

Chapter 02

MAKING OF PAKISTAN



1. Revivalist Movement in the Sub-continent

Muslims ruled the sub-continent for more than one thousand years. However, when they deviated from the golden principles of Islam their power and influence declined gradually. Realizing this, a number of religious scholars and reformers started movements for the revival of Islamic teachings and values. Their Struggle to create Islamic spirit in the Muslims of the sub-continent is known as Revivalist Movement. The following movements became very prominent which created awakening among the Muslims of the sub-continent.

i. Movement of Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah's name was Qutubuddin but due to his spiritual virtues he was called Waliullah. He was born in a village near Delhi on 21st February 1703. His father, Shah Abdul Rahim, was a well-known scholar and a religious leader. At the early age of 15, Shah Waliullah mastered the major branches of Islamic learning. He succeeded his father as the Sheikh of the Madrasah when he was just 17.

Soon after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir in March 1707 a wave of religious and moral degradation swept the Muslims of the sub-continent. Shah Waliullah very minutely analyzed the factors for the downfall and concluded that it was due to the increasing influence of the non-Muslims. The Military strength of the Muslims had collapsed and they were at the mercy of the tribal might of *JATS* and *MARATHAS*. Shah Waliullah realized that if Muslims did not abide by Islam, they would gradually lose their status. In these circumstances, he planned to revive Islamic teachings and values in the sub-continent.

Shah Waliullah wrote letters to the then Mughal Emperor, the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan, Rohila Sardar Hafizul Mulk and Najibuddula. He warned them about the declining state of the Muslim society in the sub-continent. He also wrote to the ruler of Afghanistan, Ahmed Shah Abdali to save the Muslims of India from the atrocities of Marathas. Thereupon, Ahmed Shah Abdali, in 1761,

inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marathas at the Third Battle of Panipat, from which the Marathas never recovered.

Shah Waliullah's meritorious work was the Persian translation of the Holy Qur'an. This helped the people in understanding the Holy Qur'an. Later it was translated into Urdu by his sons and others. He also wrote books on Hadith, Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and Tafseer (Exegesis). The most popular among these is his famous work Hujjat-ul-La-Hul Baligha. The message of this work is that Islam is the universal religion. It guarantees progress and prosperity for the whole of mankind. Shah Waliullah died on 10th August 1762. His son and successor Shah Abdul Aziz continued his mission at Madrassah Rahimiya in Delhi.

ii. Movement of Syed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi

Syed Ahmed Shaheed is well-known in the history of sub-continent as a preacher of Islam. His struggle was against the evil forces in the sub-continent. Syed Ahmed was born in Rai Bareilly in 1786. He received a nominal education in the beginning because he was much inclined towards military training. Later, he devoted himself to social service as well. He was very much influenced by the teachings of Shah Waliullah and was a strong follower of his son Shah Abdul Aziz, from whom he acquired religious knowledge.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed was much concerned about the downfall of the Muslims. He and his companions dreamt of the establishment of an Islamic State in the sub-continent. He started a strong movement against Polytheism and emphasized upon the Oneness of Allah (Tauheed). The objectives of Syed Ahmed Shaheed's movement known as Tahreek-e-Mujahideen (The Struggle of Freedom Fighters) were:

- a) To preach Oneness of Allah (Tauheed)
- b) To revive teachings of Islam.
- c) To establish a state in the sub-continent in accordance with the Principles of Islam.
- d) To protect Muslims against such acts and ideas as are contrary to Islamic values.
- e) To preach Jihad because it was not possible to get freedom from evil force without armed struggle.

Syed Ahmed wanted to eliminate domination of Sikhs in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. and revive Islamic values. He started Jihad in the Punjab and N.W.F.P.

Shah Ismail Shaheed along with his six thousand followers also joined Syed Ahmad in his Jihad against evil forces. Syed Ahmad toured different areas around the river Jamuna, where a number of his followers joined him.

He came to Sindh in 1826 and sought the help of Syed Sibghatullah Shah (the then Pir Pagara) who sent a strong contingent of his staunch followers called 'Hurs'. Syed Ahmed left his family under the protection of Pir Pagara and proceeded towards Jihad without any worry about his family.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed reached Nowshera (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in December 1826 and made it his headquarter. The first battle against the Sikhs was fought on December 21, 1826 near Akora. The Sikhs were defeated. The second battle was fought at Hazro. It was also won by the Muslims. These victories inspired a number of Pathan tribes to join the Jihad movement. The number of Mujahideen rose to 80,000. Syed Ahmad was given the status of *AMIR-UL-MOMININ*. Islamic laws were enforced in the area which was controlled by Syed Ahmed Shaheed.

