Historic Struggle for Pakistan

(1857 - 1947)

Authored by:

Prof. Dr. Muniruddin Chughtai

Translated by:

Prof. R.A. Khan



NAZARIA-I-PAKISTAN TRUST

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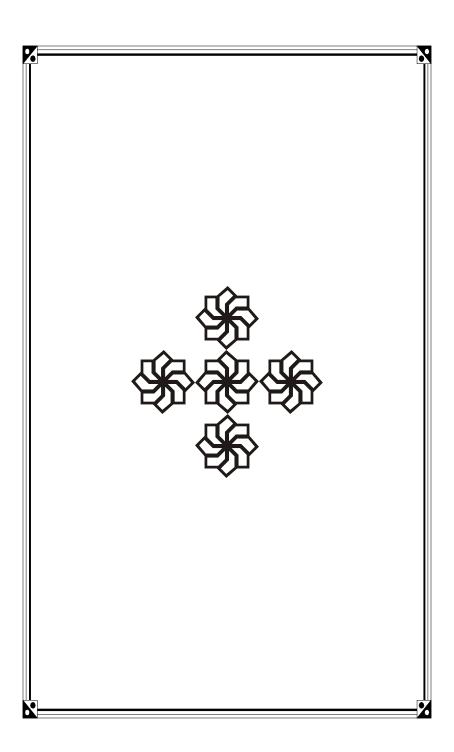
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Dedicated

to the Martyrs
of the
Pakistan Movement



Message from the Chairman

Nazaria-i-Pakistan Trust is a national academiccum-research institution for promoting and projecting the ideology of Pakistan as enunciated by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Mohammad Igbal. To fulfill this role, the Trust's programmes aim at highlighting objectives for which Pakistan was established, recalling sacrifices rendered for achieving it, and creating awareness among people, particularly young generations, about its ideological basis and its glorious Islamic cultural heritage. The Trust feels that its efforts can bear fruit if it succeeds in equipping the youth with authentic knowledge about the inspirational teachings and achievements of our Founding Fathers, Ouaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Mohammad Iqbal. With this aim in view, the Trust carries out multi-faceted activities, one of which is production of literature which not only disseminates knowledge about the great Pakistan Movement but also fills our hearts with feelings of pride on our successful struggle for independence, makes us conscious of our vast national and human wealth, and unfolds our capabilities to face the future with confidence.

It must be admitted that although, after suffering huge losses of life and property, we ultimately succeeded in achieving Pakistan under the epochmaking leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, we could not make it an ideal Islamic State as visualized by Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal. After the death of the Father of the Nation, his unfaithful successors deviated from his path and turned Pakistan into a playfield of civil and military dictators. The Quaid-i-Azam delivered us from the slavery of Britishers and Hindus but we have now fallen into the trap of another type of slavery. To free ourselves from its clutches and all other types of overlordships, we must seek guidance from the nation-building thoughts and actions of Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal who aspired to make Pakistan a truly modern Islamic welfare democratic state.

As pointed out before, our main focus is on younger generations who were in the forefront in the struggle for Pakistan and who can even today play a similar role in building up Pakistan into a modern democratic and welfare Islamic State. The students' favourite slogan during Pakistan Movement was *Pakistan ka matlab kiya: La Ilaha Illallah*. Through this slogan the Muslim youth saw a dream of regaining our past glory and establishing our own free Muslim State in our homelands.

The Quaid-i-Azam was fully conscious of the mighty role which students played in the past and could play in the future. Addressing a deputation of students on 31 October 1947 he observed: "Pakistan is proud of its youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need. You are the nation-builders of tomorrow and you must fully

equip yourself with discipline, education, and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it."

The truth is that we have long neglected the youth and our educational system does not inspire them to give their best in the building up of Pakistan economically, socially, politically and even educationally. Inspiration comes through ideological education, which in our case involves a study of twonation theory derived from Islamic Ideology which motivated the great Pakistan Movement and on which is raised the edifice of our nationhood. It is this ideological education which the Trust seeks to impart to the Pakistani youth through its publications, including the present one. I hope, this literature will acquaint the Pakistani youth about the separation of East Pakistan and inspire them to rise above provincial, linguistic and sectarian rivalries and make them apostles of national unity and territorial integrity.

