

## **ZIAUDDIN UNIVERSITY**

# **EXAMINATION BOARD**

# Pakistan Studies Class IX-X



## **Pakistan Studies**

## Class IX

Topic	Units	SLOs	Teachers' Resource	Students' Resource	Assessments			
	History							
British colonialis m	Their objectives and strategies in British India (1857-1947).	-Discuss the reasons of arrival of British in India  -Analyse the impact of British colonial rule in India	https://15minutehistory.org/podcast/episode-9-the-end-of-colonialism-in-south-asia/ https://www.thoughtco.com/the-british-raj-in-india-195275 https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/arrival-of-the-british-establishment-of-british-east-india-company-1442914649-1 https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/when-and-why-british-first-came-to-india-1591166-2019-08-24 https://www.pbs.org/thestoryofindia/teachers/lessons/6/ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/independence1947_01.shtml	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5p2OAFS-Q5shttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzDwz18ng7whttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hplegGu-5tIhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzDwz18ng7whttps://www.britannica.com/place/India/The-British-1600-1740	https://www.jag ranjosh.com/ge neral- knowledge/gk- questions-and- answers-on- the-british- conquest-of- india- 1526385551-1 https://global.o up.com/us/com panion.websites /978019994374 6/student/chapt er26/quiz/ http://www.mill enniumbooksou rce.com/Downl oad%20Data/M SS/MSS- 8%20wb.pdf			
Major Events: Since 1857- 1900 War of Indepen dence	-Down fall of Mughal Empire -Failure of war of independence 1857 -effects of war of independence on Muslims of India - struggle by British in proclaiming India as official	-Discuss the causes of downfall of Mughal Empire.  -Identify causes and the failure for the War of independence 1857  -Analyze the effect of the War of Independence 1857 on Muslims of India.  -Examine the struggle by British in proclaiming India as official territory in	https://historypak.com/war-of-independence-1857/ http://apsacwestridge.edu.pk/assets/admin/upload/notes/WarOfIndependence1857.pdf https://www.tutorialspoint.com/modern_indian_history/modern_indian_history causes_decline_of_mughal_empire.htm https://historypak.com/after_math-of-the-war-of-independence/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rap7egq3Xdo https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iDO1iiW7w0Y https://brainly.in/question/15621862	http://www.pre servearticles.co m/question- papers/23- important- questions-on- the-mughal- empire/18957 https://www.an swers.com/Q/ Why_did_the_ war_of_indepe ndence_in_185 7_fail https://quizlet.c om/129323181/			

	territory in 1877	1877	https://www.britannica.com/ event/British-raj  https://historypak.com/cause s-of-the-failure-of-the-war- of-independence-3/		chapter-27- flash-cards/
Aligarh Moveme nt  Books authored by Sir,Syed Ahmed Khan. Institutio ns initiated by Sir Syed.	- Education of Muslims of India Evaluate the role played by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in politics, civics and social upgradation of Muslims in the 19th century.	-Analyze the contribution of Aligarh movement on the Education of Muslims of India.  -Evaluate the role played by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in politics, civics and social upgradation of Muslims in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century.  -Enlist major institutions established during period of Aligarh Movement  -Enlist Major Journals and Scientific magazines published during the period of Aligarh Movement	https://historypak.com/aligar h-movement-2/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIu0KvFLtds  https://www.slideshare.net/sohailahmedsolangi/sir-syedahmed-khan-by-sohail-ahmed  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=And Z ZSAbQ	https://quizlet.c om/pk/3639026 97/sir-syed- ahmed-khan- beliefs-flash- cards/
Early Legislativ e Develop ment during British Era	-main features of Govt of India Act 1858 - main features of Legislative Councils Act 1861 -salient features of Indian Councils Act 1892	-Describe the main features of Govt of India Act 1858 -Explain the main features of Legislative Councils Act 1861 -Highlight the salient features of Indian Councils Act 1892 -Analyze the progress of early Legislative Development in IndiaCompare and contrast the Indian Council Acts of 1858, 1861 and 1892.	https://historypak.com/government-of-india-act-1858/ https://www.britannica.com/place/India/Government-of-India-Act-of-1858 https://www.gktoday.in/gk/government-of-india-act-1858/ https://historypak.com/government-of-india-act-1861/ https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indian-Councils-Act-1861-India https://www.gktoday.in/gk/indian-councils-act-1861/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hHyPdCoeEE  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xu4gwK1zGwc  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xu4gwK1zGwc	https://quizlet.c om/392853714/ history-of- modern-india- 1857-1947- flash-cards/

Formatio n of Indian National Congress	-factors that led to the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 - Objectives of Indian National Congress 1885.	-Examine the factors that led to the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 -Illustrate the main objectives of Indian National Congress 1885Analyse the role played by Indian National Congress in fostering national harmony within India in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century	https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/main-features-of-indian-council-act-1892-1443011285-1  https://historypak.com/the-indian-councils-act-1892/  https://selfstudyhistory.com/2015/01/30/the-indian-council-act-1892/  https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indian-National-Congress  https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/indian-national-congress-was-formed-on-this-day-facts-about-inc-1117601-2017-12-28  http://www.historydiscussion.net/history-of-india/birth-of-indian-national-congress/3186 https://neostencil.com/upsc-modern-history-indian-national-congress-its-aims-and-objectives  http://www.shareyouressays.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1oMuCsX6TZIhttps://www.slideshare.net/PrithiRamamurti/indiannational-congress	https://quizlet.c om/in/4192498 22/indian- national- congress-flash- cards/ https://quizlet.c om/64539225/i ndian-national- congress-flash- cards/
1901-	-causes and		com/essays/what-were-the- aims-and-objectives-of-the- congress/89793 https://historypak.com/partiti	https://www.youtu	https://quizlet.c
1901- 1920 Partition of Bengal 1905 (1901- 1920)	-causes and impact of Partition of Bengal 1905	-Analyse the causes of Partition of Bengal 1905.  -Evaluate the impact of Partition of Bengal on Muslims.  -Using a variety of sources, justify how the Swadesi Movement pushed British for annulment of the partition of Bengal	https://mistorypak.com/partition-of-bengal-1905-1911/  https://www.britannica.com/event/Partition-of-Bengal  https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/partition-of-bengal-1905-divide-and-rule-protests-1368958-2018-10-16  https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Partition_of_Bengal_(1905) https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1P3-	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= SQAf0tEwdCM  https://www.slides hare.net/ShadekulI slamShovo/partitio n-of-bengal-1905  https://www.slides hare.net/MirzaHus nain1/partition-of- bengal-presented- by-mirza-husnain	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2834773 96/the- partition-of- bengal-1905- flash-cards/ https://quizlet.c om/gb/4055115 89/partition-of- bengal-and- morley-minto- reforms-flash- cards/

Foundati on and Formatio n of Muslim League 1906	Causes of formation of the All India Muslim League 1906.  Importance of Minto-Morley	-State the demands of Simla Delegation in 1906 and appraise its achievements -Examine the causes of formation of the All India Muslim League 1906Analyze the importance of Separate Electorates for Muslims in India.	bengal-1905-and-its-impact- on-muslim  http://bengalpartition.tripod. com/  http://www.entrytest.com/pr e-partition/impact-of- partition-of-bangal.aspx https://historypak.com/establ ishment-of-all-india-muslim- league/  https://www.jagranjosh.com/ general- knowledge/formation-of- muslim-league-and-its- objectives-1446017574-1  https://www.britannica.com/t opic/Muslim-League  http://www.ismaili.net/histoi re/history08/history824.html  https://www.bartleby.com/es say/Reasons-for-the- Formation-of-the-All- P3CKA9USTC  http://www.iosrjournals.org/i osr- jhss/papers/Vol.%2023%20I ssue2/Version- 4/E2302043740.pdf  https://www.topperlearning.c om/answer/the-reasons-for- the-formation-of-the- muslim-league-were-many- in-this-context-explain-any- three-factors-that-led-to-the- formation-of-the-muslim- league-/uulvdsoo  http://pu.edu.pk/images/jour nal/pols/pdf- files/ALL%20INDIA%20M USLIM%20LEAGUE%20% 201906-19-winter2012.pdf  https://historypak.com/minto- morley-reforms-1909/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BtHDUbvlakE https://www.slideshare.net/MoaviaAslam1/all-indiamuslim-league	https://quizlet.c om/273879674/ history-factors- leading-to-the- formation-of- the-muslim- league-flash- cards/
Reforms 1909	Reform 1909.	importance of Minto- Morley Reform 1909.		be.com/watch?v= XnnrS8d3zYM	89/partition-of- bengal-and-

		-Describe the reasons for Annulment of Partition of Bengal 1911 and the Hindu and Muslim response to it.	https://www.britannica.com/t opic/Indian-Councils-Act-of- 1909  http://www.entrytest.com/pr e-partition/minto-morley- reforms.aspx  https://www.gktoday.in/gk/i ndian-councils-act-1909- morley-minto-reforms- communal-representation/  https://hamariweb.com/articl es/89707  http://gceguide.weebly.com/ uploads/2/5/7/9/25797590/m orley_minto_reforms.pdf  https://www.scholarshipsads. com/morley-minto-reforms/  https://byjus.com/free-ias- prep/ncert-notes-morley- minto-reforms/	https://www.slides hare.net/amberme mon0011/minto- morley-reforms	morley-minto-reforms-flash-cards/
Quaid-e- Azam: The period of co- operation between AIML and AINC	Role of Quaid- e-Azam (MAJ) in the AIML and Congress.	-Analyze the role of Quaid-e-Azam (MAJ) in the AIML and Congress. -State the reasons of M.K. Gandhi's Returns to India 1915 -Describe the significance of Lucknow Pact 1916 and the reasons for its failure	http://nazariapak.info/Quaid- e-Azam/Ammbasedar.php  https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=x86UbgOfLv4  https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=J8E-waRvhX0	https://www.slides hare.net/lawani/th e-political- situation-of- subcontinent  https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= NuTXknrWCp0  https://www.slides hare.net/dr.shadiab anjar/cooperation- and-implicature- by-drshadiapptx	https://quizlet.c om/pk/3912817 56/history- chapter-6-aiml- morley-minto- reformsreversal -of-partition- flash-cards/
World War – I 1914- 1918	Impact of World War-I 1914-1918 on India and Britain.	-Describe the Impact of World War-I 1914-1918 on India and Britain -Discuss the impact of WWI on Ottoman EmpireAssess the different views of people of	https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/how-was-india-involved-first-world-war  http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/first-world-war-1914-1918  https://www.indiatoday.in/fyi/story/indian-soldiers-	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= SLj5r2nZHB8 https://www.slides hare.net/vincentliv erpool/world-war- 1-25787963 https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=b FTSCjn6wKI	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2786660 57/the-first- world-war-and- its-impact-on- british-india- 1914-20-flash- cards/

		India in supporting British during W1	world-war-one-germany- british-army-1026848-2017- 07-28  https://www.infoplease.com/ history/world/world-war-i- 1914-1918  https://kidskonnect.com/hist ory/world-war-i/	
-Rowlatt Act and Jalian Wala Bagh Tragedy 1919 - Montagu e - Chelmsfo rd reforms 1919	importance of Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919 in creating political unrest within India	-Critically analyse the features of Rowlatt Act and its appropriateness for India in 1919  -Justify whether the Jallain Wala Bagh incident was right or wrong.  -Discuss the importance of Montague Chelmsford Reforms 1919 in creating political unrest within India	http://origins.osu.edu/milesto nes/april-2019-amritsar- massacre-gandhi-dyer- rowlatt-acts-punjab  https://www.cgpi.org/node/6 573  https://www.thehindu.com/o pinion/lead/message-from- the-martyrs-of-jallianwala- bagh/article26823494.ece  https://books.google.com.pk/ books?id=x Iry_6ZpcC&pg=PA87&lpg= PA87&dq=Rowlatt+Act+an d+Jallianwala+Bagh+Traged y+1919+- Montagu+%E2%80%93+Ch elmsford+reforms+1919&so urce=bl&ots=fMqBStnwY- &sig=ACfU3U39In7v HEO y1OzprVzaPqn6MBoxQ&hl =en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj yotDFtoToAhUl8uAKHap- BPAQ6AEwFXoECAkQAQ #v=onepage&q=Rowlatt%20 Act%20and%20Jallianwala %20Bagh%20Tragedy%201 919%20- Montagu%20%E2%80%93 %20Chelmsford%20reforms %201919&f=false  https://www.cambridge.org/c ore/books/gentlemanly- terrorists/reforms-of-1919- montaguchelmsford-the- rowlatt-act-jails- commission-and-the-royal- amnesty/D97CA2DF6D0AE BDD9AD2066DB1504C04/ core-reader	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2776434 53/the- montagu- chelmsford- report-and-the- government-of- india-act-1919- to-what-extent- did-the-first- world-war- change-british- rule-in-india- flash-cards/

		https://www.jagranjosh.com/ general-		
		knowledge/government-of- india-act-1919-montagu-		
		chelmsford-reforms-main- features-of-the-act- 1443012001-1		
1921-		https://www.britannica.com/	https://www.youtu	https://quizlet.c
1930	-State the causes and results of the Khilafat	event/Khilafat-movement	be.com/watch?v= ZnCSJu-tfyM	om/in/4384854 98/the-khilafat-
Khilafat Moveme nt	Movement. 1919-1923 -Compare the stances	https://historypak.com/khilaf at-movement-1919-1922/	hare.net/pollharry 1/the-khilafat-	movement- flash-cards/ https://quizlet.c
(1921- 1930)	-Analyse the role of Non Cooperation	https://www.jstor.org/stable/ 10.1163/j.ctt1w76v5c	movement- 71487124 https://www.studo	om/in/4384872 36/jinnahs- reaction-to-the-
	Movement in the failure of Khilafat	https://nation.com.pk/23- Mar-2017/pakistan-day-	cu.com/en- ca/document/coms	khilafat- movement-
	Movement -Point out the reasons	how-gandhi-s-support-for- khilafat-movement-made-a-	ats-university- islamabad/pakista	flash-cards/
	of failure of Khilafat  Movement.	separate-homeland-for- indian-muslims-inevitable	n-studies/lecture- notes/pak-study- assignment-	
	-Associate the failure	http://www.allamaiqbal.com/ publications/journals/review/	khilafat- movement/491888	
	of Khilafat Movement with a new political	oct86/5.htm https://nayadaur.tv/2019/08/	<u>0/view</u>	
	struggle for India in 1920s.	khilafat-movement-the- starting-point-of-hindu-		
		muslim-radicalization-in- south-asia/		
-Delhi Muslim	-Evaluate the features of Delhi Proposal in	https://historypak.com/delhi- proposals-1927/	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=3	https://quizlet.c om/gb/3004621
Proposals 1927	1927 and Jinnah's	http://m-a-	DJzkf7M-Hw	53/the-simon- comission-
-Simon Commiss	approach to self-rule.	jinnah.blogspot.com/2010/04 /delhi-muslim-proposals-	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=	1927-flash- cards/
ion 1927 -Nehru	-Describe the main objectives of Simon	<u>1927.html</u>	<u>APiK9zSHkWo</u>	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2853054
Report & Jinnah's	Commission 1927	https://www.britannica.com/topic/Simon-Commission	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=1	35/response-to- the-simon-
Fourteen	-Critique on key	http://www.allamaiqbal.com/	<u>Op9zzCX9LU</u>	commission-
Points	recommendations of Simon Commission	webcont/393/SimonCommis	https://www.slides	flash-cards/
	Report 1930	sion[1927].html	hare.net/faizy8622 1/nehru-report-	
	-Justify whether the All Parties Conference	http://www.dostpakistan.pk/s imon-commission-1927/	and-jinnahs- fourteen-points	
	of 1928 achieved its	https://www.gktoday.in/gk/si		
	purpose.	mon-commission-1927/ https://historypak.com/fourte		
	- Review the features	en-points-of-quaid-i-azam/		

		of Nehru Report 1928 and predict its significance for the Hindus.  -Describe the importance of Jinnah's 14 points in the struggle for independence.  -Compare and contrast the Nehru Report and Jinnah's 14 Points in the light of Hindu- Muslim struggle for independence			
Allahaba d Address	Iqbal's proposal in 1930 for a consolidated North-Western Muslim State and redistribution of provinces as a solution paved way for independence in 1947.	-Justify why the Round Table conferences were held and why they were not successful in achieving their objectives.  -Assess the importance of Gandhi-Irwin pact in the struggle for independence -  -Discuss the features of Communal Award 1932 and its effect on India	ess.html	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xJDBZn0ifvg  https://www.slideshare.net/MariamAnwar/allamaiqbal-address-1930  https://latestcontents.com/write-anote-on-allahabadaddress-of-allamaiqbal-1930/	
1931- 1940  -Round Table Conferen ces -Gandhi – Irwin Pact and Commun al Award (1931- 1940)		-Outline the main features of Govt of India Act 1935 and its effect on India	https://historypak.com/round -table-conference/ https://www.britannica.com/ event/Round-Table- Conference  http://www.allamaiqbal.com/ webcont/393/RoundTableCo nferences[1930-33].html  http://www.yourarticlelibrar y.com/history/notes-on- communal-award-and- poona-pact/23455	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-y1MwgcKeE  http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/round-table-conferences-1930-1932  https://www.slideshare.net/faizy8622 1/round-table-conferences	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2928686 46/the-first- round-table- conference- flash-cards/ https://quizlet.c om/in/4396973 95/the-first- round-table- conference- flash-cards/

			https://mrunal.org/2016/07/fr eedom-struggle-communal- award.html https://selfstudyhistory.com/ 2015/01/30/the-round-table- conferencesgandhi-irwin- pact-communal- awardpoona-pact/	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= LA381J33aYw http://www.politic alsciencenotes.co m/articles/notes- on-gandhi-irwin- pact-and- aftermath/890 https://www.slides	
				hare.net/raniya_ka rim32/the-round- table-conference	
Governm ent of India Act of 1935	main features of Govt of India Act 1935 and its effect on India	-Explain the importance of General Elections for democracy & Formation of Govt 1937-1939 -Examine the Congress Rule of 1937-1939 and its role in struggle for independence.	https://historypak.com/government-india-act-of-1935/  https://www.constitutionofindia.net/historical_constitutions/government_of_india_act_1935_2nd%20August%201_935  https://blog.ipleaders.in/government-of-india-act-1935/  http://thelawstudy.blogspot.com/2015/02/silent-feature-of-govt-indian-act-1935.html  https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/government-of-india-act-1935-main-features-1443011759-1	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= V3YRcMdxkw  https://www.slides hare.net/bravoram/ government-of- india-act-1935	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2137353 36/government- of-india-act- 1935-flash- cards/ https://quizlet.c om/gb/2742460 92/1935- government-of- india-act-flash- cards/
General Elections and Governm ent of 1937- 1939	importance of General Elections for democracy & Formation of Govt 1937- 1939	-Evaluate the impact of World War-II 1939- 45 on India and Britain.	https://historypak.com/congress-ministries/ http://www.allamaiqbal.com/webcont/393/RuleofCongressMinistries[1937-1939].html https://selfstudyhistory.com/2015/01/30/the-election-of-1937-and-the-formation-of-ministries/ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273600963_The_Elections of 1936-37 in the Punjab and Political_Position_of_the_Muslim_League http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-compulsory-	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CggLXg8xd6Uhttps://www.slideshare.net/Sehrish174/love-u-pakistanhttps://www.academia.edu/7767991/1937elections	

			subjects/pakistan-		
			affairs/51264-my-notes-plz- check-4.html		
1941- 1947	impact of World War-II 1939-45 on	-Appraise the political significance of Lahore	https://www.history.com/top ics/world-war-ii/world-war- ii-history	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= Q78COTwT7nE	
World War – II	India and Britain	Resolution and its role in independence  -Use different sources and suggest whether Lahore Resolution was well justified in its	https://www.vox.com/2014/1 1/13/7148855/40-maps-that- explain-world-war-ii https://www.thebalance.com/ world-war-ii-economic- impact-4570917	http://sites.austinc c.edu/caddis/world -war-ii-1942-43/ https://www.slides hare.net/umarkanj u/world-war-1-2-	
		demand of a separate homeland.  -Relate Congress response on Lahore Resolution 1940 with that of Muslims	https://www.britannica.com/t opic/20th-century- international-relations- 2085155/World-War-II- 1939-45	their-effects-on- international- business	
Lahore Resolutio n 1940		-Analyse the causes of failure of Cripps Mission on IndiansEvaluate the reasons of different British Plans and offers.	https://historypak.com/lahore -resolution-1940/ https://www.dawn.com/news /797410/an-interpretation-of- the-lahore-resolution https://www.britannica.com/t opic/Lahore-Resolution https://www.ukessays.com/e ssays/history/the-history-of- the-lahore-resolution- history-essay.php https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/ papers.cfm?abstract_id=241 6506 https://nation.com.pk/23- Mar-2017/lahore-resolution- day https://www.thenews.com.pk /archive/amp/167296-do-we- know-anything-about- lahore-resolution?	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WiuOwzgXm-4  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUivOLkt3WEhttps://www.slideshare.net/Hubakhan3/lahore-resolution-75745471  https://www.slideshare.net/sumbulfatima12/lahore-resolution-77056778	https://quizlet.c om/gb/3034883 80/the-lahore- resolution- march-1940- flash-cards/ https://quizlet.c om/gb/2137378 76/the-lahore- resolution- flash-cards/
British Plans -August offer 1940	Reasons of different British Plans and offers.	-Explain the factors of Quit India Movement -Analyse the reasons of failure of Quit India Movement	https://historypak.com/the-august-offer-1940/ https://byjus.com/free-ias-prep/ncert-notes-august-offer/	https://www.slides hare.net/farazali80 /pakistan- movement- 72330139	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2137393 93/simla- conference- 1945-flash- cards/

-Cripps			https://historypak.com/cripps	https://www.youtu	https://quizlet.c
Mission		-Highlight agreed	-mission-1942/	be.com/watch?v=z	om/gb/2137385
1942		proposals in Desai –	mission 1912/	e6d YCVaJo	95/the-cripps-
-Wavell		Liaquat Pact	http://www.open.ac.uk/resea	<u> </u>	mission-flash-
Plan 1945			rchprojects/makingbritain/co	https://www.youtu	cards/
-Simla			ntent/cripps-mission	be.com/watch?v=	
Conferen				EOdoaDvN1yQ	
ce 1945			https://www.britannica.com/t		
			opic/Cripps-Mission	https://www.gktod	
				ay.in/gk/cripps-	
			https://historypak.com/wavel	proposals-1942/	
			<u>l-plan-1945/</u>	1 // 1: 1	
			1-44	https://www.slides	
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			simma-conference/	9th-notes-	
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			conference-1945/	kJDgr8AN1M	
Indian			https://historypak.com/quit-	https://www.youtu	
Reaction		-Discuss the role of	india-movement-1942/	be.com/watch?v=	
		Sindh Assembly in the		<u>VsRiKSsU-JY</u>	
-Quit		making of Pakistan	https://www.newworldencyc		
India		1943.	lopedia.org/entry/Quit India	https://www.youtu	
Moveme			_Movement	be.com/watch?v=0	
nt 1942 -Gandhi			https://historypak.com/jinnah	<u>kJDgr8AN1M</u>	
Jinnah			-gandhi-talks-1944/	https://www.youtu	
Talks			-ganum-tarks-1944/	be.com/watch?v=	
1944			https://www.gktoday.in/gk/g	PNf6G2R5omY	
-Desai-			andhi-jinnah-talks-of-1944/		
Liaqat				https://www.slides	
Pact 1945			https://www.jagranjosh.com/	hare.net/sanarahat	
			general-knowledge/desai-	123/pkaistan-	
			liaquat-proposals-ad-1945-	movement-	
			<u>1448691870-1</u>	<u>19401947-</u>	
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			https://neostencil.com/upsc-		
			modern-history-desai-liaqat- pact		
Role of	-role of Sindh		https://historypak.com/interi	https://www.slides	https://quizizz.c
Sindh	Assembly in	-Explain the	m-government-1946-47-2/	hare.net/farazali80	om/admin/quiz/
Assembly	the making of	importance of	in government 1940 41 21	/pakistan-	5888ea67d0eb8
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Elections	- importance	10.	ucation-today/gk-current-	72330139	artition-of-india
1945-46	of Elections of	-Analyse the factors	affairs/story/interim-	https://www.youtu	
&	1945-46.	for electoral success of	government-260823-2015-	be.com/watch?v=	
Formatio		Muslim League	<u>09-02</u>	TZc3QHoALtU	
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Functioni			https://historypak.com/electi		
ng of			ons-of-1945-46/		

Interim Govt			https://www.dawn.com/news/1105473		
			https://www.dawn.com/news/871700/sindh-s-role-in-pakistan-movement		
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			https://tribune.com.pk/story/ 1926801/1-sindh-assembly- building-enters-80th-year- existence/		
Towards Partition Cabinet	important features of Indian Independence	-Evaluate the purpose of Cabinet Mission Plan 1946	http://www.legislation.gov.u k/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga 19470030 en.pdf	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=v 2lWxZE-e9U	https://quizlet.c om/473111187/ 1947-act-of- independence-
Mission Plan	Act 1947	-Critically analyze the reason of Jinnah's acceptance of Cabinet	https://www.parliament.uk/a bout/living- heritage/evolutionofparliame nt/legislativescrutiny/parliam	https://prezi.com/c Omhgosedbwv/cab inet-mission-plan- 1946/	flash-cards/
3rd June Plan Independ		Mission Plan.  -Explain in detail the 3 <sup>rd</sup> June Partition Plan	ent-and- empire/collections1/collections2/1947-indian- independence-act/	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= U31W1ZJePBU	
ence Act 1947 Boundary commissi		1947 -Critically analyze the	https://www.dawn.com/news /742174/the-independence- act	https://www.slides hare.net/farazali80 /pakistan-	
on / Radcliffe Award		important features of Indian Independence Act 1947	http://thelawstudy.blogspot.c om/2016/10/salient-features-	movement- 72330139	
		-Outline the main aspects of Radcliffe Award 1947	of-indian-independence.html  http://www.politicalsciencen otes.com/articles/notes-on-	https://www.slides hare.net/ShriyaPus ha/the-indian- independence-act-	
			indian-independence-act-of- 1947/896 http://www.dostpakistan.pk/j	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=	
			une-3rd-plan-1947/ https://www.pakpedia.pk/3rd	KfOoEqFjVYw	
First Constitue	-importance of Presidential	-Analyze the	<u>-june-plan</u> <a href="http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=74">http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=74</a>	https://www.slides hare.net/DrTahirJa	https://quizlet.c om/in/3791854
nt Assembly	Address of the Quaid-e- Azam, 11	importance of Presidential Address of the Quaid-e-Azam,	http://www.pakistani.org/pak istan/legislation/constituent	mil/constitutional- devolopment-in- pakistan-1947-to-	72/constituent- assembly-flash- cards/
Effects of British Rule on	August, 1947 Criticize the religious hegemonic	11 August, 1947Structure the lessons	address 11aug1947.html  https://dunyanews.tv/en/Pakistan/452148-11th-August-	18th-amenment	

Indian Society (Social, Religious , Cultural and Economi c changes)	policies of British Era.	of 11 August Address in current scenario of Pakistan.	1947-Speech-Quaid-e-Azam-Muhammad-Ali-Jinnah-On-Minorities  https://thediplomat.com/201 7/08/the-british-rajs-social-and-institutional-impact-on-indian-society/	https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=s zPvtFSvbtU	
Contribut ion of Muslim Political Leaders in the making of Pakistan  Fatima Jinnah  Sir Syed Ahmed Khan  Allama Muhamm ad Iqbal  Quaid-e- Azam  Lady Hidayatul lah  Bi Amma and Amjadi Begum  Sir Abdullah Haroon		-Compare and contrast the post British and pre-British Indian culture.  -Analyze the key ingredients of the economic development of British era.  -Criticize the religious hegemonic policies of British Era.	https://historypak.com/fatim a-jinnah/  https://www.thenews.com.pk /latest/506422-today-marks- fatima-jinnahs-126th-birth- anniversary  https://historypak.com/syed- ahmad-khan/  https://www.pakistaneconom ist.com/2018/08/20/sir-syed- ahmad-khan-the-greatest- muslim-reformer-and- statesman/  https://historypak.com/allam a-muhammad-iqbal-1877- 1938/  http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/ Quaid/about.html  http://www.bbc.co.uk/history /historic_figures/jinnah_moh ammad_ali.shtml  http://www.dostpakistan.pk/l ady-hidayatullah/ https://www.dawn.com/news /353265  https://www.urdumediamoni tor.com/2015/03/30/maulana -mohammad-ali-jauhars- wife-amjadi-begum- supported-and-remained-by- the-side-of-maulana-at- every-step-of-the-khilafat- conference/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMU539Ekc2whttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjPlie9FyxYhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NijMZZa9E3ohttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFhatfkBsI4	

			https://feminisminindia.com/ 2018/10/12/abadi-bano- begum-a-k-a-bi-amma-the- burqa-clad-freedom-fighter- indianwomeninhistory/ https://www.dawn.com/news/ 182547/biography-of-sir- abdullah-haroon-launched		
		•	ocogi apiiy		
Physical Features of Pakistan	Mountains, Plateaus, Plains, Deserts, Rivers, Coastal areas and Glaciers) their characteristics, potential and problems	-Write the importance of the location of Pakistan with reference to latitudes and longitudes and in respects of its neighbors.  -Analyze the major landforms/features of Pakistan(Mountains, Plateaus, Plains, Deserts, Coasts, Glaciers, Rivers)  -Outline the importance of major landforms/features of Sindh.  -(Mountains, Plains, forests, Deserts, Coasts, Islands, River and arid zones)  -Critically valuate the potentials and challenges for the development of physical infrastructure in Pakistan.  -Explain the importance of seaports, barrages, major lakes, canals,	https://www.bitlanders.com/blogs/physical-features-of-pakistan/196528 https://www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/pakistan/map.html https://www.scribd.com/document/124924629/The-Physical-Features-of-Pakistan-2 https://insider.pk/national/pakistans-geography-climate-and-environment/ http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/23.htm https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pk.html https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan https://traveltips.usatoday.com/major-waterways-landforms-pakistan-43258.html https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/geography/Morocco-to-Slovakia/Pakistan.html	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2 K-1y8xFoeQ https://prezi.com/6 wrwbz9m9lbp/physical-features-of-pakistan/ https://www.slideshare.net/MOHSINGULABTANWARI/physical-features-of-pakistan-83824543 https://www.slideshare.net/aqsamanzoor/plains-plateaus-and-deserts-in-pakistan	https://quizlet.c om/pk/3498505 60/pakistan- geography- flash-cards/ https://quizlet.c om/177115643/ geography-of- pakistan-flash- cards/
Climate	Climatic	on map of Sindh.	http://www.angelfire.com/su	https://www.slides	https://gotest.pk
and Climatic Regions	regions of Pakistan temperature and	-Explain the major features of Climatic regions of Pakistan -Explain the	per2/geopak/climate.html	hare.net/Thecitysc hool12/climate-of- pakistan- 28742488	/general- knowledge/paki stan/weather- climate-

	precipitation conditions in different parts and in different seasons of Pakistan impact of climate on Human Life in various parts of the country	temperature and precipitation conditions in different parts and in different seasons of Pakistan.  -Divide Pakistan into major climatic regions and briefly describe climatic characteristics of each region.  -Explain the impact of climate on Human Life in various parts of the country.	https://forestrypedia.com/climatic-regions-of-pakistan-edaphic/ https://www.worldtravelguide.net/guides/asia/pakistan/weather-climate-geography/ https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/357876/climate-change-profile-pakistan.pdf http://www.pmd.gov.pk/rnd/rnd_files/vol6_issue11/5_Climatic%20Zonation%20of%2_OPakistan%20through%20Precipitation.pdf https://www.globalsecurity.o	https://www.adb.o rg/sites/default/file s/publication/3578 76/climate- change-profile- pakistan.pdf https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=2 ikaZrf1JsY https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v= E8Bt3pNBpOo	information- quiz-online/
Natural Resource s	Power & Energy Mineral Resources	-Explain the process of Power Generation.  -Evaluate the importance of resources for economic Development of Pakistan. (Water, Forests, Irrigation System)  -Explain the importance of the energy resources (renewable and nonrenewable) of the country and their distribution  -Analyze the three types of electricity (i.e. Hydro, thermal and nuclear) and their comparative advantages and disadvantages.  -Explain Non-Conventional Sources of energy including wind energy, solar energy and biogas.	rg/military/world/pakistan/cl imate.htm https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/Resources-and-power http://ahsankhaneco.blogspot.com/2012/04/natural-resources-of-pakistan.html https://nation.com.pk/10-Dec-2018/pakistan-rich-in-natural-resources-ku-vc https://tribune.com.pk/story/795038/natural-resources-of-pakistan/ http://www.parc.gov.pk/index.php/en/research-divisions/natural-resources http://www.entrytest.com/media/article-131.aspx	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxoU0Md s54  https://www.slideshare.net/RoyalKing3/power-resources-of-pakistan  https://www.slideshare.net/sohailahmedsolangi/natural-resources-of-pakistan-by-sohail-ahmedsolangi  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqfopMCLqFg  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WN7mNEQ7s58	https://gotest.pk /general- knowledge/paki stan/minerals- info-quiz- online-mcqs- test/

		-Compare the cost effectiveness of conventional and non-conventional sources of energy.			
Populatio	Characteristics and demographic profile of Pakistan.	-Explain the importance of mineral resources in PakistanExplain the nature of mineral resources in PakistanOutline the importance of minerals in national economyEvaluate the uses and distribution of major metallic mineralsEvaluate the uses and distribution of non-metallic minerals.	https://www.indexmundi.co m/pakistan/demographics_pr ofile.html  http://worldpopulationreview .com/countries/pakistan- population/  https://www.worldometers.in fo/world- population/pakistan- population/  https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/ 159296/4c5b5fa0ebc5684da 2b9f244090593bc.pdf  https://www.theigc.org/wp- content/uploads/2016/12/Has an-2016-Academic- Paper.pdf	https://www.slides hare.net/mwaseem noonari/demograp hy-of-pakistan  https://www.world bank.org/en/region /sar/publication/ur banization-south- asia-cities  https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=k P99_azNXY	https://quizlet.c om/pk/3045154 10/geography- land-of- pakistan-flash- cards/
			olitical Science		

Political	Elements of		https://www.un.org/en/sectio	https://www.youtu	https://quizlet.c
Science/	State	-Explain the main elements of state	ns/issues-depth/human-	be.com/watch?v=8	om/386574370/
Civics		(Population, territory,	<u>rights/</u>	Pwf8EKdk3w	elements-of-a-
		Government,	https://managementhelp.org/i	https://www.youtu	state-flash- cards/
		Sovereignty.)	nterpersonal/multicultural-	be.com/watch?v=	<u>cards/</u>
		-Explain the concept	diversity.htm	wY9rp-ikKLE	
		of nation state.			
		(concept of modern	http://www.macgillsummers	https://www.youtu	
		nation state (Treaty	chool.com/values-of-justice-	be.com/watch?v=I	
		of Westphalia 1648)	equality-and-fairness- simply-mean-a-change-of-	<u>wNarlcGeZY</u>	
		-Differentiate	mind-set/	https://www.youtu	
		between welfare and	mme see	be.com/watch?v=	
		liberal state.	http://www.fird.org.uk/publi	NStqU91RsQQ	
			cations/articles/who-is-		
			sovereign-in-pakistan-	https://www.youtu	
			sovereignty-and-	be.com/watch?v=n	
			representative-governance- hasan-askari-rizvi/	<u>DgIVseTkuE</u>	
			masan-askari-rizvi/		
			https://www.ericdigests.org/		
			pre-9212/civic.htm		
			https://educircles.org/growth		
			<u>-mindset-</u> resources/exploring-the-six-		
			cs-chapter-2-citizenship-		
			lesson-plans/		
Political	Government	-Explain different the	http://www.democraticfound	https://www.slides	https://quizlet.c
System		form of Government	ation.com.pk/political-	hare.net/samadasla	om/330392221/
		(Parliamentary,	system-in-pakistan	m1/political-	religion-and-
		Unitary, Federal,	http://www.cssforum.com.pk	system-of-pakistan	politics-in- pakistan-flash-
		Presidential)	/css-optional-subjects/group-	https://www.slides	cards/
		-Explain the terms	i/political-science/53725-	hare.net/FaimaMo	https://quizlet.c
		(Diarchy, Monarchy,	political-system-	Hammad/pakistan-	om/373508008/
		Democracy,	<u>pakistan.html</u>	political-system-	comparative-
		Proportional	https://thefinencialdeily.a/	<u>58376118</u>	<u>politics-</u> <u>pakistan-flash-</u>
		Representation)	https://thefinancialdaily.com/kind-political-system-	https://www.youtu	cards/
		-Explain the system	pakistan-requires/	be.com/watch?v=7	<u>carabi</u>
		of Checks and		OKghZrGm4g	
		Balances	http://countrystudies.us/pakis		
			tan/65.htm		

Separatio	-Powers of		https://nation.com.pk/14-	https://www.slides	https://quizlet.c
n of	three branches	-Compare the Powers	Mar-2018/separation-of-	hare.net/MashifM	om/241443159/
powers	of Government	of three branches of	powers-and-pakistan	ahboob/what-is-	separation-of-
	-functions of	Government (Executive,		separation-of-	powers-flash-
	each branch of	Legislature,	http://pgil.pk/wp-	powers-and-how-	<u>cards/</u>
	the	Judiciary)	content/uploads/2014/05/An-	<u>is-it-ineffective-in-</u>	
	government.		Article-on-Separation-of-	<u>pakistan</u>	
		-Explain the	Powers.pdf	http://pgil.pls/yyp	
		functions of each branch of the	https://www.thenews.com.pk	http://pgil.pk/wp- content/uploads/20	
		government.	/print/278337-withering-the-	14/05/An-Article-	
		government.	authority-of-the-people	on-Separation-of-	
				Powers.pdf	
			http://www.heartfile.org/pdf/		
			69 Separation Of Power.pd	https://www.youtu	
			<u>f</u>	be.com/watch?v=e	
			1	1cN5KuB5s0	
			https://www.pakistantoday.c om.pk/2016/05/14/blurred-		
			separation-of-powers/		
Ideology	Its sources and		https://dailytimes.com.pk/32	https://www.slides	https://quizlet.c
lucology	significance	-Explain the	9072/the-fiction-of-the-	hare.net/imrankha	om/pk/2408892
	significance	importance of	ideology-of-pakistan/	n2085/ideology-	48/pakistan-
		ideology of Pakistan		of-pakistan-	studies-
		-Explain the basic	https://arslan.pk/the-	73866646	pakistan-
		features of Ideology	ideology-of-pakistan-is-		ideology-flash-
		of Pakistan	islam/	https://www.youtu	<u>cards/</u>
		-Explain the major	1	be.com/watch?v=8	https://quizlet.c
		sources of ideology	https://tribune.com.pk/story/ 1125908/pakistans-true-	kkKqUFuW8g	om/444652514/ ch_1-
		of Pakistan. (Islamic	ideology/		ideological-
		Teachings, Social	<u>ideology/</u>		basis-of-
		and Cultural Values,	https://www.thenews.com.pk		pakistan-flash-
		Historical legacy and	/print/446713-summit-on-		cards/
		Nationalism)	ideology-of-pakistan-held		
		-Analyze the origin			
		and significance of			
		Two Nation Theory.			
		-Critically analyze			
ļ		the concept of			
		ideology of Pakistan			
		with reference to			
		(Quaid-e-Azam			
		Muhammad Ali			
		Jinnah and Dr.			
		Allama Muhammad			
		Iqbal).			

Protectio	Concept of		https://www.un.org/en/sectio	https://www.equal	https://quizlet.c
n of	human rights.	-Explain the basic	ns/universal-	ityhumanrights.co	om/au/3737250
Human	UN Human	features of the	declaration/foundation-	m/en/what-are-	77/human-
Rights	Rights	concept of human	international-human-rights-	human-	rights-law-role-
Rights	Declaration,	rights.	law/index.html	rights/what-	of-the-un-in-
	1948.		iaw/index.iitiii	universal-	the-promotion-
	1940.	-Compare and	https://www.equalityhumanri	declaration-	and-protection-
		contrast the rights	ghts.com/en/human-rights-	human-rights	of-human-
		and obligations of	act/article-14-protection-	<u>Human-rights</u>	rights-
		citizens under the		httms://www.ahaha	universal-
		1973 constitutions	discrimination	https://www.ohchr	
		with rights given to	1.44 // 1 1 1 1.	.org/en/udhr/pages	declaration-
		citizens under the	https://www.beyondintractab	/udhrindex.aspx	<u>flash-cards/</u>
		UN Human Rights	ility.org/essay/human_rights		
		Declaration, 1948.	_protect%20		
		-Describe the state of			
		basic human rights in	https://www.pakistantoday.c		
		Pakistan.	om.pk/2017/12/11/supremac		
		i akistan.	y-of-constitution-vital-to-		
		-Develop an	protect-fundamental-rights-		
		understanding of the	speakers/		
		human rights both at			
		the National and	http://www.mohr.gov.pk/ind		
		International level	ex.php/home/pps_page/18		
		and appreciate its			
		worth in the human	https://www.un.org/en/unive		
		level.	rsal-declaration-human-		
			<u>rights/</u>		
		-Explain the concept			
		of state and its			
		responsibilities			
		regarding protection			
		of citizens' Rights.			
		-Investigate the			
		impact of protection			
		of property rights on			
		the growth and			
		development of trade			
		and business.			
Redressal	-Role of the	and business.	https://www.somo.nl/wp-	https://www.youtu	
of	Ombudsm	-Evaluate the Role of	content/uploads/2012/11/Hu	be.com/watch?v=	
grievance	- Powers and	the Ombudsman	man-Rights-and-Grievance-	KPVoQjFE25c	
s and	functions of	regarding resolution	Mechanisms.pdf	Kr VUUJFE23C	
Violation	the	of complaints made	wicchamsins.pur		
of Human	Ombudsman.	by citizens of	https://pation.com.pl-/01		
		Pakistan.	https://nation.com.pk/01- Sep-2016/the-institution-of-		
Rights	- Ministry of				
	Human Rights in Pakistan.	-Critically evaluate	<u>ombudsman</u>		
	III Fakistan.	the role of	https://globalnens.org/issus/-		
		Ombudsman	https://globalnaps.org/issue/n		
		regarding redressal	on-judicial-grievance-		
		of the grievances.	mechanisms/		
		-Summarize the	http://psec		
		Powers and functions	http://psac-		
		of the Ombudsman.	ncr.com/grievance-		
			complaints-involving- human-rights		
		-Explain the role of	numan-rights		

Pakistan's Foreign Policy	(Ideological Basis, Historical Legacy, Geographical Location, Indian threat and Economic compulsion)	Women ombudsman in Pakistan to resolve the issues faced by women including domestic violence.  -Critically analyze the functions of Women protection and anti-Harassment cell (WPC).  -Explain the role of Human Rights Cell regarding protection of rights in Pakistan.  -Outline the functions of Ministry of Human Rights in Pakistan.  -Illustrate the Guiding Principles of Pakistan's Foreign Policy  -Explain the importance of the Factors/ Determinants of Pakistan's Foreign Policy	http://www.na.gov.pk/upload s/documents/1399368475_2 18.pdf  http://nipccd- earchive.wcd.nic.in/sites/def ault/files/PDF/Focused%20 Group%20Discussion%20on %20Prevention%20of%20Se xual%20Harrasment%20at% 20work%20palce.pdf  http://www.mohr.gov.pk/ind ex.php/home/history  https://thediplomat.com/201 6/08/the-dilemma-of- pakistans-foreign-policy/ https://www.thenews.com.pk /print/355063-pakistan-s- foreign-policy-transition- prospects-and-perspectives  http://jworldtimes.com/intern ationalaffairs/determinants- of-pakistans-foreign-policy/ https://www.pakistantoday.c om.pk/2014/11/07/privatisati on-an-economic- compulsion/ https://www.britannica.com/ place/Pakistan	https://www.slides hare.net/ShefaIdre es/pakistan- foreign-policyits- objectives-and- principles  https://www.youtu be.com/watch?v=p o5BUeiLws8  https://www.slides hare.net/waqasar/g eographical- location-of- pakistan	https://quizlet.c om/gb/2982303 83/pakistans- immigration- policy-flash- cards/
			Economics		
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#### **HISTORY**

#### War of Independence

The Indians suffered a disappointing and discouraging defeat while a glorious victory for the White men prolonged their rule. For the subjugated Indians repercussions were rather more severe. The Mughal rule came to an end with the dethroning of the last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. He was arrested during the course of the war and sent to Rangoon, Burma where he was sentenced to life imprisonment. His family members including twenty-four princes were nastily executed by the soldiers of the East India Company. The second upshot was windup of the control and command of the East Indian Company in India. The British Charter of 1852 stated that the government of India was entrusted to the Company by the English crown. And since the war had left the impression that the Company was no longer capable of keeping it safe, the government of India was personally taken over by the Queen of England who would appoint a Viceroy in India to represent the crown. The Board of Directors and the Board of Control of the Company were dissolved and instead a council of fifteen members was appointed with Secretary of State for India as its head.