Jihad (Holy War) movement was initially very successful but soon conspiracies began against Syed Ahmad. A few tribal leaders (Sardars) even tried to imprison and kill him. Similarly, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) bribed Sardar Yar Muhammad and his brother Sultan Muhammad Khan to plot against the Khilafat of Syed Ahmad Shaheed. The disloyalty of the Sardars disheartened him. He made Balakot as his new headquarter. He started his struggle from Muzaffarabad. Here a tough fight started between the Mujahideen and the Sikhs. Muslims fought with heroism but Syed Ahmad and his right hand companions were martyred on 6th May 1831. Out of thousands of Mujahideen, only 300 Mujahideen survived. This brought an end to the Khilafat of Syed Ahmad Shaheed. His dream for establishing an Islamic State could not be realized. But the names of Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed will always be remembered for their heroic struggle for the revival of an Islamic society and polity. Both the leaders were buried near Balakot.

iii. Faraizi Movement

Among the most prominent reformers who started revivalist movements for rekindling Islamic thinking in the sub-continent was Haji Shariatullah. He was born in 1761 in Faridpur (Bengal). At a very early age, he proceeded to the holy city of Makkah where he stayed for about 20 years and received the religious

education. He returned to his native country in 1802. He was shocked to observe the deplorable state of religion among his countrymen. He advised the Muslims of Bengal to get rid of the un-Islamic customs and practices. He stressed the need to act upon Islamic injunctions. He called these Islamic injunctions as Faraiz (obligations). Therefore, his preaching for Islamic principles and reform movement for Muslims is called Faraizi Movement.

The basic objective of Faraizi movement was to eliminate the un-Islamic customs and traditions which prevailed among the Bengali Muslims and helped bring the Muslims on the right path of Islamic teachings. He encountered a number of obstacles and difficulties in the beginning but gradually his movement gained momentum and spread throughout Bengal. The movement created a spirit of self-confidence among the Bengali Muslims.

After the death of Haji Shariatullah (1840), his son Muhammad Mohsin alias Dudu Mian became the leader of Faraizi Movement and made it more effective. He organized the Muslim tenants against the highhandedness of Hindu landlords. As a result of the efforts of Muhammad Mohsin, the Muslims in Bengal got rid of the persecution of Hindu landlords. He was a great champion of the rights of the Muslim tenants in Bengal. The British and Hindu businessmen and landlords turned against him but he never cared about them and continued his mission till the last moment of his life. As a result of Faraizi Movement the religious and moral status of Bengali Muslims was improved and the rights of the tenants were protected to a greater extent.

iv. Aligarh Movement

The British had taken over power and leadership of the sub-continent from the Muslims. They considered Muslims as their strong opponent and enemy. After the War of Independence in 1857, Muslims of the sub-continent became victims of atrocities of the British. Muslims were denied their religious, political, economic, social and educational rights. This left the Muslims in fear and despair. On the other hand, Hindus joined hands with the British and advanced in all spheres of life. In these circumstances Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) felt sorry at the sad state of Muslims and started an awakening movement for them. His movement is known as Aligarh Movement. The following were the main objectives of this movement:

a) General Awareness

Sir Syed Ahmad stressed upon the Muslims that their golden era had passed and now they were ruled by the British. They should accept this ground reality. Instead of living in past they should look at their present and plan for the future progress. In this way, Sir Syed tried to improve the lot of the Muslims.

b) Establishing goodwill with British

Sir Syed emphasized the need for maintaining friendly relations with the British to earn their goodwill. He tried to convince the British that the Muslims alone were not responsible for the war of 1857. Hindus and other nations in India also participated in the war. In order to clear the doubts from the minds of the British about Muslims, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan wrote a pamphlet "The Causes of Indian Revolt". He pointed out the following real reasons of the war of 1857:

- i) The performance of the British government was below the expectations of the people and the people were annoyed on this account.
- ii) The government had failed to understand the problems of the people because there was no liaison between the rulers and the ruled.
- iii) The government had no program for the welfare of the people. The people in general and the Muslims in particular had become poorer.
- iv) The government had enforced such laws and regulations, which were contrary to the customs and traditions of the people of the sub-continent.
- v) There were anti-social elements in the administrative system of the government and these elements created unrest among the people. Their objective was to create a situation of conflict between the British and the people of India for selfish motives.

c) Motivation for modern knowledge

Sir Syed was fully convinced that unless Muslims in the sub-continent received education and learnt modern scientific knowledge they will remain backward and will be unable to compete with non-Muslims in the sub-continent.

He stressed upon them to show interest in learning English language to benefit from the scientific knowledge. This was the reason that he set up a “Scientific Society” at Ghazipur in 1862, which later on was shifted to Aligarh. The objectives of the society were to translate the standard works of modern knowledge into Urdu. Afterwards, Sir Syed established a school in Aligarh on the model of Cambridge University (England), which was later on raised to the level of a college named Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO College).

d) Non-confrontal Politics

Sir Syed advised the Muslims to keep themselves away from indulging into politics till the time they were established and the pleasant relations between the Muslims and the Englishmen were cultivated. Sir Syed wanted that Muslims should concentrate on receiving education and avoid political wrangling.