Majid Nizami



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Preface

The present work is based on Urdu Version published some six years back by the Nazaria-i-Pakistan Trust. It is a very brief but a compact summary of the salient features of the great Struggle for Pakistan fought under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

It is basically in a narrative form, which penpictures the details of the milestones of the Pakistan Movement, which led to the creation of Pakistan. It is a useful study for the students in particular who are interested in the subject of Pakistan Studies. It is a worth reading material for others too who wish to be acquainted with the details of the liberation movement carried by the Muslims in British India.

The book in hand is a true picture of the Two-Nation Theory, which is undoubtedly the basis of the creation of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah very rightly and categorically said that "Two-Nation Theory is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact."

It is a reality, which determines clear-cut difference between Hindus and Muslims who belong to two different cultures and philosophies. The whole narration in this booklet thus depicts the story of the antagonistic attitude of the Hindus towards Muslims of South Asia.

On this occasion, when this booklet is being published, I would like to remember my revered teacher (late) Prof. Dr. Muniruddin Chughtai under whose guidance and supervision this book was first completed. Likewise, I must thank Dr. Rafique Ahmed, Vice Chairman of the Nazaria-i-Pakistan Trust who took keen interest in revising the script very minutely.

I shall be failing in my duty if I don't mention the name of Prof. R.A.Khan who was kind enough to translate this booklet into beautiful English. I thank him with all my heart.

I should thank the Secretary of the Trust Mr. Shahid Rashid and Additional Secretary Mr. Rafaqat Riaz, for their cooperation in publishing of this work.

I am beholden for the usual assistance and necessary help provided by Messrs Mr. Shahzad Yasin and Hafiz Amir Nazir for composing the draft and bringing it into its final shape.

Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza

Historic Struggle for Pakistan (1857 – 1947)

The War of Independence – (1857 A.D.)

The episode of the renaissance of the Indian Muslims, which culminated in their political awakening and resulting in the birth of Pakistan, was initiated by the failure of their national struggle for independence in 1857, A.D. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan did a yeoman's service to discuss, in a very logical and candid fashion, the underlying causes and events of this movement in his famous dissertation "Causes of the Indian Mutiny." He recorded the various factors responsible for distancing the rulers and the ruled, which had adversely affected the Muslims. He pointed out the overall wrong policy of the English, official patronage of the Christian missionaries, unbridled exploitation of the masses by the Hindu Money Lenders, rampant unemployment, and devastation of the indigenous industry, were some of the causes, which were focused by Sir Syed. Hindus had participated in the 1857 struggle, alongside the Muslims but they subsequently joined hands with the English, thus bringing down the wrath entirely on the Muslims. The rulers took stern action against the Muslims. The properties of the innumerable Muslims were confiscated and harsh treatment was meted out to them. The doors of army and many other important institutions were slammed in their face. They were expelled from all the important Government posts and Hindus were favoured on their expense.

The Singular Achievement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a renowned political leader of the 19th Century, adopted various measures to keep the Muslim morale high and their hopes kindled. His endeavours were to ensure the political rehabilitation of the Muslims, along with their renaissance and social, economic and educational progress and advancement. First of all he tried to establish (through many pamphlets) that the Muslims could live peacefully under the English rule if their religious, social and economic matters were not interfered with. After that he focused all his attention on the education for Muslims. He started an educational movement in Aligarh after launching various educational institutions. His aim was to equip Muslims with modern education to enable them to occupy a reasonable share of government jobs in comparison to the Hindus. His greatest achievement was to establish a school and then to convert it into Aligarh College in 1877 A.D. Highly qualified teachers as well as an English principal and English teachers were appointed to eliminate the mutual hatred among the Muslims and the English.

Anti-Muslim Movements

The English were not only pleased with the Hindus but thought it expedient to get their co-operation on a better footing, as they were in a majority. The Hindus started demanding the establishment of English type political institutions, in view of their pre-ponderant majority and on the other hand started movements for the revival of ancient Hindu civilization with the aim of establishing "Ram Raj" in India. The most important movement among these was the "Arya-Samaj". It started working on the theme of expelling

