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GENESIS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Ideology: Ideology is a set of ideas or norms on which the collective ideals of a community, nation or '*millat*' are based. It also includes the sum total of principles set forth for the achievement of these common ideals. The Muslims follow the Islamic ideology, which simply means the way of life based on the tenets of Islam.

Islamic Concept of Nationhood: The Muslims believe that by virtue of their faith, they have an identity, separate and distinct from other nations of the world. This feeling of oneness among themselves combined with the consciousness of being separate from others is called 'Two Nation Theory'. Islam is a democratic way of life, and the Muslims strongly believe in the right of self-determination for all human beings. This principle implies that in all parts of the world, where the Muslims form a sizeable majority, they should be given a right to form an independent democratic state of their own, and living under this state they should avail the opportunity to order their individual and collective lives in accordance with their faith and belief.

The Two Nation Theory: Defined and Explained

Islam was introduced in India shortly after its advent. Muslims in India grew into a sizeable community within a short span of time. The Muslim community of India guarded its identity very keenly and cautiously.

Definition: The term 'Pakistan Ideology' refers to that set of beliefs and objectives which formed the basis of the Muslim freedom struggle in South-East Asia. This struggle was, of course, motivated by the Islamic faith and guided by the objective of establishing a Muslim state in the sub-continent, based on the principle that the Muslims and the non-Muslims in

India were separate and distinct nations and the Muslims had a desire to order their individual and collective lives according to the tenets of Islam, living as free citizens of an independent democratic state.

The area, which now forms the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, had a non-Muslim population of about 3 to 5 percent. Non-Muslim living in this area knew that their rights will be better protected as citizens of a Muslim state, because in a Muslim state Non-Muslim citizens' civil and political rights are equal to the rights of the Muslim citizens. Due to this reason, the Christians, the Hindus and the other religious communities played an active role in the Pakistan movement. Sacrifices rendered by the non-Muslims during the days of the Pakistan Movement and the patriotic spirit with which they served Pakistan after its creation, stand as a bright example in our history and the history of nations.

Components of the Pakistan Ideology

Islam: The religious belief of the Muslims living in the North-Western and North-Eastern regions of the Indian sub-continent was the first and the foremost motivating force behind their demand for Pakistan. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) said that the demand for Pakistan was not merely a question of acquiring a piece of land; Pakistan was means to be a laboratory for proving the validity and truth of the Islamic principles. Elaborating the guiding principles that formed the basis an Islamic state the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) said:

“Fundamentally in an Islamic state, authority rests with Almighty Allah. The working of an Islamic government is conducted according to the Quranic principles and injunctions. In an Islamic state, neither its head, nor any parliament or an institution or an individual can act absolutely in any matter. Only the Quranic injunctions control our behavior in the society and in politics.”

Democracy: System of an Islamic state is based on democratic principles, explaining this, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) in a radio message addressed to the people of the United States of America, said:

“The Constitution of Pakistan is yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1400 years ago. Islam and its idealism has taught us democracy.” (Feb. 1948)

Social Justice, Equality, and Sense of Responsibility: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) explained the fundamental principles of an Islamic state in the following words:

“It (Islam) has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of those glorious traditions and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan.” (Feb. 1948)

Fundamental Human Rights: The Hindu leadership of South-East Asia can be divided into two types; the extremists and the moderates. Unfortunately, the Congress was fully overpowered by the extremists at the juncture of history the British had decided to transfer power to the Indian hands. In this state of affairs, the Muslims and the other minority communities in the region started feeling that if the Indian government is entrusted to the extremist Hindu hands they will deprive the non-Hindus of their most fundamental rights. This feeling served as a strong motive force behind the Muslim demand for Pakistan, and for the same reason, the non-Muslims of this region rendered full support to the Muslim demand for Pakistan. In other words, an important objective underlying the demand for Pakistan was to safeguard the rights of the people living in these areas, the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) was a great champion of human rights, addressing the first session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) said:

“... you are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with

the business of the state We are starting with this
fundamental principle that we are all citizens, and equal
citizens, of one state.” (Aug. 11, 1947)

Pakistan: The Outcome of the Sustained Muslim Efforts

Landmark Events: 1857 to the Creation of Pakistan

British Ascendancy: In the year 1857, eight hundred yearlong Muslim rule over India came to an end. In 1858 India was given under the direct control of the British Crown.

The Aligarh Movement: Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) found the solution of the Muslim problem in the British education system and in making friendship with the British rulers. In 1875 he founded the Aligarh School and established many other educational and research institutions and also brought out a magazine *Tehzeeb-ul-Ikhlaq*. Urdu-Hindi controversy started by the Hindus in 1867 gave Sir Sayyid's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) ideas a new direction. In Hindu antagonism towards Urdu he foresaw a parting of the ways between the two communities.

Extremist Hindu Movements: The anti-Muslim movement *Arya Samaj* flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The movement aimed at reconverting the Muslims to Hinduism. Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote a novel “Anand Matth” which provoked Muslims’ religious sentiments. Anti-Muslim epic *Bande Mataram* was a part of this novel.

Pakistan is the outcome of the sustained Muslim struggle spread over a period of ninety years. In order to understand the real nature of this struggle we must be aware of the significant events that took place during this period.

The Partition of Bengal: In the year 1905 Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two parts i.e. Est Bengal and West Bengal. This step was taken mainly due to administrative reasons. Since this partition benefited the Muslims, the Hindus and the Indian National Congress opposed it vehemently. The Muslims started to feel that they should have a political platform of their own to voice their aspirations and take their demands up with the government.

