

NIHCR

Leaders of Pakistan Movement - I

Edited by

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National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad - Pakistan
2018

**Leaders of Pakistan
Movement
Papers Presented at the
Two-Day International Conference,
April 7-8, 2008**

**Vol.I
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**Sajid Mahmood Awan
Syed Umar Hayat
(Eds.)**



**National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad – Pakistan
2018**

Leaders of Pakistan Movement

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Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>xi</i>

Paper #	Title	Author	Page #
1.	Quaid-i-Azam, Muslim League and the Elections of 1945-1946	<i>Dr. Riaz Ahmad</i>	1
2.	Sindh Wins Separation: Role of Abdullah Haroon	<i>Dr. Hyder Sindhi</i>	16
3.	Raees-ul-Ahrar Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas	<i>Jawad H. Jaffery</i>	28
4.	Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq and the Muslim League	<i>Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazimi</i>	32
5.	Mir Jafar Khan Jamali: A Torch Bearer of Pakistan Movement	<i>Yar Muhammad Badini</i>	39
6.	Allamah Raghیب Ahsan as an Aide of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the Pakistan Movement	<i>Syed Umar Hayat</i>	43
7.	Begum Shaista Ikramullah Suharwardy: Her Contribution in Pakistan Movement (1915-2000)	<i>Farah Gul Baqai</i>	54
8.	Khan Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri of Habiganj (1888-1982)	<i>Dr. Atful Hye Shibly</i>	62
9.	Indigenous Challenges and Potent Response: Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani as 'Salar' of Multani Muslim Community	<i>Dr. Muhammad Shafique</i>	75
10.	Syed Shamsul Hassan (1885-1981)	<i>Dr. Ghulam Shabir</i>	85
11.	Syed Zahur Ahmad: A Symbol of Dedication and Service	<i>Dr. Muhammad Saleem Ahmad</i>	89
12.	Mir Ahmed Yar Khan: The Ruler of Kalat	<i>Muhammad Salahuddin Mengal</i>	96
13.	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and the Pakistan Movement: An Analysis	<i>Altaf Ullah</i>	103

14.	Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon and his Role in Separation of Sindh from Mumbai	<i>Dr. Deedar Hussain Shah</i>	111
15.	Indian Nationalism versus Muslim Nationalism: A Comparative Study of the Services of Quaid-i-Azam and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad	<i>Iftikhar Ahmad Yousafzai</i>	119
16.	Jinnah's Team: The Top Ten	<i>Sharif al Mujahid</i>	137
17.	Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar	<i>Nisar Abbas</i>	160
18.	Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan	<i>Prof. Munawwar Ali Khan</i>	163
19.	Rebellion against the British Rulers in Balochistan: Noora Mengal Leading the Struggle	<i>Prof. Bahadur Khan Rodeni</i>	175
20.	Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai	<i>Dr. Nauder Bakht</i>	179
21.	Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani	<i>Dr. Munir Ahmad Gichki</i>	185
22.	The Role of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang in Pakistan Movement: A Case Study of All India States Muslim League	<i>Dr. Muhammad Akbar Malik</i>	190
23.	Pivotal Role of Personalities from Northern Areas in Pakistan Movement	<i>Said Alam</i>	199
24.	Jan Mohammad Kasi (1898-1961): His Life and Work	<i>Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi</i>	209

Preface

The National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University has the proud privilege of initiating the Centenary Celebrations of the establishment of All-India Muslim League in 1906. The AIML was founded on December 30, 1906 at Dhaka under the dynamic leadership of Nawab Salimullah Khan who hosted the Mohammadan Educational Conference session at his house and the last day of this conference was devoted to deliberations which resulted in the establishment of All India Muslim League, not only as the premier organization of the Muslims of South Asia but a party which later under the guidance of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah became responsible for the establishment of Pakistan on August 14, 1947.

In order to pay tribute to the services of this great organization the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad organized four-day International Conference on the All India Muslim League, Islamabad, December 19-22, 2006 in which more than 400 persons participated. Not only from all parts of Pakistan, but scholars from different countries, such as U.K., USA, Bangladesh participated and presented their papers. This conference was inaugurated by Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Shaukat Aziz and the concluding session was held at Aiwan-i-Sadar, Islamabad which was addressed by Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the then President of Pakistan.

Various other activities were also arranged by the NIHCR including publication of research papers, books and articles on the AIML and the War of Independence of 1857-58. These activities were held in cooperation with the National Centenary Committee headed by Prime Minister, Mr. Shaukat Aziz. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed was the Secretary-General of this Committee while Dr. Ghazanfar Mehdi, the then Media

Consultant, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad extended his full help as Coordinator. I am thankful to all of them for their cooperation.

Finally, a two-day International Conference on Leaders of Pakistan Movement had been organized by the NIHCR Islamabad, on April 7-8, 2008 as the last activity in connection with the All India Muslim League Centenary Celebrations. The purpose of their publication is to generate debate, so as to arouse serious discussion for the advancement of serious research. The NIHCR had also been trying to publish other works in this connection, so that availability of material on the AIML is made available to scholars, researchers and students.

I appreciate the efforts of Dr. Syed Umar Hayat and Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan in bringing out the well edited volumes of the conference papers as good gesture. I pray for their success in future.

I am also grateful to all the employees and Research Scholars of NIHCR who have been associated and helpful in arranging the mega events of the Muslim League Century Celebrations and other Conferences.

Islamabad
April 23, 2018

(Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmad)
Former Director,
NIHCR

Foreword

Dr. Umar Hayat, Director NIHCR has marked his achievement of obtaining the Ph. D. degree with a comparable achievement of bringing out the long awaited volume on the *Leaders of Pakistan Movement* soon after being awarded the equally long awaited Ph. D.

The Muslim league, being the lead organization in the creation of Pakistan, deserved all the attention it got at its centenary, and should have had more research dedicated to it. The plan to link the Muslim League centenary celebrations to the Leaders of the Pakistan Movement was an inspiration of Dr. Riaz, my predecessor as Director NIHCR. The credit of the present book must, therefore, be shared between him and my successor, Dr. Umar Hayat. It was merely an act of fate that I had the opportunity to organize the conference on the subject; perhaps the first institutional activity that I organized.

Although, in that sense I was essentially an observer to the unfolding of an activity which I had not actively sponsored, it happened that the event was very closely linked to what I had wished to promote at the NIHCR. As a student of pre-modern times, my knowledge about the Pakistan Movement was not likely to be superior to that of a novice researcher in that field. Nonetheless I had always felt that the role of minor actors, local practitioners and leaders from what is now Pakistan were less known than those of All India fame.

Similarly, the contributions of communities which formed the Pakistani population at the time of partition and continue to be its majority today, were under-researched and known only to the select few who could remember the events as eyewitnesses. It was, therefore, a great pleasure to see that almost the entire community participating in the conference had focussed on the issues that I had so dearly wished to see from the academic circles of Pakistani Historians of the Pakistan Movement.

Having failed to bring out the proceedings during my tenure which lasted for three years after the conference, I can only acknowledge my failure. I suppose I must also accept the responsibility of deserting the NIHCR at an extremely delicate stage after the eighteenth amendment; because of which my successors in the last several years have faced troubled times. It is to be appreciated that two senior researchers of the NIHCR, Dr. Sajid Awan and Dr. Umar Hayat have collaborated in bringing out this invaluable publication. With a great sense of pride, I congratulate them on this excellent initiative and wish that they and the NIHCR [under their leadership] continue such useful activities to fulfil the mandate of this premier institution for historical research.

Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir
Former Director, NIHCR
April 28, 2018

Introduction

An International Conference was organized on the topic “Leaders of Pakistan Movement”, by the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR) on April 7-8, 2008. The Conference was attended by more than 50 national and international scholars who presented their research papers both in English and Urdu languages. The venue of the conference was the auditorium of International Islamic University, Faisal Mosque Campus, Islamabad. The then Director of the Institute, Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir was the Chief Organizer of the Conference in association with all the members of the NIHCR. Needless to mention that this international conference added a milestone in the academic and scholarly achievements of the NIHCR as in addition to the papers presenters, a very large number of other luminaries, academicians and students attended this two-day International Conference.

It may be recalled that this international conference was initially planned by the former Director of the NIHCR, Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed and the date was fixed initially as December 30-31, 2007 but due to the tragic death of former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007, the conference was postponed. Afterwards another date was fixed as February 12-13, 2008 and again it was postponed due to unavoidable circumstances. In the meantime, Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir took charge as the Director of the NIHCR on February 11, 2008 and as per his direction the Conference was finally held on April 7-8, 2008.

However, most of the papers presented in the conference were received during the tenure of Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmad who handed over the charge of the Institute on February 11, 2008 to Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir. Soon after the assumption of the charge, Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir very kindly agreed to organize the International Conference on “Leaders of Pakistan Movement” which was held on April 7-8, 2008. The very unique fact of the conference was that it was organized in a subverting pattern of

research as well in which more than 50 papers were read in English and Urdu language.

The Conference was divided into six sessions apart from the inaugural and the concluding sessions which were shortly attended by the scholars and students of higher education with particular reference to history and culture besides the paper presenters of the Conference. In all the sessions the papers were very loudly appreciated and the chairpersons, discussants and participants extended valuable inputs for the betterment of the scholarly papers which were incorporated in the articles. The participants appreciated the conference with special reference to the domain of the conference, because, it incorporated the leaders of the Pakistan Movement from top to bottom including local leaders whose accounts scarcely included in the write ups of historical accounts of the past. In that sense these papers are very valuable for the current and future historians and writers to pen picture the comprehensive history of Pakistan with particular reference to the Freedom Movement. Nonetheless, the publication of these papers bears much significance for the teachers and students of history and culture.

A total number of papers presented in the conference in English were 24 and 17 in Urdu. The editorial team of the work selected only those papers which were written in a formal academic way and thus 41 papers were selected for publication. The internal academic committee decided to publish the work in two volumes and the Volume-I contains papers presented in English and the Urdu papers are included in Volume-II. Thus, it will facilitate both English and Urdu readers to choose their required one. Finally, it requires to be mentioned that the conference accommodated both groups of scholars, veteran historians as well as the young scholars. Secondly, the young scholars got golden chance to learn from the seasoned scholars of the Pakistan Movement. Under the circumstances, some of the papers generally carry the comprehensive research methodology-based expression but they bear much significance because of the fact that they dealt the topics which require necessary attention of the historians in the quest for fulfilling the gaps of our freedom movement. It is

hoped that the book will help the scholars to satisfy their thirst for knowledge and will provide new insight for the present and coming generations of Pakistan.

As has already been mentioned that organization of the conference and at the same time publication of the conference papers has faced many adverse situations which were due to paradigm shifts of time and space. Finally, it is completed to see the light of the future. In the process a number of personalities had put their inputs. We are thankful to all of them. However, some names are to be mentioned especially. First of all, comes the name of Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed, former Director of the NIHCR and then comes the name of Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir, the former Director of the NIHCR for their most valuable attention, care and efforts in the process of organizing the international conference despite repeated and unavoidable odds. I am especially thankful to Dr. Sajid Mahmood Awan, who took keen interest in the editorial work of the book. It is known to me that he gave attention to the work after office hours also. Hence, I am grateful to him. Another contribution in the editorial process was from Mr. Saleem Shahid, Sub-Editor, for which he deserves thanks. Mr. Azhar Javed, Senior Private Secretary, very attentively contributed in the process especially coordinating the whole process right from the idea of the conference till the publication of its papers. Similarly, Mr. Mushtaqur Rehman put his efforts in the entire process. I am thankful to both of them. Mr. Khalid Mahmood made sincere efforts in the typing and composing of the necessary material, incorporated in the book for which my thanks are for him. As a matter of fact, all the members of the NIHCR contributed directly or indirectly in the whole process. My cordial thanks to all of them. However, the scholarly input extended by the research staff as a whole was enormous, hence, I am grateful to all of them. In the publication process all the administrative staff including Mr. Munir Khawar, Publication Officer, Mr. Atlas Khan, Accounts Officer and Mr. Adnan Yousaf, Administrative Officer deserves special thanks for their timely steps in the whole process.

Dr. Syed Umar Hayat

Quaid-i-Azam, Muslim League and the Elections of 1945-1946

Dr. Riaz Ahmad*

ABSTRACT

The elections of 1945-46 were very crucial not only in the history of Pakistan Movement but in overall freedom struggle in British India. It not only justified the Quaid-i-Azam's claim for Pakistan as demand of the Muslims of South Asia but it established beyond any doubt that the All India Muslim League was really, the sole representative political organization of Muslims of British India. It also established Quaid's claim that the Indian National Congress was without any reservation a foremost political organization of the Hindus of South Asia. Jinnah's oft-repeated utterance that the Congress was representative of all of the Hindus of British India was also confirmed. It also confirmed that there were without any doubt a number of Muslim political organizations, apart from the AIML, like the Ahrars, the Khaksars, the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind etc., but none of them really represented

* Former Director, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Muslims as almost all of their candidates forfeited their securities in the elections against the Muslim League candidates. There were, however, some problems with reference to the AIML's performance in the elections with reference to NWFP (now KP — Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Punjab but these were successfully tackled by Jinnah's tactful handling of the situation to be discussed later in this paper.

First the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were held in November-December 1945. Jinnah himself contested election from the Bombay City Urban (Muhammedan) Constituency. His opponent was Hosseinbhoj A. Laljee who was opposed to the idea of Pakistan.¹ In the election results declared on December 4, 1945, Jinnah won with overwhelming majority against his rival as indicated by the following election results:²

Total Votes	5460
M.A. Jinnah (secured)	3602
Hosseinbhoj A. Laljee (secured)	127
Rejected/invalid votes	41
<u>Percentage of votes secured by Jinnah</u>	<u>65.9%</u>

The other winning Muslim League candidate was Ahmad E.H. Jaffer who contested the Central Assembly election from Southern Division Bombay.³

Interesting scenes were witnessed in the constituency of Jinnah on the polling day. There were also about 500 women voters, of them 276 came to poll their votes, many of them in *burrkhas*.⁴ Enthusiastic election demonstrations accompanied day's polling. Hundreds of cars carried voters to the polls. The League's fleet was also supported by 50

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1. *Times of India*, December 27, 1945.
 2. *Times of India*, December 5, 1945.
 3. *Times of India*, December 5, 1945.
 4. *Times of India*, November 28, 1945.

taxies lent and driven by their drivers, who were supporters of the Muslim League. The Bombay city's streets echoed to the electioneering slogans of the League and Laljee's supporters who were driven around in lorries. Laljee's workers included a number of Hindu and Sikh workers. His election booths were totally in the hands of Hindu workers,⁵ but their performance was very poor as the election and polling day was totally dominated by the League workers and voters.⁶

These scenes were witnessed despite the fact that Jinnah himself was not present in Bombay. His election's day polling was closely watched by I. I. Chundrigar and Hassan A. Sheikh, President and Secretary respectively of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League who moved constantly from one polling station to the other. Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of Jinnah, was however, present in Bombay and she took care of the women voters at different polling booths.⁷ The prominent communities who declared their early support to Jinnah were the Dawoodi Bohras and the Khoja Sunni Jammāt etc.⁸

In the Bombay Presidency the issue of Pakistan, in favour or against, was hotly debated. On November 17, 1945 Sardar V. Patel, in a public meeting in Poona, declared that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress would never agree to Jinnah's Pakistan as it is based on false theory of two-nations because a group of converts to Islam cannot be termed as a nation.⁹ At that time Jinnah was in New Delhi. Replying to Patel's criticism Jinnah said: "The fundamental basis of Pakistan is that we want to rescue the Muslim provinces from domination and a Hindu raj being established by a unitary or federal centre".¹⁰

5. *Times of India*, November 28, 1945.

6. *Times of India*, November 28, 1945.

7. *Times of India*, November 28, 1945.

8. *Times of India*, November 22, 1945.

9. *Times of India*, November 19, 1945

10. *Times of India*, November 19, 1945.

On October 31, 1945, a public meeting for the purpose of electioneering was organized at Qasim Bagh, Bombay by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League. This was the first meeting by the Bombay League to launch the election campaign in the Bombay Presidency. I. I. Chunrigar presided over. Addressing this meeting Jinnah asked the Muslim electorate to consider why they should vote for the League candidates. They have to think whether to live or perish. Replying himself Jinnah said: "Pakistan was their goal, and if the electorate did not favour the League nominees all their efforts during the last eight years would be washed."¹¹ Chundrigarh, in his speech, said that the forthcoming elections were different from the first elections to the provincial legislatures. At that time, he maintained, the Muslims had no organised party, while at present they had such a party in the Muslim League to represent Muslim views. He appealed to the electorate to support Jinnah's candidature to the Central Assembly.¹²

In an interview to the Associated Press of India Jinnah declared that the Muslim League wants "to fight the forthcoming elections constitutionally and lawfully" and the League also wanted "a verdict by means of free and fair elections."¹³ He also exhorted on Muslims of all groups and sects to be united in these elections without playing in the hands of their enemies.¹⁴

The list of Congress candidates to the Central Assembly was published in the last week of October 1945. Commenting on this Jinnah, in his interview to the *Times of India* Correspondent, said: "The Congress has been repeatedly maintaining that it represents India and all the people of India, including a large body of Muslims. Even the recent speeches of Congress leaders have emphatically asserted that the Congress represents India. We have repeatedly

11. *Times of India*, November 1, 1945.

12. *Times of India*, November 1, 1945.

13. *Times of India*, November 30, 1945.

14. *Times of India*, November 30, 1945.

denied that claim and we have maintained that barring a few Muslims who are in the Congress — and there are mushroom groups among Muslims also — the entire body of Muslims is with the League... I have seen the list of official Congress candidates for the Central Assembly to the press, and it seems to me as proof positive that the Congress has run away from the false claim which it has broadcast in India and all over the world because the Congress has not given its ticket to a single Mussalman".¹⁵

The Central Parliamentary Board of AIML in its meeting held in Delhi on October 10, 1945 finalized the Muslim League's candidates for the Central Assembly seats in the whole of India, barring some constituencies where some more information was required.¹⁶ Jinnah's candidature from the Bombay city was also finalized and announced.¹⁷

The Congress used various techniques to divide the Muslim League and to confuse Jinnah on sectarian issue. The Congress did not dare to confront Jinnah or the League candidates directly in these elections. Various groups like the Ahrars, the Khaksars, the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, the Shia Political Party and some others were used for this purpose. Sajjad Ali Khan, Propaganda Secretary of the Shia Conference, sent a telegram to Jinnah inviting the later to attend the Shia Conference.¹⁸ In his telegraphic reply from Quetta Jinnah regretted to attend such a Conference and said that "the organisers of Shia Conference are misguided and misled by our enemies. My advice to every Shia is to join the Muslim League unreservedly at this critical juncture. The Muslim League and I have made it clear repeatedly that we stand for justice and fair play towards every sect of Mussalmans and non-Muslim minorities... An overwhelming majority of Shias are with the League and legitimate grievances, if any, are a matter of our own internal concern,

15. *Times of India*, October 29, 2007.

16. *Times of India*, October 12, 1945.

17. *Times of India*, October 12, 1945.

18. *Times of India*, October 4, 1945.

and can be dealt within our fold by the All-India Muslim League.”¹⁹

According to the programme of Central Legislative Assembly elections the candidates were to file their nominations, though dates differed in various provinces, between October 25 to November 10, 1945 and the polling was to be held from November 23 to December 5, 1945, depending upon the convenience of each province.²⁰

There were 142 seats of the Central Legislature Assembly. Of these 102 seats were to be filled by election and forty by nomination. Of the 102 elective seats 48 were allotted to the non-Muhammadans and 30 to Muhammadans. Remaining seats were distributed amongst the Sikhs, Europeans special interests and minorities.²¹ According to the results announced on December 5, 1945, the following was the party position.²²

Party	No. of Seats
Congress	56
Muslim League	30
Akali Sikhs	02
European and Independents	14
Total:	102

This election was a great challenge for the Muslim League. From the start of election campaign the Indian National Congress was showing their stiff opposition to the Muslim League and Pakistan. Addressing the first election meeting of the Congress at Lucknow on October 5, 1945 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant and Babu Pumshottamdas Tandon “fired their first shots of the election

19. *Times of India*, October 4, 1945.

20. *Indian Election Reforms 1945-1946*, No.L/P&J/8/470, British Library (OIOC), London.

21. *Indian Election Reforms 1945-1946*.

22. *Indian Election Reforms 1945-1946*.

campaign” when they addressed a public meeting at Aminuddaulah Fort.²³ Pandit Nehru believed that the Muslim League did not represent the whole of Muslim opinion in India as there were other Muslim organizations different from the League. He was sure that in the coming elections the Muslim League will be miserably defeated and its “Cry of Pakistan” would prove only “an imaginary slogan”.²⁴ In his speech Pandit Pant said that in the coming elections the Congress would win with overwhelming majority and it will result in the defeat of Muslim League because “the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind — the premier religious institution of the Muslims was with the Congress”.²⁵ Babu Tandon also was confident of the Congress victory. Therefore, he pleaded that there was no need for pleading settlement with the League.²⁶ All these expressions were termed by the *Dawn*, a spokesman of the Muslim League, in its editorial as “hysterics”.²⁷

Despite all these challenges the Muslim League won all the Muslim seats reserved for the Muslims in the Central Assembly. After the declaration of results, Jinnah in a statement called upon the new Labour Government in London to know more about the ground realities in British India because “establishment of Pakistan” was the core issue of the freedom of India.²⁸ But, instead of solving the problem of Pakistan, certain members of the British Parliament suggested to the British Government as to how to tackle the expected victory of Muslim League in the coming provincial legislative elections, to be discussed later in this paper.

Nominations for seats in eleven provincial assembly elections were to be filed in between December 12, 1945 to

23. *Hindustan Times*, 6 October 1945.

24. *Hindustan Times*, 6 October 1945.

25. *Hindustan Times*, 6 October 1945.

26. *Hindustan Times*, 6 October 1945.

27. See Editorial, *Dawn* (New Delhi), October 7, 1945.

28. Jinnah's statement in *Dawn*, December 7, 1945.

March 4, 1946, different date for each province was given.²⁹ The polls were to be held in between January 9 to April 12, 1946, each province having different date.³⁰ There were 482 seats reserved in eleven provincial assemblies for the Muslims. Of these 429 seats were won by the Muslim League candidates. Thus the Muslim League victory in the provincial assembly elections was about 90percent³¹ as indicated by the following table.³²

No.	Province	Seats Reserved For Muslims	Seats Won by the Muslim League
1.	Madras	28	29 (one for schedule caste)
2.	Bombay	29	31 (2 for minorities)
3.	Bengal	117	114
4.	U.P.	64	54
5.	Punjab	84	75
6.	Bihar	39	34
7.	Assam	34	31
8.	NWFP	38	17
9.	Sindh	33	27
10.	C.P.	14	13
11.	Orissa	04	04
Total:		482	429

The overwhelming Muslim League victory in the Central Assembly elections signalled a great warning in the annals of British and Congress circles. This matter was even discussed in the British Parliament. In the debate held in the House of Commons on December 6, 1945 great concerns were voiced in this regard. Major Wyatt, British M.P., speaking in the House of Commons on December 6, 1945, expressed his deep concern. According to him, "it is in the Punjab that the issue of whether or not the Muslim League can press their claim to Pakistan is to be decided. If the

29. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*, No.L/P&J/8/470, British Library (OIOC), London.

30. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*.

31. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*.

32. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*.

Muslim League can obtain the greater majority of the Muslim seats, they have got a clear case to go forward in India for saying, "we have the support of the majority of Muslims. If they do not, it will be another matter. Their case for Pakistan will not be so strong".³³ He called upon the Government of India to be very careful in holding elections in the Punjab.³⁴ The officials were required to be instructed in this matter.³⁵ After Muslim League's overwhelming victory in the Central Assembly elections the Muslim League President M.A. Jinnah was even more forceful in pressing the demand for Pakistan. In his interview to the special correspondent of the Associated Press of India on December 10, 1945 Jinnah said: "We could settle the Indian problem in ten minutes if Mr. Gandhi would say: 'I agree that there should be Pakistan. I agree that one-fourth of India, composed of six provinces, Sindh, Balochistan, the Punjab, NWFP, Bengal and Assam, with their present boundaries, should constitute Pakistan State. After that it would be a simple matter to sit down as friends and work out the details of a friendly and neighbourly life between the two great nations of the subcontinent. ... The deadlock in this country is not so much between India and the British. It is between the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League. I think more and more Congress members are beginning to realise that this is the crux of the matter and that, further more, nothing can or will be solved, until Pakistan is granted."³⁶ In this interview Jinnah also discussed other issues relating to Pakistan including the voluntary exchange of population between the two states but the condition is that Hindus and Muslims should from the core of their heart accept this reality. If any of them say that this is going to be unprecedented, they were advised by Jinnah to keep the example of USA and Canada who voluntarily accepted each other's boundaries

33. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*; Also see *Parliamentary Debates*, (House of Commons) 6 December 1945.

34. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*.

35. *Indian Provincial Elections Reforms 1945-1946*.

36. *Times of India*, December 11, 1945.

and are the best example of friendship in the world.³⁷ In another statement Jinnah called upon Lord Wavell with reference to his recent speech at Calcutta that he should try to make next time “still more clear that the division of India is inevitable and that it is the only solution of India’s political problem”. He also expressed that “Lord Wavell knows that besides the minorities the Congress and the Muslim League are the two main political organisations which represent the overwhelming majority of the Hindus and the Musalmans, respectively, in this subcontinent.”³⁸ Speaking at the reception given by the Memon Merchants Association, Bombay on December 27, 1945 Jinnah said that the Muslims were struggling for the freedom of both the communities and if they could not forge a united front, the Muslims would march alone and establish Pakistan.³⁹ In order to celebrate the overwhelming victory of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly Elections Jinnah declared that 11 January 1946 should be celebrated as “our glorious victory in the first round”.⁴⁰ This victory of the Muslim League was termed by Jinnah as the victory for Pakistan cause.⁴¹

As a result of success of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly the British Parliament sent a delegation to India consisting of a number of M.Ps including Major Wyatt on January 7, 1946 who met Jinnah and others.⁴² Major Wyatt called on Jinnah on 8 January and remained with him for 80 minutes. Mrs. Nichol also accompanied Major Wyatt. She also met with Miss Fatima Jinnah.⁴³ This delegation also met various Congress and other leaders in Delhi apart from having their briefing at the Viceregal House in Delhi.⁴⁴ On

37. *Times of India*, December 11, 1945.

38. *Times of India*, December 12, 1945.

39. *Times of India*, December 28, 1945.

40. *Times of India*, December 31, 1945.

41. *Times of India*, December 31, 1945.

42. *Times of India*, January 8, 1946.

43. *Times of India*, January 9, 1946.

44. *Times of India*, January 9, 1946.

January 10 1946 the British Parliamentary Delegation had another meeting with Jinnah in New Delhi, which lasted for two hours. At the end of the meeting Sorenson, M.P., remarked to the press correspondent: "It was a fair and sensitive exposition of the problem of Pakistan" which "I am keeping in the repository of my mind".⁴⁵ Mrs. Nichol found the talk interesting and illuminating while Lord Charley thought it informative.⁴⁶ Two hours after their talk with Jinnah the eight members of the delegations had their meeting with Dr. Ambedkar which lasted for ninety minutes. This delegation also met Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴⁷

Addressing the Victory Day in Delhi on January 11, 1946 to a gathering of about 50,000 people Jinnah said "that Muslims were a powerful, well organized and determined nation and were prepared even to shed their blood for Pakistan".⁴⁸ Then Jinnah directed his campaign to various provinces so that Muslim League candidates could win with overwhelming majority and the case of Pakistan is better explained to the voters.

He went to Punjab on January 13, 1946. There he addressed a number of meetings and met various politicians and guided the Muslim League workers in terms of his election strategy. Prior to his departure from Lahore to Delhi by Air on January 18, 1946 he issued a press statement from Lahore in which he said: "I have been here now for about a week in order to survey the election campaign and the various developments that are taking place in the Punjab and to give such practical and concrete help to the provincial Muslim League as is necessary for our success here. I have fully discussed matters with a large body of our leaders and many other people during my stay here and just say that the Mussalmans of the Punjab are solidly behind the Muslim League, and if the elections are free and fair, I feel that the

45. *Times of India*, January 11, 1946.

46. *Times of India*, January 11, 1946.

47. *Times of India*, January 11, 1946.

48. *Times of India*, January 12, 1946.

Muslim League would secure cent per cent success”.⁴⁹ But the Muslim League candidates were facing a great challenge, declared Jinnah, from “Glancy-Khizr Axis” who are coercing, threatening, intimidating and persecuting the Muslim League workers. He also charged that the officials in the Punjab are also being prepared to use their influence against the Muslim League candidates. He also warned the Ahrars, the Khaksars and other mushroom gangs “with false labels” and said that they were nothing but the “benchmen of our enemies”.⁵⁰ Despite these dangers he was confident that the Punjab Muslims were “determined for our cherished goal of Pakistan” and “Muslims have to give their verdict on the issue of Pakistan and they are not called upon to support individual candidates as such”.⁵¹

Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, on January 28, 1946 addressed the newly elected Central Legislative Assembly in New Delhi. In his address he emphasized the need for the formation of Interim Government and Viceroy’s Executive Council and to establish the constitution-making body.⁵² Jinnah in his immediate press statement issued on the same day declared that “the Muslim League would not agree to any Central Government being set-up even as an Interim Government”.⁵³ Jinnah opposed all the three proposals of the Viceroy and declared “Muslim India had made it clear beyond any doubt that the only solution of India’s political problem is the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan, and it is our resolve and determination to set up a free Muslim State in the Muslim majority zones in the North-Western and Eastern parts of India”.⁵⁴ The Viceroy, in his speech also mentioned about bitterness in the political environment which deserved to calm down.⁵⁵ In this

49. *Times of India*, January 19, 1946.

50. *Times of India*, January 19, 1946.

51. *Times of India*, January 19, 1946.

52. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

53. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

54. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

55. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

connection Jinnah said that “it is the Hindu Congress that is sole by responsible for it by adopting its policy and programme of action to crush the Muslim League and to disrupt the Muslims, as the elections have demonstrated beyond doubt unscrupulously and unwarranted interference with the Muslim electorate, backed up by a false propaganda of the press, nine-tenths of which is control by it.”⁵⁶ Explaining the Muslim League policy in this regard, Jinnah said that “the Muslim League has remained scrupulously aloof from interfering with Hindu electorates and have, as an honourable party, decided not to interfere with non-Muslim electorates anywhere”.⁵⁷ Thus Jinnah proved that it was the Congress who was responsible for creating bitterness in the political atmosphere.⁵⁸

By February 1946, it became very clear that Muslim League candidates were winning in almost all the provinces against the Muslim seats. This democratic victory further strengthened Jinnah in forcefully putting forward the demand for Pakistan. On February 13, 1946 the *New York Times* published Jinnah’s statement, “Mr. Jinnah’s threat with the lead of Civil War” in which Jinnah called upon the British to establish Pakistan without any further delay. He also called for determining the boundaries of Pakistan and Hindustan. He also called upon the Congress leaders to accept Pakistan from the core of their heart.⁵⁹ If they are not going to accept Pakistan “Jinnah threatened Civil War”.⁶⁰ He also spoke against the idea of appointing single constitution-making body.⁶¹

With the exception of NWFP and Assam, the Muslim League victory in the provincial elections was overwhelming as discussed before. Even in NWFP the position was

56. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

57. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

58. *Times of India*, January 29, 1946.

59. *Times of India*, February 14, 1946.

60. *Times of India*, February 14, 1946.

61. *Times of India*, February 14, 1946.

complicated. Of the 38 seats reserved for the Muslims 19 were won by the Congress nominated Muslims. The Muslim League won 17 seats. Two seats were won by the candidates of Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind. As far as the percentage of Muslim votes cast for the Muslim seats is concerned the Congress candidates secured the support of 130,975 or 39.24 percent of the seats whereas the Muslim League candidates got the support of 147,380 or 44.7 percent of the seats, and Jamiat-ul-Ulama secured the support of 5.3 percent of the seats. Although the Ahrars, Khaksars and Independents contested elections in the NWFP but they got no seats.⁶²

The Muslim League position in the Punjab elections was as follows:⁶³

Muslim League position in the Punjab elections

Congress:	51
Muslim League	73
Unionist	20
Akali	22
Independent	09
Total:	175

Nawab Mamdot, Leader of the Punjab Muslim League, in his interview with the Punjab Governor in March 1946 made it clear that he was in possession of support of 88 (73+5 independent +10 others) members of the Punjab Assembly.⁶⁴ Despite that the Muslim League was not asked to form their Ministry. Khizr Hayat Tiwana was asked to form his Ministry in the province.

The Congress gave stiff fight to the Muslim League candidates by putting proxy candidates against them. Jinnah told the Viceroy on March 18, 1946 that Congress spent two

62. *Times of India*, February 20, 1946.

63. Riaz Ahmad, "Muslim Punjab's Fight for Pakistan: League's Agitation against the Coalition Ministry of Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Jan.-June 2007, Vol. XXVIII, No.1: 2.

64. Ahmad, "Muslim Punjab's Fight for Pakistan:."

crores of rupees in putting up candidates against the Muslim League.⁶⁵

Though the Muslim League's case for Pakistan was substantiated in this elections that not only the majority Muslim areas have declared their will for Pakistan, even the Muslims living in minority Muslim provinces willingly refunded their support in this cause of Pakistan, it was not a smooth sailing for realization of Pakistan by Jinnah and the Muslim League. It had to undergo a lot of lecturing and diplomatic activity with by the Congress leaders and the British Statesmen before Pakistan was established which are to be discussed in different papers. But the elections of 1946 established beyond any doubt that the demand of Pakistan was democratically supported by the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of South Asia. It also established beyond any doubt that no other Muslim organisation like the Ahrars, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Khaksars or others represented Muslims in the democratic sense. But the Congress still used them for its drive against Pakistan.

65. "Wavell's interview with Jinnah on March 18, 1946 "in *Zetland Papers*, Eur. Mss D.977/17, British Library (OIOC), London".

Sindh Wins Separation: Role of Abdullah Haroon

Dr. Hyder Sindhi*

ABSTRACT

In 1927, Hajji Abdullah was elected president of the Central Khilafat Committee. These were extremely difficult days for the movement. He had hardly any literary attainments but Providence had endowed him with brains. He had penetrating intellect and his transparent honesty inspired confidence. He could see through a confused situation with complete clarity, and had tact and integrity of such high order that people could follow his lead without feeling any strain on their loyalty. He could unravel tangles without creating fresh complications, and could successfully carry the masses with him through fluctuating fortunes of the moment. He tried his best to keep the original flame of the movement burning in the hearts of his colleagues, but personal likes and dislikes took a strong hold of some workers which unfortunately disrupted the party. The sad demise of Maulana Mohammad Ali

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quicken this process, and the events in the world outside administered a coup de grace. "Be patient", he advised every one. "Merge personal feelings in the great work before us". He counselled all and sundry. That was the only road to success, he would say repeatedly. When decisions within the inner circles of the Central Khilafat Committee reigned supreme, and charges counter-charges were bandied about freely, he alone remained patient, and kept himself above personnel bickering to saddened him to see otherwise responsible persons squabbling and 'washing their dirty linen in public, to a rather vocal public man in Sind and Punjab. Around him had gathered a group of malcontents, he wrote a personal letter (on May 4, 1927) with an appeal to save the situation in the interest of the Musalmans, whose future well-being was bound up with concerted action. He said, "I write this letter with pain in heart. I may have used an unpleasant word for which I crave forgiveness. God knows in what high honour I hold you of the Punjab for your great competence and sacrifice for honourable service and selfless work. I need not dilate on it here. Neither do I unreasonably support one party, nor do I want only to oppose another.