the Muslims from India as they were the intruders. Apart from this, the Hindus launched an anti-Urdu campaign just because this language had developed during the period of Muslim rule. An atmosphere of confrontation between the two communities developed due to the demand of replacing Urdu by the Hindi language, in Devnagiri Script, in the Government Offices and the Courts. All this resulted in anxiety among the Muslims to safeguard their culture and way-of-life whereas the educated Hindus started organizing themselves politically. Under the circumstances a political party by the name of "Indian National Congress" was launched in 1885 on the instigation of Lord Dufferin, the Governor General, aimed at establishing British type of institutions (like Legislative Assemblies) in India. The members should be elected, while only the educated or the owners of property shall have the right to vote. The Muslims were lagging behind the Hindus in English Education and had been rendered quite destitute as a result of the 1857 uprising. Hence these suggestions about the voting rights were utterly against their interest. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress to counteract this situation, because he was of the view that Congress stood for political domination of India by the Hindus. Sir Syed was of the view that Hindus and Muslims should have the right to separate electoral lists to elect their representatives. Hindus were dead against this proposal. The Muslims remained aloof from Congress as per advice of Sir Syed.

Demand for Separate Electorate

Under the 1892 "Legislative Councils of India Act", a limited number of elected Indians were allowed to be

inducted through local governments, Universities; Chambers of Commerce and Cultural Associations electorate. It resulted in most of the elected members to those Legislative Councils being Hindus. Even if a Muslim did get elected, he had to cut a sorry figure! The Muslims opted to start a movement to achieve "Separate Electorates" to cope up with this situation. A situation arose during that period, which clearly focused the attention of the Muslims on "Separate-Electorate" as a safeguard to their Rights and Interests. The British Government partitioned provinces in 1905, A.D. Assam was amalgamated with East-Bengal with a separate Legislative Assembly and Board of Revenue. The division of Bengal improved the percentage of the Muslims vis-à-vis Hindu population in East Bengal. The Hindus launched a violent agitation against this division in the whole of Bengal, creating a law and order situation. It was in this backdrop of anti Muslim Movements, especially the agitation against the Partition of Bengal, that a deputation of Muslims met the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in Simla, in October 1906, to plead for the right of the Muslims to elect their own representatives through "Separate Electorates" in all the Legislative Councils. The deputation asserted that the Muslims were entitled to have their own elected representatives to safeguard their interests in all the Legislative Councils on the grounds of having a distinct and separate identity from a cultural and ideological perspective. Simla Deputation was a sign of Muslim political awakening and this had a special bearing in the history of Muslims of India. They were taking part in political activities for the first time, as a separate Muslim entity, after the War of Independence (1857 A.D.)

Setting-up of All-India Muslim League

This was the emergent situation which induced the Muslim leaders of India to hold a big meeting in Dacca on December 30, 1906 to establish a party of their own by the name of "All India Muslim League". The basic aim was to achieve the right of separate electorate for the Muslims and to safeguard the interests of Muslims. It was due to their exertions that the Muslims earned the right to elect a limited number of their representatives to the Legislative Councils through separate electorates vide the "1909 - Indian Legislative Act." The Congress opposed it tooth and nail! After a few months, Elections were held for these Legislative Assemblies. The Muslims elected representatives through their own votes. The Congress had already demanded 'Self-Rule'. Muslim League too put up a demand for "An appropriate self-Government" in India through a Resolution in 1913. This resolution was backed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah (later Quaid-i-Azam) and he joined the All India Muslim League shortly afterwards. The real aim behind this resolution was to maintain the separate "Muslim National Identity" in any 'Indian Self Government.

It was due to Quaid-i-Azam's efforts that Congress and the Muslim League agreed in 1916, to co-operate for a joint struggle to achieve self-Government. A noticeable feature of this accord was that Congress accepted the right of Muslims to elect their representatives through separate electorates thus conceding their separate national identity. It was an important decision in the political history of India to safeguard the rights of the Muslims. The Congress had practically accepted the fact that both the nations, i.e. Hindus

and Muslims, cannot jointly struggle for the freedom of India until their separate national identity is conceded.

Khilafat Movement

Turkey sided with Germany in the World War-I. Turkey too suffered defeat with Germany. The Indian Muslims got quite a set-back. The Muslim army of India participated fully in World War I on the side of the English. During this the English had assured the Muslims that Turkish Caliphate would come to no harm after the end of war. But Turkish suzerainty was abolished entirely in the Middle East area previously under their control reducing them to a very weak position. The Muslims launched a movement to restore the Caliphate, as the Turkish Sultan was the Caliph of all the Muslims. The Government enacted a Bill in 1919, called Rawlett Act to suppress every kind of anti-Government agitation ruthlessly. Ouaid-i-Azam resigned from the membership of the Imperial Legislative Council in protest at the passage of that Bill. The Hindus were also against this Bill. Hence the Congress and Leaders of the 'Khilafat Movement' jointly decided to launch a "Non-cooperation Movement" against the Government, stressing the fact that the Movement will be totally non-Violent. This movement continued for about two years successfully but the attitude of the Hindus was based on insincerity. For example the Muslims were encouraged to close down the Aligarh Muslim University in protest and migrate out of India but the Hindus refused to join such an effort. Mr. M.K. Gandhi expressed his helplessness in closing down the Benaras Hindu University as the Hindu nationalist leader, Mr. Maddan Mohan Malviya did not agree. The plea of the Muslims was ignored. A protest rally

