim province would come into being and as the Muslim therein would be able to lead a life of an alive and active nation, they would not insist on separate electorate. This was the only way to do away with the communal problems.

The practical value of Iqbal's concept of Muslim state was greased by the Muslims in the later year and later on it was adopted in the resolution of Muslim league known as Pakistan resolution. Allama Iqbal gave a new vision and intellectual basis for their faith. His ideal was the establishment of a country based on Islamic values Allama Iqbal's concept of Islam was different from the contemporary Ulemas. He believed in sublime, humane and liberal values of Islam. The address of Allama Iqbal stands as a milestone on the path of freedom movement towards Pakistan.

The greatest historical significance of Allama Iqbal address was that it washed out all political confusions from the minds of Muslims thus enabling them to determine their new and clean cut destination and work out a definite program to achieve their goals. They began to realize their true status in the society.

Allama Iqbal gave clear cut concept of two nation theory as enunciated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and warned the British government that;

"India is a continent of group belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. To introduce a co-institution on the conception of homogeneous India would be to prepare her for a civil war"

CONCLUSION:

In short in order to understand Iqbal's thesis, one has to keep in mind, the political, social, economic and constitutional development since 1857, which make Muslims conscious of their miserable position in the sub-continent. Their political awareness acquired gradually makes them feel that they were not only a religious minority but a full nation like all other nations in the world.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

BACKGROUND:

Simon commission submitted its report in 1929 which was rejected as there was no Indian member on the commission; Quaid-e-Azam wrote to British Prime Minister Ramsay MC. Donald to declare in clear terms the features of the future constitution of India and include some Indian members in the commission.

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, visited England and declared British government intention to give dominion status to India and for this purpose, he announced Round

Table Conference at London comprising Indian and British representatives to solve different issues. Muslim league welcomed the declaration but congress wanted and demanded the enforcement of Nehru report in entirety as the constitution. Congress in its meeting in Dec 1929 announced for its campaign and Jan 1, 1930 celebrated as Independence Day which was a complete failure Gandhi announced to start a civil disobedience. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested and congress working committee was declared unlawful.

1st ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: (12-nov-1930) – (19- Jan-1931)

Total 89 members: 58 from different communities and rest from princely states and British members of political parties. Muslim representatives were Agha Khan, Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Sir Muhammad Shafi and Hindu representatives were Taj Bahadur Sapru-. All other minorities were represented. Congress was not invited. Some of its leaders were arrested and others were busy in civil disobedience. Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru demanded:

- i. Dominion status for India
- ii. Responsible government at centre.
- iii. Federal system of government.

Quaid-e-Azam and Sir M. Shafi agreed these demands. Thus the basic structure of future constitution was laid smoothly. 8 sub-committees were appointed to draw constitution, dealing with federal structure, provincial constitution, franchise, Sindh, N.W.F.P., and Defence. However conference failed to decide about the future of minorities because of the stern attitude of Hindu Mahasaba. Thus session closed on Jan 19 1931 with British prime minister's recommendations:

- i. India would be given status of loose federations under British controlled centre.
- ii. Indian states and British India would be left to the allowed for divergent systems of administration.
- iii. Most of the important matters would be left to the internal control of the provinces and states as constitutional members of the federation.

Mr, Muhammad Ali Jauhar died in the course of 1st round table conference.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT (Delhi-MARCH, 1931)

Congress was absent form the 1st round table conference. Although some of the matters had been declared in the conference yet ho one considered the proposals final, British government realized that the co-operation of congress was imperative for further advancement on the formation of the constitution. Thus, Ghandi was released unconditionally under Gandhi Irwin pact 1931 and an agreement was made.

1. Congress would give up civil disobedience.

2. Congress would participate in 2nd RTC.
3. Congress could persuade people through peaceful means to buy indigenous goods.
4. All ordinance issued by the government to curb congress would be withdrawn.
5. Withdrawal of all notifications declaring certain associations unlawful.
6. All political detainees released.
7. Prosecution relating to offences not involving violence would be withdrawn.

ANALYSIS: The Gandhi Irwin pact was on one hand a serious blow to the British authority in India and on other hand it had redoubled the Gandhi influence in the political developments in the country.

2nd ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: (Sep 07, 1931-Aug 04, 1931)

Gandhi adopted an unrealistic attitude in his speech made on 15th about communal problem. He claimed that being the leader of the congress, he was the sole representative of all Indians. Gandhi did not want to talk about the communal problem. On the stress of British prime minister, he presented Nehru Report with slight a change which was opposed vehemently by Muslims and other minorities. Thus British prime minister intended to lay down his own scheme known as communal award. Quaid-e-Azam did not attend this session. He left Indian politics and had settled in England as a professional lawyer.

COMMUNAL AWARDS: Aug 04, 1932)

On the concluding day of 2nd session, prime minister declared the settlement of the representation of communities.

- i. Separate electorate to be maintained.
- ii. Reservation of seats for backward communities.
- iii. Reservations of Muslim seats in Hindu majority provinces and of Hindu in Muslim majority provinces but the distribution of seats was not made in proportion to the population.
- iv. Sindh separated from Bombay.

ANALYSIS: Communal awards were not up to the Muslims expectations but it approximated more closely to Muslim demands rather than to Hindus desires. Muslim league accepted it. It was quite distasteful to non-Muslims in Punjab, particularly Sikhs, Gandhi had been arrested and sent to jail by the new viceroy.

3rd ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE: (Nov 17, 1932)

Labor opposition boycotted this session and congress was too absent. Report of various committees came under discussion. Conference ended on the eve of Christmas.

In 1933, government published white paper containing the recommendations of three round table conferences. The white paper was discussed and sent for royal assent. It was passed as the act of 1935 and was introduced in India on 24th July, same year.

ACT OF 1935:

BACKGROUND:

In 1933 the British government announced its proposed constitutional reforms to be introduced in India. Lord Linlithgo was appointed as the chairman of the committee of the British parliament. The committee submitted its report in 1934 which was the basis of Indian Act of 1935.

The Indian Act of 1935 was a lengthy document containing 32 sections and 10 schedules. It was fully enforced on 1st April 1936 during the general elections.

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE PASSING OF THE ACT:

- i. The act of 1919 failed:

The act of 1919 did not make much change in the centre. There was no appreciable increase on the powers of the legislatures. Diarchy was defective in principle.

- ii. Repressive attitude of the rulers.

The Rowlatt act, Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, martial law and the other happenings added to the resentment of the people.

- iii. Recommendations of Simon Commission:

Indians did not accept the Simon commission as there was no Indian member in the commission and its recommendations were also rejected by the Indians.

FEATURES OF THE ACT:

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION:

The act provided a complete type of federal constitution. It proposed an all India federation.

All three provinces were to join it while the entry of the states was voluntary.

THREE-LISTS OF SUBJECTS:

The act provided three lists of the subjects. The federal provincial and the consume list. It provided a diarchy at the center while it was done away with in provinces.

THE SUBJECTS OF THE VICEROY:

Federal subjects Such as defines, foreign, ecclesiastic and administration of tribal areas were the exclusive functions of the Viceroy which he was to discharge with the assistance of not more than three councillors to be appointed by him. In other subjects he was to be aided by the federal ministers.

BICAMERAL FEDERAL LEGISLATURE:

The federal legislature was to be bicameral consisting of the federal assembly and the council of the state. The former was to have a life of 5 years from the late of its first meeting. However, governor general was authorized to extend its life span.

The council of states was a permanent body of which 1/3 members were to be retired after every 3 years. The members from princely states were to be nominated by the rulers, while the representatives from the British India were to be elected.

PATTERN OF ELECTIONS:

The Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs were to be elected on communal lives. The members of federal assembly were to be indirectly elected.

POWER OF ELECTIONS:

The powers of both the houses were strictly restricted at there were 80% non-votable items of the federal budget.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL COURT:

The act provided for the establishment of the federal court with the jurisdiction over the states and the provinces as well.

ABOLITION OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF SEC OF STATE:

The act abolished the Indian council of secretary of state and the secretary was given advisors who may or may not be consulted. The governors were made responsible through the governor general to the secretary of the states.

A RIGID CONSTITUTION:

The constitution was rigid and only the British government could amend it. The provinces were given autonomy, but it was as restricted as the control autonomy was.

SINDH SEPARATE FROM BOMBAY:

Sindh was separated from Bombay and was made a separate province. Thus a first step toward a separate homeland for Muslim occurred.

N.W.F.P. WITH FULL PROVINCIAL POWERS:

The NWFP for the first time invested with full provincial powers.

SEPERATION OF BURMA+ADEN FROM INDIA:

Burma and Aden were constitutionally separated from India. They had been previously governed under one governor general. Orissa was also declared a separate province.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

The most prominent feature of the constitution was that the provinces got separate constitutional constituencies/ entities under the act. The act had enshrined three lists of subjects, the federal, provincial and concurrent lists. Provincial list was the exclusive jurisdiction of provinces while both the federal legislature and provincial legislature could legislate about the subjects in concurrent list, but in case of any contradiction between the federal law and the provincial law, the later would stand annulled.

The financial decisions of resources between centre and provinces were designed to strengthen the financial independence of the provinces.

The rights of franchise were enlarged at provincial level by lowering the property qualification.

Separation of Sindh form Bombay and full provincial powers to NWFP was an important step towards the demand of a separate homeland for Muslims.

Provinces were given a council of minister and its advice was made binding on the governor except when he acted in his discretion.

The system of diarchy was abolished single cabinet at the province was made responsible to administer province and governor was to act on its advice.

CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE RESPONSE:

Although under it, India had her first taste and practice of parliamentary self-government but it failed to appease congress and Muslim league.

- i. Mr, Jinnah described it as thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and to totally unacceptable.

- ii. Raja Gopal Acharia said, "The new constitution is worse than Diarchy".
- iii. Mr, Nehru condemned it as "a new chapter of slavery It was a machine with strong brakes and no engine".

Under this act, elections fro provincial assemblies were held in 1937. By deciding to contest these elections, the congress and Muslim league formally accepted the provisions of the act. The implementation of the part of the 1935 Act which relate to the centre was suspended.

The criticism was made especially on the system of putting the nominees of the native rulers in the federal legislature, special responsibilities and discretionary powers of the governor general and governors, addition of second chamber of legislature in provinces and absence of any provision of automatic growth in development of self-government. Thus, through the Act was an important step towards dominion states it fell for lost of the expectations of the Indians.

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CONGRESS IN POLITICS:

INTRODUCTION:

In 1937, congress formed ministries in 8 provinces out of 11. The day when congress leaders accepted offices a new chapter of strained Hindu -Muslim relations opened in the history of India. Drunk with powers, the congress did not only alienate the Muslims but also adopted such measure and policies which were directly injurious to their social, political and religious sensibilities. In the words .of an Indian Christian, the congress was at that time, the Indian counter part of the Nazi party in Germany"

GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT:

Congress refused to accept the government after her victory in elections and demanded a guarantee that governors will not exercise their special powers. Finally the agreement was concluded known as "Gentleman's agreement" by Gandhi Apart from major issues, governors were allowed to intervene.

MINISTERS NOT RESPONSIBLE TO LECISLATURES:

Under the congress rule, ministers were not responsible to the electorates or popularly elected legislatures, rather they were answerable to congress working committee which appointed and dismissed ministers.

ANTI-MUSLIM ACTIVITIES:

- i. THREE COLOURED FLAG:

Congress hoisted three colored flag on all official and important non official buildings to show that congress was the only representative organization of treh Indian people. The flag became the cause of Hindu Muslim riots, at the various places.

ii. **BANDE MATRUM:**

Banday Matrum song was introduced as a war cry against the Muslims. Thus Hindus majorities in the legislature of the congress provinces insisted on commencing the day's deliberation with the recital of the Bande Matrum. The context from which it was called wounded Muslims susceptibilities.

iii. **INTRODUCTION OF HINDI:**

Congress raised the standard of Hindi as an official language. Ever since 1835, Urdu had been employed as a court language over the greater part of northern India, but prejudicial Hindu sought it to replace with Hindi. The Muslims, the elimination of Urdu would mean a step toward the annihilation of the cultural inheritance of the Muslims in India.

iv. **LIASION COMPAIGN:**

Under this program, the congress leaders WOULD HAVE A DIRECT LINK WITH Muslims AND TRYTO REMOVE THEIR "Narrow Mindedness" and prejudice against Hindus. The Muslim leaguers were offered ministries but they had to sign unconditionally the congress pledge. The congress used Maulvi's to create split among Muslims.

v. **WIDDIA MANDIR SCHEME:**

It was an educational policy introduced in congress provinces for the students belonging to all sects and religions. It was a dangerous plot. It deviating non-Hindus, especially Muslim from their religion and to convert them into Hinduism. The young people were compelled to fold their hands before Gandhi's picture and sing his praises The book edited for children expressed the greatness of Hinduism.

vi. **PROHIBITION OF COW SLAUGHTER:**

The prohibition of cow slaughter was announced and criminal laws were enacted for the defiant of this rule. This law was against the religious beliefs of the Muslims.

vii. **INTRIGUES:**

Congress kept itself involved in making intrigues against the Muslim majority provinces. Punjab, Sindh and Bengal were ruled by Muslim parties but congress remained busy in making conspiracies so as to fail their government.

viii. **HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS:**

The communal riots increased in congress governed provinces. Muslims could not expect justice in the courts. Till autumn of 1939 there had been 57 communal riots with 1700 casualties.

ix. **THE MERIT PRINCIPLES:**

The merit principle worked to the detriment of the Muslims alone as they were educationally lagging behind. Muslim civil servants security of tenure was threatened.

x. **HINDRANCE IN MUSLIM RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES:**

Azan was forbidden in the mosques. Noise was made in front of mosques at the times of prayers. Hindus took hold of some mosques.

xi. **RESULT:**

- i. It was a direct and practical proof of Hindu militant nationalism.
- ii. It proved that congress was a communal organization and believed in the establishment of Hindu Raj.
- iii. Hollowness and duplicity of congress doctrines and of Indian Nationalism exposed.
- iv. The British were convinced with more proof of the two nation theory.
- v. The unbridgeable gulf of communal rivalry became wider than ever.
- vi. It gave political consciousness to the Muslim masses and Muslim league emerged as a popular organization due to more unity among people.
- vii. Muslim league policy underwent a radical change. They no longer wanted Indian federation envisioned in 1935 act.
- viii. Hindu Raj pushed Muslims very close to their ultimate destiny of creation of Pakistan.
- ix. Arrogant and unwise policy of congress precipitated the partition of India and emergence of Pakistan.

INVESTIGATIONS INTO HINDU ATROCITIES:

PIRPUR REPORT:

A special committee of eight members was appointed under Raja Pirpur to collect all

information and submit their report from time to time. It included summary accounts of events in all the congress provinces except the N.W.F.P. The information supplied was based on the personal enquires made by the committee. It reported that congress had failed to inspire confidence in minorities.

SHARIF REPORT:

The sharif report confined its field of inquiry in Bihar. It contained horrifying accounts of the congress high handedness. It showed the involvement of local congress leaders administrative and judicial servants in incidents.

FAZLUL HAQ'S MUSLIM SUFFERINGS UNDER CONGRESS RULE:

It was a pamphlet containing the congress, began by imposing their will on Muslim ministries. Azan was forbidden in certain areas, worshippers were attacked holding of noisy processions before the mosques at prayers times. Pigs were thrown, into mosques. Muslims shops were boycott. Officials' investigations were always based in mayor of Hindus.

END OF CONGRESS RULE:

In Sep 1939, Britain declared war against Germany. The war situation not only demanded complete peace and order in British colonies but also full support from the people of these territories to turn the war results in favour of British. The British government wanted to satisfy both Hindus and Muslims. The British government needed a large scale army recruitment at it was for this reason that it would not annoy Muslim league. Thus Viceroy made the announcement that the Views of every political party would be considered in making of any constitution in future. Thus the league demand that no future constitution would be adopted unless it got the approval of the Muslim league, was indirectly accepted by the British government congress began to propagate that the British government wanted to delay the independence of India by creating Hindu-Muslim problem.

Congress expressed it under disappointment and in its meeting on 22 Oct' 1939 advised the congress ministers to resign from their offices as a protest. This is Nov 1939. Congress ministries resigned.

THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE:

Quaid-e-Azam appealed the Muslims of India to observe a deliverance day on Dec 22, 1939 and expressed their relief at the termination of the congress rule which had been too hostile during the last two years. The deliverance day was successfully observed throughout the country.

CONCLUSION:

K.K. Aziz. Observes, "Many writers are of the opinion that refused the share power with the league led to the creation of Pakistan"

PAKISTAN RESOLUTION:

INTRODUCTION:

As its annual session-historic 1n retrospect-at Lahore, the league for the first time adopted the idea of the partition as its final goal Jinnah's presidential address is a landmark in history of Muslim nationalism" 1n India .

In February 1940, the council of Muslim league, in its meeting at Dehli decided to convince the 27th annual session of Muslim league in which a resolution for the partition of India would be adopted Sir Sikander Hayat was to head the committee which was empowered to draft the resolution. This resolution was sent to Jinnah for his approval and he referred it to the subject committee for consideration. This committee passed it with some amendments.

AIML SESSION AT LAHORE:

The fateful and historical session of all India Muslim league was held from 21st March-24th march 1940 at Minto Park at Lahore. Jinnah presided over the session 23rd march 1940. The famous Lahore resolution was moved by Maulvi A.K. Fazlul Haq Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman seconded it. Then different leaders of Muslim from different areas of India supported the resolution. The resolution said that:

"North Western and Eastern zone of India should be grouped to constitute independent state in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign"

The resolution in fact used the term independent state rather than the word "State".

JINNAH ADDRESSES:

Quaid-e-Azam in his presidential address said:

"Muslims are a nation according to any definition of nations and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state we wish our people to develop to fullest of our spiritual, cultural, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the wishes of people"

THE RESOLUTION PROVED TO BE A MILESTONE IN THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN and streamline the politics of Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam and the Muslim league zealously worked for a single objective and that Was creation of Pakistan. The Muslim could now easily visualize their future. Jinnah further said in his presidential address:

"The Muslims of India stood unequivocally for the freedom of India, but it must

be freedom for all sections. If the Hindus were to be freed and the Muslims were then to be slaves it was hardly a freedom for which the Muslims could be asked to fight. The Muslims were a nation by any definition”

Jinnah further explained,

“The problem of India could not be solved if it was treated as an inter-communal problem. It was, in fact an international issue and must be dealt with as such. The Hindus and Muslims could ever evolved-as common nationality was an idle dream”

The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religions philosophies, they neither intermarry nor inter-dine. Their concepts of life and on life are different. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes very often the heroes of one is the foe of the other and their victories and defeats overlap. Muslims are a nation according to any definition and they must have their homeland, their territory and their states”

INDIAN PRESS:

- i. Indian papers published it under the headlines of “Pakistan Resolution”. Some papers called it an absurd scheme.
- ii. The Hindu Times wrote that to break up the unity of India is not to satisfy the ambitions of this community or that but ruin the peace of the people.