The Simla Deputation and Demand for Separate Electorate: Thirty-five top ranking Muslim leaders called on the then Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on Oct. I, 1906 and

presented the Muslims' demand before him. Separate electorate was the most significant of the Muslim demands. Viceroy's attitude was sympathetic and encouraging.

Establishment of the Muslim League: Encouraged by the success of the Simla Deputation the Muslims decided to establish "The All India Muslim League". The decision was taken at the session of the "Muhammadan Educational Conference" held at Dacca in December 1906. Sole purpose of the establishment of the Muslim League was to take up the Muslim demands with the government through constitutional means.

Proposals For the Solution of the Constitutional Problems: Constitutional problems of India were of very complex nature. Numerous efforts were made to work out a conciliatory formula which would satisfy the British, the Hindus and the Muslims at the same time. Given here is a brief overview of the proposals made by different groups in this regard:

1. Minto-Morley Reforms or the Government of India Act 1909.
2. The Lucknow Pact 1916 (jointly agreed Congress-League constitutional proposals).
3. Montague-Chelmsford Reforms or the Government of India Act 1919.
4. The Delhi-Muslim Proposals 1927 (another conciliatory effort made by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ))
5. The Simon Commission 1928.
6. The Nehru Report 1928 (anti-Muslim Congress stance).
7. The All Parties Muslim Conference (1928-1929).
8. The Quaid-e-Azam's Fourteen Points 1929, (Minimum Muslim constitutional demands; another effort by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) to reach a mutually agreed constitutional accord).
9. The Round Table Conference, London, 1930 to 1932, (an effort made by the British government to hit at a commonly agreed constitutional formula).
10. New constitutional arrangement; the Government of India Act 1935.
11. Arrival and failure of the Cripps Mission (1942).
12. The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946); (a sincere British effort towards the solution of the constitutional problem).

13. British Prime Minister's declaration of February 20, 1947. (Announcement of the British decision to quit India till June 1948).
14. Mountbatten's arrival and Third June 1947: Plan (final proclamation of the Partition Plan).
15. Indian Independence Act July 1947; (approved by the British Parliament).

Evolution of the Muslim League's Constitutional Struggle:

1. Established; Decca 1906.
2. Establishment of the London branch of the Muslim League; 1908.
3. Amendment of the objectives; demand of self-government under the British umbrella, 1913.
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) joins Muslim League (1913).
5. Congress-League reconciliation (Lucknow Pact 1916).
6. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) quits the Home Rule League and the Congress (1920).
7. Delhi Proposals (1927); another effort of reconciliation by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ).
8. Adoption of the resolution embodying Fourteen Point formula rendered by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) (1929).
9. Allahabad Address (1930); Iqbal's proposal for the Muslim right of self-determination.
10. Steps taken by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) for the re-organization of the Muslim League (1935).
11. Muslim League's poor performance in the general elections (1937).
12. Mass movement against the Congress, organized by the Muslim League. The Muslim League takes off as a popular movement (1937-1939).
13. The Lahore Resolution adopted (1940).
14. The Muslim League merited with exemplary success in the general elections (1945-46).

15. "Direct Action Day" observed by the Muslims throughout India, the Muslim League demonstrates its street power (August 16, 1946).

Other Important Events:

1. 1911; Annulment of the Partition of Bengal.
2. 1920; Aligarh College rose to the status of a University.
3. 1919; beginning of the Khilafat Movement to avert danger of dismemberment of the Turkish Empire at the hands of the British and their Allies, after their victory in the Second World War. During this period Hindus-Muslim unity reached its apex.
4. 1924; abolition of the institution of Khilafat by Mustapha Kamal Ata Turk; end of the Khilafat Movement.
5. 1923-24; Civil Disobedience Movement, launched by Gandhiji to support the Khilafat cause, was called off and with this Hindu Muslim riots took over the entire Indian sub-continent.
6. Chaudhary Rehmat Ali proposed the name of 'Pakistan'; and established, "Pakistan National Movement".
7. Extremely disappointed at the despondency of the Muslims the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) who had decided to settle permanently in London in 1931, changed his decision and came back to India in 1934, on the request of the Muslim leaders especially Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمة الله عليه)
8. 1937; the Congress and the allied parties were able to form governments in seven out of the eleven Indian provinces; these governments set a record of bad governance and partiality against the Muslims.
9. 1937; The Punjab Muslim Students Federation adopted the demand of a separate Muslim homeland as its objective and made it a part of its constitution. This was done on Allama Iqbal's (رحمة الله عليه) advice.
10. October 1939; the Congress ministries resigned office as a result of the congress's disagreement with the British government, the latter had demanded Indian support in her War enterprise.
11. December 22; 1939; to mark the end of the oppressive Congress rule. The Muslim League observed 'Deliverance Day' on Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) call.

12. June 1945; Viceroy Lord Wavell and the Indian leaders failed to reach an agreement on constitutional issues in the Simla Conference.
13. October 1946; the Muslim League joined the interim government as a political move and was able to sabotage it.
14. August 11, 1947; opening session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held at Karachi.
15. August 14, 1947; Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of the British India transferred power to the Governor General of Pakistan. He came to Karachi to deliver his last address. Beginning of a new era in the history of the Indian Muslims.

In the following pages we shall study, in a bit detail, certain landmark events in the history of our freedom struggle. Viewed in the light of the brief background given in the preceding lines, it will be easier for us to understand these events in their true perspective.