burst into violence and torched a police station, incinerating twenty one policemen inside, on February 05, 1922 in 'Chaura Chori", a place in U.P. The Hindu Leader, M.K. Gandhi called-off this agitation. It may be pertinent to point out that the Non-cooperation Movement and Khilafat Movement had joined hands and the prospects of the Muslim demands being accepted were quite bright. Gandhi, therefore, called off the Movement on the pretext of "Chaura Chori" incident. This decision made it impossible to continue the 'Khilafat-Movement'. Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar, who was behind bars, called Gandhi's decision wrong. This situation resulted in a split between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus launched "Shudhi and "Sangthun" movements. The "Shudhi" movement was aimed at converting back to Hinduism all those Muslims whose ancestors were Hindus, and the "Sangthun" movement was aimed at training the Hindus in Warfare Arts. These movements resulted in Hindu-Muslim riots on a large scale.

14-points of Quaid-i-Azam

The Hindu political parties like Congress and Hindu Mahasabha started emphasizing that the right of separate electorate acquired by the Muslims should be abolished, as it was harmful for the idea of a United Indian Nation. Under these circumstances the Hindu-Muslim differences started increasing. An All-Parties Committee was convened under the leadership of Mr. Motilal Nehru. The report of this committee was debated upon in Calcutta in an All-Parties Convention in December 1928. Quaid-i-Azam put up a few important amendments in the "Nehru Report". These were about the reservation of one-third seats for the Muslims in

the Central Assembly, allocation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of population, and entrusting the Residual Authority to the center. These amendments were turned down by the Hindus. Quaid-i-Azam was, therefore, forced to say, "This is our parting of the ways!" As a reaction to this development the following 'Fourteen-Points' of Quaid-i-Azam formed the basis of the future political struggle of the Muslims:-

- Federal System of Government where the provinces would have a definite mandate.
- Equal provincial autonomy system.
- Effective and adequate representation to the minorities in all the Provincial Legislative Assemblies WITHOUT reducing any majority to any equality or a minority.
- One-Third Seats for the Muslims in the Central Legislature.
- Separate-Electorates.
- No territorial adjustment in Punjab, Bengal and North Western Province to affect the majority of Muslims.
- All the communal/religious groups to enjoy full freedom.
- No Legislature to pass a Bill without approval of the majority members of the community being affected by that Bill.
- Sind to be separated from the Bombay Presidency.
- Application of reforms to N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan

- Adequate and satisfactory constitutional protection to all the Muslim cultural, educational, linguistic, religious, personal law and benevolent institutions.
- Adequate quota for the Muslims in employments.
- Every provincial and central cabinet to include at least one-third Muslim ministers.
- No amendment should be done to the constitution without the concurrence of the participating state/provinces.

The Historical Allahabad Address of Allama Mohammad Iqbal

The annual meeting of Muslim League in 1930 was held in Allahabad. The Islamic Philosopher, Allama Mohammad Iqbal presided. Referring to the history of Hindu-Muslim relations he explicitly alluded that in his opinion the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem in India was to establish an independent separate sovereign country consisting of the Areas where the Muslims were in a majority, especially the North-Western Part of India. This country would represent the Universal Brotherhood of the Man as per Islam. This was a crying need of the downtrodden humanity then. Allama Mohammad Iqbal was very popular among the Muslim youth due to his inspiring nationalistic poetry. His poetry had fired the imagination of the youth and they had been yearning to revive the glory of Islam in India for the last many years. The idea of Allama Mohammad Iqbal to set up a separate Muslim country created a fresh zeal among them and they launched a movement to achieve this Goal. The young students in

England also started a campaign on these lines. M/s Chaudhri Rehmat Ali, Aslam Khattak, Inayatullah Khan, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq and Khawaja Tariq Rahim were in the fore-front. They coined a new word "Pakistan" by joining the initial letters of the North-Western Muslim Provinces as the name for this New Muslim Country.