BRITISH PRESS:

- i. In Britain, the resolutions were unnoticed Very few papers published a summary of it. Manchester Guardian accused Jinnah of re-establishing the reign of chaos in Indian politics.
- ii. The most favourable comments appeared in NATUR.
- iii. The Times held the congress policies responsible for the emergence of Muslims as separate nation.
- iv. The economist also chastised congress for denying the existence of minorities.

CONGRESS RESPONSE:

The congress opposed the league’s thesis. Gandhi instigated prejudice against plan by calling it the vivisection of the mother land and cutting of the other cow.

Congress questioned the economic viability of the proposed state. There were some Hindus who viewed the demand for the partition as a bargaining counter. The congress arrested that the Muslim community did not desired to be assented by the Muslim league.

CONCLUSION:

The Pakistan resolution is the natural off-shoot of the negative attitude of the congress and the Mahasaba adopted the Muslims. And there been any of the least similarity between the two communities. The rapprochement would not have taken place at one stage or the other. Sikhs and Buddhists reconciled with Hindus because they had some common cultural traits. But the case with the Muslims was quite different.

In short, it was through this resolution-Indian Muslims committed themselves to the establishment of Pakistan as its final goal.

AUGUST OFFER

INTRODUCTION:

The British government was not disheartened by the lack of arguments either between the congress and the league or between the two of them and the Viceroy on 8th August, 1940. His majesty's government issued what came to be known as the August offer. It was a statement made by the Lord Linlithgo, the Viceroy on behalf of the British government.

MAIN FEATURES:

i. EXPANSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF GOVERNOR GENERAL:

This discussion was taken in order to include a certain number of representatives of all political parties.

ii. ESTABLISHMENT OF WAR ADVISORY COUNCIL:

Consisting of representatives of various political parties.

iii. CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY SHOULD BE SET UP:

A body was to be set up in order to diverse the framework of the new constitution. The work of constitution making was not possible during war period. The representative body for this task would be set up after the conclusion of war.

iv. SAFEGUARD FOR NIINORITIES:

The position of the minorities should be safeguarded in any future constitutional change.

v. CONSTITUTION MAKING: RESPONSIBILITIES OF INDIANS:

The framing of the new constitution would be primary responsibility of Indians.

CRITICISM:

1. The statement contained some new ideas For example, for the first time in the history, a constitution assembly composed of the Indians was promised.
2. In the matter of constitution assembly, congress was rebuffed; the new assembly was to be one whose establishment did not affect the right of the minorities and princes.
3. The fear of the Muslims that the government might surrender to congress was set at rest. No further political move or development which did not satisfy the minorities was to be approved by his majesty's government.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE:

The working committee met at Bombay in Sep and declared that the Muslims of India were a nation by themselves and that they alone are the final judges of their destiny. The British offer regarding interim arrangements as most unsatisfactory and did not meet the Muslim requirements.

- i. Muslim league was not consulted as the number proposed to be added the viceroy's executive council.
- ii. The manner in which the council was to be reconstituted was not told to the Muslim league.
- iii. No information about the coalition partners.
- iv. Awarding of portfolios not known.
- v. All proposal of war advisory council was vague.

League was offered two representatives in the council which league refused to accept and it considered the offer unsubstantial. However Jinnah addressing the Bengal provincial Muslim league said, the league had accepted it "in principle" though the details were not satisfactory.

CONGRESS ATTITUDE:

The congress reaction to the offer was violent. Azad refused to see the Viceroy. The congress threatened to take violent action. The congress claimed to speak for all India and rejected the offer.

BRITISH VIEW POINT:

The Viceroy regretted that his offer had not been accepted by all the parties, though he had the satisfaction of knowing that it had met with considerable success. The offer was not withdrawn and could be implemented as soon as a sufficient degree of representative support was forth coming.

CONCLUSION:

The August offer produced no practical of immediate results. The majesty's government had readily agreed to give undertaking that Muslim satisfaction would be sought in any further constitutional reform to have extracted this unequivocal declaration within five months of the Lahore session, was great achievement for Muslim league. But congress played at significant role in this achievement. Its conduct in political bargaining and its attitude towards the Muslims made it clear that it would hardly be in the fitness of things to leave the fate of the minorities in the hands of the congress leaders.

CRIPPS MISSION

INTRODUCTION:

Japan joined the war against allies in 1941 and her successive victories caught British off guard. The Japanese forces occupied Burma and threatened India. England began to feel the necessity of changing their policy towards India. In March 1942, British government sent Sir Stafford Cripps, leader of the House of Commons and a member of war cabinet with certain proposals which are known as Cripps plan.

MAIN FEATURES:

- i. A constitution making body would be constituted immediately after the war.
- ii. There would be provision for the participation of the Indian states in the constitution making body.
- iii. If any province did not the to accept the new constitution, it could retain its existing constitutional position. It could later on join, if it is so decided at later date.
- iv. There would be provision in the constitution to protect the racial and religious minorities.
- v. The members the constitution making body were to be elected by an electoral consisting of the entire membership of the provincial legislature assemblies. The strength of the constitution assembly was to be about 1/10 of the membership of the electorate college.
- vi. His majesty's government would retain control over defines during the critical period of the war. It was decided the C-in-C would retain his position as member of the viceroy's executive council.

MUSLIM LEAGUE REACTION:

The working committee of Muslim league considered the Cripps proposals and passed a resolution expressing its dissatisfaction for the following reasons:

- i. There was no clear provision in the scheme for the establishment of an independent Muslim state.
- ii. The declaration proposed the setting up of a constitution body With a view to the creation on one Indian union whereas the league believed in Pakistan and therefore in the establishment of two constitution making

- bodies.
- iii. The method of electing constitutional body also went against the Muslim interests because they have been deprived of their right of separate electorate.
 - iv. All the decisions were to be taken by bare majority which was gravely unjust to the Muslims who were in majority and could not secure more than 25% seats in the constitution making body.
 - v. The league kept back its opinion on the interim arrangements because their details were not included in the drafts.
 - vi. The draft proposal contained no procedure for obtaining the verdict of the province for against non-accession.

CONGRESS REACTION:

The Cripps proposals had supported the demand for Pakistan in vague terms, this could never be acceptable to the Hindus who wanted to establish Hindu rule all over the India. This was the main reason why congress rejected the Cripps proposals. Congress had following objections over the declaration:

- i. The scheme opened the way for partition of the country into at least two and possibly many more separate political entities. The congress held that the right of accession given to the provinces was a fatal blow to the unity of Indian people forming one nation.
- ii. To congress, no offer could be satisfactory that left the army under complete control of the British instead of a minister responsible to the elected representatives of the Indian people.
- iii. The congress was allergic to any concession, however minor to the Muslim league.
- iv. Perhaps the most important factor which weighted in the congress mind against the offer was its timing. The allied powers had been receiving on setback after another. Most Hindus read in the offer a confession of weakness and tried to exploit the situation. According to Gandhi, the offer was no more than a post-dated cheque, on a bank that was failing. It was not sure if after the war British would be in a position to fulfil their promise.

CONCLUSION:

The Pakistan resolution was passed in 1940 and within exactly two years, the British war cabinet had conceded its principle. This was a great victory for the Muslims, no matter how the draft declaration was interpreted. Anyway the offer in India was read as an admission that the British government was prepared at least to consider the Pakistan as a solution of the communal award impasse. Thus, emergence of the eventful chapter of the India constitutional development and struggle for freedom.

CABINET MISSION

INTRODUCTION:

The cabinet mission plan- advice of British imperialism to reconcile the irreconcilable, an evil design of British diplomacy to avoid the inevitable & the last attempt of the British government to install the nail in the coffin body of Pakistan. It was, in fact, an attempt to bury the concept of Pakistan deep under the debris of Indian nationalism & united India.

The landslide victory of the league in 1945-46 elections & the growing rift b/w the two major parties of India had made the British government feel the urgency to find out a solution to the political dead lock between the two political forces. Therefore the British government decided to send to India a special mission of cabinet ministers.

APPOINTMENT OF CABINET MISSION:

The mission was appointed by his majesty's government consisting of:

- Lord Petrick Lawrence
- Sir Stafford Cripps
- A.V. Alexander

The mission arrived in India on March 24, 1946 & hold talks with different political parties to arrive at a solution about constitution making at last, the mission rejected the plan of rival organizations & presented its own scheme on 16th may 1946.

MAIN FEATURES:

- The provinces of British India would form the following three groups:

GROUP A: (Hindu majority group) 6 Hindu

Provinces: Orissa, Bihar, madras, Bombay, up & cp.

GROUP B: (western Muslim majority group)

Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh, Baluchistan.

GROUP C: (eastern Muslim majority group)

Bengal & Assam

- At the top of these groups, there would be an all India union controlling defines, foreseeing affairs & communication only Union would have an executive & a legislature. Thus the groups of provinces would form a three-tier federation.
- There would be a constituent assembly elected by the elected members of the

provincial assemblies.

- All residuary subjects would rest in the provinces.
- Each community would elect its own representatives in the provinces according to the proportion of population. For the purpose of electing a constituent assembly, each province would be allotted a total number of seats proportional to its population.
- The Viceroy's executive council would be reconstituted. The new executive council would include representatives of major political parties.
- The constitution of union would have a clause that any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature would require for its decision a majority of representatives, present & voting of each of the two major communities, as well as the majority of all the members present & voting.
- Any province want independence after 10 years.
- Till the drafting of the new constitution an interim government will run the affairs of the state.

INDIAN REACTION:

Gandhi said that the mission had brought something of which they had every reason to be proud. Congress leaders welcomed the cabinet mission's proposals.

Hindu newspapers wrote:

"Pakistan, the Pakistan of Mr, Jinnah's concept receives suite burial."

JINNAH'S RESPONSE:

He regretted that the mission had negated the Muslim demand. He said that it seemed that this has been done simply to appease the congress. However, he refrained from accepting or rejecting it as the working committee was the decision making body.

MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION:

The Muslim league working committee its resolution accepted the plan for two reasons;

(A) GRAVE ISSUES:

Were involved & league wanted a peaceful solution.

(B) The genes of Pakistan are inherent in the plan by virtue of the compulsory

grouping of the six Muslim provinces in a section b & c which would ultimately led in the creation of Pakistan.

BRITISH PRESS:

It was well received in Britain. The daily telegraph criticized it for not meeting the genuine demand of the Muslims.

ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS + MISSION TOWARDS MUSLIM ACCEPTANCE:

Neither the congress nor the cabinet mission said a word in recognition of what it had cost the league to abandon its basic demand. The only response was articles & cartoons in the Hindu press announcing the defeat of the league gleefully.

FAILURE OF THE PLAN:

The failure of the cabinet mission plan accompanied the facts that congress refused to join the interim government but accepted the long term plan of the cabinet. Muslim league had accepted both long term & short term plans. It agreed to join the interim government, but the mission due to the refusal of congress to join interim government, backed out from its words, to go ahead even if one of the parties refused compliance with either part of plan ignored the league offer of co-operation & declared the project of interim government to have failed. The Muslim league registered its protest against the methods of the mission & the intentions of the congress leaders by withdrawing its acceptance of the plan & declaring for direct action. It provoked congress, again, to accept the plan & this process of shifting the tendencies finally failed the mission.

REDCLIFF AWARD

INTRODUCTION:

The legislative members from Hindu majority areas of Punjab & Bengal had decided by majority vote that the provinces should be partitioned. Consequently, two separate commissions were appointed to give effect to the demarcation of these provinces.

REDCLIFF BOUNDARY COMMISSION:

The demarcation commission for Punjab was composed of two Muslim & two Hindu representatives. The Muslim league nominated Mr Justice Din Muhammad & Mr Justice Muhammad Munir. The congress nominated Mr, Justice tija singh. Mr, Justice Redcliff, a British judge was to head the commissions of both the provinces.

The controversy points of the demarcation had not been yet raised when Radcliff It wanted to have light over certain areas along with justice Din Muhammad & M. Munir because it seemed the Mr, Redcliff already knew the points

needed to be settled. Justice din Muhammad expressed his fear to Mr, Quaid-e-Azam & wanted to resign but Jinnah did not think it proper to level a charge of partiality against Radcliff & both the Muslim judges submitted before their leader. The before time interest in the demarcation of east & west Punjab as shown by Mr, Radcliff was not without rhyme. He had met Mountbatten & Nehru immediately after his arrival in Delhi. He had also worked out the details of the demarcation.

Gurdaspur was a Muslim majority district but instead of its entire inclusion in West Punjab, Mr, Radcliff wanted its division in such a way that Tehsil pathankot should go into Indian Territory. The geographical importance of pathankot was that its inclusion into east Punjab created a common border line of India & Kashmir thus enabling India to easily send its armed forces in Kashmir territory. The simple principle of district-wise partition would send the entire district of Gurdaspur including Tehsil pathankot in the west Punjab, but as Tehsil pathankot formed a Hindu majority so the pretext of including it in east Punjab was at hand. The inclusion of Tehsil pathankot in east Punjab also made Amritser a part of Indian Territory. Radcliff wanted to have a Bight above the same area (gurdaspur & pathankot) & the Muslim members of the commission had smelt the intention of leaders of Muslim league themselves in their memorandum had shown Pathankot in Indian territory & tehsil of ferozpur, nikodar, & Japundar in west Punjab, i.e. in Pakistan. The responsibility of drawing such details falls on Nawab Marndot.

The two parties debated for a few days on the controversial points, and then Radcliff asked the members of the commission to submit their respective reports in the light of the lawyers of both the sides.

Justice Munir wanted to hold debate on the issue of ferozpur & zera tehsils but Radcliff made it clear that no debate on this point was required because these two tehsils had been included to west Punjab.

Justice din Muhammad against saw the Quaid-e-Azam & told him that Pakistan was losing the area of tehsil pathankot but Quaid was so busy in his work that he could not think over the matter.

It is notable that Radcliff awarded had been handed over to lord mount batten on 9th august but the later announce need it on 17th august, two days after the partition had taken place. The award showed ferozpur & zera tehsils in east Punjab thus the area which Pakistan exported in turn for a very important area of pathankoy & gurdaspur had also been lost later on it was disclosed that the first Radcliff award had included ferozpur & zera tehsils in west Punjab. It is evident that the first Radcliff award had been changed within the period from 9th to 17th august. The keeping of the award in secrecy caused great harm to the Muslims of ferozpur & zera tehsils. They thought that their areas had been included in Pakistan. But then the award was announced after the establishment of Pakistan these areas came to be the part of Indian Territory. Horrible communal riots broke out & Muslims suffered in expressible losses.

EARLY PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN

At the time of its establishment, Pakistan had to face various terrible problems the solution of which was imperative for its very existence. Pakistan had no sufficient resources to solve these gigantic problems like lack of finance, agricultural set back, insufficient defines arrangements and the rehabilitation of the refugees.

Following are some of the problems which Pakistan had to face immediately after its establishment.

► DEMARCATIION OF BOUNDRIES:

Under the provisions of Indian independence act 1947, two boundaries commission were appointed for the division of Punjab and Bengal between and India and Pakistan Mr, Radcliff was appointed chairman of both the commission.

In consultation with Mountbatten, Radcliff gave his verdict in favor of Indian and east Punjab District Gurdaspur, Ferozpur and some other Muslims majority areas were awarded to India. In Bengal, Radcliff gave Muslims majority areas like Calcutta and Murshadabad to India. Similarly some important headwork of the largest canals was left with India.

The award of Muslim majority district Gurdaspur was most unjust had this district been awarded to Pakistan, there would have been no Kashmir dispute.

► CHOICE OF CAPITAL:

The problem of choice of a capital was a big problem. It was the basic prerequisite to form a government and to establish a secretariat. Karachi was chosen as capital by Quaid-e-Azam. Arrangements were to make to bring the officials and other materials from Delhi to Karachi.

► REHABILITATION OF MUHAJIREEN:

The second problem Pakistan had to face was the problem of accommodating Muhajireen. The massacre of Muslims in East Punjab had started even a few days before the partition of the sub-continent, wide spread riots had also occurred in India's other parts with their repercussion in Pakistan. Pakistan therefore had to receive and look after the millions of Muslims who were forced to leave India. Supreme efforts were made by Jinnah and his cabinet to grapple with this situation.

► THE ACCESSION OF INDIAN PRINCELY STATES:

There was a large member of states ruled by Indian princes in India. At this time of Indian independence, these princely states were given the options to accede, either India or Pakistan or to remain independent. All the states amicably acceded either to

India or to Pakistan. However the future of three princely states (Hyderabad, Junnagarh and Kashmir) remained undecided and created conflict between India and Pakistan.

► **HYDERABAD:**

By virtue of its population and area, it was the most important state of India. Its annual revenues were about 260 million and it had its own currency and stamps. The majority of its population was Hindu, but its ruler, the Nizam was a Muslim Nizam requested the viceroy for Hyderabad's independent states as a sovereign state, but Viceroy pressed him to accede to India. This was not acceptable to Nizam and that he might join Pakistan.

On August 24, 1948, Hyderabad filed a complaint before the security council of the U. N before security council could decide the fate of Hyderabad, India seized Hyderabad by a military operation and incorporated it into different provinces of Indian union. The complaint before the U.N. is still pending.

► **JUNNAGARH AFFAIR:**

Junnagarh was a small maritime state 300 miles down the coast from Karachi. The majority of its population was Hindu and the ruler was a Muslim. On Sep 15, 1947 the state acceded to Pakistan, but India refused to acknowledge it and claimed the state by inheritance.

On Nov 7, 1947, Azad Fauj or liberal army of India entered Junnagarh, Two days later, control over the entire state was assumed by India. Pakistan at that time was not in apposition to defend Junnagarh. A complaint lodged by Pakistan with the security council of the U.N. is still pending.

► **KASHMIR:**

Kashmir is the northern most part of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. (Its area of 84,471 square miles was the biggest of any state in India. Its international boundaries with Tibet, china, Afghanistan and Russia gave it a strategic importance. Kashmir is a Muslim majority area. The people of Kashmir wanted to accede to Pakistan but the ruler of Kashmir was Maharaja Hari Singh of Dogra Hindu dynasty who wanted to align with India. The maharaja failing to suppress the mass upsurge approached the Indian government for help. Indian was entered Kashmir and the Maharaja signed instrument of accession to India on 26th October 1947. This created a dispute between India and Pakistan. Pakistani troops entered in Kashmir and war began.