Features of Aligarh Movement

Aligarh movement became instrumental in the awakening of the Muslims in the sub-continent. A number of prominent personalities like Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk, Maulana Shibli Naumani, Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali and Maulana Chiragh Hassan played an important role in the success of Aligarh movement. The following are the main features of the Aligarh movement:-

i) Educational Services

Sir Syed held the view that acquisition of modern Education would help in the progress and development of Muslim society in India. He stressed upon Muslims to learn modern knowledge. Therefore, in the beginning he set up a Scientific Society at Ghazipur in 1862 and, later on, it was shifted to Aligarh. The objective of this institution was to translate Western books into Urdu language. Sir Syed motivated the younger generation of Muslims to learn English so that acquisition of modern scientific knowledge becomes easy. This helped the development of Urdu language also.



ii) Social Services

War of Independence, 1857 brought untold miseries to the Muslims. They were damaged economically and were looked down upon. For the revival of their honour, Sir Syed took the following steps:-

- i. By writing the "Causes of Indian Revolt" and "Loyal Muhammadans of India", an effort was made to create good will between the Muslims and the British. Thus difficulties of the Muslims were minimized.
- ii. The ban on the employment of Muslims was relaxed.
- iii. Properties of the Muslims, confiscated after the war of independence, were restored to them.
- iv. Muslims were included in a number of programmes for development.

In short, the Aligarh Movement became a source of strength for the Muslims in the sub-continent. It also provided the foundation for the Two-Nation Theory.

2. Development of Two Nation Theory

In the beginning, Sir Syed tried to remove differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and endeavoured to create unity among them. Hindu students were admitted and Hindu teachers were recruited in Muslim institutions. But he was disappointed by the campaign of Hindus for the promotion of Hindi language in contrast to Urdu. Hindus wanted Hindi as an official language. The controversy between Hindi and Urdu changed Sir Syed's mind and he developed his political strategy on the basis of Muslim identity. It was the beginning of Two Nation Theory. Sir Syed was the first Muslim leader who used the term 'nation' for the Muslims of the sub-continent because of their separate religious entity, their distinct civilization, philosophy, culture, moral values and concept of economy.

After Sir Syed Ahmad, a number of Muslim leaders of the sub-continent like Abdul Halim Sharar, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Chaudhry Rehmat Ali, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also declared that the Muslims were a separate nation. Quaid-i-Azam said:

"India is neither a country nor its inhabitants a nation. This is a sub-continent where many nations live. Among these, Hindus and Muslims are the two important nations."

In a number of addresses Quaid-i-Azam stressed that the Muslims should not be treated as a minority rather they are a nation. He maintained that a just political solution of the political deadlock of the sub-continent lay in the recognition of the Muslims as a separate nation.

The designs of the Hindus to hold supremacy over the Muslims on the basis of their majority were very clear. They wanted to keep Muslims backward in all fields of life. On the other hand, Muslims were adamant for their separate identity as a nation, and wanted a separate homeland. The British were very much uncomfortable with the Hindu-Muslim controversy and wanted a political settlement of the problem. In order to provide a platform to the people to express their feelings, a political party named "Indian National Congress", was established by an Englishman A.O.Hume in 1885. The Hindus joined this party in large numbers and soon it became a party of the Hindus. Sir Syed Ahmed advised the Muslims to remain out of the Congress because of the selfish designs of the Hindus to hold supremacy over the Muslims by establishing Hindu rule in the sub-continent, once the British left India.

3. Establishment of Muslim League

At the end of Annual Muhammadan Educational Conference in Dacca (Dhaka) in 1906, Muslim leaders from different parts of the sub-continent attended a meeting, convened by Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca. In this meeting the Muslim leaders thoroughly discussed the problems of Muslims in general and the situation created by Hindus after the partition of Bengal 1905. It was decided to set up a political party to protect and safeguard the rights of the Muslims of the sub-continent. The meeting was headed by Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk and attended by the scholars like Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Hakim Ajmal Khan and some other prominent leaders. A political party "All India Muslim League" was set up on 30th December 1906. Aligarh was made it's headquarter. Sir Aga Khan and Syed Ali Hassan Bilgrami were elected as President and Secretary General of Muslim League respectively.

Aims and objectives of the establishment of Muslim League:

- i. To establish good friendly relations between the British government and the Muslims and to remove misunderstandings from the minds of the British against the Muslims.

- ii. To co-ordinate with other nations and political parties in the sub-continent for the common welfare.
- iii. To protect the rights of the Muslims by seeking co-operation of the government and other political parties.