The Anti-Muslim Policies of the Provincial Congress Governments

During this period, three rounds of Round Table Conference were held in London, from 1930 to 1932, to deliberate on solving the political tangle of India. Many prominent politicians and intellectuals of India took part, including the Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal. The stubborn behaviour of the Hindus blocked all the efforts to find a means for protecting the Legitimate Rights of the Muslims.

In spite of the failure of the Round Table Conferences, the British Government enacted a new Bill, called "The Government of India Act – 1935", to accede additional political privileges to the people of India. India was accordingly divided into 11 provinces with a legislative assembly in each. The provinces were given internal autonomy with a representative government. General elections were held in all the Provinces in 1937 according to the above Act. Majority of the 11 provinces opted for a Congress Government. This ushered a new round of Hindu-Muslim relations. Under Congress Governments, the rights of the Muslims were brutally trampled on and the Muslims of U.P./C.P. and Bihar had to face very harsh treatment. "Bund-e-Matram" was adopted as a national anthem by most of the Congress Governments. This 'ODE' is part of a Novel

by a Bengali Hindu, Bunkum Chander Chatterji, titled "Anand Muth" (A Hindi Word meaning "Abode of Peace"). This Novel was based on the "Sunyasi" (Meaning the Hindu Hermits) Movement against the Muslim rulers of Bengal. The 'ODE' was set in a scene where a "Sunyasi" places his head on the feet of the 'Kali-Devi" (A Hindu goddess of Destruction) and sings: "O mother! We will not rest in peace until we have rid our sacred land of these Demons! (Meaning Muslims)."

That is why it was considered derogatory to the Muslim sentiments. Anti Muslim riots resulted mostly from the recitation of this notorious song in the meetings and processions. The Hindu youth adopted the tactics of carrying the Idol of the Hindu Leader, M.K. Gandhi, and intruded into the Muslim Schools and Madrassahs chanting this song, and tried to install Gandhi's Idol there. This always created Hindu-Muslim riots. Quaid-i-Azam said that the song emanates hatred.

The Second World War started in Europe in September 1939. The Governor General of India declared that India was too at war alongside Britain. All the Congress Provincial Governments resigned in protest on the plea that the Governor General had no right to declare India being at war without prior consultation of the Representative Governments. The Indian Muslims celebrated this occasion as a "Day-of-Deliverance" because the Muslim existence had been made quite miserable by these Governments.

The Congress, in fact, was pressing the English to grant Independence to India as one United India on the basis of "One-Nation Theory" as per Congress desire. But the Muslims had been roused by a fresh awakening for independence as a result of the Allahabad Address (1930) of Allama Mohammad Iqbal. Their sweeping aspiration was the feeling of being a Nation as Muslims, who must have their own country to order their lives in accordance with their own values! They had experienced the suppression of Muslims' rights by the Congress Provincial Ministries established under the Government of India Act – 1935. They had realized that life under abject slavery of the Hindu Majority in a United India would be their lot if they did not get their separate country.

Historic Resolution of the Sind Assembly

Sind Muslim League Conference was convened in October 1938, presided by Quaid-i-Azam. This conference approved an explicit resolution recommending to the All India Muslim League to prepare a Constitutional Scheme for complete Independence of the Indian Muslims. The Act of 1935 had envisaged a Federal Govt. in INDIA. This resolution emphatically repudiated the Federal Scheme because the attitude of the Congress-Provincial Government had proved that it was against the interests of the Muslims.

Pakistan Resolution

The situation had reached a stage where the only representative party of the Muslims, i.e., the Muslim League, decided to launch the practical steps necessary to establish a separate Muslim country. A meeting was held in Lahore in March 1940, participated by Muslim representatives from all over India. A resolution was approved recommending establishment of an Independent Muslim country comprising the Muslim Majority Areas in the North-West and North-

East of INDIA, so that the Muslim could live under their own system of Govt: in accordance with their typical social, cultural and political values.

This Resolution gave the Muslims of INDIA a clear cut aim. A movement to achieve this objective was launched engaging the whole of the Muslims as a Nation. They sank their sectarian differences and participated irrespective of age. All converged on achieving their goal as adherents of a Single-Book, Al –Quran, and One-Allah and one-Messenger.