In my eyes there is no better work in the cause of Islam and Musalmans, than the Ali Brothers and their party, and your leaders of the Punjab. I, therefore, earnestly desire that you all should pool your talent and find a way for co-operation. Otherwise God help the Musalmans. At the present juncture, when the foes of Islam have combined their forces and are working for like the Musalmans, it is extremely heartrending to see you". The leaders like Hajji Abdullah Haroon were a model of perseverance and this trait of his character was shown at its best in his efforts for the separation of Sindh. He

raised a purely local and provincial matter to the importance of an All India questions. This shift in emphasis necessitated the whole subject to be dealt with far more seriousness than before. No sooner did the Hindu Mahasabha perceive the All India implication of the separation of Sindh than it entered the field with a vigorous propaganda against it. What was formerly a purely administrative matter to be decided on the basis of geographical, economic, social, linguistic and ethnic basis became the rallying ground of communal contention. Unnecessary heat was introduced, and extraneous considerations were advanced to confuse the issues, and if possible, to defeat the efforts of advocates of separation. Fortunately for the province, the opponents of the demand for separation counted without their host — Seth Abdullah — who brought his customary thoroughness and characteristic perseverance to bear on this matter.

He never missed an occasion to keep this matter before the public and to win support for it. He attended a session of the Muslim Conference at Aligarh in 1925 and asked for a resolution on the separation of Sindh. He also attended the Leaders Conference at Delhi in 1926, and again moved the resolution for the separation of Sindh.

The story of this deal is told below in his own words as he related it to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who was the chairman of the Sub-Committee constituted by the All Parties Conference on separation of the province from Bombay. Here is what Hajji Abdullah Haroon thought. The question of the separation of Sindh was first discussed some 80 years ago. From 1843 to 1847 Sindh was a separate province with Sir Charles Napier as its Governor. The annexation of Sindh to the Bombay Presidency in 1847 was a mere accident.

After its annexation to Bombay, Sindh began to be administered by a Commissioner in several matters. The Commissioners of the other divisions had been invested with the powers of local Government. The question of the curtailment of the extra powers vested in the Commissioner

in Sindh over and above those possessed by the other Divisional Commissioners, was first publicly taken up at the Bombay Provincial Conference, 1901. It was the subject of a special resolution at the third Sindh Provincial Conference in April 1916, and at every subsequent session of the Conference.

On the occasion of the visit of the Right Honourable Mr. Montague, a special session of the Sindh Provincial Conference was held and a deputation was formed to place before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montague a memorandum in which, among other things relating to reform, it was strongly urged that all the, extra powers conferred on the Commissioner-in-Sindh should be withdrawn. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai headed this deputation. The late Honourable Mr. G.M. Bhurgri who had the support of all the educated Sindhi Hindus had taken up the very same question in the year 1920.

On the one hand, the Hindu community sought the withdrawal of the powers of the commissioner-in-Sindh and on the other a demand was made for provincial autonomy as will appear from the following extract from the speech of the late Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, the chairman of the Reception Committee: 'On the conquest of Sindh by the British in 1843, it was administered as a separate Province with Sir Charles Napier as its Governor. After his departure in 1847, it was annexed to the Bombay Presidency and still continues to be so possess several geographical and ethnological characteristics, which give her the hallmark of a self-contained territorial unit. The Punjab has been long casting very covetous eyes upon this Province and urging her claim to an annexation, which became insistent after the announcement of territorial changes by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the last Delhi Durbar. But Sindh has set her face resolutely against all blandishments and prefers to continue a part of the Bombay Presidency until such time as permits, her own advantage, to attain Provincial autonomy.

From the year 1901 to 1920, when the questions of the powers of the commissioner in Sindh and provincial Autonomy were being pressed both in the Provincial Conferences and by the All India National Congress and the Sindh Musalmans, as a community, were quite indifferent, and only began to take part in the movement when it became an All India question. This was because the Muslims are backward in education and there was political body behind them.

During 1925 and 1926 the Muslims of Sindh began take same interest in the matter and Mr. Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi moved a resolution for the separation of Sindh at the Aligarh sessions of the League (December 30, 1926). The Muslim press of Sindh supported the question of the 'Autonomy of Sindh, as a domestic affair both Hindu and Muslim communities did not raise any voice against the proposal. Both considered it a sound proposal. The natural ambition of both was that the province should stand on its own legs, be free from the leading strings of other provinces and determine its own destiny. It was a March 20, 1927. Those All India Muslim leaders met at Delhi, and passed a resolution in favour, thus the question of the separation of Sindh became an All India question. 'In the year 1927, Dr. Moonj, President of the All India Hindus Mahasabha issued a statement to the members of the Hindu Mahasabha which gave an opportunity to the Mahasabha workers, or sympathizers, in Sindh to oppose the proposal of the separation of Sindh.

At the second Hindu Sammelan held at Sukkur (April 1927) the proposal for the separation of Sindh was strongly opposed the imaginary fears of a "Muslim Raj in Sindh". The Chairman (Mr. Virumal Bagraj) in his speech gave a list of imaginary Hindu fears. His speech was published in the Sindh newspapers under the caption, "Sindhi Hindus in danger". The Mahasabha workers and Sympathizers tried to infuse terror into the public mind by portraying a horrible picture of "Muslim Tyranny". On account of their strong communalism the Hindu Sammelan at Sukkur did not accept

Mr. Jethmal's harmless proposal to appoint a committee to consider the question of the separation of Sindh. The following leading note of the "*Daily New Times*" of Karachi (owned and edited by Mr. T. K. Jeswani, M.A.) dated May 9, 1927 throws sufficient light on the subject: 'The other day it was pointed out that the Sukkur Hindu Sammelan made a mistake in not accepting Mr. Jethmal's harmless proposal for the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of the separation of Sindh. This decision has already created some misunderstandings amongst some leading men in and out of Sindh. The decision will give an idea to the outside world that the Hindus of Sindh are prejudiced, and are afraid, as a minority, to even discuss the question whether on its own merit or as a matter of compromise.

Lala Lajpatrai gave a very sound advice to the people of Sindh to study the question. But the Hindu Sammelan refused to accept the advice of its own leader. Some of those who took leading part in opposing the separation are so prejudiced that they did not like to discuss the issue. It was strange to see that the conference, called at Sukkur by the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee, was not allowed to be held by the oppositionists. The meeting was held at the Sukkur Town Hall, where the audience was fully representative, and just as keen interest developed in the controversy, came the revolt from the opposition what earthly use would it serve to discuss this dead issue. We have no to discuss this point", "We have to attend the Subjects Committee meeting of the Sammelan", and so forth. But strange enough a resolution on the subject was passed at the Sindh Hindu Sammelan with support of those people. For a national body like the Congress to consider the question was a dead issue but for the Sammelan it was a live one. What sort of mentality is this does not show that certain persons refuse to discuss this issue on account of their strong communalism by tightening the Hindus unnecessarily?

Mr. Jethmal, Parsaram in the '*Daily New Times*' of Karachi laid stress on the point that the Sindhi Hindus stood to gain

and not to lose by separation. He mentioned some proper safeguards for the non-Muslim minority. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta (President, Karachi Municipality) wrote' in the '*Sindh Observer*': I am sure a small conference of leaders of both the communities, about 10 from each, will do a great deal to clear these (fears of Hindus) and various other points. Seth Hajji Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., sent a letter to the Press welcoming, the idea of the conference to dispel of the Hindus. At the public meeting held at the Khalikdina Hall, Karachi — some of the Separationists (*viz.* Mr. Jethmal, Mr. Sidhwa and many others) advanced strong arguments dispelling the fears of the Hindus. The Sindh Mohammeden Central Association also invited the Hindu Mahasabha leader to a meeting and discussed the matter on its merits. But they ignored all the office made in this direction by the "Separationists". Their attitude at Sukkur Sammelan also proves our content on 'The Separationists, having found that their arguments regarding "Hindu fears were untenable, made efforts to show that the province was always a deficit province, and for this purpose, the period prior to (1921-22) was chosen evil (1910 to 1919) when "for five years in succession" the Budget of even the Government of India showed a deficit. It is now desirable that the actual figures of Receipts and Expenditures for Sindh be separately worked out for the succeeding 7 years *viz.* 1921 to 1927 when we shall be in a better position to judge (a) whether there is any real deficit, (b) if so, weather any other Provincial Government with a Governor at its head has a similar deficit and (c) how to meet the deficit if any. It should be remembered that the restoration of the financial health even of the Government of India has actually commenced since 1923.

It will be admittedly all that the question of finance is difficult in view of the complicated Bombay budget wherein figures for Sindh are not given separately. Mr. Chhabalani's pamphlet itself (which shows Sindh as a deficit Province) does not give actual figures. Mr. Chhabalani himself admits that the "Finance Department of the Government of Bombay

was not drawing up a separate budget for Sindh but only giving a comparative idea of the expenditure on Sindh as a Division of the presidency.” Even Sir Henry Lawrence himself had no faith in the figures supplied by him. Surely the figures gave only an idea. It is not therefore fair to decide the fate of Sindh on these figures. It is fair and just that three Government officials of the Audit and Executive Departments and two Sindh leaders be deputed by Government to go through the figures and find out the Sindh Budget separately. The revenue of Sindh in the year 1910-11 was only 11 lakhs, but in 1921-22 it rose to 210 lakhs. When Provinces and States in India are able to maintain their Governments with about 140 Lakhs or even less, it is not understood. ‘Why Sindh should not be able to do so with 210 lakhs of revenue. It may be mentioned in this connection that with effect from April 1, 1925, the arguments of ministering the advances to be made by the centre of Provincial Governments have been systematized and a Central Fund called “Provincial Loan Fund” has been established from which all advances are now made by the Government of India.

According to this arrangement the Provincial Governments can borrow sums of money according to definite principles by which the arrangements for interest and repayments will be regulated. The Provincial Governments naturally desire to spend large sum on various schemes of development and expansion of their useful activities, and the Government of India, regarding this as a healthy and inevitable, result of the reforms, wish to help them to fulfil their desire. The fact is that the capital for the barrage is provided by the Government of India as a loan to the Bombay Government and interest is also being added on the capital cost. When Sindh is separated, it will administer the management of the payment of the loan instead of the Bombay Government. The Sukkur Barrage is the greatest irrigation scheme in the World, and it is hoped Sindh will get every pie of the cost on the scheme, out of the land sales.

The figures worked out by Mr. Chhabalani in his pamphlet regarding the estimated expenditure for Sindh (in case of separation) can only be considered after we are in a position to decide what additions are to be made to the existing departments in Sindh and what new officials or heads of departments it will be necessary to keep. For this purpose also a Committee of experts is appointed to go into the details and prepare a report. 'Mr. Chhabalani, in his pamphlet, has referred to the contribution to the Central Government and a sum of Rs.141 Lakhs has been shown.

Even in the 1927-28 Budget, the Government of India announced further remission of provincial contribution. 'In conclusion I submit a brief summary of events from 1901 to 1927:

That, originally the proposal of the autonomy for Sindh originated some 30 years ago, and that too from Sindh Hindus;

That, all the Sindhi Hindus supported it prior to the year 1927;

That, when it became an All-India question in the year 1925-26, the Sindh Muslims supported the proposal;

That, unfortunately the Muslim support to the proposal was quite unsuitable as much as the communal tension at its height;

That, on account of that communal tension the All India Hindu Mahasabha gave a lead to the Sindhi Hindus to oppose the very proposal that had originated from them. That even at the present many tried Nationalist Hindus workers is supporters of the separation of Sindh;

That, the Commercial community of Karachi is in favour of separation;

That, the Musalmans who are the majority community in Sindh are in favour of separation;

That, it is considered opinion of many that when separated, Sindh will become the real architect of its own;

Fortunes will shape its destinies. So far, Sindh has had no effective control over its own affairs; the voice of this Province

in the Council of the Presidency has been a voice cried in the wilderness.

Last Para of the Address given by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce to His Excellency, the Right Honorable Freeman Thomas Baron Lord Willingdon on January 5, 1916 shows the importance of Karachi Port and Province.

We recognize that amidst the multiplicity of demands upon Your Excellency's time and attention the commercial requirements of Sindh and its capital can hardly expect to occupy the first place but we have every confidence that the great future clearly opening for Karachi, in consequence to its exceptionally favourable geographical position, has not escaped Your Excellency's attention, and Karachi, and the whole Province of Sindh, can count upon receiving from Your Excellency's Government that full measure of financial support which the very substantial contribution made by this Province to Local and Imperial revenues, render fair and equitable.

Work is more and more being done through a Government, which however friendly, is situated several hundred miles away. The second point is that many of the departments, which deeply affect the trade of Sindh, such as the Railways, the control of the port, the Customs, and the Salt Departments, are now administrable by the Government of India. Possibly a more direct approach that Government that through a distant local Government would be desirable. It is worth consideration that Sindh has not a single Government College. It has no public roads. Any correspondence on education, engineering and such other subjects takes a very long time before it is finally disposed.

This comprehensive document by Seth Abdullah Haroon reproduced above in its entirety highlights a problem that was subsequently solved to his liking. At the time, however, he did not rest content with this exhaustive discussion in this elaborate document. As soon as the Nehru Report was published, he communicated on November 28, 1928, his comments on the various clauses of the Report to the

members of the Nehru Committee, and in doing so, drew attention to the Separation of Sindh. Commenting on scheme 7 of section-1 — relating to the rights of the Muslim minority as incorporated in the fundamental laws of the Indian Constitution — he said that the province of Sindh should be separated from the Presidency of Bombay as the majority of its people have already so desired it, and that its separation shall in no case be made conditional on the result of the financial and administrative considerations as recommended in resolution No.4 of the All Parties Conference'. In any explanatory note, he maintained:

Those who are conversant with the controversy on the separation of Sindh know fully that the majority of people favour its separation. Organizations of All India fame have accepted this demand and, accordingly, have recommended the separation of the province. At first, the separation was included in the famous Delhi-Muslim proposals. The All-India Congress Committee (May 1927) and the National Congress at Madras (December 1927) also supported this separation. (The Indian Congress in 1920 distributed the provinces of British India on linguistic basis. After this, Sindh sent its delegates separate from the Presidency of Bombay). In spite of the strong recommendations of these influential bodies one fails to understand why the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow (vide their Resolution No. 4) have made the separation conditional. The majority of the Sindh people want to make it clear that the separation should not be delayed' on account of the grant of Dominion Status as suggested in the Nehru Report, and that the Nehru Report should be so amended as to accept the formation of Sindh into a separate province at the next meeting of the Nehru Convention. Further this separation should not belong in financial and administrative considerations. If the separation is conditional, it would confirm the genuine fears of the Muslims who would take it as a fresh proof of the lack of statesmanship on the part of leaders of the major community. To conciliate the Muslims could be better if the members of the Nehru Committee carefully consider the following resolution of the Sindh Khilafat Conference (held at Sukkur from the October 27 to 29, 1928).

Whereas the major portion of the population of Sindh (Muslims) is prepared to shoulder the cost of administration

of the separate province, and further, as any deficit can be made up; by the central Government, the simultaneous separation of the province with the coming into operation of the recommendations under the Nehru Report should not be made conditional on any financial enquiry but should be made absolute.

This Conference was attended by over two thousand delegates, and was representative in character. Further, in the above resolution, it is significant to note that the Muslims are fully alive to additional expenditure on the establishment of a separate province. Their desire for a separate province is supported by their willingness to bear to the fullest extent of the resources of the province the additional cost of a separate province. Another important fact, which may, perhaps, interest the members of the Nehru Committee, is that the above resolution was carried unanimously in the presence of the staunch Nehru, viz. Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulvi Habibur Rahman of Ludhiana and others.

Raees-ul-Ahrar Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas**Jawad H. Jaffery*****ABSTRACT**

Born and bred in humble surroundings, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas rose to eminence soon after completing his education. He graduated from the Prince of Wales College Jammu and obtained his Law Degree from the University of Punjab. At that time, the Dogra regime, which enjoyed the support of the British Government of India, was strongly entrenched in the State. Though they were in overwhelming majority, the Muslims of the State were treated as second class citizens and subjected to all sorts of excesses by the Hindu majority. Learning of Hindi and Dev-Nagri script was compulsory for Muslim children in Government schools and the penalty for killing a cow was seven years' rigorous imprisonment. The Muslims living in rural areas were compelled to perform "Begar" [Urdu: free labour] for Hindus official. Against this backdrop of invidious discrimination and inhuman treatment, the Muslims were groaning

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in misery, seething with unrest and frustration. They were inarticulate and could not voice their resentment since freedom of press was totally denied to them. At this stage Chaudhry Ghulam Abbass and a group of likeminded young men who got together and secretly set up a committee, which was named the "Young Men Muslim Association". It started publicizing Dogras' atrocities against Muslims through letters, pamphlets and articles in the Muslim Press in British India. This Association, which was constituted in Jammu in the early 30's of the Nineteenth Century, became the nucleus of the liberation movement in the entire State. Very soon, similar associations were established in Srinagar and other major towns of the State. Later, they were amalgamated to form a single political organization, which was called the "All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference". This organization, which represented all shades of Muslim public opinion and the aspirations of the people of the State, became the source of ventilating the grievances of the public. Subsequently, there was a split when Sheikh Muhammad Abdulahh, an eminent office-holder of this body from the valley was lured away, through the machinating of non-Muslim politicians of the state and set up a parallel organization, which was named "The Kashmir National Conference" which professed alliance to the "All India Conference".

Despite the betrayal, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas remained steadfast and continued to develop and popularize the Muslim Conference. Time and again, he was arrested and put behind bars by the Dogra regime and victimized in other way but his loyalty to the Muslim cause never wavered. In the early 40's he invited Quaid-i-Azam to the Kashmir valley,

where he addressed several huge public meetings at Srinagar and other places. During the course of these visits, an abiding and life-long friendship was struck between the two leaders. Ghulam Abbass adored the Quaid who, in turn, admired and respected Chaudhry Abbass for his steadfastness and loyalty to the Muslim cause. As a result, the Muslim Conference became increasingly popular and though Chaudhry Abbass was at that time in a Dogra prison, its High Command adopted the historic resolution demanding accession of the Kashmir State with Pakistan. Meanwhile, the North-western regions of the State were in ferment. The war of liberation had started and, as a result, vast areas of Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad were liberated from the Dogra grip. Full-fledged Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, with *de-facto* control over the liberated territory and *de-jure* representation of the entire State was constituted on October 24, 1947. With Chaudhry Abbass still in prison, many of his kith and kins were martyred in the mass-massacre of Jammu Muslims in October-November 1947, in which over 2.5 lakh Muslims were killed by Dogra hordes. Along with hundreds of other Muslim girls, his eldest daughter was also kidnapped by hooligans while his family was on its way to Pakistan (she was recovered later). After the cease-fire in the State, Chaudhry Abbass was released along with other political prisoners in exchange of several Dogra-Army officers who had been captured during the war of liberation. On his arrival in Pakistan/Azad Kashmir, he received a warm welcome and was awarded the rank of Supreme Head of the AJK Government. Chaudhry Abbass thanked the Quaid but declined the offer and requested a modest amount, part of which was later refunded by him. In Jammu, he lived unostentatiously in his ancestral house and, in Pakistan, he was allotted residential quarters by the Government of Pakistan. All his life, he lived from hand to mouth and when he died, he left no assets. His sincerity of purpose can be gauged from the fact that throughout his political career he remained wedded to the cause of liberation of Kashmir and its accession to Pakistan. While in Pakistan, he was busy

most of the time looking after Kashmiri refugees and their rehabilitation. At the same time, he kept pressurizing the Government of Pakistan to take effective action for the solution of the Kashmir Issue. At the end of his life, despite shabby treatment by the top brass in this country, he remained dedicated to his mission and did his best to cement his relations between the two regions. In his book, entitled "*Kaushmakush*" [Dogari: Struggle], he describes his anguish over the estrangement of his relations with the ruling junta and bemoans the inordinate delay in the settlement of the Kashmir Issue. Chaudhry Abbass died in Rawalpindi on December 18, 1967.

Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq and the Muslim League

Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazimi*

ABSTRACT

To understand the role of the Muslim League in the politics of Bengal, and to appreciate the role of Bengal in Pakistan Movement; it is necessary to focus on the life and work of Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq (b. Barisal 1873 – d. Dacca 1962). Bengal was indeed in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement, beginning with the foundation of the All India Muslim League at Dacca in 1906, to the All India Muslim League Legislators Convention at Delhi in 1946; but it was not in the vanguard consistently. Because of insular frontiers and internal diversity, centripetal and centrifugal impulses alternated in the course of South Asian history. Religion was the intraregional force, and Culture was the regional force; since regional factors produced different languages. Both impulses were rooted in geography, and were evenly balanced. When the religious impulse was uppermost, India was divided; when the cultural impulse was uppermost, Pakistan was divided. Bengal played a pivotal role in both

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*divisions and the political career of Fazlul Haq
was a fair reflection of this phenomenon.*

Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq moved the March 23, 1940, Lahore Resolution which resulted in the creation of Pakistan. In 1954, he stated at a Calcutta meeting that he could not understand the *raison d'être* of Pakistan.¹ In 1916, he had fervently supported the Lucknow Pact, although weightage for Bengali Hindus would convert the Muslim majority into a minority, but in 1931, he opposed it. In 1918, Fazlul Haq became President of the All India Muslim League in 1941; he resigned from it. In 1939, he denounced Shyama Prasad Mookerjee for being communal minded, in 1941; he included Mookerjee in his Bengal cabinet. In 1948, he endorsed M.A. Jinnah's statement that Urdu would be the only national language of Pakistan; in 1952; he became the most ardent votary of the Bengali language movement. It is relevant that sometimes he got what he gave. In 1954, he was denounced as a traitor and in 1956 he was appointed Pakistan's Interior Minister.

This vacillating disposition of Fazlul Haq had two consequences. Personally, he suffered the most chequered career in the political history of South Asia. Secondly in 1971, both Pakistani nationalism and Bengali nationalism were confounded. The secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan showed that religion was not a cementing force. Its separation from West Bengal showed that language was not a cementing force. Thus arises the need to study, in conjunction with the Pakistan Movement, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the partition of Bengal in 1947 and the continued partition of Bengal in 1971. All three developments throw into relief the aspirations and fortunes of the All India Muslim League.

Initially the language policy of both leaders was outward looking. On January 9, 1936, at Calcutta while presiding over the All India Urdu Literary Conference, a conference that

1 M. H. R. Talukdar (ed.) *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, (Dhaka: The University Press, 1987), 86.

Suhrawardy had organized, Fazlul Haq assured the gathering that the Muslims of Bengal were not against Urdu.² On April 8, 1939 again at Calcutta, Fazlul Haq as President and Suhrawardy as Secretary of the Bengal Muslim League resolved that there was 'the need for protecting and promoting the Urdu language and script in Bengal'³. In spite of such repeated policy statements by the elected leaders of Bengal, our own scholars pounce upon Jinnah for saying at Dacca in 1948 that Urdu would be the sole national language of Pakistan. Not only Khwaja Nazimuddin, but also Fazlul Haq and Suhrawardy had supported Jinnah's stand. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had been able to persuade Suhrawardy, the Urdu speaking leader to retract his statement, but was unable to persuade the Bengali speaking Fazlul Haq.⁴

Although, H. S. Suhrawardy was the leader of the United Bengal Movement in 1947, I have not been able to find any documentary evidence that Fazlul Haq, too, supported this move. Had the joint acquiescence of Jinnah and Gandhi to an independent and united Bengal not been thwarted by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1947, a Muslim majority Bengal would in, accordance with the Lahore Resolution, have then emerged. Both countries would, then instead of now, have had their own national languages, having no bearing on each other.

A. K. Fazlul Haq had attended the inaugural session of the All India Muslim League. In 1918 Fazlul Haq presided over the All India Muslim League. He was initially involved in the Khilafat Movement, but broke away in 1920 over the Nagpur Non-Cooperation Resolution. Fazlul Haq did not subscribe to the boycott of government institutions because he felt that Muslim students would suffer. At this juncture his stand was

2 *Asr-i-Jadeed*, Calcutta, January 12, 1936.

3 Riaz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan: A Chronology* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2006), 81.

4 S. A. Karim, *Sheikh Mujib: Triumph and Tragedy* (Dhaka: The University Press, 2005), 63.

identical to that of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In this phase his concern for the rights of Muslims and the rights of peasants had coalesced, quite reminiscent of Titu Mir and of the Faraizi Movement. Fazlul Haq formed the Krishak Praja Party in 1929, as a reaction to the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928 to project peasant interests. On October 11, 1933, as a comment on the Communal Awards, Fazlul Haq said:

I am prepared to be hanged if I cannot demonstrate to the satisfaction of any judge that the Hindus of Bengal constitute the very personification of communalism based on intense selfishness.⁵

When after the Government of India Act 1935 was passed, M. A. Jinnah visited Bengal and Fazlul Haq initially agreed to merge his party in the All India Muslim League, but went back on his promise after Jinnah left Bengal. On September 1, 1936, Fazlul Haq demanded abolition of *zamindari* [Urdu: Landlordism] in Bengal as well as free and compulsory education. The latter had been on Jinnah's agenda for years, as to the former Jinnah agreed but insisted that due compensations be paid. Consequently, the Krishak Praja Party and the Muslim League faced each other in the 1937 elections. In the rural areas, it was plain sailing for Fazlul Haq. In the Patuakhali constituency, Fazlul Haq was able to defeat Khwaja Nazimuddin in spite of the fact that the Governor had canvassed on Nazimuddin's behalf. Nevertheless, commenting on the nature of the campaign Joya Chatterji had this to say:

Interestingly enough, in the mirror image of the Congress, the Krishak Praja Party did not contest a single Hindu or Schedule Caste seat, even though its ranks included both Caste Hindus and Namusudras, many of whom were jotedars. Haq's campaign was directed towards winning the Muslim vote.⁶

This was at the heart of the dilemma faced by Bengal itself as well as those who had to deal with Bengal. In spite of his

5 *Statesman*, Calcutta, October 12, 1933, cited in Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 33.

6 *Statesman*, Calcutta, October 12, 1933, 83.

election strategy, Fazlul Haq first tried to enter into a coalition with the Congress; but unfortunately for him Congress delayed the decision whether to join the Ministries at all, and Fazlul Haq was forced to seek a coalition with the Muslim League. He was sworn in as Chief Minister on April 1, 1936.

Three actions of Fazlul Haq during the tenure of his Ministry stand out. First of all, he compiled and published in 1939 *Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule*. The following year he moved the momentous Lahore Resolution, the Day of Deliverance. He fell out with Jinnah and the Muslim League over his nomination to the National Defence Council in 1941. All those who were nominated over the head of the Muslim League were asked to resign. Recrimination ensued, some of which is covered in my *Liaquat Ali Khan: His Life and Work*. The upshot was that Fazlul Haq resigned simultaneously from the Defence Council and the All India Muslim League, charging Jinnah with arbitrariness. He now continued in office by forming a coalition with Shyama Prasad Mookerji of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Nawab of Dacca against whose person and house Fazlul Haq had vociferously campaigned for years joined in the Ministry. Counting upon both the erstwhile rivals as: "men who were guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims", an estranged Jinnah now said:

I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlithgow! I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal.⁷

When Fazlul Haq's coalition with Shyama Prasad Mookerji came under stress, he started making overtures to Jinnah. On November 13, 1942, Fazlul Haq wrote to Jinnah assuring him of his loyalty to the Muslim League. Jinnah was not impressed. Replying on February 10, 1943 to an intervening letter of February 5, same year, Jinnah maintained that in spite of his promises, Fazlul Haq could not prove his loyalty

⁷ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 195.

to the Muslim cause. Fazlul Haq next wrote: "I am willing to tender my resignation which will mean the automatic dissolution of the Progressive Coalition Party",⁸ but to no avail and on March 29, 1943, Fazlul Haq's Ministry fell.

We have outlined, at the outset, the course of Fazlul Haq's political career in Pakistan. In East Bengal he first agreed to become Advocate-General, then Chief Minister, then Governor. At the Centre he became the Interior Minister. Commenting on Fazlul Haq's Calcutta statement questioning the basis of Pakistan, Huseyn Shaheen Suhrawardy writes:

With his usual emotionalism and want of balance when in the presence of an audience, he made a speech at a meeting in India which was calculated to draw the acclaim and plaudits of his Hindu — India audience.⁹

There had been wide spread protest in East Bengal, the largest protest meeting held by Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani. Character is destiny. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy who had often suffered the abuse of Fazlul Haq concluded:

He swayed the emotions and captured the imagination of the people of Bengal with his remarkable gift of oratory and fluency of language. He had great personal charm, which subdued his most rabid opponents when they confronted him.¹⁰

Exasperating to all in turn, he had a heart of gold. He helped everyone who approached him, not hesitating to incur heavy debts in order to succor the needy. It is this trait which remained shining amidst the ruins of his political career. A case in point is how he confounded the United Muslim Party to provide an opening to the Muslim League in 1936. M. A. H Ispahani had minutely briefed how to disrupt the All Bengal United Muslim Conference scheduled for August 9, 1936. As the plan unfolded, Fazlul Haq reacted first with suspicion, then with disbelief and finally with amusement. According to

8 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 217.

9 Talukdar (ed.) *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*.

10 Talukdar (ed.) *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*, 104.

the script, immediately the meeting began, Fazlul Haq started to address the meeting:

As expected, shouts from the dais were first heard calling upon him to sit down and to shut up. The more he was reprimanded the more he insisted upon speaking at the top of his voice. These shouts and counter-shouts made the conduct of serious business impossible.¹¹

This was the essence of his conduct and the part he played on the stage of South Asian politics. This is why he did not have the measure of success H. S. Suhrawardy enjoyed, even though it was brief. Fazlul Haq has also suffered for not having an influential biographer. Shaista Ikramullah wrote the biography of her cousin H. S. Suhrawardy. She scarcely mentions that Fazlul Haq was her uncle, her father and Fazlul Haq had married sisters.

11 M. A. H. Ispahani, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah As I Knew Him*, (3rd ed) (Karachi: Royal Book Co., 1976), 23-24.

**Mir Jafar Khan Jamali:
A Torch Bearer of Pakistan Movement**

Yar Muhammad Badini*

ABSTRACT

Mir Jafar Khan Jamali was a great torch bearer of Pakistan Movement from Balochistan. He belonged to the Sardar Family of Jamali tribe. He died in Karachi in April 1967. When he attained the age of 22, he gained an important status in the family. Sardar Rustam Khan was the head of the tribe at that time while political leadership was given to Mir Jafar Khan Jamali because of his abilities. He joined the AIML in 1938. The objectives of Muslim League and Pakistan Movement became part and parcel of his life after joining the party. Because of his political acumen and hard work he was soon ranked amongst the top leadership of party. Because of his close relations with Jafar Khan Jamali, the Quaid used to say that Balochistan was his own province. Mir Jafar Khan Jamali had big influence in both Balochistan and Sindh. Because of this influence he played an important role to foil conspiracies of Congress in both areas.

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If we cast a view on political struggle of Mir Jafar Khan Jamali till his efforts for accession of Balochistan to Pakistan, it indicates that he had made a great effort for constitutional reforms in Balochistan like other provinces of India, for allocation of more funds for education, giving status of municipality to Quetta and other reforms and rights of Balochistan. Soon after establishment of direct contacts with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he was soon ranked amongst the prominent leaders of the AIML like Liaqat Ali Khan, Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani, Raja Sahib of Mehmood Abad, Haji Abdullah Haroon, Muhammad Ayub Khoro and Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din. Some pages of personal diary of Mir Jafar Khan reveal that he had met Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders of independence movement in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore, Karachi, Quetta, Mastung and other places.¹ He had informed them about the political, social and educational backwardness of the people of Balochistan. Because of these efforts, the Muslim League had repeatedly made demands for status of province to Balochistan, constitutional reforms and removal of educational backwardness of the area in all its meetings and resolutions including the famous 14 Points of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The minutes of meetings of the Muslim League suggest that a powerful voice was raised for the rights of Balochistan by him. He also launched a newspaper from Balochistan to promote the cause of Pakistan Movement. The name of his Magazine was "Tanzim". Renowned novelist Late Nasim Hijazi was the editor of Tanzim.²

Nasim Hijazi writes that Jafar Khan Jamali gave him a list of some important personalities for sending them complementary copies with a view that if they join the AIML it would be helpful for us in Balochistan. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had declared Mir Jafar Khan Jamali the gateway of movement and Muslim League in Balochistan

1 Inamul Haq Kausar, *Pakistan Movement and Balochistan* (Quetta: Maktabah-e-Shal, 1999).

2 Riaz Ahmad, *Balochistan Through History* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam Chair, 1989).

and he used to say that Balochistan was his second home. Highlighting other aspects of importance of Mir Jafar Khan Jamali for Pakistan Movement, Professor Ejaz Sharif says that this was the wisdom of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who gathered leaders like Mir Jafar Khan Jamali and Qazi Essa who struggled hard for spreading the message of Muslim League in every nook and corner of Balochistan.³

Mir Jafar Khan Jamali along with his other colleagues played a vital role for accession of Balochistan to Pakistan. Nasim Hijazi and Nawab Jehangir Shah Jogezi who also played an important role in Pakistan Movement have the common view that had Mir Jafar Khan Jamali and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezi not been in the fold of Muslim League from Balochistan, it would be an independent state or it could be trapped in conspiracies of India. This saying of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has become a part of history that “you are paying me coins of silver and in return I would give you Pakistan. This is a fact that despite having a small population Balochistan had given more donations for Pakistan Movement as compared to other provinces of Balochistan.

When Quaid-i-Azam visited Balochistan for the second time in 1945, Mir Jafar Khan Jamali and his colleagues gave big donations to him.⁴

This could be gauged from another fact that when Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his sister Fatima Jinnah visited Kalat in 1945, “Khan of Kalat first weighed them in silver and later they were weighed in gold also. Besides it, Fatima Jinnah was also presented a garland of Rs. One Lac. One can understand that how much was the value of one lac in 1945. The main object of this generosity was to make the movement of Pakistan financially sound. Big donations of Khan of Kalat helped Pakistan to prepare its currency. Mir Jafar Khan Jamali became more active in Muslim League

3 Jan Muhammad, *Essays on Baloch National Struggle in Pakistan: Emergence, Dimensions, Repercussions* (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1989).