Role of Muslim League in the struggle for independence

Since the establishment of Muslim League in 1906, it became a platform for the Muslims of South Asia to struggle for their rights and attain freedom from the British. The struggle of Muslim League passed through a number of difficulties. The role of Muslim League can be mentioned as follows:-

- i. **Protection of rights:** After its establishment as a representative political party the immediate task before the Muslim League had been to take appropriate steps to safeguard the rights of the Muslims of the sub-continent and to apprise the government of their problems and demands. Muslim League adopted a balanced attitude to join hands with the Hindus to oust British from the sub-continent on the one hand and on the other hand it struggled to improve the relations between the Muslims and the British government.
- ii. **Political settlement with Congress:** Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah joined Muslim League in October 1913. Due to his efforts Muslim League and Congress party entered into a political settlement in December 1916, which is known as “**Lucknow Pact**”. According to this pact the Congress accepted the independent separate status of Muslims and recognized the separate electorate for Indian Muslims.
- iii. **Number of Muslims:** The number of Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly was agreed to be one-third (1/3)
- iv. **Seats:** In the two large Muslim provinces of Bengal and Punjab, the strength of Muslims in the legislature was established.

- v. **Proportionate Representation:** In the provinces where Muslims were in a minority, their representation in proportion to their population was doubled.

In the decade of 1920's many important political events took place in the sub-continent. Some significant events were the Khilafat Movement, the Hijrat Movement and the non-Co-operation Movement in which both Muslims and Hindus took active part together. But this unity was very short-lived. The Hindu enmity and hatred for Muslims became apparent. The publication of the Nehru Report in 1928 proved the animosity of the Congress towards the Muslims and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was torn into pieces. The Nehru Report negated the separate electorate along with those clauses of the Lucknow Pact, which guaranteed rights of the Muslims and turned down all measures which the Muslims considered essential for their progress and for perseverance of their separate identity.

4. Quaid-i-Azam's Fourteen Points

The Quaid-i-Azam refused to accept the Nehru Report. In order to project the Muslim point of view on the political issues of South Asia, he prepared a draft of guiding principles consisting of fourteen points. These principles are popularly known as Quaid-i-Azam's fourteen points. They are as under:-

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal, with the residuary power vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, and observance, propaganda, association, and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in the legislature or any other elected body if three fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose it as being injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.
9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan on the same footing as in other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being at least one third of Muslim Ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

A comparison of the Nehru Report with the Quaid-i-Azam's fourteen points shows that the political gap between the Hindus and the Muslims had really widened. The Congress and its Hindu leadership wanted to enforce a constitution for South Asia in which the Hindus were to become masters due to their

numerical majority and the Muslims as slaves due to their smaller number. They were not prepared to accept any separate political status for Muslims and were not ready to make any specific provisions for the protection of the rights and interests of the Muslims.

The Muslims desired that their separate national identity should be recognized. They demanded a constitution which could safeguard their rights and interests. They were certain that absence of such a constitution would result in the defacement of their civilization and culture, faith and religion and the concept of separate identity. This predicament was not acceptable to the Muslims. They were not ready to allow the Hindus and the Congress to destroy their separate identity and deprive them of their political and social rights.

5. **Iqbal's Allahabad Address, 1930**

It was the desire of the Muslims that they should be acknowledged as a separate identity. Allama Iqbal's Allahabad address clearly reveals this fact. The Muslims could not tolerate that their religious, political and social rights should be denied to them. Therefore, they demanded a separate homeland. Allama Iqbal said in his Allahabad Address:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

Quaid-i-Azam wished to see the Muslims of the sub-continent emerge as an effective force. Hence, Iqbal demanded a separate homeland. In 1933 Chaudhry Rehmat Ali named this dream of Iqbal for a separate homeland as Pakistan. The control of Muslim League was taken over by Quaid-i-Azam in 1934. He reorganized it and made it a stronger force.

6. **Act of 1935 and the Provincial Autonomy**

In 1935 the British Government introduced a new constitution in which the provincial autonomy was given a priority. Under this constitution elections were held in 1937 in which the Congress achieved unexpected success. It formed ministries in seven large provinces. The persecution of the Muslims started at the hands of the Congress and their separate identity was planned to be crushed. In this connection a ban was put on the religion of the Muslims. Bands were played

in front of the Masjids at the time of prayers. The doors of Government jobs were closed on the Muslims. Urdu was replaced by Hindi in schools. The students were forced to salute the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi and to sing Vande Mataram which showed hatred towards the Muslims. They were also forced to put 'Tilak' on their foreheads. The attitude of the Congress strengthened the Muslim demand for a separate homeland.

In 1938 Mohammad Ali Jinnah was given the title of 'Quaid-i-Azam'. When the Congress ministries resigned in 1939, he advised the Muslims to observe a 'Day of Deliverance' on 22nd December, 1939.

7. Pakistan Movement

Movement for Pakistan was in progress since the establishment of Muslim League in 1906. It passed many critical stages. It received momentum and impetus after Lahore Resolution (Pakistan Resolution) 1940.