The Hindus started the "Quit India" movement during the War to press the English for accepting their dividends. This campaign failed inspite of severe disturbances at many places. The majority of Muslims remained aloof in this movement. Quaid-i-Azam reacted to this campaign by raising the slogan "Divide India & Quit!"

Different Proposals of the British Government and the Demand for Pakistan

The Hindu-Muslim controversy was increasing dayby-day. Aim of the Congress was the establishment of 'RAM-RAJ' in India. Realizing the gravity of the situation, the British Government dispatched a Parliamentary Delegation to India in 1942, with Sir Stafford Cripps as its Head. It held parleys with the Leaders of Congress, Muslim League and other significant parties and informed them of their proposals. The Central Point was the setting up of a new Indian Union, just like other Dominions under the British Crown but totally independent in it's Domestic and Foreign Affairs. The Indian Constitution should incorporate a provision for any Province to opt out of the Union. The Muslim League rejected the proposal on the grounds:-

- The Government Declaration about one Indian-Union is against the wishes and constitution of the All India Muslim League, as it does not believe in the so-called unity of India.
- 2. The proposed Legislative Assembly was to take decision on important issues by a simple majority. Muslims having only about twenty five percent representation will become subservient to the majority permanently.
- 3. It had no specific procedure mentioned for joining/quitting the Union.

Quaid-i-Azam rejected the proposals as very un-balanced and highly injurious to the Muslims because it did not concede the demand for Pakistan in clear and un-equivocal terms. The Right of Self-Determination to the Muslims was not admitted too. The Congress rejected the proposal because it smacked of Pakistan. It held the Dissociation clause to be a "Bone of Contention".

The Governor General, Lord Wavell announced a Plan in June, 1945 to solve the constitutional tangle which hinted out the reformation of the Viceroy's Administrative Council. The Viceroy called a Meeting in Simla of all the prominent leaders of India in this context. The constitutional differences were discussed but the Congress' intransigence blocked any decision. The Simla Conference proved a

failure and the Viceroy declared it so himself. The most important aspect of this Wavell plan, which the foresight of Quaid-i-Azam could well discern, was the absence of any constitutional clause to stop this temporary arrangement becoming permanent! The chances were for the permanent majority of Hindus in the Central Government to subjugate the Muslims permanently in a political bondage.

The Conclusive Elections of 1945-46

Ouaid-i-Azam insisted on the establishment of Pakistan and finding a permanent solution of this important constitutional problem instead of temporary arrangements. Quaid-i-Azam openly declared that the acceptance of Wavell Plan will jeopardize the demand for Pakistan for all times to come. This was the occasion when the role of the Muslim League as the only representative body of the Muslims was challenged. Quaid-i-Azam demanded the General Elections to be held after the failure of the Conference. Central and Provincial Elections were held in 1945-46. The Muslims participated in these Elections on the plank of getting a favorable decision on Pakistan. There were Thirty (30) reserved Muslim seats in the Central Assembly; all were bagged by the Muslim League. There were Four Hundred and Ninety five (495) Muslim Seats in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies and the Muslim League, by succeeding on (446) Four Hundred and Forty six of these, proved itself to be the only representative body of Muslims and the demand by the Muslims was for Pakistan.

The British Government dispatched a Cabinet-Mission in 1946, under the chairmanship of Lord Pethik Lawrence, to resolve the Hindu-Muslim problem, as a direct consequence of the results of these Elections. Quaid-i-Azam expressed his opinion on this occasion and said; "I would try to convince the Cabinet Mission that division of India is the only solution of this problem". The Cabinet Mission met the Leaders of Congress, as well as the Muslim League in May 1946. Both these parties submitted their proposals to resolve the Indian Constitutional Impasse in the Second Simla Conference separately. The total divergence of views stymied this Conference and the Cabinet Mission proposed a plan of their own. It envisaged an Indian Union where the Center would have control of Defence, Foreign Affairs & Communications. The plan divided India in three groups. Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sind and Baluchistan were placed in one group, whereas Assam and Bengal were in another, and the Third group consisted of the rest of the Hindu-Majority Provinces. A union-Government was to be put in the Center. As this plan allowed the proposed Provinces/Groups to optout of the Indian Union after Ten-Years, if they so desired, the Muslim League accepted this Cabinet-Mission Plan on the premise that the Groups being proposed would ultimately assume the shape of Pakistan. In other words, Muslim League could discern a clear outline for establishing Pakistan through this plan. Congress, to start with, accepted this plan, but later on rejected it, as it was afraid of the fact that the Muslim League must have accepted because it perceived a clear indication of Pakistan coming into this plan. This showed clearly that Congress was not going to accept any right or interests of the Muslims under any circumstances.