The Aligarh Movement

Background of the Aligarh Movement

Indian authority was shifted from the Muslim to the British hands, as a result of the failure of the War of Independence in 1857. This great debacle shook the entire structure of South Asia's, Social and political life to the depth of its roots. This course of events gave birth to a person like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ). Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had stood by the side of the British during the "War of Independence" and saved the lives of many English gentlemen and their families. This had not happened accidentally, he had done all this with full commitment. In the changed circumstances Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed, it was not a wise policy for the Muslims to adopt antagonistic attitude towards the new rulers of India and incur their anger. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) advised the Muslims to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendship towards the British, abstain from indulging into politics, acquire modern education, try to secure maximum government services and be loyal to the British Government.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) conciliatory efforts, taken collectively, are known as 'Aligarh Movement'. A large section of the Indian Muslim community appreciated his efforts and stood by his side, while a still larger part did not see eye to eye with him and

opposed him bitterly, because to them Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) policy, would hurt the national and religious pride of the Muslims. Notwithstanding the sincerity of purpose Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) may have, the opponents believed, following his policy would mean eternal slavery for the Muslims of India.

Objectives of Sir Sayyid's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) efforts can be summed up in four points:

1. To bring about conciliation among the Muslims and the British.
2. To spread education among the Muslims, impart English language and learning and make the Muslims familiar with the British culture and way of life.
3. To make the Muslims loyal subjects of the British Government.
4. To develop friendly and good neighbourly relations between the Muslims and other Indian nations.

Sir Sayyid's Efforts:

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) took the following major steps for the achievement of his objectives:

1. **Causes of Indian Mutiny:** In 1859 Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) wrote a book titled "*Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*", especially meant for reading by the members of the British Parliament. In this book he tried to prove that the uprising of 1857 was, by no means, a war of independence, this was just an upheaval spurred by a few trouble mongers. He said that certain unwise policies of the British Government also paved way for the unrest that resulted in this unfortunate incident. The Muslims, generally, liked to label the 1857 events as "War of Independence", but Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) always called it a mutiny.
2. **The Loyal Muhammadans of India:** In the year 1860 Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) launched a magazine under the title of "Loyal Muhammadans of India". In this magazine he started highlighting the services of those Muslim nobles who had put their lives in danger to save the lives of the British officials and citizens.
3. **Some other Reconciliatory Efforts:** In order to bring the British rulers and the Muslims closer to each other, Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) wrote a number of books and tracts, most notable among these were:

Tehqiq-e-lafz-e-Nasara, Tabein-ul-Kalam (a commentary of the Bible). *Risala-Ehkam-e-Toam-e-Ahl-e-Kitab*, and Aligarh Institute Gazette.

4. **Establishment of Schools:** During the days of his service Sir Sayyid (رحمة الله عليه) opened schools at different places i.e. Murad Abad (1859), Ghazipur (1862).
5. **Establishment of the Scientific Society:** In 1863 Sir Sayyid (رحمة الله عليه) launched an institution with the purpose of translating important scholarly works from English to Urdu; he gave it the name of "Scientific Society".
6. **Study of the British Education System:** Sir Sayyid (رحمة الله عليه) visited England in the year 1869. He made a good use of this opportunity by visiting the most prestigious of the British educational institutions. He made a deep study of the curriculum of these institutions, and on his return to India, established a committee named "*Khawastgaran-e-Taraqi-e-Taleem-e-Musalmana-e-Hind*". Sole purpose of this committee was to establish educational institutions in India, conforming to the British standards.
7. **Establishment of the MAO Schools:** As the first step the committee *Khawastgaran-e-Taraqi-e-Taleem-e-Musalmana-e-Hind* established a school at Aligarh in the year 1875 it was named, "Muhammadan Anglo Oriental School".
8. **Establishment of the MAO College:** The MAO School was upgraded to the level of college in the year 1877. Viceroy Lord Lyton laid the foundation stone of the College and donated a sum of Rupees ten thousand from his own purse.
9. **Establishment of the Muhammadan Educational Conference:** To motivate the Muslims for acquiring modern knowledge Sir Sayyid (رحمة الله عليه) established Muhammadan Educational Conference in the year 1886. Annual meetings of the Conference were held at different important places throughout India. The Muslim League was founded in 1906, in an annual meeting of the Conference held at Dacca.
10. **Political Services and the Two Nations Theory:** Sir Sayyid's (رحمة الله عليه) services in the field of politics are highly meritorious, following two are the most significant:
 - a.) As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council he took up the Indian problems very effectively with the Indian Government.

b.) In the year 1867 the Hindus of Banaras launched a movement to demand that Urdu should be replaced by Hindi as official language. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) who was a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity got utterly disappointed at this unfriendly gesture. His demand for separate electorate was a direct corollary of such Hindu overtures. He demanded that the member of Muslim seats in the Viceroy's Council should be fixed; the Hindu voters should elect Hindu members, while the Muslim members should be elected only by the Muslim voters.