(i) Lahore Resolution 1940

The annual session of Muslim League was held in Lahore in March 1940. This session was held at the same place where Minaret of Pakistan (Minar-e-Pakistan) stands today. In this grand congregation, Quaid-i-Azam and other Muslim leaders analysed the political problems of the Muslims in detail and unanimously passed a resolution known as the Lahore Resolution, later on called the Pakistan Resolution. The Resolution stated that:

“...no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign..... Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities.....for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights”.

Hindus were unhappy with this resolution. They stressed upon the British to turn down the demand of the Muslims. But Muslims were united under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam and ready to make all sacrifices for their noble cause. Lahore Resolution became the very basis of Pakistan.

(ii) Constitutional Proposals

In order to resolve the political deadlock of the sub-continent the British Government sent a mission headed by Sir Stafford Cripps to India on March 23, 1942. The mission discussed its proposals with Congress, Muslim League and other minority parties of India. After one week's discussion Cripps Mission announced its proposals on March 29, 1942. They were:

1. At the end of the World War II, a legislative assembly for India will be formulated which will prepare a constitution for the country. But, during the period of war, the British occupation of India will continue.
2. Proposed Constitution of the mission will be of Federal character, participated by all the provinces and the states.
3. The Federal Constitution will provide an option to the provinces that any constituent province or state of the Federation, after a period of ten years, may quit as Federating unit. Those who quit may form their own Federation.

But both Congress and Muslim League rejected the proposals. Congress did not accept it because it contained the proposal for division of India. Muslim League did not agree because there had been no commitment for the creation of Pakistan. The Cripps mission failed and the political situation in India worsened day by day.

(iii) Simla Conference

After the Second World War, Lord Wavell became the Viceroy of India. In order to unite the sub-continent and form a coalition government of Congress and Muslim League at the Centre, he convened a meeting of all political parties of the sub-continent in June 1945 at Simla (Shimla). Quaid-i-Azam represented Muslim League and Congress nominated Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as its representative. The objective of sending Maulana Azad was to give a message to the world that Congress also represented the Muslims. The conference started on June 25, 1945 and continues for a number of days. Lord Wavell wanted to opt five ministers from the Muslims five from the Hindus; and three from the

minorities. The Congress was not in favour of five nominations from Muslims and wished to nominate one Muslim minister. Thereupon, Quaid-i-Azam demanded general elections in the country to decide as to who represented the Muslims. Due to the negative attitude of Congress, the conference was unsuccessful. But the parties other than Congress supported the demand of Quaid-i-Azam for general elections. On this occasion most of the Muslim religious leaders supported the Muslim League. Their support strengthened the Muslim league and made it a very popular representative body of the Muslims in India.

(iv) Elections of 1945-46

In December 1945, elections of Central Legislative Assembly were held. Muslim League participated in the elections on the slogan of establishment of Pakistan. Majority of the Muslims supported Muslim League. Muslim League won all the 30 Muslim seats. Congress won 57 out of 72 seats. In Sindh, Punjab and Bengal, Muslim League won a majority.

In February 1946, provincial elections were held. Muslim League won 430 out of 495 Muslim seats. Muslim League formed its government in Bengal but due to conspiracy of Congress the Assembly was dissolved. In 1946 elections were held again. Muslim league won all the seats from Sindh and formed its government. Congress formed Coalition government in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

(v) 3rd June Plan and Lord Mountbatten

In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten became the Viceroy of the sub-continent. He tried to keep the sub-continent united but failed in his efforts. He finally came to the conclusion that there was no other possible solution of the political problem of the sub-continent except to partition it.

(vi) 3rd June Plan and the creation of Pakistan

On 3rd June, the plan of the partition of the sub-continent was announced. According to it the power would be given to Pakistan by 14th August 1947. This bill was passed and came to be known as Indian Independence Act 1947.

A clause was incorporated in the 3rd June Plan that separate sessions of Muslim and Hindu members of the assemblies of Punjab and Bengal would be held to decide whether their provinces were in favour of the partition, and how it would take place. The new boundaries of these provinces would be decided by a

Commission. Sindh Assembly would decide the future status of the province through the majority of vote, the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and sylhet through a plebiscite. The Sindh Assembly and the people of Sylhet and Sarhad Khyber Pakhtunkhwa voted for Pakistan.

(vii) The Indian Independence Bill, 1947

To execute the 3rd June plan, the British Government passed the Indian Independence Bill on 16th July 1947. Quaid-i-Azam was appointed as the first Governor General of Pakistan.