Another point the crown had realized was the obvious mistrust between the Company and the local landlords. The unlawful and corrupt activities of the Company in capturing all the land of India and its resources had enraged the lords of India who collaborated with the revolutionaries. Thus contrary to the policy of the East India Company the crown tried to develop a relationship of trust and confidence with the Indian masses. It was assured that England was no longer interested in capturing the Indian land anymore and that in the future all the agreements signed with the Indian lords would be duly acknowledged. The heirless rulers were also given free hand to adopt males as their successors. The motive was to eventually gain their trust and support.

The crown believed that primarily the Muslims had initiated the revolt against the British rule. For that reason they put all the blame on the Indian Muslims and took most of the revenge from them. Most of the Muslims in the government services were dismissed. Except the betrayers all the Muslims were ruthlessly looted and killed. The aim was to divest the Muslim community of their political rights. The Muslims in repulsion also utterly disgusted the British and rejected not only the White people but also all the new things that were introduced by them. In the long run that proved to be a devastating trend that made the Muslims absolutely depressing, desolate and dismal community mainly because they kept themselves quite aloof from the modern education and thus remained awkwardly uneducated and unfortunately backward. The Hindus on the other hand joined hands with the new government and became well-educated and prosperous. This also caused a permanent rift in the Hindu-Muslim unity since the Muslims thought that although Hindus

fought with them but it was only the Muslims who were paying the price. Eventually the second half of the nineteenth century India witnessed the rise of nationalism giving rise to two-nation theory that ultimately resulted in the partition of India and creation of Pakistan.

War of Independence is an important landmark in the history of Sub-Continent. This War was fought in 1857 by Indians against the British in order to get rid of their domination. It is also given names as Indian Rebellion, Indian Mutiny as well as Indian Revolt. The main causes of the War were political, social, economical, military and religious. It was an extreme effort made by Indians, but they failed due to certain reasons including mutual jealousies, disunity, and lack of central leadership etc.

This war was not spread throughout India but it was limited to few areas mainly Meerut, Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow etc. The main event which became the immediate cause of the war was the refusal of the Sepoys to use the grease covered cartridges (greased with fat of pig and cow) on January 23, 1857. At the same time, an Indian sepoy killed two British officers at Barrackpore, when he was forced to use greased cartridges. He was arrested and hanged to death on April 8, 1857. This news spread as fast as jungle fire.

#### Meerut

On 6th May, 1857 A.D. 85 out of 90 Indian soldiers at Meerut refused to bite the greased cartridges with their teeth. These 85 soldiers were court-martialled and imprisoned for 10 years. They were stripped off their uniforms in the presence of the entire Indian crowd. It was too much of a disgrace and this incident sent a wave of indignation. On 10th May 1857, the Indian soldiers at Meerut broke into open revolt. They released their companions and murdered a few European officers. On the night of 10<sup>th</sup> May the mutineers marched to Delhi and reached there on 11<sup>th</sup> May.

#### Delhi

The revolutionaries reached from Meerut to Delhi on 11th May, 1857 and the small British garrison at Delhi was not able to resist and consequently fell into their hands within 2 days. The Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was proclaimed Emperor of India. In order to regain Delhi, Sir John Lawrence sent a strong British force commanded by John Nicholson. After a long siege of four months, the British recovered Delhi in September 1857 A.D. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was captured, his two sons and a grandson were shot dead before his eyes and he was sent to Rangoon where he died in the year 1862 A. D.

#### Kanpur

At Kanpur the struggle for Independence was led by Nana Sahib Dondu Pant (The adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II). A number of British fell into his hands and he showed great kindness to them. But when he heard about inhuman attitude of Gen. O'Neil towards Indians, he became very furious and killed all the British. General Havelock captured Kanpur after defeating Nana Sahib in a hotly contested battle on June 17, 1857. Later on Nana Sahib, with the help of Tantya Topi, recaptured Kanpur in November, 1857 but not for a long time and British defeated them once again in a fierce war from December 1 to 6, 1857. Nana Sahib fled towards Nepal, where he probably died, while Tantya Tope migrated to Kalpi.

#### Lucknow

The struggle for independence at Lucknow was led by Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah. The Chief Commissioner, Sir Henry Lawrence, sought refuge with 1000 English and 700 Indian soldiers inside the Residency. The Indians did not make any concession and killed most of the Englishmen, including Sir Henry Lawrence and the notorious English General O'Neil. At last, the Commander-in-Chief General Collin Campbell, marched towards Lucknow and captured it after a fierce battle in March 1858.

#### **Jhansi and Gwalior**

The leader of the revolutionaries in Central India was Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi. General Sir Huge Rose attacked Jhansi in March 1858 but the brave Rani Laxmi Bai kept the British General unnerved for quite some time. She with the help of Tantya Tope created problems for the British troops. Both fought many successful battles against the British. A fierce battle was fought between the British and the revolutionaries under Rani Laxmi Bai and Tantya Tope from June 11 to June 18, 1858 A. D. But the personal velour of Rani and Tantya Tope could not match the resources at the command of the British. Tantya Tope was betrayed by the Gwalior Chief Man Singh and fell into the hands of the British. He was subsequently hanged on April 18, 1859.

#### Bihar

In Bihar, the Revolt was led by Kunwar Singh, a zamindar of Jagdishpur. Though he was eighty years old, he played a prominent part in the revolt. He fought the British in Bihar and then joined Nana Sahib's forces and took part in various encounters with the English in Oudh and Central India. He died on April 27, 1858, leaving behind a glorious record of valour and bravery.

#### **British Rule**

Much of the blame for the mutiny fell on the ineptitude of the East India Company. On August 2, 1858, Parliament passed the Government of India Act, transferring British power over India from the company to the crown. The merchant company's residual powers were vested in the secretary

of state for India, a minister of Great Britain's cabinet, who would preside over the India Office in London and be assisted and advised, especially in financial matters, by a Council of India, which consisted initially of 15 Britons, 7 of whom were elected from among the old company's court of directors and 8 of whom were appointed by the crown. Though some of Britain's most powerful political leaders became secretaries of state for India in the latter half of the 19th century, actual control over the government of India remained in the hands of British viceroys—who divided their time between Calcutta (Kolkata) and Simla (Shimla)—and their "steel frame" of approximately 1,500 Indian Civil Service (ICS) officials posted "on the spot" throughout British India.

#### **Social Policy**

On November 1, 1858, Lord Canning (governed 1856–62) announced Queen Victoria's proclamation to "the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India," which unveiled a new British policy of perpetual support for "native princes" and nonintervention in matters of religious belief or worship within British India. The announcement reversed Lord Dalhousie's prewar policy of political unification through princely state annexation, and princes were left free to adopt any heirs they desired so long as they all swore undying allegiance to the British crown. In 1876, at the prompting of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, Queen Victoria added the title Empress of India to her regality. British fears of another mutiny and consequent determination to bolster Indian states as "natural breakwaters" against any future tidal wave of revolt thus left more than 560 enclaves of autocratic princely rule to survive, interspersed throughout British India, for the entire nine decades of crown rule. The new policy of religious nonintervention was born equally out of fear of recurring mutiny, which many Britons believed had been triggered by orthodox Hindu and Muslim reaction against the secularizing inroads of utilitarian positivism and the proselytizing of Christian missionaries. British liberal socioreligious reform therefore came to a halt for more than three decades—essentially from the East India Company's Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856 to the crown's timid Age of Consent Act of 1891, which merely raised the age of statutory rape for "consenting" Indian brides from 10 years to 12.

The typical attitude of British officials who went to India during that period was, as the English writer Rudyard Kipling put it, to "take up the white man's burden." By and large, throughout the interlude of their Indian service to the crown, Britons lived as super-bureaucrats, "Pukka Sahibs," remaining as aloof as possible from "native contamination" in their private clubs and well-guarded military cantonments (called camps), which were constructed beyond the walls of the old, crowded "native" cities in that era. The new British military towns were initially erected as secure bases for the reorganized British regiments and were designed with straight roads wide enough for cavalry to gallop through whenever needed. The old company's three armies (located in Bengal, Bombay [Mumbai], and Madras [Chennai]), which in 1857 had only 43,000 British to 228,000 native troops, were reorganized by 1867 to a much "safer" mix of 65,000 British to 140,000 Indian soldiers. Selective new British recruitment policies screened out all "nonmartial" (meaning

previously disloyal) Indian castes and ethnic groups from armed service and mixed the soldiers in every regiment, thus permitting no single caste or linguistic or religious group to again dominate a British Indian garrison. Indian soldiers were also restricted from handling certain sophisticated weaponry.

After 1869, with the completion of the Suez Canal and the steady expansion of steam transport reducing the sea passage between Britain and India from about three months to only three weeks, British women came to the East with ever greater alacrity, and the British officials they married found it more appealing to return home with their British wives during furloughs than to tour India as their predecessors had done. While the intellectual caliber of British recruits to the ICS in that era was, on the average, probably higher than that of servants recruited under the company's earlier patronage system, British contacts with Indian society diminished in every respect (fewer British men, for example, openly consorted with Indian women), and British sympathy for and understanding of Indian life and culture were, for the most part, replaced by suspicion, indifference, and fear.

Queen Victoria's 1858 promise of racial equality of opportunity in the selection of civil servants for the government of India had theoretically thrown the ICS open to qualified Indians, but examinations for the services were given only in Britain and only to male applicants between the ages of 17 and 22 (in 1878 the maximum age was further reduced to 19) who could stay in the saddle over a rigorous series of hurdles. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that by 1869 only one Indian candidate had managed to clear those obstacles to win a coveted admission to the ICS. British royal promises of equality were thus subverted in actual implementation by jealous, fearful bureaucrats posted "on the spot."

#### **Government organization**

From 1858 to 1909 the government of India was an increasingly centralized paternal despotism and the world's largest imperial bureaucracy. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 transformed the viceroy's Executive Council into a miniature cabinet run on the portfolio system, and each of the five ordinary members was placed in charge of a distinct department of Calcutta's government—home, revenue, military, finance, and law. The military commander in chief sat with that council as an extraordinary member. A sixth ordinary member was assigned to the viceroy's Executive Council after 1874, initially to preside over the Department of Public Works, which after 1904 came to be called Commerce and Industry. Though the government of India was by statutory definition the "Governor-General-in-Council" (governor-general remained the viceroy's alternate title), the viceroy was empowered to overrule his councilors if ever he deemed that necessary. He personally took charge of the Foreign Department, which was mostly concerned with relations

with princely states and bordering foreign powers. Few viceroys found it necessary to assert their full despotic authority, since the majority of their councilors usually were in agreement. In 1879, however, Viceroy Lytton (governed 1876–80) felt obliged to overrule his entire council in order to accommodate demands for the elimination of his government's import duties on British cotton manufactures, despite India's desperate need for revenue in a year of widespread famine and agricultural disorders.

From 1854 additional members met with the viceroy's Executive Council for legislative purposes, and by the act of 1861 their permissible number was raised to between 6 and 12, no fewer than half of whom were to be nonofficial. While the viceroy appointed all such legislative councilors and was empowered to veto any bill passed on to him by that body, its debates were to be open to a limited public audience, and several of its nonofficial members were Indian nobility and loyal landowners. For the government of India the legislative council sessions thus served as a crude public-opinion barometer and the beginnings of an advisory "safety valve" that provided the viceroy with early crisis warnings at the minimum possible risk of parliamentary-type opposition. The act of 1892 further expanded the council's permissible additional membership to 16, of whom 10 could be nonofficial, and increased their powers, though only to the extent of allowing them to ask questions of government and to criticize formally the official budget during one day reserved for that purpose at the very end of each year's legislative session in Calcutta. The Supreme Council, however, still remained quite remote from any sort of parliament.

#### **Economic policy and development**

Economically, it was an era of increased commercial agricultural production, rapidly expanding trade, early industrial development, and severe famine. The total cost of the mutiny of 1857–59, which was equivalent to a normal year's revenue, was charged to India and paid off from increased revenue resources in four years. The major source of government income throughout that period remained the land revenue, which, as a percentage of the agricultural yield of India's soil, continued to be "an annual gamble in monsoon rains." Usually, however, it provided about half of British India's gross annual revenue, or roughly the money needed to support the army. The second most lucrative source of revenue at that time was the government's continued monopoly over the flourishing opium trade to China; the third was the tax on salt, also jealously guarded by the crown as its official monopoly preserve. An individual income tax was introduced for five years to pay off the war deficit, but urban personal income was not added as a regular source of Indian revenue until 1886.

Despite continued British adherence to the doctrine of laissez-faire during that period, a 10 percent customs duty was levied in 1860 to help clear the war debt, though it was reduced to 7 percent in 1864 and to 5 percent in 1875. The above-mentioned cotton import duty, abolished in 1879 by Viceroy Lytton, was not reimposed on British imports of piece goods and yarn until 1894, when the value of silver fell so precipitously on the world market that the government of India was forced to take action, even against the economic interests of the home country (i.e., textiles in Lancashire), by adding enough rupees to its revenue to make ends meet. Bombay's textile industry had by then developed more than 80 power mills, and the huge Empress Mill owned by Indian industrialist Jamsetji (Jamshedji) N. Tata (1839–1904) was in full operation at Nagpur, competing directly with Lancashire mills for the vast Indian market. Britain's mill owners again demonstrated their power in Calcutta by forcing the government of India to impose an "equalizing" 5 percent excise tax on all cloth manufactured in India, thereby convincing many Indian mill owners and capitalists that their best interests would be served by contributing financial support to the Indian National Congress.

Britain's major contribution to India's economic development throughout the era of crown rule was the railroad network that spread so swiftly across the subcontinent after 1858, when there were barely 200 miles (320 km) of track in all of India. By 1869 more than 5,000 miles (8,000 km) of steel track had been completed by British railroad companies, and by 1900 there were some 25,000 miles (40,000 km) of rail laid. By the start of World War I (1914–18) the total had reached 35,000 miles (56,000 km), almost the full growth of British India's rail net. Initially, the railroads proved a mixed blessing for most Indians, since, by linking India's agricultural, village-based heartland to the British imperial port cities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, they served both to accelerate the pace of raw-material extraction from India and to speed up the transition from subsistence food to commercial agricultural production. Middlemen hired by port-city agency houses rode the trains inland and induced village headmen to convert large tracts of grain-yielding land to commercial crops.

Large sums of silver were offered in payment for raw materials when the British demand was high, as was the case throughout the American Civil War (1861–65), but, after the Civil War ended, restoring raw cotton from the southern United States to Lancashire mills, the Indian market collapsed. Millions of peasants weaned from grain production now found themselves riding the boom-and-bust tiger of a world-market economy. They were unable to convert their commercial agricultural surplus back into food during depression years, and from 1865 through 1900 India experienced a series of protracted famines, which in 1896 was complicated by the introduction of bubonic plague (spread from Bombay, where infected rats were brought from China). As a result, though the population of the subcontinent increased dramatically from about 200 million in 1872 (the year of the first almost universal census) to more than 319 million in 1921, the population may have declined slightly between 1895 and 1905.

The spread of railroads also accelerated the destruction of India's indigenous handicraft industries, for trains filled with cheap competitive manufactured goods shipped from England now rushed to inland towns for distribution to villages, underselling the rougher products of Indian craftsmen. Entire handicraft villages thus lost their traditional markets of neighbouring agricultural villagers, and craftsmen were forced to abandon their looms and spinning wheels and return to the soil for their livelihood. By the end of the 19th century a larger proportion of India's population (perhaps more than three-fourths) depended directly on agriculture for support than at the century's start, and the pressure of population on arable land increased throughout that period. Railroads also provided the military with swift and relatively assured access to all parts of the country in the event of emergency and were eventually used to transport grain for famine relief as well.

The rich coalfields of Bihar began to be mined during that period to help power the imported British locomotives, and coal production jumped from roughly 500,000 tons in 1868 to some 6,000,000 tons in 1900 and more than 20,000,000 tons by 1920. Coal was used for iron smelting in India as early as 1875, but the Tata Iron and Steel Company (now part of the Tata Group), which received no government aid, did not start production until 1911, when, in Bihar, it launched India's modern steel industry. Tata grew rapidly after World War I, and by World War II it had become the largest single steel complex in the British Commonwealth. The jute textile industry, Bengal's counterpart to Bombay's cotton industry, developed in the wake of the Crimean War (1853–56), which, by cutting off Russia's supply of raw hemp to the jute mills of Scotland, stimulated the export of raw jute from Calcutta to Dundee. In 1863 there were only two jute mills in Bengal, but by 1882 there were 20, employing more than 20,000 workers.

The most important plantation industries of the era were tea, indigo, and coffee. British tea plantations were started in northern India's Assam Hills in the 1850s and in southern India's Nilgiri Hills some 20 years later. By 1871 there were more than 300 tea plantations, covering in excess of 30,000 cultivated acres (12,000 hectares) and producing some 3,000 tons of tea. By 1900 India's tea crop was large enough to export 68,500 tons to Britain, displacing the tea of China in London. The flourishing indigo industry of Bengal and Bihar was threatened with extinction during the "Blue Mutiny" (violent riots by cultivators in 1859–60), but India continued to export indigo to European markets until the end of the 19th century, when synthetic dyes made that natural product obsolete. Coffee plantations flourished in southern India from 1860 to 1879, after which disease blighted the crop and sent Indian coffee into a decade of decline.

#### **Aligarh Movement**

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Syed also spelled Syad, orSyed, Ahmad also spelled Ahmed, (born Oct. 17, 1817, Delhi—died March 27, 1898, Alīgarh, India), Muslim educator, jurist, and author, founder of the Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental College at Alīgarh, Uttar Pradesh, India, and the principal motivating force behind the revival of Indian Islām in the late 19th century. His works, in Urdu, include Essays on the Life of Mohammed (1870) and commentaries on the Bible and on the Qur'ān. In 1888 he was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

Syed's family, though progressive, was highly regarded by the dying Mughal dynasty. His father, who received an allowance from the Mughal administration, became something of a religious recluse; his maternal grandfather had twice served as prime minister of the Mughal emperor of his time and had also held positions of trust under the East India Company. Syed's brother established one of the first printing presses at Delhi and started one of the earliest newspapers in Urdu, the principal language of the Muslims of northern India.

The death of Syed's father left the family in financial difficulties, and after a limited education Syed had to work for his livelihood. Starting as a clerk with the East India Company in 1838, he qualified three years later as a subjudge and served in the judicial department at various places.

Syed Ahmad had a versatile personality, and his position in the judicial department left him time to be active in many fields. His career as an author (in Urdu) started at the age of 23 with religious tracts. In 1847 he brought out a noteworthy book, Āthār aṣṣanādīd ("Monuments of the Great"), on the antiquities of Delhi. Even more important was his pamphlet, "The Causes of the Indian Revolt." During the Indian Mutiny of 1857 he had taken the side of the British, but in this booklet he ably and fearlessly laid bare the weaknesses and errors of the British administration that had led to dissatisfaction and a countrywide explosion. Widely read by British officials, it had considerable influence on British policy.

As we know that, after the war of independence the condition of the Muslims of India were very miserable as the British fell more on the Muslims than on Hindus. They considered that Muslims were responsible for all the wrongs and the war held just because of their harsh and rude behavior. After 1857, the Muslims emerged as a backward nation; they were illiterate and hopelessly ignorant in every walk of life. They were deprived of their basic rights and were neglected in every sphere of life. Nevertheless, they were economically, politically, socially and to be more exact religiously made the subject of ruthless punishment. They were helpless before the British and their combine lobby with Hindus; so, in these conditions they neither trusted Hindus nor British, who spared no effort to tortured Muslims.

n such conditions, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward and tried to help the Muslims come out from such deplorable and miserable conditions. He guided the Muslims towards the right path and attempted to draw out the Muslims from such helpless condition. He started a movement in order to give respectable position to Muslims in society as they had in past, this movement is known as Aligarh Movement. The main focus of the Aligarh movement was:

- Loyalty to British Government.
- Modern western education for the Muslims to compete with Hindus.
- To keep away the Muslims from politics.

Sir Syed realized that this miserable and deplorable condition of Muslims was due to the lack of modern education. He believed that the cure of every problem of Muslims was the modern education. Therefore, he commenced an educational program in order to uplift the deprived and disappointed Muslims, who had lost their past glory. He took concrete steps for his education plan. Thus, in 1859, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan set up a school for Muslims in Muradabad where English, Persian, Islamiat, Arabic, Urdu were compulsory subjects. In 1862, Sir Syed was transferred from Muradabad to Ghazipur where he established another school for Muslims, which was known as Madrass Ghazipur. Here, also the English, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Islamyat were compulsory subjects.

In 1864, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan laid the foundation of a scientific society at Ghazipur. The purpose of this society was to translate the English books into Urdu language. But, later on, in 1866, after his transfer to Aligarh, the main office of the scientific society was also transferred to Aligarh. In 1866, the scientific society issued a journal named as Aligarh Institute Gazette. This journal was published both in Urdu and English languages. The aim of this journal was to wash away the misconception between Muslims and British government and brought them close to each other.

In order to closely watch the educational system of England, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan accompanied his son Syed Mehmud, visited England in 1869 and stayed there for seventeen months studying English educational institutions like Oxford and Cambridge University. Later, after his return to India, he set up a committee known as "Committee Striving for Educational Progress of Muslims". Under this committee another committee was established named as "Fund Committee for the establishment of a Muslim College" and Sir Syed was selected the secretary of the both committees. For this purpose, Sir Syed toured across the country and collected funds for the establishment of college. The committee decided first for the forming of school as a model to the people and later to found the college. Hence, in 1875, Sir Syed established Mohammedan Anglo Oriental School at Aligarh. In 1877, the school was upgraded to the level of college which was inaugurated by Lord Lytton. The main characteristic of this college was that it offered both Western and Eastern educations. Later on, this college was raised to the level of university, after the death of Sir Syed in 1920.

In 1886, Sir Syed set up an organization which is known as Mohammedan Educational Conference, which presented a twelve point programme in western and religious education in English and other languages. It aim was to convey the message of education to the Muslim masses. The Conference held its sessions at different towns of the country to know about the educational problems and then tried to solve them. The conference in its meeting discussed the modern techniques for the development and improvement of the standard of the education.

In 1866, Sir Syed established British India Association at Aligarh. The main purpose of this organization was to express the grievances and point of view of Indians to the British parliament. He also wrote "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he recorded a detailed account of the loyal services of the Muslims which they rendered to the British rulers. In 1870, Sir Syed, after his return from England, setup an organization known as "Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Muslamanan-i-Hind" in order to impart modern education to the Muslims of India.

Sir Syed wrote the philosophical commentary on Bible named as "Tabaeen-al-Kalam." In this commentary Sir Syed draw out the similarities found between Islam and Chirstianity. He also wrote "Essay on the life of Muhammad" on the response to "Life of Muhammad", written by William Muir, in which he had criticized the Holy Prophet. Sir Syed also wrote "Anjuman-i-Tariki-i-Urdu" for the protection of Urdu. Sir Syed published another influential magazine named as "Tahzib-ul-Akhlaaq" in which he discussed the Muslim society by criticizing the conservative way of living and emphasized on the new modern way of life.

Sir Syed, although, was the first Muslim member of Central Legislative Council, but he advised the Muslims to remain apart from politics unless and until they would get education. He believed that the cure of Muslim problems is only education and unless and until Muslims get education, they will remain backward in every sphere of life. Thus, Sir Syed did his best, through the Aligarh movement, for the Muslim cause, and took the support of British by showing loyalty to them and also aloof the Muslims from the Indian National Congress.

His interest in religion was also active and lifelong. He began a sympathetic interpretation of the Bible, wrote Essays on the Life of Mohammed (translated into English by his son), and found time to write several volumes of a modernist commentary on the Qur'ān. In these works he sought to harmonize the Islāmic faith with the scientific and politically progressive ideas of his time.

The supreme interest of Syed's life was, however, education—in its widest sense. He began by establishing schools, at Muradabad (1858) and Ghāzīpur (1863). A more ambitious undertaking was the foundation of the Scientific Society, which published translations of many educational texts and issued a bilingual journal—in Urdu and English.

These institutions were for the use of all citizens and were jointly operated by the Hindus and the Muslims. In the late 1860s there occurred developments that were to alter the course of his activities. In 1867 he was transferred to Benares, a city on the Ganges with great religious significance for the Hindus. At about the same time a movement started at Benares to replace Urdu, the language cultivated by the Muslims, with Hindi. This movement and the attempts to substitute Hindi for Urdu in the publications of the Scientific Society convinced Syed that the paths of the Hindus and the Muslims must diverge. Thus, when during a visit to England (1869–70) he prepared plans for a great educational institution, they were for "a Muslim Cambridge." On his return he set up a committee for the purpose and also started an influential journal, Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq ("Social Reform"), for the "uplift and reform of the Muslim." A Muslim school was established at Alīgarh in May 1875, and, after his retirement in 1876, Syed devoted himself to enlarging it into a college. In January 1877 the foundation stone of the college was laid by the Viceroy. In spite of conservative opposition to Syed's projects, the college made rapid progress. In 1886 Syed organized the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, which met annually at different places to promote education and to provide the Muslims with a common platform. Until the founding of the Muslim League in 1906, it was the principal national centre of Indian Islām.

Syed advised the Muslims against joining active politics and to concentrate instead on education. Later, when some Muslims joined the Indian National Congress, he came out strongly against that organization and its objectives, which included the establishment of parliamentary democracy in India. He argued that, in a country where communal divisions were all-important and education and political organization were confined to a few classes, parliamentary democracy would work only inequitably. Muslims, generally, followed his advice and abstained from politics until several years later when they had established their own political organization.

#### THE MAN AND THE MYTH: Dr Ziauddin Ahmed

## Dr. Amir Hassan Siddiqi

As an accomplished scholar, an eminent educationist and a seasoned **politician**, **Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad** is too well known to the people of the Hind-Pakistan sub-continent. He started life from a humble beginning; but the glimmerings of genius in him were evident from this childhood. He combined an extra ordinary capacity for industry and sustained effort with an innate intelligence of a high order.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed joined the First year in M.A.O. Collegiate School, Aligarh, in 1889 and passed the High School in First Division securing Lang Medal and a Government scholar ship.

Since Science course was not available at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, he had to join Government College at Al-lahabad. He again decided to join B.A. class at the Aligarh M.A.O. College, offering Mathematics as one of the Optional Subjects. He passed B.A. examination in first class obtaining first position among science students, and thus secured the coveted Strachey Gold Medal.

In 1895, after appearing in his B.A. Examination, Dr. Ziauddin took up a temporary job as a teacher in the M.A.O. Collegiate School on a monthly salary of Rs.16/- only. After passing his B.A. Examination in First Division, he was appointed as an Asstt. Lecturer in Mathematics on a salary of Rs. 40/- p.m. and after the summer vacation when the College reopened, his salary was fixed at Rs. 60/-. In the meanwhile the principle of the college considering him as the best student of the college nominated him for the post of Deputy Collector, which was sure to be accepted by the Government, but Ziauddin rejected the offer and decided to remain in the service of the University. Thereupon Sir Syed Ahmed Khan offered him a permanent appointment in the grade of Rs. 60 — 100 provided he signed a bond of service for a period of five years. But his assurance that he would serve the University through-out his life so impressed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that he tore the written bond into pieces.

During the period of his service, Ziauddin continued his studies. He passed his M.A. Examination in Mathematics from Calcutta University in 1897 in First Division and again the same examination from the Allahabad University in 1901 in the same division. He obtained his D.Sc. degree also from Calcutta University. On account of his academic distinctions, he was awarded a Government scholarship for further studies in England. Before his departure to England he was already associated as Asstt. Secretary of Sir Syed Memorial Fund established for the purpose of founding a Mohammadan University, and, on the occasion of Mohammadan Educational Conference held in 1898, at Lahore, it was he who had given, for the first time, a thorough scheme for the establishment of a Mohammadan University.

# **TO ENGLAND**

In October 1901 he joined Trinity College, Cambridge and obtained his Honours degree in Mathematics in first Division in 1903. As his chief ambition was to secure Sir Isaac Newtosn scholarship he did not leave Cambridge. His efforts were crowned with success in 1904 and, incidently, he was the first Indian to secure this scholarship. Subsequently he was elected a Fellow of Royal Astronomical Society. He joined Gottingen University in Germany in 1904 and obtained his Ph.D. degree in from there. In 1906 he resumed his duties in M.A.O. College. Aligarh as a lecturer and was offered the post of Inspector of Schools which he refused.

The establishment of M.A.O. College was never regarded by the founder and his coworkers as an end; it was merely the first step leading to the creation of the University. Soon after the death of Syed Ahmad Khan (March 1898), The Board of the Management of the College established a 'Sir Syed Memorial Fund Committee'. The purpose of the creation of this Committee was to build a University in memory of the venerable educationists and to raise funds for that purpose. In order to mobilize public opinion and focus the attention of the Muslims on the need for a national University the matter was placed before the Mohammaden Educational Conference again and again and resolutions supporting the proposal were repeatedly adopted. At the sixteenth session of the Educational Conference held in December 1902 at Delhi, N.H. the Aga Khan delivered a memorable presidential address. After analyzing the causes of the moral and intellectual decline of the Muslims he advocated the cause for the establishment of a residential University. The Conference re-adopted its previous resolutions and urging the creation of the provincial committees, under the Sir Syed Memoria Fund Committee, for the collections of donations. From this time onwards all schemes for extending and developing the M.A.O. College were really designed to further the project of transferring it into a University. In January 1911 a Central Foundation Committee was set up with the Aga Khan as its President and Viqar-ul-Mulk as the Secretary. A Constitution Committee for the purpose of drafting the act, statutes and regulations was established with Raja Sahid of Mahmudabad as the President, Shamsul Ulema Syed All Bilgrami as the Secretary and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad as the joint-secretary. Both as Joint-Secretary of the Draft Committee as well as in the collection of Funds, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad played a great role. By the beginning of 1915 a sum of Rs. 30 lacs fixed by the Government of India as the condition precedent for a University charter had already been realized.

In January 1919 the principal of M.A.O. College alone with all the European staff resigned en-bloc owing to some fundamental differences between the Honorary Secretary of the College and members of the European staff. In spite of the opposition of the Hony. Secretary, Dr. Ziauddin was appointed as Acting Principal of the college in 1919. The sudden disappearance of the European staff, the adverse report of the in spectors of the University with the threat of disaffiliation, and the apathy of the Government and its officials, and above all anti adverse propagandda against the college, produced enormous difficulties for Dr. Ziauddin. To make matters worse there was no unanimity among the Trustees and influential Old Boys begun to interfere in the administration of the college. The result was that when the college opened in May 1919 after the annual examinations, the number of students fell from 1200 to 181 only.

Dr. Ziauddin rose to the occasion. On the one hand he succeeded in bringing about reconciliation with the Government and on the other brought about amicable relations among the Trustees and the Old Boys. With his policy of reconciliation with the Government the revenue of the college increased fourfold. The with-held Government grant of Rs. two lakhs was released, and the Government also granted half of the expenses for the Department of Biology and the with-held grant of the Department of Arabic was also released. The doubts of the public thus removed, the number of students rose from 181 to 767. Hardly had Dr. Ziauddin got over all these difficulties

when he was faced with a greater danger which was in the form of non-cooperation movement launched by Mahatama Gandhi along with the Muslim Nationalist Leaders headed by Ali Brothers. On account of the apathy of the British Government against the Turks after the latter's defeat in the 1st World War, the Muslims of India got greatly agitated and in desperation joined hands with the Mahatama who launched his non-cooperation movement with the support of nationalist Muslim Leaders in order to drive the British out of India. In their programme was also included the boycott of Government aided Educational Institutions and the establishment of national educational institutions to replace them. The Mahatama was a shrewd politician and he prevailed upon the shortsighted nationalist Muslim leaders to launch an attack on the only Muslim College in India i.e the M.A.O. College. He wanted to kill two birds with one stone. On the one hand his policy was to compel the British Government to hand over political power into the hands of the majority community, i. e. the Hindus and on the other to destroy the only Educational Institution of the Muslims so that the latter may not be able to produce talented people to put up any fight for their safeguards against the Hindus. The Mahatma along with Ali Brothers and other prominent Muslim Leaders arrived in Aligarh in Oct. 1920. They instigated the students, took possession of all the College buildings and tried to establish a national University within the premises of the M.A.O. College. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad accepted the bold challenge and won over all the Trustees to his side. With overwhelming majority the latter rejected the demands made by Ali Brothers. Dr. Ziauddin closed the College and the bulk of the students had to leave for their homes. When all methods of persuation failed, the Syndicate of the College sought the intervention of the District Magistrate for the vacation of the premises of the -College by Ali Brothers and their allies. In consequence, they moved from the Old Boys Lodge which they had made their Headquarters, to the area across the road known as Lal Diggi. This highly explosive episode thus came to an end, but it left its aftermath behind. In fact this was the greatest service rendered by Dr. Sir Ziauddin to the Muslims of the sub-continent. Had Ali Brothers succeeded in putting an end to M.A.O. College there would have been no Aligarh Muslim University and consequently no Pakistan.

The Aligarh Muslim University Act, had been passed in September, 1920 but the date of its enforcement had been left to the discretion of the Government of India. Under the prevailing conditions, the authorities of the College as well as the Government realized the necessity of implementing it as soon as possible. An unscheduled holiday of more than a month the College was due to reopen on December 1st, and the same date was selected for giving effect to the Act. Thus when the students returned from their homes they learnt that their alma mater had been transformed into a University.

The Court was made the supreme governing body of the University. The first Chancellor, the First Pro-Chancellor and the first Vice-Chancellor were to be appointed by the Governor-General, but the Court was given the right of electing their successors and of appointing the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The election of the Vice-Chancellor by the Court was, however, subject to the

approval of the Governor-General in Council. In regulating the admission of students, conduct of examinations, framing the syllabus aim curses of studies, appointment of teachers and other matters pertaining to the furtherance of its objects as a seat of learning, the University was given ample powers and was free from Government control.

As the Aligarh Muslim University was not a government institution and depended largely on financial support by the public, the framers of the Act felt that the Vice-Chancellor should be a person holding a prominent position in public life who could raise funds for the University. As it was possible that such person may not be an expert in the field of Education, the creation of the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor was considered necessary.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal Sultan Jehan Begum and His Highness the Aga Khan, were appointed Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor respectively; Raja of Mahmudabad became the Vice Chancellor, and the last Principal of the College, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was made Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University.

The (Frist) Statutes laid down that "the Vice-Chancellor shall take rank next to the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor, and shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Council and the Academic Council." They imposed on him the duty of seeing that "the Act, the Statutes, the Ordinances and the Regulations are duly observed" and invested him with "all powers necessary for that purpose." They also gave him the customary power to take action in cases of emergency and made him the sole medium of communication between the University on the one hand and the Governor-General in Council, the Lord Rector and the Visiting Board on the other. The Statutes also provided that the Pro-Vice-Chancellor shall be "a whole-time salaried officer" and shall be "the principal academic officer of the University." They made him the chairman of the Academic Council in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor and empowered him to convene meetings of that body.

Even in the days of the first Vice-Chancellor (the Raja of Mahmudabad) diversity of views between him and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad had made itself felt, but before matters could come to a head the former resigned. Not long after the election of Sahibzadda Aftab Ahmad Khan, differences between him and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor appeared. The former complained of irregularities in the academic administration of the University, and wanted to rectify them; the latter felt that the Vice-Chancellor was interfering in matters which lay outside his domain.

Without going into details it might be noted that the clash of views between Sahibzadda Aftab Ahmad Khan and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was of a fundamental nature. The former insisted on strict adherence to rules, the latter maintained that rules could be disregarded in cases of hardship. One of the favorite maximums of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was "Rules are made for students; students are not made for rules." His biographer explains the conflict in these words: "In the eyes of the

Sahibzaddah principles took priority over expediency; Doctor Sahib considered principles in the light of expediency and subordinated them to it. For the sake of expediency the explaining away of principles and even their sacrifice was permissible." The two men also disagreed as to their respective powers and duties. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad felt that as he was "the principal academic officer" all academic matters came within his special domain and the Vice-Chancellor was trespassing on his jurisdiction. Sahibzadha Aftab Ahmad Khan maintained that he was charged with the duty of enforcing the Statues, Ordinances and Regulations and had, therefore, the right to look into the academic administration of the University.

Besides the University started functioning under very adverse circumstances. The tempestuous conditions prevailing all around owing to non-cooperation movement and other destructive forces tried their best to make the University a house divided in itself. In spite of all these difficulties Dr. Ziauddin rose to the occasion an under his able guidance the University began to take rapid strides towards development. The University started its career with a total number of 261 students. In his efforts to encourage students to take admission, Dr. Ziauddin created educational aids, reduced fees and other expenditure, relaxed the rules for admission and examinations and arranged extra lectures for those who fell short of attendance.

The sponsors of the Aligarh movement and their successors did not approve of a system of secular education divorced from religion. They held that for the proper up-bringing of Muslim youth moral training based on religious education was essential. The study of Theology was, therefore, made compulsory in the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc, classes for all Muslim Students. Urdu was also made a compulsory subject for all under graduates, and as a lingua franca, it helped to develop the feeling of belonging to a common fraternity. In the atmosphere thus created even post-graduate students had no difficulty in learning the language.

In the beginning there were 15 departments in the University. In 1923 a Teachers Training College was added. There was an Islamic Studies Depart mentation in Tafseer, Hadith and Fiqha etc. He also introduced a medical group in Intermediate Science. He realized the importance of science without which the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinents could not succeed in life. For this purpose be obtained Rs. 1 lacs from Nawab Obaidullah Khan of Bhopal in the form of shares certificate of Tata.

Dr. Ziauddin had a vast experience of Examinations as he himself was the examiner of many Universities and a member of the sub-committee of Saddler Commission which was formed to inquire into matters which led to the disclosure of examination papers of Calcutta University. This experience he utilized in streamlining the system of examinations in the Muslim University Aligarh.

Dr. Ziauddin also introduced the system of Private Examinations because the Government of India restricted the right of the affiliation of schools and colleges with the University within the precincts of the district of Aligarh. Owing to some technical hitch in the Act of the University, it was not clear whether students could sit as Private candidates even in High School Examination, but Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad continued this examination till he resigned as Pro-Vice-Chancellor in 1928. However, Government allowed teachers, and women as private candidates in various examinations of the University. He further extended this concession to those who worked on the Academic side of the University. It was under this latter clause that the present writer of this article passed his Inter and B.A examinations.

The Muslim University, like the MAO College, was in the true sense of the term a residential institution. The bulk of the students lived in the hostels and the number of day scholars was rigorously kept down. Each hostel was under a Provost; attendance in the dining hall at lunch and dinner was obligatory. The Wardens and Provosts as a rule mixed freely with the students and occasionally lunched or dined with them in the dining hall. In fact, close relations between the teachers and the taught, in and outside the hostels, was the essence of Aligarh life.

The proctorial system was run very efficiently. In carrying on their duties the Proctor and Pro-Proctors were ably assisted by a body of students carefully picked from the different Halls of Residence. Students were also mainly responsible under the supervision of a Warden, for the management of the dining halls. All functions in honor of visiting dignitaries, including the highest in the land were managed by students. They even looked after those arrangements which are normally entrusted, no policeman in uniform ever entered the precincts of the University. The students also enjoyed complete academic freedom and were at liberty to discuss in the Union as well as in the literary and scientific societies any subject under the sun.

Aligarh was noted for its emphasis on games and sports. The Games Club kept up a high standard of efficiency and produced a succession of teams which won laurels in matches and tournaments. The University also maintained a unit of the U.O.T.C, which enjoyed an excellent reputation, and a Riding School with its picturesque green uniform.

In December, 1923, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, who had been closely associated with the Aligarh movement since his youth, was elected Vice-Chancellor and took charge of his office on 1 January, 1924. By this time Aligarh had sufficiently recovered its position as the leading educational institution of the Muslims. The number of students was increasing rapidly, the hostels were full and the need for additional living space was being keenly felt, in spite of the conversion of the western wing of Syed Mahmud Court (Katchi Barak) into a pucca, double storeyed structure,

known as the Osmania Hostel. The College library was rapidly developed and new stocks were acquired to make it worthy of a University. The famous Subhanullah Khan collection was presented by its owner to the University and this gift enriched the oriental section of the library with many rare books and manuscripts.

In 1925 Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and other persons responsible for the administration of the University felt that a concerted effort was needed to build up the Institution and to focus on it the attention of the entire Muslim people. With this end in view they decided to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the foundation of Aligarh. On this occasion, on account of serious difference between Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the latter decided to go on long leave and also gave a hint to the Vice-Chancellor that the latter may make some permanent appointment in his place after the expiry of his leave, if so desired. Since Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan did realize the importance of the presence of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, particularly on the occasion of Jubilee celebrations, he prevailed upon Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad to give up all such ideas. Consequently arrangements for the Jubilee were made on a grand scale. The response from the invitees was splendid and showed that Aligarh still enjoyed a unique position among the educational institutions of the sub-continent. It is estimated that seven thousand persons from far and near, belonging to different walks of life and different schools of political and religious thought, assembled on the occation. The sessions of the All India Muslim League and the All India Muslim Educational Concerence were also held at Aligarh on that occasion. The celebrations helped build up the position of Aligarh in the eyes of the public and gave a fresh stimulus to the feelings of attachment and devotion to the ALMA MATER which the Old Boys had always cherished. Donations realized on the spot came to Rs. 1,76,000 while the promises amounted to Rs. 3,00,000.

In Feb. 1926 the term of Dr. Ziauddin expired and on this occasion Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, in spite of his differences with him, proposed his name for the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor after paying glowing tributes to Dr. Ziauddin. The term of office of Aftab Ahmad Khan came to an end in December, 1926, and Nawab Sir Mohammad Muzzamil-Ullah Khan was elected Vice-Chancellor in his place. Before relinquishing charge of his office, however, the former published (on 28 December) a pamphlet explaining the difficulties he had experienced as Vice-Chancellor and pointing out certain irregularities and shortcomings in the administration of the University. Copies of the pamphlet were sent to the members of the Court as well as to the Central and Provincial Governments. The Governor-General of India, in his capacity as Lord Rector of the University, took serious note of the complaints contained in the pamphlet and strongly advised the Chancellor (Begum of Bhopal) to set up an Enquiry Committee to examine the working of the University. Accordingly an Enquiry Committee consisting of five members headed by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, was appointed by the Chancellor.

While expressing its appreciation of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad's love for Aligarh and the services rendered by him to the M.A.O. College and the University, the Committee recommended that he should severe his connection with the University. On 15 April, 1928, the Court adopted the report in 'toto' and resolved that all its recommendations should be implemented. Before the Court met Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad had submitted his resignation from the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor, which was accepted by the Executive Council on 30 March, 1928, with effect from 27 April, and Professor M. M. Sharif, Head of the Department of Philosophy was appointed officiating Pro-Vice-Chancellor.

After the exit of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad from the University, Nawab Sir Mohammad Muzzarnilullah Khan also re-signed from the post of Vice-Chancellor, and the Court elected Syed Ross Masood as Vice-Chancellor in his place. The latter's appointment inspired confidence in the mind of the public being a resourceful person, he secured a special grant of Rs. 15 lakhs and Rs. 10 lakhs from the Government of India and the State of Hyderabad respectively as well as substantial donations from the Rulers of Bhopal, Bahawaipur, Junagaddh and other dignitaries. The annual grants by the Government of India, the Government of the United Provinces and several States were also enhanced. During his regime a great deal of emphasis was placed on furtherance of research and the development of scientific studies. The special grant by the Central Government was utilized for the purpose of constructing well designed laboratories for the Science Faculty and equipping, them with the latest apparatus. These laboratories were recognized amongst the best in the sub-continent.

In 1934 Syed Ross Masood resigned from the post of Vice-chancellor owing to the fact that his proposal to the extension of service of the Registrar, Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmad, having been rejected by the Court. The .vacuum created by his resignation was filled by the election of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Treasurer of the University, as officiating Vice-Chancellor. The Government of India felt concerned and perturbed at the prospect of Ismail Khan (who had the reputation of being an extremist in politics) getting elected as Vice-Chancellor. They looked round for a winning candidate and ultimate their choice fell on Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, who was elected in April 1935 with a substantial majority against Nawab Ismail Khan. As a result of these developments, Nawab Sir Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal resigned from Chancellorship of the University. It is a strange phenome-non of history that the same Government which had obliged Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad to resign from the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor, had to install him as Vice-Chancellor of the same University.

The second phase of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad's role in the development of the Aligarh Muslim University began in 1935 when he was elected as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. In order to raise the prestige of the University Dr. Ziauddin's first act was to persuade this Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to accept the Chancellor-ship of the University vacated by the resignation of Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bho-pal. During this period he founded and developed several new institutions.