4 Ahmad, *Balochistan Through History*.

when Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah arrived on visit of Jacobabad in 1938. At that time the government of Sindh was being supported by Congress. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Soomro was its head. Besides other parts of Sindh, Congress had adequate influence in Jacobabad also. Leader of Pakistan Movement from Sindh and a renowned journalist Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi writes that Quaid visited Sindh as the President of All India Muslim League in 1938. When our convoy reached at Jacobabad we received the information that no arrangements were made for public meeting there. It had become difficult because of fear of Allah Bakhsh's government and influence of Congress.⁵

Haji Abdullah Haroon on whose recommendation Jacobabad was included in the visit of Quaid became astonished and with a grim face looked at me. We left Quaid and Abdullah Haroon in the waiting room and went to Hakim Kalra-ud-Din. No Muslim League leader was present there. Hakim informed Jafar Khan Jamali that Quaid-i-Azam is at Railway station and there is no one to receive him. Mir Jafar Khan told his people for reaching at railway station in a large number and made preparations for a big rally. Later on Mir Jafar Khan Jamali welcomed the Quaid-i-Azam and his entourage and Mir Sahib announced that when Baloch makes friendship with someone then they maintain it at every cost. He told that Quaid had arrived in his area he would be welcomed no matter what may come. He not only welcomed the Quaid but he also arranged a big public meeting in his honour at Eidgah.⁶

This was a big dent in the influence of Congress in Jacobabad and other areas of Sindh. This indicates that Balochistan had rendered great sacrifices for Pakistan. It gave a great strategic importance to the country.

5 Mansoor Akbar Kundi, *Balochistan Hope and Despair* (Quetta: New Quetta Book Stall, 2002).

6 Kausar, *Pakistan Movement and Balochistan*.

**Allamah Raghیب Ahsan as an Aide of
Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the
Pakistan Movement**

Syed Umar Hayat*

ABSTRACT

So far a number of research works have been published on the role of the All-India Muslim League and its top leadership in the Pakistan Movement. But necessary attention has not been given to the role of those who have provided, from time to time, the League and its leadership with necessary intellectual guidance as well as assistance during the movement. As a result of such lack of attention, the history of the Pakistan Movement is bearing a serious gap which is required to be filled to bring out a complete picture. This paucity of research work on the intellectual undertow of the Pakistan Movement has inspired me to undertake the efforts.

Allamah Raghیب Ahsan residing in Calcutta not only played a very significant role in the Muslim politics in Bengal and Bihar but also kept himself continuously aware about the

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overall politics of the entire subcontinent. By doing so he continued to extend necessary suggestions on politics as well as the organisational matters to the All-India Muslim League especially to its President Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Allamah Raghیب Ahsan wrote to the Quaid hundreds of letters most of them are still preserved in the Quaid-i-Azam Papers. For the most part of these handwritten letters are very lengthy and spread over dozens of pages with necessary and appropriate suggestions regarding provincial and All-India policies. Those suggestions were so relevant and timely that the Quaid not only asked Allamah Raghیب Ahsan to continue the process but also marked as "Important suggestions" the file No. 204 which was especially maintained to preserve the letters sent by Allamah Raghیب Ahsan.¹

Besides mailing suggestions to the Quaid, Allamah Raghیب Ahsan used to write articles in different newspapers of the subcontinent. Those articles not only responded the issues rose by the opponents of the Pakistan Movement but also carried thought-provoking ideas for the Muslim League leadership including the Quaid. Furthermore, Allamah Raghیب Ahsan mostly kept himself engaged in the thinking as to how the idea of Pakistan could be penetrated in the hearts of the Muslims of India. As a result of his intellectual capability — as well as prolonged physical efforts — the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam came into being in October 1945 i.e. at the vital juncture of the Pakistan Movement. Thus this brainchild of the Allamah played a very significant role in moulding the Muslim public opinion in favour of the idea of Pakistan.

Abu Muhammad Raghیب Ahsan was born in a middle class family in 1905 at the village of Neodhi in the province of Bihar. His father Munshi Riazuddin was an employee of the Postal Department. Raghیب Ahsan's grand father Ramzan Ali along with his brother Nur Ali was engaged in the trade of

1 *Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP)*, Islamabad, National Archives of Pakistan, File No. 204.

horses. Ramzan Ali was illiterate whereas Nur Ali was well educated. Nur Ali performed *Baiyyat* at the hands of Syed Ahmad Shaheed and instead of playing an active role in the Jihad Movement he donated four horses for Jihad. Consequently, the British government sanctioned death punishment for him but he went at large and could not be traced. Then the British government arrested Ramzan Ali and sent him to *Kalapani*² and confiscated all of his belongings. During the *Kalapani* punishment, Ramzan Ali was taken as a Cook of a British officer namely Mr. Brown. When Mr. Brown was coming back from *kalapani* he took Ramzan Ali with him on the condition that he would not go to Bihar for ever and would be settled permanently in Calcutta. Mr. Brown, after reaching Calcutta, called there the family of Ramzan Ali and promoted Riazuddin in the postal department of Calcutta. Thus the family of Raghīb Ahsan settled permanently in Calcutta.

Allamah Raghīb Ahsan received early education at home and then his father admitted him in Jubilee High School from where he passed the matriculation examination in first division. Then he passed in first division both the examinations of Intermediate and B.A. from the Calcutta University College. From the same college he got the M. A. Degrees with first divisions in Economics, Sociology, English and Political Science. Allamah Raghīb Ahsan, right from the beginning, was anti-colonialism and was not willing to serve under the foreign rule. But under the pressure of his father, he, however, passed the written examination of the Indian Civil Service but he did not go for the interview.

He was very fond of reading and that is why he spent most of his time in different libraries of Calcutta. At the same time, for certain period, he took interest in drama writing. To achieve that goal, he used to go to Agha Hashar Kashmiri who lived in his locality (Hayat Khan Lane) in Calcutta. He used to say that had he not entered into politics he would have been either drama writer or novelist. He was also in

2 Deportation to the Andaman Islands as a punishment.

contact with famous Urdu writers like Raza Ali Wahshat Calcuttavi, Agha Hashar Kashmiri and Natiq Lakhnawi.

Allamah Raghیب Ahsan started taking part in active politics when he was a Matric student. During that period the Khilafat Movement in India was at its peak under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Raghیب Ahsan was impressed with the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali and thus he eagerly started taking part in the Khilafat Movement. In 1918, he was selected as a member of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee at his tender age.

Allamah Raghیب Ahsan launched the All-India Muslim Youth League in 1931.³ To preside over the first meeting of the League he invited Allamah Muhammad Iqbal who could not turn up due to indisposition. Hence, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad was invited to preside over the meeting. After the meeting Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan took Allamah Raghیب Ahsan with him to Allahabad and offered editorship of the weekly *Star*. He also remained Editor of the Calcutta based weekly the *Star of India*.

Allamah Raghیب Ahsan, as has been mentioned earlier, continuously remained acquainted with latest thought process of the scholarly world. Thus, his articles published in different newspapers of India used to be thought provoking. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar was impressed by his stimulating writings and other scholarly capabilities. Consequently, he engaged Allamah Raghیب Ahsan in the editorial work of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* magazines. Allamah Raghیب Ahsan played a very important role in laying the foundation of the Calcutta Muslim League in 1936.⁴ He was made a member of the All-India Muslim League Council in 1937. He also became the member of Bengal Provincial Muslim League as well as Muslim League Parliamentary Board.

3 Muhammad Faridul Huq, *Iqbal: Jahan-i-Digar* (Urdu) (Karachi: Gardezi Publishers, 1983), 8.

4 Huq, *Iqbal: Jahan-i-Digar*.

One of the most significant roles of the Allamah in the Pakistan Movement was his efforts to create Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam. In Bengal, particularly in Calcutta, the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Hind especially its leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, enjoyed popular support. Hence, to counter their strong hold Allamah Raghیب Ahsan played a pivotal role in the creation of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam. As a matter of fact, this organization was a brainchild of Allamah Raghیب Ahsan.

The Allamah was elected as a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly from Calcutta. That is why he remained in Delhi even after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. From there, later on, he came back to Calcutta where there was an attempt to arrest him but he escaped and migrated to Dhaka, East Pakistan. Allamah Raghیب Ahsan after reaching Dhaka remained aloof from active politics. During those days he remained patron of different religious *madrasas* of East Pakistan.

Before 1970 elections he joined the Pakistan Democratic Party led by Nurul Amin. After the creation of Bangladesh, he remained in Dhaka till 1974. In 1974, when the Islamic Summit Conference was being organized by Pakistan, the Allamah migrated to Karachi through the first flight from Dhaka, after the creation of Bangladesh and settled at North Nazimabad in Karachi. Allamah Raghیب Ahsan died on Friday the November 28, 1975, when he was entering a mosque for his *Jumma* prayers. He fell down at the entrance of the mosque and died then and there. He was buried at the Sakhi Hassan graveyard of Karachi. He survived a widow, two sons and three daughters.

Allamah Raghیب Ahsan maintained very close relations with Allamah Muhammad Iqbal whose thought inspired him to a great deal. This view can be testified through their correspondence which, according to the available sources, began in 1929. Through the letters written by Allamah Iqbal to Raghیب Ahsan it can be ascertained that the former adored much the latter for his abilities particularly his noble

thoughts.⁵ Thus their correspondence continued till the death of Allamah Iqbal in 1938.⁶

The correspondence, as per available information, between Raghیب Ahsan and the Quaid began in May 1936 after his first meeting with him in New Delhi in winter, 1935 when he met the latter for the first time.⁷ Then onwards the correspondence between them continued till the death of Quaid.⁸ Like Allamah Muhammad Iqbal, the Quaid used to give much importance to the thoughts and views of Allamah Raghیب Ahsan and that can be derived from the inscription, most probably⁹ with the pen of the Quaid, on the most concerned file to preserve the correspondence. On the cover of the file it has been marked as “Letters of Mr. Raghیب Ahsan with useful suggestions”.¹⁰ It clearly indicates the importance that enjoyed the opinions of the Allamah in the mind of his Quaid. To depict that point more clearly, a citation from a letter written by the Quaid to the Allamah seems to be befitting. He writes on August 1, 1937, “I shall always welcome any information that you can give me or any assistance you can render. There is no need for introduction at all”.¹¹ From this letter another point becomes clear that the Quaid was well informed about the capabilities of the Allamah and that is why he pointed out in his aforementioned letter to the Allamah that, “There is no need for introduction at all”.

5 *Allamah Muhammad Iqbal to Allamah Raghیب Ahsan*, December 21, 1929 c.f. Muhammad Faridul Huq, *comIqbal: Jahan -i- Digar* (Karachi: Gardezi Publishers, 1983), 26.

6 Huq, *Iqbal: Jahan-i-Digar*, 1-152.

7 Where the Quaid went for an interview with Mr. Sales M. P., in company with Allamah Muhammad Iqbal and Sir Salahuddin Sajuti, the Consul General of Afghanistan at the Afghan Consulate, Haley Road, *Raghیب Ahsan to M.A. Jinnah*, May 31, 1936, QAP, F-204.

8 Mostly available in the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

9 The handwriting suggests that, the Quaid wrote these with a marker.

10 *Quaid -i- Azam Papers*, F-204, 1.

11 *M. A. Jinnah to Raghیب Ahsan*, August 1, 1937.

Allamah Raghīb Ahsan performed the duties of a think tank for the Quaid by providing him with necessary suggestions regarding local, regional and international affairs as well as the organizational matters of the All-India Muslim League. The Allamah always remained very conscious about the issues and developments those had impacts on the interests of the Muslims particularly of Bengal. One such instance can be mentioned here when he informed the Quaid about the move of the Indian National Congress for a Hindu-Muslim pact in Bengal. By doing so the Allamah forwarded a detailed picture of the political situation in Bengal seeking necessary steps on the part of All-India Muslim League especially by its president.¹² The Quaid appreciating the situation responded immediately and wrote to the Allamah, “Many thanks for your letter of the 9th. Yes, I have received the telegram and the cutting from the *Star*. I have already issued my statement which by the time you receive this letter you must have seen in the press. Please let me know what is the reaction to it in your province and keep me informed.”¹³ This is undoubtedly another prove of the tremendous intellectual contribution of Allamah Raghīb Ahsan in the Muslim struggle for freedom in the subcontinent. The Allamah by doing the duties of real camp follower of the Quaid wrote on January 17, 1938 that: “The reaction to your statement in Bengal and Bihar is on the whole favourable. All the papers featured it with double columns headlines. The Muslims without exception received it with joy and satisfaction. The Hindus also although mildly criticizing it here and there have generally received it in a better and chastened spirit”.¹⁴ Thus the Allamah used to write letters mostly very lengthy¹⁵ covering in-depth evaluation of the situation. These are why the Quaid regarded the letters of

12 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, January 9, 1938, QAP, F-204.

13 *M. A. Jinnah to Raghīb Ahsan*, January 12, 1938, QAP, F-204.

14 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, January 17, 1938, QAP, F-204.

15 Some of the letters are of 40 to 50 pages covering numerous reports and assessments/evaluations of the developments and issues regarding local, regional and international matters with special reference to the Muslim politics and problems of the community.

the Allamah as very useful and important. The Quaid used to consult with special importance the suggestions of Allamah Raghbir Ahsan in making his policies as well as those of the All-India Muslim League. As another proof of the fact a portion of the Quaid's letter can be quoted here, "With regard to your suggestion¹⁶ that the next meeting of the Working Committee should be in Calcutta, I wish to inform you that I shall bear it in mind, and also your other suggestions as they are very valuable indeed and of great help to me".¹⁷

As a matter of fact, the over-all role of the Quaid as well as the All-India Muslim League cannot be properly understood without having light from the correspondence between Allamah Raghbir Ahsan and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The correspondence is more important for those who want to understand the politics particularly the Muslim politics in Bengal and Bihar as it contains day to day reporting concerning the provinces. As Allamah Raghbir Ahsan had played a very special role in the reorganization of the Bengal Muslim League hence he had to play a significant role in removing the hold of the Indian National Congress over the Muslims of Bengal. He used to inform about the developments in that respect. In a letter to the Quaid he writes: "I hope you must have seen the latest move of the Wardha in banning the Muslim League as a communal body. The reaction of Calcutta and Bengal is that this an affront to the Muslim India and Muslims should not now enter into any negotiations with the Congress".¹⁸ In such a situation under the auspices of the Bengal Muslim League, Allamah Raghbir Ahsan launched a campaign to remove the influence of the Indian National Congress generally in Bengal and particularly in Calcutta. Hence he writes to the Quaid on December 16, 1938 that: "You must have read in papers regarding our war on the "Imamat" of M. Abul Kalam Azad"¹⁹

16 The details of the suggestions can not be given here as the concerned letter written on July 18, 1940 is not available.

17 *M. A. Jinnah to Raghbir Ahsan*, July 19, 1940, QAP, F-204.

18 *Raghbir Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, December 16, 1938, QAP, F-204.

19 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

and our monster meetings, processions, demonstrations and press propaganda in this connection. This was done solely because Abul Kalam Azad has taken the position of the holder of the portfolio of Islam in the Congress and the Muslim League refuses to accept any one except Mr. Jinnah”.²⁰

While such a vigorous campaign continued against the Congress particularly Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Nawab Ismail Khan met the Maulana at Anand Bhawan. The matter was taken very seriously by the Muslims of Bengal especially by Allamah Raghīb Ahsan. He, therefore, wrote to the Quaid that “It is very strange, however to see that Nawab Ismail Khan recently went out of his way to pay a visit to Anand Bhawan and met Mr. Azad. What is this? The Muslims strongly resent this move. Will you kindly explain, whether this interview was authorized by you or not?”²¹ He further said: “We in Calcutta believe that our work in connection with the “Revolution in Calcutta Maidan *Imamate*” has been undone by Nawab Ismail. This has given us very great pain. Please write to us regarding this matter and oblige”.²² The Quaid giving a very quick response wrote on December 21, 1938, “Many thanks for your letter of December 16, 1938. I have already issued my statement with regard to the matter referred to by you in your letter”.²³ Thus the Quaid very keenly helped the Bengal Muslim League in its reorganization and at the same time removed the confusion that emerged at that time. Besides that, the Quaid expressed his full support to the campaigns of the Calcutta Muslim League. He wrote “I wish you every success in reorganizing the Muslim League in Calcutta”.²⁴

It needs to be mentioned here that as a result of the campaign of the Calcutta Muslim League against the *imamat*

20 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, December 16, 1938, QAP, F-204.

21 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, December 16, 1938, QAP, F-204.

22 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, December 16, 1938, QAP, F-204.

23 *M. A. Jinnah to Raghīb Ahsan*, December 21, 1938, QAP, F-204.

24 *M. A. Jinnah to Raghīb Ahsan*, December 21, 1938, QAP, F-204.

of the *Eid* congregations at the Calcutta Maidan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was ousted.²⁵ This episode had a considerable impact on the overall politics of India. Consequently, it was established that Maulana Azad was not the representative of the Muslims of India though the Indian National Congress was trying to use the card of Maulana to attract the Muslims of India towards its policies *vis-à-vis* the All-India Muslim League. In August 1940, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah categorically expressed that “Azad represents neither Hindus nor Muslims”.²⁶ Commenting on this assertion Allamah Raghīb Ahsan writes: “Thousands and millions of congratulations on your master-stroke against the Muslim “show-boy” of the Congress. By deposing him from the *Imamat* of the Calcutta Maidan, the Calcutta Muslims demonstrated the fact long ago that Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is an outcaste in Muslim society. But the exquisite manner you have ruthlessly exposed arch-traitor is being loudly and widely applauded in Bengal. Naturally the Congress press has lost its balance. But it is noteworthy that not a single Congress paper or publicist has dared to advance a single argument against your assertion that ‘Azad’ represents neither Hindus nor Muslims. This ‘kick’ in reality represents the abysmal degradation and humiliation of this ‘Ghaddar’ [Urdu: Traitor]. Azad must be experiencing the agony of his life.”²⁷

Not only the Bengal and Bihar Muslim Leagues were being benefited in their organizational and policy matters by the thoughts of Allamah Raghīb Ahsan but the All-India Muslim League owe too much to him for his contributions in those spheres. As a matter of fact, the Allamah used to observe very keenly the over-all organizational policies and matters of the All-India Muslim League to avoid any sort of flaws. For example, in June 1940, he wrote to the Quaid: “The enclosed *Meesaque* [Urdu: Pledge] was adopted by the

25 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, August 14, 1940, QAP, F-204.

26 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, August 14, 1940, QAP, F-204.

27 *Raghīb Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah*, August 14, 1940, QAP, F-204.

Calcutta League and the Bengal League for the National Guards. This has been also adopted by the Gaya National Guards who are one of the best trained Guards in India. The one defect in the draft pledge recently published by the League from Bombay is that the pledge does not anywhere mention the name of the Muslim League and omits the essential, fundamental and vital matter of taking a solemn undertaking from every volunteer that he will be loyal to the League and always work as a soldier under the command of the League. This is of primary and basic importance".²⁸

This way Allamah Raghیب Ahsan continuously provided the All-India Muslim League with the timely suggestions. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah always gave befitting importance to those suggestions. As a matter of fact, after the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution, the suggestions and other contributions of the Allamah played a decisive role in its fulfillment. Allamah Raghیب Ahsan was in favour of a vigorous movement under the All-India Muslim League and the able leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In that direction Allamah Raghیب Ahsan put forward numerous valuable ideas and suggestions.

28 *Raghیب Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah, June 25, 1940, QAP, F-204.*

Begum Shaista Ikramullah Suharwardy: Her Contribution in Pakistan Movement (1915-2000)

Farah Gul Baqai*

ABSTRACT

Khawaja Nazimuddin, the second Governor-General of Pakistan says that he has seen the young lady going through that metamorphosis of living in old Muslim tradition and cultural background and acquiring modern education at the same time. Begum Shaista Ikramullah emerged as a modern educated woman taking not only prominence in the social and political life of pre-partitioned India, but later becoming the pioneer parliamentarian of Pakistan from Bengal seat. It was great triumph for Muslim women who realized that they could hold a high office due to their calibre and abilities. It opened up avenues for Muslim women to acquire best education available and prove themselves that they are as good as any intelligent lady of the world.¹

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1 Begum Shaista S. Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament* (London: The Cresset Press, 1963), VII.

Begum Shaista Ikramullah, the first female representative of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 1947. Pakistan's former Ambassador to Morocco, mother-in-law of Jordan's Crown Prince and cousin of the great leader Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, was born on July 22, 1915, at Calcutta in the prominent Suhrawardy family of the West Bengal. She was educated at Calcutta and London. During that period, strict purdah [Urdu: Veil] environment was prevalent in the Muslim society of India. Her mother was a traditionalist while her father was an eminent surgeon and politician — a dynamic liberal who encouraged his daughter to study.

She got married at quite a young age. Her husband was a diplomat and served as Pakistan's first Foreign Secretary. He encouraged her to pursue modern education. She was first Muslim women to obtain a doctorate from the University of London in 1940. Her doctorate thesis "Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story" was a critical survey of Urdu novel and short stories.²

Quaid, Women Emancipation and Shaista Ikramullah

Quaid-i-Azam strongly believed in the women emancipation in politics. That was the reason that in the Muslim League session at Patna he stressed on three points.

1. Under Muslim League supervision women provincial and divisional organizations to be promoted;
2. The Indian Muslim women should be made aware of the then current political situation in the country, so they may cope with it intelligently;
3. In Muslim society women should be guided how they can progress and develop their abilities.

Quaid message of women emancipation was spread throughout and Muslim women felt so confident that a Muslim League session was held under the supervision of Lady Haroon. In this session it was stressed that Muslim women should be encouraged to acquire education and

2 www.paktribune.com

social justice. During those days Muslim League male's member session was in progress. In these sessions exclusive arrangements were made for women who desired to attend these meetings.³

Sarfraz Hussain Mirza while mentioning leading women politics named Begum Shaista Ikramullah as one of the forefront leaders. Her interest in politics dates from the late twenties when she delivered her first public speech in a small gathering of women at Calcutta held in connection with the execution of two young men namely Amir Ali and Abdullah who "killed a Hindu author of a particular revolting book called *Rangila Rasul*." Her speech was highly emotional and was tantamount to a criticism and condemnation of the Government." She soon earned popularity and began to take interest in the political affairs of the country. To this effect, she got ample opportunities to judge the pros and cons of the various political developments, as her house in Delhi "was one of the rendezvous of Muslim leaders" where she would listen to politicians belonging to various schools of thoughts.

In 1940, she joined the Muslim League and worked very hard in popularizing its aims and objectives. As a member of the Women's Sub-Committee her efforts were highly appreciated. In November 1941, on the advice of Mohtarma Fatimah Jinnah, Shaista began to organize Muslim girls into pro-Muslim League group. Appreciating her tremendous efforts in this regard, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad appointed Shaista as Convenor of the Muslim Women Students Federation. In 1942, she organized the All India Muslim Women Students Federation.⁴ In 1943, she was nominated to the Central Sub Committee and worked as member of the Council of the All India Muslim League as well. As a Muslim League candidate of the Legislative Assembly her work is

3 Zafar Ali Raja, *Quaid-i-Azam Aur Khawatein* [Urdu: Quaid-i-Azam and Women] (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), 153.

4 Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1969), 136.

commendable. She became an active member of the League sub-committees. It was through this platform that she presented before her audience the case of Pakistan. Her convincing arguments, presented fluently in English and Urdu made a lot of sense to her audience and lured them into joining the Muslim League.

Her success was not without trials. A severely critical article published in the *Hindustan Times* highly disturbed her. It was her first taste of criticism. She became very upset and went to Quaid for sympathy. Quaid consoled her by saying that “every day the newspapers say much worse things about me. What would happen if I let it upset me? This is to be expected.” When she rose to leave, he added, “You must not let things upset you.” In latter years when she encountered meanness and malice, she remembered those considerate words of her Quaid.⁵

In 1940-41, there were very few people who were prepared to associate themselves with the Muslim League and yet though their number was few, but there was great enthusiasm to serve, there was feeling of comradeship. Shaista writes in her book that there was no feeling of rivalry; no desire for appreciation, there was only one wish that was to serve Muslim cause which they felt was going default.⁶

The Lahore Resolution, as this epoch-making resolution was called, had been passed in March, 1940, that is month after the Second World War had began, and it was now February 19.

However, to the majority of Muslims, Pakistan was an idea rather than a reality, something they thought was their inviolable right but which they had not yet decided to exercise. The most ardent of Muslim leaders at this stage still hoped that it would be possible to come to compromise

5 Begum Shaista S. Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament* [Urdu: From Veil to Parliament] (London: The Cresset Press, 1963), 117; Farah Gul Baqai, “Begum Shaista Ikramullah: A Woman Who Dared”, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, V. XXI, No. 2 (Islamabad: NIHCR, QUA): 101.

6 Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 97-98.

which would enable Muslims to continue as a separate cultural entity within a wider political framework. Quaid-i-Azam himself favoured this. Shaista asserts that she remembers Quaid telling her at a meeting that the Canadian Constitution would probably be the best solution for us, and the fact that for seven years after the passing of Pakistan Resolution he agreed to discuss and negotiate with the British and Congress and more than once almost came to agreement, is further proof. That an agreement was not reached is not because of Quaid-i-Azam's intransigence but because of the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of the Congress hierarchy.

Much of what Shaista narrated may not have been very clear at that stage, but there were no doubts in minds that they (Muslims) stood in danger of the annihilation of culture and that if they desire to preserve it and their identity they had to organize themselves into an effective body. This was the Muslim League enabling them to do, and therefore were succeeding in getting more and more support.⁷

The Conference of Muslim League in Delhi 1942 came to an end after the passing of the resolution supporting the demand for the establishment of Pakistan and for the preservation and development of Urdu, and some other resolution concerned exclusively with student affairs. It had been a modest affair, but it was the beginning of political consciousness amongst Muslim women, and as such, was of great importance. For Shaista Ikramullah it was personally an achievement. She had more or less single headedly organized and called an All India Conference, and brought it successfully to a conclusion. She writes in her book *From Purdah to Parliament*, "I felt exhausted but very elated as I drove the delegates back to the station to catch their trains".⁸

7 Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 100.

8 Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 101.

Elections 1946

Provincial Elections of 1946 were very important for the Muslims of India, as they meant to determine the future course of their destiny. She went from house to house asking housewives to come out and vote for the Muslim League. It was a time when purdah was strictly observed. Under her command and leadership women worked shoulder to shoulder along their men in towns and villages. The men seemed to be grateful to her for making them forget their century's old conservatism and enabling them to work for Pakistan Movement.⁹

The main election contest was fought in Liaquat Ali Khan's constituency in the United Provinces. The Congress felt that the defeat would mean the defeat of League that is why they fought against him with all their strength and Muslims fought back with equal zeal. To Hindus dismay Liaquat Ali Khan won the election. Shaista also won the election but could not join the Assembly as a policy because the league has decided not to join Indian Constituent Assembly.

After the elections of 1946, the Punjab Assembly elected its quota of members to the Constituent Assembly. Begum Shahnawaz was elected from the Punjab and Begum Shaista Ikramullah from Bengal. It seemed that women's section of the Muslim League had developed differences with other women's organization, like the All India Women Conference and the Punjab Women's Conference. The Muslim Women of the province were specially called upon in a resolution to stay "aloof" from these organizations, until they changed their attitude towards Muslim women. In the same resolution they alleged that these organizations had crushed the rights of Muslim women. At this particular meeting of the sub-committee of the Punjab Women's Muslim League, Lady Haroon presided. This meeting also passed a resolution in which it asked the government to pass the inheritance bill, which would result in the adoption

9 Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 117.

of the *Shariat* [Urdu: Islamic Jurisprudence] as the supreme law of the land. And in case women would be appointed to the Lahore Corporation, the Muslim League women demanded that the Muslim League be represented.¹⁰

Year 1947

1947 the most significant year in the history of Pakistan, as in August 1947 Pakistan came into existence. Shaista seems to be out of scene from the final developments, as she was going through her family grievances and joys. In March 1947, she went to see the procession of the Mountbatten's arriving in New Delhi, because she knew it would be the last viceregal procession that she would witness. Soon after their arrival she left Delhi and she missed getting to know the Mountbatten, whose extraordinary conduct in the last year of the British rule in India has made them the most controversial figure amongst the long list of loyal representatives that have graced the Viceregal Lodge, Delhi. She missed the exciting momentous events attendant on the last phase of power to our hands.

She went to Nagpur to attend the wedding of a relative. A period of great personal worry and anxiety followed. Her eldest daughter became very ill and her condition gave her cause of anxiety for months. She became ill soon after Shaista's father had died. The strain of it affected her health. Her baby was born prematurely and was so weak that it further aggravated her anxiety, and this all was happening when revolution was more or less taking place around her. She was engrossed in her personal worries. Her husband became the member of the Partition Committee, which had been set to carry out the onerous task of dividing the country, and except of making frantic telephonic calls from Delhi was unable to help her in any way.¹¹

10 Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab from Seclusion to Politics* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 95.

11 Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 154-155.

Pakistan was established on August 14, 1947. Her daughter Sarvath was barely three weeks old, (the little girl later became the wife of Crown Prince of Jordan, Prince Hassan)¹² and it was impossible for her to travel. She longed to be in Karachi and to take part in the joyful celebrations that were taking place there, but she could not do so.

The women who had played a very important role in organizing Muslim women and urging them to join Muslim League could not fully participate in establishing and settling process of Pakistan due to her personal health and family concerns. However, as a member of Pakistan Legislative Assembly she continued to play her role to protect women rights and see legislation of laws that give Muslim women their rights.

Through her writings in magazines, newspapers and books she carried on her duty to improve life and make people remember that this country was not achieved on silver or golden platter. Pakistan was achieved by sincere efforts of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and sacrifices of numerous people who believed in his mission. So we the Pakistani's must take care of our country vigilantly.

12 Shaista Suharwarday Ikramullah, *Ceremonies Customs and Colour: Behind the Veil* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 82.

**Khan Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri
of Habiganj (1888-1982)**

Dr. Atful Hye Shibly*

ABSTRACT

Though Assam had played a significant role in the Pakistan Movement, its history, its contribution to the movement and especially the involvement of the Assam Muslim leaders had hardly been found in the writings of the historians of the sub-continent. One of the reasons for such apathy had probably been the want of source-materials needed for a serious study on the subject. Assam, the North-eastern part of Indian Subcontinent, is agricultural lowland surrounded by hills and forests almost on all sides. It is divided by two distinct regions of the Brahmaputra Valley and the Surma Valley, the names being derived from two great rivers of Eastern India. To understand properly the politics of the Muslims of Assam, one should have some knowledge about its people, its topography and the attitude of Muslims of two valleys in particular. The Brahmaputra valley consisted of the districts of Darrang,

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Kamrup, Lakhimpur, Nowgong, Shibsagar and Goalpara. The Surma valley comprised of the districts of Sylhet and Cachar. Of these, Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar were all Bengali-speaking regions. The Muslims in Assam did not follow the same tenets of Islamic rules and rites. The Bengali-speaking Surma valley Muslims were reluctant to accept the followers of more secular Brahmaputra valley Muslims. It was, however, the Muslim leaders of the Surma valley mostly and not the Brahmaputra valley who came to the forefront in the struggle for a separate homeland for the Muslims. Sir Saadullah from the Brahmaputra valley had been the President of the Assam Muslim League and had been Premier of Assam five terms but had abandoned the Muslim League after the partition in 1947. The Muslim leaders of the Surma valley, in general, had moulded the destiny of the Assam Muslims. Of these leaders, the names of Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury¹ of Sylhet, Mr. Munawwar Ali² and Mr. Mahmood Ali³ of Sunamganj and Khan Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri of Habiganj may be mentioned.

An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the life and activities of Mr. Khan Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri of

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- 1 Abdul Matin Chaudhury (1895-1948), Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1926-37; General Secretary, Assam Muslim League, 1933-36; Minister in Sir Saadullah's cabinet, 1938-1945.
 - 2 Mr. Munawwar Ali (1884-1951), Member, Assam Legislative Assembly, 1921-1947; President, Assam Muslim League (Shafi Group), 1930-35; Minister in Sir Saadullah's Cabinet, 1938-44.; Speaker, East Pakistan Legislative Assembly, 1947-51.
 - 3 Mahmood Ali (1919- 2006), Member, Working Committee, Assam Provincial Muslim League; Member, East Bengal Muslim League Council, 1947-1952; President, Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation, 1942; Founder-Editor, *The Nao Belal* (weekly, Sylhet, 1948-1958, 1969-1971); Minister for Revenue & Jails, East Pakistan, 1956-1957; Enjoyed Central Minister's status in Pakistan till his death.

Habiganj who had been the mainstay of the Muslim League especially during the critical period in the freedom struggle of Pakistan. He was a great leader of the Pakistan Movement in Assam. Few persons in Assam had such a chequered career as Mr. Choudhuri had. Personally, I feel very proud to present this paper at this august gathering because I also hail from the same district i.e. Habiganj.

Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri was born of a respectable Muslim family in the village Mostofapur in the present Habiganj district in 1888. His father Mr. Makhlis Hussain Choudhuri was a small landlord and a very religious man. His elder brother Mr. Nazmul Hussain Choudhuri was a very learned man well-versed in Persian and Arabic. He had been in government education service and had served as the Divisional Inspector of Schools in the Surma valley during the pre-partition days. It was under his guidance and guardianship that Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri could prosecute higher studies. The elder brother had great influence on him. He had passed the Entrance Examination from the Sylhet Government School, the Intermediate from the Presidency College, Calcutta and passed the B.A. Examination in 1914. He had started his career as the Headmaster of a private M.E. School, Raikeli (not very far from Sylhet town) but soon gave up teaching and decided to build up his career as a public leader. It was a time when young men of his age, more particularly the young educated Muslims of Sylhet either went to Aligarh for higher studies or to Calcutta for a Law Degree. Mr. Mudabbir Choudhuri, as was expected, went to Calcutta and got a B. L. Degree. He had started his new career joining the Bar at Habiganj and got himself delightedly involved in the politics of the day.

Muslim politics in Assam in those days had been centered round the peculiar division of the Muslims of the Brahmaputra valley. Socially they had been divided into two distinct groups — indigenous Muslims and immigrant Muslims — the former enjoying a privileged position because

of their “relatively early settlement in the pre-British era.”⁴ The immigrant Muslims were mostly an agricultural group. It was this latter group who had been the main source of strength for the Muslim League politicians who had taken up the issue of the immigrants for demonstrating their political strength. Muslim politics in Assam, in particular, and the Assam Muslim League activities, in general, had only one objective i.e. protection of the interests of immigrant Muslims against the majority people. Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri, along with other Muslim leaders like Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani⁵ and Abdul Matin Chaudhury, had devoted all his energy to the cause of the immigrants.