A part of the Cabinet Mission Plan dealt with establishing an interim Government in the Center. The

Congress had said after the elections and at the time of setting-up an interim Government that it would never approve a proposal granting equal representation to the Muslim League and Congress. The Viceroy presented a new formula for the interim Government to cury favour with the Congress. It was to appoint Thirteen (13) Ministers. Congress was allotted Five, Muslim League three, while Two Ministers from other Minorities were to be appointed. The Congress rejected this proposal too, revealing the fact that it wished to control the Levers of Power in the whole of India by itself alone! Only the Hindus should have the monopoly of power and the Muslims be kept out of any political power. Although the Congress rejected the Plan but it agreed to participate in the constituent assembly being set up under this plan. Since the Congress had rejected the plan whereas the Muslim League had accepted it, it was incumbent upon the Viceroy to ask Muslim League to form an interim Government in accordance with his own declaration to ask the consenting Party to form Interim Government but the Viceroy did not keep his words and kept on wooing the Congress to join.

Interim Government of India and the Muslims

The English asked the Congress to form an interim Government in clear violation of their pledge to the Muslims. The fact was that the Congress had refused to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan. Keeping in view the increasing political unrest and communal riots in the country, the Viceroy decided that it wouldn't be wise to ignore the Muslim League completely if the Interim Government was to be successfully run. Muslim League was, therefore, also invited to join the Interim Government.

At this stage the tussle for the sharing of different Ministries among the Muslim League and Congress raised it's head. The Ministries were , after all, divided between the two Parties.

This is quite a laudable fact that the performance of the Muslim League Ministers in the interim Government was better than the Hindu Majority Party Ministers. The Finance Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, of the interim Government presented such a Revolutionary Budget that it is still called a 'Poor Man's Budget' in the History.

Division of India

A new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, arrived in India carrying the authority to partition India, who started a series of meetings with Quaid-i-Azam and other political leaders so that a satisfactory procedure could be evolved for the Transfer of Power. Mountbatten was desirous of keeping India united at any cost. He stuck till last to the view that the Cabinet Mission Plan was the most appropriate solution of the constitutional problem of India. Here was another proof of the English perfidy and bad faith towards the Muslims. The scheme for the Partition of India was approved after a series of meetings by Mountbatten with the Notables of India. Lord Mountbatten announced the plan to Partition of India on June 03,1947. This provided for the partition of Bengal and Punjab as well. A district of Assam, Sylhet and Western Frontier Province were to undergo North Referendum, while a Jirga (Tribal Council of Elders) of the Sardars of Baluchistan was to be convened, to ascertain their popular will regarding Pakistan. The Muslims of these areas decided in favour of Pakistan. Two Partition Commissions

were set up, under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliff to decide the Boundary in Bengal and Punjab. Radcliff allotted some important districts, having a Muslim majority to India. A Muslim-majority district Gurdaspur was given to India. This provided a corridor to India for forcibly occupying Kashmir.

This plan for the Partition of India resulted in despondency among the Hindus. They declared it to be the vivisection of "Mother-Cow"! Armed Bandits and Goondas (Ruffians) started carnage in Delhi and East Punjab. There was manslaughter, burning and kidnapping on such a vast scale which was unprecedented in the history of this sub-Continent. About more than a million of Muslims were butchered while more than ten million were deprived of their belongings and homesteads. This was the scenario, which vitiated the implementation of the 3rd June Plan. Lakhs of Muslims had to cross a river of blood to reach Pakistan. An exodus of Hindus and Sikhs did take place as a reaction but the loss of life and property suffered by the Muslims was unprecedented in history.

A last hurdle in the establishment of Pakistan was put up by the Congress and the pro-Hindu Governor General, Mountbatten. Congress declared that the first Governor General of a Free Bharat would be Mountbatten and proposed a Common Governor General, i.e. Mountbatten, for both the countries. Quaid-i-Azam successfully check mated this move and the Muslim League announced that the first Governor General of Pakistan, on August 14, 1947 would be Quaid-i-Azam himself. It is pertinent to note that the Hindus, who always maintained a posture of anti-English sentiments and freedom started their Era of Independence

under an English Governor General! In contrast the Muslims choose their greatest National Leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as their First Head of State.