India took the issue to the U.N. in 1948, U.N appointed a commission for Kashmir. A Security Council of U.N. unanimously decided that the future of Kashmir should be settled according to the wishes of its people.

Plebiscite was to be held under supervision of U.N. India later on went back its promise

and refused to hold a plebiscite. The fate of Kashmir is still in limbo.

► **THE DIVISION OF ASSETS:**

Pakistan had to face difficulty in receiving its due share of assets from India. India intentionally delayed the process of transfer of assets to create problems for a newly born country which was already in short of resources.

At the time of Pakistan, Pakistan received only Rs. 20 crore as an opening balance. India withheld the remaining mutually agreed amount of 75 crore in order to embarrass Pakistan inimically.

Of military assets, Pakistan was checked in the same way. Whatever Pakistan received was nothing but scarp and out of order achieves broken weapons and rusted artillery.

► **ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS:**

Pakistan was a newly created country which had to construct the administrative set up from a scratch. There were neither any capitals nor any buildings. Even the government servants were not available for the smooth running of the administrative machinery. Government officers were set up in the military barracks and in some cases under tents.

► **CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS:**

Framing of a new constitution was a big problem. Pakistan miserably failed to solve this problem

- i. Constitution assembly produced only two or three drafts for the constitution in long seven years.
- ii. Constituent assembly drafted a constitution in 1956 which was declared null and void after the proclamation of Martial Law in 1958 the constitution of 1962 was thrown away with the martial law "of 1969 in 1973, another constitution was framed for the country which has been amended several times.

► **LANGUAGE PROBLEM:**

Another problem was about the national language Quaid-e-Azam solved this problem by declaring Urdu as national language but in 1952, East Pakistan is wanted Bengali as a national language with Urdu. Khawaja Nazimuddin rejected their demand. This led to clashes between and government in East Punjab, resulting in several killings. Influenced by this episode, Bengali and Urdu got equal ranks under 1956 constitution.

► **PAKHTOONISTAN MOVEMENT:**

In the western wing of Pakistan, Pakhtoonistan, speaking Pushto, led by the frontier Gandhi Ghaffar Khan, at the very outset raised a question demanding them a nation within Pakistan. The movement had a backing of India and Afghan rulers. At this point, Pakistan in fact at times found difficult to keep good relations with Afghanistan. A referendum was held in frontier province in which the people decided to remain with Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam dismissed Dr, Khan Sahib (brother of Ghatfar Khan) congress minded cabinet and installed Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan in his place.

► **DEATH OF QUAID-E-AZAM:**

Despite all the problems and difficulties beset the infant state, Pakistan continued to march under the able and dynamic leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. Predominant position of Quaid-e-Azam was a source of strength for Pakistan. His death of Sep 11, 1948 was a great loss to Pakistan. It left gap too big to be filled in by his successors.

► **THE INDUS BASIN WATER DISPUTE:**

The Indus water Basin dispute had its origin in the partition of Punjab. It broke into the open on April 1, 1948, when East Punjab in India cut off the flow of canal water to west Punjab in Pakistan.

The sharing of the water of the Indus system has been a matter of dispute for many years between Pakistan and India and later on it became an international issue. The dispute existed between the two until a treaty governing the use of the waters of the Indus system of rivers entitled "the Indus water treaty 1960" was concluded on Sep 14, in Karachi between Jawaharlal Nehru and Ayub Khan. The treaty allocated the waters of the rivers.

Pakistan: -----Indus, Jhelum and Chenab

India: -----Ravi, Beas and Sutluj

OBJECTIVE RESOLUTION

INTRODUCTION:

Soon after the independence of Pakistan, different circles of public started speculating about the shape of the future constitution of Pakistan. Some preferred Pakistan to be a secular state while on the other hand the religious lobby was desperately trying to convert Pakistan into a theocratic state contrary to the professed ideals of Quaid-e-Azam. Some political leaders were in favor of a strong centre while the others wanted complete autonomy for the provinces up to the extent of making Pakistan a confederation.

In order to resolve all these controversies, the first major step was taken by constitution assembly on 7 March 1949, when it passed the resolution on the aims & the objectives of the constitution popularity known as the objectives "resolution". It laid down the broad principles of constitution & politics in Pakistan.

SALIENT FEATURES:

1. Allah is the supreme sovereign & sovereignty belongs to him. It will lie with the people as a sacred trust of Allah.
2. The state shall exercise its power & authority, through the chosen representatives of the peoples.
3. The principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance & social justice as enunciated by Islam will be completely adhered to.
4. Muslims shall be enabling to evolve their lives individually as well as collectively according to the teachings of the holy Quran & Sunnah.
5. Minorities would be protected & would be to profess & practice their.
6. Pakistan will be a federation where provinces will enjoy autonomy in conformity to national unity & interest.
7. Adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of backward areas & depressed classes.
8. All the basic rights will granted to the people of Pakistan.
9. Judiciary will be full & Independent.

CRITICISM:

The objectives resolution despite several distinguished features was subjected to some criticism by several schools of thought & political leaders which can be summarized as follows:

- It mixed up politics with religion.
- It reduced the minorities to the status of serfs.
- It failed to change the basic structure of the country.
- It allowed the state to interfere in the personal affairs of the people.

These objections were leveled against the objectives resolutions by those members who were basically congress reminded & belonged to opposition.

SIGNIFICANCE: The significance of objectives resolution can be analysed in the statement of Liaquat Ali Khan.

RESOLUTION SAID:

"It is the most important occasion in the life of the country, next in importance

only to the achievement of independence". The following aspects of the objectives resolution gave the historical significance to it.

1. it was the first concrete effort to frame the first constitution of Pakistan.
2. It embodied the basic Islamic provisions.
3. The fundamental, social, economic & political rights of the people were guaranteed.
4. The rights of minorities were protected.
5. It solved the old dispute between modernism & Islamism.
6. It gave federal government.
7. It guaranteed the independence of judiciary.
8. It truly reflected the popular aspirations of the movement.
9. It finally changed the scope of any ism, which comes into direct or indirect conflict with the principles of Islam, for adoption in Pakistan.
10. It tells us that Pakistan would make the full contribution towards international peace & progress & happiness of the humanity.
11. It is somewhat Ijma-i-ummat which cannot be rebutted.
12. Both the parts of Pakistan agreed on the objective resolution & the credit goes to the premier Liaquat Ali Khan according to Justice Jawaid Iqbal.
13. Objective resolution is a modern Ijtihad which was testified by the nation & the nation had confidence over it.

CONCLUSION:

Objectives resolution is a very vital document. Its importance can be seen from the fact that it has been made the preamble to all the key stone in the arch of our policy. It also made the task of constitution making easier. The 1973 constitution goes to further extent of making objectives resolution not merely a preamble but an integral part of it.

(NATIONAL RESOURCES)

INTRODUCTION:

Natural resources are the invaluable gift bestowed by Allah to a country play an important role in economic development they provide a stable base for erecting the formidable edifice of country's economy. The availability of these resources is not the only fact which is important, but actually, the proper use & exploitation of the natural resources available for national development is the real endeavour. The availability of natural resources, their proper use & exploitation, help the nations greatly in overcoming their economic problems & assist them to pass their development stages smoothly.

TYPES OF NATIONAL RESOURCES:

Forests minerals & energy resources are not the only gifts of nature, animals, land & manpower may also be included in natural resources. Climate of a certain region

can also be included in the list of natural resources because it greatly helps in creating suitable working conditions & thus provides opportunities to the individuals to fully exploit the natural resources.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF PAKISTAN:

Pakistan is greatly endowed by the nature with vast quality of natural resources, but these resources have not been fully utilized. The government of Pakistan has taken adequate measures to explore the hidden resources & to fully utilize them.

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1. MINERAL RESOURCES:

Pakistan possesses a large variety of minerals some of which have substantial resources & quite a few are of high quality. The government has taken a number of steps to exploit the country's mineral potential. Semi-autonomous corporations under the ministry of petroleum & natural resources have been setup. Among these are the Pakistan development corporation (PMDC), the resource development (RDC) & the geological survey of Pakistan (GSP). Some principle mineral resources of Pakistan are:

- **CHINA CLAY:** Gwat, Makand, Hzara, Klabaga & Minwala.
- **IRON ORE:** chitral, Sakerar & Mslim bagh.
- **CHROMITE:** Jhang, Chaghi, Kharan & Mlakand.
- **COPPER:** Chaghi & Saindak.
- **GYPSUM:** Jhelum, Dir,Dgh, Sibbi, Dadu, Kohat & Queeta.
- **SULPHUR:** Wah, Chaghi, Rohri, Dawood khel, Mardan & Kaipur.
- **MARBLE:** Naushehra, Swat, Hazara & Khyber.
- **SOAP-STONE:** Kushali, Mkarwal & Khora.

About 42 minerals are being extracted in Pakistan. Government has formulated a national mineral exploitation programmed (NMEP). Asian development bank (ADB) is providing aid to exploit the mineral resources.

2. POWER ENERGY RESOURCES:

- **(COAL):** it is one of the important energy sources in Pakistan. Coal mining began in the areas presently in Pakistan. The coal area of our country mainly

occurred in sedimentary rocks of tertiary age. The coal found in our country is of inferior.

Quality, containing high quality of ash & low heat value sulphur. It is mostly used in brick-making, lime-burning kilns, and railway engines & for domestic purposes as well.

- **(CRUDE OIL):** Pakistan is greatly endowed oil deposits. The first effort to explore oil, in this region, was made in 1868 when it was drilled near mianwali, Pakistan got four oil producing fields at the time of independence. Now the production of oil fields has greatly increased due to discovery & development of new oil fields. The oil & gas development corporation set up in 1961 (ogdc) has efficiently carried out drilling for oil & gas resources besides ogdc, some private companies are also exploring oil in the country. Pakistan is faced with a serious problem of refining of the indigenous oil output. Three refinery ltd (Karachi), & attock refinery of crude oil-being drilled in our country.

- **(NATURAL GAS):** natural gas was discovered in Sui (Baluchistan) in 1952 during drilling for oil. Additional gas fields came to light during test drilling at Khankot, Pirkoh, Toot, Mari, Dhulian & Meyal etc. natural gas found in Pakistan has a high methane. Sui is the biggest gas field in the world.

- **(FORESTS):** forests play an important role in the economy of a country. They not only provide pinber, Fire-wood, medical herbs but also provide a vital support to regulate the supply of waters in the rivers. They also sustain country's Wildlife & provide unlimited recreational facilities. Unfortunately, in Pakistan only 5% area of total cultivated land is under forests. It is too limited what compared with the total land area. The government has been making efforts to increase the area as well as to improve the productivity under a systematic management. The fresh development corporation was set up in 1976. The corporation launches different 'LOK PORESTRY' programs with the sole aim to motivate the people at large to bring maximum land under cultivation.

- **(CLIMATE):** located on at great land-mass, north of tropic of cancer, Pakistan has a continental type of climate characterized by extreme variations of temperature. The areas closer to the snow covered northern mountains are cold whereas the temperature of mild & southern regions is hot in summer & cold in winters. The country is on the margin of monsoon climate. The rainfall is barely sufficient & thus it possesses a dry climate. Due to the diversity of climate a large variety of crops is cultivated balancing the agricultural economy of the country.

- **(SOIL):** The soils of Pakistan belong to dry group having a high proportion of calcium carbonate & are deficient in organic matter. They are generally fertile due to the extensive use of irrigation of waters in some parts of canal irrigation lands

areas with 'thur' & 'kallar' are found.

- **(ANIMALS):** Pakistan is also rich in animal resources. The waters around Karachi are rich with sea-food & are considered to be some of the best fishing grounds of the world lobsters, shrimps, sharks, dolphins & other aquatic life exist in plenty. In northern areas, there are majestic Marco polo sheep, Siberian ibex, blue sheep, snow leopard, brown & black Himalayan bear jackals, fox, wild cats & reptiles. The bird population shows a rich variety. There are over 100 main species of resident birds, of which many sing. The waters of Indus River sustain a rich treasure of water birds.

- **(MANPOWER):** the total labor force in the country, estimated in 1988-89 was 31 million. According to labor force survey (LFS) the unemployment rate in country was 3.31%. In the country significant member of employed people work for less than 35 hours & thus are not fully employed. If these figures are also taken into account then about 14% are unemployed. Like many developing countries, the employment structure in Pakistan is largely based on self-employment, particularly in rural areas.

THE AGRICULTURE:

INTRODUCTION:

Agriculture is the pre-dominant sector in the economy of Pakistan. It contributes about 30% to the country's GDP, provides employment to 50% of the labor forces and also forms 70% of the export earnings. It is the source of livelihood, directly or indirectly, for about 70% of the rural population. It provides food for our every growing population, and raw material for most of our industries.

Despite its pivotal importance in the country's economy, our country has not been able to achieve self-sufficiency in agricultural commodities. These are variety of obstacles in the way of agriculture development in Pakistan.

PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE

a) Financial Problems

The financial problems have proved to be a stumbling block in the way of achieving target.

i) Inadequate Allocations

Government allocations for the agricultural sector are continuously declining. In the second 5 years plan the allocation was 51.8% but in the seventh 5 year plan (89-94) it has been reduced to 8.2% only.

ii) **Pricing Policy**

The support prices of wheat / basmati rice, cotton and sugar cane has been fixed much lower than it costs the growers.

iii) **Rural Credit**

The bulk of rural credit goes to big formers (Zamindars) because of normal criteria of financial institutions and in this way small farmers are discouraged which adversely affect their production and efficiency.

b) **Resource Development Problems**

i. **Water Problem.**

Due to the scarcity of water, millions of hectares of cultivable land is still lying barren in Baluchistan, Thar, Cholistan and North Western and Western mountain ranges.

The canal network of Indus Basin is the biggest in the world but, is not being utilizing properly and effectively. The 19% of the available water is lost during conveyance from canal heads to water course heads; another 22% is lost in distribution from water course heads to farmers. Tube wells are used in 40% areas to supply water to areas where canal water is not available. But we are facing problems in this regard also due to financial difficulties in operating maintaining tube wells in public sector, low efficiency in private sector because of high costs and high rates of fuel and the shortage of electricity.

ii) **Floods**

Floods are responsible for heavy losses of standing crops and fertility of land. Their causes are poor maintenance of bunds, lack of flood canals, inefficient flood information, heavy rains with no drainage system.

iii) **Salinity and Water Logging**

The excess of salt in the upper layer of soil is called salinity. The water logging is caused when the continuous presence of salt water, close to the surface plugs up the pores of the upper layer of the soil and checks the atmospheric air to reach the roots of the plants. Water logging and salinity retards the growth of plants and decrease the yield. In Pakistan, the main causes are seepage of water from canals which raises the water table, no drainage system in irrigated areas and continuous over irrigation of lands.

WAPDA, in early 60s had launched CSARP I programme to curb the twin menace.

iv) Erosion of Soil

The upper 17-20cm layer of surface of land is responsible for fertility of land and is known as soil. It contains nutrients essential for plant growth. If this soil is eroded by air or water, it makes the land infertile. In Pakistan, the Directorates of Soil Conservation are at work, yet the problem is not overcome completely. There is still a need to control soil erosion caused by deforestation, dry weathers, which and water.

c) Agricultural Inputs Problems

i) Fertilizers

The deficiency of nutrients like nitrogen, sulphates, phosphate, potassium, etc in our land because of semi-arid tropical climate is filled by the use of fertilizers replenishes of the fertility of soil. But the farmers are facing problems because of the reduction of government subsidies, inability to supply adequate quantity of water, lack of the dosage information, shortage of fertilizers and increase in prices due to black marketing.

ii) Seeds

Improved varieties of seeds are needed to get the better response and maximum yield. But in our country, modern methods such as cross-breeding etc are still unconventional.

iii) Plant Protection (Pesticides)

Pests and diseases are responsible for 20-30% loss of yield. We have failed to control them because of big costs of pesticides and because of unawareness of the majority of farmers, the proper method of application, dosage and frequency of sprays.

d) Mechanization Problems

Mechanization helps a great deal in sowing and harvesting of crops in a very short span of time and thus reduces post-harvest losses. Although ADBP provides loans for purchase of tractors and installation of tube wells yet according to an estimate, only one percent (1%) tractors are being used in Balochistan. The main hurdle in the way of mechanization is high costs of technology.

e) Social Problems

There are certain social problems which are hindering the development of agriculture sector. Due to illiteracy farmers fail to get timely information and are ignorant about the new technologies. Best use of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, etc,

becomes difficult for them. There are other social problems like rural poverty, bad health conditions, inadequate and expensive transport system, lack of farm to market roads, exploitation by the middle man, out dated market trends, which affect the system.

f) **Inadequate Agri-Education**

No education about agriculture given at secondary level. At graduate level, the syllabus is theoretical rather than practical. There are inadequate funds for research in the field. The agriculture universities are less in number.

FINDING AND RECOMMENDATION

1. LAND REFORMS:

In spite of three land reforms in 1959, 1972 and 1977, big land lords are still in defects possession of thousands of acres of land problem should be assessed a fresh and reforms should be implemented.

2. RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT:

Government should be embark projects for the development of three vital natural resources-forest, water and land. Aerial photography should be carried out to check the wastage of water of Indus.

3. TO PREVENT WATER LOGGING AND SALINITY:

Salinity control and reclamation project (SCARP)

Lining of canal

Use of gypsum

4. AGRI TECHNOLOGY:

Genetic engineering

5. PLANTS PROTECTION:

Pesticides and seeds

6. CREDITS AND SUBSIDIES:

Finance assistance

Import of machinery

7. FERTILIZERS:

Better social conditions

FEDERALISM IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION:

In a federal system of government, the powers of the government are divided between the government for the whole country and governments for parts of the country in such a way that each government is legally independent in its own sphere. The government for the whole country has its own area of powers and it exercises its authority without any control from the governments of the constituent parts of the country, and these later in turn exercise their powers without being controlled by the central government. Neither is subordinate to other, both are coordinate.

After the emergence of Pakistan as an independent state, the relation between the center and provinces in one of the most complicated issue and challenge in Pakistan politics.