The immigrant issue in Assam was a unique phenomenon. With the beginning of the twentieth century the influx into Assam of thousands of Muslim peasants from Eastern Bengal districts in general and the district of Mymensingh in particular started. This exodus was mainly due to the pressure of population on land in their own districts. The British government was not unaware of this exodus. They welcomed it since it offered them an opportunity to enhance their exchequer. They did never raise the question with whom the settlement of land is made. Instead of checking the large-scale influx of immigrants into Assam, they, in fact, had made arrangements for their settlements. However, in view of the increasing number of immigrants and the apprehension of a conflict between them and the Assamese, the government devised a formula for the retrogression of the new settlers by putting some restrictions on the settlement. Under new system, the Line System, as it came

4 B. J. Dev & D. K. Lahiri, *Assam Muslims Politics and Cohesion* (Delhi, np, 1985). 1.

5 Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani (1885-1976): popularly called Moulana Bhasani; Born in Sirajgong (East Bengal): Went to and settled in Assam, 1897; Joined the Congress in 1919; In 1937 became a Muslim Leaguer and elected President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League; After 1947, came back to East Pakistan; Founder-President, Awami Muslim League; In 1957, founded the National Awami Party; Supported the Liberation War of Bangladesh, 1971; In 1976, he founded the Islamic University of Santosh; Regarded as one of the greatest politicians of his time.

to be called, the newcomers were allowed to settle only in certain areas in villages demarcated by 'lines.' The Line System became the "most crucial issue in Assam politics"⁶ during the decade of the Provincial Autonomy under the Act of 1935.

The Line system was vehemently opposed by all the Muslim leaders of Assam almost without exception. Though the system had originated in 1916, official discussion about it came only in 1936 when Khan Bahadur Nuruddin Ahmed of Nowgong, the first Muslim member the Assam Legislative Council, who had officially moved a resolution in 1936 for the abolition of the Line system. From then on, the issue "acquired political and communal colour and gained new momentum as it pervaded the Assam politics in a manner which attracted intense interest from all political quarters."⁷ The political career of Assam Muslim leaders had acquired a new dimension through their deep and dedicated involvement in Assam politics by upholding the rights and interests of the immigrant Muslims in their "fight against oppression and exploitation."⁸ The rapid increase in the flow of immigrants ultimately took a new turn in the British policy-making. What was basically an economic problem had turned into "an extremely complicated controversy with ramifications for the social, political and cultural life of Assam."⁹

It was under such political environment that Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri got himself involved in Assam Muslim League politics. Prior to the Provincial Election of 1937, there had been no organization of the Muslim League in the Brahmaputra Valley. The Muslims were divided in various groups. The election of 1937 had provided an opportunity to the Muslim League leaders of Assam to assert them and to be united together. The history of Muslim politics in Assam

6 Dev & Lahiri, *Assam Muslims Politics and Cohesion*, 22.

7 Dev & Lahiri, *Assam Muslims Politics and Cohesion*, 22.

8 Dev & Lahiri, *Assam Muslims Politics and Cohesion*, 22.

9 M. Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics* (New Delhi, np, 1990), 6.

from 1937 to the Partition in 1947 was the history of the struggle for a separate homeland. "The Muslim League and Pakistan Movement became synonymous during the decade of 1940."¹⁰

Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri's involvement in politics, however, had started earlier during his legal practice in Habiganj. In 1923, he had been elected a member of the Assam Legislative Assembly. He could also easily become an elected member of the Habiganj Local Board and some years later in 1929 became its Chairman. He was the first Muslim Chairman of the Local Board and held the post for ten years. During this period Mr. Choudhuri had also been a member of the Assam Railway Board. Though the Assam Provincial Muslim League was established in 1928 by some Surma Valley Muslims in Shillong, its main activities had started with the Provincial Election of 1937. In the election the performance of Muslim League was dismal getting only 4 out of 34 Muslim members. Sir Saadullah,¹¹ the prominent Muslim leader of Assam valley had formed a Muslim front, the United Muslim Party and picking up support from diverse groups became the Premier on 1st April, 1937.¹² Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had also responded to the general appeal by the Central Muslim League leaders to unite under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and had joined earlier in 1936. He got himself elected a member of the Assam Legislative Assembly on Muslim League ticket in 1937. In 1938, an organizing committee was formed with a view to hold the first Provincial Conference of the Muslim League held on November 18, 1939 at Ghagmari in the

10 Abul Maal Abdul Muhith, "Sylhete Pakistan Andolon" [Bengali: Pakistan Movement in Sylhet]; M. Abdul Aziz & others(ed): *Brihattar Sylheter Itihas* [Bengali: History of the Greater Sylhet], vol. II, 120.

11 Sir Syed Mohammad Saadullah (1886-1955): started his political career as a member of the first Assam Legislative Council during 1913-20; Joined the Bar for a short while at Calcutta until his return to provincial politics in 1937 Knighted in 1928, but renounced it in 1946; From 1937 to 1946, except for a short period of nine months, he was the Premier of Assam.

12 A. C. Bhuyan & S. De (ed), *Political History of Assam*, vol .III (1940-47), (Guwahati: Publication Board Assam, 1999), 253.

Goalpara district.¹³ Syed Saadullah was elected as the President and Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri as the Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League.¹⁴

When Saadullah had formed his third ministry in November, 1939, Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had joined his Cabinet as the Minister in charge of Judicial and Local Government. He had earlier earned for himself admiration and respect from people at large while he had served the Local Board as the Chairman and also was responsible for many benevolent and philanthropic activities.

Even before Mr. Choudhuri had joined Sir Saadulla's ministry, he had participated in the deliberations of the Assembly. He had been a vocal member pleading for the abolition of the infamous Line System. He refuted the government's contention that the system was devised to control the interests of both the immigrants and indigenous tribes of Assam. As has been said earlier that according to the Line system, the immigrants were confined to a particular area, they were not allowed to go beyond that area; they were not allowed to have land beyond certain line. On the other hand, for the indigenous tribes, there were no such restrictions, they could go beyond their line or what had been called the 'Line of Honour'. Choudhuri had complained that if the immigrants went beyond the line, they were fined and often their houses were burnt by "Government which calls itself to be a civilized Government"¹⁵ He had also bitterly criticised Mr. C. S. Mullan, the Census Commissioner, 1931

13 Muhith, "Sylhete Pakistan Andolon", 64.

14 Mr. Makhanlal Kar has erroneously mentioned Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury as the Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League in his book, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 310. Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury had never been associated with any executive post in the Assam Provincial Muslim League, though he was the man behind the scene. Mr. Kar has probably confused with Chaudhury, being the Secretary of All-India Muslim League, Central Parliamentary Board at the time.

15 Speech by Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri, Oct. 13, 1937, *The Assam Gazette*, Part VI, 868-869.

who had described these immigrants as “land-hungry people”. Mr. Choudhuri arguing on the point observed:¹⁶

I would ask Mr. Mullan himself and this House as well to judge whether these settlers who have come from a neighbouring district of Bengal are greater land-hungry people than Mr. Mullan and his ...white comrades, who have traveled from more than seven thousand miles by land and sea at great personal discomfort to settle in the jungles of Assam where formerly wild beasts and birds only roamed about.”

He had regarded the Line system as “pernicious and detrimental” to the interests of Assam as a whole. Mr. Jawharlal Nehru (1889-1964), regarded the immigration question as:

...complicated one and it has become a communal question which will make it more difficult of solution....Immigration is bound to take place because of the economic urge for it. No amount of sentiment and not even laws will ultimately stop it...I do feel that the present Line System is essentially bad as it creates or is likely to create two sharply divided areas hostile to each other...Immigrants should always be assimilated, otherwise they become foreign bodies always giving trouble. Indeed, even from the point of view of developing Assam and making it a wealthy province, immigration is desirable.¹⁷

The All-India Muslim League officially took up the immigration issue in its Twenty-fifth Session held on October 15-18, 1937 when on the proposal of Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, the League had adopted a resolution condemning the Line System. Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had always stood by the side of Abdul Matin Chaudhury in the movement for the abolition of the Line System. He, along with other Muslim leaders of Assam, regarded the Line system as “an instrument of injustice and

16 *The Assam Gazette*, Part VI, 869-70.

17 Letter of Nehru to Mr. Bishnu Ram Medhi, President, Assam Provincial Congress Committee, Nov. 1, 1937, Quoted in Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 31-32. Nehru was Secretary of Indian National Congress, 1929 and it's President four times.

oppression which, they pleaded, would be remedied only by the establishment of Pakistan.”¹⁸

Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had served three terms in Sir Saadullah’s ministry from November 1939 to August 1942 and again from March 1945 to March 1946. This was a period full of significant political and constitutional development all over India when the demand for Pakistan had gathered a great momentum in Assam and the differences between the Government and Opposition “took a purely political character in every matter of public interest.”¹⁹

He became the first General Secretary of the Assam Muslim League in its first conference in Assam. He had the unique distinction of contributing to the initial organization of the Muslim League in Sylhet. By 1940, the Muslim League activities in Assam were intensified by his efforts. At a meeting at Sylhet in November 1941 under Mr. Choudhuri’s presidency, some *Maulanas* [Urdu: learned Muslims] had pointed out that they formerly belonged to Congress but as soon as they had realized that the Muslim rights would not be safe in the hands of the Congress, they had dissociated themselves from the Congress and joined the Muslim League.²⁰ Mr. Choudhuri had very successfully organized the Second Conference of the Assam Provincial Muslim League in his own district, Habiganj in January 1941.

Even though he had been busy for his ministerial work, he could find time to be at Habiganj for a week to organize the conference. He had convened a meeting of the Muslim leaders of the town justifying the necessity of holding the conference at Habiganj and also made a long speech explaining the Pakistan Plan.²¹ A reception committee was formed with Mr. Choudhuri as its Chairman. As a secretary

18 Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 32.

19 Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 311.

20 Bhuyan & De (ed), *Political History of Assam*, vol. II, 259.

21 The *Jugaveri*, (a weekly newspaper in Bengali published from Sylhet), Poush 8, 1347 (Dec. 23, 1940), 4. In its editorial column, the convening of the conference was also highly appreciated.

of the Provincial League, on his invitation a large number of Central Muslim League leaders had attended the conference. He had also invited Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Prime Minister of Bengal to preside over the conference. It was a grand conference. For Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri, it was a great achievement of his career.

Mr. Choudhuri, in fact, had also organized the last Provincial Conference as the Secretary in 1944 in Kamrup.²² He had been a member of the Working Committee of the Assam Muslim League from 1940 to 1947. In 1942, when the Central Muslim League had put a bar on holding two posts at the same time, Mr. Choudhuri had relinquished his secretarial post of the Assam Provincial Muslim League.²³ By 1944, Sir Saadullah's ministry had worked in line with the Muslim League's claim on Assam in Pakistan Scheme. In April 1944, at the Third Provincial Conference of the Muslim League held at Barpeta with Choudhuri Khaliquzzaman²⁴ in the chair, a significant declaration was made that "Pakistan was the only safeguard for the protection of the political, cultural and economic rights of the Muslims"²⁵ of India. And in October 1945, Sir Saadullah had declared in a public meeting at Sylhet that "Pakistan is nothing but the administration of a country on principles enjoined in the Holy Quran. There cannot, therefore, be any Muslim who will not support Pakistan"²⁶

The general Election of 1946 had been fought by the Muslims of Assam on the exclusive issue of Pakistan. Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had once again won the election, the Muslim League having won seventeen out of nineteen seats allotted to Sylhet. Among the Muslim League

22 Muhith, "Sylhete Pakistan Andolon", 76.

23 Muhith, "Sylhete Pakistan Andolon", 77.

24 Choudhuri Khaliquzzaman (1889-1973), Joint-Secretary, All-India Muslim League, 1916-1927; Member, UP Legislative Assembly; Governor, East Pakistan, 1953-1954; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1954; Author of *Pathway to Pakistan*, Lahore, 1961.

25 Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 313.

26 Quoted in Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*.

leaders present in Sylhet during the Independence Day, Mr. Choudhuri was the eldest of all. It was but natural that he was offered the rare honour to hoist the national flag of Pakistan ceremoniously at the Govinda Park (presently Hasan Market). He was also the chief of the National Guards of Assam Muslim League. It is said that Mr. Choudhuri, after the ceremony, had addressed the gathering in the following words, "Muslim Brethren, the flag, that I have hoisted today, is neither mine nor yours. It does not either belong to Muslims, Christians or the British; then whom does it belong? This is the flag of the Muslim world."²⁷

The Civil Disobedience Movement had started in Sylhet in 1947 under the leadership of Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri and he was the Chairman of the Committee. The volunteers dissuaded the government officials from attending offices. This was a major programme which he had successfully implemented. Its effect was felt almost all over Assam, especially in the immigrant areas. Since then, the activities of the Muslim League leaders in Assam centered mainly on the Pakistan issue. They believed that "Assam and Bengal would form an independent sovereign East Pakistan."²⁸ Jinnah's first visit to Assam in March 1946 gave a great impetus to Pakistan Movement. Jinnah had echoed the same sentiment as the Assam Muslim League leaders and pleaded strongly for Pakistan. The Pakistan Day was celebrated almost in the whole of Assam. Political developments however took a new turn, the civil disobedience movement had to be abandoned by the Assam Provincial Muslim League and other circumstances forced a referendum as regards Sylhet only. The plebiscite ultimately decided the fate of Sylhet in favour of Pakistan. Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri and other Muslim League leaders of Sylhet had worked very hard among the Muslim masses during the time of referendum. Muslim League's earlier demand for the inclusion of whole of Assam into

27 Fazlur Rahman, *Syleter Ekshata Ekjan* [Bengali: Hundred and one personalities of Sylhet] (Sylhet, np, 1994), 198.

28 Bhuyan & S. De (ed), *Political History of Assam*, vol. III, 289.

Pakistan had to be withdrawn. On June 30, 1948, the Assam Provincial Muslim League was officially dissolved.

Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had also been associated with another controversial issue — transfer of Sylhet from Assam to Bengal. The agitation for Sylhet's separation and its reunion with Bengal was not a continuous one. Though it had started in 1874, there had been "occasional breaks and revivals."²⁹ The issue came up again in July 1924. Members from both valleys supported the move for its transfer. Mr. Choudhuri from the Surma valley claimed that both the "intelligentsia and the masses were behind this move."³⁰ He was of the opinion that the move did not "mean to injure any province or any district, any nation or any person but aimed at recognition of the principle of self-determination....there could be no objection for the... people to determine for themselves to go over to Bengal if they liked."³¹ Muslim opinion was, however, found to be divided in the Surma valley. Since the government was not inclined to give support to a secessionist move, Sylhet continued to be a district in Assam till the time of the partition and consequently, the people of Sylhet, as Mr. Choudhuri had commented earlier, had chosen for a reunion with Bengal through a plebiscite.

Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri was a great patron of Urdu language and literature. Some leaders of Sylhet who had supported Urdu as the state language of Pakistan, Mr. Choudhuri had been one of them. He spoke in favour of Urdu in some of the meetings organized by the Muslim Sahitya Sangsad in this connection.³² He was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of an Urdu *Mushaira*, organized by "Anjumane Taraqqiye Urdu", an organization for the popularization and development of Urdu language in Sylhet

29 Bhuyan & S. De (ed), *Political History of Assam*, vol. II, 283.

30 Bhuyan & S. De (ed), *Political History of Assam*, vol. II, 284.

31 Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, 118-19.

32 Proceedings of the meeting held on Nov. 30, 1947, published in the *Al-Islah*, No. 63, Vol. VII & No. 64, Vol. 1, Sylhet, 1996-97, 124.

town in 1946.³³ The great Urdu-poet Hafiz Jullundhari was the Chief Guest. On the occasion, many young men of Sylhet had participated in the recitation of poems by Allama Iqbal. Hafiz Jullundhari, according to the spirit of Mushaira, had composed a number of poems instantaneously. Of them, the following two lines of his composition had been very significant and important in the perspective of Muslim politics of the time:

Masjid ka kiya jarurat, agar tum na mussalli ho

*Pakistan ka kiya jarurat agar tum na mussalman ho*³⁴

[Bengali: Unless you are a follower of Islam, what is the necessity of a mosque?

Unless you are a Muslim, what is the necessity of Pakistan?]

After the independence, in recognition to his services to the Muslim League, to the Sylhet Referendum and above all to the Pakistan Movement, Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri was nominated to represent the newly sovereign-independent country, Pakistan at the Conference of the United Nations Organisation in Paris in 1948. This was, no doubt, a great tribute paid to him. Though he had not been taken to the Cabinet in the post-independence period, nevertheless the appreciation of his valuable services and his tremendous contribution to the struggle for Pakistan had been surely recognized by the new government. He had been appointed Ambassador of Pakistan to Indonesia and had served there from 1952 to 1955. Mr. Choudhuri had reached the height of his glory when he had been offered to represent Pakistan at the famous Bandung Conference held on April 18-24, 1955. After coming back from Indonesia, Mr. Mudabbir Hussain Choudhuri had voluntarily retired from politics in 1956. He died on December 12, 1982 at the age of 94.

33 Rahman, *Sylheter Ekshata Ekjan*, 198.

34 Rahman, *Sylheter Ekshata Ekjan*..

**Indigenous Challenges and Potent Response:
Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani as ‘Salar’ of
Multani Muslim Community**

Dr. Muhammad Shafique*

ABSTRACT

Applying inductive reasoning to the process of emergence and development of Muslim leadership in the Subcontinent at political level leads to the question of how to analyze the relationship between the idealistic models of leadership such as ‘Charismatic Leadership’, ‘Creative Personality’, ‘Mard-i-Momin’, ‘Superman’ and grass-root realistic indigenous ethnographic models of leadership. The paper evolves around the theme that the idea of ‘Charismatic Leadership’ always comes out of socio-metrically constructed leadership, which emerges because of a process of socio-metrical response to such challenges. In this context, the paper focuses the challenges to the Multani Muslim community during the third decade of the nineteenth century and emergence of Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani as a communal leader of the Multani Muslims. The elite family structure, local-bodies politics and communal issues seem to be contributing

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at large in the building up of indigenous leadership. The development of relations between indigenous and continental leadership seems to be the process evolving a 'charismatic leadership' for the Muslim Community of Indo-Pak Subcontinent.

The paper evolves around the person and leadership of Syed Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani, one of the most daring Muslim communal activists of Multan during the last quarter of Pakistan Movement with a thematic assumption that leadership emerges out of potent response to indigenous challenges. Growing communalism and religious violence was the threat or challenge to the Multani Muslim Community during the first half of the nineteenth century and a potent response to this challenge i.e. contributed potentially to the emergence of Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani as a 'Salar' or General of Multani Muslim community. The success of central leadership was subject to communal leadership of the region or more boldly speaking; the triad of 'charismatic' Muslim leadership in India seems to be the result of a 'common will' of indigenous leadership.

The culture of leadership emerges out of the solution of problems related to the egoistic aspirations and vision of a society. Therefore, thematic concepts of 'Charismatic Leadership', 'Creative Personality', 'Mard-i-Momin' or 'Superman' always seems to be based on socio-metrically constructed leadership that emerges because of a process of socio-metrical response to indigenous challenges. Development of relations between indigenous and continental leadership seems to be the process evolving a 'charismatic leadership' for the Muslim Community of Indo-Pak Subcontinent. The idea of an all India Muslim leadership and the emergence of Jinnah as a 'Charismatic Leader' and 'Sole Spokesman' seem closely associated with the nature of indigenous problems of different parts of India and the response of indigenous leadership to such problems in connection with community and the central leadership. In the case of Jinnah, the question of the role and place of

indigenous leadership becomes crucial as Jinnah was devoid of personal contact with the common public. His following among the common people emerge out of his following by the popular indigenous/local leadership of different parts of the Subcontinent. Although, much was on the All India Central Muslim leadership, yet one can find a lot of space to explore in the spheres of local Muslim leadership of different parts of the Subcontinent. The study of person and leadership of Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani of Multan is an attempt to explore one dimension of this space.

In this context, the paper focuses the challenges to the Multani Muslim community by the end of First World War and emergence of Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani as the communal leader of Multani Muslims. His relations with Muhammad Ali Jinnah at a time when the Muslim Community was in search of a potent leadership highlight the role of indigenous leadership in building up a mythological 'charismatic leadership and role of a 'charismatic personality' in the conversion of a Pan-Islamist to a Muslim nationalist. The elite family structure, local-bodies politics and communal issues seem to be contributing at large in building up of indigenous leadership.

Syed Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani (1875-1960)

Born in a well known religious family of Gillani Pirs of Multan in 1875, Zainulabidin Shah was educated in traditional religious sciences at the monastery of Musa Pak Shaheed, a well known sixteenth century Qadri Saint of Multan, situated in the middle of the walled city. His father, Pir Pearay Shah, although having no place in the hierarchy of religious mendicants, was well venerated among the local population due to his simplicity, paucity of character and his relations with the family and chain of well venerated saints. Zainulabidin shah passed his matriculation from Islamiya High School of Anjuman-i-Islamiyah Multan under the supervision of Gillani Family. His system of thought developed under a number of influences such as the location of ancestral monastery of Musa Pak Shaheed, the religious

status and responsibilities of the Gillani Family of Multan and his contemporary socio-political and communal scenario of Multan.

Gillani Leadership of Multani Muslims

Traditionally, Multan was a centre of religious veneration for Hindus and Muslim. Known as 'City of Pirs', the Pirs of Multan had ever felt the responsibility of the defense of the religious and communal interests of the Muslims. In this structure, two religiously motivated feudal families Qureshis and Gillanis have always played a dominant role. The Gillanis had developed a hierarchical system of leadership for Multani Muslims by the end of First World War as indigenous patrons of the Muslim rights, with a lasting impact over the region. This hierarchy on the one hand religiously linked with the Hashmis of Jordan, on the other hand was associated with the British 'Imperial Masters'. The relations with Imperial Masters had associated them with the imperial Indian administration. Another dimension was their association with the cause of dissemination of modern knowledge to the Muslims on the model of Aligarh. Having been associated with the Muslim community, the Sajjadah Nasheens of the Gillani shrines patronized the Muslim associations all over the Subcontinent. Anjuman-i-Islamiyah in Multan established educational institutions under the leadership of Willayat Hussain Gillan. Since a third dimension of leadership such as Reza Shah Gillani was associated with the local bodies such as Multan Municipal Committee and Multan District Board. All three categories of leadership were categorically pro-British and served the cause of British interests to develop relations with the indigenous masses and the elite and not solely with the Muslim interests. Although like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Gillanis had tried to serve the cause of the Muslims of the Region through the establishment of subjugatory relations with the British, yet at times of conflict between the British policy and the Muslim interest, they ever felt it difficult to oppose or challenge the British authority. In this context, there was a big gape of leadership. However, in spite of this

gap the Gillanis and other leading families had cooperated potentially with the British and as a reward given active positions in the administration. Zainulabidin Shah was appointed Niab Tehsildar in Shujabad. However, being conscious of his responsibility as a leading member of the leading family of Muslim mendicants, Zainulabidin was also conscious of Gillanis inability as allies and servant of the British to resist the anti-Muslim imperial motives. He considered the efforts done for the welfare of the Muslims insufficient and the situation of the Muslim world was creating a sort of anxiety among the Muslim masses of which Zainulabidin was a leading figure. The local leaders of Multani Muslims as part of Imperial administration were much conscious of their position as Muslims and as part of Imperial administration. The Sajjadah Nasheens were also not fully prepared due to the imperial administration's revenue tactics. There was a strong desire of a leadership out of the influence of the British authorities. In this situation, Syed Zainulabidin decided to come forward as a leader fully committed to the interests of the Muslim community with Pan-Islamist feelings. Using the Fatwa of Turkish Khalifa declaring the British service anti-Islamic, Zainulabidin Shah resigned from the post of Officiating Tehsildar and began to organize the Muslim Masses of the region potentially.

By the end of First World War and the beginning of agitation politics in the form of Khilafat Movement, there emerged a new type of public leadership, solely associated with the cause of Muslim community. This leadership not only took up the challenge of combating growing Hindu violence against the Muslims, pushed the British administration to a defensive point, provided the communal support to the Muslim political elite in the local Boards as well as imperial councils and disseminated and promoted the idea of a central 'charismatic leadership. This sort of leadership found its embodiment in the name of Syed Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani (d. 1960).

Communal Environment

Communally, Multan district was composed of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. The Muslim population was dominantly a Brelevi population having a lasting impact of Pirs, Syeds and Shahs. Shias formed the second dominant Muslim sect with a similar following. However, the Hindu-Muslim tension was a dominant feature. Multan city was considered as one of communally most sensitive regions of Punjab. One British report, in the context of the collapse of Khilafat Movement, Hindu-Muslim Coalition and spread of communal riots in the district in 1924, observed:

Religious tension in the villages is very ordinary...[but] In Multan city, the case is different, for religious prejudices die hard and although the two communities lie together in peace for years, an unforeseen and trivial incident may stir up latent animosities and give rise to outburst of a fanaticism.¹

Communal tension in Multan remained high ever since the downfall of the Muslim state in the region. Multan as 'the City of Pirs' has been the centre of Muslim religious enthusiasm for the entire Subcontinent. Simultaneously, the Muslim bureaucracy of the district linked it with the communal issues of the other parts of Subcontinent.² By the end of the nineteenth century, the communal consciousness in the Multan district had achieved a considerable level. The Muslims of Multan had joined hands with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan very early in his struggle for the uplift of Muslim society. In Response to Sir Syed's Anglo-Oriental Mohammedan Association and Indian Patriotic Association, in 1882, the Muhammedan Society was established in Multan. An Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Urdu was already established in 1881. The Multan branch of Muhammedan

1 *Gazetteer of the Multan District, 1923-1924*, 118.

2 Generally the British employees either Muslims or Hindus, coming from central and northern India contributed a lot to link this region with the main stream politics of British India. They not only worked on the history and culture of the region, rather established associations which became the work place for the discourse on the then contemporary political, social and cultural issues.

Educational Conference was established in 1886 and the three societies, on the common ground send a donation of five thousands for the Aligarh College.³ The Muslims of Multan continued to contribute for the donations to the other Muslim societies especially of Punjab.

The religious tension in the Subcontinent was stir up by the events during the Khilafat Movement. After the outbreak of communal riots in the Multan city in 1924, the Muslims began to organize themselves for the defence of their rights. The Muslim League was not yet established in the District and Pirs as champions of the cause of religion had taken up the cause of the community. In reaction to the Ghandhi's policy, they had established social checks on the Hindus. The Hindus attempts to erect temples in the different part of Multan city and cantonment met a strong and successful resistance by the Muslims and four temples erected on the land of cantonment were destroyed by the British administration on the initiatives of Muslims.

In this perspective, the issue of Pul Shawala Masjid flared up the religious tension and paved the way for a movement for communal rights long before the issue of Musjid Shaheed Gunj in Lahore. Because of this plea, the Muslims had taken to demolish Hindu Temples, the Hindus complained to the cantonment authorities in the mid 1929 that a mosque was erected on the cantonment land near Pul Shawalah. The cantonment authorities ordered the demolition of the mosque. As the news reached the Muslims, they began to assemble in front of the mosque and after a few days' tension and clashes; they compelled the British authorities to withdraw their decision.⁴

3 Proceeding of the meeting of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-e-Urdu at the retirement of Mir Wahid Ali, civil Surgeon Multan, quoted from a periodical "Alwaiz", in Shabir Hassan Alkhtar, *Multan Urdu Ki Janam Bhomi* [Multan: The Birthplace of Urdu], (Multan, np, 2005).

4 I have found the traces of the issue from the hand written explanatory notes of Mumtaz Somroo on Allama Atiq Fikri's *Naqsh-i-Multan* [Urdu: Signs of Multan] in his personal Library book number 5985 now deposited in the Department of Saraiki, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan. Later I found

Soon after the issue, the Muslims established a militia 'Anjuman-i-Fidayan-i-Islam'. It was a well-organized semi-military association to meet the communal threats. It had ranks and discipline similar to the military.⁵ The development settled the issue of communal leadership in the Multan District in favour of the Gillani Family who played a pivotal role in this moment of communal crisis.

Gillani Family, Communal Politics and the Muslim League

Two Syed families played a key role in the politics of Multan: Quraishis and Gillanis. Traditionally, both families had shown an unrivalled loyalty to the British.⁶ However, in spite of the fact that the District's Muslim bureaucracy led the earlier interests in the communal issues, yet the indigenous patrons of the Muslim rights were the Gillanis, with a profound influence over the district and division. Having been associated with the all Muslim associations, they were the patrons of the Anjuman-i-Islamiyah Multan since its formation. During the Khilafat Movement Raza Shah Gillani was expelled from the College⁷ and Zainul Abidin Shah resigned from the post of Tesildar to participate in the movement.⁸ This Syed Zainul Abidin Zeno Shah led agitation for Pul Shawalah Mosque as a General of Anjuman-i-Fidayan-i-Islam.⁹ Therefore, by the 1930 the Gillanis had established their place as the defenders of the rights of the

fragmented references in the Hanif Chaudhry's *Multan Kay Sahafti Dafenay*, [Urdu: Journalistic Burials of Multan], (Multan, np, 2006) and from the biographical chapters of Malik Munir Ahmed Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o-Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*, [Urdu: Multan in the reflection of History and Culture], (Multan, np, 1999), 143-47.

5 Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*,143-47.

6 Syed Aulad Ali Gillani's *Muraqa-i-Multan* [Urdu: Expectations of Multan] provides some documentary proofs of the loyalty of two families to the British Government.

7 'Reza Shah Gillani' in Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*,141-42.

8 'Zain ul Abidin Shah Gillani' in Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*,144.

9 Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*,145.

Muslim community. On the other hand, Qurashis had not shown their interest in the communal issues, rather, they were attached with the mainstream groups loyal to the British government and mainstream body formed for the defence of the rights of the Zamindars, the Unionists.¹⁰ Simultaneously, in spite of the fact that the people of Multan have a great reverence for the holly shrines of the ancestor of the Quraishis, most of their disciples were Sindhis, while the disciples of the Gillanis were in thousands within the district. The position of Gillanis was further strengthened by the myths associated with their “tawiz” [Urdu: amulets] and “Dua” [Urdu: Prayers]. The Quraishis have been weakened by the rumors linking the lineage of the family with an adopted heir. Therefore, the Quraishis had a weak place in the communal politic of Multan.

In this context, the Gillanis role in the communal politics was acknowledge by the government through the nomination of Syed Rajan Bukhsh Gillani for the Committee constituted to probe into the issues related to Hajj in 1929.¹¹ In 1934 another Gillani, Raza Shah became the first non-official Chairman of the District Board. Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s efforts to revive the Muslim League on the communal bases found a logical ally in the form of Gillani Family.

Quaid and the Gillanis

All India Muslim League’s Multan branch did not establish until 1936. Quaid-i-Azam too was leading the electoral Politics through the Independent Party. However, Gillanis, due to their interests in the communal issues had come closer to the Quaid. Rajan Bakhsh who became the member of Hajj Committee in 1929, joined Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s

10 In the Election 1946, failing to win ticket of the AIML three members of the Qureshi family of Multan contested the election on the tickets of the Unionist Party and Major Ashiq Hussain won his seat.

11 Gillani, *Muraqa-i-Multan*, 300; Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*,139.

Independent Party.¹² Therefore, the Gillanis and Multan became the part of the Quaid's efforts to win Punjab very early after his return from England in 1935-36.

In 1936, the Quaid visited Lahore to win the support of the unionists through a joint election formula. Although the unionists refused to cooperate, yet the Quaid initiated an All India Muslim League membership and organization campaign. In 1936, the Commander of Anjuman-i-Fidayan-i-Islam, Zainulabidin Zeno Shah Gillani met the Quaid through Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and the Quaid assigned him the task of organization of Muslim League in the Multan District.¹³ In 1937, Multan branch of All India Muslim League, Reza Shah as its first President was established. Yet, in the election 1936-37, the Muslim League remained unable to find even the candidates from the Multan District. However, Sikander-Jinnah Pact 1937, allowing dual membership to the Muslim members of the Unionist provided a solid footing to the Muslim League in Multan District. Almost all leading families joined hands with the Muslim League and Muslim League's Punjab Branch, practically, 'effectively was under the unionist's control',¹⁴ but the unionist was not a mass party and Muslim League was determined to become the one.

12 Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*.

13 'Zain ul Abidin Shah Gillani' in Bhutta, *Multan Tehzeb-o- Saqafat kay Ainay Mein*, 145-46.

14 Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947*, (Riverdale, Md: Riverdale Co., 1988), 90.

Syed Shamsul Hassan (1885-1981)

Dr. Ghulam Shabir*

ABSTRACT

Syed Shamsul Hassan a prominent leaguer played an important role in the affairs of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) from 1910-47. He was responsible to bring the AIML record from India to Pakistan and thus enabled the Scholars and Historians to conduct their research work on political party, which shaped the destiny of the Indian Muslims and created Pakistan within a short span of time i.e. seven years after the adoption of the Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution. Shamsul Hassan did a lot for the AIML as Assistant Secretary. Even during its critical years 1930-35, he tried to unite the AIML when efforts were being made to absorb the AIML into the All-India Muslim Conference. This paper deals with the services of Shamsul Hassan for the AIML.

Among the leaguers there were not many who were energetic, devoted and sincere. Among these important figures of the AIML, Shamsul Hassan stood very high. He devoted his energy to strengthen the AIML. He played very

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vital role in the critical years of the AIML 1930-35. During these years, the AIML was facing acute shortage of funds. There were three main sources for income i.e. membership fee, subscription and donations. The amounts collected through donations were never big particularly when the Aga Khan left the AIML and office of the AIML shifted from Lucknow to Delhi in 1927. The AIML did not receive any financial assistance from Nawabs and big property owners. Rifts and conflicts within the AIML during Jinnah's absence from India had worsened its financial position. It had insufficient funds with which to perform even minimum political functions. The secretary AIML often made appeals for more funds. According to Shamsul Hasan, who was then Assistant Secretary of the AIML, most of the time there were no adequate funds even for payment of the monthly rent of the office. The AIML was, in fact, narrowly saved from bankruptcy in 1931 by the timely generosity of the Aga Khan, Sir Shafi and S. M. Abdullah. In 1933, with a total income of Rs. 1318 its annual expenditure showed a deficit of Rs.564. Out of total of 300 members on its Council ninety-two were under notice to pay arrears of membership. In 1935-36, the total income was Rs.2320. Due to this financial condition of AIML it was decided in 1937 to struck off the names of defaulters.¹ Under these circumstances, Shamsul Hassan made day and night efforts to save the AIML from bankruptcy.

Not only this, the AIML was also running competitions with the parallel Muslim organizations, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (est.1919), the All-India Muslim Conference (AIMC) (est. 1929), the Unionist Party (est. 1923), the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam (est. 1929), the Khaksar Movement (est.1931), the Majlis-i-Ittahad-i-Millat (est.1935), the Red Shirts (est.1929), the All-India Muslim Nationalist Party (est.1929), the Jamiat-i-Shaban-ul-Muslimin (est.1929) and the All-India Muslim

1 For details See, Abdul Razzaq Shahid, "The All India Muslim League, 1930-37", Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1996, 26-27.