Establishment of the All India Muslim League

Background: The following events paved way for the establishment of the All India Muslim League:

1. **Establishment of the British System of Government:** The system introduced after the establishment of the British Government in the year 1858, was democratic in nature. Since the Hindus outnumbered the Muslims in Indian population they were on a surer ground under the new political system. The British had already crippled the Muslims economically. If a system based on majority rule, pure and simple, were established the Muslims were surely going to lose. This state of affairs called for a Muslim political platform to voice Muslim demands effectively.
2. **Hindu Extremism:** We have already learnt about Urdu-Hindi Controversy spurred by the Hindus in 1867, the Hindus demanded replacement of Urdu by Hindi as official language. During the same period, Hindu extremists started programmes like the "*Arya Samaj*" with a purpose to reconvert the Muslims into Hindu religion. Hindu writers spread hatred against the Muslims among their followers.
3. **Establishment of the Indian National Congress:** A retired British Civil Servant A.O. Hume established the Indian National Congress in the year 1885. The Hindus welcomed it enthusiastically and joined it in great numbers.
4. **Demand for Separate Electorate:** Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed that the British system of elections, pure and simple, did not suit the Indian conditions, because this will reduce the Muslims to a position of permanent slavery and subservience to the majority community. He proposed the system of separate electorate as an alternative. This system obviously could not be made useful unless the Muslims had a political party of their own.

5. **Partition of Bengal and the Congress Attitude:** In the year 1905, the British government divided the province of Bengal into two parts. Since the newly created province of East Bengal had a Muslim majority, the Muslims were to benefit from this partition. Hindus launched a strong protest against this decision of the government throughout India. The province of Bengal was the main target of the saboteurs. The Muslims were greatly disappointed when they saw that the Congress, notwithstanding all its claims of neutrality, was supporting the Hindu extremists openly.
6. **Change of Government in Britain:** Liberal Party returned to power in the 1905 elections held in Britain. The party gave a programme of political reforms meant for India. The Muslim leaders discussed the situation and decided to make a common cause for taking up the demands of the Muslim community with the government.
7. **The Simla Deputation:** Thirty-five top ranking Muslim leaders taken from all parts of the Sub-Continent called on the then Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on Oct. 1, 1906. Important Muslim demands presented to the Viceroy included; reserved quota of seats for Muslims in all representative bodies and separate electorate; The Viceroy expressed sympathy with the Muslim demands and promised to take them up with the British Government. The Muslim leaders were greatly encouraged by the Viceroy's response.

Foundation of the All India Muslim League

A session of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was held under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk in December 1906 at Dacca. Resolution for the establishment of All India Muslim League was moved in this meeting by Nawab Salim-Ullah Khan and was seconded by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar). Sir Agha Khan was made the first president.

Objectives

At the time of its formation the Muslim League had set a three-point agenda;

1. To safeguard and protect the interests of the Indian Muslims; to convey their demands to the British government in a peaceful manner and through constitutional means.
2. To create feelings of respect and goodwill for the government amongst the Muslims and to remove any misunderstanding, they might have, regarding government's Policies and actions.

3. To create feelings of brotherhood between the Muslims and other Indian communities.

Change of Objectives

In March 1913 changes in the objectives of the All India Muslim League were made on Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) initiative. Policy of unconditional subservience was forsaken in the favour of "self-government suitable for Indian conditions". This proved to be a turning point in the history of the Muslims of India.

The Khilafat Movement: Events and Outcomes

Background: Britain and her allies (the United States of America being one of them) emerged victorious as a result of the First World War (1914-1918). Behaviour of the Allies during the War, and their arrogant proclamations, made the Muslims highly apprehensive about their future designs. The Muslims were afraid that the Allies may take over a part of the Turkish Empire, distribute some of its parts among themselves, may desecrate the holy Muslim shrines and even go to the extent of dismembering the Turkish Empire which the Muslims cherished as a symbol of the global Muslim fraternity. These apprehensions gave out a wave of anger and unrest among the Indian Muslim. They started a country-wide movement in which the Hindus stood by their side and gave them full support.

IMPORANT EVENTS OF THE KHILAFAT MOVMENT

Establishment of the Khilafat Committee: In order to organize a mass movement and launch an opinion-forming campaign, a committee was formed in 1919; it was named "The India Khilafat Committee".

Hindu-Muslim Unity and Non-Cooperation: In the year 1919 the Indian National Congress decided to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, and authorized Gandhiji to chalk out a road map for that matter. Gandhiji brought forward a programme of non-cooperation with the government, which was to be executed in four stages.

Khilafat Delegation: In 1920 a delegation headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar) set off for London. The British government refused to give an ear. The delegation, however, held some meetings and explained its position to the general public.

The Treaty of Sevres: In May 1920, the Allied Forces decided on Turkey's fate under the treaty made at Sevres. The Empire was stripped off its occupations in Europe and Arabia. The Treaty was named after the venue where it was concluded.

Non-Cooperation Movement: Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar), Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Abu-ul-Kalam Azad and Maulana Hasrat Mohani set the Indian emotion at fire with their speeches. An all India *hartal* was observed on the appeal of the Khilafat Committee on August 1, 1920. Gandhiji was elected leader of the Non-Cooperation Movement. As a part of the non-cooperation programme courts were boycotted, government servants resigned services, students all over India quit educational institutions and many of the British title holders surrendered their titles and decorations as protest; Ali Brothers (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali) were convicted on charges of high treason and given two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Civil Disobedience: In November 1921, the people were given a call to break the law and disobey the government by refusing to pay taxes and by all other possible means. About thirty thousand people courted arrest as a result of this call.

Mopla Uprising: Moplas were a Muslim community settled on the south Indian shores. They claimed to be the descendants of the Arab traders. In the year 1921 there was a clash between the Moplas and the Hindu business lords of the area on issues of purely local nature. These incidents provided the British Government with a golden opportunity of creating rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. Exaggerated reports about Hind-Muslim riots were spread, which provoked the extremists on both sides, riots spread throughout India. This state of affairs caused a great setback to the Khilafat Movement.