#### **ENGINEERING COLLEGE:**

Muslim students as a rule found it difficult to secure ad-mission to the various Engineering Colleges in the sub-continent and the need for an Engineering College at Aligarh was being keenly felt. The funds collected at the time of the Jubilee had also been earmarked for this purpose. The Engineering College for which a plan was formulated in 1922, actually came into existence in 1936 with the introduction of a technical institute on a very small scale which gradually developed into a permanent college of Engineering.

#### **AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE:**

This college was established with a grant of Rs. 20,000 from the Central Government, and an agricultural farm with government buildings was also attached to it by the help of the provincial Government.

## **TIBBIA COLLEGE:**

This college was established in 1926 by the Board of Medicine, U.P. It was turned into a permanent college and was affiliated to the University. Since its inception it had been functioning in makeshift buildings but in late thirties a hospital and an academic block were built and the college thus acquired a permanent habitat.

#### **COMMERCE COLLEGE:**

This College was established in 1945.

## **WOMEN'S DEGREE COLLEGE:**

In 1936 the Ladies Inter College was up graded to a degree college imparting education in Arts and Science subjects.

## **MEDICAL COLLEGE:**

It was difficult for Muslim students to secure admission to medical colleges. They were becoming more and more alive to the importance of medical education and the University authorities could not remain impervious to this imperative need. A scheme for a medical college was prepared and a regular campaign for funds was started. Deputations consisting of students and teachers and the Vice-Chancellor himself participated in this campaign and by the end of 1946

approximately forty-four lakhs of rupees had been collected including a donation of Rs. 10 lakhs by the Nizam. The Chief credit for the success of the campaign goes to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad who worked with zeal and devotion to further the project of the medical college.

## INTRODUCTION OF FACULTIES:

At the time of framing the constitution of the University, i.e. the question of grouping the Departments of studies into Faculties was considered, but ultimately the proposal was dropped. The question was raised again in 1942-44 and ultimately the Academic Council resolved by a majority to introduce the Faculty System. This decision led to certain changes in the constitution of the University including abolition of the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor and transfer of all his important powers to the Vice Chancellor. These changes became effective early in 1944. In April 1944, Ziaudddin Ahmad was elected Vice-Chancellor for the third time.

#### **MILITARY ENGINEERING SERVICES:**

The entry of Japan into, the war and the invasion of Burma in December, 1941 brought the flames of war close to the frontiers of the sub-continent and the Government of India naturally intensified its preparations to ward off the danger. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad took the fullest advantage on this occasion. In order to encourage war efforts of the University, the Government of India was persuaded to sanction money for the construction of two large workshops. They proved a valuable asset for giving practical training to the students of the Engineering College. They were also used for training war technicians for the Government. The Science Department of the University carried on researches on problems arising out of the war which were referred to them from time to time. In all, the Aligarh Muslim University supplied during the war 1,100 cadets for emergency commissions in the land, air and naval forces and besides training 1,500 war technicians, and 200 qualified engineers for military engineering services, were also supplied.

From 1935 onwards the earlier policy of admitting as large a number of students as circumstances permitted was reverted to and the admissions showed an upward trend for the next ten years. During the year 1938-39 the number went up to 1842, and of 1945-46, the last year of Dr. Ziauddin's term of office, it increased to 4,154. This increase was to a great extent due to financial assistance given to poor students of the Muslim Community. In order to help them to overcome their pecuniary difficulties various measures were adopted. Besides free studentships (Exemption from Tuition fees) and half free-studentships (reduction in Tuition fees) concessions in hostel and Dining Hall charges were also given to a number of students.

The Duty Society with which Dr. Ziauddin was associated as Asstt. Keeper when he was the Principal of this College, was organized by him now on a scientific basis.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad arranged deputations of the students led by a member of the teaching staff to different parts of the country during the long vacations. These deputations served a twofold purpose. The primary object was to collect funds for the Society but they also enabled the deputationists to explain in the course of personal conversation or at public meetings the aims and ideals for which Aligarh stood. Moreover the construction of different wings of the Duty Society Hostel provided the society with a steady and reliable income.

The whole scheme of life at Aligarh was calculated to Inculcate in those who entered its portals qualities of courage, self-confidence and self-reliance as well as developing their administrative capacity. No wonder the Muslim University, like the M.A.O. College, produced a large galaxy of eminent men who distinguished themselves in law, politics, civl service, the army and other walks of life.

After launching the campaign for the attainment of a national Homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah paid frequent visits to Aligarh to propound his views, and his utterances evoked an enthusiastic response from the students. The importance which Qaid-e-Azam attached to Aligarh can be judged from the following observation which he made publicly more than once: 'Aligarh is the armoury of Muslim India'. 'What Aligarh says today Muslim India thinks tomorrow.'

While organizing the All India Muslim League as a political party, the choice of the Quaid fell upon Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad who was appointed the General Secretary of the Parliamentary Party and in this capacity he played the double role of strengthening the position of his party in Parliament, and as Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University rallying the strength of the students for the cause of Muslim League and in consequence for the establishment of Pakistan.

In December 1946, over an unpleasant incident with some mischievous and misguided students, he offered his resignation from the post of Vice-Chancellor and, in spite of all sorts of apologies from the students in the Union and the insistence of the members of the Executive Council and the Court that he should reconsider his decision, he did not budge an inch from the decision he had taken. The supreme body of the University, the Court, had no other alternative but to accept the resignation of Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad in March 1947. A unanimous resolution of the members of the Court was passed expressing fullest confidence in Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and paying tribute in most glowing terms to the meritorious services rendered to the University by him. As a token of appreciation, it was re-commended to the Lord Rector that he should bestow the honor of Rector of the University on Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, which he accepted and remained Rector of the University till his death.

# Early Legislative Development during British Era

## Main features of Govt of India Act 1858:

The War of Independence 1857 was an event of great importance in the history of the Indian subcontinent. After this war the British policy towards Indians changed drastically, especially as far as constitutional development was concerned. For the purpose of addressing the grievances of the Indian population a new Act was introduced in India by the Crown in 1858. The Act was passed by the British Parliament on 2nd August 1858. The main Provisions of the Act of 1858 were as follows:

- 1. The rule of British East India Company was abolished and the Government of India was directly Crown with Queen Victoria taken over by the as the supreme monarch. 2. The Crown was empowered to appoint a Governor-General and the Governors of the Presidencies.
- 3. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control were abolished and their place was taken over the Secretary of State for Indian **Affairs** and the India Council. by 4. Extensive powers were given to the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs and the Indian Council consisted of 15 members. The Council was made to assist him but only had an advisory role. 5. The people of India were promised their rights by Queen Victoria under this Act. Complete freedom of religion was ensured and gradual participation in the administration of the was also proclaimed. country 6. Pardon was given to all the Indians except those who had killed British people. The Act said that the princes of the states could retain their former status and all agreements with

will

be

princes 7. Doctrine of Lapse was discarded under this Act.

the

According to this Act the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs was given extensive powers. He was not answerable to anyone. He could do whatever he wants to do. Neither Parliament nor Indian Council could bind him for taking any action; both of these institutions were not given the power to put limits on his extensive powers. Moreover the promises that were made by Queen Victoria were never fulfilled by her. The Indian people were not given their due rights that were promised to them under this Act.

On August 2, 1858, less than a month after Canning proclaimed the victory of British arms, Parliament passed the Government of India Act, transferring British power over India from the East India Company, whose ineptitude was primarily blamed for the mutiny, to the crown. The merchant company's residual powers were vested in the secretary of state for India, a minister of Great Britain's cabinet, who would preside over the India Office in London and be assisted and advised, especially in financial matters, by a Council of India, which consisted initially of 15

honoured.

Britons, 7 of whom were elected from among the old company's court of directors and 8 of whom were appointed by the crown. Though some of Britain's most powerful political leaders became secretaries of state for India in the latter half of the 19th century, actual control over the government of India remained in the hands of British viceroys—who divided their time between Calcutta (Kolkata) and Simla (Shimla)—and their "steel frame" of approximately 1,500 Indian Civil Service (ICS) officials posted "on the spot" throughout British India.

# **Social policy**

On November 1, 1858, Lord Canning announced Queen Victoria's proclamation to "the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India," which unveiled a new British policy of perpetual support for "native princes" and nonintervention in matters of religious belief or worship within British India. The announcement reversed Lord Dalhousie's prewar policy of political unification through princely state annexation, and princes were left free to adopt any heirs they desired so long as they all swore undying allegiance to the British crown. In 1876, at the prompting of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, Queen Victoria added the title Empress of India to her regality. British fears of another mutiny and consequent determination to bolster Indian states as "natural breakwaters" against any future tidal wave of revolt thus left more than 560 enclaves of autocratic princely rule to survive, interspersed throughout British India, for the entire nine decades of crown rule. The new policy of religious nonintervention was born equally out of fear of recurring mutiny, which many Britons believed had been triggered by orthodox Hindu and Muslim reaction against the secularizing inroads of utilitarian positivism and the proselytizing of Christian missionaries. British liberal socioreligious reform therefore came to a halt for more than three decades—essentially from the East India Company's Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856 to the crown's timid Age of Consent Act of 1891, which merely raised the age of statutory rape for "consenting" Indian brides from 10 years to 12.

The typical attitude of British officials who went to India during that period was, as the English writer Rudyard Kipling put it, to "take up the white man's burden." By and large, throughout the interlude of their Indian service to the crown, Britons lived as super-bureaucrats, "Pukka Sahibs," remaining as aloof as possible from "native contamination" in their private clubs and well-guarded military cantonments (called camps), which were constructed beyond the walls of the old, crowded "native" cities in that era. The new British military towns were initially erected as secure bases for the reorganized British regiments and were designed with straight roads wide enough for cavalry to gallop through whenever needed. The old company's three armies (located in Bengal, Bombay [Mumbai], and Madras [Chennai]), which in 1857 had only 43,000 British to 228,000 native troops, were reorganized by 1867 to a much "safer" mix of 65,000 British to 140,000 Indian soldiers. Selective new British recruitment policies screened out all "nonmartial" (meaning previously disloyal) Indian castes and ethnic groups from armed service and mixed the soldiers in every regiment, thus permitting no single caste or linguistic or religious group to again dominate

a British Indian garrison. Indian soldiers were also restricted from handling certain sophisticated weaponry.

#### Government of India Act 1861:

The Indian Councils Act 1861 was introduced because the British Government wanted to involve the Indian people with the process of law making. This Act was passed on 1st August 1861. Its main provisions were as under:

- 1. The Executive Council of the Governor General was extended. It was decided the members of his council should not be less than 6 and no more than 12 in number. These members were called the Additional Members of the Executive Council, and were not given any significant power with regards

  to legislation.
- 2. Governor General was empowered to nominate the Additional Members for a period of 2 years and half of the members must be non-official.

  3. It was decided that from now Commander-in-chief would be appointed as an extraordinary.
- 3. It was decided that from now Commander-in-chief would be appointed as an extraordinary member of the Executive Council.
- 4. Any bill and regulation passed by the Provincial Council could not become law until and unless Governors and the Governor General gave their assent for the bill and regulation. Under this Act the Governor General was empowered to issue ordinances.
- 5. Limited powers of legislation were given to the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras and the Governor General was empowered to create similar councils for the provinces of Frontier and the Punjab.

The biggest drawback of the Act was regarding the selection and the role of the Additional Members. These members did not take part in the discussions and their role was only advisory. The non-official members of the Executive Council were not interested in attending the meetings of the Council, moreover, under this Act they were not bound to attend them either. The Indian members were not eligible to oppose any bill and most often the bills were passed in one sitting without discussion.

The Government of India Act 1858 had introduced significant changes in the manner in which India was governed from England, however, it did not alter in any substantial way the system of government that prevailed in India. Further, in the aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857, there was a general perception in England that it would be very difficult to secure the government in India without the cooperation of Indians in administration. These were the main reasons behind enacting some legislation which could overhaul the system of administration in India.

The Charter act of 1833 had centralized the legislative procedures and deprived the governments of Madras and Bombay of their power of legislation. The idea behind centralizing the law making was secure uniformity of laws in the whole territory of East India Company but this system proved

to be defective. It had only one representative each of the four provinces and it failed to make laws suiting to local conditions. Thus, there was need to allow the provinces to make laws for themselves.

The Act of 1861 was important in the constitutional history because it enabled the Governor-General to associate the people of the land with work of legislation. And by vesting legislative powers in the Governments of Bombay and Madras which ultimately culminated in grant of almost complete internal autonomy to the provinces in the 1937. However, the legislative councils were merely talk shops with no power to criticize the administration or ask for some information. Their scope was fixed in legislation purpose alone; they had no right to move some kind of vote of no confidence. Further, there was no statutory / specific provision for the nomination of Indians. This nomination power of the Viceroy could be used only to placate the princes who could help the British to keep their stronghold. Further, the ordinance making power of the Governor General allowed him to make laws it his own whim. In summary, the Indian Councils Act 1861 failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people of India.

#### The Indian Councils Act 1892:

The Indian Councils Act 1892 was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The main provisions of the bills were as under:

- The number of non-official members was increased, both in Central and Provincial legislatures.
- The universities, zamindars, municipalities, etc. were authorized to recommend members to Provincial Councils. This was the introduction of the Principle of Representation.
- This act allowed the councils to discuss each year's annual financial statement.
- The number of the Additional Members of the Governor General Executive Council was raised up to 16.
- Under this act two-fifth of the members of the council was to be non-official.
- The Additional Members of the Council could ask questions of public interest under this Act.
- The numbers of the Additional Members of the provincial councils were also raised, for Bengal it was 20 and 15 for the Awadh.

It can be stated that this Act was the cautious extension of the Act of 1861. One of the drawbacks of the 1892 Act was that it was impossible for non-official members to express any demands against the official bloc. Even after this Act was passed the Government approved many bills regardless of the fact that the Indian Members strongly opposed them.

The act of 1892 can be said to be a first step towards the beginning of the representative government in India. However such representation was via only indirect elections and there was nothing for a common Indian. The system of indirect election prevented direct contact between the public and the representatives. In many ways, this act also served as a reason behind rise of militant nationalism in coming times. The Congress policy of petition, prayer and protest was seen as a weakness by the British Government. This was evident from the following note by BG Tilak: ".....political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We Think that they can only be obtained by strong Pressure..."

Never the less, the act at least provided the Indians an opportunity to share councils at the highest levels and thus laid down the foundations of the representative government. The number of Indians was increased in the legislative councils. he Act was an important milestone that led to the establishment of parliamentary government at a larger stage.

# **Formation of Indian National Congress**

The Indian National Congress first convened in December 1885, though the idea of an Indian nationalist movement opposed to British rule dated from the 1850s. During its first several decades, the Congress Party passed fairly moderate reform resolutions, though many within the organization were becoming radicalized by the increased poverty that accompanied British imperialism. In the early 20th century, elements within the party began to endorse a policy of swadeshi ("of our own country"), which called on Indians to boycott of imported British goods and promoted Indian-made goods. By 1917 the group's "extremist" Home Rule wing, which was formed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant the previous year, had begun to exert significant influence by appealing to India's diverse social classes.

The movement for India's independence began with the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. It is very difficult to say as to how the idea of establishing an organisation like the National Congress originated.

Before the birth of the National Congress, a number of organisations were formed. But most of them had limited objectives and their influence remained confined to their respective regions.

In order to draw the attention of the British public opinion towards the welfare of the Indians in 1866, Dadabhai Naroji established East Indian Association in London.

Mahadeva Govinda Ranade formed the Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1881 and also the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in 1867 for social reforms and national awakening. In 1885, the Bombay Presidency Association was formed under the leadership of persons like Feroz Shall Mehta, Badruddin Tayabji etc. with the aim of awakening national consciousness.

However, among all these organisations, the Indian Association established under the leadership of Surendra Natli Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose, actively attempted to form a strong public opinion against the unjust policies of the British Government. It opposed the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. It also opposed the reduction of the qualifying age for appearing in the Indian Civil Service Examination from twenty-one to nineteen.

It organised a number of peasant demonstrations demanding reduction of the rate of revenue. With a view of bringing representatives from all over India to a common platform, the Indian Association organised All-India National Conferences twice in 1883 and 1885. But the Indian public opinion could be organised and articulated only with the formation of Indian National Congress as a national forum.

llan Octavian Hume, a retired I.C.S. officer was instrumental in the formation of Indian National Congress. He wrote an open letter to the students of Calcutta university asking at least fifty among them to be ready for making sacrifices for the cause of the motherland. Mr. Hume met Lord Dufferin, the then Governor- General of India and decided to form an association which might function on the model of the opposition party of Britain.

This association could be consulted by the British Government to assess the Indian public opinion on various issues of national interest. Moreover, this all India forum would work as a 'safety valve' for the escape of great forces generated due to the British rule in India. Hume invited eminent Indians from different parts of the country to meet at Poona from 25th to 28th December 1885. But the venue of the meeting was shifted to Bombay as Poona became infected with Cholera.

The first session of the All India Congress began on 28th December 1885 at Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College. Eminent barrister of Calcutta, Mr. Woomesh Chandra Banerjee presided over it. Seventy two invited delegates from different parts of India assembled in this first session. Mr. Hume was elected as the first general secretary of the Indian National Congress. Nine resolutions were passed in this first session.

Though Indian National Congress made a very humble beginning, yet it gradually developed into a powerful organisation. With its birth, the struggle for India's liberation was started in an organised manner. Mahatma Gandhi subsequently 'made it a mass organisation from a class organisation of few urban educated middle class people.

It gave representation to the people of different parts of India belonging to different walks of life. National Congress attempted to fulfill their hope and aspirations. India could be liberated from the British colonial rule by starting a non-violent movement under the banner of National Congress.

The initial aims and objectives of the congress, were

1. To flourish solidarity and friendship amongst the people of India.

- 2. To eradicate all the prevailing cast, creed, race or province related prejudices from the country.
- 3. To strengthen the feelings of National unity.
- 4. Consideration of the opinions of educated classes on the issues related to the problems of society.
- 5. To formulate guidelines for future plan of action in the public interest.

Moreover, the President thanked the British for their support and assured that the educated Indians were thoroughly loyal and consistent well wishers of the Government.

He stated that the main purpose of the Congress was to represent the views of the Indians to the ruling authorities. The demands of the organization were passed in the form of four resolutions.

#### It included:

- 1. Demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission for dealing in Indian affairs, in which Indians would have their representation.
- 2. A resolution on the foreign policy which condemned the annexation of Upper Burma was also moved.
- 3. Demand for the abolition of the Indian Council of the Secretary of State of India was made. It was based on the belief that British were just and fair, so they demanded that the Secretary of State should be responsible directly to the British Parliament.
- 4. Another resolution was also moved appointment of Indians to higher posts. A demand to hold the Civil Service Examination, simultaneously, in Britain and India was made and so was the need for reduction of expenditure on the army highlighted.

Although, the early sessions of the Congress, by and large, limited its activities only to debates, but the Government that initially patronized this organization, found it to have outgrow their plans and the patronage was soon withdrawn.

It came to be called as the 'factory of sedition' in a few years and later Lord Dufferin himself tried to term it as a body representing 'microscopic minority' of India's population.

In the first two decades after its formation, the Congress was dominated by a group of leaders who came to be known as the 'Moderates'. They favoured orderly progress and constitutional agitation. But by 1907, a rival group, the 'Extremists', who adopted a more aggressive approach towards British rule, also came into prominence.

Here are 12 facts about the Indian National Congress you must know:

1. In December 1884, Allan Octavian Hume presided over a private meeting with 17 men after a Theosophical convention in Madras. The idea of forming the Indian National Congress was conceived in this meeting.

- 2. At the time of foundation, the party's objective was to obtain a greater participation for educated Indians in the government and to create a forum where political dialogues among educated Indians and the British Raj could be arranged.
- 3. The first meeting of the Congress was scheduled to take place at Poona (now Pune). However, due to a cholera outbreak, the event was shifted to Bombay (now Mumbai). Hume had to get the approval of the then Viceroy Lord Duffrin to hold the meeting.
- 4. Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee also known as Umesh Chandra Banerjee was elected as the first president of the first meeting of the Congress that included 72 other delegates.
- 5. Until 1905, Congress did not have much public support. After Lord Curzon's declaration of the Partition of Bengal, senior Congress leaders Surendranath Banerjee and Sir Henry Cotton broke the political barriers and made the party instrumental in the Swadeshi movement.
- 6. After the return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa in 1914, the Congress elected him as the president in 1921. By the end of the First World War in 1919, Gandhi became the spiritual leader and icon of the party.
- 7. The Congress party played a pivotal role in the Indian freedom movement. With over 15 million members and 70 million participants, the party eventually ousted the imperial colonisers from India.
- 8. Even after the Independence, the Congress party has ruled over Indian politics. In the 15 general elections since independence, the Congress has won on six occasions and has led the ruling coalition another four times.
- 9. The Congress party is the oldest ruling party of free India. The party has led the central government for 49 years.
- 10. Seven Indian Prime Ministers have been elected from the party and six others had been former members. Jawaharlal Nehru, Gulzarilal Nanda, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, P V Narsimha Rao and Manmohan Singh were active members of the party during their prime ministerial tenure. On the other hand, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, V P Singh, Chandra Sekhar, H D Deve Gowda, I K Gujral had been members of the Congress before their appointment.
- 11. Sonia Gandhi is the longest-serving president of the party till date. She joined the party as a primary member at the 1997 plenary session and was elected president in 1998.
- 12. Rahul Gandhi is the current president of INC.

# **Partition of Bengal**

# **Background**

The Bengal Presidency encompassed Bengal, Bihar, parts of Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Assam With a population of 78.5 million it was British India's largest province For decades British officialdom had maintained that the huge size created difficulties in effective management and had caused neglect of the poorer eastern region The idea of the partition had been brought up only for administrative reasons Therefore Curzon planned to split Orissa and Bihar and join fifteen eastern districts of Bengal with Assam. The eastern province held a population of 31 million, most of which was Muslim, with its centre at Dhaka Once the Partition was completed Curzon pointed out that he thought of the new province as Muslim Lord Curzon's intention was to divide Bengalis, not Hindus from Muslims The Western districts formed the other province with Orissa and Bihar The union of western Bengal with Orissa and Bihar reduced the speakers of the Bengali language to a minority Muslims led by the Nawab Sallimullah of Dhaka supported the partition and Hindus opposed it.

## **Partition**

The middle class of Bengal saw this as the rupture of their dear motherland as well as a tactic to diminish their authority In the six-month period before the partition was to be effected the Congress arranged meetings where petitions against the partition were collected and given to impassive authorities. Surendranath Banerjee admitted that the petitions were ineffective and as the date for the partition drew closer began advocating tougher approaches such as boycotting British goods. He preferred to label this move as "swadeshi" instead of boycott. The boycott was led by the moderates but minor rebel groups also sprouted under its cause

Banerjee believed that other targets ought to be included. Government schools were spurned and on 16 October 1905, the day of partition, schools and shops were blockaded. The demonstrators were cleared off by units of the police and army. This was followed by violent confrontations, due to which the older leadership in the Congress became anxious and convinced the younger Congress members to stop boycotting the schools. The president of the Congress, G.K. Gokhale, Banerji and others stopped supporting the boycott when they found that John Morley had been appointed as Secretary of State for India. Believing that he would sympathise with the Indian middle class they trusted him and anticipated the reversal of the partition through his intervention.

## **Political crisis**

The partition triggered radical nationalism. Bengali Hindus were upset with their minority status in the new province. They began an angry agitation, featuring terrorism, as younger members adopted the use of bombings, shooting and assassinations in a blend of religious and political feelings. Vande Mataram (meaning 'hail the mother'), praising the goddess who represented India, Bengal and Kali, was a rallying cry. Bengal was interpreted as the goddess which had been victimised by the British. Although there were prominent Muslim speakers the Muslims were indifferent to the movement. The British would have been spared from many complications had they not split Bengal. With each case of suppression, terrorism increased in Bengal. Indian nationalism would have been more liberal in the absence of this partition.

Nationalists all over India supported the Bengali cause and were shocked at the British disregard for opinion and ostensible divide and rule strategy. The protest spread to Bombay, Poona and Punjab. Lord Curzon had believed that the Congress was no longer an effective force but provided it with a cause to rally the public around and gain fresh strength from. The partition also caused embarrassment to the Indian National Congress. Gokhale had earlier met prominent British Liberals, hoping to obtain constitutional reforms for India. The radicalisation of Indian nationalism because of the partition would drastically lower the chances for the reforms. However, Gokhale successfully steered the more moderate approach in a Congress meeting and gained support for continuing talks with the government. In 1906 Gokhale again went to London to hold talks with Morley about the potential constitutional reforms. While the anticipation of the liberal nationalists increased in 1906 so did tensions in India. The moderates were challenged by the Congress meeting in Calcutta, which was in the middle of the radicalised Bengal. The moderates countered this problem by bringing Dadabhai Naoroji to the meeting. He defended the moderates in the Calcutta session and thus the unity of the Congress was maintained. The 1907 Congress was to be held at Nagpur. The moderates were worried that the extremists would dominate the Nagpur session. The venue was shifted to the extremist free Surat. The resentful extremists flocked to the Surat meeting. There was an uproar and both factions held separate meetings. The extremists had Aurobindo and Tilak as leaders. They were isolated while the Congress was under the control of the moderates. The 1908 Congress Constitution formed the All-India Congress Committee, made up of elected members. Thronging the meetings would no longer work for the extremists.

#### **Re-unification**

The authorities not able to end the protest, assented to reversing the partition and did so in 1911. King George announced in December 1911 that eastern Bengal would be assimilated into the Bengal Presidency. Districts where Bengali was spoken were once again unified, and Assam, Bihar and Orissa were separated. The capital was shifted to New Delhi, clearly intended to provide the British Empire with a stronger base. Muslims of Bengal were shocked because they had seen the Muslim majority eastern Bengal as an indicator of the government's enthusiasm for protecting

Muslim interests. They saw this as the government compromising Muslim interests for Hindu protests and administrative ease.

The partition had not initially been supported by Muslim leaders. After the Muslim majority province of Eastern Bengal and Assam had been created prominent Muslims started seeing it as advantageous. Muslims, especially in Eastern Bengal, had been backward in the period of United Bengal. The Hindu protest against the partition was seen as interference in a Muslim province. With the move of the capital to a Mughal site, the British tried to satisfy Bengali Muslims who were disappointed with losing hold of eastern Bengal.

#### **Aftermath**

The uproar that had greeted Curzon's contentious move of splitting Bengal, as well as the emergence of the 'Extremist' faction in the Congress, became the final motive for separatist Muslim politics. In 1909, separate elections were established for Muslims and Hindus. Before this, many members of both communities had advocated national solidarity of all Bengalis. With separate electorates, distinctive political communities developed, with their own political agendas. Muslims, too, dominated the Legislature, due to their overall numerical strength of roughly twenty two to twenty eight million. Nationally, Hindus and Muslims began to demand the creation of two independent states, one to be formed in majority Hindu and one in majority Muslim areas.

In 1947, Bengal was partitioned for the second time, solely on religious grounds, as part of the Partition of India following the formation of the nations India and Pakistan. In 1955, East Bengal became East Pakistan, and in 1971 became the independent state of Bangladesh.

# **Formation of Muslim League**

After the creation of the Indian national Congress and its time as a 'representative' party for the people of the Indian sub-continent, there was felt a need to reassess its claims at unbiased representation. From the very start of its existence the Congress had shown clear its interest to safeguard the rights of Hindus, alone. Some of the Congress leaders adopted a revolutionary policy to establish Hindu Raj in the sub-continent under the guise of a national movement.

The prediction of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Soon proved to be fact that, "Hindus and Muslims are two different nations who have different ideologies." The Muslims of India were greatly

disappointed by the anti-Muslim stance that the Congress seemed to have adopted. The events following the partition of Bengal and Urdu-Hindu controversy strengthened the desire of the Muslims to organize themselves politically as separate community. The birth of All India Muslim League at Dacca on 30th December 1906 came as an expression of that desire.

Following are the reasons for the establishment of Muslim league.

- 1. Indifferent Attitude of the Congress towards Muslims: All India National Congress was a predominantly Hindu body. Its interests were always at odds ends to those of the Muslims. By 1906, Muslim leaders were convinced that they must have their own party which may speak for the community on all important occasions.
- 2. Educational and Economic Backwardness: Muslims had lagged far behind from the Hindus in education and economic progress. Educational and economic conditions could only be up graded by establishing a separate Muslims organization that could represent the wishes of the Muslims.
- 3. Urdu-Hindi Controversy: The Urdu-Hindu controversy began with the demand of Hindus to replace Urdu by Hindi as official language in Deva Nagari Script. Sir Anthony Macdonal, the then Governor of UP ousted Urdu from public offices. Congress clearly sided with Hindi and supported the movement against Urdu and there was no other political party to support Urdu. Thus, the need of formation of a Muslim political party was felt severely.
- 4. The Evolution of Minto Marley Reforms: The turning point came in the summer of 1906 during John Morley's budget speech, in which he hinted of constitutional reforms. At that time Muslims did not have a political platform to demand their share. It was reasserted that they wanted a separate political platform.
- 5. The Success of Simla Deputation: Minto offered fullest sympathy to the Muslim demands. The success of Deputation compelled the Muslims to have a separate political association of their own.
- 6. To Save Muslim Entity: The belief uttered by sir Syed Ahmed Khan that the Muslims were somehow a separate entity. The Muslims did not believe that Hindus and Muslims formed one nation. They were different by religion, history, languages and civilization. It became essential for Muslims to establish a political party of their own.

A resolution to form the All India Muslim League was passed by Nawab Salimullah Khan and was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Moulana Zafar Ali. The resolution was passed by All India Educational Conference on 30th December 1906. A committee was formed to prepare its draft constitution. Sir Agha Khan was appointed as President and Syed Hassan Balgrami was appointed as secretary, while Nawab Mohsim-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were made joint secretaries with six Vice- Presidents, a Central Committee with forty

Members was also constituted. In this way Muslim league was established and become the sole representative of Muslims.

Knowing the circumstances which led to the formation of Muslim league was not difficult to make out what it aimed to. However, the Muslim league laid the following points as its objectives.

- 1. To create among Muslims the feelings of loyalty towards British Government and to remove misconception and suspicious.
- 2. To Safeguard the political rights of the Muslims and to bring them into the notice of the Government.
- 3. To prevent among the Muslims, the rise of prejudicial feelings against the other communities of India.

The first session of all India Muslim league was held at Karachi on 29th December, 1907 and was presided over by Adamji Peer Bhai.

It was being felt from the beginning that the All India Muslim League would not achieve considerable success without winning the British Public opinion to its side. Therefore, Syed Ameer Ali organized the branch of Muslim league at London. The inaugural meeting was held on 6th May 1908, at London Caxton Hall. It was participated by the Muslim and those British people who favoured their view point.

There come into being a political body which was to play a decisive role in the destiny of the Muslim peoples of the Indian sub-continent. The day the Muslim delegation won recognition of the demand of separate electorate, the course of the Muslim freedom struggle was charted. It was the beginning of the growth of Muslim national consciousness. It farmed visible institutional expression in the form of Muslim League which after a forty (40) years struggle was to achieve for the Muslims the culmination of their national aspiration, Muslim League became a mass movement of the Muslims and succeeded in achieving Pakistan in 1974. Actually the new breed of leadership like Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was instrumental in its metamorphosis. After the acceptance of the demand of separate representation in the Minto Morely reforms, it was common sense to have political party to fight elections for Muslim representation. Whatever may have been the effects of Muslim league, but it made clear that the interests of Muslims must be regarded completely separate from those of the Hindus. Any fusion of both the communities in future was not possible. It steered the ship of Muslim destiny safely through of Political chaos and turmoil to the safer harbour of Pakistan.

# Minto - Morley Reforms

Government of India Act of 1909, known as Morley-Minto Reforms, allowed Indians to take part in legislative elections.

Government of India Act of 1909 is also known as Morley- Minto Reforms. After Lord Curzon's partitioning of Bengal, terrorism invoked in the land of Bengal and it was an absolute necessity to restore stability of the British Raj. So in order to crack down the terrorist act in Bengal, John Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State for India and The Earl of Minto, the Conservative Governor General of India, together came to a common opinion that a dramatic step was required. This Act also gave security to the loyal followers of Indian upper classes and upcoming westernized section of the population.

They together produced the Indian council act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) though the reforms did not meet the demands of Indian National Congress of the system of government obtaining in Self-Governing British Colonies.

By 1909, there was seen a great deal of political consciousness amongst the Indians. Similarly, political parties like Indian National Congress and All Indian Muslim League had emerged. By then, the British were much influenced and affected by these political parties. As previous reforms and acts did not meet the political aspirations of all the Indians, the British realized that in order to introduce new reforms to impoverish the grievances of the Indians they needed to cater to these two political parties. Besides this, there were also other factors which led to the formation of Minto-Morley Reforms. In this context, the instance is the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japan War of 1904-5 can be cited as an example. This was a ray of hope for Indians that India could also become a great power.

On the other hand, the Liberal Party came to power in Britain in 1906, and that changed the political atmosphere. The Liberal Party did not want to pursue the autocratic policies of the Conservative Party. Such political changes in Britain and as well as in India, which altered the public opinion in both countries.

The importance of the Government of India Act 1909 is as follows:

The law allowed the Indians to take part in the election of the various legislative councils in India for the first time. The majority of this council was appointed by British Government. And also the constituency was limited to specific classes of Indian nationals.

The introduction of the electoral from Indians was though against the intent of Morley, but could effectively establish the groundwork for a parliamentary system. Burke and Quraishi remarked: "To Lord Curzons apprehension that the new Councils could become parliamentary bodies in miniature, Morley vehemently replied that, if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have

nothing at all to do with it. But he had already confessed in a letter to Minto in June 1906 that while it was inconceivable to adapt English political institutions to thenations who inhabit India...the spirit of English institutions is a different thing and it is a thing that we cannot escape, even if we wished...because the British constituencies are the masters, and they will assuredly insist...all parties alike...on the spirit of their own political system being applied to India.He never got down to explaining how the spirit of the British system of government could be achieved without its body."

Muslim leaders of India demanded the laws to be conditioned and they would have to face Hindu majority and expressed serious concern and protested against the law. They demanded the law to be first past the post` type.

As a result of this the minority Muslim community was allotted reserved seats in Municipal and District Boards, in the Provincial Councils and in the Imperial Legislature.

The number of reserved seat was more than their percentage in the relative population (twenty five percent of total Indian population).

Only Muslims should vote for Muslim candidates (Separate Electorate).

These concessions for Muslim community brought about a constant conflict during the years 1909-47. British rulers generally encouraged communal difference through these reserved seats, as the Muslim candidates did not have to appeal for Hindu votes and vice versa. As later on British Government transferred more powers to Indian politicians through the acts of 1919 and 1935, this Hindu-Muslim divisibility increased furthermore which hindered the natural harmony that prevailed in India before.

Salient Features of Minto-Morley Reforms:

The number of members of legislative council of Governor General and the Governors of various provinces was increased.

The powers of Members of Legislative were increased. They could now criticize the actions of the executive, ask questions and even supplementary questions, and express their views by moving resolutions. Matters of public interest were also discussed in the Legislative Council.

The Indians were included in the councils, where ultimate decisions were made, of the India Secretory and Viceroy. Before these reforms they were excluded from such councils. In fact, a type of consultative body was formed.

For the first time, the demand for a separate electorate was accepted. A constitutional recognition of Separate Electorate was a great achievement for the Muslims. Muslims could now have their own representative members at the Legislative Councils. They were to be elected by Muslims alone.

The Indians were not satisfied with these reforms. Although strict qualifications of property and education were imposed on franchise. Consequently, the number of voters was restricted. Moreover, a system of election was indirect. The members of local bodies were elected by the people who, in turn, were to elect members of electoral colleges. The members of electoral colleges were to elect members of Provincial Legislature who, in turn, were to elect members of Imperial Legislature.

In order to win the support of maximum factions of the society, the Government wanted to give special representation to the loyalist classes. In this context, a special representation was given to landlords, chambers of commerce and other influential. The official majority in the Imperial Council was maintained. While the non-official majorities in the Provincial Council were nullified, as they included nominated members. Though, parliamentary reforms were introduced, there was no provision of responsibility.

Further, S.P. Sinha, an Indian, was included in the Viceroy's Executive Council. However, this act was bitterly criticized by the Muslims, for they had previously demanded that two Indian members including one Muslim should be included in the Council. The Government promised to appoint Muslim the next time. After Sinha's resignation, Sayed Ali Imam was appointed as a Member of the Executive Council.

The Minto-Morley Reforms drew a gloomy picture. Though, this act appeased some of the Indians, the majority was not satisfied with it. The result was widespread criticism of the Government. As a matter of fact, the Indian National Congress was divided into two factions i.e. the "moderate," which was led by G.K. Gokhale and the "extremist," which was led by B.G. Tilak. The moderate faction welcomed the Reforms. In the Imperial Legislative Council, Gokhale said, "My Lord, I sincerely believed that you and Lord Morley have saved the country from anarchy and chaos". On other hand, the extremist faction rejected the act of 1909. They were not in the favor of the Reforms. It was because of its contradiction to Lord Morley's dispatch dated November 27, 1908. On the contrary, the All India Muslim League welcomed the council act of 1909. The League passed a resolution, which offered cooperation with the government for the success of the Reforms, in the Delhi session on 1910.

In spite of all its demerits and flaws, the Reforms contributed and offered space for political development. The inclusion of the Indians in Councils was a great experience for the Indians. They became part of Legislative Councils. They could move resolutions, discuss Bills elaborately, and approved Bills. In this context, the instances are; 24 resolutions were accepted out of 168 in the Imperial Legislative Council, and 30 non-official amendments were presented in the Indian Factories Bill and 7 were approved. Further, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as a private member, also

presented a Bill, Waqf-alal-Aulad, which was passed by the Council. In the constitutional evolution of India, the Act of 1909 was a decided step and opened the door for real politics.

# The period of co-operation between AIML and AINC

Immediately after his return from England, Jinnah presided over the Anjuman-i-Islam meeting on the evening of Saturday, 20th December 1913. This was a "Public meeting of the Mahomendans of Bombay" to welcome Mr. Nazir Hasan and Mr. (late Maulana) Mahomed Ali on their return from England, this being the first public meeting presided over by him.

Earlier, Jinnah had been addressing the meetings as representative of the Mahomedans of Bombay, or in his individual capacity as a nationalist like other leaders of the time. In December 1910 he had even read an address on behalf of Bombay Muslims to congratulate Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim on the conferment of baronetsy on him.

Though Jinnah had been pleading for the rights of Hindus and Muslims and for the projection of popular will of the Indian masses, still he could not make a comprehensive statement as he did in his address in December 1913. This was most probably because he had now almost succeeded in making the Indian National Congress (INC) and the All-India Muslim League (AIML) accept a common goal, and had also become member of both these organizations. All these factors were compelling him to take the initiative which he did from the platform of the association of the Muslims (Anjuman-i-Islam) with which he had been actively associated since 1897. A "Statement" issued on this day was a sort of manifesto of the man who was perceptibly giving a new direction to

Giving a clarion call to the Government, he said that "a stage" in the national politics had been reached when the Government was bound "to consult the people and to take them into their confidence before they adopted a particular measure or policy.

The Government was, however, requested by him to do this "on the lines of partnership between the England and Indians" on the basis of "intelligent agreement" between the two. For this reason he desired that the Government should give due-respect to and "consider the opinion of the people and tolerate their criticism." The criticism of the people should not be termed as "sedition" or "disloyalty." The Government approach must be based on "truth and reason."

Under his leadership, the Muslims had become united. There was "no such thing" as "split" amongst them. "There is" he added, "no such thing as two parties of the young and the old." Clarifying it further he said:

I know that some people would like very much to see that there were such a thing as "Split" but let us hope that providence will disappoint them. I make bold to say that the Mussalman community was never more united or at one on all the fundamental questions of policy and principles than it is today. Difference of details there are and will be as you find all over the world amongst the most highly organized nations. Besides, it will be a very unique community indeed consisting of 70 millions of people if there were no such difference.

These words about Muslim community reveal the existence of many things in the Quaid's mind; most important of all was the dominating desire to unite the Muslims of the sub-continent on one platform so that he could accomplish their goal. As we see later in 1940s, it was after uniting the Muslims of the sub-continent belonging to different sects and regions that he was able to make them a force to be reckoned with. This Muslim unity under his unique leadership later became the basis for the creation of Pakistan.

As to future policy of the INC and the AIML, Jinnah called upon the two "most representative organizations in the country" to consider jointly the issues of common concern like that of the Press Act.

But in their deliberations he advised that "moderation and sobriety "should be the guiding principles for "our public utterances." It is sobriety that lends dignity and strength to a good cause; too strong a language and rashness spoils a really good cause." He reminded "every right-minded citizen" of his "duty to criticise the Government if he was reasonably convinced that his stand was correct. Emphasizing more on the present and the future rather than the past, Jinnah said that "salvation of India lies in the true union of the people and her onward march of progress depends upon the constitutional and constructive methods." This was the spirit that motivated him to create a "harmonious union" between the Muslims and the Hindus for the "common good of the country. "This is the problem," he argued, "of all problems that India wants a statesman to solve and when that is solved, true advance or real progress can be achieved."

Jinnah advanced these views as a foremost representative of the progressive Moderate group.

He wanted to unite not only the Muslims and the Hindus, but also other sections of the Indian population. The basis of his national unity was equality without consideration of majority or minority. This was with the aim to create a united front against the Government. By creating a genuine opposition for healthy criticism of the Government he wanted to prepare his people for self-government, the ideal of both the INC and the AIML.

His goal was self-government suitable to India wherein the Muslim position could particularly be better adjusted without hampering the cause of other communities. Jinnah's stand was accepted by both the parties. After acceptance of his common goal by the INC and AIML he struggled hard to achieve a constitutional agreement between the Muslims and the Hindus which he finally accomplished in December 1916 in the shape of Lucknow Pact. But it was not an easy task as he had to pass through many ordeals in his personal, legal and public life.

The way Jinnah piloted his India Council Reform Resolution through the INC and AIML in December 1913 did suggest to him the idea of a farsighted "statesman." May be he himself was trying to attain that distinction.

He was struggling to take concrete steps both for unity and for reforming the system of Government of India. After this, he went to England as a spokesman of the delegation.

Though his mission failed to achieve the desired result, he could yet galvanize the forces on his return to India on the start of World War I in August 1914.

The biggest hinderance to his unity efforts was the non-holding of the All India Muslim League session during the war on the initiative of some "wire-pullers" and "Jouhukams" of the Government.

When he learnt about this, he daringly took an initiative for calling the next League session at Bombay.

This was opposed by Cassim Mihta, Rafiuddin and some others on the prompting of provincial Government.

Almost all through 1915 Jinnah faced this challenge and it was by his skilful handling of the situation that he not only made the AIML Council agree to his proposal but the Bombay Governor was also compelled to arrange a peaceful patch-up between Jinnah and his opponents, making the AIML session possible in Bombay in December 1915, where Congress was also meeting.

At these simultaneous sessions of the two organizations for the first time since their inception some more challenges cropped up for Jinnah. There were three famous suits in 1916 at Bombay and Poona courts. The first case related to the Britions, a newspaper issued from Bombay,

The second to sedition charges against Tilak,

Tthe third was of alleged charges of rigging against Jinnah for his election to the Imperial Legislative Council in June 1916.

Jinnah successfully defended the popular cause and was able to convince the Court of his viewpoint that Opposition had the right to exist in India as it existed in England.

These cases, as will be seen presently, revealed some scintillating aspects of Jinnah's personality.

His involvement in politics did not force him to give up his legal practice. He was equally engaged in his law activities because of his popularity at the Bombay courts as an expert in constitutional and criminal laws. He was one of the busiest men in India struggling hard to maintain his independence of views so that he could criticize every unreasonable act of Government. As such he was behaving himself as an opposition leader in India, but within the bounds of constitutionalism.

Gandhi's arrival in Bombay on 9th January 191525 was duly welcomed by Jinnah who wanted to enlist his services for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.26 It was because of his popularity that Jinnah was invited to preside over a garden party given by the Gurjar Sabha "an association of Gurjar (Gujar) community, arranged to 'welcome' Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi on 13th January."27 In his presidential address, Jinnah "welcomed" Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi not only on behalf of Bombay but on behalf of "the whole of India." Jinnah was in deed qualified to say so.