Federation (est.1929). These parties were sapping the AIML of both work force and money.²

When Sir. Fazl-e-Hussain and his followers tried to absorb the AIML into the AIMC Shamsul Hassan was the man who acting upon the Quaid-i-Azam's advice tried to revive its activity and unite the AIML. During these years Shamsul Hassan informed the Quaid-i-Azam about the situation who was in favour of one united Muslim political body. With the help of Dr. Ansari, Asif Ali and Asif Hasnvi he tried to defeat the followers of Sir Fazl-e-Hussain who were busy to absorb the AIML into AIMC. Shamsul Hasan and some other true leaguers wrote Jinnah to come back to lead the nation. It is note worthy that even the Secretary of the AIML Sir. Muhammad Yakub, Nawab Muhammad Yameen Khan, Nawab Khursheed Ali Khan and other important leaguers were in favour of amalgamation. Shamusul Hassan came forward, defeated the opponent group, and thus saved the AIML from ruin.³

On another occasion when Jinnah was away from India and the AMIL was split into Hidayat Group and Aziz Group and holding their separate Annual Sessions, Shamsul Hassan kept informed Jinnah about the whole situation. This split ended in 1934 when Jinnah returned to India. However, he left India on May 1934 for England. In his absence Nawab of Chhatari, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yousaf and Nawab Yameen Khan in a meeting held at Simla on August 13, 1934, under the presidentship of Syed Raza Ali approved the formation of the Parliamentary Majlis.⁴

The leaders belonging to the AIMC did not rest with the formation of the Parliamentary Majlis. They again attempted to eliminate the AIML from the political scene with a view to form a new organization under the name of the "League Conference Majalis." Hafiz Hidayat Husain started to re-draw

2 Shahid, "The All India Muslim League, 90-121.

3 Shahid, "The All India Muslim League,163-165.

4 Shamsul Hassan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1976), 60-62.

the list of the council members, removing from the AIML Council membership the names of all those who were opposed to merger, and enlisting his own friends as members with a view to having majority of his supporters in the Council. He was not empowered under the constitution to remove or enlist any member. He gave instructions to Office Secretary to amend the office records accordingly. On his refusal, he tried to remove him from the office. Hafiz Hidayat Husain also tried to shift the office in a building owned by S. M. Abdullah, one of the Joint Secretaries of the AIML and a supporter of the move to wind up the AIML. The other group, however, arranged with Nawab Abid, the landlord of the AIML office premises, to file a suit and to serve a court order upon the Office Secretary restraining him from shifting the furniture and records in lieu of non-payment of rent. Before the implementation of these orders, a strong opposition challenged the action of Hafiz Hidayat Husain, which he could not face.⁵

In short, Jinnah succeeded in re-uniting the AIML but in spite of his efforts the AIML's due sessions in 1934 and 1935 could not be materialized. His efforts to reorganize the AIML bore fruit in 1937 after Lucknow Session.

5 Hassan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*.

Syed Zahur Ahmad: A Symbol of Dedication and Service*

Dr. Muhammad Saleem Ahmad* *

ABSTRACT

Syed Zahur Ahmad (d. 1942) was the third duly elected Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League. In April 1919, he was appointed to this position by the Council of the Organization and served it upto 1926. It was not unlikely that he would have been again elected for the position after the expiry of his term in that year, but for a decision according to which the Headquarters of the All India Muslim League was shifted from Lucknow to Delhi — a city where Zahur Ahmad was not prepared to move.

The election of Zahur Ahmad to the position could not have come at a more inopportune time. Only a month earlier both the president and secretary, Raja Mahmudabad Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan (1877-1931) and Wazir Hasan (1874-1947) had resigned soon after their re-election in December

* This in no way represents a biography of Zahur Ahmad but gives only a glimpse of his life as Secretary of the All India Muslim League. Even this is stated quite briefly in this paper.

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1918. These resignations plunged the Muslim League into a crisis. However, another far more serious and greater threat to the Muslim League was in the offing. The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) was to take India like a storm and in consequence had devastating effect on the Muslim League. Zahur Ahmad thus had a big challenge before him when he took over the reins of the All India Muslim League. Nevertheless, he shouldered his responsibilities with fortitude and served the Organization with dedication and love.

When he took over in early 1919 the charge of secretaryship of the All India Muslim League, Zahur Ahmad was not a novice to either Indian politics or the politics of Muslim India. A lawyer by profession he started his political life in 1900 when the language issue — Urdu Hindi conflict — had reached its height in the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh (UP). Due to the official decision to recognize Hindi at the expense of Urdu language, the Urdu Defence Association formed on April 19, 1900. Zahur Ahmad along with Hamid Ali Khan (1859-1918) was elected secretary of the Association.¹ In 1906 when the All India Muslim League was founded at Dhaka, Zahur Ahmad had the privilege of being its founder member among the hundreds of others present on this occasion. By virtue of his previous active involvement in the political affairs, he was also elected by those present at Dhaka as a member of the Committee formed to draft the Constitution of the All India Muslim League.²

He started his work with right earnest but soon discovered that Muslim India had lost all its interest in Indian affairs for

1 Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, *The All India Muslim League* (Bahawalpur: Ilham Publishers, 1988), 63.

2 *Qawaid wa Zawabit All India Muslim League* [Urdu: Rules and regulations of the All India Muslim League], with an Introduction by Viqar-ul-Mulk, Aligarh, 1908, 10.

the moment in comparison to the Khilafat issue³, an outcome of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire's crisis caused by the European war of 1914-1918.⁴ He was greatly disappointed and wrote in a note, which was meant to be sent to the Council of the Muslim League but he decided not to proceed in the manner contemplated. He had written in this note yet incomplete:

It was greatly disappointed and grieved to see that since my appointment as Honorary Secretary of the (Muslim) League I have failed to hold a single meeting of the Council...⁵

At this initial failure, he was on the verge of resigning his position but soon picked up the strength to go ahead with the work of the Muslim League, given in his charge.

He had the good fortune of having Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) as the President of the All India Muslim League. In 1919 Jinnah was elected as Vice-President and in the following year as President, a position which he held till 1930. Even Jinnah's association with the Muslim League failed to arouse Muslim India to extend support and cooperation to the Muslim League. The Muslims were, the truth is, so much influenced and enamoured with the Khilafat issue that they made it a matter of their life and death. The worst came when they joined M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948) who promised to support them on the Khilafat issue provided Muslim India followed him. He offered them to observe *Satyagraha*, which he never properly explained to the Muslims. The general impression Muslims took of it was the policy of boycott of the British Indian government and of British institutions and services in the country.

Between 1919 and 1922, the influence of Gandhi was so great upon the Muslims that the so-called Khilafatists overtook the Muslim League. Influenced by Gandhi's appeal

3 For more details see Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, *Promise and Fulfilment: A Documented History of the All India Muslim League* (Bahawalpur: Ilham Publishers, 2005), 93-105.

4 Ahmad, *Promise and Fulfilment.*, 122.

5 Ahmad, *Promise and Fulfilment.*, 135.

for Satyagraha the Muslim League passed and adopted a resolution to this effect in its special session held at Calcutta in the last quarter of 1920 and ratified by the annual session held at Nagpur in December of the same year.

On his part, Zahur Ahmad tried to keep the Muslim League away from the Khilafat Movement, which was extra territorial and had little to do with the Indian affairs. For the attainment of this purpose, he was successful in enlisting the support of the *ulema* particularly those belonging to the Firangi Mahal. Many others among the *ulema* followed. The result was an All India Muslim Conference held at Lucknow in September. This very conference became the forerunner of an All India Khilafat Committee generally called as Central Khilafat Committee, to deal exclusively with the Turkish or Khilafat question. There were many leading Muslims unhappy with the Muslim League and accused its secretary, no other than Zahur Ahmad, that he was not doing enough in the matter of the Khilafat question. To his critics like Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863-1927), a staunch Khilafatist, Zahur Ahmad's reply was that "the Khilafat Committee is running at breakneck speed and it seems difficult for the (Muslim) League to keep pace with it".⁶

As regards Gandhi's policy of boycott of the British goods etc., Zahur Ahmad had the credit for making a research based detailed study on the subject of boycott of the British goods and its impact on Indians. Subsequently, he published his labour in the form of a "Note" dated November 30, 1919. Dealing with the issue, he claimed that he had "prepared this memorandum on the subject as a basis of discussion". He further elaborated:

The figures herein given may be relied upon as I have taken care to make them as accurate as I could. They are not drawn from any private source but are all either or calculated from those found in the compilation of the

6 The entire document is reproduced in Ahmad, *Promise and Fulfilment*, 393-404.

Department of Statistics in India published by order of the Governor-General in Council.⁷

He was, however, not in favour of following Gandhi's policy of boycott. In a meeting called to discuss the issue, differences of opinion took place with Gandhi, being present on this occasion. The difference of opinion being that Gandhi wanted to call it *Satyagraha* and Muslim leaders present were in favour of calling it boycott or *muqatila* with Gandhi opposing them in the matter. He insisted to use the word *Satyagraha*.

In 1920, on Nagpur sessions of the All India Muslim League the local Reception Committee suggested to Zahur Ahmad that the Muslim League should hold its proceedings in the same *pandal* [Urdu: meeting place] where the Indian Congress had just concluded its sessions. Zahur Ahmad emphatically said no to the suggestion, as he strictly believed in that the Muslim League was an institution independent of others. He thus wrote:

Sentimentally... it does not look nice (he stated) that there should be no separate arrangement for the (Muslim) League. It will be degrading the League in the eyes of the general public which will seriously affect the future of the institution.⁸

As a leader of eminence, he took like most of the Muslim leaders from Syed Ahmad Khan down ward believed in Hindu-Muslim unity and cooperation. However, he also knew Hindu mind sent with regard to Muslims. As secretary of the Muslim League, he had had bitter experience of Hindu leaders' attitude in this matter. Since the start of the All India Muslim League, continuous efforts had been being made by different Muslim leaders to reach an understanding with the Hindus. Save on their Bombay meetings in 1915 which resulted in the Lucknow Pact in the following year most of the Muslim efforts proved of no avail. Even the Lucknow

7 Zahur Ahmad to Anisuddin, Secretary Reception Committee, Nagpur, 12 December 1920, *Muslim League Papers*, Vol.89.

8 Ahmad, *Promise and Fulfilment*., 168.

Pact had proved short lived due to Hindu intransigence. Ever since Jinnah became President of the All India Muslim League in 1920, renewed interest and efforts were made to reach an amicable settlement with Hindus. Thus, when the All India Muslim League decided to hold its sessions in Bombay in 1924 under the presidentship of Syed Reza Ali (180-1949) Jinnah issued a statement showing his confidence in Hindu leadership to come to a settlement with Muslims. To this, Zahur Ahmad wrote to Jinnah expressing his scepticism.

Your recent statement in the Press of which a short account only is published in the papers of the Northern India will be very welcome and cannot fail to have a most wholesome effect. I am glad that you are hopeful of an early settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question though personally I have grave doubts that it is actually near at hand. A full and proper organization of our own community, which at present looks divided and disorganised seems to me a necessary preliminary to our success in meeting a settlement. At any rate we must do our best to secure it as early as possible.⁹

Jinnah's optimism in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement notwithstanding the question remained unsettled and due to Hindu obsession, India came finally divided in 1947.

The disunity among the Muslims to which Zahur Ahmad alluded, in his above communication was caused mainly by the Khilafat Movement. Because of this, the activities of the Muslim League suffered grievously between 1919 and 1922 and Zahur Ahmad in his annual reports referred to the lack of interest shown by the members of the Muslim League in its meetings. During this period, it would be noticed that six meetings of the Council were held in 1919. However, in the following year only three meetings could be held. In 1921 no more than two meetings took place and there was no meeting of the Council held in 1922. The All India Muslim League's activities had definitely become lifeless. There was no fault of the Secretary Zahur Ahmad.

9 Compiled by the writer from Annual Reports. See Syed Zahur Ahmad, *Annual Reports of the All India Muslim League* for the year 1919, 1920, 1921 and 1921, 1922, published separately for each year.

After the Khilafat fiasco caused by Gandhi's betrayal the All India Muslim League leaders under Jinnah's leadership endeavoured to put a new life in their organization. Both Jinnah and Zahur Ahmad worked to infuse in it new life. The attempt made in 1923 proved only partially successful. The following year proved more hopeful as the sessions adjourned in 1923 and reconvened at Lahore in 1924 showed that the Muslim League was emerging from its slumber caused by the Khilafat Movement. Between 1923 and 1926, the All India Muslim League provided proof of its existence as an active organization. It had not yet picked up fully.

In 1926, the Delhi sessions held under the presidentship of Sheikh Abdul Qadir (1874-1950), decided to shift the Headquarters of the Organization to Delhi. For the change of Headquarters, it was unlikely that Zahur Ahmad would get yet another term to serve the Muslim League. He had been able to keep the Organization alive under the most tiring and challenging circumstances. In addition, just when it had shown signs of recovery the Headquarter shifted from Lucknow to Delhi. For many years to come even Delhi as the centre of Muslim League activities failed to bring vitality into it. This is a most appropriate appreciation of Zahur Ahmad's works and services rendered to the nation.¹⁰

10 *Muslim League Papers*, Vol. 124. Most probably written in 1927.

Mir Ahmed Yar Khan: The Ruler of Kalat

Muhammad Salahuddin Mengal*

ABSTRACT

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah invited Khan of Kalat to a dinner which was accepted and they discussed the problems of Muslims of the Subcontinent. He appreciated the services of ancestors of Khan of Kalat, who fought against the British Government. He remembered the martyrdom of Khan of Kalat Mehrab Khan Shaheed in 1839 and other efforts of Khan Abdullah Khan, the then Khan of Kalat State. The Khan of Kalat also requested and invited Quaid-i-Azam to visit Kalat State and he accepted the offer. Unfortunately, Quaid-i-Azam felt ill and doctors advised him to remain in dry and hilly station where the juniper trees are available, so there were only two places in the Subcontinent — one the hills of Harboee at Kalat and second Ziarat in Balochistan. Quaid-i-Azam in 1945 wrote a letter to the Khan of Kalat that he is reaching Kalat for the first time along with his sister Fatima Jinnah. They remained few days at Harboee as a guest of the Khan Mir Ahmed

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Yar Khan. Later on Khan Sahib also met with Quaid-i-Azam in Imperial Hotel, Delhi on June 6, 1947 regarding partition and independence of Kalat State because the two parliaments of Kalat State were functioning at that time i.e. Aiwan-e-Zereen (Lower House) and Aiwan-e-Bala (Upper House). The Lord Mountbatten in the presence of Nehru and Quaid-i-Azam announced independence of the Subcontinent on June 6, 1947 because the British were leaving the Subcontinent. There were two independent princely states; one was Nepal and the second was Kalat as they were declared independence states on August 1, 1947. However, Quaid-i-Azam persuaded Mir Ahmed Yar Khan to accede to Pakistan.

The Balochistan was a vast State in the Seventeenth Century during the regime of Noori Naisr Khan-1, but later on, it started shrinking due to certain reasons. In the Eighteenth Century after the invasion of British in this part of the country and after defeat in Afghan War with the help of ruler of Kalat diverted their power towards Kalat State. In 1839, the Khan of Kalat Mir Mehrab martyred along with notables and renowned Brahvi Sardars and no competent ruler emerged for Balochistan. So in 1876 the British Government signed a treaty with Khan Khudai-i-Dad Khan, the then Khan of Kalat, for construction of railway line to fulfil their requirement and these areas were called leased areas, which later on turned into the British Balochistan.¹

It is pertinent to mention here that Robert Sandeman, a Britisher marched into Balochistan via Dera Ghazi Khan under their aggressive policy and to strengthen their force in the aforementioned area. Kalat was still independent princely state and it was not directly under the British rule. Subsequently, in 1933, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan became ruler of

1 Hoges W., *The Land of Balochistan*, translated by Prof. Roman (Quetta, University Pub.,1990).

Kalat. He was highly qualified and remained captain in the British Army. Knowing the administrative needs of the state, he constituted Kalat State Council in which the prominent Sardars of Sarawan and Jalawan having the share according to strength of their tribes. The Lasbela, Mekran and Kharan were directly under the command of Kalat State and the cases were being decided according to their tradition and tribal norms in the light of golden principles of Islamic jurisprudence. First time Khan of Kalat appointed Qazis being highly qualified among those Moulana Shams-ul-Haque Afghani, Moulana Abdul Samad Sarbazi and Moula Taj Muhammad Shahwani. They were pioneers of judicial system in the Kalat State and accordingly administrative authorities were deciding cases. Mustafy Tehsildar and Naib Tehsildar of the area and appeals were being filed before Hakim-e-Ala, the then Deputy Commissioner.²

There was one forum of appeal against the decisions of Qazis i.e. before the Khan of Kalat. Qazi Wazir Darbar was fixing such kind of cases in the presence of Kalat State Council. The cases were going to be decided by negotiation and amicable settlement in a proper manner according to tradition, which were being accepted by the parties from the core of their hearts.³

That Khan of Kalat was a brilliant man. He issued written law for the first time which was called *Dastoor-ul-Amal* [Urdu: Line of Action] of 1936. Later on in 1951 the *Dastoor-ul-Amal Dewani-e-Kalat* [Urdu: Civil Code of Kalat] was promulgated but it was amended in 1952 and Criminal Procedure Code Kalat, Penal Code of Kalat and Qanoon-e-Shahadat [Urdu: Law of Evidence] Kalat were promulgated. In 1952, Khan of Kalat constituted Balochistan State Union (B.S.U.) consisted

2 Azad Bin Haider, *Heroes of Freedom Movement* (Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Forum, 2007).

3 Hameed Baloch, *Balochistan Chronicles* (Karachi: Syed Hashmi Library, 2007).

of the province of Sarawan, Jhalawan and Kachhi along with Lasbela, Kharan and Mekran.⁴

Agha Naseer Khan Ahmedzai — an author of many historical books on Balochistan states that he is the eye witness of creation of Pakistan and accession of Kalat State because he was Wazir-e-Darbar and being son in law of Khan Ahmed Yar Khan, he deeply concerned with the said matter. He stated that before independence, one was India directly ruled by Britishers and second was princely India. The Britishers were ruling upon Princely British States also. After Independence Movement, when the Britishers decided to Quit India on July 6, 1947, Lord Mountbatten called Khan Ahmed Yar Khan in Delhi. He declared that there were about 700 Princely British States in India but two states having treaties with the British government and having never been conquered they had never been directly under the rule of the British Empires. One is the State of Nepal and the other is Kalat State. He further stated that Nepal is Hindu majority area and near to India, whereas Kalat state is Muslim state and the Britishers are going to give it open option in the light of agreements; either to remain independent or accede to any country. This agreement was signed on August 4, 1947 in the presence of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, Khan Ahmed Yar Khan, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Advocate of Patna, Counsel for Khan Ahmed Yar Khan and this agreement was called Standstill Agreement, following were the contents of agreement: -

Government of Pakistan has accepted Kalat State as independence state;

Riasat-e-Kalat and Pakistan will decide the area of British Balochistan where they should be part of Pakistan and remain as part of Riasat-e-Kalat;

Defence, communication, currency and foreign affairs will be decided by the parties i.e. Riasat-e-Kalat and Government of Pakistan.⁵

4 Baloch, *The Problem of Greater Balochistan: Study of Baloch Nationalism*, 142-43.

So on August 10, 1947 this written agreement was signed and Lord Mountbatten Viceroy of India called Mir Ahmed Yar Khan in Delhi and announced independence of Nepal and Kalat on All India Radio on August 11, 1947 at 10.00 a.m. Subsequently Balochistan was declared as independent state on August 12, 1947. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was residing in Karachi and was not feeling well. Khan Ahmed Yar Khan approached him through a delegation to further discuss the matter regarding currency and foreign affairs etc., but in Kalat State, House of Lords was functioning after independence and the House of Common was constituted on August 13, 1947. The Constitution of Kalat was promulgated in 1947 in which the notables of Sarawan, Jhalawan and Karachi were included keeping Lasbela, Mekran and Kharan under the control of Riasat-e-Kalat. In December 1947, meeting of both the parliaments was called which unanimously decided to continue Stand Still Agreement with Government of Pakistan. In this connection, the Governor-General was again approached at Karachi but due to some hidden hands' move, no reply was received from Governor-General to Ahmed Yar Khan. In these circumstances, the British government gave independence to Pakistan, Balochistan and India but agreement was not implemented. Therefore, the Khan of Kalat sent his brother Agha Abdul Karim Ahmedzai along with a delegation to meet Governor General a Karachi in the light of agreement but cold shoulders were shown by the authorities and no progress was possible. Meeting of both the parliaments of Riasat-e-Kalat was called in January 1948 and again shown their faith and confidence to continue the efforts for the implementation of Stand Still Agreement. So on March 17, 1948 the States of Lasbela, Kharan and Makran announced accession to Pakistan and proper agreements were signed with Quaid-i-Azam. Now at that state the Princely States of Sarawan, Jhalawan and Kachi were in the field and they divided into two groups one

5 Thornton, Thomas Henry, *Col. Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and work on our Indian Frontier* (London: John Murray, 1895), 54.

group insisted Khan of Kalat to remain an independent state and the second one advised for acceding to Pakistan. There were certain other reasons to which Khan of Kalat remained ruler of Balochistan. From 1938 up to 1948 it was as an independent state and issued certain laws in golden principles of Islamic justice and constituted Ahmedzai Counsel to run affairs of Riasat-e-Kalat and to help out him in administrative matters in which Prince Abdul Karim, Prince Muhammad Rahim Jan, Sultan Ibrahim Khan, Haji Khan and Agha Naseer Khan Ahmedzai.⁶

Khan of Kalat announced accession to Pakistan on March 28, 1948 and the agreement was finally signed by Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on March 31, 1948 and the Riasat-e-Kalat became part of Pakistan.

In October 1947, Quid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah finally persuaded Khan of Kalat to accede to Pakistan. Khan of Kalat declared, "I have great respect for your advice, I will consult tribal elders in this respect", which shows that the Kalat state remained independent after August 1, 1947 up to March 31, 1948 as the Constitution of Kalat was promulgated on August 1, 1947.⁷

The brief life sketch of Khan of Kalat is necessary to introduce him. He was born in Loralai in the Islamic calendar year of 1320 Hijri, i.e., 1902, while his grandfather and other members of his family were passing their dreary days, suffering their imprisonment by the British Government. He was hardly two years old when they all were taken over to Pishin to remain there until the death of his grandfather, Mir Khudadad Khan, in May 1909, after which they were again confined at Sheikh Mandah for some more time.⁸

6 A. M. Conaghey, *Balochistan District Gazetteer Makran* (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1986), 36-40.

7 A. B. Awan, *Balochistan, Historical and Political Process* (London: New Century, 1985), 5.

8 Stephen L. Pastner, "Lords of the Desert Border: Frontier Feudalism in Southern Balochistan and Eastern Ethiopia", *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10 (1979): 94.

He received his early education under private tutors; and in course of time gained a fair knowledge of the Holy Quran, and proficiency in Urdu, Persian and English languages. However, to cut short, he started his adult career as a personal assistant to the Agent to the Governor General in Balochistan in 1920, and underwent military training for one year with the twenty-seventh Punjab Regiment. On completion of this training, he was entrusted with various important civil and military administrative assignments. For four years, he was appointed as Adjutant and stationed at Chagai, where he had an area of more than 500 square miles spreading over from Quetta to Zahidan under his command. The small force of levies at Chagai numbered only 150 when he was posted there. The levies functioned as ordinary Regulars. He raised their number to 600, and trained them on the level of the Zhob Militia.

He was also attached to Military Intelligence, charged with the task of checking the spread of Communist influences and keeping a vigilant eye on the Iran Afghan borders. The British were very suspicious of the Russian 'Forward Policy' which was obviously aimed at influencing the Baloches living on the borders of Iran and Afghanistan through a subtle political propaganda, glorifying and advocating Communist doctrines.⁹

The struggle of His Highness Sir Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Beglar Begi (K.C.I.E) for accession of State of Kalat to Pakistan is a great event. As his life sketch has already been mentioned above, he passed a difficult time in Pakistan in 1958 when he was detained by Ayub Khan Government and later on served as a Governor of the Province in 1973. He died in Islamabad on October 20, 1977 and buried at Shahi Qubaristan Kalat on October 21, 1977 at 4.30. p.m. on Friday.

9 Conaghey, *Balochistan District Gazetteer Makran*.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and the Pakistan Movement: An Analysis

Altaf Ullah*

ABSTRACT

Prior to the Partition, the social, economic and political condition of the Indian Muslims was miserable. On the one hand, they were exploited by the British Imperialist policies and on the other, they were encircled by the Hindu bannias who left no stone unturned to wash out the concept of separate identity from the minds of the Muslims. The non-Muslim forces especially the Hindu community benefited from the British policies and thus made them stronger economically as well as politically. The 1857 War of Independence consequently changed the political scenario of India. The British ascended to the Indian throne and the direct British rule was imposed. The East India Company ceased to exist from the day the British Crown took over the political reign of India. The War of Independence had amply manifested the temper and tone of the local

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people to the new rulers who had though realized that it was no more possible to keep away the natives from the affairs of the country yet they were still reluctant to hand over power to them. It was really the political leaders and reformists of the Muslim community of India who took the responsibility to make the Muslims community politically aware in order not to be exploited by the other communities of the Subcontinent. Like the leaders of the other provinces, a host of political leaders from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) took active part under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam for the achievement of Pakistan. Among those leaders, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar was one who proved himself worthy of the Quaid's confidence. This research paper deals with the political career of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar in order to draw a concrete sketch of his political activities in both the pre and post-partition periods.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar was born in Peshawar on June 13, 1899 in Mohalla Rampura, Kocha Kakran. His father Abdul Hannan was a prominent figure of the Afghan tribe, Kakar who opposed the British government.¹ He completed his early education in Mission High School and later in Sanatan Dharram High School Peshawar. He completed his B.A. from the University of Punjab and then he was sent to the Aligarh Muslim University from where he got the degree of Bachelor in Law. The Aligarh Muslim University proved to be the breeding ground for the Indian Muslim political leaders of the All-India Muslim League in the post 1857 War era and also the source of inspiration for the leaders of the League. Besides his studies, Nishtar had the opportunities of meeting Maulana Jauhar and other leaders of the Khilafat

1 Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Qadria Books, 1985), 3-4.

Movement. This great institution of learning trained Nishtar to take active part in the freedom struggle for the Muslims.

Nishtar's active political career started from the hectic Khilafat days when he started participating in the Khilafat Movement. In 1927, he joined Indian National Congress (INC) and was one of the founding members of the Provincial Congress Committee.² Almost the whole region of the NWFP at that time was dominated by the Congress the then leading political organization of India while All-India Muslim League was not so organized and influential. M.A. Jinnah's absence also gave a setback to it as many Muslims joined the Congress due to the lack of sound leadership in the League. The Congress tried to show that it was the only political organization of representing all the people of India. Then the League in NWFP was not that organized due to the local political rivalries and factions among the Provincial League. On the other hand, the Congress was influential enough having a strong representative in the person of Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan.

Nishtar was keen observer of matters and always remained a man of practice. When he perceived that Congress was serving only the Hindu cause, he put his resignation to the Congress. Regarding his resignation from the Congress, he stated, "Separation from the Indian National Congress was because of the fact that I had known that Hindus were prejudiced against the Muslims and would never be sincere to them. The success of the Indian National Congress in the freedom movement would mean that the Muslims getting themselves unchained from the British should enslave themselves to the Hindus."³

The Khilafat Movement indeed motivated Nishtar to concentrate on politics wholeheartedly. At the outbreak of the Movement, the young Nishtar at the age of twenty

2 Sharif al Mujahid, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: An Appreciation", *Dawn*, December 30, 2006.

3 Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), 33.

started composing verses, which expressed his attachment with the Khilafat Movement. The movement for extension of constitutional reforms to NWFP, *Rangila Rasool* Agitation, movement for induction of elected representatives of the people to the local bodies of NWFP and agitation against Simon Commission added new dimensions to the politics of NWFP. Nishtar participated in all these movements under the banner of Local Khilafat Committee. In one of the gatherings in Peshawar City, he moved the following resolution.

This meeting of the citizens of Peshawar strongly protests against the proposed address to be presented to the viceroy on behalf of the Municipal Committee of Peshawar for its omission in full or in part of the aspirations of the Frontier people for the extension of the reforms scheme to NWFP.⁴

During 1929-38, Nishtar was involved with the local bodies in Peshawar. In the first local bodies elections which were held in November 1929, Nishtar contested the election from Ward No. 5 Peshawar City and stood successful. He served his people as Municipal Commissioner until the end of 1938. The Government of India Act 1935 provided for the first general elections in India. Nishtar contested the election as an independent candidate and elected to the provincial legislature of NWFP. The Quaid sent him a letter when he became member of the assembly.

Dear Mr. Nishtar,

Many thanks for your letter of the 11th instant. Yes, I know that you have been returned to the assembly. Let me congratulate you for it. I am in Delhi till the 21st march and shall be very glad to see you if you happen to be in Delhi.⁵

Nishtar had formally joined the League in 1936 as he wrote to Quaid, "In 1936, I was taken on the council of the League and since then I have been formally connected with it."⁶ On

4 Naushad Khan, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar" in Parvez Khan Toru and Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat eds. *Celebrities of NWFP*, vol. I & II (Peshawar: Pakistan Study Center, University of Peshawar, 2005), 151.

5 Khan, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar", 154.

6 Khan, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar", 155.

the invitation of Jinnah, Nishtar participated in the twenty Sixth Annual Session of All India Muslim League, which was held at Patna.

Being an independent candidate in the provincial assembly, Nishtar not only took part in the assembly proceedings but also freely expressed his views on different legislative matters. He was the first one to move the NWFP Repealing and Amending Bill 1937 in the Assembly.

The status of Provincial Muslim League was not remarkable until 1937. Mr. Jinnah though accepted the League defeat in the provincial elections of 1937 yet since then the Muslim League had won every by-election and the Quaid was confident enough that if general elections were held in this province, the League would succeed. The Frontier League was formally affiliated with its central organization (AIML) on April 17, 1938 at Calcutta Session of the League in which Ziauddin moved a resolution urging upon the Muslims of India to take special steps to combat the Congress anti-Muslim activities in NWFP. A large number of prominent figures of the province attended that Session. The Quaid also promised due assistance to be provided to the League in Frontier.⁷

When the Congress Ministry in NWFP resigned on 7 November 1939, it created a favourable situation for the League in NWFP. The then Governor of the province invited Sardar Aurangzeb Khan⁸ to form the ministry. Aurangzeb, however, was in trouble as he could not command a majority

7 Riaz Ahmad, ed., *Papers Presented at the Three Days International Conference on All India Muslim League (1906-1947)*, 18-20 December 2006 (Islamabad) Vol.I Published by National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2006, 176.

8 Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan pertained to a famous Pakhtun tribe "Gandapur" of Dera Ismail Khan. He was born in a *Zamindar* family and got his early education in Karachi and Dera Ismail Khan and then went to Peshawar where he completed his B.A. from Missionary College. He obtained his L.L.B. Degree from Aligarh University where he was the President of Muslim Student Union. He started his legal practice at Peshawar and remained in close contact with Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum Khan. He formed the first Muslim League Ministry in NWFP during 1943-45.

in the assembly.⁹ He asked Nishtar (who was then an independent candidate) to join the ministry. But Nishtar was not in favour of forming a ministry with the help of Hindu-Sikh Nationalists. He knew that such a ministry would meet the same fate as that of Sir Qayum. According to Nishtar, "I opposed the idea of forming a Muslim League Ministry because of the unfavourable circumstances like high prices and shortage of food and cloth etc."¹⁰ However, Aurangzeb convinced Nishtar to join the ministry. Thus on May 23, 1943 a Muslim League Ministry in NWFP was sworn in with Sardar Aurangzeb Khan as Chief Minister. His cabinet was consisted of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, M. Samin Jan, Abdur Rehman Khan and Sardar Ajit Singh. The portfolio of Finance was handed over to Nishtar.

It was the first Muslim League Ministry in NWFP, which started function under the premiership of Aurangzeb Khan. The Muslim League got rid of the Congress rule. The formation of this ministry was regarded as a new ray of hope for the Muslims of India in general and for the Muslims of the NWFP in particular. The Congress blamed the authorities of conspiring against the people of the province by installing the League ministry without popular support. Nonetheless, the formation of this ministry was an extraordinary achievement in the political career of the Provincial League but it could work only for about two and a half years. The failure of this ministry had already been predicted by Nishtar, which proved his deep foresightedness and insight.

In 1944, when the struggle of the League entered into its decisive phase it appointed Nishtar as member of the AIML Working and Planning Committees.¹¹ The Quaid himself chose him to represent the AIML at the Second Simla Conference 1946 and the June 3, 1947 Leader's Conference with Viceroy on Partition Plan. On October 14, 1946, the

9 Ahmad, ed., *Papers Presented at the Three Days International Conference* 176.

10 Shah, *Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar*, 104.

11 Khan, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar", 155.

Quaid nominated him for the Interim Government in India on behalf of the League. In the interim setup, he had the portfolios of Post and Air. Indeed, Nishtar constantly remained on various responsible positions throughout his life. He made it clear that Pakistan would be a permanent, independent state with no possibility of future union with India. The myth of United India was ultimately exposed when the political mission of Muslim League reached to its logical consequence in the shape of two separate states i.e. India and Pakistan.

Nishtar did not abandon his political struggle rather he accelerated his activities to serve the nation more. After the creation of Pakistan, he served his country first as Minister of Communication in the first cabinet for about two years and then as Finance Minister. He remained the first Muslim Governor of Punjab from July 1949 to November 1951. In the cabinet headed by Khwaja Nazimuddin, he had the portfolio of Industries and remained in office until the dismissal of that cabinet. Thereafter he did not join the next cabinet and rather accepted the responsibilities of the President of AIML in January 1956.¹²

He strongly opposed the dismissal of Nazimuddin's cabinet and termed this act as unconstitutional and undemocratic. He expressed in his poetical language as:

"bas itni khata per rahbari cheeni gayee hum say,

kay hum say qafilay manzil pay lutwayay nahi jatay, (Urdu: leadership was snatched away from us merely on the ground that we can not abandon the masses at the mercy of dacoits), and

nairangeay siyasat-i-dauran to dekhiyay,

manzil unheeh mili jo shareek-i-safar na thay,

12 Khan, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar", 157.

(Urdu: look at the irony of contemporary politics, those who shunned the caravan, have reached the destination).¹³

During his tenure as president of the Pakistan Muslim League (1956-58), he took the responsibility to infuse a new life in this political organization. He organized, reactivated and transformed it into a live organization and remained its President until his death. He died on February 14, 1958 due to heart failure. Nishtar Medical College in Multan and Nishtar Park in Karachi while Nishtar Hall and Nishtar Abad (a town) in Peshawar are named after him.