Chora Chori Incident: In the year 1922, an infuriated mob at Chora Chori, a small township in the UP laid siege to a police station and set it at fire. Twenty-one policemen were burnt alive.

Civil Disobedience called off: Gandhiji said that since the Civil Disobedience Movement had deviated from its avowed path of non-violence, it was necessary to call it off. He made this decision at a time when the Movement had reached its climax.

Reaction of the Leadership: The entire leadership of the movement, the Hindu and the Muslim alike was stunned at this sudden decision. Move of the leaders thought that this decision was without justification and had caused a great setback to the Movement.

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Abolition of Khilafat: Ataturk came to power in Turkey. On March 3, 1924 he abolished the institution of Khilafat. This proclamation came as the final death blow to the Khilafat Movement in India.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT: RESULTS AND CONSEQUENCES

Apparently futile Muslim efforts to keep the institution of Khilafat alive, otherwise, had far reaching impact on the Indian Politics i.e.

1. Beginning of common man's politics in the sub-continent:

It was the first popular movement which touched almost all parts of the sub-continent. It was through Khilafat platform that the leaders of public opinion came very close to the common man. It gave people the consciousness which was to serve as a motivating force behind the Muslim struggle for the achievement of Pakistan in the days to come.

2. A Step towards liberation of India

It was an important step towards the liberation of India from the shackles of the British rule. The forceful expression of India's popular sentiments against imperialism helped the British rulers to understand that it was impossible to keep India under their control forever, they started to make their mind to quit.

3. Training of National Consciousness for the Muslims

Khilafat Movement helped in ending the un-Islamic Ideology of separation between religious and politics. Khilafat movement was one such movement which was based on a religious concept and was led by the ulema as its leaders.

4. Consolation for the Turk Soldiers

Although the Indian Muslims did not succeed in achieving their core objectives, yet the Khilafat Movement did great service to the Turks who were fighting the war of their survival. Speeches and statements of the Khilafat leaders were translated and spread in Turkey, and it gave the Turk soldiers courage to consolidate and strengthen their position in the areas left for Turkey after the war was over, and drive the enemies out of the Turk areas.

5. Success of a moderate approach

The moderate Muslims leaders like Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمة الله عليه) and the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) were second to none in their sympathies for the Turks, but they did not indulge themselves in the politics of agitation or the emotional frenzy spurred by the Khilafat leaders. They believed that no substantial success can be achieved through emotional and agitation politics. Result proved that these leaders were right. Failure of the Khilafat Movement enhanced people's trust and confidences in moderate politicians.

The Pakistan Resolution

Background

The Lahore Resolution is the most significant landmark in the history of our freedom struggle. In the month of 24 March 1940, the Muslims of India adopted a resolution embodying their national objectives and expressing their firm commitment to make all out efforts for the achievement of these objectives. Important events and factors that led to the adoption of this Resolution are summed up here:

The Two National Theory: They Muslims, by virtue of their faith, are a nation separate and distinct from all other nations of the World. Their spiritual and national aspirations could only be realized in a state which was Islamic in nature, where they could live as free citizens and could model their lives in accordance with Islamic injunctions.

Hindu Extremism: The Muslims had lived with the Hindus as neighbours and compatriots for about one thousand years. On the basis of their experience they could not expect good neighbourly treatment from the extremist Hindus, who had already made it clear that the Muslims had no place in India, they should either embrace Hinduism or quit India.

Iqbal's Ideology of a Nation: Delivering his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930, Poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمة الله عليه) said that the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent was predominantly Muslim, that Muslims living in these areas form a distinct and separate national entity and that their rights in any future constitution should be determined in this light.

Period of Congress Rule: Congress ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven Indian provinces, these governments worked till 1939. Bad governance and the oppressive

rule of the congress ministries created a general discontentment and despair among the Muslims. Demand for a separate Muslim homeland was its immediate outcome.

Popularity of the Muslim League: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) kept persistently in touch with the Muslims during the oppressive Congress rule, he was successful in impressing upon them that a horrible future lies ahead them if the Congress were entrusted authority to rule the whole of India. As a result of the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمة الله عليه) efforts the Muslim League which had failed to attract the Muslim masses in 1936-37 elections, emerged as the sole representative of the Muslim nation.

Muslim League's Session in Lahore

Historic Muslim League session was held in 1940 in Lahore. Addressing a rally of more than a hundred thousand people after the Jum'a prayers on March 22, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) said:

“ under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government. We know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity, and has witnessed India during the ages, always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India Musalamans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people”.

ADOPTION OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Resolution was moved on March 23, 1940 by the Bengal Chief Minister Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq. The Resolution which later came to be known as the “Pakistan Resolution” was adopted in the last session of the meeting on March, 24.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Lahore Resolution embodied minimum demands regarding the political status of the Muslims in South-East Asia. The Muslims resolved in unambiguous terms that they will only accept a constitutional formula which satisfies the following Muslim demands:

- **Federal Scheme Disapproved:** The Federal scheme formulated in the Government of India Act 1935 is absolutely unsuitable for the Indian conditions. The Indian Muslims will never accept it.
- **Establishment of Independent States:** It was clearly stated that a constitution acceptable for the Muslims of India shall be based on the following principles:

“Geographically contiguous units be demarcated into regions in which the Muslims are numerically a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign”.
- **Safeguards for Minorities:** In the newly established Muslim and non-Muslim states adequate constitutional safeguards should be provided to minorities, with their consultation, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political and administrative rights and interests.
- **Extent of State Sovereignty:** The Resolution authorized the Muslim League working Committee to draft a detailed constitutional scheme in the light of the principles stipulated in the Resolution, this scheme shall ensure that the states created under this scheme have full control over defense, foreign affairs, communications, customs and all other necessary subjects.