He impressed upon Gandhi that the problem of all problems was "how to bring about unanimity and cooperation between the two communities so that the demands of India may be made absolutely unanimously". Before this he desired:

"It was that frame of mind, that state, that condition which they had to bring about between the two communities, when most of their problems, he had no doubt, would be easily solved." Jinnah even said: "Undoubtedly he (Gandhi)28 would not only become a worthy ornament but also a real worker whose equals there were very few," a remark widely hailed by the audience, which was largely Hindu.29 Gandhi, however, was more circuitic in his remarks. He took the plea that he would "study all the Indian questions - from "his own point of view," because Gokhale had advised him to study the situation for at least one year before his entry into politics. Throughout his speech Gandhi remained noncommittal. However, he thanked Jinnah for presiding over "a Hindu gathering."30 Although Gandhi was hesitant, yet he could see no other way to rise into eminence except by following Gokhale, Jinnah and other moderate leaders. This was also because Tilak had come round to the moderate line of action in politics. Gandhi co-operated with all of them until he attained prominence in 1920. By this time, Gandhi was able to win approbation from the British Government through the good offices of Gokhale, who "exerted the full weight of his prestige and influence upon the Viceroy, Lord Harding (1858-1944), to bring the Government of India solidly behind Gandhi."31 This was the time when the British Government were feeling very much concerned about Jinnah and they were trying hard to keep the AIML away from the INC.

On this occasion, the influential leaders were endeavoring to bring about a "compromise between Tilak and Gokhale so that the two extremists, now called 'Nationalists', could be united with the Moderates. As no final agreement could be achieved between the two, both did not participate in the Congress meeting. Correspondence between them, however, continued."32 Although, no documentary evidence was available to the present writer, certain matters did nevertheless suggest that Jinnah played a role for rapprochement between Gokhale and Tilak. The very fact that he did not attend the Madras Congress suggests his involvement in Bombay because of these engagements. The failing health of Gokhale was another reason which, perhaps, compelled Jinnah, in his own words, to engage himself in "many discussions with Mr. Gokhale" on the point of evolving a common constitutional formula around which all the political forces in India could be united.33 Both Gokhale and Jinnah took "notes at the time" so that in their public utterances they could use the "same expressions and same language" for the "agreed" and "common formula."34 It was after his discussion with Jinnah, the Aga Khan and Pherozeshah Mehta that Gokhale evolved his scheme of constitutional reforms, historically known as Gokhale's Political Testament" which was finalized in a penciled draft towards the close of latter's death' on 19th February 1915.35 Naturally, the aga Khan and Mehta had its copies. Its copies were also sent to Lord Willingdon, the Bombay Governor. Lord Harding, the Viceroy, and Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India.36 After Mehta's death on 5th November 1915, there were only two public leaders with the exception of Srinivasa Sastri, President of Servants of India Society-an organization founded by Gokhale in 1905 – who possessed this document.37 It was not made public until August 1917 when the Aga Khan released this document to the press from London with the official permission.38

The "Gokhale Scheme," as Jinnah used the phrase,39 was a scheme of "provincial autonomy" in its "internal administration" by which the Governor of each province was to be appointed from England from amongst men of public service. The Governor who to have a cabinet of six members (three Indians plus three Europeans) with the portfolios of (1) Home (including Law and Justice); (2) Finance; (3) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works; (4) Education; (5) Local Self Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief); and (6) Industries and Commerce. These executive councilors were to be men of ability on the basis of merit. The local legislative councils were to consist of members between 75 and 100 with "special representation to Mahomedans." Only experts were to be nominated, while four-fifths of members were to be elected by different constituencies. The relations between the executive Government and the legislative councils were proposed to be "similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany", thus executive made responsible to the legislature. The services were to be provincialzed. The Council of the Secretary of State was to be abolished. With the grant of provincial autonomy, the Viceroy and his Executive Council were to have "nominal control exercised on very rare occasions". In place of many executive councilors of the Viceroy, the "Testament" suggested that only one councilor with portfolio of Interior should also look after the matters of Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. The other executive councilors were to look after Finance, Law, Defence, Communications and Foreign Relations. The Central legislature was to consist of at least 100 members with powers of budget and financial control being independent of the Secretary of State whose Council was to be abolished.40

Having achieved a sort of constitutional agreement amongst the leaders of a group, Jinnah endeavored to unite all the forces around this formula, a fact least known to the vast majority of leaders before August 1917. Against this background alone, Gokhale's death meant a great loss for Jinnah who, on 5th March 1915, moved a resolution for the construction of a Gokhale memorial at a meeting presided over by the Bombay Governor, Lord Willingdon,41 and addressed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Claude Hill, Sir John Heaton, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, H.A. Wadia, N.M. Gokuldas.42 M. A. Jinnah in his speech mentioned a number of factors that brought him and Gokhale together. He considered Gokhale's death as an "irreparable" loss. He said that he considered it a matter of "pride" and "pleasure" to "listen" to Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council and as a colleague he "often" followed "his lead."43 It was to keep his memory alive that he moved a resolution for raising a "suitable memorial or memorials to commemorate the life and great work of Mr. Gokhale" for which a Committee "to collect subscriptions and to take all necessary measures in that behalf" was also proposed.44 His proposal was supported by Dr. Stanley Reed and J.B. Petit. It was carried unanimously.45 Jinnah's "deep sorrow and grief' was also recorded at Gokhale's death anniversary. Jinnah was one of the early contributors to the memorial fund and paid (five hundred rupees).46 These expressions of devotion

to Gokhale further strengthened the feeling of unity not only amongst the "Nationalists" and the "Moderates" but also among the Hindus and the Muslims.47

At the three-day session of the AIML, which began on 3th December 1915, Jinnah established his position well. The session was presided over by Mazhar-ul-Haq, a close associate of Jinnah both in congress and League. Being held under the most difficult circumstances, a skilful handling of the situation by Jinnah saved the session from a major mishap. Some disturbances did, however, occur, yet the session could proceed to its goal of appointing a Committee on a resolution by Jinnah which was carried unanimously. Representatives from all the provinces were included in this Committee of 71 Muslim Leaders. It was constituted "to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms" and "to confer with political and other organizations or committees" on condition that in the formulation of scheme of reforms it shall give due "regard" to the "needs and interests of the Musalmans of India.48 The first day of the session passed peacefully and it was with rapt attention that the presidential address was heard by the audience which included both the Muslims and Hindus. On the second day after four resolutions had been passed, which also included on of the Muslims Loyalty to the British Crown, Jinnah was asked to move his resolution of appointment of a committee to confer with other political parties and for the aforesaid purpose. But it was objected to by Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1878-1951) who desired, with the backing of disgruntled elements in the League, that the speaker should deliver his speech in Urdu and not in English. They even charged: "This is not a meeting of Mahomedans. This is Congress. They want to join the Congress. Why should they speak in English."49 When the situation went out of control president asked Jinnah to handle the situation. Jinnah first asked the Police Commissioner, who was already standing just ouside the pandal with a large police force, to control the situation, but the Commissioner showed his inability to help Jinnah. Seeing that the Police Commissioner was bent upon clearing the whole pandal on this pretext, Jinnah conceded. Thus the pandal was cleared of all the participants by the police. 50 When the adjourned session was held next day on 1st January 1916 at the Taj Mahal Hote, Jinnah explained the whole situation to the participating delegates on the President's request.51 On this day also Jinnah dominated the League proceedings. After he had moved his resolution, Mohani moved his "verbal amendment" substituting words "a scheme of self-government and steps leading to self-government" for "a scheme of reforms." The second amendment moved by Nazimuddin required the committee to frame a scheme of reforms "keeping in view the objects of the League." When Jinnah, who as a constitution expert was more qualified to speak, asked these two gentlement "not to press" their amendments, they agreed to withdraw them. Mohani said jokingly that "he had only moved his (amendment) to assert his right of moving amendment." The remark was widely hailed by the delegates.52 As Jinnah desired, the resolution was carried "unanimously." 53 He was able to exert his position in another resolution (Resolution VI) moved by Syed Alay Nabi for the extension of "the principle of communal representation" to "all self-governing public bodies." It was objected to by Mohani followed by A.M. Khawaja's motion for "deferring consideration of this question" because, as they argued, the resolution was against the spirit of the agreement reached between the two parties in the presence of Bombay Governor. The way Jinnah came in support of this resolution, which was against his "personal

views", shows that Hinnah wanted to go to the Congress Committee with all the demands of the Muslim community. This was necessary, as he himself revealed, because "liberty should be preserved to discuss the question." These two amendments were also "withdrawn" on Jinnah's insistence and the resolution was "carried by a majority" vote.54 At the end of session it also openly recognized that it was with the assistance of Jinnah that this session could meet. The President personally expressed "a deep debt of gratitude" to Jinnah and declared that it was with the "exertions" of Jinnah that "they could" meet in Bombay.55 Addressing direct to Jinnah, the President said: "Mr. Jinnah, we the Mussalmans of India thank you" – a remark acclaimed by "loud" and "continued" cheers by the audience.56 This was duly complemented by the BC editorial entitled "the Unity of the League."57

The three-day Congress session, starting on 27th December 1915, and presided over by S.P. Sinha, also carried its business in accordance with the planning of Jinnah. On a motion by Banerjea, a friend of Jinnah, seconded by Mrs. Annie Besant and supported by six other leaders a resolution authorized the All-India Congress Committee (AICC):

"To frame a scheme of reforms and a programme of continuous work, educative propaganda, having regard to the principles embodied in this resolution and further authorizes the said Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Muslim League for the same purpose and to take further measure as may be necessary."58

Sinha in his presidential address termed self-government "a government of the people, for the people and by the people," a definition in which Jinnah equally believed. The President demanded a "frank and full statement of government policy" in respect of self-government. Though Jinnah did not participate in the deliberations of the Congress, still the fact that he welcomed Sinha at the railway station as the Vice-Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee with Wacha, a Parsi, as the Chairman, and also that he was a member of the Subjects Committee59, does suggest that almost all the resolutions passed by the Congress were in line with Jinnah's views which desired to promote genuine feelings of co-operation between the Hindus and the Muslims and other communities. To promote such feelings "the Congress volunteers and the Muslims League volunteers arrived at a joint session and worked shoulder to shoulder. A joint dinner was arranged by some of the younger men."60 The weeklong activities of the League and the Congress were rightly termed as a "National Week."61 Thus a stage was set for a "joint and concerted action."62

Jinnah had not only a close political relationship with Mazhar-ul-Haq, President of the Bombay League session, but was also associated with Sinha, President of the Bombay Congress. Both were given an ovatious welcome by Jinnah on their arrival at the Bombay railway station.

Although the stage for unity had been set by making the two "most representative organizations, in the words of Jinnah, meet at one place and appointment of their respective committees to frame a joint scheme of reforms, yet the year to come was to pose a bigger challenge. Amongst the galaxy of leaders working for the "common" objective. Jinnah's part was almost decisive. He had to withstand the pressures with much more determination than many of his

contemporaries. He had not only to face the Government in political battles as before, his legal acumen in defence of India's joint struggle for freedom was to be repeatedly tested. This year he pleaded three important political cases. The first was the "Briton Defamation Case" heard by the Chief Presidency Magistrate from 31st March to 9th May 1916. Jinnah pleaded the cause of B.G. Horniman who being editor of Bombay Chronicle had sued the proprietor, printer, publisher and editor of the European Daily Briton(Bombay) for publishing defamatory remarks against him and his paper. Jinnah impressively established the difference between personal and political allegations.63 The second related to Sedition Case against Tilak which was first heard by the District Magistrate (Poona) from 7th to 12th August and then by the High Court of Bombay from 8th to 9th November 1916.64 In both these suits Jinnah succeeded in further projecting the popular case of Home Rule. The wide publicity given to the proceedings of these cases was a matter of concern for the Government. The third case of political importance related to Jinnah's election to the Imperial Legislative Council in June 1916. On a plea by Rafiuddin, his old opponent, the Viceroy ordered an enquiry. The enquiry was conducted by the District Judge (Poona) from 5th October to 3rd November 1916. The strategy misfired: "Jinnah was exonerated". British Government's backing of the anti-Home Rule elements was thus exposed. The enquiry received wide publicity which was again a point of added concern for the Government and of strength to the Home Rule movement and Jinnah. He was now a powerful leader of India-a position which make Tilak and other Congress leaders accept his pleadings about unity and the recognition of Muslim interests in the shape of the Lucknow Pact.

Jinnah's talent was needed in diverse fields. He was not a leader who, according to Latif Ahmed Sherwani, considered the Muslims as "backwards" 66 nor was he merely a leader of Hindus and Muslims as shown by Saiyid. He was a leader who appreciated the needs of all the communities and projected them with equal interest. If he was found piloting the Mussalman Wakf Validating Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, he was never lacking in extending his support to Basu's Special Marriages' Bill or Hindu Wakf Property Bill moved by Malaviya. This was because he was a humanist with strong faith in human values.

He was not as H.V. Hodson has tried to say about him, "Politics apart, they (British Viceroys and Administrators) had less common ground of human intercourse with him than they had, for instance, with Mahatma Gandhi."Hodson cannot be blamed for such an aspersion on Jinnah because the material collected by the present author was not available to him. Such observations are actually based on the writings on Jinnah done mainly during and after 1940s when the main problem in India was the tussle between the Hindus and the Muslims-an issue that dominated all other matters. But this was not the case upto 1920 When historical developments were definitely different to what emerged after the Khilafat movement. Jinnah is also not to be understood as a politician who was merely "associated" which Lucknow Pact or a person who "had reached the first peak of his ambitions..., had become a leader of united India-after the conclusion of the Pact, as shown by Bolitho.69 Actually Jinnah was on the national political scene since 1906 and had already emerged a "leader of united India." Obviously Bolitho has erred in his

observation. In fact non-availability of material had been the bane of many a writers who made such irresponsible statements on Jinnah.

Jinnah's dominant position in public life was further recognized before the Lucknow Pact when he was elected President of the Bombay Provincial Conference, a non-communal organization, for the year 1916. This was a great honour conferred on a person of national repute who had done some creditable work for the cause of his nation. Gokhale, Mehta, and Tilak had already had the honour of becoming presidents of this conference. They were all non-Muslims. Only one Muslim, M.R. Sayani, had presided over the conference in 1883. Jinnah was the second. But these two Muslims were to preside over the conference under different circumstances: whereas Sayani was to attract the Muslims to Congress politics' Jinnah was to re-unite not only the Muslims, Parsis, and Hindus but also the "Moderates" and the Nationalists. Even Gandhi, who attended the conference, termed Jinnah's presidentship as "right man for the right post." 70 This three-day conference was held on 22nd-24th October 1916 at Ahmadnagar. In his Presidential address, Jinnah, touching upon the "uppermost" issue of accommodating the "new spirit" of the Home Rule Movement coherently explained the idea of provincial autonomy as well as the structure of the Central Government. The changes in the administrative structure and in the local self-government also formed topic of the comment. In a voice charged with "emotion" which "stirred" the audience, he spoke against the application of the press laws and the Defence of India Act. He also spoke on the issues of compulsory education, Hindu-Muslim cooperation, separate representation for the Muslims. He even added that the words of "Moderates" and "Extremists" should be dropped "under one single and true name of Nationalists." 71 Thus, as a "true" leader, and statesman, he touched upon all the burning issues of the time and made far-sighted suggestions towards a new line of action for the united political forces of the country.

He considered that the attitude of the people belonging to different communities and groups should be changed in the light of the "new spirit" in India,, for which he himself had contributed so much. This was necessary before the transfer of "power from bureaucracy to democracy." This change was required with a spirit of "sacrifice." Emphasizing it further he said that this was "a sacrifice that God would love"- at a time when "the soul of young India has been roused and it yearns for political freedom." He wanted to bring India to the "status" of "respect" amongst the "nations of the world." It was with these purposes and aims that Jinnah desired to "refashion and reconstruct the constitution of the Government of India."

Jinnah's position as "the President of the first United Bombay Provincial Conference" and as "one of the most representative of Indian leaders" occupying "a commanding position as a leader of political thought" was recognized.73 He was not the leader with only "oratorical flourishes," but a "trusty" exponent of "public opinion" and a "builder" of "future constitution of India." Jinnah attained this position through his own "exertions," though his eminence in politics was not liked by the Government of India.74 He tactfully handled the situation, particularly the official opposition. Before he was to preside over the League session at Lucknow in December 1916, he had to see both the committees of the two political parties to come to a sort of settlement.

This settlement was necessary, making unity possible at the AIML and INC sessions. His efforts had, however, been greatly strengthened by the Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad in October 1916."

As planned, the AICC, being the senior organization, was to take step first. Accordingly, a three-day meeting was held at Allahabad on 22nd- 24th April 1916, which was presided over by Pandit M.M. Malaviya.76 It framed "tentative" proposals, which were circulated amongst its provincial committees. It was further to finalize its deliberations by August 1916.77 The proposals of the provincial Congress committees were received by the AICC by the end of July. Jinnah played an "important role" in the deliberations of the AIML committee which met on 16th August and "he modified the draft which Syed Wazir Hasan had prepared as a basis for discussion." 78 The "amended draft" was circulated amongst the members of the AIML "for eliciting their opinion and comments."79 The suggestions of the individual member were discussed by the League committee on 16th November 1916 when the recommendations on behalf of the AIML were finalized. After this a joint meeting of the Congress and League committees was held on 17th November at Calcutta, presided over by Surendranath Banerjea, a leader from Bengal.80 Jinnah had to work hard in both the committees to achieve a consensus of opinion. There was an agreement on most of the points but a sharp debate took place over the "question of the strength of Muslims representation in various councils" on which the committees ultimately "agreed" to place "them for settlement" before the sessions of the Congress and the League.81 Jinnah's contribution towards unity was duly recognized by the Muslim League Council which decided in October to appoint him the President of the next League session to be held in December at Lucknow. The choice was much hailed in the Congress circles.82 The able handling of the situation by Jinnah as President of the Muslim League with the support of Tilak in the Congress, a joint scheme of reforms was evolved by both the parties. This came to be known as "Congress-League Joint Scheme of Reforms" of the "Lucknow Pact," which was made possible by the "signal service" of Jinnah to the cause of unity.83 The Muslim League and the Congress speakers at the Lucknow sessions considered this scheme "as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India."

This joint scheme of reforms was a sort of an agreement on certain principles of fundamental importance at the national level under which both the parties were to share power in executive and legislative functions. This was, however, more specified than what was contained in "Gokhale's Testament" or what Jinnah had suggested in his Bombay Conference presidential address. It, however, contained what was already suggested by Jinnah in both these documents or in the Memorandum of the Nineteen Members of the Imperial Legislative Council with which Jinnah was deeply associated. According to the Lucknow Pact, the Congress was to have two-thirds representation at the Central Executive and Legislature, while the Muslim League was to get one-third representation. In matters of religious, however, certain safeguards were agreed upon. All such matters required for their passage the support of three-fourth members of the concerning community. Separate electorate for the Muslims was recognized as the principle of cardinal

necessity which was adopted after a lot of assurances by Jinnah who was backed by Tilak. Thus by uniting the two chief communities, Jinnah as an "arch culprit" as he himself used the terminology, had paved the way for unity amongst all the communities of India, giving "a new 223 wave" to the country's political life.

While Jinnah was making this tremendous contribution to the cause of unity, he was correspondingly giving a new sense of direction to the Muslims of the sub-continent whose "loyalty" to the British Crown was considered by him not a "small asset." In his presidential address at the Lucknow League session, Jinnah induced the Muslims "to learn to have self-respect," "infuse greater spirit of solidarity into our society" by "cooperation with each other" which could be possible only if we "sink personal differences and subordinate personal ambition to the well-being of the community." Thus, he added, we must show by our words and deeds that we sincerely and earnestly desire a healthy national unity. For the rest, the 70 millions of Mussalmans need not fear."85 All this was necessary because, in the words of Jinnah:

"Renaissance of India really lies in our own hands. Let us work and trust in God so that we may leave a richer heritage to our children than all the gold of the world, namely, freedom for which no sacrifice is too great."

Thus, Jinnah, along with his associates, was able to accomplish the task of unity despite a sense of alarm in official circles and hindrances from dissenters within the Bombay and the Punjab branches of the AIML. All these had but only an insignificant effect on his endeavors towards the unity of Muslims and Hindus of India. It was, however, later that the Government could prompt and make those dissenting elements gain ground and become a threat to the cause of unity and freedom of the country. By this time however, Quaid-e-Azam had made for himself a permanent niche in the Indian politics as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

# Impact of World War-I 1914-1918 on India and Britain

The UK has a particular responsibility to construct an inclusive history of the experience of the First World War. It was a truly global conflict, and involved many Commonwealth countries that made huge sacrifices vital to Britain's war effort.

However, as the British Council's recent international survey — carried out in Egypt, France, Germany, India, Russia, Turkey and the UK — showed, the UK public has only a limited understanding of the extent and significance of the role of Commonwealth countries in the First World War, and is therefore some way away from recognising them appropriately.

## Take the example of India

India made a huge contribution to Britain's war effort. It sent staggering numbers of volunteers to fight and die on behalf of the allied forces. Almost 1.5 million Muslim, Sikh and Hindu men from regions such as the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Bihar volunteered in the Indian Expeditionary Force, which saw fighting on the Western Front, in East Africa, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Gallipoli. Volunteering offered a chance to break through the caste system, because becoming a soldier paid well and meant becoming part of the 'warrior' caste, which gave high status. However, of these men, around 50,000 died, 65,000 were wounded, and 10,000 were reported missing, while 98 Indian army nurses were killed. The country also supplied 170,000 animals, 3,7 million tonnes of supplies, jute for sandbags, and a large loan (the equivalent of about £2 billion today) to the British government.

## But do the UK and India remember India's role?

While the UK is one of the top ten unprompted associations with the First World War held by Indian survey respondents, India was not mentioned a single time as a top-of-mind association with the First World War among the 1,215 UK survey respondents. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that twice as many respondents in India compared to the UK feel that their country's role in the First World War is — to this day — often misrepresented and misunderstood in global history (almost one quarter of Indian respondents indicated this).

At the same time, around three quarters of respondents in India as well as in the UK felt that their country is still affected by the consequences of the First World War.

# Were Britain and India on the same side or fighting each other?

Looking for reasons why the First World War still looms large amongst people in India, it becomes clear that that period of history is inextricably bound up with the history of the independence movement. And this can sometimes cause confusion.

For instance, only just over half (51 per cent) of Indian survey respondents knew that Britain and India were fighting alongside each other in the First World War. Over one quarter (27 per cent) believed they were enemies.

And while 63 per cent of UK survey respondents correctly identified that India fought alongside Britain, a full third (33 per cent) thought that India was fighting against Britain.

## The First World War and the independence movement in India

This is despite the fact that India was heavily involved in the First World War as a key contributor to the allied forces and at that time an important part of the British Empire.

Having made huge sacrifices and demonstrated military valour equal to that of European soldiers, Indians widely expected a transition to self-government. These expectations were shared by nationalist leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan), but were dashed by the extension of martial law at the end of the conflict.

Following this period, Gandhi launched his first India-wide campaign of civil disobedience against British authority in February 1919. It was not driven by anti-Western or anti-British sentiment per se, but by the pursuit of self-determination. It took a looming Second World War, and the resistance against risking more Indian lives for little tangible return, before nationalist efforts redoubled under the auspices of the Quit India Movement. But the origins of Indian independence can be traced back to the events of the First World War.

## The UK's nascent interest in India's role in the First World War

Since February this year, when we published our report, Remember the World as well as the War, we have argued that the UK can only gain from developing a global understanding of what was a

global conflict with global consequences, and from understanding specific countries' experiences, such as India's.

Other organisations and individuals are now echoing this message. In the recent TV series, The World's War, the BBC's David Olusoga reveals the experiences of the 'Forgotten Soldiers of Empire' — with explicit reference to soldiers from India.

The London School of Economics and Political Science has opened out some of its thinking about India's role in the First World War to an increasingly interested public. The India at LSE blog contains a growing number of articles from different perspectives.

And for those interested in original documents rather than commentary, the National Archives have made the 171 First World War diaries of the Indian Infantry units deployed to the Western Front available to download via the First World War 100 portal.

## The relevance of India's role for the UK

There's a growing interest in writing that offers a deeper understanding of the First World War, and what it means for countries such as India, which are historically associated with the UK. The fact that these resources are now more easily available to the public can only be a positive trend. As Lord Bhikhu Parekh, speaking at Asia House on 20 May 2014, summarised: 'It makes British people realise what they owe to Indians. Their history was not enacted just by them. If you go back in history, you see Indians, Arabs and other[s] all playing an important role. Throughout Britain's history, they are as much the architects of British history as the British themselves.'

Conversely, he pointed out that 'it is important for Indians in the UK to realise our history did not begin in the 1950s. Indians have been present in the UK in some form or another for several hundred years. It's good for Indians in the UK to realise that they are part of Britain's history—it helps bond a society and form shared memories of mutual gratitude.'

## Rowlatt Act and Jalian Wala Bagh Tragedy

One hundred years ago, on April 13, 1919, one of the worst atrocities inflicted by the British colonial rulers on our people took place. On that day, thousands of unarmed people protesting in a confined space against the anti-people actions of the British were brutally shot at in cold blood by a military force commanded by the British officer Dyer. This was the infamous Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, which marked a new level of brutality of British colonial rule after 1857. It exposed the hypocrisy of the colonial rulers' announcement just a short time earlier that they would consider eventually allowing the Indian people to have 'responsible government'. Above all, the anger and resentment that this unspeakable massacre aroused in Indian people around the country

and abroad led to the broadening and deepening of the anti-colonial movement of the Indian people.

On this solemn day of remembrance, MEL salutes the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh and all those who sacrificed in the struggle to end the barbaric colonial rule of British imperialism over India.

The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh was not an isolated incident carried out by one man, Dyer, alone. It was part and parcel of the systematic policy followed by the British rulers to never again let the Indian people raise the flag of revolt after the First War of Independence in 1857.

During the period of World War I, the rising discontent among Indian people gave the British every reason to believe that their rule over India again faced a fundamental threat as in 1857. The activities of the Hindustan Ghadar Party to overthrow British rule by force gave the British nightmares. Particularly significant was the extent of the Ghadar Party's support among soldiers of the British Indian army and the peasantry and revolutionary intelligentsia.

The big capitalists and big landlords of India enthusiastically participated on the side of British imperialism during the First World War They made huge profits from the war industry, and recruited soldiers for the British Army, while the workers and peasants of India were pushed into starvation. In return for their support to the colonial war effort, they tried to negotiate a new arrangement of power sharing with the colonial power through their party, the Congress party, in which they hoped to have a greater share of political power.

The colonialists followed a two pronged approach to the struggle of the Indian people. On the one side, they tried to win over the big capitalists and big landlords and their political representatives by offering a greater share of power. On the other side, they unleashed state terrorism on the masses of people who wanted complete freedom from colonial yoke.

As World War I drew to a close, the British colonialists announced the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms which were later codified into the Government of India Act, 1919. These reforms offered extremely limited powers to representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie in provincial assemblies. They fell short of what the bourgeoisie was demanding through its party, the Congress Party. Simultaneously, the colonial rulers passed the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (known as the Rowlatt Act) in March 1919 to crush all resistance to its rule. The Rowlatt Act allowed for arrests without warrants, indefinite detention without trial, in camera trials for political offences, and numerous other powers to stamp out political opposition of any kind.

Before and during the War, the Hindustan Ghadar Party had clearly explained to the people the futility of expecting to realize freedom by pleading with the colonialists and sitting in the colonial councils. The reforms enacted by the British colonialists confirmed the teachings of the Ghadaris

in the minds of patriotic people. The passing of the Rowlatt Act further enraged the people. They came out in mass protests.

In Punjab, popular opposition to the British and to the Rowlatt Act was particularly strong. The colonial government under O'Dwyer there took several repressive measures, including deporting two well-known leaders of the anti-colonial struggle, Dr Satyapal and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew. On 10 April in Amritsar, a protest march of more than 50,000 people protesting this were fired upon by troops. Dozens of people were killed and wounded. This further incensed the people. The commanding officer of the colonial troops at Jalandhar, Dyer, was summoned to Amritsar. On 12 April, he imposed curfew and prohibited all meetings and gatherings.

Nevertheless on the next day, which was Baisakhi Day, 15,000-20,000 people gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh. They passed two resolutions, condemning the Rowlatt Act and the firing on 10 April. Just as they were considering another resolution to protest against the repressive policies of the government, Dyer arrived with his troops and blocked the only exit to the park.

For twenty minutes continuously, till their ammunition ran out, the barbarous force fired directly into the heart of the gathering. They fired on people clambering up the walls trying to escape. More than a hundred people lost their lives jumping into a well to escape the hail of bullets. Dozens of others who were injured died because they were not allowed to be removed to hospitals. Altogether, more than 1000 people died and over 1500 were wounded.

The horror of the events was such that its memory could never be erased from those who had witnessed it. More than 20 years later, the martyr Udham Singh, who had witnessed the events as a youth, decided to deliver justice by executing O'Dwyer at a public meeting in London, for which he was hanged. The great martyr Bhagat Singh was deeply moved by the massacre. Only a young boy at the time, he gathered some of the blood-soaked soil from the site and kept it with him for a long time.

There was a huge outcry all over India against the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. Two days later, a protest in Gujranwala was attacked with machine guns and aircraft, killing dozens of people. Martial law was imposed in Punjab.

To try and salvage some of its reputation and whitewash the incident, the government appointed the Hunter Commission of enquiry. During the proceedings of this Commission however, it came through clearly, from the mouth of the unrepentant Dyer himself that his aim was not just to disperse the meeting. It was nothing other than to unleash terror on the broadest scale and to teach the people a lesson.

No one was punished for this blatant act of genocide. O'Dwyer, the lieutenant governor of Punjab, who applauded Dyer's action saying "your action is correct", was allowed to finish out his career in India and then go home until justice caught up with him with Udham Singh's courageous act. The butcher Dyer was also allowed to retire and return to England, even though he was mildly

censured for taking some 'unnecessary' decisions. Even this was considered too harsh by his supporters in Britain who raised a big fund for him.

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and its aftermath showed that British rule in India was a completely illegitimate rule whose foundation was nothing other than brute force and barbaric denial of the life and liberty of our people. It exposed the lie of the so-called 'civilising mission' of the British whereby they claimed that they were in India for the good of the Indian people. The British colonial state was in its essence a highly developed instrument for repression and plunder. Its various organs, including the police, army, bureaucracy, judicial system and 'representative' councils, all worked together to loot and crush the Indian people.

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre strengthened the conviction of our people that the only way to end this intolerable state of affairs was to overthrow colonial rule, take political power into their own hands, and establish a new state which would be a complete break with colonialism and imperialism. Inspired by this aim, our patriots and revolutionaries created many organisations and movements in the following years, such as the Hindustan Republican Association, the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and the Communist Party of India. These organisations drew their inspiration from the theory and practice of the Hindustan Ghadar Party, and from the Great October Revolution in Russia which had resulted in the overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of the first state of workers and peasants in the whole world.

The big capitalists and big landlords of India and their political representatives in the Congress and the Muslim League rejected this path. They bargained with the colonialists for a greater share of power, under colonial rule. They collaborated with the colonialists to keep the struggle of the broad masses of people against colonial rule under check. They collaborated with the colonialists in the communal partition of India.

In August 1947, political power came into the hands of the big capitalists and big landlords of India. The exploiting classes deliberately chose to retain the entire colonial legacy including the repressive state machinery which had served the colonial rule of plunder.

The Indian ruling class has followed the path of the colonial rulers. It offers the crumbs of office to those willing to betray the peoples struggles. It unleashes state terrorism to crush the struggle of masses of people fighting for their rights. The history of independent India is a history of numerous fascist acts modelled along the Rowlatt Act. In today's India too, thousands of people get killed in violence unleashed by the rulers, either directly using the army and police, or indirectly, using criminals and goons who act with impunity. The aim of this violence is to terrorise those who protest. No one is punished for these large scale, criminal state-sponsored acts of terror even now. Those who fight for their rights, including masses of youth and other people in Kashmir, the North East and other regions, are themselves labelled 'terrorists'.

People of India need to take power into their own hands and establish a new state in place of the present Indian state. We need to establish a state which will end the plunder of India by native and foreign exploiters, and ensure prosperity and security for all. This is the lesson of Jallianwala Bagh and the hundred years that have elapsed since then.

These small and large historical events that occurred in the immediate aftermath of the First World War – the Montagu–Chelmsford reforms, the Rowlatt Act, the Jails Commission's reforms, and the royal amnesty – are constitutive of one another, intricately linked by the exigencies of political reform that was carefully managed by colonial officials and focused on those who had undertaken acts of political violence. The revolutionary terrorist movement put a great deal of pressure on the colonial state as it attempted to reform the structure of governing India. In the process of introducing constitutional reforms, the colonial government was compelled to defuse radical and militant activity that had been thriving for over a decade, particularly among a group who had been identified as gentlemanly terrorists, or in Montagu's words, "honourable but dangerous enemies of the Government." The tensions between the goals of British officials in London, such as Montagu, Chelmsford in Delhi, and provincial officers in Bengal animated a bureaucratic, administrative, and legal set of problems that was central to governing a colonial territory that was putatively governed by rule of law and simultaneously confronted by the threat of campaigns of political violence. In the discussions that spanned the years of 1919 to 1921, where this chapter ends, liberal ideals of rule of law and prisoner reform laid the foundations of Britain and India's interwar relationship. The realities faced by local officials, who were often resistant to adopting legislation or policies that would embolden revolutionary terrorists, were repeatedly challenged by reform-minded officials at higher levels who felt Indian radicals, militants, and revolutionaries could eventually be persuaded to convert to the goals of civic and liberal government.

Disagreements between colonial officials at different levels show how conflicts about how to suppress violent acts of political dissidence were debated on the grounds of laws and legislation that were ratified by emergent representative institutions. Embedded within this moment – maintaining repressive laws that had the logic of rule law behind them while promoting political reforms – was a crisis of sovereignty and political legitimacy in the aftermath of the war. Throughout the conversations and discussions behind the plight of the detainees, the government stood behind the legality of the Rowlatt Act and the wisdom of granting amnesty to political prisoners (allowing for the possibility that they might be detained again). Throughout, Indian nationalists voiced in their objections to the Rowlatt bills and provincial colonial officials stated strong opposition to the royal amnesty. By framing the Rowlatt Act as they did, the colonial government voiced a clear commitment to making the detention of suspected revolutionaries and terrorists appear legal because it was produced through constitutional channels and in consultation with officials and legislators. The appearance of bureaucratic transparency – sustained by the convening of commissions, investigations, and reports – enabled the colonial government to explain how it was promoting constitutional reform all while enacting emergency legislation.

Reports such as those by the Rowlatt commission, the Beachcroft-Chandavarkar inquiry, the Hunter commission on the Punjab disturbances, and the Indian Jails Commission repeatedly investigated the enforcement of laws having to do with Indian affairs and showed how committed the government was to thorough inquiry with legality in mind. As Montagu noted in a debate in the House of Commons, the Rowlatt Act and other similar legislation had passed through many channels of discussion, even though the government could have issued an executive ordinance in its place. Indeed, in response to opposition by elected Indians, the Government abandoned the idea of making the Rowlatt legislation permanent; instead, it was adopted for a three-year period and only in districts where there was a defined threat of revolutionary activity. In the end, because of mass protests, the Rowlatt Act was never enforced.

Yet, Montagu defended the legislation: although a suspect could be detained indefinitely, the government had to convene a three-member committee to ensure that there was a just cause for detention. This committee could be understood in a benign and liberal spirit: "It is more like a body of schoolmasters investigating trouble in a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry; somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, some body to be sure that all the facts are investigated." The detention of suspects was authorized through legal measures that subjected political dissidents to more state intervention, subverting the accusation that these measures were arbitrary or authoritarian. To their critics, Montagu and other British officials noted that the government already had the mechanism to detain those suspected of sedition – Regulation III of 1818 – but that the Rowlatt provisions gave more legal rights to the detainee by creating oversight for the government's actions.

In order for India to develop as a nation, which was a stated goal behind the constitutional reforms, the government needed to protect the political arena from those who might disrupt the progress of the Montagu–Chelmsford plan. As Montagu wrote, "We intend to maintain order in India, and we intend to safeguard it because we believe that that is the only atmosphere in which nationality can grow uninterruptedly, surely, and swiftly."

The aspirations toward "safeguarding" order so that nationalism could thrive would prove not to be well founded. Within a year of Montagu's statement, Gandhi, who had been elected the President of the Indian National Congress, abandoned any optimism about the possibilities of the royal amnesty and turned against the constitutional reforms of 1919. He called for purna swaraj, or complete independence from the British within the year, and announced plans for a non-cooperation campaign that called on all Indians to withdraw their labor from work, school, and administration – anything that sustained the British government and economy in India. By July 1920, he expressed his dismay about the events of 1919, gesturing in particular to the bad faith that was represented by the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. For Gandhi, who had trained as a barrister and passed the bar at the Inner Temple in London, violence by the military

backed by a new round of repressive laws showed that the British were not fully committed to the project of Indian governance in India. He wrote that he had "honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust, and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust, and goodwill ... But to my amazement and dismay, I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous."

Under Gandhi's leadership, the Indian National Congress was reorganized, adopting a creed of nonviolence. Many former revolutionary terrorists – including those who had been amnestied in 1919 – joined Gandhi's movement in Bengal, even though they had been active as revolutionary terrorists before the war. The next chapter begins with those released from Cellular Jail on Andaman Island, those who had been considered the most dangerous threat to political order, which included Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Upendra Nath Banerji, and Trailokya Nath Chakrabarty. While the revolutionary terrorist movement appeared to be moribund, largely because many of its participants in the 1910s appeared to join Gandhi's nonviolent movement, these political prisoners generated a history of the terrorist movement in Bengal from the perspective of its participants. From the early 1920s onward, they produced memoirs that included an account of their early lives, how they embraced revolutionary nationalism, and how a revolutionary future might emerge if Indians came together to challenge the British.

The autobiographies, memoirs, and histories written by those who participated in the revolutionary terrorist movement articulated a different kind of historical progression than the one offered by the British that was animated by a history of India's past as a nation that had resisted many kinds of tyranny. Among those released from jails in Bengal, Bhupendra Kumar Dutta published a series of historical vignettes, explaining Bengal's turn toward radicalism as part of a revolutionary process that would undermine the kind of incremental change that the British imagined. As a burst of autobiographies, memoirs, and historical accounts of the experiences of revolutionary terrorists were published and distributed widely in the early 1920s, former revolutionary terrorists returned to clandestine activity, causing a "recrudescence of terrorism," as British officials called it.

After Gandhi's protests, the Rowlatt legislation was not enforced at a national level, but many of the extra-legal measures were later enacted and enforced on a provincial level, particularly in Bengal where the revolutionary movement continued to be characterized as a live threat by the government. Enabled by the provisions of a diarchic government, the Government of Bengal enacted nearly all of the provisions that the Rowlatt Act had proposed. In subsequent chapters, I turn to "temporary" legislation that followed the events of this chapter and I examine the logic of a series of provincial acts that began with the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Acts and Ordinances in the 1920s, and became more or less permanent provisions enabling the government to detain without charge until the next Government of India Act, which was passed in 1935.

### **Khilafat Movement**

The Khilafat movement was a very important event in the political history of India. The Muslims of India had a great regard for the Khilafat (Caliphate) which was held by the Ottoman Empire. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) joined the war in favour of Germany. But Turkey and Germany lost the war and a pact commonly known as Istanbul Accord was concluded between the Allied Forces on 3rd November 1918. According to this Pact the territories of Turkey were to be divided among France, Greece and Britain.

During the war the Indian Muslims were in a very awkward position, because they had a deeprooted devotion to the caliphate. They had profound respect for this holy institution. Therefore, their support to the British Government was subject to the safeguard and protection of the holy places of Turkey and on the condition that Turkey will not to be deprived of its territories. But the British Government could not fulfill both of these promises. The Treaty of Savers 1920 was imposed on Turkey and its territories like Samarna, Thrace and Anatolia were wrested from it and distributed among European countries. A wave of anger swept across the Muslin World and the Indian Muslims rose against the British Government. Muslim leaders like Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Moulana Shoukat Ali and others reacted against the British Government policy and were put behind the bars.

Thus, Muslims organized a mass movement, which came to be known as Khilafat Movement. The aims of this movement were

- (a) To protect the Holy place of Turkey
- (b) To restore the Territories of Turkey
- (c) To restore the Ottoman Empire.

In December 1919 both the Khilafat Committee and Congress held their meetings simultaneously at Amritsar and a delegation was prepared which was sent to England under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar to see the British Prime Minister, Cabinet Member and Members of Parliament and to explain the Indian point of view regarding the Khilafat. The delegation visited England in 1920. The leaders of the delegation addressed the House of Commons and saw the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George who paid no heed to the delegations demand. The delegation stayed at London for eight months and won many hearts and sympathies of people in Britain delivering speeches. However, the delegation returned to India unsuccessful in October 1920.

After the unsuccessful visit to England the leaders of Khilafat Movement realized the fact that British were not in the mood to help them. Therefore, they realized that a new strategy needed to be adopted in order to reinvigorate the zest and zeal for freedom among a general populace. With this aim they decided to launch a movement of Non Co-operation. When the leaders of Khilafat movement announced the Non Co-operation Movement, the Congress extended its full support to

the Khilafat Movement. The leaders of the two met at Amritsar and resolved to launch a country wide agitation under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The agitation was against the British government. The Jamiat-ul-Ulama Hind issued a Fatwa of Tark-e-Mawalat. The following points were included in it:

- 1. Renunciation of all Government titles.
- 2. Boycott of legislature and court.
- 3. Withdrawal of student's from educational institutions.
- 4. Resignation from government posts.
- 5. General civil disobedience.

As a result of this proclamation of fatwa, hundreds of thousands people returned the titles and stopped sending their children to government schools and colleges. All those highly educated young men who could have rose to high government positions bade farewell to their bright future and accepted ordinary jobs in the private sector. The vacuum created in government offices was joyfully filled in by Hindus, while the Muslim government employees willingly accepted starvation for the sake of the Muslim cause.

Under the hypnotism of Mr. Gandhi, Muslim ulama had issued a verdict and declared India as Darul-Harab and the Muslims therefore needed to migrate to some other country or Dar-ul-Salam. Thousands of families sold out their properties for a tenth of their value and hastily left for Afghanistan, in August 1920. As many as eighteen thousand people marched towards Afghanistan, which was unable to bear the influx of the people. Thus, the Afghan authorities closed their frontiers. Eventually the Muhajarins had to return to their homes. A great number of old man, women and children died on their way during returning to homes and those who luckily reach alive their former places. They found themselves homeless and penniless. In fact they faced great difficulties. Even the preachers of Khilafat Movement realized the fact.

In January 1921, nearly three thousands students of various colleges and schools boycotted their classes and a number of teachers most of them were Muslims tendered their resignation. The Movement became so powerful that the Government was obliged to pay attention to the problem. The British Government invited Seth Jan-Muhammad Chutani, the President of Khilafat conference to visit London to discuss the issue. A delegation under has leadership visited London and discussed the sentiment of Muslims but the delegation also returned unsuccessfully.

The Khilafat Movement came to an end when thousands of Indians were put behind the bar. The leaders in spite of their best efforts could not maintain the Hindu-Muslim Unity. One of the main reasons which caused a death blow to Khilafat Movement was the indirect announcement of Gandhi to discontinue the Non Co-operation Movement. Gandhi used an incident of arson on February 1922, when a violent mob set on fire a police choki at Chora Churi at district Gorakpur, burning twenty one constables to death as an excuse to call off the non-cooperation movement. It

adversely affected the Khilafat Movement which thought to be integral part of movement. In 1924, Kamal Ataturk set up a government on democratic basis in Turkey by abolishing Khilafat as a system of government which served a finishing blow to Khilafat Movement in India and people had lost whatever interest that they had in the movement.

The Khilafat movement was started to safeguard the Khilafat in Turkey, an issue which essentially belonged to the Muslims. By the involvement of Hindus the Movement grew forceful and there was possibility of meeting the movement with success. The British Government was the common enemy of the Muslims and Hindus. That is why, both the nations continued united efforts against it. But the difference between the Hindus and Muslims became even more pronounced and many other events showed that the opposition of Hindus to British Government was not lasting. When Khilafat Movement reached at its success, the Hindus especially Mr. Gandhi gave up from movement and leaved the Muslims alone and caused the failure of Movement.

The Khilafat movement proved that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations as they could not continue the unity and could not live together. The Khilafat Movement created political consciousness among the Indian Muslims, which inspired them to constitute another movement for then Independence. Thus, they started Pakistan Movement.

## **Delhi Muslim Proposals**

In order to break the ice and to bridge the gulf between the Muslims League and Congress so that they could present common demands before the British for the legislation of the new Act, a group of prominent Muslims, mostly members of the two chambers of the central met at Delhi on March 20, 1927. M.A. Jinnah presided over the session. The proceedings were held in camera and lasted for almost seven hours. They knew that the greatest constitutional contention between Muslim League and Congress was the matter of electorate. Congress propagated joint electorates as to them separate electorates would have weakened the foundations of the Indian nationalism. Whereas Muslim League out of their insecurity of undermined representation were not ready to let go of their demand for separate electorate. Jinnah and team realized that they could only convince the Congress to accept a common agenda if they withdrew the League's demand of Separate electorate. They discussed and tried to chalk out the conditions following which the system of Joint Electorates could be accepted. After a prolonged discussion it was unanimously resolved that League should accept a settlement with the Congress on the basis of certain proposals; the concluded agreement came to be known as Delhi Proposals. Jinnah and company declared that they would withdraw the demand of Separate Electorates provided the following demands will be accepted by the Congress:

Sind should be separated from Bombay and should be constituted into an independent province.

Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province of India.

Reservation of seats according to the population for different communities in the Punjab and Bengal.

Muslims should be given 1/3rd representation in the Central Legislature.

The relinquishment of the right to separate electorate was an unprecedented concession by the Muslims and it was a major achievement of Jinnah to have convinced his colleagues to concede this. It was the first time that the Muslim League had agreed to joint electorates and would not do so ever again. The Muslim League was, however, divided because of these proposals and prominent Muslim League leaders, mainly from the Punjab, under the leadership of Sir Muhammad Shafi, decided to part away for the Jinnah Group.

Tension between the Hindus and the Muslims was on the rise from 1922 onwards. The Quaid, seeing that the Hindus had no inclination to cooperate with the Muslims, invited the Muslims leaders of India to meet at Delhi under his presidency. This meeting was held on the 20th of March 1927 and the result was the Delhi-Muslim proposals, which were unanimously accepted by all the Muslim leaders. The proposals were as follows:

- 1- Sind should be separated from Bombay and made an independent province.
- 2- Reforms should be introduced in Baluchistan and NWFP on the same footings as in any other province. In that case, Muslims are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted, and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Balochistan and the NWFP, the same concessions that Hindu majorities in the other provinces are prepared to make to Muslim

  Muslim

In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population. In the Central Leglislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than a third, and that also, by a mixed electorate.

### **Simon Commission**

The British government sent seven members of the parliament to India to mull over the constitutional reforms by the British government. It was called Simon Commission on the name of John Simon who chaired the seven-member commission. The other six members were Clement Atlee, Harry levy-Lawson, Edward Cadogan, Vernon Hartshorne, George Lane-Fox, and Donald Howard. Interestingly enough, the Commission did not include any Indian in their meditation on India's future.

Consequently it was vehemently disfavored by the Indians. Both Muslim League and Congress took it as an insult to injury because it implied that the Indians were unable to think over and decide upon their own future.

Prior to the Commission, dyarchy system had been introduced by the British Government in the form of Minto-Morley Reforms I909. In the late 20s the Conservative Party feared a defeat at the hands of the Labor Party in the elections. In the Khilafat Movement, the Indians especially the Muslims demanded a support from the British Government to the Ottoman Empire but the demand stayed unanswered. Instead the Muslim leaders were put behind the bars.

## The Simon Commission recommended that:

• The new constitution should have the flexibility to make plans. It needs self-growth and diversity to cover the multiple natures of Indian issues. Also it should be need-oriented rather than being

scheduled. "The Preamble to the Government of India declares that progress in giving effect to the policy of the progressive realization of responsible government in British India can only be achieved by successive stages; but there is no reason why the length of these successive stages should be defined in advance, or why every stage should be marked by a commission of enquiry". (Simon Report Vol. 2 P.5).

- Interests of the minorities, maintenance of order and peace should be given importance and the special powers should be granted to the governors for these purposes while the ministers who are responsible to the legislature, should be given the provincial responsibilities.
- A federal union should be constituted including the Prince States and the British India.
- Legislature should be enlarged and the political awareness of the Indian people should be increased and enhanced. Dyarchy at the center was strongly opposed by the Commission.

The Commission was greeted with a fervent criticism as it totally ignored the Indians. Black flags were hoisted against it. A resolution was moved against it in the Legislative Assembly of the Punjab by Lala Rajpat Rai. The diarchy was abolished as the consequence of the Commission and the Government of India Act was forethought.

## Nehru Report & Jinnah's Fourteen Points

The wave of communal harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus in India, created in the early 1920's by the symbiosis of the Khilafat Movement with M. K. Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement was replaced by an atmosphere of grave mistrust between the two communities. Jinnah's celebrated Fourteen Points, presented on 30 March 1929, were one passionate attempt to make sense of the situation and reach upon a solution through parliamentary means within the framework of a United India.

### **Failure of Simon Commission**

Under the Act of 1919, new reforms were to be introduced in India by the British Government after every 10 years. For this purpose, Simon Commission was sent to India in 1927. Most of the Indian political parties decided to boycott the Commission on the plea that it lacked Indian representation. Lord Birkendhead, Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, challenged the Indians:

If they have any political capability and competence then they should form a unanimous constitution and present it to us and we will implement it. •

So, the Simon Commission as it was destined to' failed.

### **Nehru Committee**

After the failure of Simon Commission, there was no alternative for the British government but to ask the local people to frame a constitution for themselves. Indian political parties accepted the challenge and called an All Parties Conference at Delhi in January 1928. But, the Conference failed to reach a conclusion on the issue of the rights of minorities. The second round of the All Parties Conference was held in March the same year. Two sub-committees were formed but the end result of the session was not different from the first one.

# Nehru Report

Despite many hurdles, the Nehru Committee completed its task. And its report, commonly known as Nehru Report, was presented in the fourth session of the All Parties Conference held in August 1928. The Committee declared that it was useless to ask anything less than complete Swaraj, and presented the following demands:

- 1. India should be given Dominion Status with the parliamentary form of government.
- 2. There should be a bicameral legislature consisting of senate and house of representatives. The senate will comprise two hundred members elected for seven years, while the house of representatives should consist of five hundred members elected for five years.

- 3. Governor-General will act on the advice of executive council. It was to be collectively responsible to the parliament.
- 4. There should be federal form of government in India with residuary powers to be vested in Centre.
- 5. There will be no separate electorate for minorities. It claimed 'since separate electorate awakens communal sentiments therefore it should be scrapped and joint electorate should be introduced .
- 6. System of weightage should not be adopted for any province.
- 7. There will be no reserved seats for communities in Punjab and Bengal. However, reservation of Muslim seats could be possible in the provinces where Muslim population should be at least ten percent.
- 8. Judiciary should be independent from the executive
- 9. There should be 1/4th Muslim representation at Centre.
- 10. Sind should be separated from Bombay provided it proves to be financially self-sufficient.
- 11. Reforms should be introduced in NWFP.

Muslims' Reaction

The report was not acceptable to Muslims and both the Muslim members of the Committee, Syed Ali Imam and Shoaib Qureshi, refused to sign it. Syed Ali Imam could not attend the meetings of the Committee due to bad health.

Amendments proposed by Quaid-i-Azam

In the fourth session of the All Parties Conference convened in December to review the Nehru Report, Jinnah, representing the Muslim League, presented following four amendments in the report:

- 1. There should be no less than one-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
- 2. In event of the adult suffrage not being established, Punjab and Bengal should have seats reserved for the Muslims on population basis.
- 3. The form of the constitution should be Federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
- 4. Sind should immediately be made a separate province and the reforms should also be introduced in NWFP and Balochistan at the earliest.

Rejection of Proposals

Jinnah's proposals were rejected when put to vote in All Parties Conference. The Congress managed to get the majority vote in favour of the Report.

## Quaid-i-Azam's Fourteen Points

The League, after anxious and careful consideration, most earnestly and emphatically laid down that no scheme for the future constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable to Muslims of India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests:

- 1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers 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 Legislative, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
- 5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate.
- 6. Any territorial distribution 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, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- 8. No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourth of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be 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. Sind should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
- 10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the 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 institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.
- 13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
- 14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the State's contribution of the Indian Federation.

# Comparison

- 1. The Nehru Committee's greatest blow was the rejection of separate electorates but Quaid-i-Azam was in the favour of separate Muslims electorate.
- 2. In 14 points of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, weightage for minorities was demanded but Nehru in his report did not compromise with our Quaid.

- 3. Nehru report demand strong Central Government. On the other hand Quaid-i-Azam believed in provincial autonomy.
- 4. Jinnah was in the favour of inclusions of Muslims in the cabinet but Nehru was against the inclusion of Muslims in the cabinet.
- 5. Quaid-i-Azam demanded 1/3rd representation in central government for Muslims but Nehru report gave 1/4th representation to Muslims in central government.
- 6. It is true that demand of separation of Sind from Bombay was considered in the Nehru Report as Jinnah mentioned in his 14 points but the condition of self-economy was also put forward.

### Conclusion

The Nehru Report was nothing else than a Congress document and thus was totally opposed by Muslims of the Subcontinent. The Hindus under Congress threatened the government with a disobedience movement if the Nehru report was not implemented into the Act by December 31, 1929. This Hindu attitude proved to be a milestone in the freedom movement of the Muslims. It also proved to be a turning point in the life of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After reading the Nehru Report, Jinnah announced a 'parting of the ways'. The Nehru Report reflected the inner prejudice and narrow-minded approach of the Hindus.

## **Allahabad Address**

Mohammad Iqbal delivered the presidential address at All India Muslim League's (AIML) annual session held in Allahabad on 29 December, 1930. The speech delivered at the session has been given the status of Pakistan's foundational document (alongside the AIML resolution of March 1940).

Proponents of Pakistani Nationalism credit this speech as a bedrock of Muslim Nationalist thought in United India. Progressive and leftist scholars usually point at the context of this speech and the frankly ridiculous circumstances in which it was delivered i.e. the Quorum at the meeting was not met initially, the speech was delivered in English to an audience that only understood the vernacular languages, the split within the ranks of All India Muslim League after Nehru Report and so on.

Among this din of noises, the actual speech and what it stood for, is conveniently forgotten. The speech represents Muslim Nationalist thinking among the intellectuals of the era following the arrival of Simon Commission report in 1930. The commission had been dispatched to India in 1927 for studying constitutional reform and it presented its findings in May 1930. Ahead of the commission's report, Motilal Nehru had presented his own solution to India's constitutional crises (in the form of Nehru Report). The Simon Commission report recommended establishment of representative government in Provinces of India. This context is necessary to understand Iqbal's address in Allahabad.

At the outset of the speech, Iqbal declared his role as a scholar, as opposed to being a politician. He said: "I propose not to guide you in your decisions, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions". The main theme of the speech was Islam and its place alongside nationalism in India. According to Iqbal, 'India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be.' He was building a case for a multicultural society with an emphasis on Muslim majority.

He then went on to say that: 'The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified.' Iqbal and Muslim intelligentsia of the time was united in opposing democracy because in their conception, democracy meant the rule of majority over a hapless minority. They considered democracy to be a system in which Muslim voices would be confined to the status of a permanent minority within United India.

Igbal's solution to this problem was establishment of a Muslim state within United India. He declared: 'I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.' It is worth mentioning that Muslimmajority areas of India were present in Hyderabad and East Bengal as well and Iqbal was not interested in those parts becoming consolidated states. He, however, realised that this idea might alienate non-Muslims living in 'North-West India' and assuaged their worries in the following words: 'The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world.' Further in the speech, he proclaimed: 'Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states.' Iqbal theorised 'North-West India' as a frontier region between India and any foreign invaders (since India had historically faced attacks from the Western side). He gave the numbers of Muslim personnel enrolled in Indian army (a legacy of British Racism in the form of the 'martial races' theory developed after 1857) and assured that this Muslim force would defend India. In his words, "the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets." It is safe to assume that Iqbal was referring to growing Influence of Soviet Russia in parts of Asia and his proposed state 'within or without the British Empire' would stop invasion of Communist forces and ideas.

Furthermore, Iqbal wanted a redrawing of India's map before the constitutional scheme proposed by Simon Commission was to be implemented. He proposed: 'In view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous States, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India.' The Simon Commission report had mentioned that 'India's defence cannot be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern' necessitating presence of British officers in Indian Army. Iqbal spoke against this imperial policy and demanded further integration of Indian officers in the army. He reminded the audience that 'If a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal States will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals'.

At the end, Iqbal diagnosed two major problems facing the Indian Muslim community: 'want of leaders' and 'factionalism'. He finished by expressing his gut feeling 'that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose.' As it turned out, that 'single purpose' was creation of new state/s as theorised by All India Muslim League's resolution passed ten years after Iqbal's death, a few hundred metres away from his final resting place in Lahore. However, the

state that claims him as 'philosopher of the nation' forgot his famous address (bar that single line about North West, not to be confused with Kanye West's progeny) and progressively hunted out minority communities living inside its boundaries.

#### **Round Table Conferences**

The three Round Table Conferences of 1930–32 were a series of conferences to formulate future constitution of India in the light of suggestions given by the Indian Leaders. In Indian Act 1919, it was said that new reforms will be introduced in Indian Act 1929. So they started planning for 1929 Act. In 1927 British Government appointed a commission to draft coming constitution which is called Simon Commission. There was no representative of Indians in this Commission that's why all the parties decided to boycott of this commission except Shafi League. There was great resentment among Indians because they were waiting for last ten years. Congress wanted a clear declaration from British Government that the main aim of these conferences would be to draft a scheme for Dominion Status to India. On 19 June, 1930 British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald summoned the Indian Leader to attend these conferences, On 13 March, 1930 Gandhi decided to celebrate Independence Day and started Civil Disobedience Movement for complete independence of India. However, Muslim leaders stayed away from the movement because Hindus were exploiting the Muslim demand for their own rights. Muhammad Ali Jinnah had already given a proposal to British Prime Minister to settle down this issue in London. Gandhi had given ultimatum for the approval of Nehru Report. In this scenario, when the first Round Table Conference started M.K Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were in the jail. Muhammad Ali Jauhar in April 1930 declared, "The aim of the movement was not to work for Indian independence but to make Muslims slave of Hindu Maha Sabah". Along with sixteen British members, there were fifty seven representatives from all Indian states and all parties except Indian National Congress. Muslim Leaders: Quaid-e-Azam, Sir Agha Khan, Muhammad Ali Jauhur, .Maulvi Fazl Haq and Sir Muhammad Shafi Hindu Mahasabha: B. S. Moonje and M.R. Jayakar Liberals: Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamani and Srinivasa Sastri Sikh: Sardar Ujjal Singh Depressed Classes: B. R. Ambedkar Princely states: Akbar Hydari (Dewan of Hyderabad), Mirza Ismail (Diwan of Mysore), Kailas Narain Haksar of Gwalior, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III of Baroda, Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner, Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, K.S. Ranjitsinhji of Nawanagar, MaharajaJai Singh Prabhakar of Alwar and the rulers of Indore, Rewa, Dholpur, Koriya, Sangli and Sarila. After lengthy debate, it was decided that federal form of government will be established for India. The Central Executive would be responsible to Federal Legislature. Provinces will be given autonomy in their own affairs and Sindh will be considered a separate province with a responsible government. Two sub-committees were also appointed one will work out the detail of Federal form of government and the other one will sort out the problems of minorities. Both communities failed to reach any logical conclusion. On January 19, 1931, the first round table conference was officially finished. Lord Irwin decided that in the absence of Congress leaders the future of India could not be decided. On January 25, 1931, M.K Gandhi and his colleagues were released from jail and Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed. The Second Round Table Conference, lasted 7 September 1931 to 1st December 1931, made more controversies for British Government. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar has died before that

conference. To resolve the issues of federal and minorities, Gandhi appointed himself the member of both committees. In the absence of other representatives, he remained fail to resolve the issues. He presented already rejected Nehru Report to resolve the communal problem. Separate electorate for Untouchables in the award forced Gandhi to start fast unto death. On August 16, 1932, the British Government decided to give its famous Communal Award. In this Award, principle of Wieghtage was applied (Muslim lost majority in Punjab, Sikh got advantage in Punjab, Europeans got advantage in Bengal because of principle of Wieghtage). Sindh was awarded the status of separate province. Finally, Communal Award declared untouchables as a minority in India and thus the Hindus depressed classes were given a number of special seats. At that All India Muslim League was divided into two factions, both expressed their dissatisfaction on that Award. At last Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah decided to accept this award till alternative solution. The Hindu press considered it against the fundamental principle of nationalism for India. In the third Round Table Conference, November 17, 1932 to November 24, 1932, the Congress, and Labour Party did not take part. It was decided to setup a federal legislature in India consisting of elected representatives of the British India and of the representatives of the state to be nominated by respective ruler. To sum up, we can say that the first Conference did not gain success because of the absence of the Congress, the Hindu representative and the second Conference remained fail because of the presence of the Congress which even enhanced the level of hostility between the Hindu and the Muslims and the communal award proved even final blow to the relations of the two communities of Indian subcontinent. As result of these conferences British Government issued a White Paper based on the recommendations which was handed over to Select Committee. On July 4, 1935 a new constitution of India came into being which was approved by both of the Houses of the Parliament.

### **Government of India Act 1935**

The Round Table Conferences could not achieve their objective and thus failed. However on the suggestions of Round Table Conferences white paper was issued in 1933 and efforts were started to make the constitution of India. A committee was setup under the chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy of India, to consider the recommendations of the white paper. The report of the committee was published in 1934 that was contained in a bill of law. The report along with the bill was passed in the British Parliament. After the Royal assent the Act was enforced in the country as Government of India Act 1935. The Government of India Act 1935 consisted of two parts. One part was central and the other part was the provincial. The Act was also contained 14 parts and 10 schedules. The following were the salient features of the Act:

The Act proclaimed a bicameral legislature. The one house of the Assembly was called the Indian Legislature Assembly and the other house of the Assembly was The Council of State. The Council of State was the upper house that was a permanent body i.e that it could not be dissolved like the lower house of the Parliament. One-third members of the upper house had to retire after every 3 years. The lower house of the Assembly, the Indian Legislature Assembly, was not an independent body. The laws passed by the Assembly could be Veto by Governor-General. The legislature had no control over the legislature under this Act.

As regards the Federal Budget it was consisted of two parts. One part consisted of non-votable part of the budget that was 80 % of the whole budget. This part of budget could not be discussed or amended in the legislature. The other part of the budget that consisted of 20% of the whole budget could be discussed or amended in the Federal Assembly.

The provinces were given more authority and powers and for the first time the provinces were made separate entities.

The system of Dyarchy was scrapped in the provinces and introduced in the centure.

Under the Act there were three lists of subjects. One was federal, 2nd was provincial and the 3rd was concurrent list.

The whole country was divided in to 11 provinces.

The Governor-General in the centre and the Governors in the provinces were given special rights and privileges. In case of emergency situation both Governor-General and Governors enjoyed unlimited powers and their authority could not be challenged in any institution.

Under the Act a Federal Court was established. The court was consisted of Chief Justice and six other judges. After the age of 65 the judges of the Federal court had to vacant the seat however the any judge of the court could leave his seat before the age of 65. The court could interpret the

constitution and if Governor-General needed any help regarding the constitution matters the court was bound to give advise but it was totally depended upon him to accept or reject the advice.

Under the Act the Secretary of State for India enjoyed the same powers that the other ministers enjoyed under the Act. The Indian Council that was created to help him was abolished under the Government of India Act 1935.

The Government of Indian Act was passed by the British parliament in 1935 and came into effect in 1937. It was based on a report by a Joint Select Committee, led by Lord Linlithgow, set up the two houses of the British parliament. The report, in turn, was the result of the Joint Committee's scrutiny of the 'White Paper' – a scheme of constitutional proposals - prepared by the British government close on the heels of the Round Table conferences.

The Act was written in a legal style, organised around 11 'Parts' and 10 'Schedules'. Each part was further divided into chapters. It is considered to be one of the longest pieces of legislation passed by the British parliament - parliamentary debates around the Act involved 2000 speeches. Some of the key features of the Act were:

The creation of a 'Federation of India' that consisted of two levels: a central executive and parliament, and below it, provinces and princely states.

It discarded the 'dyarchy' system at the provincial level and allowed for the emergence of popularly elected provincial legislatures. Dyarchy was introduced at the central level, key subjects like defence and foreign affairs were under the direct control of the Governor General.

A federal court was established.

The franchise was expanded to 14% of the population from 3%.

Separate electorates were provided for Muslims, Sikhs and others, but not to

Depressed Classes.

Governor enjoyed critical emergency powers.

Except for the National Liberal Federation, most political parties in India took a negative view of the Act. The Indian National Congress called it a 'slave constitution that attempted to strengthen and perpetuate the economic bondage of India'. However, the Congress encouraged its members to fight in the elections under the Act, obtain positions in the provincial legislatures, and then work towards undermining the Act. The other major Indian political party, the Muslim League, also attacked the Act but was ready to work with provincial sections for 'what it was worth'.

The Act played a key role in the drafting of the Constitution of India, 1950. A significant chunk of the Constitution, particularly the administrative provisions, are borrowed from the Act. This had led to charges made in the Constituent Assembly about the Constitution being 'foreign' and unoriginal. These types of attacks are often made even today.

Most scholars view the Act as a significant development in India's constitutional and political history and agree that it was informed by a need to protect British interests rather than promoting self-government in India. Scholars like Andrew Muldoon have argued that the Act 'was arguably the most significant turning point in the history of the British administration in India'. He further argues, in Empire. Politics and Creation of the 1935 Act, that the Act was a means of 'continuation of the British control of India, and the deflection of the challenge to the Raj posed by Gandhi, Nehru and the nationalist movement'. J.A. Gallager in his Ford

Lectures on The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire takes a similar view and states that the 'Act was designed to revise the workings but not weaken the realities of British Power'

The Act of 1935 failed to win appreciation from various sectors. Both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress expressed their dissatisfaction over the Act. Hindu leader Madam Mohan greatly criticized this Act and Pandat Jawahar Lal Nehru said on the emergency rights of Governor-General and Governors that this Act provided that this Act was like a machine that had strong brakes and no engine. Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah said this scheme thoroughly rotten fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable.

## General Elections and Government of 1937-1939

Even though Muslim League and Congress were against the Government of India Act 1935, yet it was implemented in the winter of 1937. Now, what lay before them was the task of persuading their concerned masses to support them in the upcoming elections. But Muslim League, which stood for separate electorates, was unfortunately divided in several factions owing to personal and ideological differences. Congress, on the other hand, was raising slogans of joint electorates. Congress also wanted Hindi to be declared as the official language in the Deva Nagri script, while Muslims were in favour of Urdu in Persian script to be officially declared as the national language of the Indian sub-continent.

For the discussion of the constitutional problem, the British government convened the three Round Table Conferences at London from 1930 to 1932. The deliberations of the Round Table Conferences resulted in the Government of India Act, 1935.

Both the Congress and the Muslim League were critical of the Government of India Act, 1935, but decided to participate in the elections, which were held under it during the first weeks of 1937. After the elections, Congress was able to form ministries in eight out of eleven provinces.

The Muslim League did not do so well. The reason for this was that for a number of years it had been divided into factions. When Jinnah toured India in 1936, he found that local Muslim leaders who had entrenched themselves in the provinces were extremely reluctant to follow on All India Muslim League policy. As a result, All India Muslim League lost in the elections.

The result of elections came as a huge shock to both the parties. Congress, who claimed to be representing 95% of the total Indian population, could not even secure 40% of the seats. It won almost 750 seats out of 1,771 in 8 out of 11 provinces. Its success was restricted to Hindu-majority provinces only. As for the results for the Muslim League, they were greatly disappointing. Out of 491 Muslim seats, it could only capture 106 and 26 of them were taken by Congress. Hence, the final success of the elections was named in the favour of Congress, which gained majority in Bihar, Orissa, Madras and U.P and other regions.

The Congress didn't set up ministries for about four months demanding British government to not interfere in its legislative affairs. Discussions between them took place, and at last, the British agreed without making any formal amendment to the Government of India Act 1935. As a result of which, Congress ministries were formed in July 1937 but with bitter policy against Muslims: Hindi became the national language, Congress flag became the national flag, and Bande Matram became the national anthem. A strict prohibition was laid on cow slaughter and singing of Bande Matram, taken from the novel of Chandra Chatterji, was started in schools. Construction of new mosques was banned and Muslims were harassed while they offered prayers.

Twenty-seven months of Congress rule were characterized by rising political Hinduism, which seemed to be working only for the welfare of Hindu community and revenging the previous 700-year Muslim rule over them, as stated by some Congress leaders. Educational reforms were introduced that were purely anti-Muslim in spirit. The purpose of Warda Taleemi Scheme was to displace the idea of two nation theory from minds of Muslim children, while Vidya Mandar Scheme aimed at promoting Hindu culture by making Mandar education necessary at elementary level. Muslims were also kept back in economic circle. They were expelled from government offices and career opportunities were closed for them. Their trade and agriculture was a target of Hindu's harm, and they couldn't appeal justice which already had Hindu imprints upon it. As a result, and to nobody's surprise but huge dismay, massive Hindu-Muslim riots took place.

Several reports such as "Pirpur Report", "Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule", and "The Sharif Report" were issued by Muslims leaders to give word and voice to the injustice and cruelty they were receiving under Congress reign, and they found expression in newspapers.

When World War II started in 1939, the British were fighting against the Axis Powers. The Viceroy of India announced India's involvement without consulting its representative political leaders. Congress asked for transfer of power in repayment of their cooperation in war, which the British government denied. As a result, Congress ministries resigned. Thus came to an end the nightmarish rule which had terrorized Muslim community beyond imagination. Quaid-i-Azam asked the Muslims to observe it as a 'Day of Deliverance' with peace and without any harmful intent towards any other nation. Prayers of thanksgiving and gratitude were offered and Muslims took a sigh of relief from the atrocities committed against them in the two-year Congress rule.

Jinnah declared December 22, 1939, as a Day of Deliverance and thanks-giving in token of relief from the tyranny and oppression of the Congress rule.

Thus came an end to Congress rule, which was an eye opener for the Muslims of India, who realized that the only option left for them was independence. Consequently, only three months later, the demand for the partition of India was formally put forward by the Muslim League.

The stage was set for the struggle that culminated in the birth of Pakistan.

### **Lahore Resolution**

With the introduction of political reforms in India by the British, the Muslims realized that they would become a permanent minority in a democratic system and it would never be possible for them to protect their fundamental rights. They only constituted one fourth of the total Indian population and were much lesser in number than the majority Hindu community. In order to protect their political, social and religious rights they first demanded for separate electorates. However, due to the political developments that took place in the country they realized that even the right of separate electorates would not be enough and they had to search for some other long term solution.

Muhammad Iqbal, the poet philosopher in his famous Allahbad address made it clear that Islam has its own social and economic system and in order to implement it a political entity was required. When Jinnah came back to India in order to reorganize Muslim League and to make it a political party of the Muslim masses, he got the opportunity to interact with Iqbal. Iqbal through his letters tried to persuade Jinnah that the only solution available was a separate state for the Indian Muslims where they could spend their lives according to the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet (SAW). Though Jinnah was convinced by late 1930s, but being a realist he was not ready to announce the new plan until he was confident that the vast majority of the Muslims were behind him. Overwhelming support from the Muslim masses for his call to celebrate Day of Deliverance on December 22, 1939 was actually a vote of confidence given by the Muslim Community in the leadership of Jinnah, whom they by then had started considering as their Quaid-i-Azam.

# Organization

With the clarity of mind and backing of the Muslim community behind him, Quaid-i-Azam called for the 27<sup>th</sup> annual session of All India Muslim League to be held from March 22 to 24, 1940 at Lahore. Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot was made the head of the reception committee and Main Bashir Ahmad was nominated as secretary of the session. Prominent leaders including Chaudhry Khaliquzzam, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, A.K. Fazlul Haq, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Abdullah haroon, Qazi Muhammad Isa, I.I. Chundrigar, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Abdul Hashim and Malik Barkat Ali etc. attended the session.

## Khaksar Tragedy

Due to the Khaksar Tragedy that took place on March 19, Sir Sikandar Hayat and others tried to persuade Jinnah to postpone the session but the determined Quaid was not ready for it. In order to participate in the session, he reached Lahore by train on March 21. He went straight to Mayo Hospital to see the wounded Khaksars. By doing so he managed to handle well the issue of Khaksar disturbances. On his arrival Jinnah told the print media that the All India Muslim League will make historic decision in the upcoming session

# Quaid-i-Azam's Address

The venue of the session was Minto Park near Badshahi Masjid and Lahore Fort. The inaugural session was planned at around three in the afternoon on March 22. People started coming from the morning and by the afternoon the park was jam packed. According to a rough estimate around

100,000 attended the public meeting. In the beginning of the session, the welcome address was presented by the Nawab of Mamdot. This was followed by the historical speech of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The Quaid in his two hours presidential address in English narrated the events that took place in the past few months and concluded, "Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations that are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state." He further claimed, "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nationhood. We wish our people to develop to the fullest spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people".

During his speech the Quaid quoted the letter written by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1924 to C.R. Das in which he clearly mentioned that the Hindus and the Muslims were two separate and distict nationas which could never be merged into a single nation. When Malik Barkat Ali claimed that Lala Lajpat Rai was a "Nationalist Hindu leader", Quaid responded, "No Hindu can be a nationalist. Every Hindu is a Hindu first and last."

#### The Resolution

On March 23, A.K. Fazul Haq, the Chief Minister of Bengal, moved the historical Lahore Resolution. The Resolution consisted of five paragraphs and each paragraph was only one sentence long. Although clumsily worded, it delivered a clear message. The resolution declared:

"While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935 is based will be reconsidered

in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to 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 readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguard shall be specially provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary".

Besides many others, the Resolution was seconded by Chaudhary Khaliquzzam from UP, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N. W. F. P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Muhammad Esa from Baluchistan. Those who seconded the resolution, in their speeches declared the occasion as a historic one. The Resolution was eventually passed on the last day of the moot, i.e. March 24.

#### Controversies

The name Pakistan was not used in the resolution and the official name of the resolution was Lahore Resolution. It was the Hindu newspapers including Partap, Bande Matram, Milap, Tribune etc., who ironically coined the name Pakistan Resolution. However, the idea was appreciated by the Muslim masses and the Resolution is more known as Pakistan Resolution. Secondly, the Government and people of Pakistan wrongly celebrate March 23 as a national day in Pakistan. The actual day when the resolution was passed was March 24. It was only presented on March 23. Lastly, it the word "states" and not "state" was mentioned in the Resolution. It means that the authors of the Resolution were foreseeing two separate states in the north-western and eastern

zones of India. But if one has a good look at the developments that followed, he or she would come to the conclusion that either the word "states" was included as a mistake or the League leadership soon had a second thought to their idea. A Resolution passed at the 1941 Madras session of the League stated, "Everyone should clearly understand that we are striving for one independent and sovereign Muslim State." In all the speeches that Quaid delivered, he also used the word "an independent homeland" or "an independent Muslim state"

#### Hindu Reaction

The Hindu reaction was, of course, quick, bitter and malicious. They called the "Pakistan" demand "anti-national." They characterized it as "vivisection; above all, they denounced it as imperialist – inspired to obstruct India's march to freedom." In denouncing the demand outright, they, however, missed the central fact of the Indian political situation; the astonishingly tremendous response of the Pakistan demand had elicited from the Muslim masses. They also failed to take cognizance of the fact that a hundred million Muslims were now supremely conscious of their distinct nationhood and were prepared to stake everything to actualize their self-perceived destiny – the creation of an independent Muslim state in the sub-continent.

#### **British Reaction**

The British were equally hostile to the Muslim demand for at least two important reasons. First, they had long considered themselves as the architects of the unity of India and of an Indian nation. Second, they had long regarded the super-imposed unity under tax Britannica as their greatest achievement and lasting contribution in history. And the Pakistan demand threatened to undo these presumed achievements on which the British had long prided. However, despite the Hindu denunciation and the British alarm, the course of Muslim, indeed Indian, politics was from now on firmly set towards Pakistan.

#### Conclusion

The All India Muslim League Resolution of March 1940, commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution, is undoubtedly the most important event that changed the course of Indian history and left deep marks on the world history. With the passage of this Resolution, the Muslims of the subcontinent changed their demand from "Separate Electorates" to a "Separate State." This Resolution rejected the idea of a United India and the creation of an independent Muslim state was set as their ultimate goal. It gave new energy and courage to the Muslims of the region who gathered around Quaid-i-Azam from the platform of the Muslim League to struggle for their freedom. The dynamic leadership of the Quaid and the commitment and devotion of the followers made it possible for them to achieve an independent state within seven years of their struggle, and that too when the odds were against them.

## August offer 1940

In order to win over the sympathies of the Indian masses and political parties during the war, His Majesty's Government issued a White Paper on August 8, 1940. The document, which later on is known as the August Offer in history books, promised for the establishment of an independent Indian Constituent Assembly with completely indigenous representation and a power to frame the future constitution of the country. The offer also provided the option for the extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Simultaneously, the August Offer talked about the rights of minorities, especially Muslims as it declared that the majority community will not be given the veto power and full weight would be given to the views of minorities in making of the Constitution. However, the document made it clear that all the promises will be fulfilled after the conclusion of the war and that too if all the communities and political parties would help the British in their war efforts.

In order to discuss the August Offer, Quaid-i-Azam held meetings with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on August 12 and 14. This was followed by the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee on September 1 and 2. The Committee appreciated the clauses of the offer in which the British agreed to accept that no future constitution will be recognized by the Government without the approval and consent of the minority communities. However, the committee showed its reservations on issues like the composition of the Executive Council and the vagueness of the War Advisory Council. The working Committee also made it clear that no formula was accepted to the party which was against the spirit of the Lahore Resolution in which clearly declared that the Muslims of India were a nation by themselves and they alone were the final judges and arbiters of their own future destiny. The Indian National Congress also opposed the offer and their president, Abul Kalam Azad, even refused to discuss the formula with the Viceroy.

#### Wavell Plan 1945

In October 1943 the British Government decided to replace Lord Linlithgow with Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India. Before assuming the charge, Wavell worked as the Chief of Indian army and thus had quit an understanding of the Indian situation. Right after assuming charge as Viceroy, Wavell's most important task was to present a formula for the solution of the Indian problem which was acceptable for both the Congress and the Muslim League. After doing his basic homework, in May 1945 he visited London and discussed his suggestions with the British Government. The London talks resulted in the formulation of a definite plan of action which was officially made public simultaneously on June 14, 1945 by L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and by Wavell in a broadcast speech delivered from Delhi. The plan, commonly known as Wavell Plan presented the following proposals:

- 1. If all the Indian political parties would help the British in the war then the British Government would introduce Constitutional Reforms in India after the war.
- 2. Viceroy's Executive Council would be immediately reconstituted and the number of its members would be increased.
- 3. In that Council there would be equal representation of high class Hindus and the Muslims.
- 4. Other minorities including low-caste Hindus, Shudders and Sikhs would be given representation in the Council.
- 5. All the members of the Council, except the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indians.
- 6. An Indian would be appointed as the member of Foreign Affairs in the Council. However, a British Commissioner would be appointed to look after the matters relating to the trade.
- 7. Defence of India was to be in the hands of a British authority till Power was transferred to the Indian hands
- 8. Viceroy would convene a meeting of the Indian politician including the leaders of Congress and the Muslim League so that they could nominate the names of the members of the new Council.
- 9. If this plan is approved for the Central Government then same type of popular ministries comprising of the political leaders would be formed in all the provinces.
- 10. None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent Constitution of India

In order to discuss the proposal with the Indian leaders, Wavell summoned a conference in Simla on June 25, 1945.

#### Simla Conference 1945

Lord Wavell succeeded Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy of India in 1943. Lard Wavell was a reputed military commander and had commanded the British armies in the Second World War. Before

coming to India he was the C-in-C of the British forces which were fighting in North Africa against German forces. Being a military commander Lord Wavell possessed great administrative experience. When he took over as Viceroy, the tide of the Second World War was turning in favour of the allies. Lord Wavell declared that British Government wanted to see India as an independent and prosperous country. When the war ended in August 1945, Viceroy Lord Wavell decided to hold a political conference to which he invited Muslim League and Congress representatives. The conference began in Simla on June 24, 1945 and lasted till July 14, 1945. Muslim League was represented by Quaid-i-Azam, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khwaja Nazim-ud-din, Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah, Sir Muhammad Asad Ullah and Hussain Imam. The Congress was represented by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Dr. Khan Sahib and some other leaders.

The Viceroy proposed an Interim Central Government in which all the portfolios except that of war would be given to Indians. There was to be parity of representation between Muslims and caste Hindus. There was a deadlock over the Muslim League's demand that all five Muslim members of the Executive Council should be the nominees of the Muslim League. The Viceroy was of the opinion that four members should be taken from the Muslim League while the fifth member should be a Punjabi Muslim who did not belong to the Muslim League. The Viceroy's insistence on having a non-leaguer in the Executive Council was in accordance with the advice given by British and Hindu officials to support Khizar Hayat Tiwana in his stand against Muslim League. Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Chief Minister of Punjab, had demanded that one seat of the Executive Council, out of Muslim quota, should be given to his Unionist Party which was happily accepted by the Viceroy. The Congress also supported Khizar Hayat in his stand against Muslim League. The Congress denied Muslim League's claim of being the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. Quaid-i-Azam took a strong stand on these two issues and the conference failed to achieve anything and finally ended on 14th July, 1945.

## **Quit India Movement 1942**

The Quit India Movement was a civil disobedience movement launched in India in August 1942 in response to Mohandas Gandhi's call for immediate independence. The All-India Congress Committee proclaimed a mass protest demanding what Gandhi called "an orderly British withdrawal" from India. The call for determined, but passive resistance appears in his call to Do or Die, issued on 8 August at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay.

The British were prepared to act. Almost the entire Indian National Congress leadership, and not just at the national level, was imprisoned without trial within hours after Gandhi's speech at least 60,000. Most spent the rest of the war in prison and out of contact with the masses. The British had the support of the Viceroy's Council (which had a majority of Indians), of the Muslims, the Communist Party, the princely states, the Imperial and state police, the Indian Army, and the Indian Civil Service. Many Indian businessmen were profiting from heavy wartime spending and did not support Quit India. Many militant students paid more attention to Subhas Chandra Bose, who was in exile and supporting the Axis. The only outside support came from the Americans, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt pressured Prime Minister Winston Churchill to give in to Indian demands. The Quit India campaign was effectively crushed. The British refused to grant immediate independence, saying it could happen only after the war ended. In 1939 Indian nationalists were angry that the British Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow, had without consultation with them brought India into the war.

At the outbreak of war, the Congress Party had passed a resolution during the Wardha meeting of the working-committee in September 1939, conditionally supporting the fight against fascism, but was rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. Gandhi had not supported this initiative, as he could not reconcile an endorsement for war (he was a committed believer in non-violent resistance to tyranny, used in the Indian Independence Movement and proposed even against Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Hideki Tojo). However, at the height of the Battle of Britain, Gandhi had stated his support for the fight against racism and of the British war effort, stating he did not seek to raise a free India from the ashes of Britain. However, opinions remained divided.

After the onset of the war, only a group led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took any decisive action. Bose organized the Indian National Army with the help of the Japanese, and, soliciting help from the Axis Powers conducted a guerrilla war against the British authorities. The purpose of the mission was to negotiate with the Indian National Congress a deal to obtain total co-operation during the war, in return of progressive devolution and distribution of power from the crown and the Viceroy to elected Indian legislature. The talks failed, having failed to address the key demand of a timetable of self-government and of definition of the powers to be relinquished, and essentially portraying an offer of limited dominion-status that was wholly unacceptable to the Indian movement.

The Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha (14th July, 1942) passed a resolution demanding complete independence from the British government. The draft proposed massive civil disobedience if the British did not accede to the demands. However, it proved to be controversial within the party. A prominent Congress national leader Chakravarti Rajgopalachari quit the Congress over this decision, and so did some local and regional level organizers. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad were apprehensive and critical of the call, but backed it and stuck with Gandhi's leadership till the end. On August 8, 1942 the Quit India Resolution was passed at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC). In his Quit India speech that day at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, and Gandhi told Indians to follow non-violent civil disobedience. He told the masses to act as an independent nation. His call found support among a large amount of Indians.

The Congress had little success in rallying other political forces under a single flag and program. Smaller parties like the Hindu Mahasabha opposed the call. The Communist Party of India strongly opposed the Quit India movement and supported the war effort because of the need to assist the Soviet Union, despite support for Quit India by many industrial workers. In response the British lifted the ban on the party. The movement had less support in the princely states, as the princes were strongly opposed and funded the opposition.

Muslim leaders opposed Quit India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's opposition to the call led to large numbers of Muslims cooperating with the British, and enlisting in the army. The Muslim League gained large numbers of new members. Congress members resigned from provincial legislatures, enabling the League to take control in Sind, Bengal and Northwest Frontier. Although at the national level the ability to galvanize rebellion was limited, the movement is notable for regional success especially at Satara, Talcher, and Midnapore. In Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore, the local populace was successful in establishing parallel governments, which continued to function, until Gandhi personally requested the leaders to disband in 1944. A minor uprising took place in Ballia, now the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh. People overthrew the district administration, broke open the jail, released the arrested Congress leaders and established their own independent rule. It took weeks before the British could reestablish their writ in the district. Of special importance in Saurashtra (in western Gujarat) was the role of the region's 'baharvatiya' tradition (i.e. going outside the law) which abetted the sabotage activities of the movement there. In rural west Bengal, the Quit India Movement was fueled by peasants' resentment against the new war taxes and the forced rice exports. There was open resistance to the point of rebellion in 1942 until the great famine of 1943 suspended the movement.

One of the achievements of the movement was to keep the Congress party united through all the trials and tribulations that followed. The British, already alarmed by the advance of the Japanese army to the India-Burma border, responded by imprisoning Gandhi. All the members of the Party's Working Committee (national leadership) were imprisoned as well. Due to the arrest of major leaders, a young and till then relatively unknown Aruna Asaf Ali presided over the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the flag; later the Congress party was banned. These actions only created

sympathy for the cause among the population. Despite lack of direct leadership, large protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. Not all demonstrations were peaceful, at some places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity was cut and transport and communication lines were severed.

The British swiftly responded with mass detentions. Over 100,000 arrests were made, mass fines were levied and demonstrators were subjected to public flogging. Hundreds of resisters and innocent people were killed in police and army shootings. Many national leaders went underground and continued their struggle by broadcasting messages over clandestine radio stations, distributing pamphlets and establishing parallel governments. The British sense of crisis was strong enough that a battleship was specifically set aside to take Gandhi and the Congress leaders out of India, possibly to South Africa or Yemen but ultimately did not take that step out of fear of intensifying the revolt

The 'Quit India' movement, more than anything, united the Indian people against British rule. Although most demonstrations had been suppressed by 1944, upon his release in 1944 Gandhi continued his resistance and went on a 21-day fast. By the end of the Second World War, Britain's place in the world had changed dramatically and the demand for independence could no longer be ignored.

#### Gandhi Jinnah Talks 1944

The passing of the Resolution on 23rd March by the All India Muslim League at its Lahore session created a serious situation for the Congress leadership. Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi wrote in Harijan on 6th April 1940, "I admit that the step taken by the Muslim League at Lahore creates a baffling situation...the Two Nations theory is an untruth. The vast majority of Muslims of India are converts to Islam or are the descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation, as soon as they converted. C. Rajagapalachari, a liberal congress leader, who had to resign from the Congress because of his views, however, realised the necessity for Hindu-Muslim reconciliation as a pre-requisite for the attainment of independence. On 23rd April 1942, Rajagapalachari addressed a small gathering of his old Congress supporters in the Madras legislature and had a resolution passed for submission to the All India Congress committee, recommending the acceptance of partition in principle.

On 2nd May 1942, he mooted his proposal on Pakistan in the AICC at Allahabad, which stated, "...it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation." The proposal was rejected by 120 to 15 votes. Rajaji did not give up hope, but kept on negotiating with Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad All Jinnah during April 1944, when Gandhi and other Congress leaders were in jail. The correspondence was released to the press on 9th July 1944, and contained what came to be known as the "Rajaji Formula". It was intended to form the basis of the talks between Jinnah and Gandhi for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Rajaji declared that he had already obtained Gandhi's approval for the formula.

Jinnah placed the formula before the Working Committee of the Muslim League on 30th July 1944, but personally considered it unsatisfactory. He told the committee that Mr. Gandhi is offering a "shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan." Though, in his private capacity Jinnah expressed his pleasure at Gandhi's acceptance at least of "the principle of Pakistan."

Meanwhile Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, leader of the Khaksar Movement also addressed letters to Jinnah and Gandhi urging them to meet to discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem. Gandhi took the initiative and wrote to Jinnah, "Let us meet whenever you wish, do not disappoint me." The Muslim League Council meeting at Lahore invested Jinnah with full powers to negotiate with Gandhi on its behalf Jinnah accepted the offer and suggested a meeting between the two and offering his residence at Bombay as venue for discussion.

It is worthwhile noting that while Jinnah had full powers to negotiate on behalf of the Muslim League, Gandhi was undertaking this enterprise on his own behalf without the official sanction of the Congress. Many members of the Congress expressed disapproval at Gandhi's move. The Mahasabha young men shouted anti-Pakistan slogans at Gandhi's prayer meeting at Panchgani. The meeting took place between the two leaders at Bombay from 9th September to 27th

September. They met almost daily, and sometimes even twice in a day. On 27th September, Jinnah announced the termination of talks after the failure of the two leaders to reach an agreement saying, "We trust that this is not the final end of our effort." While Gandhi commented, "the breakdown is only so- called. It is an adjournment sine die." In the course of the seventeen day discussions, they exchanged 24 letters which were later on made public.