(viii) Radcliff Award

A Boundary Commission was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliff for the demarcation of the boundaries of Punjab and Bengal. For the demarcation of Punjab Mr. Justice Munir and Mr. Justice Din Muhammad represented Pakistan while Mehr Chand Mahajan and Mr. Justice Teja Singh represented India. For the demarcation of Bengal Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Muhammad, M. Akram and Mr. Justice S. A. Rehman represented Pakistan while Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas and Mr. Justice B. K. Mukherjee represented India. At the time of division, the Viceroy and his personnel connived with the Congress and demarcated the boundary according to their wishes. Radcliff included many Muslim majority areas in India and deprived Pakistan from the waters of Sutlej, Bias and Ravi. Further he extended the frontiers of India up to Kashmir.

The illogical and unfair demarcation of the provinces strengthened the feelings of hatred and both the nations, instead of enjoying peace and security started burning in the passions of rage and revenge. The communal riots broke out in the sub-continent. 15 lacs of people were killed and 50, 000 women were kidnapped.

For the newly born state it was a hard task to accommodate a large number of refugees. Kashmir was included in India against the wishes of the people. India occupied Junagadh and Manavadar through military action.

At the time of independence there were about four hundred and fifty semi-autonomous states that were given the option whether they would remain independent or join India or Pakistan. Kashmir and Hyderabad decided to remain independent. Since the establishment of Pakistan, the war broke out twice on the issue of Kashmir. This issue was taken to the Security Council of the UN and is still pending on its agenda for its solution.

8. Role of various Provinces in the Pakistan Movement

Pakistan came into being as a result of struggle of Muslims of the sub-continent. The people of all the provinces popularized the Pakistan Movement. The Muslim leaders spread the message of Pakistan to every nook and corner of the sub-continent. The role of the various provinces in the Pakistan movement is mentioned below.

(i) Punjab

Punjab has the majority of Muslim population. However, it went into the hands of Sikhs and from them to the British. Both those forces were against Muslims and kept them suppressed and backward. In spite of this, Punjab never lost its Muslim identity. The Sufis and religious scholars kept their morale and moral character very high. As such Punjab produced great scholars, intellectuals, statesmen and political leaders. Allama Iqbal infused Islamic spirit among the people through his thoughts and poetry. He, for the first time, propounded the concept of an Islamic State. The Pakistan Resolution was also passed in Lahore on March 23, 1940. After that Muslim League propagated the idea of Pakistan throughout the Punjab. In the elections of 1945-46, Muslim League won about 90% Muslim seats in the Provincial Assembly of Punjab. The prominent leaders of the movement were Nawab Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Ahmed Khan Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Mian Amiruddin, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and others.

Quaid-i-Azam presided over Pakistan Conference held in Islamia College, Lahore in 1941. The Unionist Government in Punjab, which had the support of British and Congress, was opposed by the students of Punjab and ultimately it resigned, paving the way for the emergence of Pakistan. The Muslim ladies also took active part in the movement. During the civil disobedience campaign in Punjab, a brave woman of Punjab Sughra Fatima (Sughra Aftab) removed the British Flag (Union Jack) from the Punjab secretariat and in its place installed the flag of Muslim League. Thus Punjab played a great role in the creation of Pakistan.

(ii) Sindh

Sindh, the gateway of Islam, was treacherously conquered by the British forces in 1843. In order to change its Muslim majority status, it was made an administrative part of Bombay Presidency. However, as a result of

continuous struggle of the Muslims of Sindh, it was made a separate province in 1935. In fact, this was the first definite step towards the creation of Pakistan. Muslim League's first Annual Session was held in Karachi in December 1907. Sindh was the first province where Muslim League passed a resolution in October 1938, demanding establishment of a Muslim government in the Muslim majority provinces. This resolution became the foundation of Pakistan Resolution in March 1940. During the period of the Second World War, Syed Sibaghatullah Shah, Pir Pagara, launched an armed struggle against the British rule. This struggle is remembered as "Hur Movement". Although Pir Pagara was martyred, this movement accelerated the creation of Pakistan. In the elections of 1945-46 Muslim League got majority in Sindh province and formed the government. The services of Sindhi Muslims are unforgettable. Sir Abdullah Haroon, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Qazi Fazlullah, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Pir Illahi Bakhsh, G. Allana, Ghulam Mohd. Khan Bhurgarri and Qazi Muhammad Akbar were the leaders who popularized Muslim League in the province of Sindh. The religious leaders in Sindh also played a significant role in the movement. People of Sindh remained supporters of Pakistan Movement throughout the struggle for independence.

(iii) Balochistan

Baloch's are strong and brave people with deep love for Islam. They are freedom loving people and have never yielded to any foreign force. Even during the British rule, they maintained their position as a free people. They responded positively to the call of freedom struggle. Qazi Muhammad Isa of Balochistan joined Muslim League Working Committee in 1939. He established Muslim League in Balochistan and many a tribal leaders joined it. Muslim League soon became a popular party in Balochistan. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali, Mir Qadir Bakhsh Zehri, Sardar Baz Khan and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jomezai organized meetings in different parts of Balochistan and conveyed the message of Quaid-i-Azam to the people. Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, the Khan of Kalat supported Pakistan movement. On March 23, 1941 Pakistan Day was celebrated in Quetta by organizing a grand rally of people under the leadership of Qazi Muhammad Isa. In 1943 Balochistan Muslim Students Federation was established. In 1947, the Shahi Jirga of Balochistan decided to join Pakistan.