ANALYSIS

Following are the most notable features of the Lahore Resolution:

1. Word ‘Pakistan’ was not used in the text of the Lahore Resolution.
2. The Resolution did not demand one Muslim state in clear terms. The ambiguity, which was caused due to the use of plural ‘states’ was removed later at Madras session of the Muslim League held in 1941. A resolution adopted at this session clearly stated, that the Muslim League stood for only one sovereign independent Muslim state.
3. The boundaries of the Muslim state or states were not defined in the Resolution, words like units, regions and zones were used instead.
4. The Resolution was originally called ‘Lahore Resolution’ but later it came to be known as ‘Pakistan Resolution’. This name was given by the hostile Hindu press and

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was readily picked up by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه). In the following years the Lahore Resolution was referred to as the sole document formulating Indian Muslims unanimous national demands. The points which were left ambiguous in the Resolution were later clarified in a resolution adopted by the Muslim Representatives Convention held at Delhi in 1946.

IMPORTANCE OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

Adoption of the Lahore Resolution was, undoubtedly, a significant landmark in the history of the Muslim India. Following reasons signify its importance:

1. Determination Focused

Through this Resolution, the Muslims of India set their national objectives and expressed their unflinching determination to make all out efforts for the achievement of these objectives.

2. Expression of Confidence on Muslim League Leadership

Representatives of the Muslims from all over India attended the Lahore session. Events in the following years proved that Muslims had reposed full confidence in the Muslims League. Pakistan was taken up as the core issue by the Muslim League in the election manifesto it gave for the 1945-46 elections. The Muslims rallied round the Muslim League in great numbers and the same party which had failed to attract people in the 1937 elections, now emerged as the sole representative of the Muslim nation all over India.

3. Emergence of Pakistan

The Lahore Resolution gave a direction to the political struggle of the Muslims and within a short span of seven years' time the Muslims were able to achieve their cherished goal; Pakistan.

The Cripps Mission

The British had to face some military setbacks during the early years of the World War II. This made for them the need for Indian support more pressing. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India by the then Prime Minister of Britain Sir Winston Churchill to explore

possibilities of a compromise with the Indian political parties. Cripps discussed matters with the Indian leaders and published his proposals on March 30, 1942.

PROPOSALS OF THE CRIPPS MISSION

1. A Constituent Assembly consisting of Indian representatives shall be formed at the termination of the War.
2. The Union of India will be given "Dominion Status". This implied complete internal independence within the framework of the British Commonwealth.
3. Princely states will also be given representation in the Constituent Assembly.
4. The British government shall be responsible for the implementation of the Constitution. The provinces will be given a right to opt out of the proposed Indian Union or retain their present status and join the federation under the new Constitution at a later stage.
5. Election for Provincial Assemblies will be held after the end of the War. Provincial Assemblies will elect members of the Constituent Assembly in a number equal to one tenth (1/10) of their respective strength.
6. The British government will continue to run Indian affairs till the termination of War.
7. Any proposals regarding amendments in this Plan shall not be entertained.
The Plan shall have to be accepted or rejected in totality.

Reaction: Major Indian parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, rejected the Cripps Proposals, obviously for different reasons. The Congress despised the prospects of India's disintegration, which the formula apparently promised. The Congress knew that the Government was under great stress due to her war engagements and it was a golden opportunity to build pressure on her to quit India.

The Muslim League rejected the Plan, simply because it stood for a federal India and did not grant her demand for Pakistan in clear terms.

Election 1945-46

After the termination of the World War II, elections of the Central Legislature were held in December, 1945 and of the provincial legislatures in 1946. Muslim Leagues election manifesto comprised two major issues.

1. The Muslim League was the only political party that had a right represent the Indian Muslims.
2. Pakistan was the sole objective the Muslim League strived to achieve.

The results of the elections manifested a complete upset for the Congress so far as the Muslim seats were concerned. All 30 seats reserved for the Muslims in the federal legislature were won by the Muslim League. Till December 1946, 440 out of 495 Muslim members of the provincial assemblies belonged to the Muslim League. This heavy turnout in favour of the Muslim League manifested Muslim voters' confidence in the Muslim League as the sole political party that represented their interests and that they supported wholeheartedly its demand for Pakistan.

A Convention of the members of the legislative assemblies elected on Muslim League's ticket was held in Delhi from April 7 to 9, 1946. Addressing the Convention, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) made it clear that the Muslim League stood for two independent Constituent Assemblies one for Pakistan and the other for the rest of India.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

Background/Arrival of the Delegation

In fulfilment of the promise made during 1945-46 elections, the British Government sent three senior members of the British Cabinet, in March 1946, as a last attempt to preserve unity of the Indian federation. The delegation flew from London and arrived in Delhi on March 24, 1946. Representing the Congress Maulana Abdul-Kalam Azad and Gandhiji took a plea for the preservation of the Indian Union and introduction of federal form of government. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) tried to impress upon the members that Pakistan was the only possible solution of the Indian problem.