The discussion as well as the correspondence can be divided into three distinct stages. The first stage when Jinnah asked Gandhi for clarification of various points in the Rajaji formula. The second stage started when Gandhi, on account of obvious difficulties, shunted the Rajaji formula, and attempted to apply his mind to the Lahore Resolution. Eventually Gandhi made some new proposals and after this the final breakdown took place.

An analysis of the correspondence dearly shows that the talk failed because Gandhi simply refused to accept the Lahore Resolution as interpreted by Jinnah. He did not believe in the two nation theory which was the fundamental basis of the Muslims' demand, and totally rejected the Muslims right of self- determination. On 4th October Jinnah in a press conference at Bombay said, "In one breath Gandhi agrees to the principle of division and in the next he makes proposals which go to destroy the very foundation on which the division is claimed by Muslim India."

On one hand Gandhi wanted a League-Congress agreement, and on the other denied the League's representative character and authority to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India. In his letter of 25th September 1944, Jinnah summed up Gandhi's attitude to the Lahore Resolution, thus "You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of Lahore Resolution: 1) You did not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation. 2) You do not accept that the Muslims have an inherent right of self-determination. 3) You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right. 4) You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sindh, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier provinces, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam subject to territorial adjustments."

Gandhi wanted that first the people of India should oust the British with their joint action. When India was free then by mutual settlement and agreement two separate states could be created. Jinnah was not prepared to trust the words of Gandhi or the Congress. He said separation must come first and then matters of common interest between the two states would be settled by a treaty.

Lord Wavell expressed his disappointment at the failure of the talks. He stated that "Gandhi-Jinnah talks ended on a note of complete futility. I must say I expected something better. The two great mountains have met and not even a ridiculous mouse has emerged. This surely must blast Gandhi's reputation as a leader. Jinnah had an easy task, he merely had to keep on telling Gandhi he was talking nonsense, which was true, and he did so rather rudely, without having to disclose any of the weakness of his own position, or define his Pakistan in any way. I suppose it may increase his prestige with his followers."

The majority of the Hindus, especially the Mahasabhaits received the news of the breakdown of these talks with utmost relief and joy, for they were anxious lest their leader should commit himself to the 'vivisection of Mother India'. It was the Muslims who were most bitterly disappointed when the talks failed.

Matlubul Hasan Saiyid has stated, 'Gandhi's circuitous argumentation, shifting from Rajagopalacharia's formula to Lahore Resolution of the League and then back again and then over again to League Resolution, punctuating the discussions by his own suggestions and those of others whom he did not claim to represent, had made the breakdown of the these talks inevitable.

Jinnah had called this breakdown unfortunate, 'Dr. Tara Chand gives the following reason for the break down, 'A perusal of the letters exchanged shows that the two parties came very near to one another. What prevented them from concluding a settlement was not the apparent differences between their standpoints, but the distrust and fear which, lay behind the spoken and written word.

Gandhi's apparent purpose in holding these talks seemed to be to discredit the Muslim League and to appear before the Muslims as a friend doing all he could to concede to their demands, while in fact he was merely weaving a deceptive web of words to fool the public and to impose upon the Lahore Resolution a meaning quite different to what was intended by the framers of the resolution.—The failure of these talks, on the other hand, enhanced the prestige of the Quaid and he was able to consolidate his position as the leader of the Indian Muslims.

# Elections 1945-46 & Formation and Functioning of Interim Govt

Lord Wavell wrote letters to Nehru and Jinnah on July 22, 1946 and invited them to join an "Interim Coalition Government." He suggested that there would be 14 members in the cabinet: 6 of them from Congress, 5 from the Muslim League and the other 3 would represent the minority parties and the important portfolios would be divided equally to the Congress and the League. He made it clear that neither Congress nor Muslim League would be entitled to object the names submitted by the other party, provided they were acceptable to the Viceroy. Both Nehru and Jinnah rejected the proposal in their letters to Wavell written on July 23 and July 31 respectively. This created a complete deadlock.

In order to break the deadlock, the Secretary of State for India asked the Viceroy to contact Nehru and to offer him to form Government. The Muslim League was completely ignored. On August 6, Wavell in letter to Nehru invited him to form the Government. Congress held its Working Committee session on August 8 and authorized Nehru to negotiate the terms and Conditions for joining the Interim Government. On August 17 Nehru asked the Viceroy to allow him to form a full strength Ministry by filling the 5 Muslim seats with non League Muslims. This idea was, however, not acceptable to the Viceroy and asked to leave the Muslim seats vacant. The differences were resolved and on August 24 a communiqué was issued from Delhi, declaring that the new Executive Council would take charge on September 2.

On September 2, the Congress jointed the Interim Government. Their leaders declare, "Muslim League may come or not. That would make no difference. The caravan will move on." Congress nominated Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Sarat Chandra Bose, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and Jagjivan Ram as the nominee of the party in the Cabinet. Three minority positions were filled by Sardar Baldev Singh (Sikh), C.H. Bhabha (Parsee) and Johan Matthai (Indian Christian). Three Muslims, Asaf Ali, sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and Syed Ali Zaheer, were also included in the Government, while two Muslim seats were left vacant. Muslim League rejected the idea of installing one party Government. Jinnah declared Viceroys decision against his earlier assurance and commitments with the Muslim League. The Muslim League observed September 2 as black day and throughout India they flew black flags on their houses and shops.

As the time passed the British realized that the Interim Government cannot deliver unless and until the Muslim League send its representatives in the Cabinet. They persuaded Jinnah to join the Interim Government. On the other hand Muslim League also comprehended that its exclusion from the Government was paying havoc with the interests of the Muslims. Jinnah realized that he could protect the interests of the Indian Muslims more if his party joins the Interim Government. A series of meetings took place between Jinnah and Wavell and ultimately Muslim League joined the

Interim Government on October 25, 1946. In order to create space for the Muslim League Ministers, Sarat Chandra Bose, Shafaat Ahmad Khan and Syed Ali Zaheer had to quit.

Congress was not satisfied with the way Muslim League was included in the Interim Government. Nehru in a letter to the Viceroy on October 26 wrote, "The choice itself indicated a desire to have conflict rather than to work in co-operation." Gandhi considered that the League's entry in to the Government was not straight. Actually they felt hurt from the fact that Jinnah decided to enter Interim Government on the request of Wavell and not on Nehru's request. Furthermore, Jinnah made it clear that the Muslim League members of the cabinet will not be directly answerable to Nehru. Congress leadership was also annoyed because Muslim League nominated a scheduled caste Hindu, Jogendra Nath Mandal, as a cabinet member. This act could challenge the Congress claim of being the sole representative of the deprived class. Though the Viceroy wanted to give one of the three important departments, i.e. External Affairs, Home or Defence to the Muslim League, Nehru straight away rejected the idea. Following portfolios were allocated to the different parties:

# Congress

- 1. Jawaharlal Nehru External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
- 2. Vallabhbhai Patel Home, Information and Broadcasting
- 3. Rajendra Prasad Food and Agriculture
- 4. C. Rajgopalacharia Education and Arts
- 5. Asaf Ali Transport and Railways
- 6. Jagjivan Ram Labour

# Muslim League

- 7. Liaquat Ali Khan Finance
- 8. I.I. Chundrigar Commerce
- 9. Abdur Rab Nishtar Communications
- 10. Ghazanfar Ali Khan Health
- 11. J.N. Mandal Legislature

#### Minorities

- 12. John Matthai Industries and Supplies
- 13. C.H. Bhabha Works, Mines and Power
- 14. Baldel Singh Defence

The Interim government remained in place till the independence of Pakistan and India. Besides other duties it assisted the British Government in the process of transferring the power to the local

people. The Viceroy Executive Council served as the executive branch of interim government. Although it was originally headed by the Viceroy of India, it was transformed into a council of ministers with the powers of a Prime Minister bestowed on the vice president of the Council, a position held by Jawaharlal Nehru. With the exception of the Viceroy, who would hold only a ceremonial position, and the commander in chief of Indian army all members of the council were Indians.

#### 3rd June Plan

The British government finally decided to divide the country into two separates states after all the efforts of keeping Hindus and Muslims together in a single state went in vain. Lord Ismay, the Chief of Staff of Lord Mountbatten, was asked to frame the partition plan of India. Though the plan was deliberately kept secret from the Indians yet Nehru grabbed the chance of seeing the plan before it was put before the Indians. The British Government approved the Plan and sent it to India in May 1947.

The plan announced on 3 June 1947 suggested these points:

1.

- 2. The British Government would divide India into two separate states.
- 3. Dominion status would be given to the successor governments of the two states.
- 4. A Boundary Commission would be appointed to demarcate the boundaries if any of the communal group decides in favor of dividing the province of Punjab and Bengal.
- 5. The Sindh Legislative Assembly would be authorized to opt out whether it desires to join the current Constituent Assembly or the New Constituent Assembly.
- 6. A Referendum would be conducted in the North West Frontier Province to know the public opinion on the question of joining the new state of Pakistan. The Electoral College for the Referendum would be the same as it was for in 1946.
- 7. Baluchistan would be granted freedom of choice.
- 8. A referendum would be conducted in Sylhet to take the decision whether it wants to join East Bengal or stay as a part of Asam.

3rd June Plan materialized the dream of Iqbal of a separate state for the Muslim of the Sub-Continent and bestowed them with Muslim state of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. The Muslim League, therefore, hailed the Plan.

According to the Plan, the British Government transferred the Power to the governments of the two New States of Pakistan and India.

## **Independence Act 1947**

The 1947 Act is one of the most important Constitutional documents in the history of Pakistan. Yet politically, socially, it is a liability. In today's modern Pakistan, many would hesitate even to acknowledge the importance of this foundational document. For what is it, but an embarrassing throwback to a time when the Pakistani people were not free.

How better to illustrate this lack of freedom, than by reflecting on the following: The Indian Independence Act, 1947 was an Act of the British Parliament. Nothing really drives this point home, like the following recital:

"Be it enacted the King's Excellent Majesty, by most by and with advice consent **Spiritual** and Temporal, and of the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows..."

It was in London, that the creation of Pakistan was mandated, and not in Lahore or Karachi, or even for that matter, Delhi or Lucknow. And here, in words, the substance of that very mandate:

"1. As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan."

In a very real sense, it was not a question of "We, the People" – as in the Constitution of the United States – but rather a disparaging "You, chaps over there!" A fact which seems all the more shameful in the cold light of all our post-colonial pride.

The soil of History however, is not meant to bear the seed of emotion, but rather the seed of our ambitions. And for that seed to bear fruit, we must study the soil. In this case, it is the study of what constitutes the nature and content of 'freedom', and correspondingly, the question of 'independence from what?' What was that intangible thing, which the Pakistani nation hoped to attain; for which so many hundreds of thousands paid the ultimate price.

That intangible thing was none other than the right to decide for themselves how they were to be governed. It was the banner of 'representation,' behind which the nations of Pakistan and India gathered. No amount of historical revisionism can erase this one fundamental point. This was the basic compact, which the nation hoped to make with itself. And it was the right to enter into this compact, which the 1947 Act granted:

"6. The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion..."

The power to make rules – to make law – was the crowning jewel of independence. The figurative 'yoke of oppression' was none other than the castration of the People's will by a foreign power. The denial of their most fundamental right, namely, to make decisions for themselves. For no man,

no matter how much smarter, or more intelligent, or more educated he may be than his brother, has the right to tell him how he must live his life. After all, what is independence, but the 'independence to act' and the 'independence to decide.' Once this independence is taken away, then even a domestic power may become 'foreign' to the nation.

This was the basic lesson inherent in the struggle for independence. And it is this basic lesson, which the Pakistani nation has failed to learn. Representation; Enfranchisement; Democracy – these concepts continue to elude us. Despite the fact that it is these very principles which we sought so hard to attain.

So on this day, spare a thought for the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Enacted by the British Parliament for the Pakistani People. Spare another thought for this document later this year, when the time comes to vote for your chosen representative. Reflect upon it if your representative is victorious. But most importantly, reflect upon it, should he lose.

# First Constituent Assembly Presidential Address of the Quaid-e-Azam, 11 August, 1947.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me - the greatest honour that is possible to confer - by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the clan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regards to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering - I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think our condition is much worse - is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that blackmarketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These blackmarketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people,

and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil, the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any any influence directly of indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of everyone of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done, A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record is verdict in favour of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be on end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on, will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free people long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its

hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England, conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honor you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fairly without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words, partiality or favoritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

On the occasion of of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

#### Fatima Jinnah

## **Early Life:**

Fatima Jinnah was born in Karachi on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1893. Jinnah had seven siblings. Mohammad Ali Jinah was the eldest one in the family, and Fatima Jinnah was the 2<sup>nd</sup> last child of the family. In this family of seven siblings she was the closest one to Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Her well known and respected brother became her guardian after the death of their father in 1901. Fatima Jinna joined the Bandara convert in Bombay in 1902 where she remained in hostels as her parents had died. In 1919 she got admitted to the highly competitive University of Calcutta where she attended the Dr.R.Ahmad dental collage. After she graduated from there, she went with her idea of opening a dental clinic in Bombay in 1923.

## **Companion of Quaid-e-Azam:**

She lived with her elder brother Mohammad Ali Jinnah until 1919. At that time Jinnah married Rattanbai. Latter on Rattenbai died after eleven years in February 1929. Fatima Jinnah then closed her clinic and winded. She took the charge of Jinnah's house and went to his bungalow. After that the relation of brother and sister was became an example as their companionship lasted until the death of his bro Mohammad Ali Jinnah on 11 September 1948. Quaid-e-azam once said about his sister, "My sister was like a bright ray of light and hope whenever I came back home and me her. Anxieties would have been much greater and my health much worse, but for the restraint imposed by her." In all Hazrat Fatima Jinnah lived with her brother about 28 years. The Quaid would discuss various problems with her sister mostly on the breakfast and dinner table. She didn't only live with her brother but she also accompanied her brother on the numerous tours. She also joined him in London when he remained there after the second round table conference in 1932.

## **Political life:**

She was involved in politics side by side with her brother. When the All India Muslim League was being organized, Mohatrama Fatima Jinnah became the member of the working Committee of Bombay Provincial Muslim League and worked there until 1947. In March 1940 she attended the Lahore resolution of the Muslims League. It was because of her that All India Muslim Student Federation was organized in February 1941 at Dehli. During the transfer of power Fatima Jinnah formed a women's relief committee, latter on it was formed as the nucleous for the (APWA) known as All Pakistan Women's Association founded by Rana Liaqat Ali Khan. She did a lot of job for the settlement o the Mohajirs after the creation of Pakistan. She also returned to towards the political life when she ran for the presidency of Pakistan

#### Election of 1965:

She returned to the forefront of political life in 1960. Her opponent was Ayub Khan and she addressed him as a dictator. In her early rallies almost 250,000 people came to see her in Dhaka and million of the people, than millions of the people lined from there to Chittagong. Her train which was called Freedom Special train was 22 hours late because men at each station pulled the emergency break and they begged her to speak to them. She was hailed as the mother of the nation. In the rallies of Fatima Jinnah said that by coming to terms with India on the Indus water dispute Ayub surrendered control of the river to India. Fatima Jinnah was popularly acclaimed as "Madare-Millat" or mother of the nation, for her role in the freedom movement. Except for her tour to East Pakistan in 1954, she had not participated in the politics since the Independence Day. Presidential candidates were announced beginning of basic democracy elections, which was to constitute the Electoral College for the presidential and Assembly elections. Elections were held on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1965. There were four candidates which were taking part in that election. Ayub Khan, Fatmia Jinnah and two other persons which were not affiliated with any other party. It was held in short period of one month. Ayub Khan had the great advantage over all the candidates. He utilized the state facilities as the head of the state and didn't hesitate to legislate on electoral maters. Being a political opportunist he brought all the discontented elements together to support him. He also acted another mean action to get victory over Fatima Jinnah by having the support of ulema that were of the view that in Islam women can't b the head of the state. This was the worst action from Ayub khan. On the other hand Fatima Jinnah had a great advantage of being the sister of Quaid-e-azam. The campaign of Fatima Jinnah generated the people of Pakistan's feelings of hope. Crowds in all cities of East and West Pakistan were enormous. The campaign however suffered from a number of problems. The poor indirect elections through the basic democracy system, unfair and poor finances were some of the major problems that Fatima Jinnah was facing.

Fatima Jinnah any how lost the election because of the unfair means used by Ayub Khan, so he became the president of Pakistan. That was the huge setback for the people of Pakistan. Had the elections been held through direct ballot, Fatima Jinnah would have won it very easily and she would be the president of Pakistan. The elections were rigged in the favor of Ayub Khan. The syed race people said that they will support Ayub in election but Hazrat Fatima Jinnah said that she can represent them better then Ayub Khan. Both the Quaid and his sister avoided a sectarian label.

#### Madar-e-Millat:

She was known as Madar-e-millat or mother of the nation. Fatima Jinnah's name is an important one among the leaders of Pakistan Movement. She is the most loved one for being the closest supporter of her brother and founder of Pakistan and the leader of all India Muslims Quaid-e-Azam. But she is much more than that from Fatima Jinnah. She joined the All India Muslim League and attended the annual sessions of the party. Fatima Jinnah contributed in the social

development sector has been ignored. She along with Begum Liaqat Ali Khan made the greatest contribution in the realm of women's awakening and participation in national affairs.

## Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Allama Iqbal believed that, "The real greatness of the man (Sir Syed) consists in the fact that he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it." While in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "Sir Saiyad was an ardent reformer and he wanted to reconcile modern scientific thought with religion by rationalistic interpretations and not by attacking basic belief. He was anxious to push new education. He was in no way communally separatist. Repeatedly he emphasized that religious differences should have no political and national significance".

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born on Oct 17, 1817 in Delhi, belonged to a family which held prominent positions in the reign of Mughal emperors and he, himself, was bestowed with the title of Jawa'd-ul-Daula and Arif-e-Jang by Bahadur Shah Zafar II. But he soon realized the crumbling position of the Mughals and their deviancy from religion, and hence kept at distance from them.

He initiated his practical career by joining East India Company in 1937 as serestadar, managing court affairs and record-keeping. His educational reforms started when he laid the foundation of a madrassa (Muradabad Panchayaity Madrassah) in Muradabad in 1859, which was one of the first religious academies to incorporate scientific knowledge along with the religious one. Here Hindu and Muslim students were taught Urdu, Persian and Arabic along with English. The school was run from Hindu and Muslim funding.

After a brief interval of four years, he established another English High school based on the rules of religion in Ghazipur in 1963. His marvelous achievement, while he was posted at Aligarh was the establishment of MAO (Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental) High School in 1875, which was inaugurated by William Muir. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan wanted to upgrade its level to a college, and to attain this end, he speeded up fund-raising. Ultimately, his vision proved fruitful, and the viceroy of India Lord Litton elevated it to the level of a college on Jan 8, 1877.

Religious education along with modern learning was uncompromisingly essential. Students of it were encouraged to take part in healthy discussions avoiding sectarian issues. But this college was unable to impart knowledge to millions of Muslims scattered around the sub-continent; many of whom were those who were unaware of its existence even. The aim of Sir Syed was not merely restricted to establishing a college at Aligarh but at spreading a network of Muslim managed educational institutions throughout the length and breadth of the country. He established Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1886. Its importance surpassed all other institutions previously established. Great figures such as Maulana Shibli Naumani, Maulana Hali, Maulana Nazeer Ahmad, Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk, and others beautified the intellectual atmosphere of this institution and stirred up a flare of enthusiasm among many Muslims.

Sir Syed himself remained active in politics, yet he advised Muslims to keep away from it. He knew the educational backwardness of Muslims and their unawareness of political current. He also urged upon Muslims to remain at distance from Congress, because in his justified opinion, it was a party that was solely devoted to the cause of Hindus and detrimental to Muslims and their ideologies. This paved way for the establishment of Muslims League later in 1906.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a man of versatile personality. He rendered memorable contributions in the field of writings. Beginning at the age of 23, he started his career as an author writing religious texts. He was the first Muslim to produce a commentary on the Bible in which he tried to show that Islam was very close to Christianity in certain aspects. His other valuable tracts such as Loyal Muhammadans of India, Tabyin-ul-Kalam and A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad (SAW) and Subjects Subsidiary Therein proved to be a milestone in bridging the difference between the British and the Muslims. Some religious works of him that deserve mention are Ahkam Tu'am Ahl-Kitab, Al-Du'a Wa'l Istajaba, Al-Nazar Fi Ba'z Masa'il Imam Al-Ghazzali, Tafsir-a-Samawat, Tahrir fi Usul al-Tafsir, Tarjama fawa'id al-afkar fi amal al-farjar, along with such miscellaneous works as On the Use of the Sector (Urdu), Syed-ul-Akbar, Qaul-i-Matin dar Ibtal-i-Harkat i Zamin, Tashil fi Jar-a-Saqil, Ik Nadan Khuda Parast aur Dana dunyadar Ki Kahani, Kalamat-ul-Haqq.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan breathed his last on March 27, 1898. He is buried right along the Sir Syed Masjid inside Aligarh University. His funeral was attended not only by thousands of Muslims but British officials as well. He revived the dormant consciousness of Muslims and through his educational and social reforms, he went down in Muslim history as arguably the most influential Indian politician of 19th century.

After his death, his Muslims and English friends started raising money to fulfill Sir Syed's dream of making the MAO college in a Muslim university. People loved him, because in his life he was like a shady tree to them and after his death they remembered him and showed their love for him by making efforts for raising the status of the college to the university, which came finally in 1920.

## Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, also known as Allama Iqbal was a philosopher, poet and politician in British India who was born on 9 November 1877 and died on 21th April 1938. He is considered one of the most important figures in Urdu literature, with literary work in both Urdu and Persian languages.he was also called as Muslim philosophical thinker of modern times. Iqbal is known as Shair-e-Mushriq meaning Poet of the East. He is also called Muffakir-e-Pakistan ("The Inceptor of Pakistan") and Hakeem-ul-Ummat ("The Sage of the Ummah"). In Iran and Afghanistan he is famous as Iqbāl-e Lāhorī or Iqbal of Lahore, and he is most appreciated for his Persian work. Pakistan Government had recognised him as its "national poet.He has different literary and narrative works. His first poetry book, Asrar-e-Khudi, appeared in the Persian language in 1915, and other books of poetry include Rumuz-i-Bekhudi, Payam-i-Mashriq and Zabur-i-Ajam. Amongst these his best known Urdu works are Bang-i-Dara, Bal-i-Jibril, Zarb-i Kalim and a part of Armughan-e-Hijaz and also Pas che bayad kard.he had series of lectures in different educational institutions that were later on published by Oxford press as "the Reconstruction of Islamic religious thoughts in Islam". Iqbal was influenced by the teachings of Sir Thomas Arnold, his philosophy teacher at Government college Lahore, Arnold's teachings determined Iqbal to pursue higher education in West. In 1905, he traveled to England for his higher education. Iqbal qualified for a scholarship from Trinity College in Cambridge and obtained Bachelor of Arts in 1906, and in the same year he was called to the bar as a barrister from Lincoln's Inn. In 1907, Iqbal moved to Germany to study doctorate and earned PhD degree from the Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich in 1908. Working under the guidance of Friedrich Hommel, Iqbal published his doctoral thesis in 1908 entitled: The Development of Metaphysics in Persia. During his study in Europe, Iqbal began to write poetry in Persian. He prioritized it because he believed he had found an easy way to express his thoughts. He would write continuously in Persian throughout his life. Iqbal, after completing his Master of Arts degree in 1899, initiated his career as a reader of Arabic at Oriental College and shortly was selected as a junior professor of philosophy at Government College Lahore, where he had also been a stundent; Iqbal worked there until he left for England in 1905. In 1908, Iqbal returned from England and joined again the same college as a professor of philosophy and English literature. At the same period Iqbal began practicing law at Chief Court Lahore, but soon Iqbal quit law practice, and devoted himself in literary works and became an active member of Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam. In 1919, he became the general secretary of the same organisation. Igbal's thoughts in his work primarily focus on the spiritual direction and development of human society, centered around experiences from his travels and stays in Western Europe and the Middle East. He was profoundly influenced by Western philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson and Goethe.

The poetry and philosophy of Mawlana Rumi bore the deepest influence on Iqbal's mind. Deeply grounded in religion since childhood, Iqbal began intensely concentrating on the study of Islam, the culture and history of Islamic civilization and its political future, while embracing Rumi as his guide.

Iqbal had a great role in Muslim political movement. Iqbal had remained active in the Muslim League. He did not support Indian involvement in World War I, as well as the Khilafat movement and remained in close touch with Muslim political leaders such as Maulana Mohammad Ali and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He was a critic of the mainstream Indian National Congress, which he regarded as dominated by Hindus and was disappointed with the League when during the 1920s, it was absorbed in factional divides between the pro-British group led by Sir Muhammad Shafi and the centrist group led by Jinnah.

Ideologically separated from Congress Muslim leaders, Iqbal had also been disillusioned with the politicians of the Muslim League owing to the factional conflict that plagued the League in the 1920s. Discontent with factional leaders like Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Fazl-ur-Rahman, Iqbal came to believe that only Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a political leader capable of preserving this unity and fulfilling the League's objectives on Muslim political empowerment. Building a strong, personal correspondence with Jinnah, Iqbal was an influential force in convincing Jinnah to end his self-imposed exile in London, return to India and take charge of the League. Iqbal firmly believed that Jinnah was the only leader capable of drawing Indian Muslims to the League and maintaining party unity before the British and the Congress:

In his presidential address on December 29, 1930, Iqbal outlined a vision of an independent state for Muslim-majority provinces in northwestern India, "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated Northwest Indian Muslim state appears to me to be, at least of Northwest India.

Iqbal was the first patron of the historical, political, religious, cultural journal of Muslims of British India. This journal played an important part in the Pakistan movement. The name of this journal is The Journal Tolu-e-Islam.

Iqbal wrote two books on the topic of The Development of Metaphysics in Persia and The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam and many letters in English language, besides his Urdu and Persian literary works. In which, he revealed his thoughts regarding Persian ideology and Islamic Sufism – in particular, his beliefs that Islamic Sufism activates the searching soul to a superior perception of life. He also discussed philosophy, God and the meaning of prayer, human spirit and Muslim culture, as well as other political, social and religious problems.

Iqbal's views on the Western world were applauded by men including United States Supreme Court Associate Justice William O. Douglas, who said that Iqbal's beliefs had "universal appeal". In his Soviet biography N. P. Anikoy wrote, "(Iqbal is) great for his passionate condemnation of weak will and passiveness, his angry protest against inequality, discrimination and oppression in all forms i.e., economic, social, political, national, racial, religious, etc., his preaching of optimism, an active attitude towards life and man's high purpose in the world, in a

word, he is great for his assertion of the noble ideals and principles of humanism, democracy, peace and friendship among peoples.

Iqbal died on 21th April 1938 due to severe throat infection that lasted for long till his death. He will be remembered for good.

Aasmaan teri lahad per shabnam afshaani kare. Sabza e noorasta is ghar ki nigeh baani kare.

## Quaid-e-Azam

Jinnah was an Indian politician who successfully campaigned for an independent Pakistan and became its first leader. He is known there as 'Quaid-I Azam' or 'Great Leader'.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 in Karachi, now in Pakistan, but then part of British-controlled India. His father was a prosperous Muslim merchant.

Jinnah studied at Bombay University and at Lincoln's Inn in London. He then ran a successful legal practice in Bombay. He was already a member of the Indian National Congress, which was working for autonomy from British rule, when he joined the Muslim League in 1913. The league had formed a few years earlier to represent the interests of Indian Muslims in a predominantly Hindu country, and by 1916 he was elected its president.

In 1920, the Indian National Congress launched a movement of non-cooperation to boycott all aspects of British rule. Jinnah opposed this policy and resigned from the congress. There were by now profound differences between the congress and the Muslim League.

After provincial elections in 1937, the congress refused to form coalition administrations with the Muslim League in mixed areas. Relations between Hindus and Muslims began to deteriorate. In 1940, at a Muslim League session in Lahore, the first official demand was made for the partition of India and the creation of a Muslim state of Pakistan. Jinnah had always believed that Hindu-Muslim unity was possible, but reluctantly came to the view that partition was necessary to safeguard the rights of Indian Muslims.

His insistence on this issue through negotiations with the British government resulted in the partition of India and the formation of the state of Pakistan on 14 August 1947. This occurred against a backdrop of widespread violence between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, and a vast movement of populations between the new states of Pakistan and India in which hundreds of thousands died.

Jinnah became the first governor general of Pakistan, but died of tuberculosis on 11 September 1948.

## **Amjadi Begum**

One name, Amjadi Begum, associated with the Indian Freedom Struggle needs no introduction. Principled, patriotic, self-respecting, honest, dignified, truthful, courageous, determined and committed to the cause are all the attributes which direct us to that great personality whom we all know as Amjadi Begum.

Amjadi Bano Begum was born in 1885 in a devoutly religious family of Rampur. Her father, Azmat Ali Khan, worked as a high official with Rampur State. Amjadi Bano lost her mother at a very young age and was brought up in the care of paternal grandmother and paternal aunts. She received her primary education at home. Having a large and rich collection of religious books at home she helped herself achieve an extensive study of religion.

In 1902, when she was 17 years old, Amjadi Begum was married to the great freedom fighter Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar who at that time was studying in Oxford University.

After her marriage with Muhammad Ali Jauhar she embodied herself in all the respects of her husband. In one of his discourses Maulana Majid Daryabadi writes, 'Amjadi Begum always remained appended with Maulana in every journey and attended every session of Khilafat Conference. In 1921 she attended the session of All India National Congress Working Committee in Ahmadabad as a UP representative. Begum Sahiba was also a passionate leader of freedom struggle. Not only in ladies but also in men she imbued the spirit of freedom as well and so much that its forceful waves swept British imperialism away like weeds.'

Begum Sahiba's greatest achievement in association with Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar's mother Bi Amma, was to create political consciousness among Indian women. In 1917 she attended the annual session of All India Muslim League. In 1920 she was appointed as Secretary (women's wing) of All India Khilafat Committee. During this time Begum Sahiba and Bi Amma collected a contribution of Rs. 40 lakhs for the Khilafat Movement.

In his speech in the Constituent Assembly, charge sheeting Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Malcolm Healey [Governor of UP] complained, 'Even the women of his household collect donations and go on the rampage of inciting unrest.'

About the contributions of Indian women at the national level, Gandhiji, in his *Young India* of 29 November 1921, wrote a special article about Amjadi Begum entitled 'A Brave Woman'. In it he wrote, 'While working with Begum Muhammad Ali I had important experiences. Only last year she started helping her husband in his public affairs. It started with raising funds for Khilafat Movement. Since then she has been with us during our torturous journeys to Bihar, Assam and Bengal. I can say it with all the surety that she is in no way less skilful in oratory than her husband. In Madras on the seaside, a huge public meeting was organised. She delivered a speech on top of

her voice that was heard intently and appreciated greatly by the public.' [Translated from Urdu and not an original quote].

While Maulana Mohammad Ali was languishing in jail, all of his affairs outside the jail were managed by his mother and his wife. In 1930 Amjadi Begum attended the Round Table Conference along with her husband in London. Later she joined All India Muslim League and was also elected as a member of its working committee. After her joining the Muslim League all the other thousands of workers who were the fans of Muhammad Ali also took up its membership.

All India Muslim League's annual meeting of 1937 in Lucknow was held under the chairmanship of Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar. In its annual meeting in Patna in 1938 when Muslim League formed its women's wing and constituted a women's working committee then it was her that was appointed as its president.

Following this on the occasion of Muslim League's historic annual meeting in Lahore in March 1940, an annual meeting of All India Women's Muslim League Committee was held on 23 March at Habeebia Hall, Islamia College, Lahore attended by leading Muslim women activists from all over India. At this meeting Begum Amjadi Bano was elected as its president and women's leader.

For the welfare of women she established a Khadi Bhandar at Aligarh. In order to spread the message of freedom of the motherland she launched an Urdu daily *Roznama Hind* edited by her. It carried interesting and high quality articles.

When Khawaja Abdul Majeed Saheb was arrested she took upon herself to supervise the tasks of Jamia Millia Islamia that he used to look after so that Jamia did not have any problem in running its affairs.

One of the major contributions of Begum Sahiba was also the establishment of Hameedia Girls School in Allahabad. Even today this school, now known as Hameedia College, continues to serve women's education.

Begum Amjadi Bano had played important role in the general elections of 1946. She also contested and won a seat in UP on Muslim League's ticket un-opposed but, sadly, on 28 March 1947 only a few months before the country was liberated from the chains of slavery she departed from this world for her heavenly abode.

All her life she struggled for the independence of her country and went on to leading the community in the right direction. It is in only in centuries awhile that a woman of her stature and strong will and determination is born to a nation. It would not be wrong to call her the only woman leader of her time. This is the duty of all of us to acquaint the new generations with Begum Sahiba's political, social and educational achievements.

## Lady Hidayatullah

Real name of Lady Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla was Sugrah Begum. She born in a feudal family of Shikarpur in 1904. Begum Sughra got the liberal education of religion, Sindhi, Urdu and elementary English. She grew up in a strict purdah as other women of her family used to observe pardah as well. In 1919, she was just 15 years old when she got married to prominent political leader of Sindh named Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla.

Lady Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah always helped her husband in his social and political activities, as he was a very active member of All India Muslim League. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah worked twice as Chief Minister of Sindh in separate terms. She herself was a very active member of All India Muslim League and she started her political career in 1938. In the same year she entered in the Women's Central Subcommittee and she worked really hard there that the branches of provincial Subcommittee were spread in the other districts of Sindh like Hyderabad, Dadu and Nawabshah. In December 1943, she became the elected president of the Women's Reception Committee. This occasion was held in Karachi and was the annual session of All India Muslim League.

She played an important part in the partition of Indo-Pak and remained very active and aware of all the political activities. Though she was from Sindh but in February 1947, she came to Lahore to take part in the political procession. This procession was held because All India Muslim League wanted Government to accept their demands. At the end of February 1947, she led a successful procession that marched towards the Civil Secretariat, Lahore. After reaching the secretariat on the same day, she raised the flag of All India Muslim League at the secretariat building. She was a courageous and a brave lady who always led the people in the right direction.

She was a very loyal and close companion of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah who was a sister of founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and she played an equal part with his brother in the foundation of Pakistan. Lady Hidayatullah not played her part just before the separation of Pakistan but played an equally important role after the separation. She actively worked with the refugees, managed, and looked after them in the refugees' camp to relieve their sufferings. To help refugees a committee Women's Refugee Relieve Committee was established and her services there were remarkable.

# **GEOGRAPHY**

## **Physical Features of Pakistan**

Pakistan a land of wonders and beauty came into being as an independent sovereign state on 14th August 1947 after the British rule of about 100 years. In 1930 the renowned poet Allama Iqbal imagined of a separate state for the Muslims majority of Sub-continent after that resolution of Pakistan passed on 23rd March 1940 and with seven years of hard work and excellent leadership Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-e-Azam) emerged Pakistan on world's map.

The land area is about 881,888 sq.km which comprises of Punjab, Sindh, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Baluchistan, Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. The population is about 177 million with 95% Muslims & 5% others. The national language of the country is Urdu however other various languages like Pushto, Punjabi, and Sindhi etc. are also spoken in different regions of Pakistan.

The country is one of the most ancient land known to mankind and its history is about 2500 years B.C old with early established civilizations of Indus Valley, Kot Diji, Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Pakistan is a treasure-house Muslim & Mughal heritage, its cultural capital Lahore is situated on River Ravi's bank. All the precious and ancient monuments built during Mughal Empire are in Lahore like Royal Fort, Masjid Wazir Khan, Badshahi Masjid, and Shalimar Garden etc. Pakistanis are a mixture of Harappa, Iranian, Afghan, Arab and Aryan heritage.

Pakistan is located between a longitude of about 61 & 75 degree East and latitude 24 & 37 degree North. The country is surrounded by Iran in west, Afghanistan by north-west, Arabian Sea to the south, China to north-east & India by south-east. The landscape of Pakistan is full of unlimited mountain ranges like Karakoram, Hindukush, & Himalaya with heights from 1000-8000 meters. These mountains fascinate the climbers and adventurers from all around the earth especially K2. The northern areas of Pakistan have one of the most beautiful lands on the earth Swat, Kalam, Chitral, Hunza, Kaghan valleys are worth visiting. Moreover there is a series of extensive biggest mass glaciers like Siachen, Trich, Hispar etc. can also be found in Pakistan. On the other hand southern and central part of the country consists of barren desserts & plains.

Physical features of Pakistan are very different at different areas, there are high mountains which are covered with snow throughout the year. In some parts of the punjab and sindh there are deserts, some areas are very hot and some other areas are very cold.

Physical features of pakistan can be dividen into 7 different parts..

1) Northern Mountainous Region.

This area is situated in the northern area of pakistan. It has beautiful and very high mountains, The world's second highest peak. K2, is situated in this region. Shahrah-e- Qaraquram lies in this difficult mountainous area which links China with Pakistan.



# 2) Western Mountainous Region

This area is situated in the western area of pakistan. These mountains and hills are not very green.these are mostly dry hills. Only bushes grow there. People graze sheeps and goats there.



# 3)Salt Range And Potohar Plateau

It is situated between Rawalpindi and Jhelum. The area is not very high like mountains. It has the world's largest salt mines. Khewra is one of the town famous for salt mines.



# 4) Baluchistan Plateau

Another plateau is situated in baluchistan. It is also like Potohar Plateaubut it is dry. Nothing grows there except bushes.



# 5)Upper Plain Of The Indus

This is the central area of Pakistan. It os very fertile. A number of agricultural crops grow there. it has a number of canal that supply water to the agricultural lands. This plane is lush green.



# 6)Lower Plane Of The Indus

Most of this area is in sindh. it is also very fertile. A number of agricultural crops grow in it.



# 7)Coastal Area Of Sindh And Baluchistan

Pakistan have Arabian sea in his south. A long sea shore in sindh and Baluchistan. Karachi our biggest city and port lies on the coast of the ArabianSea. A large number of fish is caught at the coast of sindh and Baluchistan



#### **Indus Plain**

The Indus River Plain extends from the Indus River eastward across Pakistan to the border with India. Sloping gently downward from north to south, this vast flatland covers about 200,000 square miles. With the exception of the Thar and Cholistan deserts in the far east, silt deposited by the Indus River from upstream renders most of the area highly fertile. As the world's biggest irrigation system, the Indus River has nourished the development of agricultural societies since ancient times. The swampy delta region of the southern Indus Plain floods regularly and supports the growth of mangrove forests.

## **Balochistan Plateau**

The immense Balochistan Plateau covers more than 40 percent of the country. This vast region extends from central Pakistan westward to the Iranian and Afghan borders. Four mountain ranges -- the Makran, Kirthar, Brahui and Sulaiman -- front the plateau's eastern edge, essentially forming the geologic dividing line of Indian subcontinent. These mountains block humid air from the Arabian Sea from streaming north and west, rendering the Balochistan Plateau quite arid. The plateau's height averages about 2,000 feet.

#### **Mountains**

Pakistan is home to the Earth's highest mountains, the Himalayas, which extend into northern Pakistan and its Kashmir territory. The second highest peak on the planet, K2, rises to 28,250 feet in far northeastern Pakistan along the Chinese border. Nearby, the world's ninth-highest summit, Nanga Parbat, reaches 26,660 feet, and the world's 11th-highest peak, Gasherbrum, rises to 26,470 feet. Not to be outdone, to the west of the Himalayas the 500-mile-long Hindu Kush range of Pakistan and Afghanistan includes two dozen mountains above 23,000 feet; the highest, Tirich

Mir, reaches 25,230 feet. Relatively smaller ranges edge the Afghan border, including the Safed Koh, Toba Kakar and Ras Koh mountains.

### **Climate and Climatic Regions**

Pakistan's climate ranges from tropical to temperate. In the coastal south you'll find arid conditions. Pakistan does have a monsoon season with adequate rainfall, and a dry season with less rainfall. A cool, dry winter runs from December to February. Spring from March to May is hot and dry. Summer from June to September is rainy. October and November are the retreating monsoon period.

Pakistan lies in the temperate zone. The climate is generally arid, characterized by hot summers and cool or cold winters, and wide variations between extremes of temperature at given locations. There is little rainfall. These generalizations should not, however, obscure the distinct differences existing among particular locations. For example, the coastal area along the Arabian Sea is usually warm, whereas the frozen snow-covered ridges of the Karakoram Range and of other mountains of the far north are so cold year round that they are only accessible by world-class climbers for a few weeks in May and June of each year.

Pakistan has are four seasons: a cool, dry winter from December through February; a hot, dry spring from March through May; the summer rainy season, or southwest monsoon period, from June through September; and the retreating monsoon period of October and November. The onset and duration of these seasons vary somewhat according to location.

The climate in the capital city of Islamabad varies from an average daily low of 2° C in January to an average daily high of 40° C in June. Half of the annual rainfall occurs in July and August, averaging about 255 millimeters in each of those two months. The remainder of the year has significantly less rain, amounting to about fifty millimeters per month. Hailstorms are common in the spring.

Pakistan's largest city, Karachi, which is also the country's industrial center, is more humid than Islamabad but gets less rain. Only July and August average more than twenty-five millimeters of rain in the Karachi area; the remaining months are exceedingly dry. The temperature is also more uniform in Karachi than in Islamabad, ranging from an average daily low of 13° C during winter evenings to an average daily high of 34° C on summer days. Although the summer temperatures do not get as high as those in Punjab, the high humidity causes the residents a great deal of discomfort.

Most areas in Punjab experience fairly cool winters, often accompanied by rain. Woolen shawls are worn by women and men for warmth because few homes are heated. By mid-February the temperature begins to rise; springtime weather continues until mid-April, when the summer heat sets in. The onset of the southwest monsoon is anticipated to reach Punjab by May, but since the early 1970s the weather pattern has been irregular. The spring monsoon has either skipped over

the area or has caused it to rain so hard that floods have resulted. June and July are oppressively hot. Although official estimates rarely place the temperature above 46° C, newspaper sources claim that it reaches 51° C and regularly carry reports about people who have succumbed to the heat. Heat records were broken in Multan in June 1993, when the mercury was reported to have risen to 54° C. In August the oppressive heat is punctuated by the rainy season, referred to as barsat, which brings relief in its wake. The hardest part of the summer is then over, but cooler weather does not come until late October.

Pakistan contributes very little to the overall Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions, but remains severely impacted by the negative effects of climate change. Glacier melt in the Himalayas is projected to increase flooding will affect water resources within the next two to three decades. This will be followed by decreased river flows over time as glaciers recede. Freshwater availability is also projected to decrease which will lead to biodiversity loss and reduce availability of freshwater for the population. Coastal areas bordering the Arabian Sea in the south of Pakistan will be at greatest risk due to increased flooding from the sea and in some cases, the rivers.

Being a predominantly agriculture economy, climate change is estimated to decrease crop yields in Pakistan which in turn will affect livelihoods and food production. Combining the decreased yields with the current rapid population growth and urbanization in the country, the risk of hunger and food security will remain high. Endemic morbidity and mortality due to diseases primarily associated with floods and droughts are expected to rise. Increases in coastal water temperatures would exacerbate the abundance of cholera.

The impact of climate change will also aggravate the existing social inequalities of resource use and intensify social factors leading to instability, conflicts, displacement of people and changes in migration patterns.

Moreover, these adverse impacts of climate change are not in the distant future but are imminent. Indeed, these are already occurring as Pakistan has started suffering with ever-increasing frequency and ferocity of climate-induced catastrophes. Studies and assessments undertaken by the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) show that extreme climate events between 1994 and 2013 have resulted in an average annual economic loss of almost US dollars 4 billion. The last five floods (2010-2014) have resulted in monetary losses of over US\$ 18 billion with 38.12 million people affected, 3.45 million houses damaged and 10.63 million acres of crops destroyed. Likewise, over 1200 people lost their lives due to the unprecedented heat wave in Karachi in 2015.

According to climate models suggested by the Climate Change Vulnerability Index 2016 (CCVI), monsoons are increasingly becoming erratic both in their spatial and temporal nature. Similarly, drought events are expected to increase in winter, affecting the yield of cash harvests. CCVI indicates that an increase in precipitation and rainfall pattern will happen during the summer season, resulting in riverine and flash floods over different areas of Pakistan. On the other hand,

lack of capacity for flood management and wetlands results in discharge of extra water into the sea in less than a month's time, leaving the country in water-stressed situation for the large part of the year, with serious implications for food and energy security. Other hydrometeorological hazards such as glacial melt, glacial lake outburst flooding (GLOF), avalanches, storms, cyclones, desertification and heat waves are becoming more common, putting lives, property and the allied socio-economic features of country at great risk.