(iv) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The People of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are known for their bravery and religious mindedness. This province had earlier no real constitution due to the

policy of the British. On the demand of Quaid-i-Azam, constitutional reforms in the province began in 1927. In 1940 Sardar Aurangzeb seconded the Pakistan Resolution but Muslim League could not be properly organized in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa till 1945. Congress took advantage of the situation and started anti-Pakistan propaganda. Congress got favour of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib. In the first elections of the province Congress formed its Ministry with Dr. Khan as its Chief. This was the time when organization of Muslim League was started. Due to the efforts of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan and Khan Bahadur Assadullah Khan, Muslim League Conference was held at Abbottabad in 1939. This conference became the source of generating the spirit of freedom movement. Muslim League offices were opened in a number of districts. The rise of Muslim League weakened the influence of the Congress. The Congress government started pressurising the leaders and workers of Muslim League. The Muslim League started civil disobedience movement in the province in 1947. A large number of workers were involved in the false cases. About 8000 workers were house arrested. But Muslim League movement spread very quickly. The religious leaders played a very significant role in the movement. The students of Islamia College, Peshawar and Edward College were on the front-line in projecting the image of Pakistan. The Congress lost its ground and Muslim League became a popular political party. Thus Khyber Pakhtunkhwa became part of Pakistan on 14th August 1947.

After the eighteenth Amendment in 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the new name of N.W.F.P. is Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.



9. Importance of 14 August, 1947 A.D.

Pakistan and India got independence in succession of a day. Pakistan became independent on 14th August 1947 and India on the 15th. The 14th of August, coincided with the 27th of Ramadan (Ramazan) 1366 A.H. The 27th of Ramadan is considered as "Lailat-ul-Qadr" (Night of Power). It was fortunate that Pakistan became independent on 27th of Ramadan. This is taken as an event commanded by Almighty Allah. This coincidence of dates should always be remembered with gratitude as a bestowal of Allah.

Since the British India was to be divided, it was but natural that Pakistan was to emerge a day before the emergence of India as an independent country. The semi-autonomous local states were asked to opt to accede either to Pakistan or to India, depending on geographical contiguity and the religious

composition of the people. Since it was not followed by the ruler of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it remains a disputed territory till this day.



10. Responsibility of citizens of an ideological state

In his address to the Nation on June 15, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam warned the people of Pakistan about the dangers of provincialism and racialism. He said:

"We are now Pakistanis instead of Balochi, Pathan, Sindhi, Punjabi and Bengali. Our thinking and actions should look like a Pakistani and that we should be proud of being a Pakistani'.

The philosophy behind the struggle for Pakistan was to lay down the foundation of Islamic State where Muslims should lead their lives in accordance with the principles of Islam. In this perspective Pakistan's idea of a state was an ideological one. This ideological state demanded from the people the following responsibilities:

- a) They should try to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam, which is the basis of the country. This requires enforcement of laws and regulations according to Islamic Sharia.
- b) They should struggle for providing a democratic set-up founded on the principles of Islam. The western type democratic system is not suitable to Pakistan. The democratic tradition of freedom for all, reverence and equality is the only way suitable for living a life.
- c) Every citizen of an ideological state should be loyal and patriotic, ready to sacrifice for the state at the time of test. The personal interest should not precede the interests of the state.
- d) The citizens should earn their livelihood through honest means and should never indulge in fraud or deceit.
- e) Their behavior should be the behavior of an educated and civilized individual. It would be necessary for them to educate themselves because education is the best way for progress and character building.
- f) They should honour the laws of the state and cooperate with the law-enforcing agencies. They should never be violent and refrain from breaking law.

- g) They should participate in the activities which promote national integrity, honour and progress. They should help the state against the activities of anti-social elements.
- h) They should be hard-working and should contribute to the welfare of the society.
- i) They should be diligent in their duties and should fulfill their obligations regularly.
- j) They should be ready to help others and promote Muslim brotherhood and glory of mankind.

11. Quaid-i-Azam's Role as First Governor-General of Pakistan

Quaid-i-Azam's role as Governor-General may be visualized in the light of his personal character, selfless qualities of dedication; sacrifice and love for Pakistan. He was a real political leader. He combined in his person a number of qualities. First we discuss, in brief, the character of Quaid-i-Azam.