Failure of Dialogue with Indian Leadership

Difference of opinion between the two major political parties was substantial and sharp. The Mission tried to make an effort to bring about the parties to a sharp. The Mission tried to make an effort to bring about the parties to a conciliatory formula acceptable for both.

Leaders of the two major parties were invited at Simla from May 5, to 12, 1946 to discuss matters. Seven sessions were held but no result could be achieved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

After the declaration of its failure to bring about the parties to a conciliatory formula, the Mission published its own proposals on May 16, 1946 with the hope that if these proposals were implemented, rights of the Muslims and other minorities, will be fully safeguarded within the framework of an Indian Union. Summed up here are the major proposals of the Cabined Mission Plan:

1. **Indian Union:** India shall be Union comprising the British Indian and the Princely states. Union government shall control foreign affairs, communications and taxation.
2. **Grouping Scheme:** Provinces shall be divided into three groups formed under following formula: Group A; six Hindu majority provinces; Group B; three Muslim majority provinces; Group C; two Muslim majority provinces.
3. **Internal Independence of the provincial Groups:** Members of the Constituent Assembly shall be divided into three groups and shall frame constitutions for their respective groups. After the date of first elections held under the Constitution, each provincial legislature shall be given a chance to decide whether it wanted to remain a part of the group or quit it.
4. **Establishment of the Interim Government:** The Plan further envisaged that an interim government shall be formed at the centre till the formation of the constitution and its implementation. In this government, all important portfolios, including the Ministry of Defense, shall be held by the Indians.

REACTION

Gandhiji interpreted the Plan as “an appeal and an advice”. He said that the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body shall have the power to amend the Plan.

The Muslim League Council met on June 3, 1946 and after three days’ discussion decided to approve the Plan. The Council resented that the Plan did not clearly provide for the demand for Pakistan but it saw array of hope in the “grouping scheme”, and confirmed that the party would join the Constituent Assembly with the hope that it would be able to achieve its objectives through constitutional means.

The Simla Conference

Wavell came to India as viceroy in 1944. On his arrival he announced a plan for the solution of the Indian problem. The Plan stipulated a Viceroy’s Executive Council representing all Indian communities and pledged that all offices except that of the Commander-in-Chief shall be filled

by the Indian members. The Muslim members shall be equal in number to the Caste-Hindus. To discuss this proposal with the Indian leaders; Wavell called an All Parties Conference at Simla in June 1945. All-important leaders except Gandhiji attended the Conference.

The Congress wanted to appoint one Muslim member on the Viceroy's Executive Council, the government also intended to appoint a Muslim member from the Unionist Party. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) took the plea that the Muslim League was the only party that represented the Muslims and had an exclusive right to make appointments on all Muslim seats. The Conference broke due to disagreement on this point.

Formation of the Interim Government

Formation of an Interim Government was the first step towards the implementation of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Viceroy made an announcement in this regard in June 1946. He said that the government shall be formed even if one of the two major Indian parties, the Muslim League or the Congress, decides to abstain. In this case an alternative arrangement shall be made. The Muslim League agreed to join the proposed interim government but the Congress declined.

The Viceroy should have invited the Muslim League to form government after Congress's refusal but he failed to keep his promise. On this break of trust the Muslim League decided to withdraw its approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan and announced that "Direct Action" was the only course left open for her.

Although the Congress had not accepted the Cabinet Mission; yet on August 12, 1946 the Viceroy, invited Pandit Nehru to form interim government. Protesting on this, the Muslim League called the Muslims to celebrate 16th of August as the "Direct Action Day". The Muslims throughout India were appealed to protest and the Muslim dignitaries having British titles were asked to surrender their titles to register protest against the government.

The appeal proved very effective, the Muslims expressed their resentment through protest rallies and processions taken out in all parts of India. The Hindus retaliated by attacking on them. Thousands of People were killed in Calcutta in Hindu-Muslim clashes. Within no time the whole of India was taken over by communal frenzy.

Under the changed circumstances the government was inclined to think that it would not be possible to form a viable government while keeping the Muslim League out of it. The government invited the Muslim League to join, and it did. On October 26, 1946 five Muslim League ministers took oath of office. Holding the finance portfolio Liaquat Ali Khan acquired a key position to control all other ministries and departments. His control over

finance virtually crippled the ministries held by Congressmen. Budget presented by Liaquat Ali Khan came as the last straw on the camel's back, because it hit hard at the interests of the money lords with whose financial support the Congress was run. Now it was Congress's turn to plead for India's partition.

The Third June Plan

On Feb. 20, 1947 the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee made a statement in the British Parliament declaring that:

1. India shall be given independence by June 1948.
2. If the Constituent Assembly fails to frame constitution within the stipulated time limit, the British government shall decide if the powers are to be transferred to a central government or certain provincial governments.
3. Mountbatten was appointed viceroy; he was to replace Wavell.

Mountbatten reached India in the last week of March 1946. He discussed matters with the Indian leaders and was convinced that it was not possible to keep India united for a longer period of time. Mountbatten worked out a partition plan and flew to England to seek approval of the British Government on the plan. The approval was readily granted. On his return back he took seven important Indian leaders, including the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), in confidence. Given approval by all major Indian political parties the partition plan was announced by the Viceroy on June 3, 1947, following are the salient features of this Plan:

1. The British Government shall not impose its own constitution on India. The Indian Constituent Assembly shall frame a Constitution under which the government of the Indian Union shall be run. This Constitution, however, shall not be mandatory for the units unwilling to adopt it. These units shall be allowed to form constituent assemblies to frame constitutions of their own choice.
2. The Provincial Assemblies shall be entitled to decide which of the two Constituent Assemblies their respective provinces shall join. The Plan stipulated different formulas for the provinces of the Punjab, Bengal, the NWFP, Balochistan and for district of Sylhet in East Bengal.
3. The Princely States were also offered an option to join either of the two states, keeping in view their geographical position and "other conditions", or to remain independent by making treaty arrangements with either of the two successor states.