13 Mujahid, "Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar:..

Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon and his Role in Separation of Sindh from Mumbai

Dr. Deedar Hussain Shah*

ABSTRACT

Sir Abdullah Haroon, a veteran Muslim Leaguer, was one of the founding personalities in the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims of Subcontinent. He was active politician of Karachi, Sindh who played a pivotal role in the formation of Pakistan Resolution of 1940. His life sketch reflects that he started his political life in 1913 and emancipated for the welfare of the poor and the needy. His active role in Muslim league won him the position of a close associate of M.A. Jinnah. He sincerely participated and worked for the promotion of All India Muslim League and honestly attained the final goal of an independent country in 1947. His role in social, educational, economic, moral, philanthropic services and financial generosity resulted in the betterment of Muslim Community. He organized Karachi Club in (1907), Jamia Islamia Yateem Khana at Karachi in 1923, Karachi Muslim Gymkhana in

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1927, Haji Ani Haneefan Bai Memon Girls School, Sindh Muslim League Employees Bureau in 1939, Waqf Alal-Aulad Trust in 1940, Sukkur Relief Fund in 1930s, the Bhuj Famine Help and scores of other charitable organizations, meant for the welfare of the poor and destitute.

He was a philanthropist of international repute. He contributed Rs.19000/- to Muslim University Alighrah, Rs.5000 each to Lady Dufferin Hospital Children Ward and Muslim ladies Hall in Delhi, Rs.1000/- to Maulana Muhammad Ali's Hamdard, Rs.50000/- to the Angura Fund. These and other donations helped to rehabilitate the sufferers of Turkish liberation war. Excluding these, he also established the Kutchi Memon Madressa-i-Banat for Girls and other educational institutions. He also contributed for construction, renovation of mosques and madrassas. These and other activities symbolized him as a man of social welfare, as an economic performer and as a political reformer. He married with Nusrat, a talented woman of Iranian origin. Actually, she was the hidden hand behind his political quagmire. She kept him happiest, luckiest and contended man.¹

Political Role in Separation of Sindh from Mumbai Presidency

Family of Abdullah Haroon migrated from Kutch to Karachi. His father started a small business at Karachi. Abdullah Haroon expanded his business and made himself a financially successful man. Afterwards his attention diverted towards politics and civic activities of Karachi. In 1913, he was elected as member of the Karachi Municipality. In 1917, he joined the Indian National Congress and always pleaded for the cause of Muslims. In 1919, he participated in Khilafat

1 M. A. Khuhro, *A Story of Sufferings of Sindh* (Larkana: M. A. Khuhro, 1930), 20; <http://www.dawn.com/news/1178378>, 'Abdullah Haroon, leader with vision' on Dawn newspaper, Published 27 April 2015, Retrieved Oct 1, 2006.

day and presided over various meetings of the same occasion. He was also elected as president of the Sindh Khilafat Committee in 1919 and played active role in all the Khilafat Movement until 1929.²

Then he joined Muslim League and was elected as president of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. He was also elected as member of the All-India Muslim League. In 1920, he also founded Sindhi News Paper, *Al-Waheed* and donated for its continuous running. *Al-Waheed* played a pivotal role for the expansion of cerebral and political horizons of the people of Sindh and solidified their will for separation of Sindh from Mumbai.³ Slowly and gradually Abdullah Haroon moved from local to provincial and then to national and all India politics. He significantly participated in the Sindh provincial Political Conferences from 1920 to 1930s, under the banner of All India Muslim League. In 1928, he also played his leading role in the All Parties Conference and All Parties Muslim Conference from 1930–1934, the Azad Sindh Conference of 1930 and the All India Muslim League Session of 1937. In 1933, he was also nominated as Chairman of Karachi Port Hajj Committee.⁴

He was a strenuous man and advanced advocate for the movement of Separation of Sindh from Mumbai Presidency. He continuously pleaded for it and helped to pass such resolution from each platform for such separation. He actively participated in all such moots, meetings, gatherings, collective and partial meetings, individually, severally and

2 Khuhro, *A Story of Sufferings of Sindh*, 20; **Jump up** "No. 34396". *The London Gazette (Supplement)*. May 11, 1937, 3077.

3 Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency* (Islamabad: Islamic University, 1982) Vol. 1: XX.; <http://www.dawn.com/news/1178378>, 'Abdullah Haroon, leader with vision' on Dawn newspaper, Published April 27, 2015, Retrieved 1 Oct 2006.

4 M. L. Zardari, *Therik-e-Pakistan Mein Sindh Jo Hisso* [Sindhi: Role of Sindh in the Pakistan Movement] (Mooro: M. S. Kahn Zardai, 1984), 28; <http://www.pakistan.web.pk/threads/sir-haji-abdullah-haroon.2244/> Profile of Abdullah Haroon on pakistan.web.pk website, Retrieved 30 Sep 2006.

jointly from 1925 onwards. He strongly stressed and convinced Sir Agha Khan and M.A. Jinnah to help in gaining the separation of Sindh, while leading the Muslim delegation to the Round Table Conference held at London during 1930–1932. He worked very hard in a well co-ordinated way with Muhammad Ayoob Khuhro and Miran Muhammad Shah, for the cause of separation of Sindh in 1935. His intention to join the Muslim League was also to entice the interests of Sindh with the mainstream of the All India Muslim politics. In 1925 at the session of Muslim League at Aligarh, Abdullah Haroon demanded the resolution of the problem of Sindh separation from Mumbai.⁵

He argued against financial solvency of Sindh as stipulated in the Nehru report of 1928. He countered this report and proved that Sindh was financially sound and viable. He also served as secretary of the Sindh Administrative Committee, and Sindh Delimitation Committee (1935), and he chaired the second session of Sindh Aged Conference (1934). As a member of Mumbai Legislative Assembly, he also strongly pleaded for the separation of Sindh. His hectic efforts changed the status of Sindh and it was separated from Mumbai presidency in 1936.⁶

He changed the status of Sindh on geopolitical, economic, social, linguistic, ethnic and communal level. Previously it was merely an administrative unit of Mumbai Presidency. Sindh with its Karachi port gained the significance of international level. He continued his efforts vigorously for the economic promotion of Sindh. He also advanced the relations of Sindh with the Muslim world, including Arab, Turkish, Iranian and other African Nations. He also politically

5 M. A. Kalhoro, *A Convincing Case for Separation of Sindh* Karachi: Naval Rai Chand, 1933), 7; <http://www.dawn.com/news/1178378>, 'Abdullah Haroon, leader with vision' on Dawn newspaper, Published April 27, 2015, Retrieved Oct 1, 2006.

6 M. Irfan, "A Brief History of the Movement Separation of Sindh", *Al-Walid* Special Issue Number) 1, 1936:52; Zardari, *Therik-e-Pakistan Mein Sindh Jo Hisso*.

solved the strains of Masjid Manzalgah movement of Sukkur and other such, issues like Kanpur mosque etc.⁷

Abdullah Haroon continued his political efforts for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India, even after the separation of Sindh. In this connection, Abdullah Haroon organized the first Sindh Provincial Muslim League conference at Karachi on October 8-10, 1938 under the annals of All India Muslim League (AIML), which was presided over by M.A. Jinnah. Here Abdullah Haroon staunchly pleaded the cause of separate homeland for the Muslim of India and on this occasion expressed his convincing will in the following words:

“We have nearly arrived at the parting ways and until and unless this problem is resolved to the satisfaction of all, it will be impossible to save India from being divided into Hindu India and Muslim India, both placed under a separate federation.”⁸ His such views were also further elaborated by M.A. Jinnah who viewed that “separate independent country for Muslims is very necessary on the acute differentiating grounds of religion, language, script, culture, social laws, customs, traditions, economic setup, rural and urban densities of population etc. The ideological and nationhood basis became different. The resolution was passed in following words:

This conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and the political determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India, which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them and that this Conference

7 Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

8 G. M. Syed, *Sindh Jee Bombay Khan Azadi* [Sindhi: Sindh from Bombay to Azadi] (Hyderabad: Arbab Noor Muhammad paleejo, 1947), 12.

recommends to the AIML to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.⁹

This resolution cracked the nut in the right direction and gained the solid ground of separate homeland for Muslims. This paved the way for the passage of Lahore Resolution of 1940. Here lies the importance and significance of the views of Sir Abdullah Haroon and his efforts for separation of Sindh from Mumbai.

After gaining the success of Sindh as a separate province his tireless efforts moved towards the creation of Pakistan on organizing meeting of Sindh Provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi in 1938, which was presided over by Mr. Jinnah, under the annals of AIML. Being the leader of the reception committee, he addressed the gathering in the following words:

It is indeed a matter of proud privilege to me today, to be in a position to offer you all distinguished gentlemen, a hearty welcome on behalf of the Muslim Community of this province. I can only assure you that we fully realize the magnitude to the obligation you have done by being in our midst, in order to give us guidance at this great hour of anxiety and I should even say our adversity.¹⁰

He further said,

Sindh had been separated from Mumbai Presidency by then, and Karachi had acquired the status of a provincial capital.

Highlighting the importance of Sindh in future, he informed thousands of guests that:

We are meeting today in capital of a province, which, although in area equals England without Wales, is geographically, and historically, the capital of Sindh and is the nearest port to Europe, by land, air and sea.

Historically, the latest discoveries have unfolded to the world, the buried treasures of ancient civilization and

9 Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency* (Islamabad: Islamic University, 1982) Vol. 1: XX; Khulhro, *Sufferings of Sind*, 55.

10 Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

splendour, which point to its surprisingly great past. For the Muslims of India, particularly, it has some significance from the religious point of view as well. No Indian Muslim will, I am sure, ever forget that it was through this province that the first caravan of Islam passed on its way to the other parts of India, and as such I, even on the sentimental grounds, feel emboldened to claim your support in the solution of the problem which confront us. As a matter of fact, I am sure, that your meeting here on this occasion will not only help us in the solution of our national problems but will result in the formation of new caravan conveying the commodity of Muslim unity, solidarity and strength to the rest of India. I long to see that happy day and hoping as I do, that it is not distinct. I am sure I will be able to see it even though it is now the evening of my life.¹¹

This clearly reflects that he foresaw the emergence of Pakistan. He staunchly pleaded the cause of separate homeland for the Muslims of India. Actually, it was primarily the significant conference, which laid the foundation of the Pakistan Resolution, passed in 1940 at Lahore. On this occasion Abdullah mentioned:

We have nearly arrived at the parting of ways and until and unless this problem is resolved to the satisfaction of all, it will be impossible to save India from being divided into Hindu India and Muslim India both placed under a separate federation.¹²

His such views were also further elaborated by M.A. Jinnah with the words that separate independent country for Muslims was considered necessary on the acute differentiating grounds of religion, language, script, culture, social laws, customs and traditions, economic setup, rural and urban densities of population etc. The ideological and nationhood basis became different; therefore, separate homeland is must.

After participating and playing active role in the passage of Lahore Resolution, he passed away in 1942. His death was widely mourned. Mr. Jinnah messaged from Delhi:

11 Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

12 Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

Extremely grieved, hear sad news of sudden death of Mr. Abdullah Haroon. Your family loss is irreparable. Muslims of India, especially Sindh has lost a leader who served and guided people legally and faithfully. In him I have lost a personal friend and colleague, and deeply mourn his death. Please accept my sincerest sympathies for your bereavement. Bear up this terrible blow with courage and fortitude.¹³

Besides, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Khawaja Nazimudin, Feroz Khan Noon, Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, Nawab Mamdot, Sant Singh, Afghan Counsel General, Mahatma Gandhi and hundreds of others throughout the Subcontinent expressed their condolences on the sad demise of Haji Abdullah Haroon.

13 Khuhro, ed. *Documents of Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

**Indian Nationalism versus Muslim Nationalism:
A Comparative Study of the Services of
Quaid-i-Azam and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad**

Iftikhar Ahmad Yousafzai*

ABSTRACT

The 1857 War of Independence proved to be a turning point in the course of history of the Muslims of India. The defeat in this war at the hands of the colonialist Britishers not only terminated the rule East India Company in India but also put an end to all the illusions, which were attached with that rule. The period immediately after the war brought miseries and disappointments for the Muslims. They were easy targets of the revengeful policies of the British. The new rulers substituted English for Persian and Western education for traditional learning which deprived the Muslims of their positions of influence and authority, which they had enjoyed. The doors of civil and military services were closed to them. This was a period of demoralization and despondency for the Muslims of India. The mutiny cut them adrift from their old moorings, economic and

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political they found themselves wholly unprepared to take their rightful place in the new dispensations and adjustments, which were rapidly coming into existence because of the impact between the Western and Eastern ideals, political and social institutions. The Hindus were the first to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances by adopting Western education and ways of life.

In 1885 the Indians established Indian National Congress to serve as a bridge between the British Government and the people of India, which had the blessings of Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, and other English officials.¹ The aims, objectives and programme of the Congress were actually meant to promote political and economic interests of the Hindus in the garb of Indian Nationalism. Sir Syed, among the Muslims of India, was the first to chalk out a way for the Muslim of India. He thought that only inculcating the Western Ideals of life and government into the minds of younger generations of India, extricate the Muslims of India from the slough of mental despondency and economic depression into which they had fallen after the Mutiny of 1857. By those ideals, he meant patriotism and liberty of thought, which could be achieved through the education of the Muslim youth in the English language and on Western lines.² He advised the Muslims to refrain from joining the Congress and to be loyal towards the British Government, a policy that, he thought, was suitable from the point of view of protecting the interests of the Muslims of India.

The end of the 19th and the dawn of the 20th century let loose a trail of so sweeping events at the Indian and world levels from which the Muslims of India could not remain unaffected. In these circumstances, Muslim India produced two leaders

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- 1 Presidential Address of Justice Sir Syed Wazir Hassan to the 4th Session of A.I.M.L held at Bombay, April 1936, in Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, A.I.M.L. Documents.1906-47 Vol.I (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), 242.
 - 2 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, 242.

of extraordinary talents who played the most important role in making of Muslim India in the following decades. One was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the other was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. They had different and in many respects opposite, trends, attitudes, views and policies towards political problems of India and the place of Muslims in the broader context of India. In this paper, an attempt has been made to study these two leaders and political leaders in juxtaposition to each other. The role of Quaid-i-Azam as a staunch proponent of Muslim Nationalism and that of Maulana Azad as an ardent supporter of Indian Nationalism is the focus of this study. It will also analyse the realistic and objective views of Quaid-i-Azam, which got full support of Indian Muslims and resulted in the creation of Pakistan.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah started his political career from the platform of Indian National Congress in 1905. Having a constitutional frame of mind, he had abhorrence for violence and anti-constitutional measures as a means to achieve political objectives and he chose to tread the path of political leaders like Dada Bhoy Naorozi, G.K. Gokhale, and Benerjee.³ Earlier, as a student in England, the young Jinnah had played an important role in the election campaign of Dada Bhoy Naorozi for a seat in the House of Commons. From that time on, the Grand Oldman looked upon the young student as one who had a great future in Indian politics.⁴ The Calcutta session of the Congress of 1906 was very important in the history of Congress. It was presided over by Dada Bhoy Naorozi with Mohammad Ali Jinnah as his secretary. It was at this session that for the first time the demand for self-government in India was made from the platform of a political party.⁵

3 G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation* (Lahore: Feroz Sons (Pvt) Ltd. 1988), 61.

4 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 61.

5 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 63.

First Phase: 1905-1920

In 1906, the All India Muslim League was founded with the aims and objects to promote interests of the Muslim community, forging friendly relations between Muslims and other communities, and creating feelings of loyalty among the Muslims of India for the British Government. The Quaid did not take any interest in Muslim League politics in its initial years because it seemed to him that its approach to politics was communal, not national. Within a few years, the Muslim League began to approach political problems in a more revolutionary manner, in keeping with the spirit of time.⁶ In September 1913, a Muslim League delegation, consisting of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Sir Syed Wazir Hassan, visited England to bring to the attention of the British public the Cawnpore Mosque incident.

M. A. Jinnah was in those days in England in connection with a long holiday there along with Gokhale. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hassan approached him to get him enrolled as a member of the League. He consented on the understanding that his joining the Muslim League would not prevent him from continuing to be a member of the Congress and that his loyalty to the Muslim League and Muslim interest would in no way come in to the way of his loyalty to the larger National cause.⁷ He had attended the meetings of All India Muslim League Council in 1910, 1911, and 1912. He had already emerged as a leader of all India level and the Muslim League looked up to him for advice and guidance, although he was not a formal member of the Muslim League. It was mainly due to his efforts that the Muslim League at its Lucknow Session in 1913 changed its policy objective from loyalty to British Government to the "attainment under the aegis of the British Crown a system of self Government suitable to India through constitutional means..."⁸

6 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 71.

7 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 74.

8 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 75.

This new orientation brought about a complete transformation in the approach of Muslim India to the political problems of the day. They adopted *Sawraj* as their political goal, which had been adopted by the Congress in 1906. The Muslim League leaders emphasized the necessity of complete harmony between the Hindus and Muslims for the realization of their common objective of independence.

Now the Quaid-i-Azam, due to his important position in both the Congress and the Muslim League, was in a position to act as a bridge between the two parties. He saw in the new political environment an opportunity to convert the friendly feelings between the Hindus and Muslims in to a solid political alliance.⁹ As a first step towards the realization of this goal, he succeeded in getting the two parties to hold their annual sessions of 1911 in Bombay at the same time, despite the machinations of the British Government. against this move. The seeds of discord and disagreement between M.A. Jinnah and Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay and the future Viceroy of India, were sown at this time and by this incident.¹⁰

In this meeting, Jinnah moved a resolution, which advocated the setting up of a League committee that, in consultation with other political parties, should draw up a scheme of political reforms, which, while fully satisfying Muslims, and protecting their interests, would take India onward on its march to independence. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, then an active member of the Muslim League, was one of those that made a forceful speech in support of the resolution of his leader.... this resolution was unanimously adopted. In similar manner, the Congress appointed a committee to collaborate with its League counterpart for the above-mentioned purpose. The Quaid at various forums, including the Congress and Muslim League, stressed upon Hindu-Muslim Unity for the realization of independence for the country.

9 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 77.

10 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 77-78.

The outcome of his efforts was the famous Lucknow Pact. The two parties put forward a joint set of demands, which, if fully recognized and implemented by the British Government, would have brought virtual independence for India. For protecting Muslims' political interests, the two parties agreed on separate electorates and weightage in the provinces where they were in minority. This was a big achievement for the Muslim League. This Pact considerably influenced the shaping of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. This was a spectacular demonstration of the growing political consciousness in India. The British Imperialists could no longer put forward the argument that Hindu-Muslim disunity was a hurdle in the political advancement of India. There was so much political pressure on the British authorities, through internal agitation, that in 1917 they declared that reforms were coming soon. There were even rumors that the Congress and League were about to launch a joint Civil Disobedience Movement to accelerate the advent of reforms.¹¹

The years 1918 and 1919 were very turbulent in the history of British India since 1857. In order to cope with the situation and strengthen the hands of bureaucracy in face of the rising seditious activities in the country, the Central Legislature of India passed repressive laws known as the Rowlatt Act. M. A. Jinnah lodged a strong protest against the passage of this Act, and resigned his seat in the Central Legislative Assembly. Eventually, the Jalianwala Bagh incident occurred which left 400 of Indians dead and over 1,200 wounded, who were protesting peacefully against the repressive policies of the British Government.

M. A. Jinnah vehemently condemned these acts of repression and called for greater Hindu-Muslim unity against the British Imperialism. He was also critical of the Western Powers' attitude towards Turkey, who were bent upon disintegrating this defeated Muslim power, the seat of Muslim Khilafat. He raised his voice against these injustices

11 Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah – The Story of a Nation*, 95.

of the British Government from the platforms of the Congress, Muslim League, and the Home Rule League. He stressed Hindu-Muslim unity for the resolution of these issues and the realization of the goal of independence. During the War period, he had refused to cooperate with the British and their War efforts because he wanted a solid promise from the British Government with the effect that they would grant self-Government to India within a specific period of time, which the British Government was not ready to concede. Gandhi had cooperated with them, in this respect, without extracting any pledge.

In May 1919, the Quaid was sent to London by the Muslim League to lead a delegation to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, with a view to get the latter to appoint one Muslim delegate to the forthcoming Paris Peace Conference. The Muslim League feared that the British Government would repeat their policy of 1917 when S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, and not any Muslim, had been appointed to represent Muslim India in the Imperial War Conference. Although, the Quaid vigorously represented the Muslim case to Lloyd George, the latter however did not respond positively to the pleadings of the Quaid-i-Azam. Montague and the Maharaja Bikaner represented India at the Peace Conference.¹² Turkey was dismembered among the European Powers, but no one in the Conference raised his voice against it to air the sentiments of the Muslims of India.

During this period Gandhi had dominated the Indian political scene and taken control of the Congress, the Home Rule League, and the Khilafat Conference. The Quaid-i-Azam did not agree with the methods of civil disobedience and non-cooperation adopted by Mr. Gandhi for the realization of his political objectives. The Quaid argued that these methods, besides creating dissensions among Indians, would cause chaos and disorganization among the inexperienced youth

12 Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 63.

and the ignorant masses. Due to this reason, he resigned from the Congress at its Nagpur session in 1920.¹³

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was emotional, fiery and revolutionary by nature. He started political career at the end of the 1st decade of the 20th century. In his early political career, he was a Muslim Nationalist than “Indian Nationalist”. His program for Muslim awakening is a landmark in the history of Muslim Nationalism”.¹⁴ His Muslim Nationalism was characterized by Pan-Islamism. When Azad started his weekly *Al-Hilal* in July 1912, most of the Muslim Press was imbued with the spirit of Pan-Islamism, a trend which had appeared as early as 1817. This was due to the influence of Jamaluddin Afghani, who visited India during that time. Maulana Azad paid glowing tributes to Afghani in the issues of *Al-Hilal*. Some event of importance such as the 1908 Constitutional Revolution in Turkey, the Balkan War, and the War of Tripoli further strengthened the spirit of Pan-Islamism in India. In *Al-Hilal*, Azad projected the entire Muslim World as a single unit with Turkey as its heart.¹⁵

He had also connection with Bengali Revolutionaries and was impressed by their activities. He lamented lack of interest and aloofness on the part of the Muslims toward such activities, and eulogized the Hindus for being in the forefront of the struggle for freedom.¹⁶ Perhaps, it did not matter for him that those revolutionaries of Bengal were actually determined to get the British to withdraw the decision of the Partition of Bengal. They had full support of the Congress and other Hindu organizations. In its spirit, that movement was more anti-Muslim than anti-British. He considered the problem of India as a part of the worldwide tussle between Islam and Western Imperialism. He

13 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 70-72.

14 Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India & Pakistan* (Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), 269.

15 Syeda Saiyidiana Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence – Abul Kalam Azad – A Fresh Look* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57.

16 Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Orient Longman, 1988), 6.

supported any one who rose against Western Imperialism. Hindu-Muslim problem in the context of India did not have any importance for him. He exhorted the Muslims to rise side by side with the Hindus against the British for the liberation of the country. "He believed without compromise in two things: Islam and freedom. And he would accept dilution in neither case".¹⁷

In this phase of his political career he indulged in preparation of violent rebellion and had connections, besides Bengali revolutionaries, with Maulana Mahmood Ul Hassan, Maulana Ubaid Uallah Sindi and the Frontier Tribes. He was convinced of utility of violent rebellion for attainment of independence.¹⁸ He ascribed passive attitude of the Muslims towards the freedom moment in India to the loyalist policy of Sir Syed.¹⁹ During this phase, he exhorted the Muslim to chalk their way for themselves and not to imitate the Hindus blindly. He reiterated the Muslims repeatedly that instead of fearing the Hindu majority, they should create confidence in themselves, and not to care how the majority community behaved with them. He was one of the staunch exponents of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Khilafat Movement and later on the Non-Cooperation Movement led by Mr. Gandhi brought Maulana Azad closer to the Congress. From this time on the color of Indian Nationalism began to get prominence on him. When he was released from Jail in 1919, the Khilafat Movement had already been started. Due to the turbulent situation in India and with a view to launch a largescale movement for the independence of India, Gandhi expressed his intention of starting a non-cooperation movement against the British. In February 1920, when Gandhi announced his Non-Cooperation movement, all leaders present on the occasion

17 M.J. Akbar, *Nehru: The Making of India* (Viking, 1988), 91.

18 Abdurrazizq Maleehabadi, *Zikr-i- Azad* (Lahore: Maktaba Jamal, 2006), 160.

19 Makhmoor Saeedi, "Maulana Abul Kalam Azad aur Secularism" in *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad- Shakhsiat aur Kaarnamey*, ed. by Dr. Khaleeq Anjum, (Lahore: Tayyab Publishers, 2005), 234.

expressed their reservation, except Maulana Azad, who enthusiastically supported Gandhi on this question.²⁰ Now he began to stress Hindu-Muslim unity with more vigour and enthusiasm along with preparing the Muslims to give sacrifices for the cause of Khilafat.

In his address to the Khilafat conference, the Maulana used to say that the Khilafat issue revived the issue of India. The Muslims could have succeeded in getting the Khilafat issue resolved without any help from other communities of India. Nevertheless, the problem of India would have remained unresolved. For this purpose, stirring on the general level was required. The Khilafat issue fulfilled this object.²¹ On the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity, he said that it had not arisen because of the Khilafat movement. It was essential for its own sake. He said that he had some ten years back told the Indian Muslims to perform their obligations as Indians. The Muslims could not perform their religious obligations in India unless and until they were united with the Hindus. If the Prophet of Islam could unite with the Jews of Madeena against Quarish and form one nation, why should the Muslims of India not unite with the Hindus of India to form one nation? Islam did not prevent the Muslims of India from entering in to covenant with a nation, which had not committed aggression against Muslim and occupied their lands.²²

With these views of Maulana Azad's on Hindu-Muslim alliance, the Muslims thought that the Congress would help them on the question of Khilafat. Hindus, on the other hands, wanted to utilize Muslim sentiments for their own objectives. They believed that Turkey would never become a power again. They freely expressed their sympathy with a cause they believed to be a lost one. However, when Turkey emerged strong out of this struggle, the hostile feelings of

20 Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence*, 95.

21 Abul Kalam Azad, *Khutbaat-e-Abul Kalam Azad* (Lahore: Islamic Publishing House), 45.

22 Azad, *Khutbaat-e-Abul Kalam Azad*, 47-53.

the Hindus began to assert themselves. Gandhi's sympathy with the Muslims' feelings was genuine but most of the Hindus did not agree with him. The result was a strong reaction against his policy and the Shuddhi and Sanghatan movements started among the Hindus.²³

In 1924, Maulana Azad was elected president of the Congress this was due to Maulana's unflinching trust in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and his wholehearted efforts to make Congress popular among the Muslims. Another factor was that in those days Hindu-Muslim unity of the days of the Khilafat had been shattered, rested as it did on unsound foundations, and replaced by mutual distrust and suspicions. Maulana's elevation to the post of the Congress president was meant to stem this tide.

From the foregoing discussion, it became clear that both Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad struggled for the liberation of India from the British rule. However, their approaches and methods were different. Moreover, with Mohammad Ali Jinnah, along with freedom for India, Hindu-Muslim settlement and protection of Muslim interests was also a burning passion. Maulana did not give any importance to this second objective. That's why, when history unfolded itself, and the Hindus showed their true nature in subsequent years by refusing to agree to the legitimate right of the Muslims, the Quaid got more and more disillusioned with the Congress, while Maulana Azad stuck to his guns and remained in its fold till last. This will become clear from the second phase of the political careers of these two leaders.

Second Phase: 1924-47

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had fully immersed himself in the Congress, while the Quaid was fully entrenched in the Muslim League. However, the latter had not yet given up the hope of bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer to each other for the sake of liberating India from the British rulers.

23 Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence*, 47.

He wanted this unity to come through harmony of interests of these two communities, instead of merging the Muslims in the ocean of majority Hindus. There was a rising in communal disturbances in India. Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sought an interview with Mahatma Gandhi, and requested him to come out openly in favour of the restoration of communal harmony but his response was not encouraging.²⁴

In November 1927, the British Government appointed a commission with Sir Jhon Simmon as its head, to report on India's future constitutional progress. This commission, known as Simmon Commission, did not have any Indian member, a section of the Muslim League led by the Quaid-i-Azam, and Congress boycotted it. The boycotting parties convened an All Party Conference, in February 1928, which appointed a committee to determine the principles for India's constitution. The report of this committee, known as Nehru Report, was in many respects unjust to the Muslims' interests. The only concession to the Muslims was that it recommended full provincial status for the North West Frontier Province and Balochistan, and separation of Sindh from Bombay to form a new province, the last one subject to a few qualifications. In other respects, Muslims' interests were treated in a very harsh manner. There were to be no separate electorates for the Muslims. It recommended reservations of seats for the minorities in proportion to their population. There were to be no reservation of seats for any community in Punjab and Bengal. "The result of this would have been to reduce the Muslim majority in these two provinces to a minority. Since the adult suffrage was yet far off and on a franchise restricted by property and educational qualifications, Muslim voting strength would have been far below Muslim proportion of the Population....Hindu superiority in wealth and in strength of political organization, and their preponderance in the

24 Ishtiaq Hussain Quraishi, *Ulema in Politics* (Karachi: Maarif Ltd.), 296.

administration would have tilted the balance against the Muslims still further".²⁵

Moreover, the Committee proposed a strong center dominated by Hindus with residuary powers that went against Muslims' demand for provincial autonomy. The Quaid-i-Azam proposed three amendments to make this Report acceptable for the Muslims: one-third representation for the Muslims in the Central Legislature, Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal based on population for ten years, and residuary powers vested in the provinces, not in the Center. However, the Hindu majority rejected these amendments. Upon this, Maulana Muhammad Ali convened an All Parties Muslim Conference on January 01, 1929, under the presidentship of Agha Khan. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad did not attend this meeting in which Muslim point of view was presented forcefully.²⁶

The harsh truth that there was no place for Muslims' interests in the Congress and that it was for all practical purposes, a Hindu communalist body, was becoming clear more and more with the passage of time. In 1929, Maulana Muhammad Ali approached Mr. Gandhi when the latter was contemplating about launching a civil disobedience movement against the British. Maulana Muhammad Ali pleaded for a Congress-Muslim agreement with a view to unite both the communities in an irresistible struggle against the foreign rule. Gandhi did not respond positively. Earlier, Doctor Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari had tried to convince Gandhi to secure the cooperation of Muslims by arriving at some understanding with them and had received a cold response.²⁷ The Congress leaders wanted the Muslims to follow their line blindly without getting any guarantees for the protection of their rights. With a view to protect Muslims' interests the Quaid-e-Azam put forward his famous fourteen

25 Ch. Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan), 21-22.

26 Quraishi, *Ulema in Politics*, 300.

27 Quraishi, *Ulema in Politics*, 303.

Points in 1929 as a charter of minimum demands of the Muslims. He told both the Hindus and the British Government that no constitution for India, in future, would be acceptable to the Muslims unless and until it was in accordance with these fourteen Points. These demands contained in these Points had the support of all the Muslim Community.

The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act 1935 with the reservations of the Congress and Muslim League. In 1937, elections to the Provincial Assemblies were held under the new constitution. The Congress got majority in seven provinces including the Muslim majority province of NWFP. Except the promotion of Urdu language and script and separate electorates for the Muslims, there was nothing in the Muslim League programme to stand in the way of Hindu-Muslim cooperation.²⁸ The Muslim League extended its hand of cooperation towards the Congress for the formation of coalition governments in the provinces. The Congress turned down this offer of the Muslim League by offering humiliating conditions, which the Muslim League rejected.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a member of the Congress High Command, communicated these terms and conditions to the Muslim League leaders. The Congress Ministries refused to take oath unless and until the Governors ensured that, they would not use their especial powers, which mostly related to protection of minorities. The imposition of Bande Mataram as the National Anthem, the Vidhya Mandir Scheme of education, Hindi as the National language, foisting Congress flag over Government buildings and offices, and discrimination against the Muslims were such acts which manifested the Hindu color of the Congress and its bias against the Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam left no stone unturned to highlight the Congress atrocities against the Muslims and to bring them to the notice of the British

28 Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Quraishi, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1993), 64.

Government and the outside world. The Quaid stressed that Muslims were a force in India that had to be reckoned with. Maulana Abul Kalam was either helpless or remained silent over these atrocities of the Congress over Muslims. In 1939, when the Congress Ministries resigned, the Muslims, all over India, observed a Day of Deliverance at the call of Quaid-i-Azam.

By the dawn of the fourth decade of the 20th century the contradictions between the Muslim Nationalists and Indian Nationalists and the identification of the latter with the Hindu Nationalism had become manifest. The harsh experience of the Congress ministries and the atrocities committed upon the Muslims there-under had made it clear that constitutional safeguards for the Muslims within the framework of united India, dominated by the Hindus, meant nothing for the Muslims. Therefore, they began to think in terms of separation.

They refused to admit that they were a community. They asserted that they were a separate nation. While addressing the annual session of All India Muslim League in 1940 in Lahore, the Quid-i-Azam, explained the separate nationhood of the Muslims as:

(Islam and Hinduism) are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality.... The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different.... derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes, very often, the hero of one is the foe of the other, and likewise their victories and defeats overlap Muslim India cannot accept any constitution, which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raaj.²⁹

29 Hameed, *Islamic Seal on India's Independence*, 337-38.

The same year Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was elected President of the All India National Congress at its Ramgarh session. As opposed to the Quaid's unequivocal statement of Muslim Nationalism in the Muslim League Session, Maulana Azad's address reflected his sentiments of Indian Nationalism. In this address, Maulana Azad said, "Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements." He said that in matters of language, dress and customs Hindus and Muslims had become one. "... revival may be a necessity in religion, but in social matters it is a denial of progress." He said that "Thousand years of joint life has molded us into a common nationality ... we have become an Indian Nation united and indivisible."³⁰

In the above mentioned Lahore session of the Muslim League the famous Lahore Resolution, which later on came to be called Pakistan Resolution, was passed which called for the division of India between Muslims and Hindus. This was not the first time that a scheme for the division of India had been passed. Prior to it several schemes with regard to the partition of India had been put forward by different personalities.³¹ But in 1940 it was for the first time that Muslim League adopted it as its official policy: "Muslim Nationalism had come to full maturity and now demanded a territory of its own."³² This was a turning point in the history of Muslim Nationalism. The Muslims, all over India, began to gather around the Muslim League banner with an unprecedented enthusiasm and vigour which became a source of tremendous strength for their leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

From 1940 to 1946 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was president of the Congress. It was a very critical period in the history of Muslim India. Congress needed him in order to show to the

30 Mushir ul Haq, *Muslim Politic in Modern India 1857-1947* (Lahore: Book Traders), 113.

31 K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan* (Lahore: Islamic Books Service, 1986), 56-60.

32 Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan*, 56.

world that congress was genuinely a nationalist party in which Muslims were so secure that one of their religious scholars was its president. Nevertheless, the Quaid called him “a show boy of the Congress”. The Muslims in the Congress circles objected to these remarks of the Quaid-i-Azam. This was a fact that Maulana Azad was helpless in important matters such as Hindu Muslim question. For instance, in August 1945, he wrote a confidential letter to Mr. Gandhi in which he expressed his concerns over growing communalism and fears in minds of the Muslims of India. He stressed for settlement of Hindu Muslim question. In this respect, he gave some suggestions to Mr. Gandhi which were turned down by Gandhi and Maulana was told to remain silent in this matter.³³ Being Congress President, he was powerless. This was despite the fact that he was Indian Nationalist from the core of his heart and had left no stone unturned in persuading the Muslims of India to join the Congress. Although the Muslim masses did not respond to his calling, a sizeable section of the Ulema of Deoband responded to his claim “That their interests would be safeguarded under a united India and that they should repose full confidence in Indian Nationalism.”³⁴

Maulana Azad represented the Congress in its negotiations with the Cripps’ Mission, in the Simla Conference, and with the Cabinet Mission as well as with the Muslim League. From the Muslim League side Quaid-i-Azam was the chief negotiator and spokesperson with full authority and confidence from his nation and party. The idea, later on, formulated into the Cabinet Mission Plan, had been initiated by Maulana Azad. This Scheme called for a three tier federation and three groups of provinces with a Center having three subjects as system for India. The Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam approved it only in name and made such interpretations of this Plan, which amounted to its rejection. Maulana Azad sincerely wanted this Plan to be

33 M. Farooq Qurashi, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad aur Quom Parast Musalmanoon ki Siyasat* (Lahore: Takhleeqaat, 1997), 253-55.