A FEDERATION:

A federal state is one in which a number of coordinate states unite for a certain common purpose. Similarly, Pakistan was also constituted when Muslims majority areas of Indo Pakistan sub-continent were limited to form a single state. It was a federation unique in its character since it was established in the name of Islam. After nine years of stalemate and wastage of time, the population got their first constitution in 1956, which envisaged a federal system of government.

Provincial Autonomy and Constitutions of Pakistan

1956 constitution proved to be short lived and after two years of its existence martial law was proclaimed. The second constitution of 1962 also established a federal system of government. But Ayub's authoritarian rule made it difficult to run the country in the true spirit of federalism, as a result of which the eastern Whig was separated from western, due to growing resentment in 1971.

Then people were presented a new constitution of 1973. This constitution also, like the previous two constitutions, proved for the establishment of a federal form of government. In this constitution, which was endorsed by all the major political parties of the time, an effort was made to create and strike an understanding between the units, i.e., the provinces and the central government. The judiciary was given the power to settle disputes arising between the centre and the provinces, a Council of Common Interests (CCI) were formed, and most of all comprehensive lists of powers of the centre and the provinces were provided for. On the face of it the constitution created an ideal structural framework for the working of a successful federal system.

However, history IS witness to the fact that the running and managing of the federal system has not been without troubles and centre province relationship has quite often remained tense for one reason or the other. There are certainly some snags in our system which hamper the smooth, cordial and harmonious working of the federal arrangement.

Causes of Centre Province Conflict:

- i. **Strong Centre:** Which infringes on provincial autonomy
- ii. **Economic Disparity:** Economic disparity between centre and provinces distribution of funds / revenue / textile.
- iii. **Distribution of Subjects:** The constitution provides three lists of subjects.
 - i. Federal list
 - ii. Provincial list
 - iii. Concurrent list

The federal and concurrent -lists are so exhaustive that hardly any important matter has been kept beyond their scope. On the subjects enumerated in the concurrent list, both federal as well as provincial legislatures have the powers to enact. In case of inconstancy, the enactment of federal legislature will prevail as a matter of fact centre has complete control on these. iv. Population Area Factor: According to the Punjab's point of view the distribution of powers/ funds should be based on the population. The population of Punjab is 58%. On the other hand Baluchistan comprises of 46% of total area of Pakistan, most of which is backward. Therefore it suggests that while distributing funds, the area factor should also be taken into consideration.

4. DISTRIBUTION OF TAX-COLLECTION:

According to Sindh's viewpoint, distribution of revenue collected should be done according to the size of taxes collected from each province because most of the industrial units are based in Karachi; therefore Sindh is contributing more than any other province.

5. ROYALTY OF PROJECTS:

Construction of Kalabagh Dam and royalty of Terbela dam has been bone of contention between N.W.F.P. and the federation. Royalty of Sui gas is also demanded by the Baluchistan province.

6. NEGLIGENCE TO PROMOTE HARMONY THROUGH RELIGION:

Religious sectarianism

7. INADEQUATE JUDCARY:

The settle disputes between centre and provinces

POWERS OF PRESIDENT

1. PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY:

According to article 232 of constitution president is empowered to declare by proclamation of emergency, that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of Pakistan is threatened by war or internal disorder. During such emergency, federal legislature shall have the powers to make laws on the provincial subjects.

2. FINANCIAL EMERGENCY:

According to article 234, if the president feels that economic life or financial stability of country or any part is threatened, he may proclaim financial emergency. During such emergency federation can give directions to the provinces to observe principles of propriety.

GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF DISTRUST AMONG UNITS:

1. IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEM:

Over the years, it has been observed that federal government has been reluctant to give the provinces their due constitutional share. It has not fulfilled its certain obligations e.g. meeting of N.F.C. and council of common interests (C.C.I).

The formation of national finance commission at an interval of 5 years is required under article 160 but it could not be held from 1974-91.

2. REMEDIES:

But it doesn't deeply that the days of federalism in Pakistan are numbered or are over. It was and still remains the most appropriate and perhaps the ideal system to run the affairs of the state. It is only that certain concrete steps are required to be taken.

Distribution of subjects:

Concurrent list should be reduced.

Appointment of governor:

It should be elected from the provincial assembly instead of having been appointed by the federal government.

Financial autonomy:

The meeting of NFC:

Regular meetings of council of common interests:

Repeal emergency:

Ban on separatist movement:

Ban on armed religious group:

ISLAMIZATION IN PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION: The reason later of the emergence of Pakistan was the Indian Muslims' desire to preserve & foster Islamic values. It is maintained the implicit in the demand for the Pakistan was the demand of an Islamic state. Pak ideology is based on the ideals of Islam which means that Pakistan would be an Islamic state drawing its inspirations from the principles of Holy Quran Sunnah. The people of Pakistan would have an opportunity to live their lives according to their faith & creed based on Islamic principle. They would have resources at their disposal to enhance Islamic culture & civilization because it was the soul purpose of demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims of indo-Pakistan.

QUAID'S VIEWS: It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our own great law given, the Prophet (P.B.U.H), let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals & principles".

Quaid-e-Azam's views on future constitution of Pakistan are clearly given in the following speech when he said:

Islam & its idealism has taught the Muslims
Democracy it has taught the equality of man,
Justice, fair play to everybody. Pak is not going
To be a theocratic state. I'm sure that the future
Constitution of Pakistan would be democratic ambo
-dying the essential principles of Islam".

EFFORTS TO ISLAMZE PAKISTAN:

From the very beginning, our founding failures tried their best to give an Islamic

constitution to the country. The first great step towards such constitution was "objectives resolution". It was moved by the then P.M Liaquat Ali Khan in the constituent assembly on 7th March 1949 & was passed without any opposition. In this resolution God's sovereignty was recognized over whole universe. Principle of Islamic democracy, social justice & rights of minorities were recognized as the guiding principles on which the future constitution was to be based.

ISLAMIC PROVISIONS OF 1956-62-73 CONSTITUTIONS:

Seven years after the adoption of the objectives resolution, Pakistan was given its first constitution on 23rd March 1956. The importance of this constitution was that objectives resolution was included in its preamble which gave an Islamic touch to the constitution. Besides, Islamic provisions were continued in the directive principles of state policy. Same was the case with two other constitutions adopted in 1962 & 1973. There were many Islamic provisions in all these constitutions which designated the country as an Islamic state.

These provisions were that no law shall be passed in Pakistan which would be repugnant to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the holy Quran & the Sunnah; existing laws shall be brought into conformity with such injunctions, an advisory council of Islamic ideology should be established which would suggest steps & means to the government to enable the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives in accordance with holy Quran & Sunnah; president & premier should be Muslims. In 1973 sovereignty of God was declared principle of democracy.

WHY THESE CONSTITUTIONS FAILED TO ISLAMIZE PAKISTAN:

- Thought there were many Islamic provisions in these constitutions. But they were more in nature of an ideology, & there was no real substance to make the political order a real Islamic one. For example: objectives resolution was in the preamble but the preamble was never made a part of any constitution. It was not enforceable by the courts.
- Political parties & their leaders were never serious towards the process of Islamization, so they did not take any measures to make the country a purely Islamic state.
- Due to palace intrigues & imposition of various martial laws, the constitution & the institutions were never allowed to work freely towards Islamization process.
- Due to wide-spread illiteracy in the country, most of the population was not clear in their minds towards true Islamic concepts & beliefs. It resulted in the lack of interest on the part of the people towards Islamization.

ROLE OF ULEMA & RELIGIOUS PARTIES:

Though most of the ulema opposed the creation of Pakistan but after its independence. They reconciled with the newly created state & started their struggle to Islamize it. Their early efforts succeed when objectives resolution (1949) included most of their demands. In the meanwhile they presented their 22 points & pressurized government to include them into upcoming constitution 1956. Many of Islamic provision were incorporated in the constitution but soon Aijub Khan came into power & treated most of the religious parties as anti-Pakistan. He was more inclined towards west & wanted to westernize the people at first he didn't include Islamic provisions in the draft constitution but finally he had to surrender before the pressure of the religious parties & incorporated their demands in 1962 constitution. In the following years, Ulema's role was surprised but they he asserted themselves when contested 1970 elections & entered the parliament for the first time. They formed strong opposition against Bhutto's government in national assembly. Due to their pressure Bhutto was compelled to adopt following measures:

- Qadianis were declared non-Muslims.
- Islam became state religion.
- Drinking was prohibited.
- Friday was declared as weekly holiday.

There were no doubt great achievements religious parties. However, their climax came in 1977, when they started mass-movement against Mr, Bhutto. They succeeded in bringing Zia into corridors of power. He was ready to do whatever religious Parties wanted him to do.

ISLAMIZATION UNDER "ZIA-UL-HAQ:

The previous governments did not take any concrete steps to implement Islam in the country. However, with the military rule of Zia, the process of nifaz-i-nizam-i-islam was started. He, on the recommendations of the council of Islamic ideology promulgated ordinance on February 10, 1979 instituting Islamic penalties (hudood) theft, zina, false accusation way, he tried to change the social & moral order of the society, so as to bring it in more conformity with the holy Quran & Sunnah. Hudood laws were followed by Islamic shariah benches in every High court & an appellate shariah bench in the Supreme Court. These benches were empowered to dispose off the cases under hudood laws. Besides they could declare any law repugnant to the injunctions of Islam. Later on the federal shariah court was established as an independent court on 26th May 1980. The jurisdiction of previous shariah benches was conferred upon the new court 5 judges & 3 ulema became the members of the federal shariah court.

In June 1980, the president issued another ordinance which imposed zakat on savings & usher on agricultural products. These Islamic taxes were imposed to secure economic well-being of the poor & to help them become self-reliant.

In banking sector interest had been eliminated from domestic transactions 1981. However, in 1984-85 profit & loss system (p.l.s) was introduced instead of riba.

To assist the process of Islamization the government established a law commission headed by the Justice of Pakistan & council of Islamic ideology if headed by a judge of high court. They used to make recommendations for bringing the laws into conformity with injections of Islam. On the recommendation of these commissions Zia issued Nizam-i-Risalat & Namus-i-Nihaba ordinance, & made Islamic studies a compulsory subject up to graduation. He also gave instructions to make arrangement for performing. Salat in all offices.

Finally Zia proclaimed an ordinance on June 15, 1988 which declared shariah as the supreme law of the country with immediate effect.

CRITICISM OF ZIA'S ISLAMIZATION:

- As Zia came into power through non-constitution way so he was in need of support of religious parties. He, therefore, used the name of Islam to prolong his rule. His Islamic punishments were not practically implemented which resulted in lawlessness & many other social evils.
- His Islamization policy resulted in the bifurcation of Pakistani society on sectarian basis. Since the influence of ulema increased in government they misused it against the teachings of other sects. As a result Shia, sunni riots took place in many cities of Sindh & Punjab.
- His policies could not Islamize Pakistani society in true spirit. Hudood laws were greatly resented by the women.

ISLAMIZATION BY NAWAZ (15th AMENDMENT BILL):

1. Holy Quran & Sunnah shall be the supreme law of the state.
2. The federal government shall be under obligation to take steps to enforce the shariah establish salat, administer zakat, promote eradicate corruption & provide justice according to Islamic principles.
3. Nothing contained in this article shall affect personal laws, religious freedom, traditions & customs of non-Muslims & their status of the citizens.
4. The provisions of this article shall have effect any law or judgment or any court.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS:

- For the first time holy Quran & Sunnah shall be supreme law of the land. In previous constitutions only provision were given but now the complete framework to Islamize the society was given.

• This act accommodated different Muslim sects & non-Muslim minorities by giving them full freedom in personal & religious matters. In this way Pakistan shall not be a theoretic state but it shall be raised above all racial, national & sectarian prejudices. However, after implementing this act there will be still a need for greater caution, as even minor differences on religious issues can easily flair up into major conflicts.

Clause 2 of the article says that the government shall be under obligation to take steps to enforce the shariah. It is not certain whether this provision is mandatory or directory. In other words this provision neither gives any time frame within which the government must fulfil these constitutional obligations nor are the consequence e of its failure to do so spelled out.

Article 3 assures that the act would not affect the interests of statuesque while the government has not undertaken any obligation to the anything positive for them.

(CAUSES FOR DEMAND OF PAKISTAN)

INTRODUCTION:

A. Suleri gave three main reasons behind the formation of the demand for Pakistan Hindus & Muslim philosophies of life & ways of life were so wide apart from each other that it was impossible them to live together, Muslims were convinced that their economic & social problems could be solved only by an approach to Islam & this was impracticable until they had a state of their own.

LIAQAT ALI KHAN under lined that once the chief causes of friction the ambition of majority community to rule over the whole of India was removed, there would be peace & contentment in India.

KARIMBHOY IBRAHIM regretted that the attitude of congress had never taken the Muslims into confidence when it gained power. It always wanted to establish Hindu Raj by introducing

vidya mandir, wardha scheme, band-e-matram & other Hindu practices & beliefs Not once in any way had it shown a desire to accommodate Muslims.

CAUSES:

(POLITICAL):

- Separate electorate
- Failure of congress to safeguard Muslim interests

(SOCIAL): difference of Hindu living / culture / traditions.

(RELIGIOUS):

- Muslim Hindu ideology
- Two nation theory

(EFFORTS OF UNITY FAILED):

- Lucknow pact.
- Khilafat movement.
- Delhi proposal.
- Nehru report (final blow).

(CONCLUSION):

(DELAY IN FRAMING OF CONSTITUTION)

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan became a new severing state on an august 14, 1947 the crown of England remained constitutional head of Pakistan till the promulgation of 1956 constitution. There are number of reasons on account of which, Pakistan took nearly a decade to make her first constitution No doubt the history of Pakistan's constitution began with the Lahore resolution of 1940 which first obtain the idea of separate homeland for the Muslims of India Thus the leader of Pakistan freedom movement had short time for framing the primary structure of constitution as compared to the Indian leadership.

The process of constitution framing was mainly delayed due to these factors.

BENGALIS' FEAR OF SUPPRESSION:

It was strange that in Pakistani democracy majority was demanding safeguards Bengalis' representation in civil military bureaucracy was limited. They were being governed by refugees, i.e. Punjabis & men from N.W.F.P., they felt mutual distrust delayed the process of constitution framing.

ABSENCE OF STRONG POLITICAL PARTY:

Constitution making through democratic process is always difficult. It was all the more difficult for a new country like Pakistan where norms of democracy needed development well-organized political parties did not exist. With the decline of the

Muslim league, there was no national political party which could fill the gap created by Muslim league. These are political parties which satisfy the political demands of people absence of such channel had a negative effect on constitution development.

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP:

The leadership of a country plays a vital role in the political activity of a country. After the death of Quaid, there was no leader which could fill the gap Secondly, most of the ruling came from across the border. They needed time for their establishment. This factor also contributed in the delay of constitution making.

CLASH B/W TRADITIONALISTS & MODERNISTS:

Ulama in Pakistan were conservative & political culture of Pakistan was traditional on the contrary, the leading personalities in Muslim league like Quaid & Jinnah & Liaquat Ali Khan were the representatives of modern school of thought. Modernists point of view was that Islamic system of caliphate period was not applicable in mid 20th century. They argued that they should draw spirit from Islam & should work according to the parliamentary system.

But traditionalists were not ready to give any concession to them. They argued that Islam was complete code of life & could be introduced immediately. In order to bring compromise between them, framers of constitution needed time which delayed the process of constitution making.

CONTROVERSY OVER THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE OF CONSTITUTION:

Pakistan did not possess single language, nor did it possess a uniform culture. Therefore the model of federalism was suitable for Pakistan in 1947. But the lack of homogeneity among the different sectors of the population, i.e., Punjabis, Bengalis, Sindhis, etc, created problems for federal structure. The framers of the constitution had great problems to satisfy who demanded maximum autonomy for the provinces with a weak centre & those who favored a strong federal central government with provinces enjoying limited autonomy.

SEPARATE OR JOINT ELECTORATES:

Under the system of separate electorates, the voters are divided on religious bases. The problem of separate or joint electorate took considerable time in the debates of the first constituent assembly. The novel situation in Pakistan was that while in undivided India, the separate electorates were demanded by the minority groups in Pakistan they were opposed by upper class Hindus who constituted one of the minorities. Bengali Muslims also opposed it. The main reason for the opposition by upper class Hindus was that separate electorate for depressed class Hindus would in danger their privileged position.

CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC STATE:

Pakistan was found so that the Muslims could have a state of their own. But was this to be an Islamic state? If it was, what did this term actually mean? These questions were debated inside & outside the constitution assembly. Different groups held divergent views about the concept of Islamic state. Thus, it was not easy for the framers of the constitution to produce such an Islamic constitution which could satisfy different groups holding divergent views regarding the structure & nature of Islamic state.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE:

Pakistan was a multi-bilingual state, there was a fundamental difference between east & West Pakistan in regard to language. In East Pakistan Bengali was spoken & in West Pakistan Punjabi, Sindh, Balochi & Pushto. Urdu was accepted as the common language of the whole region. It had achieved a symbolic position during the freedom movement. Since the episode of Urdu, Hindi controversy, Muslims did their best to protect Urdu. The problem was that there should be one national language (Urdu) or any other (Bengali) should also be recognized as state language. Quaid & Liaquat Ali Khan was not willing to give Bengali status of national language. On the other hand Bengalis refused to accept Urdu as national language.

CLEFTS WITHIN RULING ELITE:

The power elite that emerged soon after the emergence of Pakistan were the middle class professional groups like lawyers, civil servants & big landlords mostly from Punjab & Sindh. This loose coalition had been brought to power by Muslim nationalism. This heterogeneity created difficulty for them to come on one point in order to make a constitution.

LEGISLATURE'S LACK OF INTEREST:

After the death of Quaid-e-Azam members of constituent assembly gave less time to the assignment of constitution framing. In its seven years life it met only for 116 days the average attendance ranging only from 37 to 56 out of the total 76 seats.

SHAH WALI ALLAH (QUTAB AL-DIN AHMAD AL-RAHIM) (1703 – 1762)

INTRODUCTION

1. He was the **greatest Muslim scholar of eighteenth-century** India
2. He contributed to the **intellectual, economic, social, political and religious life** of the Muslim community in India (IESPR)
3. He tried to **reconcile** the various factions of the Indian Muslims
4. He tried to **protect** the Muslim empire from **collapse**.
5. He **contended** that the **root cause of the downfall** of the Indian Muslims was their **ignorance of the sacred scripture of Islam**. He prepared **first complete translation of the Qur'an into Persian** to facilitate its understanding among all the Muslims of India.