- i. He was a man of principle and acted upon whatever he said or promised to do.
- ii. He was an intelligent political leader and combined the traits such as statesmanship, courage, sense of responsibility, integrity, forwardness, and dedication to his cause.
- iii. He was an honest and a courageous person to speak what he considered was in the interest of the Muslims of the sub-continent.
- iv. He possessed a pleasing personality combined with polished manners. His presence in the gathering remained an attraction for others.
- v. He possessed very strong character and never compromised on principles especially on the cause of Muslims and the Pakistan.
- vi. He was a resolute man of untiring spirit.
- vii. He devoted his life for Pakistan. It was his vision, courage, selfless service and dedication that he overcame the huge problems of Pakistan soon after it appeared on the map of the world.

- viii. He was a great supporter and admirer of the younger generation of students and considered them the future arsenal of Islam and Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam's role as Governor-General

After the establishment of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam inherited a number of problems. Among the major problems were the settlement of the refugees from India, distribution of assets between India and Pakistan, canal water dispute and the Kashmir problem. Under the circumstances, the role of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General was as follows:

a) National Integrity

The initial problems of Pakistan required national integrity and close cooperation among the people of the new country. India had not accepted the existence of Pakistan from inner heart, and it was the considered opinion of Hindu leaders that Pakistan would soon collapse and the sub-continent will again be united. But it was the wisdom of Quaid-i-Azam who created national spirit and sense of patriotism among the people through his dedication, hard work and love for Pakistan. National unity was developed and Pakistan became a reality.

b) Settlement of Refugees

About 6.5 million Muslims were rendered homeless in India and compelled to migrate to Pakistan to seek refuge. Their settlement was a gigantic task. Quaid-i-Azam paid immediate attention to the settlement of those refugees. Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund was set up. He appealed to people to contribute funds. Quaid-i-Azam personally visited Lahore in October 1947 to look into the problems of refugees who had migrated from East Punjab and made arrangements for their residence and food. He addressed a big gathering in Lahore on October 30, 1947 and said that it was the responsibility of Pakistanis to provide all possible help to the refugees who had left their homes for the sake of Pakistan and that they had suffered a lot at the hands of Hindus and Sikhs.

c) Change in the Attitude of Government Officers

Quaid-i-Azam said that government officers should prove themselves as true public servants. On March 25, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam addressed the government servants and advised them to perform their duties like public servants with honesty and above any affiliation to any

political party or group. This will raise their status in the eyes of the public. The advice of Quaid-i- Azam infused a national spirit.

d) Negation to Provincial and Racial Discrimination

Quaid-i-Azam advised the people to feel pride in calling themselves as Pakistanis and refrain from any kind of racial discrimination and regional prejudice. He toured all the provinces and tried to solve their problems. The armed forces from Waziristan Agency were withdrawn giving a message to the people of the area that they were also an integral part of Pakistan. Different independent states formed an inseparable part of Pakistan. Karachi was declared the Capital of Pakistan.

e) Determination of Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Economy

While inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on July 01, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam said that the western economic system was not suitable for Pakistan and will not bring prosperity to the people of this country. "We have to evolve a system based on the Islamic equality and social justice. By doing this we might introduce a new social order in the world."

f) Foreign Policy

After the independence, Quaid-i-Azam concentrated his efforts to make Pakistan a member of United Nations (UN). Under his guidance diplomatic relations were established with a number of countries in a very short time. The focal point of Pakistan's foreign policy was to maintain friendly relations with all countries, especially with the close neighbours and the Muslim countries. Quaid's role in this regard was the role of a patriotic and sincere person.

g) Advice to the Students

Quaid-i-Azam held the view that the youth of Pakistan are its future asset. He advised the students to pay due attention to their education. He appreciated the role played by the students in the establishment of Pakistan and said that it is the time for them to refrain from politics.

h) Dedication

At the time of emergence of Pakistan in 1947, Quaid-i-Azam was sick and had become quite exhausted, but he continued working day and

night to solve the problems of the people of newly born country. All his efforts were concentrated on the stability of Pakistan till his last breath. That is why he is called "Father of the Nation". May Allah rest his soul in peace!

EXERCISE

A. Answer the following questions:

1. Outline the main features of the Two-Nation Theory?
2. What were the main objectives of the Faraizi Movement?
3. Mention the role of Shah Waliullah in the Revivalist Movement.
4. Describe the struggle of Syed Ahmed Shaheed in eliminating the social evils from the Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
5. Describe the achievements of Aligarh Movement.
6. Describe the role of Muslim League in the struggle for Pakistan.
7. What role was played by the provinces in the struggle for Pakistan?
8. What are the responsibilities of a citizen of an ideological state?
9. Highlight the main points which make the character of Quaid-i-Azam a model for others.
10. Describe the role of Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General of Pakistan.

B. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words:

- i. Muslim League was established in _____.
- ii. Muslim League was established in Balochistan by _____.
- iii. Shah Waliullah died in the year _____.
- iv. Sindh became a separate province in the year _____.
- v. Pakistan was established on the _____ of Ramadan.