4. Powers were to be transferred by the British to one or two successor states, with “Demonian Status” during the same year.

Indian Independence Act

Indian Independence act was passed by the British Parliament and ratified by the Crown in July 1947. The Act was framed on the principles stipulate in the Third June Plan. It provided that:

1. British rule over India will come to an end on Aug. 15, 1947.
2. Hindustan will be divided into sovereign states.
3. Title of the “Emperor of India” will no more form a part of the titles of the British Crown after that date.
4. The successor states will be run under the Government of India Act 1935, adapted and modified to meet their requirements, as Interim Constitution, till their respective Constituent Assemblies Frame Constitutions.

Emergence of Pakistan

Pakistan emerged on the map of the world on Aug. 14, 1947 as the then largest Muslim state in the world. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمة الله عليه) took over as the first Governor General of Pakistan, and with this epoch making event the freedom movement of the Muslim of India entered a new phase.

Provincial Assemblies of the Punjab and Bengal decided to join Pakistan, the decisions were made with heavy majority, but since the non-Muslim Members of these Provinces had demanded partition, separate boundary commissions were set on June 30, for the demarcation of boundaries in both provinces. Sind Assembly and the Baluchistan *Shahi Jirga* decided that their provinces will join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Referendums were held in the NWFP and district Sylhet, both decided to join Pakistan.

EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) founded Aligarh School in the year
2. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the extremist Hindus started anti-Muslim movement namely
3. The Viceroy Partitioned the province of Bengal into two parts.
4. Was the most important demand of the Simla Deputation?
5. Round Table Conferences were held from 1930 to
6. Minto-Morley Reforms are also called Government of India Act
7. Khilafat Delegation, headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali visited England in the year .
.....
8. Pakistan National Movement was established by
9. Presided over the Muslim League session held at Allahabad in 1930.
10. The Lahore Resolution was moved by the Bengal Chief Minister Mr.

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) started Risala
(Thezib-ul-Akhlaq, Aligarh, Hayat-e-Javaid)
2. Urdu-Hindi Controversy started in the year (1857, 1867, 1897)
3. Simla Deputation comprised Muslim leaders. (13, 35, 80)
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) joined Muslim League in the year
(1928, 1913, 1906)
5. Congress ministries were formed in the year (1937, 1906, 1885)
6. Cripps Proposals were published on 30th March (1947, 1946, 1942)
7. The Muslim League celebrated 1946 as the "Direct Action Day."
(Aug. 16, Aug. 14, Sept. 6)

8. Sylhet and Decided to join Pakistan through referendum.
(the NWFP, the Punjab, Balochistan)
9. The Khilafat Committee elected as the leader of the non-cooperation movement.
(Gandhiji, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ))

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. Non-Muslims of the north-west India supported the Pakistan Movement. (True/False)
2. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said “we demand Pakistan only because we want to have a piece of land. (True/False)
3. An Islamic state is established on democratic principles. (True/False)
4. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote an anti-Muslim novel “Band-e-Mataram”. (True/False)
5. London branch of the Muslim League was established in the year 1906. (True/False)
6. The Objectives Resolution is also known as the Lahore Resolution. (True/False)
7. First phase of the Khilafat Movement was a golden period in the history of Hindu-Muslim relations. (True/False)
8. Mustapha Kamal Atatürk abolished the institution of Khilafat. (True/False)
9. First session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held on August 11, 1947. (True/False)
10. The Muslim League achieved great success in 1937 elections. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
The British Crown	1921
Aligarh University	1858

The Muslim League	Allama Iqbal
The Simla Deputation	October 1, 1906
The Mopla Uprising	1921

Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. What is meant by the term Ideology?
2. What is Islamic theory of nationhood?
3. Explain Pakistan Ideology briefly.
4. What the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) thought about minorities, quote a brief statement.
5. Write a short not on the Simla Deputation.
6. What do you know about '*Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*' (Causes of the Indian Mutiny)?
7. What objectives were set for the Muslim League at the time of its inception?
8. What important change was made in the objectives of the Muslim League and when.
9. Write a note on the Simla Conference.
10. What were the salient features of the Indian Independence Act?
11. Write any three proposals of cripes mission.

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

1. Give an account of the Muslim struggle form 1857 to the establishment of the Muslim League in 1906.
2. Give a background of the Aligarh Movement and a summary of its basic objectives.
3. Describe and evaluate Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) services for the Muslims of India.
4. Give background and reasons for the establishment of Muslim League.
5. Give an account of the proposals brought forward for the solution of the Indian problem at different times.
6. Give a background of the Khilafat Movement and a brief account of its major egvents.
7. Examine the impact and outcomes of the Tehrik-e-Khilafat in detail.
8. What important events paved way for the adoption of the Lahore Resolution?
9. Elaborate salient features of the Lahore Resolution.
10. Analyse the Lahore Resolution and determine its place and role in the history of our freedom movement.
11. What was the Cabinet Mission Plan? How did the Congress and the Muslim League react to it?
12. Give a background account of the Third June Plan; also give its salient features.