Pakistan's vulnerability to adverse impacts of climate change is well established and widely recognized. Despite Pakistan's diminutive contribution to global GHG emissions, it is among the top ten most climate-affected countries of the world, as indicated by the Global Climate Risk Index developed by Germanwatch.

#### **Natural Resources**

The exploration of Pakistan's mineral wealth is far from complete, but some two dozen different types of exploitable minerals have been located. Iron ore deposits are mostly of poor quality. The most extensive known reserves are situated in the Kalabagh region, in western Punjab. Other low-grade ore reserves have been found in Hazara, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Small reserves of high-grade iron ore have been identified in Chitral and in the Chilghazi area (located in northwestern Balochistan), as well as in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Deposits of copper ore equaling or surpassing the reserves of iron ore have been found, but most sites remain unexploited. There are enormous reserves of easily exploited limestone that form the basis of a growing cement industry, a major component of the manufacturing sector. Other minerals that are exploited include chromite (mostly for export), barite, celestine (strontium sulfate), antimony, aragonite (calcium carbonate), gypsum, rock salt, and marble and granite.

Pakistan has modest quantities of petroleum and some large natural gas fields. The first oil discovery was made in 1915. Pakistan intensified the search for oil and natural gas in the 1980s and was rewarded with the discovery of a number of new oil fields in the Potwar Plateau region and in Sind. A number of fields have been developed, particularly near Badin, in Sind. Despite the continued search for new and richer fields (including some offshore exploration and drilling), Pakistan has had to import increasing amounts of oil from abroad to satisfy growing consumption, making the country vulnerable to fluctuations in world oil markets. Most imports take the form of crude oil, which is refined into various products. Pakistan's refinery capacity well exceeds its domestic crude production. The oil sector is regulated by the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources, and international oil companies are authorized to operate in Pakistan in cooperation with domestic companies.

The largest natural gas deposits are at Sui (on the border between Balochistan and Punjab), discovered in 1953. A smaller field, at Mari, in northeast Sind province, was found in 1957. A number of smaller natural gas fields subsequently have been discovered in various areas. A network of gas pipelines links the fields with the main consumption areas: Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Faisalabad, and Islamabad. Although proven reserves are large, they have not kept pace with domestic consumption.

Coal mining is one of the country's oldest industries. The quality of the coal is poor, and the mines have been worked below capacity because of the difficulty of access; despite ample reserves, the country regularly imports coal.

Although energy production has grown faster than the economy as a whole, it has not kept pace with demand, and as a result there are shortages of fuel and electric power. The bulk of power requirements are provided by thermal plants (coal, oil, and natural gas), with most of the remainder provided by hydroelectric installations.

The generation, transmission, and distribution of power is the responsibility of the Pakistani Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA), a public-sector corporation. WAPDA lost its monopoly over generation after Pakistan entered into an agreement in 1989 with a consortium of foreign firms to produce power from giant oil-fired plants located at Hub, near Karachi; the plants were completed in 1997.

Great progress, however, has been made in the development of the hydroelectric potential of Pakistan's rivers. A giant hydroelectric plant is in operation at the Mangla Dam, on the Jhelum River in Azad Kashmir (the part of Kashmir under Pakistani administration). Another such source is the giant Tarbela Dam, on the Indus River.

Pakistan has three nuclear power plants, the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (completed 1972), the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-1 (2000), and the Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-2 (2011). The Chashma plants are at Kundian, Punjab. Nuclear power provides only a tiny proportion of the country's total energy production.

The Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation (1974) is the responsible authority for the support and development of the mining industry. Gemstones Corporation of Pakistan Limited (1978) looks after the interests of stake holders in gem stone mining and polishing as an official entity. Baluchistan is the richest province in terms of mineral resources available in Pakistan. While recently Sindh discovered coal deposits in Thar. Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa is rich in terms of gems. Most of the mineral gems found in Pakistan exist here. Apart from oil, gas and some mineral used in nuclear energy purposes which comes directly under federal control mining of other minerals is provincial issue. Currently around 52 minerals are minned and processed in Pakistan.

#### 1. Coal

Coal which is also named as black gold is found into huge quantities in Thar, Chamalang, Quetta and other sites. Thar reserves are estimated 850 Trillion Cubic Feet. There is enough coal in Pakistan Thar area (though a part of coal is not of good quality) that it can be used for power generation for next 100 years without relaying on other i.e. hydro / oil resources. Pakistan recently discovered one low and four low-to-medium quality coal seams in the Punjab. Low sulfur coal was recently reported at the Baluchistan and near Islamabad. Bituminous, sub-bituminous, and lignite coal have been found in Pakistan. About 80% of coal is produced by government and 20% is produced by private sector.

It is one of the oldest industries. Its major users are iron, steel and bricks industries. Coal reserves are estimated at 175 billion tons. This would equate to 618 billion barrels of crude oil. When compared to oil reserves this is more than twice the amount of the top four countries. If At KSA's current usage, the reserves would last more than 200 years.

#### 2. Natural Gas

Natural gas production is at a high level in Pakistan. Estimated reserves are 885.3 billion cubic meters (as of January 2009). Gas fields are expected to last for another 20 years. The Sui gas field is the largest, accounting for 26% of Pakistan's gas production. Gas deposits of Sui discovered in 1953. Daily production is 19 million cubic meters a day. Under the barren mountains of Balochistan and the sands of Sindh, there are untouched oil and gas reserves. Major users of natural gas areas are Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

#### 3. Crude Oil

Pakistan's first oil field was in the late 1952 in Baluchistan near a giant Sui gas field. The Toot oil field was not discovered in the early 1960s in the Punjab. It covers 122.67 square kilometres (47.36 sq mi). Pakistan Petroleum and Pakistan Oilfields explored and began drilling these fields with Soviet help in 1961 and activity began in Toot during 1964. Pakistan has more than 326 million barrels of oil the Senate was told on Wednesday 29 January 2009.

### 4. Uranium production

Pakistan has a long history of exporting small amounts of uranium to the west. The Tumman Leghari mine in South Punjab, Baghalchur mine, Dera Ghazi Khan Mine and Issa Khel / Kubul Kel mines in, Mianwali District. Pakistan has recently used some in its own nuclear power and weapons programs. Pakistan produced about 45 tonnes of Uranium in 2006

#### 5. Mineral Salt

Salt is being minned in the region since 320 BC. Khewra Salt Mines are among world oldest and biggest salt mines. Salt has been mined at Khewra since 320 BC, in an underground area of about 110 square kilometres (42 sq mi). Khewra salt mine has estimated total of 220 million tonnes of rock salt deposits. The current production from the mine is 325,000 tons salt per annum.

# 6. Copper & Gold

In Reqo Diq, Baluchistan deposits of copper and gold are present. Antofagasta the company having possession of Reqo Diq field is targeting initial production of 170,000 metric tons of copper and 300,000 ounces of gold a year. The project may produce more than 350,000 tons a year of copper and 900,000 ounces of gold. There are also presences of copper deposites in Daht -e- Kuhn, Nokundi, located in Chaghi district.

#### 7. Iron Ore

Iron ore found in various regions of Pakistan including Nokundi, Chinot and the largest one in Kalabagh(Less than 42% quality), Harripur and other Northern Areas.

# 8. Gems and other precious stones

A number of precious stones are minned and polished for local as well as export purposes. The centre point of this operation is Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa. These includes Actinolite, Hessonite, Rodingite, Agate, Idocrase, Rutile, Aquamarine, Jadeite, Ruby, Amazonite, Kunzite, Serpentine, Azurite, Kyanite, Spessartine (garnet), Beryl, Marganite, Spinel, Emerald, Moonstone, Topaz, Epidote, Pargasite, Tourmaline, Garnet (alamandine), Peridot, Turquoise, Garnet (green, grossular), Quartz (citrin & others) and Vesuvianite. The export from these gems is more than 200 Million dollar.

### Characteristics and demographic profile of Pakistan.

To break this down even more specifically, the population of Pakistan grew, on average, at a rate of 3 percent per year from 1951 until the middle of the 1980's decade. From the mid 1980's until the year 2000, the growth of the population slowed down to about 2.6 percent per year; and from 2000 to 2012, to about 2 percent per year. The reason for this slow population increase may be that the country spent a lot of time and effort to slow down the population growth. As a result of these efforts, it is a lot poorer than what is was a long time ago. If it did not make any effort to slow down its population increase, then there would actually be 49.13 million MORE people in the country than the current reports. But on the other end, they would also be a lot richer as a country. In other words, Pakistan, had it not slowed down its population increase, would actually be 52 percent richer than it is right now. Obviously, history cannot be changed, so the efforts have been switched to educating its population instead.

Since the year 1947, when the country became a sovereign state, the population of Pakistan has increased significantly, particularly because more and more people felt comfortable moving their families and businesses to the area. Compared to the other countries in the region, the growth rate of Pakistan is about 2.1 percent higher. It is predicted that in about 35 years, if this growth continues, the population of Pakistan will eventually become double of what it was back in 2001. Judging from how the population has grown significantly over just ten years, this "doubled population" figure does not seem to be far off.

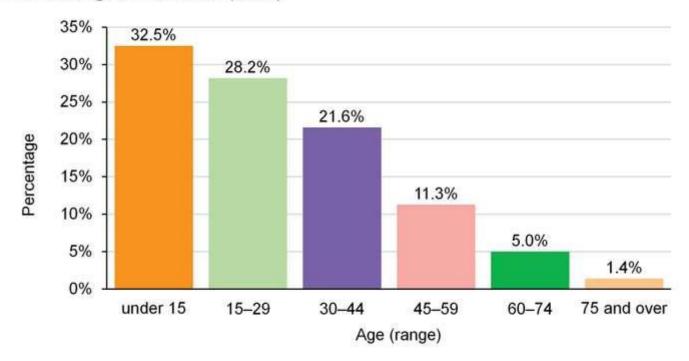
There have been very drastic and dramatic social changes in Pakistan. These vital changes have ushered in a new era of urbanization and the creation of a couple of megacities within the country. As of 2003, the country became one of the most urbanized cities in all of South Asia, mainly because city dwellers made up about 36 percent of its entire population at that point. About 50 percent of Pakistani citizens live in a place where at least 5,000 other citizens reside as well.

Most Pakistani people come from the ancestral group known as the Indo-Iranians. The largest ethnic group in Pakistan consists of those of Punjabi ethnicity, while Pashtuns and Sindhis are the second and third largest ethnic groups in the country, respectively. There is a special mixed ethnic group between the Punjabi ethnicity and the Sindhi ethnicity, and this group makes up about 10 percent of the entire Pakistani population.

When we consider the foreigners who live in Pakistan, a majority of them come from Afghanistan. Smaller foreign groups include those from Iraq, Bangladesh, Uzbekistan, Somalia, Burma, and Tajikistan. The most popular language in Pakistan is Punjabi, a language in which 88 percent of the population speaks. Second is the language Saraiki, which is spoken by 10 percent of the population; and coming in third is the language Pashto, spoken by 15 percent of the population. Pakistan is one of the most populous countries in the world. Infant mortality has decreased, and life expectancy has increased; nearly two-thirds of the population is under 30 years of age. The birth

rate is higher than the world's average, while the death rate is lower. Life expectancy is 66 years for men and 70 years for women.

# Pakistan age breakdown (2016)



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Pakistan: Age breakdown

The overwhelming demographic fact of Pakistani history is the enormous shift of population during the country's partition from India. Millions of Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan, and about eight million immigrants (muhajirs)—then roughly one-fourth of the country's population—arrived from India, bringing their own language (mostly Urdu), culture, and identity. Most settled in Sindh province, but muhajir pockets can be found throughout the country.

The major demographic shifts in the postindependence period have been movements within the country (largely to urban areas), the exodus of large numbers of Pakistanis to live and work abroad, and the influx of large numbers of Afghan refugees into the country beginning in the early 1980s.

The movement of people to urban areas and abroad can be tied to an overall increase in population—which has strained resources, particularly in rural areas—largely due to improved health care and dietary intake. The economies of most parts of the countryside have been unable to absorb the increased population, and many Pakistanis have turned to the cities in search of jobs. Though Karachi and Lahore are the only two cities that can properly be called megalopolises, all of the cities of Pakistan have grown rapidly in size and population since independence. Even in

the cities, however, resources have been strained. Beginning in the oil boom of the 1970s, large numbers of Pakistanis traveled to the Persian Gulf states seeking work. Most found employment as unskilled labourers, traveling without their families and returning home at the end of their contracted time. Also, a great many Pakistanis—mostly among the educated professional classes—emigrated to the West, either to the United States or to the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries, but with advances in modern communications they often have kept in close contact with other family members still in Pakistan.

Advertisement

During the 1980s millions of Afghans fled to Pakistan during the Afghan War. Most of them settled along the two countries' shared border, although a significant number migrated to larger cities. It was only with the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in the late 1980s and, more importantly, the end of Taliban rule there in 2001 that significant numbers of Afghans were repatriated. Nevertheless, a great many have remained in refugee camps in the border areas as well as in Pakistan's cities.

#### **CIVICS**

Community service is a voluntary contribution to the commonweal that teaches valuable lessons about the responsibilities of citizenship in a free society. Long ago Alexis de Tocqueville reported the American penchant to solve problems through voluntary associations. Today, vital services are provided through thousands of organizations created to meet needs not otherwise provided for by government at the local, state, and national levels. These activities help create a sense of concern for the public good and a commitment to voluntarism so essential to the future of our nation. This ERIC Digest discusses (1) connections of community service programs to civic education in schools, (2) positive outcomes of community service programs, (3) characteristics of exemplary programs, and (4) model school-based programs.

HOW IS COMMUNITY SERVICE CONNECTED TO THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS? At every level of school, students can be directly involved in community service projects. In the primary grades, one of the goals is for students to learn basic civic values that include fair play, respect for the opinions of others, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in our society. Through participation in community service programs, very young children can learn how to solve problems, participate in groups as leaders and followers, and accept responsibility for their decisions and actions. In addition, children develop knowledge of their community--its leaders, institutions, social groups, and standards of civic behavior.

As students in the middle grades continue to develop their civic values, they also are developmentally ready to study the history of voluntarism. These students can learn how people participate to resolve local issues. This can include examination of why people volunteer and utilization of adult community volunteers as resource persons to work with the young people. Students in the middle grades can volunteer to work as tutors for younger children or as helpers in senior citizen centers and child care facilities.

Many high school courses involve civic participation. At this maturity level, students can identify the needs of their schools and communities and design and implement projects to meet these needs. Types of community service projects include tutoring slow learners, helping the elderly, supervising "latchkey children" after school, and cleaning and beautifying neighborhoods and schools. Coursework can support and enrich these activities. There are many examples in our country's history of voluntarism that students can study, such as the community spirit and cooperation of pioneers during the westward movement.

Community service programs can teach many social studies skills. These include higher-order cognitive processes and skills, such as data gathering, critical thinking, and decision making. Community service programs also teach civic participation processes and skills, including group interaction, leadership, cooperation, and political influence.

### POLITICAL SYSTEM

In 1947 the newly independent Pakistan consisted of two distinct parts: the smaller but more densely populated East Pakistan, centred on the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta region, and the much larger West Pakistan, occupying the northwestern portion of the Indian subcontinent. The country's government, functioning under a modified 1935 Government of India Act, was associated with a British-inherited parliamentary system, containing a strong central government as well as governments in the several provinces that also gave it a federal form. However, in 1971, after the country had experienced more than two decades of turbulent politics, the eastern region seceded and established itself as the independent state of Bangladesh. In the aftermath of that event, Pakistan (now reduced to the former West Pakistan) faced a number of political and economic problems and uncertainties about its future.

Several seemingly irreconcilable domestic conflicts have left their mark on the politics of Pakistan. The first of these occurred at the highest levels of leadership, involving the key political actors from the political parties, the higher bureaucracy, and the upper echelon of the armed forces (notably the Pakistani army). Constitutions in Pakistan have been less about limiting the power of authority and more a legal justification for arbitrary action. The country's several constitutions reflected more the preeminence of the person holding the highest office than the restrictions imposed on authority, and the national government consistently has been more personalized than institutionalized. The viceregalism of the colonial past has haunted Pakistan from its inception, and struggles for power are therefore more personal than constitutional. In addition, given the everpresent external threat posed by India, the military not only improved and modernized its fighting capability, but it also felt compelled to intervene in the country's political affairs when it perceived that civilian leadership was unable to govern. The result has been several military administrations (1958–69, 1969–71, 1977–88, and 1999–2008), which ruled Pakistan for roughly half of its history.

A second conflict has taken place between regional groups. The regions that originally made up Pakistan had to be fitted into a design not of their own choosing. The different cultural and historical circumstances, as well as natural and human endowments of those regions, have tested the unity of Pakistan time and again; the loss of East Pakistan demonstrated the failure of Pakistan's leaders to orchestrate a workable program of national integration. Even after that event, Pakistan has had difficulty reconciling rival claims. Punjab, being the largest and most significant province, has always been perceived as imposing its will on the others, and even attempts at establishing quotas for governmental and nongovernmental opportunities and resources have not satisfied the discontented. The demands for an independent Sindhu Desh for the Sindhis and a Pakhtunistan for the Pathans, and the violently rebellious circumstances in Balochistan in the 1980s and since 2002, illustrate the nature and depth of the problem of national integration. Because these various struggles have been directed against centralized authority, they have merged with the democratic struggle. But their express aims have been to secure greater regional representation in the bureaucratic and military establishment, especially in the higher echelons,

and to achieve effective decentralization of powers within the federal system by emphasizing regional autonomy.

A third conflict sprang from the struggle over economic resources and development funds among the more-deprived regions and strata of the population. This resulted in a number of violent confrontations between the less-privileged segments of society and the state. Some of these confrontations, such as those in 1969 and 1977, led to the fall of constitutional government and the imposition of martial law.

A fourth conflict took place between the landed aristocracy that dominated Pakistan's political and economic life for much of the country's history and a new urban elite that began to assert itself in the late 1980s. One manifestation of this conflict was the struggle that broke out between Punjab provincial leaders and federal authorities in the late 1980s. Under the Islamic Democratic Alliance, the Punjab government continued to back the interests of the landed aristocracy, while the national government—headed by Benazir Bhutto, with a more liberal bent and a wider base of support—espoused the economic and social interests of urban groups and non-propertied classes. The two governments often clashed in the late 1980s, creating serious economic management problems. Issues regarding power sharing between the federal and provincial governments were largely ignored during the period of military rule in 1999–2008.

However, in the 21st century the success of any government in Pakistan—civilian or military appeared to rest on the handling of what might be considered a fifth area of major conflict. Since 2001 the country has been confronted by a campaign of ceaseless terror, generally but not exclusively cast in religious terms, that has been mounted by religious forces opposed to secular modernism in all its forms. Government has always been mindful of the need to placate the religiously motivated populace, but finding a balance those envisioning Pakistan as a theocratic state and those determined to pursue a liberal, progressive agenda has proved to be the most significant test. A climate of virtually irreconcilable forces has emerged, much of it manifested by external militant Islamic elements led by the al-Qaeda organization and a revived Afghan Taliban.

### **Constitutional framework**

The task of framing a constitution was entrusted in 1947 to a Constituent Assembly that was also to function as the interim legislature under the 1935 Government of India Act, which was to be the interim constitution. Pakistan's first constitution was enacted by the Constituent Assembly in 1956. It followed the form of the 1935 act, allowing the president far-reaching powers to suspend federal and provincial parliamentary government (emphasizing the viceregal tradition of British India). It also included a "parity formula," by which representation in the National Assembly for East and West Pakistan would be decided on a parity, rather than population, basis. (A major factor

in the political crisis of 1970–71 was abandonment of the parity formula and adoption of representation by population, giving East Pakistan an absolute majority in the National Assembly.)

In 1958 the constitution was abrogated, and martial law was instituted. A new constitution, promulgated in 1962, provided for the election of the president and national and provincial assemblies by something similar to an electoral college, composed of members of local councils. Although a federal form of government was retained, the assemblies had little power, which was, in effect, centralized through the authority of governors acting under the president. In April 1973 Pakistan's third constitution (since the 1935 act) was adopted by the National Assembly; it was suspended in 1977. In March 1981 a Provisional Constitutional Order was promulgated, providing a framework for government under martial law. Four years later a process was initiated for reinstating the constitution of 1973. By October 1985 a newly elected National Assembly had amended the constitution, giving extraordinary powers to the president, including the authority to appoint any member of the National Assembly as prime minister.

With the end of military rule in 1988 and following elections to the National Assembly held in November of that year, the new president used those powers to appoint a prime minister to form a civilian government under the amended 1973 constitution. In 1997 the prime minister pushed through two significant changes to the constitution. The first revoked the president's power to remove a sitting government, and the second gave the premier authority to dismiss from parliament any member not voting along party lines—effectively eliminating the National Assembly's power to make a vote of no confidence. In 1999 a military government again came to power, and the constitution was suspended. The chief executive of that government initially ruled by decree and was made president in 2001. In 2002 the constitution was reinstated following a national referendum, though it included provisions (under the name Legal Framework order [LFO]) that restored presidential powers removed in 1997; most provisions of the LFO were formally incorporated into the constitution in 2003.

The amended constitution provides for a president as head of state and a prime minister as head of government; both must be Muslims. According to the constitution, the president is elected for a term of five years by the National Assembly, the Senate, and the four provincial assemblies. The prime minister is elected by the National Assembly. The president acts on the advice of the prime minister. Universal adult suffrage is practiced.

The National Assembly has 342 members, each of whom serves a five-year term. Of these, 272 seats are filled by direct popular election; 262 are for Muslim candidates, and 10 are for non-Muslims. Of the remaining seats, 60 are reserved for women, who are chosen by the major parties; in 2008 the assembly elected its first female speaker. The Senate has 100 members, each serving a six-year term. A portion of the senators are chosen by the provincial assemblies; others are appointed. One-third of the senators relinquish their seats every two years.

### The President

The President is the head of the state and has been regarded as the chief spokesman of the republic. He is constitutionally the repository of the highest administrative authority of the federation which he can exercise in his own discretion or on the advice of the Prime Minister. Under the constitutional arrangements, balance has been maintained between the powers of the President and that of the Prime Minister, whereas in the original constitution, President has no effective say in the

## **Qualifications:**

- 1. He must be a Muslim.
- 2. He should not be less than forty-five years of age.
- 3. He must be qualified to be elected as member of the National Assembly.

#### **Election:**

The President is to be elected by both Houses of the Parliament in a joint session and by the members of all the Provincial Assemblies. Hence, the method of election is indirect while the legislative bodies are to act as Electoral College. In case the office becomes vacant due to the death or resignation of the President, the new President shall be elected within thirty days.

#### **Tenure:**

The term of the office of the President is five years and he can be re-elected for another term but third term in succession has been disallowed. The President can also be removed prior to the termination of his tenure.

#### Limitations:

The President-elect cannot remain a member of the Parliament or that of a Provincial Assembly. In case a member of any Assembly is elected as President he has to resign from the membership. Under the constitution, he is not entitled to hold an office of profit in the service of Pakistan.

### **Privileges:**

No criminal case can be registered in any court against the President in office, nor is any Court

authorized for prosecution leading to his arrest. The President is also exempted from all civil proceedings in a civil court.

#### **Powers of the President**

The President was supposed to act as a constitutional head in the original constitution while Prime Minister virtually enjoyed all administrative powers. Hence the President has no discretionary authority and was expected to act only on the advice of the Prime Minister.

1. Executive Powers:

The President is the repository of the supreme executive authority of the federation which shall be exercised on the advice of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

a) Formation of Cabinet:

The most important function of the President is to appoint the Prime Minister. He invites the leader to form the Cabinet who commands the confidence of the majority of the National Assembly. The choice of the President regarding his nomination of Prime Minister has been curtailed so as to avoid his undue interference in practical politics. The President shall appoint other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, the formation of the Cabinet is the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues shall remain in offices at the pleasure of the President. But the President can remove them only when he thinks that they have ceased to command the confidence of the majority in the National Assembly. He may ask the Prime Minster to get vote of confidence in the House. If the Prime Minister fails to do this. the Cabinet has resign. to

b) Discretionary Powers:

The President is authorized to ask the Cabinet to review its policy on a particular matter. It includes even such matters which have not been considered by the Cabinet, but dealt with by the Prime Minister or by any other minister. In the performance of his functions, the President can seek the advice of the Prime Minister or that of any other minister but is not bound to act accordingly.

c) Appointment: In addition to the appointment of the Prime Minister and that of other ministers, the President also appoints a number of superior administrative officers. Appointments of ambassadors to different

discretionary powers of the President. The latter appoints the Provincial Governors, after consultation with the Prime Minster. He can negotiate treaties with foreign nations. Being the supreme commander of the armed forces, he has to appoint Chief of Staff of all the three forces in addition to the appointment of Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee in consultation with the Prime Minister.

# 2. Legislative Role:

The highest legislative authority in the country is the President in Parliament. The President can summon, prorogue and even dissolve the National Assembly, ut the Senate cannot be dissolved. He can send special messages to any of the Houses of the Parliament conveying his proposals regarding any bill and the House are bound to consider it. The President can thus influence legislation.

# Approval of the Bills:

All the bills passed by the Parliament got to be approved by the President. After the passage of a bill in both Houses of the parliament, it is sent to the President for his assent. The President within 30 days shall either assent to the bill or send it back to the House of its origin for revision. In case both Houses of the Parliament again pass that bill in a joint session by a simple majority vote, the President is bound to give his approval. Hence, the supremacy of the Parliament has been recognized at least in legislation.

### 3. Judicial Powers:

The President shall appoint Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme and High Courts but he has to consult the respective Provincial Governor while making appointment of the Judges of the High Court. The President is fully empowered to grant pardon, reprieve or clemency. Any action of the President regarding the use of his constitutional powers can not be challenged in any court.

# **Separation of powers**

Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu advanced an idea of equal distribution of power amongst three pillars of a democratic state; legislative, executive, and judiciary. He also propagated a system of checks and balances to maintain this distribution. According to him this separation of powers is pivotal for a smooth, uninterrupted and efficient democracy. However, since its inception Pakistan has endured the viceregal system of governance-where executive has always been the most powerful. Whether it was a military rule or a civilian government all concentrated power in one man's hand- the executive. This propelled the power mongering and conflict ridden political culture amongst different pillars of the nation-state. Resultantly, dysfunctional institutions emerged which led to political instability and polarisation. This legacy has severely damaged the democratic process in the country – even it continues today without any interruption. How far Pakistan would continue to live in this quagmire and what are the means to get out of this conundrum? This is the fundamental question for all stakeholders to ponder upon.

A shrewd analysis of the dynamics of Pakistan's politics illustrate that since its very creation institutional clash, though other factors would have also affected, has been a major hurdle in its progress. A retrospective look reveals that struggle for the centralization of authority has been at the centre stage in the politics of Pakistan. It basically emerged from the feudal structure of the society. First, right after partition of sub-continent Pakistan inherited The Government of India act 1935 and adopted it as its constitution with slight modifications. This constitution vested strong discretionary powers in the hands of Governor General. Only Governor General enjoyed absolute authority, even he had the authority to dismiss PM. This laid the foundation of one man dominated political culture in the country. Second, the first constitution of the country was promulgated in 1956 which abolished the office of Governor General. This replaced the powers of Governor General with the President. Thereafter, the president enjoyed all discretionary powers, earlier vested in Governor General, even dismissal of PM. Later on, many office bearers exercised this authority, when they dismissed existing Prime Ministers, destabilizing the country. This formed the bases of dysfunctional institutions. Third, again in 1962 constitution, power was concentrated in the hands of president. With the flavour of presidential form of government, this time, the president of the country held sway over all matters. Fourth, though the façade of 1973 constitution was parliamentary, however it established an authoritarian government with concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Later on different amendments in the constitution reinforced decentralization of power for smooth democratic transition. However, this constitution is never practiced in its true essence.

The recent judicial activism is more or less a new challenge for democracy, because it intervenes in the domains of legislative and executive. Undoubtedly, Judiciary is an essential element of a state. It bears much importance, also, because it interprets the constitution of a country. But this important role, in its part, can never be a justification for intervening in the domain of others- either

executive or legislative. In the post-panama verdict Pakistan judiciary is trolling to tilt the balance of power in its favour. However, undermining the powers of both legislative and executive the third pillar of state is creating a mess.

Whereas, at this critical moment of history, when our country is facing both internal and external conventional and unconventional challenges. Would this power mongering intervention serve in the best national interest of the country? Obviously, not. First, though, ostensibly, the judiciary claims its moves for the better national interest of the country, the result would be an aggressive but weak judiciary. History is the best judge of events. Coming years would certainly clear many ambiguities in the current political cum judicial fiasco. Already, the history of judicial verdicts is not free of biasness. Whether it was Maulvi Tamizuddin case or Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto case verdict, these are clear manifestations of judiciary's political alignments. As, now, even judiciary does not consider those decisions, once considered legitimate, accurate or unbiased. Even no one in the institution dares to cite those decisions as a reference. All try to escape their realities, because those were really flawed and biased decisions which undermined the role of judiciary.

Second, intervention of an institution in the domain of another has dualistic affect. On the one hand it destabilizes the intervened; while on the other it weakens the aggressor. Consequently, by initiating an organizational clash and conflict ridden politics, this institutional power mongering leads to an institutionally incapacitated, politically destabilized and economically retrogressive country. As, Montesquieu explained, "There is no greater tyranny than that which is perpetrated under the shield of the law and in the name of justice". Therefore, the need is to restrain from political alignments and biases when deciding the fate of our future generations.

Given the realities of criminal justice system of the country, judiciary needs more to reform its institution. Putting its own institution in order would be a better option rather destabilizing the country by disrupting cooperation and coordination between institutions. For example, the existing lacunas in the criminal justice system are challenge for judiciary. Free and fair trial based speedy justice is the fundamental right of every citizen. However, the criminal justice system of the country helps the strong and wealthy against the weak and poor. The honourable Chief should do the needful in this regard.

A judiciary separated from the legislative and executive would serve the best national interest. Whereas, interventionism would only exacerbate the problems not only for judiciary but also the whole country. Because, this would sabotage the fundamental liberties of the populace. As Montesquieu says, "There is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control; for the judge would then be legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with violence and oppression".

In order to conclude, since its inception Pakistan has been facing the menace of

political instability and polarisation. At the root lies the problems of institutional clash, power mongering, and feudalistic structures which have constructed the political culture of the country. Therefore, the power is not equally distributed amongst different branches of nation-state. Montesquieu's separation of powers theory, if applied in letter and spirit, would create a peaceful environment for the progress and prosperity of this country. For that, all stakeholders should collaboratively struggle for fusion of power at national level. The power must be decentralized and equally distributed amongst three pillars of country; legislative, executive and judiciary, with a system of "checks and balances" for all these branches. The prosperous future of Pakistan lies in the "separation of powers" as desired by Montesquieu.

### Ideology

The ideology of Pakistan took shape through an evolutionary process. Historical experience provided the base; Allama Iqbal gave it a philosophical explanation; Quaid-i-Azam translated it into a political reality; and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, bypassing Objectives Resolution in March 1949, gave it legal sanction. It was due to the realization of the Muslims of South Asia that they are different from the Hindus that they demanded separate electorates. However, when they realized that their future in a "Democratic India" dominated by Hindu majority was not safe, they changed their demand to a separate state.

The ideology of Pakistan stemmed from the instinct of the Muslim community of South Asia to maintain their individuality in the Hindu society. The Muslims believed that Islam and Hinduism are not only two religions, but are two social orders that produced two distinct cultures. There is no compatibility between the two. A deep study of the history of this land proves that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are not confined to the struggle for political supremacy but are also manifested in the clash of two social orders. Despite living together for more than one thousand years, they continue to develop different cultures and traditions. Their eating habits, music, architecture and script, all are poles apart.

The basis of the Muslim nationhood was neither territorial nor racial or linguistic or ethnic rather they were a nation because they belonged to the same faith, Islam. They demanded that the areas where they were in the majority should be constituted into a sovereign state, wherein they could order their lives by the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (PBUH).

The creation of Pakistan was unique in the sense that it was based on an ideology which sought its roots from the religion of Islam. The famous slogan was as under:-

### "PAKISTAN KA MATLAB KIYA, LA ILLA HA ILL ALLAH"

It became the corner of the freedom movement and the basis of Pakistan.

Meaning and definitions of Pakistan Ideology are explained as under:-

The ideology of Pakistan is actual implementation of Islamic teachings.

To maintain and arouse the national dignity and struggles for unity among Muslim Ummah and Islamic rule is, in fact, Ideology of Pakistan.

Two-Nation Theory by Islamic Philosophy in the political and cultural background of Subcontinent is called the ideology of Pakistan.

The ideology of Pakistan is actually Islamic ideology.

The idea of Muslims, attaining Pakistan was infected Ideology of Pakistan.

Pakistan is an Ideological state, and the ideology of Pakistan is Islamic ideology. Its basic principle being:

"The only sovereign is Allah".

Islam acted as a nation-building force before the establishment of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan basically means that Pakistan should be a state where the Muslims should have an opportunity to live according to the faith and creed based on the Islamic principles. They should

have all the resources at the disposal to enhance Islamic culture and civilization. Quid-e-Azam once said:

"Pakistan was created the day the first Indian national entered the field of Islam".

From the above statement, it is clear that Ideology of Pakistan is an Islamic one.

The significance of Pakistan Ideology

The ideology of Pakistan is very important in national life and its some salient aspects are explained as under:-

The protagonist of Success Ideology of Pakistan is a supporter of its success and triumph. The Muslims of Sub-continent were unified into oneness only because of the ideology of Pakistan. They ranked their differences entirely and prompted for the attainment of Pakistan. Resultantly, they succeeded to foil cunning tactics of Hindus and English. So, this ideology kept on strengthening them, and inordinate power of thinking and religious potency kept increasing in them, and it resulted in an independent state. 2. A bearer of Morality and Good Character Due to the adoption of Ideology of Pakistan such a Muslim nation can be developed which would have lofty ethical traits, honesty, good character, and velour as well.

Development of New Islamic World One of the fundamental aims of Ideology of Pakistan is to unify all the Muslims world over, and thus ideology apprises the Muslims of unity and fraternity. By adopting it, we can get rid of interior and exterior worries, extortion and imperialistic, conspiracies very easily.

Inevitable for Country and National Safety It is inevitable for the sublime and safety of the nation. It places the people residing in different provinces on one platform and creates unity among them. As long as it is strictly adopted the unanimity of the nation would be elevated. It will help in foiling the aims of terrorists, saboteurs, time servers and vested interests elements. Thus, the safety of Pakistan ideology is necessary for the integrity of the country.

Source of Religious Power it is also a great source of religious power. This ideology forced the English and Hindus to bow down in the past too, and others can also be forced to bow down by adopting the ideology in future. So it is the need of the hour to cordially adopt this idea so that we may be prominent in living nations.

The ideology of Islamic State This ideology has been founded on Islamic teachings. Therefore, by adopting this ideology, the Muslim nation would develop into staunch Muslim and righteous and good Muslims would be produced by owning this theory.

Pakistan's ideology was grounded in the intense feelings of injustices amongst the Muslim minority in undivided India. Majority of Muslims in pre-Partition India wanted to protect their

Muslim identity, and political and economic rights. These feelings became the foundation of the two-nation theory. While leaders of the Indian National Congress contested such claims, the All India Muslim League fought the case of the Muslims of the subcontinent and was successful in gaining a separate country on the basis of separate identity of Muslims.

Had Muslims been treated equally in undivided India, Muslim nationalism might not have emerged so strongly. Social justice, equality, protection of political, religious and economic rights were the foundation stones of Pakistan's ideology. If any other group had a population relative to Muslims in undivided India, it might also have followed the same path to claim independence. The struggle for independence was universal in principles and specifically about Muslim nationalism. These principles were elucidated time and again by the Quaid-e-Azam. This was done most emphatically and famously in his address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947: "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State ... Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State." The ideology of Pakistan would have been better served had the country claimed and demonstrated to be more secular than India. By secular, I mean the provision of religious freedom to all citizens. When the Quaid said "we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one state", he was definitely referring to people belonging to all sects of Islam as well as to those belonging to other religions, all ethnicities as well as men, women, children and transgenders. The apt rejoinder to those who were opposing the creation of Pakistan on the basis of the two-nation theory would have been to make Pakistan a haven for tolerance, equality of citizenship and protection of citizens' economic, religious and political rights. If the basis of Muslim nationalism was the fear of numerical majority of the Hindus in undivided India, we should not have let any such fear find place in in the hearts of religious and ethnic minorities in Pakistan.

The country has suffered every time we have violated the principles of Pakistan's ideology. The first step in solving any problem is recognising that there is one. Let's accept that the ideology of Pakistan was violated when non-Muslims were barred from holding certain positions of high power. Passing the Objectives Resolutions violated Pakistan's ideology, as the state entangled itself with religion — against the teachings of the Quaid.

Pakistan's ideology was violated when East Pakistan was not provided with its political and democratic rights in 1970. It is violated when Christians continue to be made targets of laws that enable the settling of personal scores on the pretext of religion and when almost 1,000 non-Muslim women are forced to convert and marry Muslim men every year. Pakistan's ideology is violated when transgenders are shot and are not given due care in hospitals and when the Council of Islamic Ideology subjects laws protecting women to unjustified scrutiny and not allowing DNA to be used as primary evidence in rape cases. Pakistan's ideology is violated when Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and

Balochistan are deprived of their due share in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and when the people of Fata are not accorded their fundamental rights.

If we want a strong and prosperous Pakistan, then we have to ensure equal rights for all citizens. In the current constitutional and institutional set-up, basic rights are being grossly violated. Let's make Pakistan stronger by following the true spirit of Pakistan's ideology.

# **Protection of Human Rights**

Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are considered entitled: the right to life, liberty, freedom of thought and expression, and equal treatment before the law, among others. These rights represent entitlements of the individual or groups vis-B-vis the government, as well as responsibilities of the individual and the government authorities.

Such rights are ascribed "naturally," which means that they are not earned and cannot be denied on the basis of race, creed, ethnicity or gender. These rights are often advanced as legal rights and protected by the rule of law. However, they are distinct from and prior to law, and can be used as standards for formulating or criticizing both local and international law. It is typically thought that the conduct of governments and military forces must comply with these standards.

Various "basic" rights that cannot be violated under any circumstances are set forth in international human rights documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The rights established by these documents include economic, social, cultural, political and civil rights.

While human rights are not always interpreted similarly across societies, these norms nonetheless form a common human rights vocabulary in which the claims of various cultures can be articulated. The widespread ratification of international human rights agreements such as those listed above is taken as evidence that these are widely shared values. Having human rights norms in place imposes certain requirements on governments and legitimizes the complaints of individuals in those cases where fundamental rights and freedoms are not respected. Such norms constitute a standard for the conduct of government and the administration of force. They can be used as "universal, non-discriminatory standards" for formulating or criticizing law and act as guidelines for proper conduct.

Many conflicts are sparked by a failure to protect human rights, and the trauma that results from severe human rights violations often leads to new human rights violations. As conflict intensifies, hatred accumulates and makes restoration of peace more difficult. In order to stop this cycle of violence, states must institute policies aimed at human rights protection. Many believe that the protection of human rights "is essential to the sustainable achievement of the three agreed global priorities of peace, development and democracy." Respect for human rights has therefore become an integral part of international law and foreign policy. The specific goal of expanding such rights is to "increase safeguards for the dignity of the person."

Despite what resembles a widespread consensus on the importance of human rights and the expansion of international treaties on such matters, the protection of human rights still often leaves much to be desired. Although international organizations have been created or utilized to embody these values, there is little to enforce the commitments states have made to human rights. Military

intervention is a rare occurrence. Sanctions have a spotty track record of effectiveness. Although not to be dismissed as insignificant, often the only consequence for failing to protect human rights is "naming and shaming."

# **Interventions to Protect Human Rights**

To protect human rights is to ensure that people receive some degree of decent, humane treatment. Because political systems that protect human rights are thought to reduce the threat of world conflict, all nations have a stake in promoting worldwide respect for human rights. International human rights law, humanitarian intervention law and refugee law all protect the right to life and physical integrity and attempt to limit the unrestrained power of the state. These laws aim to preserve humanity and protect against anything that challenges people's health, economic well-being, social stability and political peace. Underlying such laws is the principle of nondiscrimination, the notion that rights apply universally.

Responsibility to protect human rights resides first and foremost with the states themselves. However, in many cases public authorities and government officials institute policies that violate basic human rights. Such abuses of power by political leaders and state authorities have devastating effects, including genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. What can be done to safeguard human rights when those in power are responsible for human rights violations? Can outside forces intervene in order to protect human rights?

The supremacy of constitution is vital to protect the fundamental rights of citizens. Collaborative efforts need to be undertaken to ensure the rule of law, equality of citizenship, freedom of expression, merit and the independence of the judiciary to guarantee the provision of fundamental rights.

This was resolved by the participants at the roundtable dialogue organized by the National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR), Inter-University Consortium for the Promotion of Social Sciences Pakistan (IUCPSS) and Centre of Civic Education Pakistan (CCEP) at Preston University Islamabad.

The event was organized in connection with International Human Rights Day 2017 which was attended by diplomats, academicians, media representatives and members of the civil society. In his introductory remarks, IUCPSS National Coordinator, Muhammad Murtaza Noor stated that the constitution is considered as a social contract between the state and its citizens. In Pakistan, fundamental rights are enshrined in the 1973 constitution as the entire first chapter of the constitution contains articles regarding fundamental rights from the articles 8 to 28. It further states that adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities, backward and depressed classes.

Federation of All Pakistan Universities Academic Staff Association President Dr Shehzad Ashraf underlined the importance of academic freedom at university campuses and the effective implementation of constitutional clauses related to the protection of the fundamental rights of citizens.

Khalid Sulehri stated that social media has revolutionized the right of expression and information. He emphasized over extending support and standing for the rights of others, especially for the weak segments of society against the injustice, inequalities, discrimination and human right violations.

NCHR Member Chaudhary Muhammad Shafique shed light on the history of human rights and the main function of the National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR). He was of the view that all the human rights documents including the last address by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the charter of medina were based on two main principles of equality and dignity.

"There is a dire need to include the essence and main articles related to human rights agreements in the curriculum at all tiers of education," he said.

In his concluding remarks, anchorperson and columnist Matiullah Jan said that the media has a vital role to protect the fundamental rights and promote democratic values among the leadership and citizens. He said that it should be the media's foremost duty to highlight issues related to human rights and other violations in the society.

The participants of the unanimous of the view that effective functioning of existing institutions i.e. the judiciary, the Functional Committee on Human Rights constituted by the Senate of Pakistan, the National Commission for Human Rights and the Human Rights Cell of Supreme Court of Pakistan could be greatly helpful in improving the state of human rights in Pakistan.

### **UN HUMAN RIGHT DECLEARATION 1948:**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is generally agreed to be the foundation of international human rights law. Adopted in 1948, the UDHR has inspired a rich body of legally binding international human rights treaties. It continues to be an inspiration to us all whether in addressing injustices, in times of conflicts, in societies suffering repression, and in our efforts towards achieving universal enjoyment of human rights.

It represents the universal recognition that basic rights and fundamental freedoms are inherent to all human beings, inalienable and equally applicable to everyone, and that every one of us is born free and equal in dignity and rights. Whatever our nationality, place of residence, gender, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status, the international community on December 10 1948 made a commitment to upholding dignity and justice for all of us.

Foundation for Our Common Future

Over the years, the commitment has been translated into law, whether in the forms of treaties, customary international law, general principles, regional agreements and domestic law, through which human rights are expressed and guaranteed. Indeed, the UDHR has inspired more than 80 international human rights treaties and declarations, a great number of regional human rights conventions, domestic human rights bills, and constitutional provisions, which together constitute a comprehensive legally binding system for the promotion and protection of human rights.

Building on the achievements of the UDHR, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights entered into force in 1976. The two Covenants have developed most of the rights already enshrined in the UDHR, making them effectively binding on States that have ratified them. They set forth everyday rights such as the right to life, equality before the law, freedom of expression, the rights to work, social security and education. Together with the UDHR, the Covenants comprise the International Bill of Human Rights.

Over time, international human rights treaties have become more focused and specialized regarding both the issue addressed and the social groups identified as requiring protection. The body of international human rights law continues to grow, evolve, and further elaborate the fundamental rights and freedoms contained in the International Bill of Human Rights, addressing concerns such as racial discrimination, torture, enforced disappearances, disabilities, and the rights of women, children, migrants, minorities, and indigenous peoples.

Universal Values

The core principles of human rights first set out in the UDHR, such as universality, interdependence and indivisibility, equality and non-discrimination, and that human rights simultaneously entail both rights and obligations from duty bearers and rights owners, have been reiterated in numerous international human rights conventions, declarations, and resolutions. Today, all United Nations member States have ratified at least one of the nine core international human rights treaties, and 80 percent have ratified four or more, giving concrete expression to the universality of the UDHR and international human rights.