EARLY LIFE

1. He was born in **1703** near **Delhi**. His real name was **Qutab al-Din**. He was known as **Shah Wali Ullah** because of his noble deeds.
2. His father, **Shah 'Abd al-Rahim**, was a religious scholar and **attached** with **Fatawa-Alamgiri**.
3. He studied **Arabic, Persian grammar and literature, philosophy, theology, metaphysics, and Hadith**.
4. He **memorized Quran**.
5. His father initiated him into the famous **Naqshbandi order**.
6. He began his **career as a teacher at the Madrasa-e-Rahimiyya**
7. In **1731**, Shah Wali Allah **went to Mecca to perform hajj**. He performed hajj twice. In Mecca, he met with **Sheikh Abu Tahir Bin Ibrahim** and got education from him. He **returned home to Delhi in 1732**. He spent the rest of his life teaching Hadith, Literature and Metaphysics.

BACKGROUND (CONDITION OF MUSLIMS)

During his time:

1. Mughals were facing **internal deterioration** of Muslim society after the death of Alemgir in 1707.
2. Indian Muslims were facing **decline in** intellectual, economic, social, political and religious life (IESPR)
3. **Hindus and Merhattas** were creating problems for the Muslim rulers.
4. **Foreign invaders** (external encroachers) were threatening the sovereignty of the Muslim rulers.
5. **Islamic values were dying** and unislamic trends were rising.
6. Muslim community was divided and **disintegrated**.
7. **Sectarianism** was being promoted.
8. Concept of **Wahdat Ul Wajood** was hurting the beliefs of the Muslims.

STRUGGLE / SERVICES

SERVICES FOR ECONOMIC UPLIFTING

1. He asked Muslims to **give up luxurious life** and to **spend a simple life**. He asked Muslims to **learn from the sack of Delhi**. Major reasons for the Sack of Delhi by **Nadir Shah in 1739** were economic like luxurious life of rulers, bankruptcy of state exchequer, multiplicity of Jagirdars, monopoly system and extreme poverty of the lower class.
2. He believed that **sound economic system based on social justice** can contribute to the happiness of individuals and the society.
3. He also concluded that **two major reasons for the decline of Muslim society** were **existence of parasites** (soldiers, poets, clowns) and **levy of heavy taxes** on agriculturists and traders.

SERVICES FOR RELIGIOUS UPLIFTING

1. He prepared **disciples** who spread Islam in far flung areas of sub continent
2. He asked Muslims to **follow foot-prints** of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).
3. He asked Muslims to bring **austerity in life** according to the Islamic teachings.

4. He introduced **elasticity and liberalism** in Islam.
5. He promoted **Ijtehad** (finding solution according to Islam to the modern problems)
6. He introduced **balanced approach between four schools of thoughts** (Humbli, Maliki, Shafi, Hanfi) to eradicate differences among them.
7. He started **campaign** against sectarianism.
8. He stressed on following the concept of **Wahdat al Shahood**.
9. He promoted **Jihad** against invaders.

SERVICES FOR POLITICAL UPLIFTING

1. He wrote **letters to various prominent rulers** (Najeeb ud Daula, Shujah ud Daula, and Ahmad Shah Abdali) to interfere and fight with Marhattas and Sikhs. In 1761, Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated Marhattas in Panipat.
2. He tried for the **revival of the political strength** of the Muslims.
3. He **prepared** the Indian Muslims **psychologically** for the **revolution of 1857**.

LITERARY SERVICES

1. He wrote **more than 50 books** on Religion, Economics and Politics.
2. He **translated** Holy Quran in Persian language for the first time.
3. His **sons, Shah Rafi Uddin and Shah Abdul Qadir**, translated Quran in Urdu language.
4. His magnum opus "**HUJJAT ULLAH AL-BALIGHA**" discussed social and political **reasons for decline** of Muslims and stressed on **Ijtehad**.
5. He wrote the following two books to minimize **Shiya-Sunni differences**:
 - a. **IZALAT UL KHULFA**
 - b. **KHILAFAT UL KHULFA**
6. He wrote "**AL-INSAF FI-BAYAN SAHIB-UL-IKHTELAF**" to minimize the differences among **four Sunni schools** of thoughts.
7. He wrote "**FAYYZ UL HERAMAIN**" and discussed his **dream** of being chosen by Holy Prophet (PBUH) for preaching Islam.

ANALYSIS / OUTCOMES OF HIS STRUGGLE

1. He **rebuilt dying values** of Islam.
2. He **brought unity** among Muslims.
3. He **made Muslims realize** their intellectual, economic, social, political and religious responsibilities.
4. His movement helped in achieving intellectual, economic, social, political and religious **uplifting** for Muslims.
5. His **movement acted as an impetus** for next movements like Jihadi, Faraizi, Duo Bandi.

CRITICISM BY SOME CRITICS

1. His movement was for the well being of India Muslims. However, some criticize his political services.
2. His movement **could not stop the downfall of Mughals**.
3. He invited help from foreign Islamic rulers which further **weakened and undermined the power of the Mughals**.
4. His **invitation** to foreign Islamic rulers sent a **signal** to British about the **opportunity to occupy** sub continent.

CONCLUSION

1. He played an important role in the **uplifting of intellectual, economic, social, political, and religious life** of the Muslim community in India.
2. He **tried his best to prevent the collapse** of the Mughals but the Mughals were so weak that the setting sun could not be turned back to its peak.
3. He was the **role model** for the next coming Muslim personalities like Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Haji Shariat Ullah.

QUOTE

Great historian Waheed Uz Zaman once said:

“His approach was so liberal that it was difficult to know as to which school of thought he himself belongs.”

SHEIKH AHMAD SIRHINDI (26 May 1564 – 10 December 1624)

INTRODUCTION

1. He was an Indian Islamic **scholar**, a Hanafi **jurist**, and a prominent member of the Naqshbandī **Sufi** order and a revolutionary spiritual **leader**.
2. He is called **Mujaddid Alf Thānī** (reviver of the second millennium) for his work in rejuvenating Islam and opposing the heresy prevalent in the time of Mughal Emperor Akbar. He is also called **Saint of Sirhind**.
3. Most of the **Naqshbandī suborders** today like Mujaddidī, Khālidī, Saifī, Tāhirī, and Haqqānī **trace their spiritual lineage** through Sirhindi.
4. His shrine, known as **Rauza Sharif**, is located in Sirhind, India.
5. He **preached** true Islam and **spread** awareness of Islam among the Muslims of sub-continent
6. He **eradicated** un-islamic practices and **enforced** Shariat

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

1. He was born in **1564** in **Sirhind** into an **Ashraf** family claiming descent from the **caliph Umar** (2nd Caliph).
2. He received early education from his father, **Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad'**.
3. He also **memorised** the Qur'an.
4. He **learned** logic, philosophy, theology, tafsīr, hadīth, jurisprudence, and Muhammad's biography and history.
5. He eventually **joined** the Naqshbandī order through the Sufi missionary al-Baqī Billah and became a leading master of this order.

HIS VIEWS

1. He **emphasized** the inter-dependence of both the Sufi path and Shariah.
2. He **criticized** heretic jurists who followed only the outward aspects of the sharia.
3. He **differentiated** between Oneness of appearance (*wahdat ash-shuhūd*) and Oneness of being (*wahdat al-wujūd*).

BACKGROUND (EVILS OF SOCIETY)

1. Social and religious values of Muslims were **dying**
2. **Unislamic practices** were being carried out
3. Most of the Muslims were not following **Quran and Sunnah** in their true spirit. They were following **heresy** without following **Shariat**.
4. Muslims believed in **Karamaats of Saints**
5. Muslims believed in **magical and supernatural powers** in the cover of Sufism
6. Muslims were divided into **sects** like Shiya, Sunni etc
7. **Akbar promulgated** and propagated **Deen-e-Elahi** which was in contrast with the Islamic rules.
8. Akbar **assumed the titles** of **Imam-e-Adil and Mujadid-e-Azam**
9. Akbar was **an illiterate person** who **led** the Indian Muslims to **Atheism** (believe in no God) and **Heresy** (rejecting orthodox tenets of Islam).
10. Akbar **supported Bhagti Movement** which introduced the concept of **Unity of Religions**. It was a conspiracy of Hindus against Muslims to convert the Muslims into Hindus.
11. To achieve political ends, Akbar **married Hindu women** who betrayed him from the true path of Islam

STRUGGLE SH. AHMAD SIRHINDI TO PURIFY MUSLIM SOCIETY

1. He **educated and trained** a number of disciples who later on spread his mission of awareness of true Islam in the far flung areas of sub continent.
2. He **emphasized on Nimaz, Fasts**, and simple life.
3. He **emphasized** Quran, Toheed and Sunnah over Sufism.
4. He **rectified mysticism** and asserted that following mysticism without Shariat was misleading
5. He **wrote many letters to Muslim leaders** (Abdul Raheem, Khan-e-Khana, Khan-e-Azam, Sheikh Farid) to persuade them to remove their differences and to stand against Atheism
6. He **exposed the falsity and danger** of Deen-e-Elahi and **opposed** it
7. He **stood against Atheism** and Heresy.
8. He **gave the concept of two-nations**.

9. He **differentiated** between Willayat, Saint-hood, Nabowat and Prophet-hood
10. He **differentiated** between Wahdat Al Wajood and Wahdat Al Shahood.
11. He **influenced and convinced Jahangir** to abolish the practice of **Sajdah** to the King, to create **Mosque** and to abolish ban on **Cow slaughter**

HURDLES FACED BY SH. AHMAD SIRHINDI DURING HIS STRUGGLE

1. **Queen Noor Jahan** and her brother **Asif Jah**, who was PM of Jahangir, filled the ears of Jahangir that **Sirhindi was creating unrest** in the society. Jahangir called on Sirhindi in his palace. Sirhindi refused to bow his head on the earth before the emperor. Jahangir put Sirhindi to jail due to the denial of bowing head before the emperor.

ANALYSIS: OUTCOMES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS STRUGGLE

1. His struggle gave **impetus to the propagation of Islam**
2. He gave **new life to the Muslims**
3. He **curbed the influence of misguided Ulemas** on Jahangir
4. He **wrote 536 letters** to the Muslim leaders to persuade them to remove their differences and to stand against Atheism
5. He **successfully encountered threats** of Akbar's Deen-e-Elahi
6. He gave the **concept of two-nations** in the sub continent which ultimately resulted in creation of Pakistan
7. He was successful in **influencing and convincing Jahangir** to abolish the practice of **Sajdah** to the King, to create **Mosque** and to abolish ban on **Cow slaughter**
8. He also wrote his **famous book *Ithbât-un-nubuwwawas***

CONCLUSION

1. He was the **role model** for the next coming Muslim personalities like Shah Wali Ullah and Allam Iqbal
2. He **created a line of differentiation** between Hindus and Muslims

QUOTE

His teacher Khawaja Baki Billah once said

“He will turn into a light which will illuminate the whole world.”

HAJI SHARIATULLAH 1781 – 1840 (FARAIZI MOVEMENT)

INTRODUCTION

1. **Haji Shariatullah** (1781–1840) was an eminent **Islamic reformer** of the Bangali Muslims in British India
2. He is known for founding Faraizi movement that **stressed on performing obligatory religious duties** and to **give up unislamic practices** (Bidah), **unislamic rituals and ceremonies** related to birth, marriage and death and **superstitious beliefs**
3. **Dudu Mian was the successor** of the Faraizi movement after the death of Haji Shariat Ullah in 1840 and carried this movement till 1861

EARLY LIFE

1. Haji Shariat Ullah **was born in 1781** in a village **Shamail of Faridpur in Bengal**.
2. He went to Mecca in 1799 to perform **Hajj** and stayed there till 1818 for 20 years.
3. During his stay in Arabia, he was **influenced by the Wahabi Movement** started by Abdul Wahab. The objective of this movement was to urge Muslims to follow pure and right Islamic values.
4. After coming back to Bangal, Shariat Ullah **started Faraizi Movement** that was similar in many respects to Wahabi Movement.

BACKGROUND (CONDITIONS OF MUSLIMS IN BANGAL)

During his time:

1. Most Bengali Muslims were **not following the basic principles** of Islam
2. Muslims were following **un-Islamic practices** (Bidah)
3. Muslims were performing **unislamic rituals and ceremonies** related to birth, marriage and death that were against the teachings of Islam
4. Muslims were **adhering to the Hindu customs**.
5. Muslims were holding **superstitious beliefs**

SALIENT FEATURES OF FARAIZI MOVEMENT

1. Shariat Ullah tried to bring the Bengali Muslims back to the **true path** of Islam
2. He stressed on **performing compulsory and mandatory religious duties** ordained by the Quran and by the Holy Prophet (PBUH).
3. He **discouraged the concept of 'Pir' and 'Mureed'** and introduced the concept of **'Ustaad' and 'Shagird'**
4. He forbade a person from **kissing the feet and hands** of a person.
5. He started campaign against the **false superstitions** in the Muslim society.
6. He asked Muslims to make **Tobba** for their previously committed sins and to spend their **future life according to Islamic laws**.
7. He asked Muslim peasants to **stand up** against the **atrocities** of the landlords.
8. He commanded his disciples **not to pay dishonest cesses** to the landlords.
9. He declared Bengal as **Dar-ul-Harb** and asked for Jihad against the infidels.

PROBLEMS FACED BY HAJI SHARIATULLAH

The outraged landlords started **propaganda** against him and brought several **lawsuits against him**. He was placed under the **detention of the police** a number of times for purportedly inciting agrarian turbulences in Faridpur.

DUDU MIAN— SUCCESSOR OF FARAIZI MOVEMENT

1. **Dudu Mian**, the son of Haji Shariat Ullah, was the successor of the Faraizi movement after the death of Haji Shariat Ullah in **1840** and carried this movement till **1861**.
2. He was **born in 1819**. His real name was **Muhsinuddin Ahmad** and was known as Dudu Mian.
3. He followed the **same philosophy** as was followed by his father. However, he was little bit **aggressive and gave political touch** to the Faraizi Movement.

STEPS TAKEN BY DUDU MIAN

1. He divided Bangal into **circles** and appointed Khalifas to look after each circle
2. He established his **own courts for justice**. He punished those who went to official courts instead of his own court.
3. He asked Bangali Muslims to stand up against the Hindu Muslim Landlords
4. He was of the view that **land is the property of Allah**. No one can impose tax. So, Muslim peasants should not pay any tax except the revenue tax
5. **Rich and poor are equal** and should help each other.

END OF MOVEMENT

Because of the **anti-state movements** carried on by Dudu Mian, he was **put to jail** several times. He died in 1861 in Dhaka. After his death, the Faraizi Movement came to an end due to lack of leadership.

ANALYSIS

As a result of Faraizi Movement:

1. Muslims got a sigh of relief
2. Muslims got many of their rights
3. Muslims got rid of unislamic practices

Overall, the movement was in favor of the Bangali Muslims. However, some critics say that this movement was **short term, anti-state and faced political problems**.

CONCLUSION

Faraizi movement stressed on **performing obligatory religious duties** and to **give up** unislamic practices (Bidah), unislamic rituals and ceremonies related to birth, marriage and death and superstitious beliefs

Due to this movement, Muslims got a sigh of relief and many of their rights and got rid of unislamic practices

DAAR UL ULOOM DEOBAND INTRODUCTION

1. It has **prominent place** in the history of subcontinent.
2. It was a movement which aimed at **revival and uplift** of Indian Muslims and **eradication of unislamic practices**.
3. It was **religious, anti-British and Jihadi in its nature**.
4. It was based on the **philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah of two-nations theory**.

BACKGROUND

1. After the War of Independence in 1857, **British Raj** was established in the sub continent.
2. British **attitude was more hostile** towards the Muslim community.
3. **The atrocities** of the British Raj were against the Muslims to keep them **politically, economically, socially and educationally backward**
4. **Christian missionaries** started spreading their own value system and cultural norms which were against the Islamic values
5. Muslims were economically **poor** and Islamic values were **dying**
6. Indian Muslims were **in need of a movement** to counter western **missionaries** and atrocities of **British Raj** and to protect and revive the **glory of Islam**.
7. Daar ul Uloom Deoband was such a movement which **aimed at revival** of Indian Muslims and which **was religious, anti-British and Jihadi in its nature**.
8. It was based on the **philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah of two-nations theory**

ESTABLISHMENT OF MADRASSAH DAAR UL ULOOM DEOBAND

1. Madrassah Daar ul Uloom Deoband was established by **Haji M. Abid** on **14 April 1866** in Saharanpur.
2. Haji M. Abid collected funds to establish the Madrassah.
3. He **informed Molana Yaqub and Molana Qasim Nanotwi** about the Madrassah and requested them to join the Madrassah.
4. **Molana Qasim Nanotwi** retired from the government service **and joined** the Madrassah **at Rs. 10 per month**. He worked so hard day and night that Madrassah flourished very fast and it became to be known as Qasim Al Uloom.

STRUCTURE OF THE MADRASSAH

1. Madrassah was established in a **separate large building**
2. Work was divided into **different departments** like Quran, Hadith, Fiqah etc
3. A **separate library** was also established in the Madrassah
4. **Modern features** were introduced like preparation of curriculum, conduct of examination and issue of certificates.
5. It produced **various personalities** like:
 1. Molana Ashraf Ali Thanwi
 2. Molana Hassan Ahmad Madni
 3. Molana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani
 4. Molana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi
 5. Mufti Shafi Usmani
 6. Molana Ahmad Lahori
 7. Sheikh ul Hind Molana Mahmood Ul Hassan

SERVICES OF THE MADRASSAH DAAR UL ULOOM DEOBAND

Social services

1. It emphasized on the **women's right of inheritance**
2. It stressed on **marriage of widows**
3. It brought **modernism in thoughts** in Muslim society
4. It reduced **unemployment for Muslims**
5. It **eradicated unislamic practices, customs and traditions** from the Muslim society

Religious services

1. It **countered the attack** of Hindu and Christian **Missionaries**
2. It **established network of Madrassahs** for teaching of Islam
3. It **produced a galaxy of religious scholars**
4. It played a vital **role in Khilafat movement**
5. It started **Silk Letter Movement** (Tehreek-e-Reshmi Rumal) which aimed at **freeing India from British rule by allying with Ottoman Turkey, Imperial Germany and Afghanistan**. Since letters were written in silk cloth hence the name.
6. It **gave birth to two religious political parties** namely **Madni Group and Thanwi**

Group. Madni group was headed by Molana Hassan Ahmad Madni and it was in favor of partition of sub continent and establishment of Pakistan. **Thanwi Group** was headed by Molana Ashraf Ali Thanwi and it was against the partition of sub continent.