34 Quraishi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 328.

implemented because only in this way could India remain united. He was powerless before Nehru and Gandhi, the real wielders of power in the Congress. Had this Plan been approved and implemented in its letter and spirit, the unity and integrity of India would have been maintained and the Muslims would have got their rights within the frame work of a united India. But the follies of the Congress leaders did not let it happen. Maulana Azad has himself blamed the Congress leadership for the failure of this Plan.³⁵ The failure of this Plan resulted in the division of India and the creation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947.

In conclusion, we may say that Indian Nationalism and Muslim Nationalism existed side by side and flowed parallel to each other. Indian Nationalism was, for all practical purposes, Hindu communalism. All exponents of Indian Nationalism were virtually communalist and biased Hindus. Whenever any issue with regard to conflict of interests between Muslims and Hindus rose, the Congress leaders openly sided with the Hindus. The Quaid-i-Azam was, in early years of his political career, an ardent supporter of Indian Nationalism. At the same time, he was not oblivious to interest of the Muslims. The passage of time showed him the real nature of the Congress and Indian Nationalism, so, he drifted towards Muslim Nationalism until he became the most ardent Muslim Nationalist. On the other side, Maulana Azad remained Indian Nationalist until last and stuck to his position, regardless of what was the attitude of the Congress and the Hindus towards the Muslims. The Muslim masses were the best judges of the circumstances. They opposed the views and politics of Abul Kalam Azad, despite his erudition and scholarship, whose message did not appeal to them, and supported Western educated Jinnah because his message was wholly in accord with logic and circumstantial evidence. In the end, it was Muslim Nationalism, which succeeded.³⁶

35 H.V. Hudson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 143.

36 Azad, *Khutbaat-e-Abul Kalam Azad*, 164-67.

Jinnah's Team: The Top Ten

Sharif al Mujahid*

ABSTRACT

*Like Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov Lenin (1870-1924), Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) was essentially a party man, as I have argued in *Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (1981), Lenin's personality, says Sidney Hook, "was sustained by and developed within, the party". So was Jinnah; whether he was in the Indian National Congress (f. 1885) or the All India Muslim League (AIML) (f. 1906). Again, like Lenin, Jinnah "was never far from the center of any organization of which he was a member". For him, as with Lenin, politics without the party was inconceivable. For him, all problems were problems of politics. And once he had entered mass politics in 1937, "politics", as Lenin told the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R. C. P. (B) on March 7, 1918, "begin where millions of men and women are; where they are not thousands, but millions, that is where serious politics begin". Indeed, politics was one of Jinnah's two most*

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precious passions; the other being law that had launched him on a lucrative career, providing him with a financial cushion. That, in turn, placed him above the temptation to make a profession out of politics, or to barter away principles readily to reap and mediate political and financial dividends, enabling him to pursue the politics of his choice and conscience.

As noted earlier, Jinnah was at the centre, whether he was in the Congress for some seventeen years (1904-20) or with the Muslim League during the rest of his political career. In addition, during the momentous 1937-47 decade, he had come to be identified as the Party. Still, Jinnah was not the Muslim League even as Lenin was not the Bolshevik Party, or Gandhiji the Indian National Congress.¹ But the Bolshevik Party became “the instrument it did because of Lenin” between April and October 1917, and the Congress became an instrument of mass politics from 1919 onwards and got catapulted as the spokesman of Indian nationalism because of Gandhi.² Likewise, the Muslim League became both the agent and the index of Muslim resurgence during 1937-47 because of Jinnah. The League had existed before Jinnah seriously took up its reorganization in 1936, and the League continued to exist in Pakistan after Jinnah had laid down his office in late 1947. But neither before 1937 nor after 1947, the League was what it became during the intervening years under Jinnah’s sole leadership.³ The League had polled only

1 Crewe to Hardinge, 14 May 1914, Encl., Hardinge Papers, vol. 120, Cambridge University Library.

2 Sarojini Naidu (ed.), Mohamed Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity (Madras: Ganesh, 1917).

3 For details, see Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India (Bombay: Suptd., Govt. Printing, 1958), II: 713-24; for Jinnah’s role, see 719-22. For an account of a participant in the Town Hall protest, see Kanji Dwarkadas, Ruttie Jinnah (Bombay: Bhatkal Books, 1963), 13-14. Willingdon was known to be hostile to Indian aspirations: he was also implicated in the controversy on holding the Congress and League sessions simultaneously, leading to the break-up of the Bombay League in 1915. Willingdon had also publicly insulted the HRL at the War Conference in

4 percent of the popular vote and bagged 24 percent of the Muslim seats in the crucial 1937 provincial elections and within nine years it had become buoyant, vibrant and mobilized to a point that it scored 75 percent of the popular vote and some 86.5 percent of the Muslim seats during the critical 1945-46 elections. That, for sure, indexes the criticality of Jinnah's supreme leadership of the League during that epochal decade. No wonder, he claimed the AIML and himself as the sole authoritative spokesman of Muslim India from 1938 onwards, and he was anointed as the Quaid-i-Azam.⁴

But even the Quaid-i-Azam had to work through a party: he had to create and train a second cadre of effective leadership; he had to engage himself with his lieutenants and collaborators on a routine basis; he had to believe in team work. In the ultimate analysis, therefore, he had to depend on them for working out his strategies, for implementing his plans and programme, for advancing his mission, for carrying his message to the remotest corner of the Subcontinent. "Part of the genius of the Quaid-i-Azam was that ... he attracted into his orbit able and devoted people", says the Aga Khan. "His power was great, yet his greatness was that he used his power to make a team of men, who would carry on the work when he was gone", says Philip John Noel-Baker (1889-), Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (1947-50). *The Times* (London)'s editorial on September 13, 1948 also noted that Jinnah knew "that his work would not last unless he taught his people to be independent of his guidance, and more and more he gave over the responsibilities of the government to the band of able men he had collected and trained. He stood in the

1918. See Source Material II: 863-88, and D. Tahmankar, Lokmanya Tilak (London: John Murray, 1956), 216.

4 Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography (Bombay: Allied Publishers [Private] Ltd., 1962), 67.

background to give the people confidence, and to step in decisively when the hour required it.”⁵

This, however, was not only while Jinnah presided over the destinies of Pakistan but also while he was presiding over the fortunes of the Muslim League. He created various bodies, with trusted and tested leaders as head, to attend to specific tasks, besides reorganizing and the reactivizing the Working Committee, the League Council, the Provincial Leagues. Simultaneously, he devised a viable, hierarchical structure for enduring the AIML with unity of command to carry on the routine organizational work, from the Primary Leagues upwards, and mobilize the masses for the struggle ahead. More important among these bodies were the assembly parties, the Pirpur Committee (1938), the Civil Defence Association (1939), the Committee of Action (1943) and the Central Parliamentary Board (1945), besides the Provincial Parliamentary Boards set up by the Provincial Leagues under his instructions.⁶ All these bodies were made autonomous and boundary bound, empowered to take decisions, and the central bodies’ decisions were final and irrevocable, with no provision for an appeal against them. Jinnah scrupulously kept himself away from these bodies, to give them a session in the self-learning process and to let the second cadre leadership develop the acumen and the political will to resolve their problems and internal differences on their own, without involving him in their political wrangling.⁷ Thus, whenever any leader from any province complained to him about certain irregularities or against factionalism within the Provincial League, or requested for party ticket, either at the centre or in the provinces, he would routinely ask him to address the relevant body dealing with the issue at hand. This he did even when a Provincial

5 Hugh F. Owen, “Negotiating the Lucknow Pact”, *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXI: 3, May 1972, 573-75.

6 Wazir Hasan to Jinnah, 26 February 1913, *Archives of Freedom Movement [hereafter AFM]*, University of Karachi Library, vol. 33, 37.

7 For an assessment of his role, see Owen, “Negotiating the Lucknow Pat”, 562-87.

League President, such as Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan of Bengal, wrote to him in late 1945 about intra-party affairs, groupings and fights, and award of party tickets.⁸

Even as Jinnah was feverishly engaged in putting up the all-India and provincial structures in place, he was picking up, adopting, or creating a second cadre leadership, both at the all India and the provincial levels. The first ones to be picked up were Liaquat, M. A. H. Ispahani, and probably the Raja of Mahmudabad. With the passage of time, however, the process went apace and gathered momentum. Thus, by 1946-47, several hundred “leaders” came to be identified, adopted, won over, picked up, or, as a last resort, “created” and trained.⁹ In the ultimate analysis, it was this devoted band of leaders that bore the burden of the struggle for Pakistan with diligence and dedication and to triumphant success, making it unique among the galaxy of freedom movements.¹⁰ They didn’t just stand and wait, although Milton would celebrate the “services” of bystanders as well. Instead, they struggled and strived and suffered; they wrought for freedom all the way; they paid a toll, heavy and exacting. All that without remorse, without regret, without heed to consequences. Therein lies their glory — a measure

8 Cf. “The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi”, asserted the Chairman, Reception Committee, in his Welcome Address at the Tripura (1939) Congress. *The Indian Annual Register*, January-June 1939 (Calcutta, 1939), 324. “The Congress of today is of his making, and he is essentially of it”, acknowledges Jawaharlal Nehru (*The Unity of India: Collected Writings 1937-39* [London: Lindsay Drummond, 1941], 122). See also Reginald Coupland, *Report on the Constitutional Problem of India* [hereafter Report] (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1944), II: 90.

9 Z. H. Zaidi (ed.), *M. A. Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence* (Karachi: Forward Publication Trust, 1976), 462.

10 For details, see Sharif al Mujahid, “Towards Pakistan”, in Waheed-uz-Zaman & M. Saleem Akhtar, *Islam in South Asia* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1993), 448-50, 492-94. See also Sharif al Mujahid, “Review on Jinnah Papers”, *Pakistan Perspective* (Karachi), vol. II, No. 1, January-June 2006, 180.

of glory that warrants gratitude from generations yet unborn.¹¹

Leaders, of course, they were — in the generic sense of the term. But of varying substance, of varying consequence, and of varying stature. Now, if I were to name, say, some ten leaders who had contributed the most to the growth and success of the Pakistan Movement, who would they be? Some are, of course, quite obvious and easy to name — leaders such as Liaquat Ali Khan, Bahadur Yar Jung, H. S. Suhrawardy, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Nazimuddin, Nishtar, Khuhro, and Qaiyum Khan, who had made the most notable contribution throughout the movement or at a critical stage. The last two names would be that of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawab Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot.¹²

Interestingly, Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana (1919-1995), probably the most dynamic and articulate of the Young Turks in the middle 1940s, had named four of the above leaders who, he thought, stood out from the rest. He considered Liaquat, Nawab Ismail Khan, Nishtar and Suhrawardy as the most eminent, with Jinnah being supreme and most outstanding. (This Daultana did in an interview at his Simla Pahari residence in Lahore, on July 25, 1984.)¹³

Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951)

Jinnah had once called Liaquat his “right hand” man and, by implication, his political heir. It also means that except for

11 See Aysha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

12 Aga Khan, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (London: Cassell Company Ltd., 1954), 321. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim (1889-1968), a Congress minister in the U. P. during 1937-39, told Shahid Ali Khan of Baghpat that in June 1947 Liaquat invited him and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai (1894-1954), a top Congress leader, to work for Pakistan. Liaquat couldn't possibly have made the offer without Jinnah's consent. It was also rumoured that “Jinnah had his eyes set on Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and would not hesitate to have him on board”. Shahid Ali Khan, “Untold Tales of the Raj and the Partition” (Karachi: Ushba Publication, forthcoming).

13 Sharif al Mujahid (ed.), *In quest of Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 34.

Jinnah himself, Liaquat stood foremost in the galaxy of Muslim leadership at that forking moment in history. Jinnah had picked up Liaquat, almost literally, in 1936 when he launched himself upon the AIML's reorganization. And at its Bombay session in April 1936, Jinnah got Liaquat elected as the AIML General Secretary.¹⁴ This office Liaquat held for eleven years, which turned out to be the most critical in Muslim India's history since 1857. He was also the longest serving General Secretary of the AIML, even out-serving the legendary Sir Wazir Hasan (1874-1947).¹⁵ This was, however, only the beginning of his career as an all-India leader. But what is most remarkable was that he enjoyed Jinnah's confidence throughout, despite his resignation from the U. P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board and contesting the provincial elections in early 1937 as an Independent, and, more importantly, despite the adverse ripples caused by the "Deasi-Liaquat Pact" (1945), which, as reported by Sir Yamin Khan (*Nama-i-A'mal*), was negotiated behind Jinnah's back, when he lay sick at Matheran, near Bombay, and which, his rivals thought, would ditch him in Jinnah's eyes.¹⁶ Again, courtesy Jinnah, Liaquat also held some of the highest offices a Muslim could in pre-Partition India. And he did it with singular success and distinction.

In terms of Liaquat's political acumen, three major events stand out.¹⁷ First, at the Meerut Divisional Conference on

14 The Quaid-i-Azam Papers (QAP) are housed at the National Archives of Pakistan (NAP) (Islamabad), the Shamsul Hasan Collection (SHC) at Sindh Archives (Karachi), and the Rizwan Ahmad Collection at Hamdard University (Karachi), Z. H. Zaidi has thus far edited and published fifteen volumes of Jinnah's correspondence from the QAP, for the years 1940-48, the Rizwan Ahmed Collection has been published in three volumes by Ansar Zahid Khan, while Khalid Shamsul Hasan has published one volume each on Sind, Punjab and the AIML Planning Committee (1944-47), based on papers in the SHC.

15 Liaquat to Jinnah, 11 November 1936 and Jinnah to Liaquat, 18 November 1936. F.335, 334.

16 Muhammad Yamin Khan, *Nama-i-A'amal*, Khundnawisht: Yadayn aur Taassurat (Lahore: Aina-i-Adab, 1970), 33-34.

17 Muhammad Reza Kazimi, *Liaquat Ali Khan: His Life and Work* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 116-50. Abul Kalam Azad *India Wins Freedom* (Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1959). I would like to put on record

March 25-26, 1939, he propounded partition as the most rational solution to India's constitutional problem. Coming on the heels of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference's resolution of October 1938, this came as a shot in the arm to the partition proponents, especially since, in a more concrete sense, Liaquat represented Central League's thinking on the issue. Second, in his interview with Sir Stafford Cripps in December 1939, he proposed three options — the provincial option (i.e. each province be given the option to join the Indian federation or not), a loose confederation with a limited centre, and outright partition. Remarkably though, these three options constituted the basics of the three major British proposals during the 1940s — the Cripps Plan (1942), the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) and the Mountbatten Plan (1947). On both these occasions, Liaquat's ideas and proposals were meant to be trial balloons, if only to test the mood and reaction of the respondents, without, however, committing Jinnah and the AIML to them officially.¹⁸

Third, in his talks with Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, in 1944, he proposed parity between Congress and the League in any future set-up at the Centre and got it incorporated as the core point in the Desai-Liaquat formula. This was the first time this cardinal principle which the League had long demanded in any coalitional set-up, but was stoutly rejected, had been finally conceded by the Congress at any level.¹⁹ In perspective, this represented a big step forward towards the AIML's recognition as Muslim India's most authoritative

that while discussing the "Pact" in my *Jinnah* I had wholly depended on (misled by) the published sources such as Yamin Khan, V. P. Memon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Calcutta: Orient Longman's, 1957), Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase* (Karachi: Pakistan Publishing House, 1960) and newspaper reports and commentaries, available in the early 1970s, but after Kazimi I stand corrected. See Mujahid, *Jinnah*, 403-04.

- 18 Even top leaders such as Sir Sikander Hayat Khan (1892-1942), the Punjab Premier, and Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan sent messages to Jinnah through Liaquat, instead of writing direct to him.
- 19 Liaquat to Jinnah, 11 December 1939, QAP, F.335. See also R. J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps and India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979),

spokesman. And in immediate terms, once lifted beyond the pale of controversy, this key provision became the basis for the quota of seats for Hindus and Muslims/Congress and the League in the subsequent Wavell (1945) and Interim Government (1946) proposals. Thus, Liaquat's contribution assumes a milestone status in getting the principle of parity accepted.²⁰

Despite a plethora of studies, including Muhammad Raza Kazimi's, Liaquat does still warrant a methodically researched, in-depth, analytical study on his life, political career and accomplishments.²¹

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung (1905-1944)

During the early 1940s, Bahadur Yar Jung's pre-eminence in Muslim politics was underscored by the monumental fact that he was the only person in the galaxy of AIML's second cadre leadership to have been bestowed with a title at the popular level — that of Quaid-i-Millat. (Later, it came to be associated with Liaquat in Pakistan after his assassination, and with M. Mohammad Ismail [d. early 1970s], President of the Indian Union Muslim League, in India.)²²

By the late 1930s, Bahadur Yar Jung had caught the eye of Jinnah, then feverishly and frenetically engaged in the Herculean task of effecting unity among disparate Muslim ranks, organizing them on the Muslim League platform and mobilizing them for political action at the grass-root level; and evolving a uniform all-India policy for the entire Muslim India — both in pursuit of making the claim of a pan-Indian Muslim constituency and a 'third force' a *fait accompli*.²³ In view of Jinnah's inability to speak in Urdu to concourses of vast crowds, he needed a leader of impeccable integrity and

20 Choudhary Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), 84.

21 Kazimi, *Liaquat Ali Khan: His Life and Work*, 116-50.

22 Penderel Moon (ed.), *Wavell: The Viceroy's Journal* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974), 429.

23 Roger D. Long, 'Dear Mr Jinnah': *Selected Correspondence and Speeches of Liaquat Ali Khan, 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 284.

outstanding ability — one, who could carry the Muslim League message to the semi-literate masses in the language they spoke and understood. His choice inevitably fell on Bahadur Yar Jung, who subsequently came to be hailed as *Lisan-ul-Ummat*. Those of us who have heard him speak would readily testify how appropriate the choice was.²⁴

Although Bahadur Yar Jung was a State subject — that of Hyderabad (Deccan) — and as such had no *locus standi* in the AIML deliberations (which were concerned with British India alone), yet he was always there on hand at the League sessions to explain the AIML's viewpoint and, since 1940, to elucidate the Pakistan demand. Indeed, his was the voice that had persuaded millions to swell the League's ranks. He went on extensive speaking tours during most of the by-elections to Muslim constituencies between 1938 and 1944; he was also the architect of the League's victories in N.W.F.P. in 1943.²⁵

In 1939, Bahadur Yar Jung founded the All India States' Muslim League, as the League's counter to the All India States Congress. This was decisively his greatest contribution, since its founding associated for the first time the Indian states' Muslims with the politics and policies of Muslim India and the Muslim League. That apart, the States' Muslim League sought to advance the cause of the State Muslims in various spheres, including their language and culture, besides politics. From 1940 onwards, its sessions came to be held along with those of the AIML.

By all standards, Bahadur Yar Jung was a spell-binding orator. His sheer presence and exuberant rhetoric could, *a la Mark Antony*, goad vast concourses of people to follow his

24 A. M. Zaidi and S. G. Zaidi (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Indian National Congress*, volume thirteen: 1946-1950; *India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1981), 125-41.

25 See Patel to Kanji Dwarkadas, 4 March 1947, in Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi – The Last Phase* (Ahmedabad: Naujwan Press, 1958), II: 83.

line, all the way.²⁶ Thus, at the Allahabad League session (1942), when he appealed for funds, no less than Rs. 125,000 were contributed on the spot. At the next League session at Delhi (1943), he spoke till 4 a.m. and on his appeal, the large contingent of women in the audience gave away all the jewelry they were embedded with at the moment. It amounted to some ten lakhs of rupees. Jinnah was, of course, joyously overwhelmed, but felt that, in fairness, the jewelry should be returned to their owners. But the problem was: how? And no one knew which one belonged to whom. In Lahore (1940), Bahadur Yar Jung alone could have pacified the enraged Khaksars, who were obviously in an extremely agitated mood, to keep peace during the impending League session. His premature death on June 25, 1944 denuded the AIML of its most persuasive speaker. No wonder, his absence was widely felt during the 1945-46 elections.

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1893-1963)

Suhrawardy was the most outstanding leader Muslim Bengal had produced during the 1940s. Early in the 1930s, he had incrementally built up his mass popularity and leadership clout at the grass-root level, and this as Secretary, Calcutta Khilafat Committee. In 1936, he became Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and tasked himself with mobilizing public opinion in support of the Muslim League. He had seconded the Lahore resolution in 1940 and was upgraded to move the main resolution at the League Legislators' Convention at Delhi in April 1946. This AIML's choice that critical resolution, amending the Lahore resolution, be presented by him catapulted Suhrawardy to the top echelons of the League High Command. This was made possible by the monumental fact that during the critical 1945-46 general elections, he had mobilized the Muslim masses to a point that the League bagged 113 out of 119

26 His last address at a League session was at Karachi on 26-27 Dec. 1943. See the Urdu text in Sharif al Mujahid, *Ideological Foundations of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Shariah Academy, International Islamic University, 1999), 240-48

Muslim seats. Indeed, the highest score the League could muster up in any Muslim majority province. This massive victory enabled Suhrawardy to give the League its only stable ministry in 1946. The other League ministry in Sindh was rather shaky and unstable, host to some floor-crossing, shifty notables at the instance of the intriguing to — G. M. Syed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi.

By all standards, Suhrawardy was a brilliant orator and a dynamic leader. He alone could undo the continuing Congress onslaught during 1946-47; he alone could adroitly stand up to the post-Great Calcutta Killing (August 16-18, 1946) challenges; above all, he alone could successfully outmanoeuvre the resourceful and resolute League opponents all the time — to keep the League ministry afloat and the League banner aloft. Thus exceedingly substantial and significant was his contribution towards the success of the Pakistan Moment.

Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani (1885-1949)

The most eminent *alim* [Urdu: Religious Scholar] who had helped to galvanize the Muslim voters during the 1945-46 elections, the Allama was long associated with Deoband, as student, teacher and Principal. But he parted company with his life-long colleagues (such as Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani and Maulana Ahmad Saeed) in 1945, on the issue of Two-Nation Theory and of Pakistan. Subsequently, he founded the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam at Calcutta in October 1945, in opposition to the Congress-oriented Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. During the next few months he helped to organize Ulema Conferences at Meerut (December 1945), Lahore (January 1946), and Bombay (March 1946), to inspire and activate the religious groups across the Subcontinent, and to mobilize the *ulema* and *mashaiqs* in Pakistan's favour, as never before. He addressed a large number of meetings during the elections and during the Frontier Referendum in July 1947. Above all, his most outstanding contribution was not only to offset the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind's pervasive negative influence at the grass-

root level, but, more important, to lend the direly needed theological weight in Pakistan's favour at that critical hour. And, for sure, this was extremely critical for the semiliterate Muslim masses who were hostage to the Congressite *ulema* and the Ahrars till then.²⁷

Khawaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964)

A scion of the Dacca Nawab family, Nazimuddin was long associated with the Dacca University. He was also a member of the Bengal Legislative Council (1923-37) and of the Executive Council (1934) and the founder of the United Muslim Party (1936), which later merged with the Bengal Muslim League. By instinct, he had always avoided the limelight, but he was able to retain Jinnah's confidence till the last. He was a member of the AIML Working Committee for ten years (1937-47) and of the Bengal Legislative Assembly for eight years (1937-45).²⁸ He was Education Minister, Bengal (1929-34), Home Minister (1937-41), and Leader of the Opposition (1941-43) before he became Premier of (United) Bengal (1943-45). He believed in working behind the scene, and in putting his career and ambitions aside when it came to advancing national interest. Thus when the Bengal League faced a split between Suhrawardy and himself before the elections in 1945, he voluntarily withdrew without much ado, and left the entire field to Suhrawardy, so that the Provincial Parliamentary Board could cobble together an agreed panel of candidates to contest the elections.²⁹ Had Nazimuddin not gone in for this self-effacing posture, the Bengal League would have surely faced the same fate which the Sind League did after

27 The literature on Usmani is all in Urdu. However, an English rendering of his speech on the Objectives Resolution on 09 March 1945 is available in *ibid.*, 137-46.

28 Abdur Rahman Siddiqi to Liaquat, SHC, Bengal, I: 68-71; AFM/042, Bengal PML (1945).

29 Ispahani to Jinnah, 12 Nov. 1945, Zaidi, Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 468; Khwaja Ahmed to Jinnah, 09 Dec. 1945, SHC, Bengal I: 73. Numerous complaints were lodged against Suhrawady's alleged nomination of his favourites, see SHC, Bengal I: 116, II: 1-19.

the G.M. Syed's revolt in December 1945, for having struck down some of his favourites for the official League seats. Thus, the League, with less than fifty percent of the seats in the Bengal Assembly, could still set up a stable ministry in Bengal, while it could not happen in Sindh because of Syed's overweening ambitions. Nazimuddin was called upon to make yet another sacrifice within a year. In his place in the League quota in the Interim Government, Jogandernath Mandal was nominated as the League's nominee, if only to get even with the Congress on the Nationalist Muslims' representation and nomination issue. But, fortuitously, Nazimuddin's notable contributions did not go unacknowledged. He was voted Premier, East Bengal, in 1947; subsequently he became Governor-General (1948-51) and, still later, Prime Minister of Pakistan (1951-53).

Sirdar Abdur Rab Nishtar (1899-1958)

Nishtar was in politics since the Khilafat days (1920-22), but it was only during the middle 1940s that he became an all India figure. He was a member of the AIML Council (1936), the AIML Working Committee (1944-47), and of the Committee of Action (1946). Above all, he was one of the four League representatives at the (second) Simla (tripartite) Conference in 1946, and the leaders' conference with the Viceroy on June 3, 1947. His was a life of unremitting service to his people and his country, and he cared little for any office. However, his inclusion in the Interim Government (October 1946's) League quota represented a recognition of his contribution.³⁰

30 Two versions have come to the author's notice that give Nishtar a prominent role in the Central set up after Liaquat's assassination in October 1951. They are by Fazlur Rahman (1905-66), Central Education Minister and a Nazimuddin confidante, and Nawab Siddique Ali Khan (1900-74), Political Secretary to Liaquat. The Cabinet Committee, meeting immediately after Liaquat's death, proposed Nishtar as Governor-General, according to Rahman, while, according to Nawab sahib, he was offered the Prime Minister's slot. However, due to the maneuverings of Malik Ghulam Mohammad (1895-1956) and Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (1905-81), joined in by Khwaja Shahabuddin (1895-1977), Nazimuddin's brother, it was finally decided that given the dynamics of the nascent Punjab-Bengal

Mohammad Ayub Khuhro (1901-1980)

Of all the leaders of Sindh, Khuhro made a significant contribution in strengthening the Muslim League after Abdullah Haroon's death on April 27, 1942, and the most critical contribution in salvaging the League, fortunes and keeping it afloat after G. M. Syed's dastardly "stab in the back" in December 1945.³¹ But for Khuhro and, possibly, Abul Hashim Gazdar, the League wouldn't have been able to confront headlong counter successfully the Syed Group's furious onslaught in the February 1946 provincial elections, nor would have come out triumphant in the December 1946 re-elections.³² Along with some of his colleagues, Khuhro

tussle, any arrangement denying Punjab one of the two key offices, would be unacceptable to Pakistan's most developed province. Hence Ghulam Mohammad was catapulted as Governor-General. At that time, Ghulam Mohammad was staying at A. M. Malik's residence at Rawalpindi before retirement from the cabinet, and Shahabuddin had been named as ambassador to Egypt, while Nishtar had been nominated to head Finance and as Deputy Prime Minister, headquartered at Rawalpindi. The two most prominent beneficiaries of Liaquat's assassination and the new set up were Ghulam Mohammad and Shahbuddin, the principal "manipulators" at this juncture. Interviews with Fazlur Rahman, Karachi, January 1961, 'and with Jamil Nishtar, Nishtar's son, Karachi, 1974; and Nawab Siddique Ali K, "Qatil ki do golian nay Pakistan ki siyasat ke rukh badal diya", Nazria Pakistan (Lahore), October 2001, 6-10. As with most Pakistani Independence leaders, Nishtar also awaits a competent biographer, although his papers have long been available at the AFM (Karachi). For the now, however, the only work available in English is Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: A Political Biography (Lahore: Qadiria Books, 1958)

- 31 Liaquat's statement, 28 Dec. 1945, AFM/FB, Elections 1945-46: Sind. See also Sind Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1945, para 1605 (29 Dec. 1945), S. 433, National Documentation Centre (Islamabad).
- 32 See Khuhro to Jinnah, 5 Jan. 1945, QAP, F-365: 109-110. See also Khuhro to Jinnah, 26 Dec. 1945 and 04 Jan. 1946, SHC, Sind VII: 27 and QAP, F. 365:109-10; Haroon to Liaquat, 23 April 1946, AFM/386. Sind PML, IX, (1946-47). Earlier, Sayed had been accused of not rendering the 'accounts... publicly', after having collected 'several thousands of rupees... in League's name' and of maintaining the accounts 'in an objectionable manner' (Mir Ghulamali Talpur to Sayed, 17 Aug. 1945, AFM/FB, Elections 1945-46: Sind). Also, Sayed sat on the AIML's request to remit Rs. 11,000 on account of the gate receipts (by the sale of visitors' tickets) at the Karachi League session (1943) he had pledged earlier as President PML, despite several reminders. Finally, during his visit to Karachi in Oct. 1945, Jinnah could extract only Rs. 5,000. Sayed's Note (countersigned by

saw to it that Pakistan was not buried in Sind, as R.K. Sidwa, the Sind Congress stalwart, had predicted, prognosticated or promised, in a letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Iron Man of the Congress.³³ Governor Mudie considered Khuhro the most intelligent and the most able among his council of ministers. As against Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Syed and Shaikh Abdul Majid, Khuhro, despite “conspiracies”, was more consistent, standing stolidly with the AIML during the epochal 1937-47 decade. In tacit acknowledgement of his services and contribution, Jinnah accepted to be his house-guest in 1946. Hamida Khuhro’s well-researched and competent biography of her father, *Mohammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics* (1998) — albeit the bias a daughter’s account inevitably suffers from — yet superbly delineates in some detail the quantum of Khuhro’s services and the style of his leadership.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (1901-1980)

Qaiyum Khan, who was the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, joined the Muslim League in the wake of the announcement of the general elections, on September 1, 1945. A mass leader in the true sense of the term, he was considered a “war horse” by Iskandar Mirza, in one of his letters to Liaquat, on September 5, 1945.³⁴ No wonder, Qaiyum Khan helped, substantially and significantly, to accelerate the tempo of the burgeoning League movement in the Frontier since the late 1945, and keep the Congress at bay all through the critical 1946-47 period, although a Congress ministry under Dr.

Haroon, General Secretary, PML), dated 22 Dec. 1943; Liaquat to Sayed, 26 March 1944; Haroon to Sayed, 08 Nov. and 13 Dec. 1944; K. H. Khurshid to Shamsul Hasan, 18 Oct. 1945, AFM/258, Annual session at Karachi, III (1943-45).

33 Patel, on his part, felt that “With the consolidation of our forces, the question of defeating the League will be much easier”. Sidwa to Patel, 4 January 1946 and Patel to Sidwa, 08 Jan. 1946, Durga Das (ed.), *Sardar Patel’s Correspondence* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1972), II: 318-19.

34 Iskander Mirza to Liaquat, 03 Sept. 1945, AFM/FB, Elections 1945-46: NWFP.

Khan Sahib was entrenched in power in Peshawar. Above all, he conceived and successfully led the Civil Disobedience Movement for over three months, beginning February 20, 1947. The movement, which saw some 14,000 people gaoled, mobilized the Pathans in Pakistan's favour, as nothing else had done before.³⁵ Imagine the usually timid and traditionally home-bound Pakhtoon women picking up courage to a point that they organized public processions and demonstrations in defiance of Section 144; faced teargas, lathi charges, beatings, and even gunfire; scaled ladders and climbed up buildings to hoist the League flag at various public places, at their Lahore compatriots four-weeks' long agitation for civil liberties the previous January and February; and resorting to picketing on April 3, 1947, with some 1,500 participants. This snowballing mobilization process helped significantly and substantially in swinging the Pathan vote in Pakistan's favour in the all too critical June-July 1947 Referendum. Although continuously assisted by League leaders from other provinces and the Pir of Manki Sharif, yet Qaiyum Khan was the real hero of the July 1947 Frontier Referendum.