# Redressal of grievances and Violation of Human Rights

The Ombudsman system provides the citizens access to an independent, impartial and inexpensive dispute resolution mechanism which can resolve their grievances and protect their rights. It's role in enforcing administrative accountability ensures that public service activities and in particular, the exercise of decision-making powers, whether discretionary or otherwise, are carried out not only appropriately but in a manner that is consistent with fairness and good administrative practice. The ombudsman investigates maladministration which includes a decision, a recommendation, an act of omission or commission which is either unjust or biased, oppressive and prejudiced.

As the spectrum of the government's involvement in the administrative, development and social sectors widened, government machinery entered almost all facets of human activity. The government's growing involvement even in sectors such as water, gas and electricity has consequently increased the interaction of the people with the agencies of the government arising from instances of unsatisfactory performance and abuse of authority by functionaries of the government.

An ombudsman provides a mechanism for enforcing accountability. They act as a deterrent to malgovernance and correction of malfeasance in government officers.

The inauguration of the ombudsman system with a district culture, during the course of time, has proved to be tremendously efficacious in arresting the continued erosion of confidence of the common man in the role of the functionaries of the government. Additionally, because of its performance, its independence, neutrality, informal investigation and no cost, it has gained confidence and importance and now the system, in one form or another, exists in almost every country around the world.

The ombudsman system is to be judged by its achievement, by its radical and reformative role in resolving grievances of the people and moulding the behaviour of the agencies of the government. The ombudsman looks at the human problem with a sense of equity and impartiality rather than relying on customs and traditions for seeking administrative justice.

It is surprising that while there existed pressing need for establishing the institution in developing countries, it came too late in Asia. The institution of ombudsman was set up in Pakistan through a presidential order in 1983. The need for the institution was more pressing in Pakistan, considering the rapidly growing population and evolving institutional processes.

Apart from individuals, groups and communities are also approaching this institution for redressal of their problems relating to water supply, preservation of parks and play lands from encroachments and raising of unauthorised structures, besides other issues.

A few deficiencies existed in the establishment of the Office of Wafaqi Mohtasib (Ombudsman). Presidential Order 1983 was rectified through the Federal Ombudsman Institutional Reforms Act 2013, which I had the privilege of moving through Federal Cabinet, and which was passed by the Parliament a few weeks ago. The institution of Wafaqi Mohtasib is now empowered to act in aid of the people. The ombudsman may; summon and enforce attendance of any person and examine on oath, compel to produce documents, receive evidence on affidavits and issue commission for the examination of the witness. He/she may authorise to enter and search any premises and inspect any article, book of accounts or other documents. They have the power to punish any person for contempt, having the same powers, mutatis mutandis as that of the Honourable Supreme Court of Pakistan. They can require any person to furnish information on such points or matters as in the opinion of the Ombudsman may be useful for the investigative purpose, can award costs and compensation and refund of amount, seek the assistance of any person or authority for the performance of his function, take measures to curb maladministration including corrupt practices and graft. Lastly, the ombudsman may informally conciliate, amicable resolve, stipulate settle or ameliorate any grievance without written memorandum and without the necessity of docketing any complaint.

These powers have been given, to ameliorate the grievances of the common man. For fulfilling the objectives, the Ombudsman Office has been made most accessible to the public through system and procedures that are simple to follow and allow the public freedom in availing these facilities to seek redress of their problems.

Those who are harassed and victimised by the agencies of the government can approach the ombudsman with confidence. The agencies which are accused on non-responsive attitude, redtapism and delaying tactics have now become conscious and cautious as they know they have to face the complainants before the ombudsman to justify their actions or inaction. The ombudsman ensures that rights and privileges of the people are not infringed upon and that they are not subjected to official high handedness.

Encouraged by the success at the Federal level of the Wafaqi Mohtasib, all four provinces and Azad Kashmir subsequently set up the Institution in their respective provinces along similar lines. The Institution has made further progress in Pakistan as we now have other ombudsmen as well, dealing with specialised subjects such as the Federal Tax Ombudsman, the Banking Ombudsman and the Insurance Ombudsman.

While the ombudsman office is effectively addressing public complaints, its role in reforming systemic deficiencies of public sector agencies is also being recognised.

The Federal Ombudsman has provided relief to over two hundred thousand complainants during the last couple of years. For further improving the redressal mechanism and making delivery service more accessible to the people, especially those living in remote areas, we have launched yet another initiative under Speedy Complaint Resolution at the proverbial doorsteps of the common man. Under the Pilot Project, the designated investigating officers visiting the interior of the country are required to hear the cases at district or tehsil headquarters within ten days of registration and prepare findings within 48 hours after hearings. The complaint is finally disposed of within fifteen days after completing the required formalities. The pilot project has proved a great success. The initiative is being widely appreciated.

To deal with phenomenal increase in the volume of work and for ensuring speedy response to public complaints, the Ombudsman Secretariat has been equipped with a state-of-the-art technology-based system which is expected to meet the requirements and expectations of the multitude of Pakistani complainants both from within the country and those living abroad.

## **Rights Protection Methods**

Various methods to advance and protect human rights are available:

During violent conflict, safe havens to protect refugees and war victims from any surrounding violence in their communities can sometimes help to safeguard human lives.

As violent conflict begins to subside, peacekeeping strategies to physically separate disputants and prevent further violence are crucial. These measures, together with violence prevention mechanisms, can help to safeguard human lives. Limiting the use of violence is crucial to ensuring groups' survival and creating the necessary conditions for a return to peace.

Education about human rights must become part of general public education. Technical and financial assistance should be provided to increase knowledge about human rights. Members of the police and security forces have to be trained to ensure the observation of human rights standards for law enforcement. Research institutes and universities should be strengthened to train lawyers and judges. To uphold human rights standards in the long-term, their values must permeate all levels of society.

Dialogue groups that assemble people from various ethnicities should be organized to overcome mistrust, fear and grief in society. Getting to know the feelings of ordinary people of each side might help to change the demonic image of the enemy group. Dialogue also helps parties at the grassroots level to discover the truth about what has happened, and may provide opportunities for apology and forgiveness.

External specialists can offer legislative assistance and provide guidance in drafting press freedom laws, minority legislation and laws securing gender equality. They can also assist in drafting a constitution, which guarantees fundamental political and economic rights.

Those who perpetrate human rights violations find it much easier to do so in cases where their activities can remain secret. International witnesses, observers and reporters can exert modest pressure to bring violations of human rights to public notice and discourage further violence. Monitors should not only expose violations, but also make the public aware of any progress made in the realization of human rights. In order to ensure that proper action is taken after the results of investigations have been made public, effective mechanisms to address injustice must be in place.

Truth commissions are sometimes established after a political transition. To distinguish them from other institutions established to deal with a legacy of human rights abuses, truth commissions can be understood as "bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country -- which can include violations by the military or other government forces or armed opposition forces. They are officially sanctioned temporary bodies that investigate a pattern of abuse in the past. Their goal is to uncover details of past abuses as a symbol of acknowledgment of past wrongs. They typically do not have the powers of courts, nor should they, since they do not have the same standards of evidence and protections for defendants. As such, they usually do not "name names" of those responsible for human rights abuses, but rather point to institutional failings that facilitated the crimes. Finally, they conclude with a report that contains recommendations to prevent a recurrence of the crimes and to provide reparations to victims.

International war crimes tribunals are established to hold individuals criminally responsible for violations of international human rights law in special courts. The international community rarely has the will to create them. As the experiences with the war tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia indicate, even where they are created, they are imperfect. They cannot hold all perpetrators accountable and typically aim for the top leadership. However, it remains difficult to sentence the top-level decision-makers, who bear the ultimate responsibility for atrocities. They often enjoy political immunity as members of the post-conflict government. Incriminating a popular leader might lead to violent protests and sometimes even to relapse into conflict. Leaders may be necessary to negotiate and implement a peace agreement.

Various democratization measures can help to restore political and social rights. For sustainability and long-term viability of human rights standards, strong local enforcement mechanisms have to be established. An independent judiciary that provides impartial means and protects individuals against politically influenced persecution must be restored. Election monitors who help to guarantee fair voting procedures can help to ensure stable and peaceful elections. And various social structural changes, including reallocations of resources, increased political participation, and the strengthening of civil society can help to ensure that people's basic needs are met.

Humanitarian aid and development assistance seeks to ease the impact that violent conflict has on civilians. During conflict, the primary aim is to prevent human casualties and ensure access to

basic survival needs. These basics include water, sanitation, food, shelter and health care. Aid can also assist those who have been displaced and support rehabilitation work. Once conflict has ended, development assistance helps to advance reconstruction programs that rebuild infrastructure, institutions and the economy. This assistance helps countries to undergo peaceful development rather than sliding back into conflict.

# Pakistan's Foreign Policy

In the international political and strategic system where multiple world orders are contending for power and projection, Pakistan has sailed through the murky waters in the past seven decades of existence with ambitions set forth by its founding forefathers. It was a rollercoaster bumpy ride for the country over the years, adjusting itself with emerging changing strategic environment. Even being one of the largest Muslim nations, bordering Afghanistan, Iran, India, and China, Pakistan has remained as a key player in the Middle East and Asia. Although carrying along significant national assets that include strategic geographical location, complex historical past, size and nature of the population, abundance of national wealth, Pakistan has remained dependent upon external and internal actors and factors.

Our construct of relations with the countries remained also dominant by our quest for economic prosperity and cooperation subject to peace, security and stability at the domestic level. These themes have not only defined our past but will remain dominant in coming years as well. Moreover, the role, perception and style of leadership helped in shaping, designing and implementing the foreign policy and nature of relations in the international arena.

Over the years, Pakistan has managed to adjust itself with the changing geo-strategic and security environment of the international system through tough and tumultuous decisions. From isolation to integration, descent to ascent, compromise to cooperation, Pakistan's foreign policy translates trends of challenges, trials and prospects over the past seven decades.

Pakistan remained unable to adopt balanced foreign policy choices to achieve its strategic, political, security and economic interest as were desired. Now as the new democratically elected government is all set to take oath with the vision of change and revolution as an engaging slogan, Imran Khan in his victory speech outlined the foreign policy dimension of his government. With domestic stability, Pakistan is expected to set the course towards evolving regional and international politics in the direction of cooperation, integration with an aim towards economic prosperity with peace and stability. This new outlook will help Pakistan to come out of its varied challenges to play a positive role at domestic, regional and international levels.

At the time of Independence, during evolutionary phase of foundation, our founding fathers laid down a roadmap for Pakistan's constructive engagement based on basic fundamental principles explained in the 1973 Constitution. The Article 20 of 1973 Constitution states: "The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means." This provision provides solid direction to Pakistan towards developing comprehensive foreign policy with the fellow

Muslim countries, close and extended neighbouring countries of the region and beyond. However, there was also notion of balance maintained in the guiding principles but the tilting towards the west. There was not a particular mention about dealing with the major powers. However, with its liberalism driven and western tilt had resulted into Pakistan's diversion towards the US and west since the time of its inception.

This western ideological orientation caused Pakistan not to send the envoy till the end of 1949 in Soviet Capital. Soon after, the invitation from Russia was ignored as a result of this western minded elite and the then Prime Minister moved to Washington for his first official visit. With growing closeness to the western camp, Pakistan moved away from the other major powers causing the misperception, existing till today including Russian Federation. However, understanding of changing parameters of international, regional political and security environment, Pakistan must continue to have a thrust towards developing close relations with Russian Federation at equal level for having a balanced foreign policy.

Although new trends have been witnessed recently in Pak-Russia relations; however there is a strong need to have a pragmatic and diversified foreign policy based on the principle of having close and cordial relations with all major powers.

During the early years, the foreign policy pundits made a substantial contribution towards declaring People's Republic of China as close friend to Pakistan. This lasting friendship is growing ever since and beyond any challenge and hindrance is considered to have passed the test of time. Later we have witnessed support of China during Pakistan's wars with India, maintained a steady economic cooperation over the years with recent emergence of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and recent induction of Pakistan in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). Pakistan needs to tap this opportunity of the recent growing trend wherein after many centuries; the centre of gravity of the world is shifting from west to the east with Asia with abundance of economic dividends. With wisdom and farsightedness, Pakistan can build a prosperous future for its people through its closeness with China. States follow their national interests and there is not permanent friend or enemy in the international system however we need to capitalise and learn from the Chinese experience of eradicating corruption and especially their program on poverty alleviation. China is our corner stone of foreign policy emerging as the largest economy of the world, Pakistan needs to capitalise the recent trends without missing any chance now.

Since the last several decades, Pakistan remained involved in Afghan war and aligned itself with the US, before supporting the Taliban who became powerful to rule Afghanistan in the '90s. Pakistan-Afghan relations also remained at the hot water as a result of this western notion of Pakistan's foreign policy dimension. The decision of joining the US-led alliance in the aftermath of the 9/11 has long impacted on Pakistan's political, strategic, economic and social landscape.

Pakistan's relationship with the US remained as a marriage of inconvenience for long and had fraught relations for the past three decades or so. Pakistan became the non NATO ally and faced brunt of the terrorism more than any other country in the coalition against the war on terror, unleashed after the incidents. But these sacrifices and support in the War on Terrorism made by Pakistan have been overlooked by the successive US governments.

The US and west has always asked Pakistan to do more and the accusations of deception, lies and providing safe haven to terrorists are few of the allegations that the US has continued to level, putting Pakistan into difficult situations. With recent motion, backed by the European nations, to put Pakistan on global terrorism financing watch list, there is another blow to the long time tough relations.

Now it is time for Pakistan to have a constructive and balanced engagement with the US and west on equal, reliable and strong footing. Pakistan also needs competent Ambassadors in all the capitals of these countries of the west and US to put the case in a better manner, without having any political favours whatsoever. Apart from that, the new government needs to work with the military to help develop a political settlement with lasting peace in Afghanistan

Pakistan also needs to look critically towards its engagement with India. Both states remained at loggerheads especially on the Kashmir dispute which requires both states to dialogue involving the wishes and aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Over the decades, various twists and turns and position change by Pakistani leadership on Kashmir dispute, has created mistrust and disappointment amongst the populace in the disputed region especially denting their just resistance movement. Now with the new emerging trends and changing regional dimensions, Pakistan, after standing firm on its Kashmir policy without compromising the sovereignty, should began positive engagement with India through trade and business cooperation. Pakistan has missed abundance of water under the bridge and now it is time to make some rational and positive choices to further the objective of resolving the Kashmir dispute. This can only be achieved through political dialogue and economic engagement with India.

On Iran, Pakistan has missed the bus on several occasions in the past seven decades. The relations remain tricky, challenging and complicated between Pakistan and Iran. Both the states, though important countries in the Islamic block, remained suspicious of each other over the decades. Recently Pakistan became the member of the Saudi-led alliance while Pakistan is concerned with the Indian presence in Chabahar with fear of Indian involvement in neighbouring Balochistan. With Iran being keen to join CPEC, Pakistan possesses a chance to amplify the marine potential of Gawader, adding to that Iran can prove to be a long-term ally. There is nothing more sensible than having a pragmatic neighbour who is on-board. On Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries of the Gulf region, Pakistan needs to take a neutral stance and should play a pragmatic role in resolving the issues rather than taking sides to anyone.

Pakistan is at the cross roads now when the new democratically elected government is in power wherein it is on the statecraft as to how it utilises and seizes the moment to translate it into benefits for the national, regional and at global level. With its robust, capable and fully functional foreign office and a full time focused and dedicated minister of foreign affairs, Pakistan will be able to put forward its national and international relations.

Tantalising the aroma of the emerging trends, Pakistan needs to extend its way forward via its new leader in the shape of Imran Khan, who has pulled overwhelming response from all quarters of the world, even before taking oath as the next Prime Minister. Amid all such changing political and economic state of affairs, challenges are great, both external and internal. Sincere efforts and devotion can really bring about the change that is being dreamed off for "Naya Pakistan."

## **Agriculture Development in Pakistan**

Over 90% of country's agriculture, which is a major chunk of GDP is dependent on irrigation system. Unluckily, irrigation system of Pakistan is in hot waters. In developing countries such as Pakistan agriculture sector is growing Apart from the natural course of rivers several man-made structures have been made over the years to make sure the availability of water as far as possible and there exists a complex and comprehensive irrigation system considered to be the one of the best designed in the history of mankind till now.

The chasm between the existence of a system and its efficient use is widening and its utility and productivity is in jeopardy. Agriculture like some of the countries in world is backbone of economy of Pakistan and irrigation system and is major and in some places the only source for agriculture.

Fortunately like gas oil and coal resources Pakistan is rich in fertile land and its irrigation system is considered as one of the world largest irrigation system including Indus River one of the longest Asia.

Some of major irrigation problems in Pakistan and proposed couple of solutions for these problems also what are the potential barriers and hindrances that preventing the authorities for having good healthy and sustainable irrigation system.

Although proposed solution have already applied somewhere but applying them in Pakistan having difficult geopolitical situation and complex bureaucratic problems is not easy. At least we need a practical solution to these problems as these problems are directly related to agriculture system which drive Pakistan economy to ensure sustainable future of Pakistan

## **Irrigation system of Pakistan**

There are multiple components of Irrigation system of Pakistan for example Rivers, canals barrages, head work's, dams and tube wells (on smaller scale). Total agricultural land of Pakistan measured in 2017 by World Bank was 223850 sq.-which is fourth best in world, but unfortunately this area is shrinking because of several factor, for example mega migration to cities, housing societies, roads and highways, and lack of water for irrigation.

History of irrigation system of Pakistan which is the one of the biggest infrastructure accounting for several Billion USD, dates back to its birth, in 1947 when the Indian sub-continent was divided in to two independent states, like many issues it gave birth to water issue as well, till in 1960 with the international mediation both countries signed the "Indus Water Treaty".

# **Irrigation sources in Pakistan**

There are two main sources of water in Pakistan

Surface water

Indus river is major source of water in Pakistan which is subdivided into its branches downstream known as Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej also Kabul River.165 Bm3 water comes from, Jhelum, Indus and Chenab, while Beas, Ravi, and Sutlej adds 10 Bm3 per year. Unfortunately around 12 Bm3 is wasted in system, which may include seepage and theft etc.

About 70% of total water(125/175 Bm3) consumed for irrigation, and rest of water around 35 Bm3 in 'wasted' in to Arabian Sea .Due to huge variation in rainfall duration intensity and time, which observed in monsoon period, it is extremely difficult to plan and mange for flood and irrigation of healthy and unhealthy rivers. One of the sources of refill is the hill fast-moving water, also known as 'torrent'. There are about 14 different 'hilly-torrents' having total capacity of 23436.15 Bm3

#### Ground water

Due to huge variation in rainfall duration intensity and time, which observed in monsoon period, it is extremely difficult to plan and mange for flood and irrigation of healthy and unhealthy rivers. One of the sources of refill is the hill fast-moving water, also known as 'torrent'. There are about 14 different 'hilly-torrents' having total capacity of 23436.15 Bm3

### Problems and issues of irrigation system in Pakistan

Water economy is a term used in the Pakistan agriculture as the crops are highly dependent on water and for the development and proper functionality of this prodigious system, maintenance of existing infrastructure and new construction is undoubtedly the need of the hour. In Pakistan capital cost for the development of irrigation system is recovered from the user.

Operation and maintenance charged are linked to the water charges collected by the provincial governments but due to the incompetence and malpractices of the government institutions they are not enough for what is required. The short fall in funds is above 30% for each province. Provincial governments and federal institutions are also responsible for the operational and maintenance.

- Improvement and up gradation
- Salinity and water logging issues
- Irrigation system turning during rainy weather

- water pressure issues
- over watering and under watering
- water runoff and polling
- Over exploitation of fresh ground water
- Insufficient cost recovery
- Government policy
- Wara bandi system
- Water losses in field
- Evaporation losses

## **Industrial Development in Pakistan**

Industrialization plays a vital role in the economic development of underdeveloped countries. As the historical record shows, the developed countries of the world broke the vicious cycle of poverty by industrializing, rather than focusing on agricultural or the production of national resources.

Currently, Pakistan, as a developing country, wants to achieve a higher standard of living for its people. For this reason, it is pursuing policies that support privatization and deregulation of the economy.

Industry plays a complex role in economic development, but these are some of its most important effects.

Industrialization allows countries to make optimal use of their scarce resources. It increases the quantity and quality of goods manufactured in that company, which makes a larger contribution to gross national product (GNP).

In an industrialized society, workers' labor is worth more. In addition, because of higher productivity, individual income increases. This rise in income raises the standard of living for ordinary people.

A nation that depends on the production and export of raw material alone cannot achieve a rapid rate of economic growth. The restricted and fluctuating demand for agricultural products and raw materials—along with the uncertainties of nature itself—hampers economic progress and leads to an unstable economy. Industrialization is the best way of providing economic stability.

Industrialization changes the pattern of foreign trade in the country. It increases the export of manufactured goods, which are more profitable in foreign exchange. But at the same time, processing the raw material at home curtails the import of goods, thereby helping to conserve foreign exchange. The export-orientation and import-substitution effects of industrialization help to improve the balance of payments. In Pakistan in particular, the exports of semi-manufactured and manufactured goods resulted in favorable trade. Industrialization provides increased employment opportunities in small- and large-scale industries. In an industrial economy, industry absorbs underemployed and unemployed workers from the agricultural sector, thereby increasing the income of the community.

Industrialization promotes specialized labor. This division of work increases the marginal value product of labor. In other words, specialized labor is more profitable. The income of a worker in the industrial sector will be higher on average than that of a worker in the agricultural sector.

Pakistan is an independent state located in South Asia and ranked as the world's 55th country with the largest factory output. The country's industrial output is approximately 4% of the country's GDP and has cotton textile production and apparels manufacturing as the largest industry in the country accounting for 66% of all export items and employs approximately 40% labor force in the industry. The use of cotton has increased by about 5.7% in the country over the last five years, and the economic growth has been averaging about 7%. As of 2010, the spinning capacity in Pakistan had 10 million spindles, and textile exports were valued at \$15.5 billion, and some of the major industries in the country include fertilizer, cement, edible oil, steel, sugar, chemicals, tobacco, machinery, and food processing among others.

## **Mining Industry**

Pakistan has fast deposits of numerous minerals and other natural resources, and some of the most important minerals in the country include limestone, chromite, gypsum, iron ore, gold, silver, rock salt, copper, precious stones, coal, gemstones, marble, graphite, fireclay, sulfur, and silica among others. The province of Punjab has the world's largest deposits of salt, while the province of Balochistan is an area with rich deposits of oil and gas, although it has not been fully exploited or explored. The government of Pakistan has recently pursued policies to develop the region so that it can exploit the vast resources found in the region. Other deposits of minerals such as zinc are found particularly in the southern part of the country, while the western part has deposits of gold.

## Oil and Gas Industry

Oil was first discovered in Pakistan in 1952 at Suo Sui in the province of Balochistan and in 1960 a the Toot oilfield in Islamabad in Punjab province with production increasing steadily. Similarly, natural gas was also discovered 1952 at the giant gas field Sui in the province of Balochistan. The country also is a major producer of bituminous coal, lignite, and sub-bituminous coal. Pakistan started coal mining way back during the colonial period, and it has been used in the country in different industries since independence in 1947. In 2005, a Canadian based company signed an agreement with the state-owned Oil and Gas Company of Pakistan to explore the Toot field. Natural gas in Pakistan is substantially large and the levels of the remaining reserves are thought to so huge, and they are expected to last for at least 20 years because of heavy use in the country.

### **Manufacturing Industry**

Pakistan is one of the largest manufacturing countries in the world, and it is ranked as the 30th largest. Manufacturing industry accounts for approximately 20% of the total output in the country, and over the last five years, the manufacturing industry has experienced an average growth of 3.4% annually. Manufacturing in the country can be categorized into two; that is large scale manufacturing, which is valued at \$28 billion and the small scale manufacturing sector, which is

valued at \$653 billion. Manufacturing industry in Pakistan has been growing steadily, and in the 2001-2003 financial years the growth in the industry was about 7.7%, and for the twelve months that ended in June 2004, the country's large-scale manufacturing experienced growth of above 18% in comparison to other years. The garment and textile industry together with its related products is by far the single largest industry in Pakistan, and it is made up of 453 textile mills which are composed of 403 spinning units, 50 integrated units having 9.33 million spindles and 148,000 rotors.

## **Prospects and Challenges Facing Pakistan**

The current economic outlook of Pakistan presents some opportunities however the country is also facing different challenges particularly in the long term where it could severely affect the prospects of growth, and therefore the economy would only experience some sporadic bursts of the growth as opposed to having a sustained upward trajectory. Some of the challenges facing the Pakistanis economy include increasing public debt, reducing exports and increasing imports, lack of political consensus, low taxation and low investment, low savings and high consumption-oriented society, and the shrinking share in world trade among other major challenges.

The HDI was created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone. The HDI can also be used to question national policy choices, asking how two countries with the same level of GNI per capita can end up with different human development outcomes. These contrasts can stimulate debate about government policy priorities.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions.

The health dimension is assessed by life expectancy at birth, the education dimension is measured by mean of years of schooling for adults aged 25 years and more and expected years of schooling for children of school entering age. The standard of living dimension is measured by gross national income per capita. The HDI uses the logarithm of income, to reflect the diminishing importance of income with increasing GNI. The scores for the three HDI dimension indices are then aggregated into a composite index using geometric mean. Refer to Technical notes for more details.

The HDI simplifies and captures only part of what human development entails. It does not reflect on inequalities, poverty, human security, empowerment, etc. The HDRO offers the other composite indices as broader proxy on some of the key issues of human development, inequality, gender disparity and poverty.

## **Sociology**

if there is a country whose culture is starkly contrasted by its international image, it has to be Pakistan. Pakistanis all over the world often face the dilemma of explaining what their culture really entails, thanks to years of news-media exaggeration and agenda setting. Beyond democratic and economic disappointment dwells a world of Pakistani civil society that works resiliently against all odds to keep what matters most intact: the country's vibrant culture. Let's try to get to know Pakistan a little better.

## Pakistani culture is very diverse

Thanks to its historical, geographical and ethnic diversity, Pakistan's culture is a melting pot of Indian, Persian, Afghan, Central Asian, South Asian and Western Asian influences. There are over 15 major ethnic groups in Pakistan, which differ in physical features, historical bloodlines, customs, dress, food and music. Some of these include Punjabis, Sindhis, Baloch, Pashtuns, Kashmiris, Hazaras, Makranis and Baltis, coming from regions as close to home as the Indus Valley or as far as Africa or Tibet. Other than ancient ethnic elements, the religious influence of Islam has also strongly shaped Pakistani culture since it first came to the region in AD 700.

## Many different languages are spoken in Pakistan

The official number of languages actively spoken in Pakistan is between 73 and 76. This means that within hours as you travel between the country's districts, there are languages that other groups in different regions do not speak. The most popular languages, however, belong to the largest ethnic groups with their own modern and ancient literature. Most languages in Pakistan belong to the Indo-Iranian language group, including Urdu, the national language.

### The people are friendly, but gender segregation still exists

Due to Islamic and tribal influences, non-urban regions of Pakistan have varying levels of gender segregation, while big cities too have conservative expectations in terms of interactions between men and women. Couples usually don't hug or kiss in public in a non-platonic way. Regardless of that, the people of Pakistan are helpful, friendly, approachable and humble.

## Pakistanis love listening to – and making – music

Diverse culture has exposed Pakistani musicians to many different poetic forms and styles, along with languages and literature. Qawwali and Ghazal are the nation's auditory treasures. Building

on that, Pakistani TV shows, like Coke Studio, have amassed millions of fans internationally and locally, from non-Pakistanis to non-Urdu speakers. The nation has also produced legendary singers, like Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and poets like Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who have left a tremendous influence on the culture and the collective conscience of the people. Contemporary musicians too play with modern styles and develop fusions in the Urdu language, of blues, funk, rock and jazz.

## Family bonds are strong in Pakistan

Family comes first in Pakistan due to religious, cultural, economic and societal values. Pakistani society is not led by individualism but rather by collectivism, where family and other relationships stand strong.

## Pakistani culture includes excellent craftsmanship

Pakistani truck art is not the only world-famous example of craftsmanship. Passed down through generations, Pakistani craft includes a plethora of styles, materials and aesthetics. Calligraphy in Arabic is one of the most prominent skills found in many local buildings and sites and wall hangings, like copper work, paintings and carved wood. Pottery, especially blue pottery, typical of Sindh and Multan, is loved all over the world for its look. Naqashi, or the art-making of camelskin lamps, is another example of local craft, along with colourful tile work, which is a Mughal legacy.

# Sufism has given birth to beautiful poetry and music

Mainstream Islam and Islamic mysticism are both prevalent in Pakistan, but often, hard-line clerics, who follow the Wahhabi school of thought, reject the tradition of mysticism or Sufism that has added great beauty to the already unique Islamic flavour of the country. Sufis show their devotion through many means like dance, poetry, whirling, meditation, etc. Some of the country's most spiritually advanced and unifying messages of love are found in Sufi poetry. The hard-liners may try to isolate them, but the population cannot help but be entranced by them.

## Pakistanis love chai a little too much

Chai is everywhere in Pakistan, probably in a similar sense to how beer is in alcohol-consuming countries. In fact, Pakistan is the third-largest importer of tea, although some tea is grown locally too. Pakistanis make their tea strong and sweet in either milk or diluted milk depending on their preference. Sometimes cardamom and other spices are added to tea on special occasions. Black tea was introduced to the country by the English during the colonial years, but green tea has been a part of the local culture for thousands of years. Tea time is such an important time of day that

many people enjoy high tea in five-star hotels, which basically include a buffet of teas and all the complimentary snacks that go with it.

## Pakistanis are very hospitable

Guests, tourists and visitors, whether domestic or international, are always welcomed with open arms. Even the poorest labourers go out of their way to help new visitors. Cultural and religious beliefs encourage Pakistanis to show love and respect towards guests. In Islam especially, a guest is a blessing from God, and it is taught that they must be given the best treatment possible.

## Pakistanis love sports, especially cricket

Cricket may have been a sport that was introduced to Pakistan by the British, but today, the country has not only made it its own but has also raised one of the world's best cricket teams. Other sports, like hockey, squash and badminton, are also widely played and appreciated. Polo has a special place in northern Pakistan too, with one of the highest polo grounds in the world situated here.

## Pakistanis are resilient and hard-working

It is common knowledge that the Pakistani nation has suffered from the country's economic situation with rampant poverty and high illiteracy. Terrorist attacks and misgovernment have also led to terrible consequences. Regardless of these sufferings, Pakistan's spirit lives on and the nation continues to hope and work for a better future. The people of Pakistan would soar high if they got the sincere political effort and leadership they deserve.

### Pakistanis have big weddings

Pakistani weddings epitomise the richness of the culture. A single wedding will introduce you to the many elements of these local traditions. Pakistani weddings are laden with a multitude of colours, beautifully embroidered flowing fabrics in silks and chiffon, tantalizing food, traditionally decorated stages and a lot of music and dance. Weddings in Pakistan are a serious deal, with preparations starting months before. After all, most local weddings last anywhere from three to six days. The celebrations usually start with a day dedicated to henna application, followed by a musical night and a night of traditional rituals to bless the couple. Then, there are dinner parties that last two days thrown by the bride and groom's side of the family.

## Pakistanis don't keep calm and have no chill

Pakistanis are a passionate, emotional, expressive and colourful people – just like their culture. Whatever they love, they do with plenty of zest and excitement. They love to celebrate, no matter

the occasion, and feasting, giving presents, throwing parties and having regular large gatherings with friends and family are all very common.

#### **Communication Skills**

Want to stand out from the competition? These are some of the top communication skills that recruiters and hiring managers want to see in your resume and cover letter. Highlight these skills and demonstrate them during job interviews, and you'll make a solid first impression. Continue to develop these skills once you're hired, and you'll impress your boss, teammates, and clients.

## 1. Listening

Being a good listener is one of the best ways to be a good communicator. No one likes communicating with someone who cares only about putting in her two cents and does not take the time to listen to the other person. If you're not a good listener, it's going to be hard to comprehend what you're being asked to do.

Take the time to practice active listening. Active listening involves paying close attention to what the other person is saying, asking clarifying questions, and rephrasing what the person says to ensure understanding ("So, what you're saying is..."). Through active listening, you can better understand what the other person is trying to say, and can respond appropriately.

### 2. Nonverbal Communication

Your body language, eye contact, hand gestures, and tone of voice all color the message you are trying to convey. A relaxed, open stance (arms open, legs relaxed), and a friendly tone will make you appear approachable and will encourage others to speak openly with you.

Eye contact is also important; you want to look the person in the eye to demonstrate that you are focused on them and the conversation. (However, be sure not to stare at the person, which can make him or her uncomfortable.)

Also, pay attention to other people's nonverbal signals while you are talking. Often, nonverbal cues convey how a person is really feeling. For example, if the person is not looking you in the eye, he or she might be uncomfortable or hiding the truth.

### 3. Clarity and Concision

Good verbal communication means saying just enough – don't talk too much or too little. Try to convey your message in as few words as possible. Say what you want clearly and directly, whether you're speaking to someone in person, on the phone, or via email. If you ramble on, your listener will either tune you out or will be unsure of exactly what you want.

Think about what you want to say before you say it. This will help you to avoid talking excessively or confusing your audience.

#### 4. Friendliness

Through a friendly tone, a personal question, or simply a smile, you will encourage your coworkers to engage in open and honest communication with you. It's important to be polite in all your workplace communications. This is important in both face-to-face and written communication. When you can, personalize your emails to co-workers and/or employees – a quick "I hope you all had a good weekend" at the start of an email can personalize a message and make the recipient feel more appreciated.

#### 5. Confidence

It is important to be confident in your interactions with others. Confidence shows your co-workers that you believe in what you're saying and will follow through. Exuding confidence can be as simple as making eye contact or using a firm but friendly tone. Avoid making statements sound like questions. Of course, be careful not to sound arrogant or aggressive. Be sure you are always listening to and empathizing with the other person.

# 6. Empathy

Using phrases as simple as "I understand where you are coming from" demonstrate that you have been listening to the other person and respect their opinions. Active listening can help you tune in to what your conversational partner is thinking and feeling, which will, in turn, make it easier to display empathy.

Even when you disagree with an employer, co-worker, or employee, it is important for you to understand and respect their point of view.

## 7. Open-Mindedness

A good communicator should enter into any conversation with a flexible, open mind. Be open to listening to and understanding the other person's point of view, rather than simply getting your message across. By being willing to enter into a dialogue, even with people with whom you disagree, you will be able to have more honest, productive conversations.

## 8. Respect

People will be more open to communicating with you if you convey respect for them and their ideas. Simple actions like using a person's name, making eye contact, and actively listening when

a person speaks will make the person feel appreciated. On the phone, avoid distractions and stay focused on the conversation.

Convey respect through email by taking the time to edit your message. If you send a sloppily written, confusing email, the recipient will think that you do not respect her enough to think through your communication with her.

#### 9. Feedback

Being able to give and receive feedback appropriately is an important communication skill. Managers and supervisors should continuously look for ways to provide employees with constructive feedback, be it through email, phone calls, or weekly status updates.

Giving feedback involves giving praise as well – something as simple as saying "good job" or "thanks for taking care of that" to an employee can greatly increase motivation.

Similarly, you should be able to accept and even encourage feedback from others. Listen to the feedback you are given, ask clarifying questions if you are unsure of the issue, and make efforts to implement the feedback.

## 10. Picking the Right Medium

An important communication skill is to simply know what form of communication to use. For example, some serious conversations (layoffs, resignation, changes in salary, etc.) are almost always best done in person.

You should also think about the person with whom you wish to speak, if they are a very busy person (such as your boss, perhaps), you might want to convey your message through email. People will appreciate your thoughtful means of communication and will be more likely to respond positively to you.

"Ethical communication" simply refers to the practice of conveying honest information in a manner that is not intended to be misleading. In other words, the information should be presented within a context that ensures that the information is not misleading as a result of being conveyed in a sort of vacuum. Information might be true, but if it is not presented in a fair and open manner, then it serves to distort the recipient's understanding.

One form of ethical communication involves the questioning of suspects and witnesses by police officers and prosecutors. Interrogations sometimes involve deliberately misleading information that, while accurate, is conveyed in a manner intended to confuse the suspect or witness. A suspect in a criminal investigation might be told that he or she was seen committing the act in question but not that the supposed witness was known to be unreliable, had viewed the act from a great distance, or had viewed the act under conditions that would obscure visibility. In this case, the suspect, or

somebody who looks like him or her, was seen, but this occurred under adverse conditions, rendering any testimony by the witness unreliable.

Another form of ethical communication could involve the techniques used by automobile dealerships to sell vehicles. The buying and selling of automobiles is a notoriously difficult process in which the seller, whether a dealer or a private citizen, is almost always going to conceal certain facts about the vehicle in question regarding its reliability, such as whether it has an oil leak that will require repairs. The prospects of a sell may hinge on a certain amount of deception regarding the vehicle's condition. This would clearly involve unethical communication. A salesman or private citizen selling a car who divulges the entire history of the vehicle, including any accidents in which it has been involved

#### **Presentation Skills**

#### 1. Practice!

Naturally, you'll want to rehearse your presentation multiple times. While it can be difficult for those with packed schedules to spare time to practice, it's essential if you want to deliver a rousing presentation. I'm famous around the office for staying up late the night before a big presentation, practicing over and over. If you really want to sound great, write out your speech rather than taking chances winging it – if you get nervous about speaking, a script is your best friend.

Try to practice where you'll be delivering your talk. Some acting strategists suggest rehearsing lines in various positions – standing up, sitting down, with arms open wide, on one leg, while sitting on the toilet, etc. (OK, that last one may be optional.) The more you mix up your position and setting, the more comfortable you'll feel with your speech. Do a practice run for a friend or colleague, or try recording your presentation and playing it back to evaluate which areas need work. Listening to recordings of your past talks can clue you in to bad habits you may be unaware of, as well as inspiring the age-old question: "Is that what I really sound like?"

# 2. Transform Nervous Energy Into Enthusiasm.

It may sound strange, but I'll often down an energy drink and blast hip-hop music in my earphones before presenting. Why? It pumps me up and helps me turn jitters into focused enthusiasm. Studies have shown that an enthusiastic speech can win out over an eloquent one, and since I'm not exactly the Winston Churchill of presenters, I make sure that I'm as enthusiastic and energetic as possible before going on stage. Of course, individuals respond differently to caffeine overload, so know your own body before guzzling those monster energy drinks.

### 3. Attend Other Presentations.

If you're giving a talk as part of a conference, try to attend some of the earlier talks by other presenters to scope out their presentation skills and get some context. This shows respect for your fellow presenters while also giving you a chance to feel out the audience. What's the mood of the crowd? Are folks in the mood to laugh or are they a bit more stiff? Are the presentations more strategic or tactical in nature? Another speaker may also say something that you can play off of later in your own presentation.

#### 4. Arrive Early.

It's always best to allow yourself plenty of time to settle in before your talk. Extra time ensures you won't be late (even if Google Maps shuts down) and gives you plenty of time to get adapted to your presentation space.

# 5. Adjust to Your Surroundings.

The more adjusted to your environment you are, the more comfortable you'll feel. Make sure to spend some in the room where you will be delivering your presentation. If possible, practice with

the microphone and lighting, make sure you understand the seating and be aware of any distractions potentially posed by the venue (e.g., a noisy road outside).

#### 6. Meet and Greet.

Do your best to chat with people before your presentation. Talking with audiences makes you seem more likeable and approachable. Ask event attendees questions and take in their responses. They may even give you some inspiration to weave into your talk.

#### 7. Use Positive Visualization.

Whether or not you're a Zen master, know that plenty of studies have proven the effectiveness of positive visualization. When we imagine a positive outcome to a scenario in our mind, it's more likely to play out the way we envision.

Instead of thinking "I'm going to be terrible out there" and visualizing yourself throwing up midpresentation, imagine yourself getting tons of laughs while presenting with the enthusiasm of Jimmy Fallon and the poise of Audrey Hepburn (the charm of George Clooney wouldn't hurt either). Positive thoughts can be incredibly effective – give them a shot.

## 8. Remember That Most Audiences Are Sympathetic.

One of the hardest fears to shake when speaking in public is that the audience is secretly waiting to laugh at your missteps or mistakes. Fortunately, this isn't the case in the vast majority of presentations.

The audience wants to see you succeed. In fact, many people have a fear of public speaking, so even if the audience seems indifferent, the chances are pretty good that most people listening to your presentation can relate to how nerve-racking it can be. If you start to feel nervous, remind yourself that the audience gets it, and actually wants to see you nail it.

### 9. Take Deep Breaths.

The go-to advice for jitters has truth to it. When we're nervous, our muscles tighten--you may even catch yourself holding your breath. Instead, go ahead and take those deep breaths to get oxygen to your brain and relax your body.

### 10. Smile.

Smiling increases endorphins, replacing anxiety with calm and making you feel good about your presentation. Smiling also exhibits confidence and enthusiasm to the crowd. And this tip works even if you're doing a webinar and people can't see you.

Just don't overdo it − no one enjoys the maniacal clown look.

#### 11. Exercise.

Exercise earlier in the day prior to your presentation to boost endorphins, which will help alleviate anxiety. Better pre-register for that Zumba class!

### 12. Work on Your Pauses.

When you're nervous, it's easy to speed up your presentation and end up talking too fast, which in turn causes you to run out of breath, get more nervous, and panic! Ahh!

Don't be afraid to slow down and use pauses in your speech. Pausing can be used to emphasize certain points and to help your talk feel more conversational. If you feel yourself losing control of your pacing, just take a nice pause and keep cool.

## 13. Don't Try to Cover Too Much Material.

Yes, your presentations should be full of useful, insightful, and actionable information, but that doesn't mean you should try to condense a vast and complex topic into a 10-minute presentation. Knowing what to include, and what to leave out, is crucial to the success of a good presentation. I'm not suggesting you skimp when it comes to data or including useful slides (some of my webinars have featured 80+ slides), but I am advocating for a rigorous editing process. If it feels too off-topic, or is only marginally relevant to your main points, leave it out. You can always use the excess material in another presentation.

## 14. Actively Engage the Audience.

People love to talk and make their opinions heard, but the nature of presentations can often seem like a one-sided proposition. It doesn't have to be, though.

Asking the audience what they think, inviting questions, and other means of welcoming audience participation can boost engagement and make attendees feel like a part of a conversation. It also makes you, the presenter, seem much more relatable. Consider starting with a poll or survey. Don't be put off by unexpected questions – instead, see them as an opportunity to give your audience what they want.

## 15. Be Entertaining.

Even if your presentation is packed with useful information, if your delivery bombs, so will your session.

I find that including some jokes and light-hearted slides is a great way to help the audience (and myself) feel more comfortable, especially when presenting them with a great deal of information. However, it's important to maintain a balance – after all, you're not performing a stand-up routine, and people didn't come to your presentation with the sole intention of being entertained. That said, don't be afraid to inject a little humor into your talk. If you're not sure about whether a presentation is "too much," run through it for a couple of friends and ask them to tell it to you straight.

### 16. Admit You Don't Have All the Answers.

Very few presenters are willing to publicly concede that they don't actually know everything because they feel it undermines their authority. However, since we all know that nobody can ever know everything about a given topic, admitting so in a presentation can actually improve your credibility.

#### 17. Use a Power Stance.

Practicing confident body language is another way to boost your pre-presentation jitters. When your body is physically demonstrating confidence, your mind will follow suit. While you don't want to be jutting out your chest in an alpha gorilla pose all afternoon (somebody enjoyed *Dawn of the Planet of the Apes* a bit too much), studies have shown that using power stances a few minutes before giving a talk (or heading to a big interview) creates a lasting sense of confidence and assurance. Whatever you do, don't sit--sitting is passive. Standing or walking a bit will help you harness those stomach bats (isn't that more appropriate than butterflies?). Before you go on stage, strike your best Power Ranger stance and hold your head high!

#### 18. Drink Water.

Dry mouth is a common result of anxiety. Prevent cottonmouth blues by staying hydrated and drinking plenty of water before your talk (just don't forget to hit the bathroom before starting). Keep a bottle of water at arm's reach while presenting in case you get dry mouth while chatting up a storm. It also provides a solid object to hurl at potential hecklers. (That'll show 'em.)

#### 19. Join Toastmasters.

Toastmaster clubs are groups across the country (and the world) dedicated to helping members improve their presentation skills. Groups get together during lunch or after work to take turns delivering short talks on a chosen topic. The more you present, the better you'll be, so consider joining a Toastmaster club to become a top-notch orator. Just don't forget, it's BYOB (Bring Your Own Bread).

# 20. Don't Fight the Fear.

Accept your fear rather than trying to fight it. Getting yourself worked up by wondering if people will notice your nervousness will only intensify your anxiety. Remember, those jitters aren't all bad – harness that nervous energy and transform it into positive enthusiasm and you'll be golden. We salute you, O Captain! My Captain!