Political services

1. It gave birth to **Muslim Nationalist Press**
2. It gave birth to **religious political parties**
3. It developed **anti-imperialistic attitude** among Muslims
4. It followed the philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah of **Two-Nations theory**.

CONCLUSION

1. It was a movement which aimed at revival of Indian Muslims and it was religious, anti-British and Jihadi in its nature.
2. It was based on the philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah of two-nations theory.

<u>Points</u>	<u>COMPARISON</u>	
	<u>Differences</u>	
	<u>DEOBAND</u>	<u>ALIGARH</u>
Education	Its purpose was the religious education of the Muslims.	Its purpose was the modern education of the Muslims.
Stress	It stressed on Jihad against British Raj. It was anti British.	It stressed on cooperation with British Raj. It was pro -British.
Nature	It was purely religious and rigid	It was mainly liberal but it was also given a religious touch . Quote.
Focus	It focused on one sect and gave Fatwas against Brelvis	It was a modern movement and it did not believe in sects
Disciples	It produced Molvis and Imams	It produced salarial class and modern people
Financial Aid	It was not provided with financial aid by the British government	It was provided with financial aid by the British government
Political philosophies	It was in favor of politics	It forbade Muslims to join politics
	<u>Similarities</u>	
Purpose	Both the movements were for the same purpose	
Coordination	Deoband and Aligarh were in an agreement by which English education was provided in Deoband by Aligarh and Religious education was provided in Aligarh by Deoband.	

Quote by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

'Crown of Kalma would be on my head, **science** in my right hand and **philosophy** in my

left hand'

MEGA
LECTURE

SYED AHMAD BARELVI SHAHEED—JIHADI MOVEMENT (1786 – 1831)

INTRODUCTION

1. He was a great **revolutionary Islamic activist** in India.
2. He **waged jihad** and attempted to create an Islamic state with **strict enforcement of Islamic law**.
3. He was the first modern Islamic leader to **lead a movement that was "religious, military and political"** and to address the common people and rulers with a **call for jihad**.
4. He was **influenced by Shah Abdul Aziz, son of Shah Waliullah**. He preached for renewal of Islam and jihad and built a highly developed network of personal friends and partisans.

EARLY LIFE

1. He was **born in 1786 in Rai Bareli**.
2. He was the follower of the philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah and Shah Abdul Aziz.
3. He **preferred to be a soldier** rather than a scholar.
4. He learnt the Quran and Hadith.
5. He is **known for the Battle of Balakot**. In 1826, he provided an **Islamic challenge to an expanding Sikh empire** when he, with his numerous disciples, **arrived in Peshawar** to establish an Islamic state among **Pashtun tribes** in the area. Syed Ahmad and hundreds of his troops and followers were **killed** by the Sikh Army in **Balakot, Mansehra District in 1831**.

MILITARY SERVICE

1. At twenty-five, he started his military career as **'Sawar'** (cavalry man). The military was led by **Nawab Amir Khan of Tank**. He got a lot of **military and state-making experience** here. He left the military because Amir Khan refused to go against the British.
2. He **declared Tank as Dar-ul-Harb** and returned to Delhi and visited his former teacher Shah Abdul Aziz, who was so impressed by Sayyid Ahmad's charisma and maturation that he advised his **nephew Shah Ismail and his son-in-law Maulvi Abdul Hayy** to take **spiritual allegiance (bay'ah)** with him. In 1818, he wrote **'Sirat Mustaqeem'** based on the philosophy of Shah Wali Ullah.

BACKGROUND (CONDITION OF INDIAN MUSLIMS)

During his time:

1. Muslims were **weak** economically, socially, politically and religiously
2. Muslims were performing **unislamic rituals and ceremonies** related to birth, marriage and death that were against the teachings of Islam (restriction on the marriage of widows, belief in superstitions, heavy expenditure at the time of birth, death and marriage, indulgence in ease and discomfort and addiction to wine)
3. **Mughal Empire was declining** and **Sikh, Jatts and Marhattas were rising**
4. **Ranjeet Singh** (the founder of Sikh Empire) was **against the Muslims** and he **converted various Muslim schools and madrassahs into stables**

PREPARATION FOR JIHAD

1. Syed was the **first person to realise** the necessity of a **movement** which was at the same time **religious, military and political**.
2. He was the first to **address the people in his call for jihad**.
3. His **first target** was the Sikh-ruled kingdom of Ranjit Singh. **Punjab and NWFP** was under the control of Ranjeet Singh. Muslims were in very pitiable **condition** with no religious liberty. Many Muslim schools and madarssahs were **converted** into stables. Syed Ahmad visited many areas and Muslims **complained** of massive persecution of Ranjit Singh.
4. He **decided to take up the arms** against Sikhs in Punjab and NWFP. He **sent Shah Ismail and Abdul Hayy with 6000 troops** for Jihad against Ranjit Singh.
5. He himself visited many areas and carefully **developed a network of people to collect funds and encourage volunteers**. He **arrived in Peshawar in 1826** and reached **Noshahra** and established his **headquarter** there.
6. He **preached** jihad amongst the local Pashtun tribes and **demande**d that they renounce their tribal customs and adopt the shariat.
7. He **established system of Islamic taxes** to **finance** the jihad.

MAIN EVENTS OF JIHAD

1. He sent a **message to Ranjeet Singh** either to accept Islam or to prepare for a war. Singh accepted the latter. In **1826**, Syed Ahmad and his followers clashed with Sikh troops at **Akora** and defeated Sikhs who were under the command of **Budh Singh**. The second battle was fought at **Hazro** which was won by Muslims
2. These **two initial successes** increased the **popularity of Ahmad's** movement and many people gathered around him **including the Yar Muhammad, the Governor of Peshawar**. Soon the number of troops was **increased to 80,000**
3. **Sikhs conspired** against Ahmad and **betrayed his ally Yar Muhammad**. Yar Muhammad tried to **give poison** to Ahmad and was killed by Ahmad when he came to know about the malicious intentions of Yar Muhammad.
4. Thereafter, Syed Ahmad went for **Peshawar and Kashmir**. Sikhs under the supervision of **General Ventura** defeated Muslims and saved Peshawar and **gave it to Sultan Muhammad** who was the **brother of Yar Muhammad**. Syed Ahmad went to **Hazara** and faced Sikhs who were under the supervision of **Harri Singh**. Muslims were defeated here too.
5. These defeats were due to **indisciplined, ineffective and poorly coordinated military force**. To overcome these deficiencies, **Syed Ahmad was unanimously chosen as the Imam**.
6. Syed Ahmad made another **assault on Peshawar in 1831** and defeated Sikhs and **occupied it**. He **imposed Shariat in Peshawar** and **declared him as Caliph**. After two months, he left Peshawar **in favor of Sultan Ahmad** on a **promise that Sultan shall pay a 'Tribute'**.

END OF MOVEMENT

Syed Ahmad left for **Balakot** in **1831**. Sikhs under the supervision of **Sheir Singh** defeated Muslims and **killed Syed Ahmad along with his followers**. After his death, no one could continue his movement and it ended because of want of leadership.

ACHIEVEMENTS

1. He fought to **eradicate** the **corrupt practices**
2. He tried to **correct** the **attitude** towards Taqlid and Ijtihad
3. He tried to **reform Sufism**
4. He tried to **revive the political power** of the Indian Muslims
5. He **forbad** Indian Muslims from **performing unislamic rituals and ceremonies** related to birth, marriage and death like tomb worship, restriction on the marriage of widows, belief in superstitions, heavy expenditure at the time of birth, death and marriage, indulgence in ease and discomfort and addiction to wine

ANALYSIS

1. Jihadi movement **awakened the dormant spirit of Jihad** in Muslims and **united** them
2. Jihadi movement inculcated the **spirit of freedom and independence** in Muslims
3. Jihadi movement **urged Muslims to follow the true teachings of Islam** and to **get rid of unislamic practices**

Overall, the movement was in favor of the Muslims. However, some critics say that this movement was for **short term** and it **could not get the support of the local people** (Pathans) who went against this movement.

CONCLUSION

1. Syed Ahmad Shaheed was a great Muslim **reformer**.
2. He was a man of action having **magnetic personality**.
3. He asked Muslims to **denounce all innovations** in Islam and to **get rid of** heretic Sufis, unislamic practices and the Hindu influence and **to follow** strictly the Quran and Hidth.

DEGENERATION OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Muslims ruled over the sub continent for over a thousand years, but then Muslims faced decline in their intellectual, economic, social, political, religious, educational and moral life. Sikhs, Jatts, Marahttas, and foreign invaders also posed serious challenge to the Muslim rulers. The major factors behind the decline of the Muslim reign in the sub continent are discussed under the following headings:

1. Political factors
2. Social factors
3. Economic factors
4. Religious factors
5. Military factors

CONDITIONS PREVAILING IN THE SUB CONTINENT BEFORE THE COLLAPSE OF MUGHAL REIGN IN 1857

1. After the death of Aurangzaib Almgir in 1707, Muslims were facing sever lack of leadership.
2. There was no writ of the state. Authority of the central government was collapsed.
3. Many independent states emerged.
4. Local powers (Sikhs, Jatts, Marahttas) were creating problems for the Muslim rulers.
5. Foreign invaders were challenging the sovereignty of the Muslim rulers.
6. East India Company occupied Bengal in 1757 and created its root in the sub continent.

FACTORS BEHIND THE DEGENERATION OF MUSLIM SOCIETY

POLITICAL FACTORS

Collapse of central authority

Aurangzaib spent 25 years in Dhakan state fighting against the Shiya states and the Marathas which weaken his central authority and contributed to the decline of muslims.

Leadership crises

After the death of Aurangzaib, Muslims faced lack of leadership which contributed to the decline of Muslims.

Conspirational role of the nobility (Bureaucracy)

Nobles like Mir Sadiq (Bengal) and Mir Jafir (Dhakan) conspired against the Mughals and contributed to the decline of Muslims.

Foreign invaders

Muslims were so weak that there was no resistance against foreign invaders. Nadir Shah sacked Delhi in 1739 and Ahmad Shah Abdali sacked Marathas in 1761. This undermined the power of the Mughals and contributed to their decline.

Colonial intrusion

British occupied Bengal in 1757 and the sub continent in 1857. British also contributed to the decline of the Muslims.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Rise of new social powers

Sikhs, Jatts, Marathas, and Rajputs also became powerful enough to challenge the Mughals and contributed to their decline.

Loss of character of kings and nobility

Muslim rulers were focusing on wealth, wine and women rather than on education, religion and Jihad. At that time, palaces had become a symbol of adultery. This situation also contributed to the decline of Muslims.

Intellectual aridity

Muslims were not paying attention to their education. They were lagging behind the rest of the world which also contributed to their decline.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Agrarian crises of the 18th century

Due to twenty five years of Dhakan campaign by Aurangzaib, Indian Muslims faced severe agrarian crises because it was almost impossible to grow crops in the battle fields. This resulted in poverty and revolt against the Mughals and contributed to their poverty.

Collapse of the Mansabdari system

Mansabdari system failed when mansabdars pursued their vested interests and indulged in corrupt practices. This also resulted in decline of

Muslims.

Drainage of Indian wealth

Foreign invaders took Indian wealth with them which resulted in economic loss to the Muslims.

Role of East India Company

East India Company labeled sub continent as Golden Sparrow. It also drained Indian wealth which resulted in economic loss to the muslims.

Parasitic class

Muslims rulers started spending luxurious life. They patronized Darogas, Prostitutes, Soldiers, and Poets which also resulted in economic loss to the Muslims.

Loss of market

Due to the political unrest and economic decline, Mughals also lost their markets and foreign trade which resulted in economic loss to the muslims.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Deviation from religion

Islam is a complete code of life. Muslims faced decline when they departed from islam.

Sufism corrupted

When sufis started practicing heresy without following shariat, this resulted in decline of muslims.

Lack of jihadi spirit

Muslims focused on wealth, wine and woman and lost their focus on jihad which contributed to their decline.

Sectarianism

Muslims divided into sects like Shiya, Sunni etc and lost their unity which contributed to their decline.

Superstitious beliefs and unislamic ceremonies and rituals

Beliefs in superstitions and practice of unislamic ceremonies and rituals related to marriage, birth and death also contributed to the decline of muslims.

MILITARY FACTORS

Leader crises

After the death of Augranzaib Alamgir in 1707, muslims also faced dearth

of leadership which contributed to their decline.

War of succession

War of succession between the four sons of Shah Jahan (Aurangzaib, Dara, Shujah, and Murad) also contributed to the decline of muslims

Civil war

Public rebellion against the Mughals also contributed to their decline

Lack of modern warheads

Mughals used traditional and outdated warheads and failed in building a naval force which also contributed

ANALYSIS

1. There was not just a single cause for the decline of Mughals rather there was a series of causes.
2. Lack of leadership, Short sightedness, Sectarianism, Conspiracies, Corruption, Intellectual aridity, Loss of market, and invasion by foreigners and East India Company were the major causes for the decline of Indian muslims.
3. Problems were so diverse, severe and deadly that it was very difficult for the Mughals to stay alive.
4. Had they encountered these problems successfully, there would have been only a united sub continent under the rules of the muslims.

CONCLUSION

Mughals lost their reign because they were trapped from almost every dimension. Although it is awful that they could not survive yet it is fortunate that today we live in Pakistan—An Independent Islamic State.

ALIGARH (SERVICES OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN)

INTRODUCTION

1. He was a **great muslim reformer** in sub continent
2. After the world war of 1857, Muslims were **facing decline** in their intellectual, economic, social, political, religious, educational and moral life
3. He played an important role for the **welfare and uplifting** of Muslims
4. He was the **first to realize** that muslims were in dire need of education and that backwardness in education was the cause of all ills
5. He **used the platform of Aligarh** to provide his services. All his services are known as Aligarh movement

BACKGROUND (CONDITION OF MUSLIMS)

1. Muslims were **facing decline** in their intellectual, economic, social, political, religious, educational and moral life
2. **Mughals** were declining and **East India Company** was rising
3. British were of the view that muslims were the root cause of the Indian revolt, therefore, muslims were **facing atrocities of the British** like **Land** of the muslims was confiscated; **Fingers** of the muslim masons were cut off so that they could not produce competing products; Muslims were **deprived of their jobs**; Muslim **teachers were dismissed**
4. **Arabic and Persian** were banned
5. **Jumma Prayer** was banned
6. **Christianity** was being preached
7. In 1870, only **17** muslims graduated out of 525

ROLE OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN

He made the **education of muslims** the cornerstone of his **strategy**. According to the biographer of sir syed ahmad khan, his philosophy was to educate, educate and educate. He provided his services from the platform of Aligarh with the following **objectives**:

1. To **remove misunderstanding** between British and Muslims
2. To **keep muslims away from agitational politics**
3. To **protect muslim rights and interests**

POLITICAL SERVICES

1. He tried to bring **British and Muslims close together**
 - a. He wrote '**Risala 'Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind'** and discussed therein that these were Hindus who started the Indian Revolt, muslims joined them later.
 - b. He wrote '**Loyal Muhammadan of India'** and discussed therein the services of muslims to british
 - c. He **engaged British in his educational system**:
 - i. **Lord Lyton** inaugurated Aligarh school
 - ii. **Early principles** of Aligarh were also British
 - iii. He established **British Indian Association**
2. He **kept muslims away from agitational politics** and asked them not to join **Central Mohammadan Association** founded by Syed Ameer Ali
3. He **preserved muslim identity**:
 - a. He asked muslims **not to join Congress** formed by A.O. Hume in 1885
 - b. He **demanded separate job quotas** for muslims
 - c. He used the word '**Qaum'** for muslims for the first time. Quote: **M.S. Jain** '**Sir Syed Ahmed transformed Muslims into a Nation'**
 - d. He gave **separate platform to the muslims** like:
 - i. Mohammadan Educational Conference
 - ii. British Indian Association
 - iii. Indian Patriotic Association
4. He **gave the concept of two-nation**. Urdu-Hindi Tanaza broke out in 1867 in **Banaras** for replacing Urdu with Hindi as official language. He successfully defended Urdu.

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

1. He urged muslims to get **modern education** and learn **English and Western Sciences**
2. He **provided network of educational institutions** to the muslims:
 - a. 1859 – Madarassah Muradabad
 - b. 1862 – Madarassah Ghazipur

- c. 1875 – Aligarh School
- d. 1877 – Aligarh College
3. He **established scientific societies like establishment of Ghazipur Scientific Society** for translation of invaluable English books into Urdu. More than 700 books were translated.
4. He established **Muhammadan Educational Conference** which was converted into Muslim League in 1906 and provided political platform to the muslims
5. He **gathered galaxy of intellectuals and scholars** like Mohsin Ul Malik, Waqar Ul Malik, Shiblee Naumani, Syed Mahmood etc
6. He wrote '**Tahzeeb Ul Ikhlq**' in which he discussed the etiquettes of everyday life. **Aligarh Institute Gazette** was also published

SOCIAL SERVICES

1. He discussed the **manners of dining** in '**Tahzeeb Ul Ikhlq**'
2. He discussed the **history of Delhi** in **Asar-Ul-Sanadeed**
3. He established **Anjuman Taraqi-e-Urdu for defense of Urdu against Hindi**
4. He started campaign against prejudices and superstitions

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

1. He asked muslims to **adopt rational approach towards religion** and that islam was **not a static religion**. He was declared Kafir for his views
2. He wrote **Khutbat-e-Ahmadia** to counter the blasphemy of William More in his book 'Life of Muhammad'.
3. He wrote **exegesis of the Holy Quran**
4. He tried to eradicate Shiya-Sunni differences

ANALYSIS / IMPACT OF MOVEMENT / SIGNIFICANCE

POLITICAL IMPACT

1. **British and Muslims** came close together
2. **British attitude** changed towards the muslims
3. **Muslim rights** were preserved
4. He organized and **united muslims** at national level
5. His movement provided **nursery of the future leaders**. **Stanely Walport "Aligarh cricket ground and common rooms served as a breeding ground for muslim league"**

6. Aligarh movement is the **forerunner of the Pakistan movement**

EDUCATIONAL IMPACT

1. Muslims learnt English and got **modern education**.
2. **Educated class** of the muslims was produced
3. Modern education opened the door of **material prosperity** to the muslims
4. Urdu language was protected

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

1. He **transformed social outlook** of the muslims
2. He was the **great reformer** of muslim society
3. Muslim society was **introduced to the western culture**
4. **Culture of bilingualism** was introduced in the sub continent

CRITICISM BY SOME CRITICS

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the **great reformer** of muslims and he **contributed** towards the intellectual, economic, social, political, religious, educational and moral uplifting of the muslims. However, some people criticize him for the followings:

1. Aligarh movement developed **slavish mentality** in muslims
2. It developed **oppollogistic attitude** in muslims
3. It produced **English speaking salariat class only**
4. Most of the **educational objectives remained unfulfilled**
5. It **damped jihadi spirit** in muslims

CONCLUSION

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the **great reformer** of muslims and he **contributed** towards the intellectual, economic, social, political, religious, educational and moral uplifting of the muslims. He was the **first to realize** that muslims were in dire need of education. He **used the platform of Aligarh** to provide his services. All his services are known as Aligarh movement.