Emergence of the Largest Muslim Country

Here is a cursory glance of the Freedom struggle waged by the Muslims for a century, which ultimately culminated in 1947 in the shape of "PAKISTAN" on the disintegration of the European Colonial system. It was, by population, the biggest sovereign Muslim country in the world and the fifth largest state to emerge! The struggle was initiated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Allama Mohammad Iqbal was the one to give it a geographical, as well as an Ideological shape, and Quaid-i-Azam, through exceptional energy and activity, not only diverted the current of history, but changed the world map by creating a Nation-State, as recorded by the famous American Historian, Mr. Stanley Wolpert.

Although the Muslims and Hindu representative associations, Muslim League and Congress respectively, had entered into an agreement, on June 3rd, 1947, to establish two separate states yet the Congress passed an open Resolution, just eleven days after, on June 14, that the Two Nation Theory, forming the basis of Partition of India, was an Evil Ideology which would evaporate soon! In addition to this, the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders declared that the areas being separated would be taken back by Bharat soon. These Resolutions still exist and the Hindus keep on expressing such sentiments to-date. The biggest hurdle in the way of Bharat-Pakistan rapprochement, for existing as peaceful neighbours, is the mind-set nurtured by such Resolutions. Quaid-i-Azam, while talking to the Reuter's Correspondent, Mr.Duncan Hooper, on Oct 25, 1947, two months after Pakistan had come into existence, said: "

PAKISTAN has come into existence for all times to come because it is based on the Two Nation Theory which is a perpetual ground reality and not an obscure vision. Hindustan has been irrevocably partitioned on this basis!" Quaid-i-Azam also quoted the famous Hindu Professor, Dr.Gadgill, stating the fact that the Indian-Union was basically a Hindu Nation State or a Federation of Hindu Nation States. Both these states should, therefore, accord recognition to each other and live like peaceful neighbours on a level of equality.

The 'Two Nation Theory' or the 'Ideology of Pakistan' is only a second name of our 'ISLAMIC IDENTITY'. The Arab countries do not need to highlight it as they have a 100-percent Islamic Identity! But in South Asia the need to highlight this Identity was felt because another nation, the Hindus, was domiciled here which believed in the multiplicity of gods and possessed a Caste-System* in juxtaposition to 'Allah' being One (TAUHEED) and all Human-Beings enjoying Equal-Status in the Islamic way of Life. The obvious result of such a divergence in outlook had been that the Hindus and the Muslims kept on adopting separate highways in each and every affair of life worth mentioning. Quaid-i-Azam has highlighted our Islamic Identity and the Two Nation Theory in a very comprehensive way thus:-

"The difference between the Hindus and Muslims is quite deep and un-bridgeable. We are a Muslim Nation as

It needs separate explanation if one is not familiar with the Hindu-Caste-System. Suffice it to say that it divides the whole Humanity in Four Castes, i.e., BRAHMIN/KHASHATRY/VAISH & SHUDRAS/ Un-Touchables, By Birth! Plus the fact that one has to be BORN a Hindu to start with! no proselytizing is permissible in Hinduism.

per our brilliant Culture and Civilization. We possess an individual viewpoint and way of life, from whichever angle we see, be it language or literature, the Fine Arts, Architecture, Rituals and Calendar, History and Tradition, Aspiration and Proclivities etc. From every definition of the International Law, we are a Nation."

That is the famous 'Two Nation Theory', which formed the basis of 'Two Different Countries' emerging constitutionally as Independent countries in the British Indian Empire in 1947. The Hindu majority areas formed Bharat while the Muslims majority areas became Pakistan. The state of Jammu and Kashmir, a preponderant Muslim area, should have been included in Pakistan on this very basis but the Hindus usurped it treacherously by occupying the major part by sending their Army. The Kashmiri freedom fighters are struggling to liquidate this aggression.

Although Pakistan has developed many national institutions in the first six decades with a very remarkable speed and has achieved that status of the Sixth Atomic Power of the World but it is still not an Islamic Democratic Welfare State in the real sense as envisioned by Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Mohammad Iqbal. It is a matter of pride and gratitude that we are still FREE! We surely possess all the capabilities of developing into an Islamic Democratic Welfare state. We have all the hopes that our coming generations will continue to exert on every front to convert the Dream of Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Mohammad Iqbal to a reality.