Why were muslims not getting western education: considered it **inferior** to Islamic learning and **against their pride**; felt that it was **forced by foreign people**; saw **no need of it**; thought that it was **saturated with Christianity** and it might corrupt their beliefs.

PARTITION OF BENGAL (16 OCTOBER 1905 – 12 DECEMBER 1911)

INTRODUCTION (P)

1. Partition of Bengal into East and West Bengal was a **turning point** in history.
2. It was blessing in disguise for the Indian Muslims because East Bengal was **Muslim-dominated province**, and it gave them the opportunity to **preserve their identity**.
3. Division of Bengal was not demanded by the Indian Muslims. It was divided based on **administrative reasons**.
4. However, **Hindus** could not tolerate the Muslim-dominated province, and they started **agitation** against the partition of Bengal.
5. Muslims **realized** that Hindus were not sincere to them, and Congress was the party of the Hindus.
6. Muslims **started their real politics** after this event and formed Muslim League in 1906 which ultimately resulted in the formation of Pakistan.

BACKGROUND (P)

1. Bengal was the **biggest and prosperous province** before the battle of Placea in 1757. Lord Clive said, after his visit to Murshad Abad, "The city was as big as London. The only difference was that it has less number of millionaires."
2. **After the Battle of Placea** in 1757, it was occupied by British and decline of Muslims started.
3. Muslims started facing the **atrocities of the British** like their Land was confiscated; Fingers of the masons were cut so that they could not produce competing products, and Muslims were forced to sell their products to EIC at low rates.
4. Muslims were **weak** intellectually, economically, socially, politically, religiously, and morally.
5. In 1865, not even a single muslim was an M.A., while 9 Hindus were M.A.

REASONS FOR PARTITION

1. Biggest province

- a. Bengal was a big administrative unit. Its area was **189000 square miles**, and its population was nearly **85 million**. Territories of Bengal included **Orissa and Bihar** also.

2. Administrative problems

- a. Because Bengal was very big, it was very difficult for a single Governor to manage its affairs.

3. Language problems

- a. Division of Bengal was also sought to combine the **Orissa speaking** people into one province

PARTITION PLAN OF BENGAL

1. Partition scheme was prepared by **Lord Curzon**, the Governor of Bengal, and was sent to **John Brodrick**, the Secretary of the State for India, on **February 2, 1905**. It was sanctioned by Brodrick on **June 9, 1905** and Bengal was divided into two provinces on **October 16, 1905**.
2. East Bengal and Assam, with **Dhaka** as its capital, was **106540 square miles** in area. Its population was **31 million**, out of which Muslims were **18 million** and Hindus were **12 million**. It was Muslim-dominated province.
3. West Bengal, with Calcutta as its capital, was **54 million** in population out of which Muslims were **9 Million** and Hindus were **42 Million**. It was Hindu-dominated province.

MUSLIM, HINDU REACTION TO PARTITION

Muslim reaction to partition

1. Muslims were **happy** because partition was beneficial to their interests
2. It gave them a **chance** of economic, social and political **uplift**
3. They **appreciated** the government decision and condemned the Hindu agitation against the partition.

Hindu reaction to partition

1. Hindus **could not tolerate** the muslim-dominated province
2. Due to the partition, Hindu Landlords, Lawyers and Industrialists were to **lose their land, practice and factories** respectively.
3. They **declared** the partition as **slaughter** of their sacred Cow Mother
4. They started agitation against the partition:
 - a. They started **Swedeshi Movement** (locally produced goods)
 - b. They **banned** foreign goods
 - c. They refused to pay **taxes**
 - d. **Communal riots** started
 - e. **Terrorism** increased. Bombs were dropped in government residencies and an attempt was made on Viceroy's life.
5. **Congress and Hindu Bengali Press** also supported the agitation

ANNULMENT OF BANGAL PARTITION

Hindus boycotted the forthcoming visit of the **King George V**. British government could not bear the Hindu pressure. It reversed the Bangal Partition Order in **December 12, 1911** at **Delhi Darbar**.

ANALYSIS

1. This event showed that **Hindus** were against the Muslims
2. This event showed that **Congress** was a party of the Hindus
3. This event gave boost to **Two-Nation Theory**.
4. This event **disappointed** muslims
5. It resulted in the addition of **fourth creed** in the agenda of Muslim League:
 - a. Loyalty to British Government
 - b. Protection of Muslim Rights
 - c. Peaceful relationship with other communities
 - d. **Attainment of self-government**

CONCLUSION

Partition gave Muslims a **chance** of economic, social and political **uplift**. They were **happy**. However, its annulment showed that **Hindus** were against the Muslims, and **Congress** was a party of the Hindus. It gave boost to **Two-Nation Theory** and Muslim League added the **Attainment of self-government** in its agenda.

URDU HINDI CONTROVERSY INTRODUCTION (P)

1. UHC was the **eye-opener** for Indian Muslims.
2. They **realized** that **Hindus** were not sincere with them, and that **Congress** was the party of the Hindus.
3. Muslims also **realized** that they should have their **own way of action**.
4. UHC was one of the main factors that **contributed** to the formation of **Muslim League** that eventually resulted in creation of **Pakistan** based on **Two-Nation Theory** emphasized by **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan**.

BACKGROUND (P)

1. Urdu was the **official language** of sub continent **since 1825**.
2. Mystic poetry, **exegesis** of the Holy Quran, Islamic **Jurisprudence** and all religious **books** were written in Urdu language.
3. Urdu was called the **language of the Muslims**. Its other names were **Laskhri and Shahjahani**.
4. Hindus could not tolerate Muslims. They launched anti-Urdu campaign and demanded that **Urdu with Persian script be replace with Hindi with Nagri script** as official language.

1ST PHASE OF UHC

UHC **started in 1861** when Maharaja of Banaras patronized **Banaris Institute** which started working on making Hindi the official language of the sub continent. In 1867, it officially demanded the replacement of Urdu with Hindi as official language.

ROLE OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN IN PROTECTION OF URDU

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan took the following steps to protect Urdu:

1. He gave the concept of **Two-Nations**. Hindus and Muslims have nothing in common. Hindus have religion, culture, and civilization that differ from that of Muslims.
2. He created **Ghazipur Scientific Society** which translated invaluable English books into Urdu.
3. He created **Central Association**
4. **Aligarh Institute Gazette and Banaris Gazette** condemned anti-Urdu campaign

Due to the steps taken by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, UHC came to halt for some time.

2ND PHASE OF UHC

UHC started again on **November 7, 1871** when **George Cambell**, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, attended a session held by **Bhaghalpur Scientific Society**. **Molvi Imdaad** addressed the session and used very difficult Urdu which could not be understood by George Cambell.

Hindus took benefit of the situation and filled the ears of the lieutenant governor that Urdu was a very difficult language, and that Urdu be replaced with Hindi as official language.

In **1900**, **Antony Mecdonal** was appointed the Lieutenant Governor of UP. He was given a memorial in which he was requested to replace Urdu with Hindi as official language.

On April 18, 1900, Urdu was replaced with Hindi as official language in UP.

MUSLIM REACTION TO THE DECISION

1. Sir Syed had died in 1898.
2. **Nawab Mohsin Ul Mulik** came forward to protect Urdu language, and he took the following steps:
 - a. He created **Urdu Defence Association** for the revival of Urdu as official language.
 - b. He **resigned from the secretaryship** of Aligarh College.
 - c. British **disbarred the title** of Nawab Mohsin Ul Malik from him (Mahdi Khan).
 - d. He created **Anjamen-e-Taraqi-e-Urdu** in 1903.
3. In **1910**, **Sheikh Zahoor Ahmad** moved a **resolution** and demanded that anti-Urdu campaign not be supported by the British government.
4. In **1916**, **All India Muslim League** also moved a resolution for the protection of Urdu.

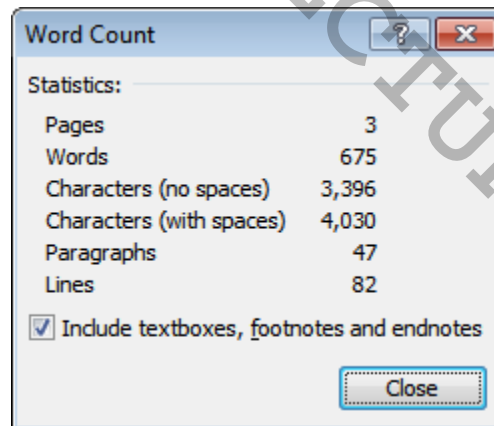
Despite all these efforts, the decision to declare Hindi as official language could not be revoked.

ANALYSIS

1. UHC resulted in socio-politico polarization of sub continent
"Linguistic conflict was responsible for the Indian disunity which helped in the formation of more than one nation". Dr. K.K. Aziz
2. UHC gave boost to **Concept of Two-Nation Theory**.
3. It showed the **Hindu and Congress mentality**
4. It gave **awareness** to Muslims that they should have their own way of action.
5. Muslims **started their own political movement**.

CONCLUSION

1. UHC was the **eye-opener** for Indian Muslims.
2. They **realized** that **Hindus** were not sincere with them, and that **Congress** was the party of the Hindus.
3. Muslims also **realized** that they should have their **own way of action**.
4. UHC was one of the main factors that **contributed** to the formation of **Muslim League** that eventually resulted in creation of **Pakistan** based on **Two-Nation Theory** emphasized by **Sir Syed Ahmad Khan**.



SHIMLA DEPUTATION

INTRODUCTION (P)

1. Shimla Deputation is the **landmark event** in the history of sub continent.
2. This was the **beginning of the real political movement** of the Indian Muslims.
3. It gave **impetus to the Muslim nationalism**.
4. **Hindu-Muslim conflict** was lifted to **the constitutional level**.

FACTORS WHICH LED TO SHIMLA DEPUTATION

1. **Liberal party** came into power in 1905 and **announced that it will introduce reforms** in the subcontinent. Muslims tried to take advantage of these reforms.
2. **Morley** (Secretary of state for India) announced in his **Budget Speech on July 20, 1906** that he was going to introduce reforms in subcontinent.
3. Muslims could not get any seat in the **joint-electorate elections held in 1892**. Thus to represent and protect their interest, they demanded separate electorate for Muslims.
4. Muslims' rights were protected when **Sir Syed Ahmad** was alive. After his **death in 1898**, Muslims realized that it was the time to take part in politics to protect their rights.

"Muslims have awakened in the 20th century and Shimla Deputation was the outcome of this awakening." Dr Razi Wasti

5. Muslims were also in need of political movement **to counter the Hindu nationalism** started by B.G. Tilak and Balpal Lal.
6. It was the **2nd phase of UHC**. Hindi became the official language in 18 April 1900. Muslims were outraged.
7. At that time, Hindus had started **anti-partition of Bengal movement** which disappointed the muslims.
8. **Congress was Hindu oriented**. Muslims were in **need of separate representation and electorate**.

FORMATION OF THE DEPUTATION

1. Nawab Mohsin Ul Malik took serious notice of the Morley's Speech. On August 6, 1906, he wrote a **letter to Arch Bold**, who was in Shimla, and requested him to approach Col. Dunlop Smith, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, and ask him to **arrange a meeting** of the Muslim delegation with the Viceroy. The permission was granted.
2. **Meetings of Muslim** leaders, Mohsin Ul Malik, Hassan Bilgrami, Imdad Ul Malik, were held on 15 and 16 September, 1906 in which **draft of the address** of the Shimla Deputation was prepared.
3. **Deputation was constituted** which consisted of **35** members from all over the India including Mohsin Ul Malik, Waqar Ul Malik, Saleem Ullah, Adam G Pir Bhai, under the headship of Sir Agha Khan.
4. Deputation **met** viceroy, **Lord Minto**, in Shimla on **October 1, 1906**.

SHIMLA DEPUTATION DEMANDS

1. It demanded **separate electorate** for the muslims
2. It demanded representation of the muslims in **Imperial Legislative Council** in excess of their population
3. It demanded representation of muslims in **Executive Council of viceroy**.
4. It requested that **electorate system be preferred** over the nomination system
5. Muslims be given share in **Gazetted and Non-Gazetted seats**.
6. Muslims be appointed as **judges in high courts and chief courts**.
7. Muslims be given seats in **syndicates and senates of the universities**.
8. Muslim universities be given **financial aid**.

Address ended with a note of loyalty to the British Raj.

REACTION

Muslims welcome the Shimla Deputation. It was a step towards the political recognition of the separate entity of the Muslims. Hindus criticized muslims and showed hatred as they as they regarded India as Homogeneous Nation with one majority (Hindus) and multiple minorities (Muslims, Sikhs, Marahattas, Jatts).

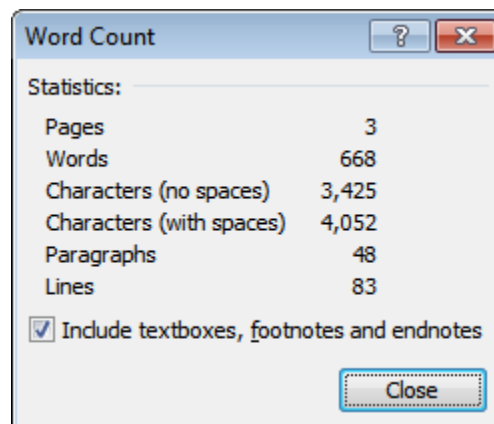
ANALYSIS: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHIMLA DEPUTATION

1. It was the **beginning of the political movement of Indian muslims**. Two months later, **Muslim League was formed on December 30, 1906**.
2. Demands of Shimla Deputation are called **Magna Carta of Pakistan Movement**.
3. **Hindu-Muslim conflict** was raised to constitutional level
4. It made the **first formal demand of separate electorate** for muslims based on two-nations theory
5. Muslims' demand of **separate electorate was accepted in 1909** in Minto-Marley reforms.
6. Demands of Shimla Deputation remained the **focal demands** for many subsequent years.
7. It gave impetus to **muslim nationalism**.
8. It made possible the **survival of muslims** in India
9. **For Syed Ameer Ali**, it has two-fold significance: Muslims came into politics and British policy changed.

"It's final and inevitable consequence was the partition of India and emergence of Pakistan." Dr Razi Wasti

CONCLUSION

1. It was the **Magna Carta** of the Pakistan Movement.
2. Muslims **got separate electorate**.
3. **Separate identity** of the muslims was accepted.



ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE (30 DECEMBER 1906)

INTRODUCTION

1. Indian Muslims **started their real politics** by forming AIML on 30 December 1906.
2. AIML was the **platform** for Indian muslims politics.
3. It created a **line of difference** between Hindu politics (Congress) and Muslim politics (AIML).
4. It not only **protected the rights** of the muslims but also resulted in **formation of separate homeland (Pakistan)** for muslims.

FACTORS WHICH LED TO FORMATION OF AIML

1. **Elections in Britain:** Liberal party came into power in 1905 and **announced that it will introduce reforms** in the subcontinent. Muslims tried to take advantage of these reforms.
2. **Morley Budget Speech:** Morley announced in his **Budget Speech on July 20, 1906** that he was going to introduce reforms in subcontinent.
3. **Results of Elections 1892:** Muslims could not get any seat in the **joint-electorate elections held in 1892**. Thus to represent and protect their interest, they demanded separate electorate for Muslims.
4. **Death of Sir Syed:** Muslims' rights were protected when **Sir Syed Ahmad** was alive. After his **death in 1898**, Muslims realized that it was the time to take part in politics to protect their rights.

"Muslims have awakened in the 20th century and Shimla Deputation was the outcome of this awakening." Dr Razi Wasti

5. **Rise of Hindu Nationalism:** Muslims were also in need of political movement to **counter the Hindu nationalism** started by B.G. Tilak and Balpal Lal. Hindus had started various activities to hurt muslims like Arya Smaj (promotion of Hinduism), and Shudi Movement (propagation against islamic teachings)
6. **2nd phase of UHC:** It was the **2nd phase of UHC**. Hindi became the official language in 18 April 1900. Muslims were outraged.
7. **Anti-partition of Bengal Movement:** At that time, Hindus had started **anti-partition of Bengal movement** which disappointed the muslims.

8. **Hindu Orientation of Congress:** Congress was established in 1885 by Alan Octavian Hume and was Hindu oriented. It followed the doctrine of One-Nation and was Hindu dominated. Muslims were in **need of separate representation and electorate**.
9. **Success of Shimla Deputation:** Positive reply of Minto to Shimla Deputation gave muslims courage and confidence to form their own political party.
10. **Miscellaneous reasons:** K.K. Aziz writes in his book 'The Making of Pakistan' that there were four main factors for the formation of AIML:
 - a. Muslims were separate entity
 - b. Congress was Hindu oriented
 - c. Muslims got education and political awareness
 - d. Muslims realized to have their own political party

FORMATION OF AIML

1. **Mohsin ul Malik, Waqar ul Malik and Saleem Ullah showed their desire** to have a political party. Syed Ameer Ali supported the idea.
2. **Session of Mohammadan Educational Conference** was held in Dhaka on 29th and 30th December 1906.
3. At the end of the session, **Nawab Saleem Ullah moved a resolution** for the formation of muslim political party named All India Muslim League. The resolution was accepted by all the leaders.
4. AIML was formed with the following **objectives**:
 - a. To **express** loyalty to the British
 - b. To **protect** muslims rights and interests
 - c. To have **friendly relationship** with the other communities of India

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE OF AIML

1. **Membership** was restricted to 400, all above the age of 25 and having annual

income of more than Rs. 500.

2. A **Central Committee** was formed to implement the objectives and decisions of the league and to exercise executive functions.
3. **Sixty-member constitutional committee** was formed under the presidency of Mohammad Ali Johar. It prescribed the rules of Muslim League and published them in Green Book.
4. Initially, the league has one **President**, six Vice Presidents, one Secretary and two Joint Secretaries, all elected for a term of three years.
5. Nawab Mohsin Ul Malik and Nawab Waqar Ul Malik were the provisional **Joint Secretaries**.
6. **Second session of AIML** was held on 18 March **1908 at Aligarh** in which Sir Agha Khan was elected as President and Hassan Bilgrami was elected as Secretary. Nawab Mohsin Ul Malik and Nawab Waqar Ul Malik were elected as Joint Secretaries.
7. **Different branches** of AIML were opened in different cities:
 - a. Central Mohammadan Association, formed by Ameer Ali, became the London branch of AIML.
 - b. Similarly, branches were opened in Pona, Punjab, Madaras, Dkhaka, Bombay and East Bengal.
8. In **1913**, Mohammad Ali Jinnah joined AIML.
9. On **27 March 1913, fourth creed**, attainment of self-government, was added to the objectives of AIML

ANALYSIS: SIGNIFICANCE OF AIML

1. AIML was the **platform for muslim politics**.
2. It not only **protected the rights** of the muslims but also resulted in **formation of separate homeland (Pakistan)** for muslims.

CONCLUSION

AIML was the **platform for muslim politics**. It not only **protected the rights** of the muslims but also resulted in **formation of separate homeland (Pakistan)** for muslims.

LUCKNOW PACT INTRODUCTION (P)

1. It is a **milestone** in the history of subcontinent
2. It is a **high mark** of Hindu-Muslim unity
3. Congress **accepted separate electorate** demand of AIML
4. This pact **confirmed** that Congress was the party of the Hindus and Muslim League was the party of the Muslims.

FACTORS THAT LED TO LAKHNOW PACT

This pact was not accidental rather several factors led to this pact.

1. **Change in Muslim politics:** At the start of 2nd decade of 20th century, several events occurred that led to anti-imperialistic attitude of muslims:
 - a. Annulment of Bengal Partition
 - b. Kanpur Mosque Tragedy
 - c. Government hesitation in raising the status of Aligarh College to University level
 - d. Pathetic conditions of Muslims in Balkan states

Due to these incidents, Muslims were in need of Hindu-Muslim unity

2. **Newly educated leadership** emerged with anti-imperialistic attitude like Muhammad Ali Johar, Abdul Kalam Azad and Zafar Ali Khan
3. **New brand of muslim journalism** arose. Muslim press like Al-Hilal, Hamdard, Comrade, and Zamindar played a role in the development of anti-imperialistic attitude.
4. **Efforts for Hindu-Muslim Unity:** Muslims realized that they need HM unity to get their objectives accomplished. In 1910, Hakeem Ajmal expressed his sentiments for HM unity which were supported by British. Sir William Waddenbergs started negotiations with Congress. As a result, Calcutta Unity Conference was held in which 60 Hindus and 40 Muslims participated.
5. **Role of London Branch of Muslim League:** In 1912, in an annual report, a suggestion was given to form a representative board of two communities to overcome differences and to resolve communal issues. It was also suggested

that Muslims should stop cow slaughter and Hindus should stop interference in Muslim prayers.

6. **Change in creed of Muslim League:** AIML added fourth creed in its objectives on 23 March 1913.
7. **Role of Liberal Leaders:** Congress leaders like Gokhala and SP Sina and AIML leaders M.A. Jinnah, M. A. Johar, and Abul Kalam Azad also supported Hindu Muslim unity.
8. **Role of Jinnah:** Jinnah was the member of both the AIML and Congress at the same time. He played an important role in Hindu Muslim Unity. He was called Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity.
9. **Outbreak of World War-I (1914-1918):** Hindu Muslim unity was necessary to pressurize the British Government from following anti-Turkish policies.
10. **Scheme of Ninteem:** Nineteen members of Imperial Legislative Council presented a draft and called for further constitutional reforms in subcontinent.

DESIGN / MAKING OF LAKHNOW PACT

Muslim League and Congress held their annual sessions at **Bombay** on **December 15, 1915**. Session of ML was presided over by **Mazhar Ul Haq** and session of Congress was presided over by **S.P.Sina**. After the sessions, a committee was constituted to formulate a scheme of reforms.

On **December 30 and 31, 1916**, a joint session of the two parties was held at **Lucknow**. The committee gave its scheme of reforms which was agreed upon by both the parties. This agreement between ML and Congress is known as **Lacknow Pact**. After his pact, Jinnah was called the '**Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity**'.

DEMANDS / FEATURES OF LAKHNOW PACT

1. Muslims be given **separate electorate**.
2. Muslims be given **one-third representation** in Imperial Legislative Council.
3. **Weightage formula** was proposed by which muslims were to get less seats in Muslims-majority areas like Punjab (50%) and Bengal (40%) and more seats in Muslims-minority areas like U.P. (30%), Bihar (25%), C.P. and Madaras (15%), and

Bombay (13%).

4. **Provinces** should be given maximum **autonomy**.
5. There would be an **executive council in every province** to be headed by governor and half of the members of which will be Indians.
6. Four-fifth of the **provincial legislative councils** would be elected and one-fifth would be nominated.
7. **Number of members** will be at least 125 in large provinces and 50 – 75 in smaller provinces.
8. Members of legislative council would be elected for **five years**.
9. Elections would be based on **adult franchise**.
10. **Executive function** would be separated from judiciary.
11. **Council for the secretary of state for India** would be dissolved and two assistant secretaries would be appointed to assist the secretary of state. Their salary would be withdrawn from British exchequer.

ANALYSIS: SIGNIFICANCE OF LAKHNOW PACT PLUS POINTS FOR MUSLIMS

1. It was for the **first and the only time that a mutually acceptable solution** of the Hindu Muslim problems was chalked out.
2. It was the **high mark of Hindu-Muslim unity**.
3. Most of the **features** of Lakhnow Pack were later **incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1919**.
4. Muslims demand for **separate electorate was accepted**.
5. Muslims got **seats in Muslim-minority provinces** like U.P., Bihar, C.P., Madaras, and Bombay
6. This pact **confirmed that Congress** was the party of the Hindus and **Muslim League** was the party of the Muslims.
7. It paved the way to **self-government**.

NEGATIVE POINTS FOR MUSLIMS

1. Muslims got **fewer seats** in Muslim-majority areas like Bengal and Punjab.
2. This pact **did not solve the fundamental problems** of heterogeneous population.
3. **Iqbal** was unhappy. He said that this pact was successful if it was intended to **benefit one nation** and a failure if it was intended to benefit two nations.
4. **Syed Ahmad Noor** called it an attempt to **bring two extremes together**.
5. **Khaleeq Uz Zaman** called it political **inexperience** of the Muslims.

CONCLUSION

1. It was for the **first and the only time that a mutually acceptable solution** of the Hindu Muslim problems was chalked out.
2. It was the **high mark of Hindu-Muslim unity**.
3. Muslims demand for **separate electorate was accepted**.
4. This pact **confirmed that Congress** was the party of the Hindus and **Muslim League** was the party of the Muslims.

NEHRU REPORT INTRODUCTION

1. It was the **eye-opener** for Indian Muslims.
2. It was a blessing in disguise for the **Muslim nationalism**.
3. It **rejected the demand of the Muslims for separate electorate** which was conceded by British in 1909 and Congress in 1916.
4. It **led to fourteen points of Jinnah** that ultimately led to creation of Pakistan.

BACKGROUND

1. **Montey Marley reforms of 1909** and **Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919** were already made. Reforms of 1929 were expected.
2. **Simon Commission** was sent in **1927** to give suggestions for the constitutional reforms to be made in 1929.
3. The **Commission did not include any Indian member**. **Lord Birken, the secretary of state for India, said** that no unanimous report could be expected from a body with Indian representation. A Hindu Report, a Muslim Report or a Sikh Report could be expected but not an Indian Report. Therefore no Indian was added to Commission.
4. To answer the challenge put by Lord Birken, a **committee was formed under the headship of Motilal Nehru**. It included members from all the communities. It **published its report in August 1928** which is known as Nehru Report.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Motilal Nehru | Hindu (Chairman) |
| 2. M.S. Aney | Hindu Muhasabha |
| 3. M.R. Jayakar | Hindu Muhasabha |
| 4. Ali Imam | Muslim |
| 5. Shoaib Qureshi | Muslim |
| 6. G.R. Pradhan | Non-Brahmin |
| 7. Mangal Singh | Sikh League |
| 8. Tej Bahadur Sapru | Liberals |
| 9. N.M. Joshi | Labor |

FEATURES OR MAIN POINTS OF THE NEHRU REPORT

1. India should be given **status of Dominion on a unity basis with parliamentary** form of government.
2. **Residuary powers** should be vested in the center.
3. **Central government will comprise** a Prime Minister and six other Ministers appointed by Governor General.
4. Muslims could enjoy **one-fourth representation in the Central Legislature**.
5. There should be **no separate electorate or weightage for minorities**. It should be replaced with **adult and universal franchise**.
6. **Reservation of seats for Bengal and Punjab** as suggest by Jinnah in Delhi proposals was ruled out. However, reservation of seats in provinces where **muslims were at least 10% was maintained**. It further said that a minority shall remain a minority whether any seats are reserved for it or not.
7. It accepted the **demand of separation of Sindh from Bombay** and reforms in NWFP and Balochistan.
8. It suggested creation of **Canarese-speaking province in South India**.
9. **Hindi would be the official language** of India.

ANALYSIS

1. It gave **anti-muslim policies**.
2. It showed **Hindu and Congress mentality**.
3. It **rejected** the demand of muslims for **separate electorate**.
4. It resulted in **Muslim nationalism**.
5. **All India Muslim Conference** was called by **Sir Agha Khan in 1929** at **Delhi** which passed the following **resolution**:
 1. It demanded **federal system** with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
 2. It demanded **separate electorate** for muslims.
 3. It demanded that **existing weightage for muslims** in muslim-minority areas be maintained.
 4. It demanded that **muslims be given their due share** in the center and provinces.
 5. **Due share of seats** should be given to muslims in public services and

autonomous bodies.

6. It **demanded safeguards** for the protection and promotion of muslim interests.
7. **No constitution shall be acceptable** unless it conforms to the principles embodied in this resolution.

CONCLUSION

1. It was a blessing in disguise for the **Muslim nationalism**.
2. It **rejected the demand of the Muslims for separate electorate** which was conceded by British in 1909 and Congress in 1916.
3. It **led to fourteen points of Jinnah** that ultimately led to creation of Pakistan.

MEGA
LECTURE

FOURTEEN POINTS OF JINNAH INTRODUCTION

1. These points have significant importance in the history of subcontinent.
2. These were befitting reply to Nehru Report 1928.
3. These protected muslim rights.
4. From 1930 to 1940, these fourteen points remained the main focus of muslim politics.

BACKGROUND

1. **Montey Marley reforms of 1909** and **Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919** were already made. Reforms of 1929 were expected.
2. **AIML** in its three consecutive sessions of 1924, 1925 and 1926 gave its principles and framework to be included in the reforms of 1929.
3. Jinnah gave Delhi proposals in 1927.
4. **Simon Commission** was sent in **1927** to give suggestions for the constitutional reforms to be made in 1929.
5. Nehru Report 1928 negated muslim rights that it had accepted in Lucknow Pact.
6. Fourteen points 1929 were the befitting reply to Nehru Report 1928.

FEATURES OF FOURTEEN POINTS (GAMMET RR SSS ABC)

1. **Form of government** will be **federal** with residual powers vested in provinces.
2. **Provinces** should be given **autonomy**.
3. Muslim should be given **one-third share** in the Central Legislative.
4. **Minorities would be given their due share** without converting any majority into minority or even equality.
5. The representation of communal groups will be by means of **separate electorates**.
6. Any **territorial redistribution** should not affect muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal, and the NWFP.
7. **Religious liberty** would be given to every community.
8. **Reforms** would be introduced in NWFP and Balochistan.
9. **Sindh** should be separated from Bombay.
10. Muslims should be given due **share** in state services and autonomous bodies.
11. Constitution should **safeguard** muslim rights.

12. No **amendment** in the constitution shall be made by Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation.
13. No **bill** or resolution shall be passed if it is opposed by three-fourth of the members.
14. Every **cabinet** (central or provincial) should represent at least one-third of muslims.

ANALYSIS / SIGNIFICANCE

1. It gave the **minimum charter of demand** of the muslims.
2. It has great **constitutional significance**.
3. From 1930 to 1940, these fourteen points remained the **main focus of muslim politics**.
4. It is **befitted reply to Nehru Report**.
5. It **protected not only the muslim rights** but also the rights of the other minorities.
6. It **united the two groups** (Jinnah and Shafi) of Muslim League.
7. It **established the Jinnah's credentials** as a leader of the muslims.
8. It **established Muslims League's credentials**.
9. **Jinnah overshadowed the popularity** of all the rivals of the League.

NEHRU REPORT AND FOURTEEN POINTS

SIMILARITIES

1. Both demanded **constitutional rights, civil liberties and political freedom** for the people of India.
2. Both demanded **separation of Sindh from Bombay**.
3. Both demanded **reforms in NWFP and Balochistan**.
4. Both are same in **nature politically and constitutionally**.

DIFFERENCES

NEHRU	FOURTEEN POINTS
It demanded strong center.	It demanded strong provinces.
It demanded one-fourth share for muslims in the center.	It demanded one-third share for muslims in the center.
It ignored the rights of minorities.	It protected the rights of minorities.
It demanded joint electorates	It demanded separate electorate
It was reply to Simon Commission	It was reply to Nehru Report
It was the point of view of Hindus only	It was the point of view of all minorities.

CONCLUSION

1. **No future constitution** could be evolved unless it was within the framework provided by these points.
2. **Iqbal** seems to have drawn his **concept of separate muslims** state from these fourteen points of Jinnah.
3. **Chaudhry Rehmat Ali** claimed that in framing his **scheme of Pakistan** he was influenced by Iqbal's address and fourteen points of Jinnah.
4. These points showed the **wisdom and far-sightedness of the Jinnah**.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES (JULY 1937-OCTOBER 1939)

INTRODUCTION

1. Establishment of CM was a unique episode in the history of subcontinent.
2. It was for the first time that responsible self-government of Indians was formed under the aegis of British government.
3. However, Congress Raj was not free from controversies. It was marked as Congress discrimination and atrocities against Muslims.
4. It was the turning point of cessation of Hindu-Muslim coexistence.

BACKGROUND

1. Elections of 1937 were held under India Act, 1935.
2. AIML and Congress participated in elections with slightly different slogans.
"To all appearance, the social policy it (ML) advocated was much the same as Congress Policies." Prof. Coupland
3. Congress was better organized, had influential propaganda machinery and sound financial backing while ML was not well organized, had meager resources and limited exposure to media.
4. As a result, Congress got significant success as it won 711 seats out of total of 1585. It was able to get absolute majority in five provinces (Madras, UP, CP, Orissa and Bihar) and was also in a position to form government in Bombay. While AIML got only 109 seats out of 482 Muslim seats.
5. Congress formed government without making alliance with AIML and started its atrocities against Muslims and AIML.
"From now, Congress would adopt slogan of Congress dictatorship."
Congress President: Subhash Chandra Bose
6. Pandit Nehru went a step forward and said that there are only two parties in India, the British Government and the Congress. It meant that Muslims and AIML had no place and importance in the politics of India.

ATROCITIES OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

1. **Congress conspiracies to destroy AIML:** Congress took the following steps to destroy the identity of AIML:
 - a. It refused to form coalition government with the AIML.
 - b. It offered humiliating conditions of coalition government to AIML in UP.
 - i. ML shall cease to function as separate group.
 - ii. Existing members of ML shall become the members of Congress.
 - iii. Parliamentary Board of ML in UP will be dissolved.
 - c. Nehru's mass contact campaign to weaken and demoralize ML and to discredit its leadership.
 - d. Congress created problems for muslim governments in Punjab, Bengal and Sindh to make muslim governments unstable.
2. **Conspiracies to erode identity of Muslims**
 - a. Warda Educational Scheme
 - i. It was an educational policy given by the committee headed by Dr. Zakir Hussain. Its report is known as Warda Scheme. It was anti-muslims and anti-islam. It made Hinduism the supreme religion. Coeducation and music were made compulsory.
 - b. Vidya Mandir Scheme
 - i. It was also an educational policy in CP and Berar. Hindi language was made compulsory. Its aim was to eliminate identity of muslims.
3. **Focus on Uni-Nationalism:**
 - a. Muslims were considered as minority by the Hindus.
 - b. For promoting uni-nationalism, Congress introduced tri-color flag without common consent and mutual agreement of all the parties.
 - c. Muslims were forced to bow before the portrait of Ghandi.
 - d. Bande Mataram was declared as National Anthem. Its singing was made compulsory in schools, colleges and legislative sessions.
 - e. Congress also supported Hindu Mahasbha who had aggressive feelings towards muslims.
4. **Economic exploitation of Muslims:** Muslims were not considered for the

government jobs. Congress tried to keep muslims economically dependent.

5. **Communal violence (riots):** Congress supported militant Hindus. Muslims were subjected to persecution, lathi-charge, firing and arrest.
6. **Congress government put a ban on Cow slaughter.** It was anti-Islam policy.
7. **Hindi was declared as official language.** It made UHC most severe.

END OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES AND DAY OF OBSERVANCE

II World War broke out in 1939. British wanted to win the sympathies of the muslims for the purpose of getting support of muslim army. It wanted to give support to the muslims. Congress rejected it and resigned from the ministries on 22nd October 1939. Muslims observed Deliverance day on 22nd October 1939 on the advice of Jinnah.

ANALYSIS: IMPACT OF CONGRESS MINISTRIES

1. CM developed sense of insecurity among muslims.
2. It exposed Hindu mentality.
3. It gave impetus to Muslim Nationalism.
4. It resulted in transformation of outlook of Jinnah.
5. It increased the popularity of demand for Pakistan.
6. It brought muslims leaders (Sir Sikandar, Fazl-ul-Haq, Asad Ullah Khan) close to each others.
7. Jinnah emerged as the undisputed leader of the Muslims.
8. Congress resignation increased respect of muslims in the eyes of British.

CONCLUSION

1. Congress Raj was marked as Congress discrimination and atrocities against muslims.
2. It was the turning point of cessation of Hindu-Muslim coexistence.
3. By disregarding the ML in 1937, Congress did temporarily enjoy taste of absolute power, but its after-effects proved quite fatal to its own popularity and credibility among the Indian minorities, especially the muslims.
4. It left muslims with no doubt that Congress was nothing but a Hindu party.
5. "The Congress rule in the provinces did more to strengthen the muslim separatism than the work of the disorganized ML could have achieved."

I.H. Qureshi