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (1886-1958)

The leading U.P. leader surpassing even Chaudhary Khaliqzaman, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan played the most pivotal role in keeping the League Assembly members intact within the AIML fold in the July 1937 crisis. On that occasion, the move for the League's merger with the Congress had gained momentum to a point that it despaired Jinnah beyond repair. Khaliqzaman, despite what he says in his *Pathway to Pakistan* (1959), was ambivalent, running with the hare and hunting with the hound — keeping Jinnah in the dark all the time.³⁶ The Nawab sahib's support to

35 The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 16 April 1947.

36 On Khaliqzaman's flirtations with the Congress, see Uma Kaura, *Muslims and Indian Nationalism: The Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition 1928-40* (Columbia: South Asia Books, 1977), 113-16. Syed Muhammad Husain (20 April 1937) and Sir Mahomed Yakub severely criticized Khaliqzaman for throwing overboard the League's policy of consolidating

Jinnah at this juncture was critical in meeting the Congress challenge, and giving new strength and dimension to the Provincial League — and to the AIML at the all-India level as well. Had the League in the U. P. wound up, as Pandit Nehru had hoped in his letters to Vallabhbhai Pant and Maulana Azad,³⁷ the AIML couldn't have stayed in harness as an all-India organization either — to challenge the Congress's claim to solely represent the entire Subcontinent, including the Muslims. Nawab Ismail Khan's services were always recognized and he was considered an all India leader of impeccable integrity. That's why he was nominated as Chairman of the AIML Civil Defence Association (1939) and the Committee of Action (1943). When the names of the League nominees in the Interim Government were announced on October 25, 1946, Daulatana told me, he, then 27, and Begum Almas Daulatana, then 24, called on Jinnah post haste at Hotel Cecil, in Simla, and protested at scuttling Nawab sahib and Nazimuddin from the League's quota. At which Jinnah patiently delineated the criteria for his choice. He had to take Liaquat because he was the AIML's General Secretary and the Deputy Leader of the League Assembly Party at the Centre, one leader each from the Frontier, and the Punjab, one from Bombay to represent business and industry, and, finally, Mandal from Bengal to counter the Congress's nomination of Nationalist Muslims.

the Muslims, and for deciding upon participation in the All India Convention of Congress Legislators (19 March 1937). Jinnah, alarmed at keeping him "entirely in the dark", issued a statement on 26 April, saying, "I am sure that the Muslims of the United Provinces will not betray the Mussalmans of India... I only trust he [Khaliqzaman] will not enter into any commitments which may be repudiated not only by the Muslims of his province but [also] by the Muslims of India. This method of dealing with individuals or groups can only result in isolating and dividing the Muslims, group by group or province by province, and destroying the united front." (*Star of India* [Calcutta], 22 April 1937, 7; 3 May 1937, 5; 27 April 1937, 5). Khaliqzaman approached Nawab Ismail Khan with the offer of a ministership, but he refused to violate the party's mandate. Interview with Mr. I. A. Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan's son, Karachi, Dec. 1981. See also Haig to Linlithgow, 23 April 1937, Haig Collection, Mss Eur f. 115/ Vol. 17A.

37 See Nehru to Prasad, 21 July 1937, S. Gopal (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1976), 8: 169.

He couldn't take Nawab Ismail Khan because he had already taken Liaquat from the U.P., and he had opted for Ghazanfar Ali Khan because he combined in himself two constituencies — those of the Punjab and the Shiahhs.³⁸ This means that the Nawab sahib's nomination had been passed over because of the limited number of seats at the League's disposal. However, the Daultana did not know, nor had Jinnah told them, that the Nawab sahib had sent a letter to Liaquat two or three days earlier, asking him to inform Jinnah that he was not available for nomination. (Nawab sahib's refusal, I feel, was a direct sequel to an incident in which Nehru was the critical variable, but this doesn't come within the purview of the present paper.)

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot (1906-69)

Mamdot was the President of the Punjab Muslim League and Leader of the League Assembly Party (1946-47). When the AIML asked its members to return British titles, as a sequel to the Direct Action Resolution at Bombay on July 29, 1946, Mamdot not only renounced his title but also his huge jagir, worth Rs. 125,000 per annum. A silent, but sincere worker, he was all the time engaged in keeping the fractious Punjab team intact and within manageable limits of factionalism. Remember, his team included volatile young Turks like Daultana, Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mian Iftikharuddin, former bureaucrats like Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Begum Shah Nawaz, and Leftists like Danial Latifi, who along with Daultana authored the Punjab league Manifesto (1945), which in turn provided the direly needed progressive streak to the Provincial League. Under his leadership, the Punjab team, despite tremendous odds with the entire bureaucracy arrayed against the League, worked exceedingly hard to get a favourable verdict at the provincial polls in March 1946, favourable to a point that only four Muslim members remained outside the League fold in the Punjab Assembly. Mamdot had also successfully led the Civil Disobedience Movement which toppled the Khizar

38 Interview with Daultana, Lahore, 25 July 1984.

government in February 1947. Above all, he also enjoyed Jinnah's confidence to an extent that he uncharacteristically supported his candidature as against Malik Feroz Khan Noon for the leadership of the West Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party at the time of partition. This was probably one of the three uncharacteristic moves in Jinnah's political career during the 1940s, the other two being his opposition to the award of a League ticket to Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, which proved disastrous to the League's fortunes in the Frontier, and his support to Noon's claim to a League ticket in the Punjab.

There are, however, some other leaders who are sure to find a mention in the story of the Pakistan Movement, but could not be accommodated in this macro list of stellar-role leaders. Sir Abdullah Haroon (1872-1942), for one, was surely an early claimant to a top echelon seat, his having played a pioneering role in the enunciation of the two-nation theory and the popularization of the Pakistan idea during 1938-42. The Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference, which he organized in October 1938, was the precursor to the Lahore session, and the Karachi resolution (1938), which he inspired and crafted, paved the way for the Lahore resolution (1940). Tragically though, he died rather early, in April 1942, and the movement was denied the full impact of his creative ideas and leadership.

Qazi Mohammad Isa (1914-76)

Qazi Mohammad Isa (1914-76) from Quetta, was a confidante of Jinnah and did yeoman service to the Muslim League and the nation. He founded the Baluchistan Muslim League in 1939, extended its influence and popularized its message and mission. Much of his work and contribution, however, lay outside his native province. Often enough, he served as a trouble shooter for Jinnah and the League, and because he was not involved directly with the politics of the various British Indian provinces, he came in handy to be nominated on various committees inquiring into the grievances of one faction against the other (such as in Sindh

in early 1945), for adjudicating the claims of the various candidates in the 1946 provincial elections, and for organizing the League in the Frontier in 1943 and preparing it for a series of by elections. Indeed, he was the architect of the League victories in four by-elections in that year, and in the permutation of various factors that chiefly paved the way for the installation of a League ministry in the NWFP, a singular achievement since that was the only time the League had come to power in that Congress stronghold during the 1937-47 decade. His pivotal role in the Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality vote in Pakistan's favour on June 29, 1947 needs to be researched and documented.

Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad (1914-73)

From 1937, when Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad (1914-73) chaired the Reception Committee at the Lucknow League, he was ascendant in the League politics. He was nominated President of the All India Muslim Students' Federation in 1938, and he deputized for Jinnah in the ceremonial procession and at the Flag hoisting ceremony at Madras on April 11, 1941 and, later, as President of the Provincial Conference at Hubli. It looked as if he was being groomed as a successor to Jinnah, but after 1942 his role became rather minimal and marginal — due, in part, to the debilitating influence of his younger brother, the Maharaj Kumar, and his sectarian politics. At the Madras (1941) League session on April 15, 1941, Bahadur Yar Jung divulged that the Raja Sahib used to routinely bail out the League financially with his generous donations, and *in quest of Jinnah* (2007) reports that he gave Rs. 10,000 and a car during the Jhansi by-elections in July 1937. It also reports Jinnah having invited some 400 guests for a reception in his honour at Bombay. Beyond 1942, however, Mahmudabad figures only twice: (i) for having footed, in part, the hotel bills of the Working Committee members staying at Hotel Cecil, Simla, during the first Simla Conference in July 1945; since the League refused government hospitality in protest against the Viceroy's statement on the Simla break down, blaming the AIML, albeit indirectly, for its insistence on nominating

the full quota of Muslims seats; and (ii) for contesting and winning a seat in the Central Assembly that fall. Despite this, however, whatever be the reason, he continued to be the ideal of Muslim youth, not only during the Pakistan Movement, but long after.

Chaudhary Khaliqzaman (1889-1973)

Chaudhary was in politics since the Khilafat days, without intermittent links with a host of disparate groups on the political spectrum; he was politically astute and exceedingly articulate; above all, he had an in-born flair for politics. His association with the League was especially crucial in the late 1930s when the AIML and Jinnah had taken to the path of confrontation with the Congress, and the U. P., which both Coupland and Robinson rate as the “key” province of Indian politics, became, by chance or otherwise, the launching pad for that marathon stand off, with no holds barred. An all-India leader in his own right since the Nehru Report (1928) which he inexplicably supported, his politics remained roller-coastered till he got firmly and finally entrenched as the Leader of the League Assembly party after the summer crisis.

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan (1900-1974)

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan (1900-1974) was, like Mamdot, a sincere but silent worker — soft-spoken, unassuming and never an aspirant to power and pelf. His misfortune was that he was somehow ousted from his native province (C.P.) by Syed Rauf Shah, the provincial President. He was, however, accommodated as the *Salar-i-Ala* [Urdu: Supreme Commander] of the Muslim League National Guards (MLNG), and all through the 1937-47 decade the MLNG did make significant contributions to the success of the League sessions, conferences, moots and political rallies.

Abdul Hashim

The unpredictable but extremely proactive Leftist General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League during the middle 1940s, played a pivotal role in mobilizing the masses

in Pakistan's favour to a point that they registered a massive verdict in the 1946 provincial polls. Bold, dynamic, and articulate, he had firm roots among the poor masses. And his extensive rural constituency across vast swaths of territory in eastern Bengal paid off huge dividends at the hustings.

In sum, these were the leading lights, besides the incomparable Jinnah, to whom the Pakistanis owe their freedom, and all that they possess today. And all that generations yet unborn will be heir to.

Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar

Nisar Abbas*

Do not send me back to a colonized state, for I want to go back and live in an independent country. (Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar [1930].)

ABSTRACT

Mohammad Ali was born in Rampur state in 1878 to a family of Rohilla Pashtun ancestry. He was the brother of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Despite the early death of his father, he was educated at Aligarh and Oxford Universities. The poet and journalist who also served in the Education Department of Rampur state, which was also his birthplace. He remained faithful to the All-India Muslim League, which he helped found, and was particularly active between 1906 to 1928. He became president of the party in 1918.

Upon his return to India, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar served as education director for the Rampur state, and later joined the Baroda civil service. He became a brilliant writer and orator, and wrote for major English and Indian newspapers, in both English and Urdu. He himself launched the Urdu weekly *Hamdard* and English *Comrade* in 1911. He

* Bureau Chief, GEO, Northern Areas, Sakardu.

moved to Delhi in 1913. Mohammad Ali had attended the founding meeting of the All India Muslim League in Dhaka in 1906, and served as its president in 1918. He remained active in the League till 1928.

Mohammad Ali worked hard to expand the AMU, then known as the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, and was one of the co-founders of the Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920, which was later moved to Delhi.

Islamic scholar Mohammad Ali Jouhar was a dynamic leader second only to Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He is best known for his leadership of the Khilafat Movement; in whose capacity he was influential even among non-Muslims like Mohandas Gandhi.

As a journalist, he established the English weekly *Comrade* from Calcutta in 1911, and the Urdu weekly *Hamdard* in 1913 from Delhi. He had also been published in English newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Observer*.

Like other stalwarts of the Pakistan Movement, his concern for Muslim issues was prominent in his activism. What sets him apart from the other leaders of the movement though, is his active support for causes outside the Subcontinent. Prominent among these was his championing of the cause of the Islamic Khilafat, which collapsed in 1924. He was jailed between 1911 and 1915 for his support of this cause. In 1915, he became the main leader of the Khilafat Movement and led a delegation of Indian Muslims to London for this cause in 1920.

It is important to note that the Khilafat Movement was not just focused on the Islamic world and the preservation of the Ottoman Caliphate. Another aspect of it promoted the freedom of all colonized people and nations. This aspect of the movement gained support from non-Muslim leaders as well, including India's Mohandas Gandhi. Maulana Mohammad Ali was, however, disillusioned by the failure of

the Khilafat Movement and Gandhi's suspension of Civil Disobedience in 1922, owing to the Chaura Chouri incident.

A former member of the Indian National Congress, he left the party in 1928. Mohammad Ali opposed the Nehru Report's rejection of separate electorates for Muslims, and supported the Fourteen Points of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the League. He became a critic of Gandhi, breaking with fellow Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, who continued to support Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.

Ali attended the Round Table Conference to show that only the Muslim League spoke for India's Muslims. He died soon after the conference in London, on January 4, 1931 and was buried in Jerusalem as per his wish.

Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar is remembered as a fiery leader of many of India's Muslims. He is remembered for his leadership during Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation Movement (1919-1922) and his leadership in Muslim education. The famous Mohammad Ali Road in the South Mumbai, India's largest city, is named after him. The Gulistan-e-Jouhar neighbourhood of Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, is named in honour of Maulana Mohammad Ali Jouhar. Jouhar Town, Lahore is also named after him.

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan

Prof. Munawwar Ali Khan*

ABSTRACT

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan belonged to Meerut, which has the unique distinction of starting the Great Revolt of 1857 on the May 10, which is popularly known as the War of Independence. Nawab Ismail Khan was the scion of a family of Nawabs, the head of the family being Nawab Murtaza Khan Bangash.¹ Nawab Ismail Khan was his great grandson. Nawab Murtaza Khan was a politically influential person who was granted the jagir of Palwal in the District of Gurgawan, East Punjab by Lord Lake for his meritorious services, while the jagir of Jahangirabad, District Bulandshahr was purchased by him in 1813.² His son Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta however fell from the favour of the British as he was accused of

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- * Former Chairman, Department of History, Islamia University Bahawalpur.
- 1 Kabir Ahmed Jaisi, "Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Namwaran-i-Aligarh", *Fikro-o-Nazar* (Aligarh: Muslim University Aligarh, 1985), 218; Bangash is the name of a tribe and that of the territory in the vicinity of Sulaiman mountain on the Pak-Afghan border. Like Nawab Murtaza Khan Bangash there were other Nawabs with this appellation as Muhammad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad.
- 2 Jaisi, "Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Namwaran-i-Aligarh", 208.

joining the struggle for freedom in 1857. He was sent to jail and was also deprived of his jagir. When the revolt was crushed and the British established their rule on sound footings, amnesty was announced. As a result of amnesty Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta was also pardoned and he was reinstated in his Jagir.³

Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta was well-known for his poetic genius and literary excellence. His poetic name in Urdu verse was Shaifta while he composed Persian verse under the poetic name of Hasrati. He was the contemporary of Mirza Ghalib who was highly impressed by his literary talent which is gleaned through some of his verses in Persian in which he endorses the poetic caliber of Shaifta: -

غالب بہ فن گفتگو نازد بدین ارزش کہ او
 نوشت در دیوان غزل تا مصطفیٰ خاں خوش نکرد
 غالب ز حسرتی چه سرایم کہ در غزل
 چو او تلاش معنی و مضمون نکردہ کس⁴

Nawab Mustafa Khan's son and Nawab Ismail Khan's father was Nawab Ishaq Khan. He was employed in provincial judicial service. He served in various capacities as additional Magistrate and Collector, Vazir in Rampur state and finally as District and Sessions Judge. He got premature retirement in 1913 to serve a national cause. His services were required at Aligarh where he was elected as Secretary M.A.O. College in meeting of the Trustees. He replaced Nawab Vaqarul Mulk who, on account of his old age, had expressed his inability to continue as secretary and recommended the name of Nawab Ishaq Khan who sacrificed his government service and its emoluments for the

3 Jaisi, "Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan, Namwaran-i-Aligarh".

4 Ram Babu Saksena, *Tarikh-i-Adab-i-Urdu* translated from English by Muhammad Askari (Karachi: Majlis-e-Taraqqi-Adab, 1993), 274.

sake of Aligarh.⁵ The job of the Secretary M.A.O College was quite different from that of the Sessions Judge. As Secretary, while he was held in high esteem and earned public approbation for his hard work and honesty, he also faced criticism from some quarters. It was surprising that Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar who had intimate relations with him grew hostile towards him on a religio-political issue of extending help to the cause of the Turks in the Balqan Wars. Nawab Ishaq Khan did not agree with his demand to send to the Turks the funds that were collected for raising M.A.O. College to the status of a University, hence both of them fell apart.⁶ Although Nawab Ishaq Khan was re-elected for the second term, his continuous failing health caused his death on October 28, 1918. He had built a palatial residence at Meerut after the name of his father, which was known as Mustafa Castle.⁷

Nawab Ismail Khan was the eldest son of Nawab Ishaq Khan. He was born in 1884. At the School level he was educated at Aligarh. Then he was sent to England and he graduated from Cambridge. He did his Bar-at-Law from Inner Temple.⁸ He returned to India and started practice at Meerut. Being the eldest son of his father, he had to look after his jagir, which was a whole time job; hence he could not continue his legal practice. However, he took active interest in the political affairs of his country. Like many others including Quaid-i-Azam, he also started his political career as member of the Indian National Congress. Contrary to his father's attitude, as already stated, he took active part in the Khilafat Movement. Simultaneously, he evinced keen interest in all such movement, which aimed at securing the

5 S.K. Bhatna Gar, *History of M.A.O. College* (Bombay: Asia Pub. House, 1969), 258-59.

6 Gar, *History of M.A.O. College*, 261-265; *Aligarh Magazine*, Aligarh Number, Shakhshiyat-o-Jaizai, (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1955): 34.

7 Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Mushahidat-o-Tasavvurat* [Urdu: Observations and Thoughts] (Aligarh: Female Association Aligarh, 1962), 319.

8 Zafrul Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", *Namwaran-i-Aligarh*, 309.

right of self-determination for the people of India. Consequently, he actively participated in the activities of the Home Rule League of Mrs. Annie Besant in 1917, which was working for self-rule in India.⁹ Nawab Ismail Khan proved to be an impassioned worker and put his heart and soul in such movements. In 1919 when the Rowlatt Act came into operation to crush the civil liberties of the people of India, loud and turbulent protests were made throughout the country. Nawab Ismail Khan zealously organized and led such protests in Meerut and provoked popular resentment against it.¹⁰ His role in the Khilafat Movement too was not confined to an ordinary worker. He was not only appointed as a member of the provincial Khilafat Committee, he was its chief organizer in U.P., in which capacity he played an important role by reinvigorating the Khilafat agitation in Meerut.¹¹ He was deeply animated with his sentimental approach to the welfare of the Muslim Ummah and the betterment of the Muslim community as a whole. This trend found a special expression from the British government as quoted by Francis Robinson, "A keen Muslim and far more concerned with the Muslim interests than with national politics".¹²

His deep interest in politics earned him a distinguished position as a political leader in and around Meerut. He was therefore elected unopposed as member of the Central Legislative Assembly twice in 1922 and 1926. He represented the Muslim rural areas of Meerut to whose welfare he worked with a sense of dedication.¹³ This added to his popularity in the Congress circles as an important member of the Meerut Congress. It is worth noting that his deep affiliation with the Congress did not prevent him from safeguarding the Muslim cause, which he never allowed to

9 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 310; Ramgopal, *Indian Muslims* (Lahore: 1976), 132.

10 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 310.

11 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 311.

12 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan".

13 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 310.

suffer. This is evident from his opposition to the Shuddhi Movement, which was started by Swami Shardha Nand in 1923 to reconvert the Neo-Muslims to the folds of Hinduism. When this movement gained strength, the Muslim leaders took a serious notice and adopted protective measures. Nawab Ismail Khan rose to the occasion and in co-operation with Syed Mahmud Husain founded Anti-Shuddhi League to restrain the opponents of Islam from their anti-Muslim activities.¹⁴

Having worked for a number of years as a Congressite and a Khilafatist, Nawab Ismail Khan joined the All India Muslim League at the instance of Maulana Shaukat Ali, date is not known, and became its ardent supporter.¹⁵ This dedicated affiliation lasted till his death. He was president of U.P. Muslim League for seventeen years. On March 20, 1927, Quaid-I-Azam summoned a representative session of the prominent Muslims of India at Western Hotel, Delhi to take a definite decision regarding the issue of joint and separate electorates. Nawab Ismail Khan also attended this session in which the famous Delhi Proposals were formulated.¹⁶ In 1928, he participated in the 19th annual session of All India Muslim League and took part in its proceedings.¹⁷ Again he actively participated in the proceedings of the 20th annual session of Muslim League held at Delhi to consider the hostile decision taken under the Nehru Report. This session was also attended by ardent Muslim leaders like Ali Brothers, Maulana Azad and others.¹⁸ Gradually Nawab Ismail Khan became a reputed Muslim League leader and gained the confidence of Quaid-i-Azam. It was he who convinced the great religious leader Maulana Ashraf Ali

14 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan".

15 Wali Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh* [Lights of Grandeur] (Multan: 1989), 343.

16 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*; Ahmed Saeed, *Husul-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: 1972), 178.

17 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 311.

18 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan".

Thanvi to support the Muslim League.¹⁹ He also presided over the second session of All India Muslim Conference held at Lucknow in November 1930.²⁰ He attended the 21st annual session of Muslim League held at Allahabad on December 29, 1930, which was presided over by the poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal who, with full political insight, proposed a separate consolidated Muslim State in the North West of India which in his own words “appeared to be the final destiny of Muslims of at least North West of India”.²¹ In this session a three member sub-committee was constituted to consider some amendments in the constitution of Muslim League and Nawab Ismail Khan was the most important member of this committee.²²

As an important Muslim leader, he played a dominant role in uniting various Muslim political parties. For this purpose, a Muslim Unity Conference was held at Allahabad. Nawab Ismail Khan also attended it as an active member.²³ In 1935, when the Quaid-i-Azam returned from England to infuse a new life in the Muslim League Council in December 1935, Nawab Ismail Khan also attended it. On account of his political calibre, Quaid-I-Azam appointed him as member of the Central Parliamentary Board in 1936.²⁴

The same year when the provincial elections were held in U.P., both Nawab Ismail Khan and Ch. Khaliqz Zaman were elected as members of the Provincial Assembly on the Muslim League tickets. The Muslim League had won 26 seats in the U.P Assembly and as such was expecting some share in the provincial cabinet in the form of a coalition. The Congress, though willing to seek the co-operation of Muslim League, grew so haughty and power conscious that it

19 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 374.

20 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311.

21 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311; Ch. Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1973), 125.

22 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311.

23 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311.

24 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311.

required the Muslim League in U.P, “to cease to function as a separate group in the Assembly, the existing League members of the Assembly to become the part of the Congress party, to dissolve the Muslim League Parliamentary Board in U.P. and so on”.²⁵ This amounted to signing the death warrant of Muslim League, which Quaid-i-Azam was not prepared to do. Moreover, as Nawab Ismail Khan and Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman were important Muslim League members of the Assembly, both of them were to be taken in the provincial cabinet. As claimed by Malana Azad in his book *India Wins Freedom* both of them were ready to co-operate with the Congress, but Pandit Jawahar Lal had a different view. He decided that only one of them could be taken in the cabinet. As none of them agreed to accept one seat, the proposed coalition could not materialise.²⁶ Maulana Azad called it, “the most unfortunate development as Jawahar Lal’s action gave the Muslim League a new lease of life”.²⁷ This added fresh material to the demand for a separate homeland and reactivated the Muslim League in its political pursuits. The 31st annual session of All India Muslim League was held at Karachi in December 1943. In this session a Committee of Action was constituted to prepare the Muslims for the achievement of their goal. Nawab Ismail Khan was appointed as its Chairman.²⁸ Nawab Ismail Khan was very popular in U.P. on account of his political caliber and devotion to the cause of the Muslims. He contested the December 1945 elections to the Central Assembly on the Muslim League ticket. He was successful by securing 7300 votes while his Nationalist Muslim rival Dr. Hammad Faruqi could get only 851 votes and lost his security.²⁹

25 Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1964), 86.

26 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi: Stosius Inc/Advent Books Division, 1988), 171; Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan”, 311.

27 Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 171.

28 Islam, “Nawab Ismail Khan” , 312.

29 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 367.

An All India Convention of the Muslim League leaders was held in the Arabic College Delhi from of April 7-9, 1946. It was presided by the Quaid-i-Azam. An Objectives Committee was constituted and Nawab Ismail Khan was appointed as one of its members.³⁰ On account of the hostile policy of the Congress and that of the British Government, when Quaid-i-Azam decided to resort to Direct Action and August 16, 1946 was fixed as Direct Action Day, a Direct Action Committee was formed by him. Nawab Ismail Khan was appointed as the President of this Committee.³¹ Ultimately when the Quaid-i-Azam decided to join the Interim Government he forwarded the names of five persons to join the cabinet. Surprisingly, the list did not include the name of Nawab Ismail Khan and Khawaja Nazimuddin. Maulana Azad who had a negative attitude towards Mr. Jinnah throughout and was not going to miss any opportunity to malign him gave a twist to this episode and alleged that, "They were discarded in favour of Mr. Jinnah's henchmen. They were absolutely sure about their own inclusion and so were their supporters. Accordingly a large number of Muslim League members had come with garlands and bouquets".³² According to Prof. Jamiluddin Ahmed, "Some members of the Working Committee tried to persuade the Quaid-i-Azam to join the Interim Government on behalf of the Muslim League but he declined the offer contending that he must remain outside the government to carry on the struggle for Pakistan during the most different and decisive stage".³³ It may be argued that during this most difficult and decisive stage, he did not want himself to be left alone to carry on the struggle for Pakistan. He had nominated his right hand man Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan to join the Interim Government. He needed the wise and balanced counsels of some of his trusted lieutenants who included Nawab Ismail Khan and

30 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 355.

31 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 357.

32 Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, 176.

33 Jamiluddin Ahmed, *Final Phase of the Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: International Press, 1964), 68.

Khawaja Nazmuddin. It might have been the main reason for the omission of their names and not that the Quaid-i-Azam needed his yesmen in the government as alleged by Maulana Azad. Quaid-i-Azam consulted his close confidants like Nawab Ismail Khan on all-important matters like holding of the annual sessions of Muslim League. A letter written to Quaid-i-Azam by Nawab Ismail Khan in reply to his D.O. letter further supports this point. In this letter dated December 13, 1942. Nawab Ismail Khan suggests as under:

In view of the present communication and other difficulties I am personally of opinion that Sindh, Orissa and Assam should be ruled out. I am inclined to suggest Delhi province as the best place which is most central and where arrangement is easily possible both for holding the session as well as providing accommodation to the delegates. Should it not meet your approval then Peshawar or Nagpur".³⁴ In his reply to another letter of Quaid-i-Azam regarding the holding of annual session of Muslim League, he frankly regretted that it would not be possible to hold the annual session again in U.P. because "Only last year we had to incur huge expenditure in holding it at Allahabad."³⁵

Nawab Ismail Khan also rendered meritorious services to Aligarh Muslim University. He was appointed as treasure of the University and he held this office for four years from 1931 to 1935.³⁶ He improved the financial resources of the University and carefully watched its expenditure side. He also served as Acting Vice Chancellor for about six months. He assumed charge as regular Vice Chancellor on October 20, 1947.³⁷ His assumption of office was hailed in a poem composed by Kaifi Chiryakoti in the style of Rodaki, the Persian poet:

34 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 352.

35 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 341.

36. Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 313.

37 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 314.

بر زمینے آسماں آید ہی وندراں مہ ضوفشاں آید ہی
 نیک تا بد بخت یونیورسٹی یعنی اسمعیل خاں آید ہی
 از خدا ہیں از پئے کشتی قوم نا خدائے مہریاں آید ہی
 تور چشم و دیدہ اخلق خاں یعنی فخر دودماں آید ہی³⁸

He served the university at a time when the Muslims of India were facing many socio-political challenges. Aligarh, which supported the Pakistan Movement as its vanguard, was facing the danger of being victimized. Nawab Ismail Khan rose to the occasion and responded to the national call by adopting a policy of peace and amity. He invited Governor General Raj Gopal Acharya and Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru to address the Convocations in 1947 and 1948 respectively. The author of this article received his M.A. L.L.B degrees from the Vice Chancellor Nawab Ismail Khan in the Convocation of 1948, which was presided over by the Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The Governor of U.P. Mrs. Sirojni Naidu also visited the University. She admired the services of Nawab Ismail Khan for the University and assured him that the university and its interests would be duly protected.³⁹ The author was among the audience in the Strachey Hall where Mrs. Sirojni Naidu addressed the students.

As he was a staunch Muslim Leaguer, opposition to his position as Vice Chancellor was cropping up in the circle of Nationalist Muslims who approached Pandit Nehru with this plea. He said, "Nawab Sahab is a man of self-respecting nature. If he could get an inkling of your move, he would at once resign. He is such a person who refused to be appointed as the Governor General of Pakistan"⁴⁰ after the death of Quaid-i-Azam. As soon as he was informed of this Nationalists' move, he resigned on November 29, 1948.⁴¹

38 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 314.

39 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 314-15.

40 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 360.

41 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan", 316.

There is another version cited by Dr. Zafarul Islam that in spite of all his good qualities he was not an educationist and had no prominent place among the literate. There was a feeling that the Vice Chancellor of a University should have these qualities. Maulana Azad also spoke to him that an educationist Vice Chancellor would be in a better position to improve the academic tone of the University. Nawab Ismail Khan read his mind and decided to relinquish his duties as Vice Chancellor in favour of Dr. Zakir Hussain and proposed his name in the meeting of the Court, which was approved.⁴²

Nawab Ismail Khan was really a man of self-respecting nature. Cool, calm and considerate, sublime, serene and sagacious, Nawab Sahab was an honest, unassuming and selfless person. He had no attraction for power and pelf as is gleaned through the fact that he was offered the Governor Generalship of Pakistan and he refused it, although his sons had migrated to Pakistan and were employed in Superior Services. He never thought of migrating to Pakistan and decided to stay in India to serve his community. He had an unblemished and spotless life. In spite of his long stay in England, he did not adopt the western way of life and culture. In conversation and in behaviour, he was polite and courteous. He maintained eastern values and etiquettes. He was soft-spoken, humble and humane and avoided arrogance. He had inherited some of his family traits like large heartedness, nobility of character, elegance and participation in socio-political activities, which he adopted and improved upon.

There is an interesting account regarding his cap. When Mr. Jinnah reached Lucknow to preside over the Muslim League Session in 1936, he stayed at Mahmudabad House. An hour before the session, when he was talking to the Muslim Leaguers who came to meet him, Nawab Ismail also reached there. He was wearing a cap of black fur-samur. Mr. Jinnah liked his cap and asked him to lend it for a minute. He wore it and it suited him. The Muslim League leaders

42 Islam, "Nawab Ismail Khan".

requested him to preside over the session wearing this cap. Clad in a Sherwani and black cap when Mr. Jinnah entered the pindal, he was hailed and cheered by the audience. This cap became very popular and with some modifications it was known as Jinnah cap.⁴³

43 Mazhar, *Azmaton-Kai-Chiragh*, 350-51.

Rebellion against the British Rulers in Balochistan: Noora Mengal Leading the Struggle

Prof. Bahadur Khan Rodeni*

ABSTRACT

After 1857 the rebellion in northern India started against the British rulers and particularly in the areas of Delhi, Lucknow, Agra and other areas. Although the rebellion was crushed by the British but the effects of this struggle spread to other part of the sub-continent including Balochistan like a spark. Therefore, the Sardars and other prominent leaders supporting the Khilafat Movement took arms against the British in many parts of Balochistan and particularly in Jhalawan. The struggle was led by the Noora Mengal in Wudh, Khuzdar, Lasbela and in Zehri of Jhalawan the struggle started against the British rulers by Nawab Khan Muhammad Zarakzai and his companions like Noora Mengal, Shebaz Khan Gurganari, Ghoharam Mengal. The fighting took place between freedom fighters and the British Army near Khuzdar at a place Suman Tung leading to Wudh the British suffered heavy casualties.

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From 1901 to 1912, owing to a series of raids into Sind from Jhalawan Balochistan, the Political Agent at Kalat proceeded to Jhalawan under strong escort into Mengal area to restore order and to effect settlement. Nevertheless the advance party of political agent Kalat was attacked by the fighters near Wudh, Captain Henderson of Hazara Pioneers was shot dead and Captain Pargeter and other soldiers were wounded.¹

The effect of the struggle against the British Rulers spread like, spark to other parts of the Subcontinent including Balochistan. In Balochistan Noora Mengal son of Mir Humza belonging to sub tribe Pehlwanzai of Mengal tribe was the main freedom fighter. He was a brave young person, who rebelled against the English rulers alongwith his companions — Mir Ghoram Mengal and others. They raided Khuzdar, Lasbela and some parts of Sind. After Khuzdar they gathered at Sman Tung leading to Wudh where the advance party of British was passing. As a result of their ambush Captain Enderson of Hazara Pioneers and other soldiers were killed and Captain Pargeter of Jhalawan in Balochistan came under attack by the rebels and freedom fighters.²

Along with Noora Mengal, Nawab Khan Muhammad Zarakzai who was the Chief of Zehri tribe also joined them and started gathering a force of freedom fighters in order to attack many parts of Jhalawan. A huge force numbering 10,000 gathered by Nawab Khan Muhammad armed men attacked many of parts of Balochistan and Sind side by side with Noora Mengal. Nawab Khan Muhammad and Noora Mengal succeeded in repulsing attacks by the British rulers and check post of the British force suffered heavy losses in Jhalawan. The Math Bugti struggle was also going on in Kholu Marri, and Bugti areas.³

1 Hoges W., *The Land of Balochistan*, translated by Prof. Roman (Quetta, University Pub.,1990).

2 Azad Bin Haider, *Heroes of Freedom Movement* (Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Forum, 2007).

3 Abdul Rehman Ghor, *Our Struggle* (Quetta: Balochistan Publisher, 1954).

In British Balochistan Sardar Shajahan Jomezai of Kakar tribe attacked the British rulers in Zhob area. In Jhalwan, Noora Mengal and his friends like Shabaz Khan Gurgunari along with Nawab Khan Muhammad were active. The main freedom fighters Noora Mengal advanced his attacks in many parts of Jhalawan and attacked English forces and defeated them. Although his friend Mir Ghoram Mengal was martyred in Jhalawan with forty fighters. Two Colonels of British Army and a Lieutenant with seventy soldiers were killed. The fighting was going on when Noora Mengal came quickly from Sind in order to assist his companions in Jhalawan and severe fighting took place between Noora Mengal and the British army. Consequently, the British Army was defeated. Noora Mengal a talented and brave fighter continued his attacks for two years. In parts of Jhalawan the fighting also started by Mir Pasand Khan Zebri and Gohar Khan Zen against the British rulers. The British rulers started their notorious policy of divide and rule in order to create differences among the freedom fighters and Sardars of Jhalawan. As result of this policy of 'divide and rule', the fighters were created among tribes of the area.⁴

Taking advantage of the policy Major Temple, the then Political Agent Kalat invited the other Sardars of Jhalwan and particularly sub-section of Zehri tribe mainly Sardar Mosaini was used to consult other Sardars against Nawab Khan Muhammad Zarakzai.

Consequently, Khan Muhammad was killed by his companion when he was sleeping. The Political Agent and other British rulers were very happy when they heard the news of death of Nawab Khan Muhammad Zehri and political agent happily remarked as under: "Now Balochistan is ours".⁵

After the death of Nawab Khan Muhammad Zarakzi, Noora Mengal continued his struggle along with his companions of

4 *Balochistan Gazetteer*, Jhalawan.

5 *Balochistan Gazetteer*, Zhob.

Mengal and Gurganri tribe. Sardar Noor ud Din Mengal also joined the struggle in the mountins of Thalawan. Noor Mengal and Sardar Noor ud Din Mengal alongiwth Shabaza Khan Gurganari continued their after Sardar Noor ud Din was arrested following his arrest alongwith Khan Muhammad Gurganari on August 11, 1916. Khan Muhammad Gurganari now went to Nal and offered his arrest through Sardar Bizanjo, so he was taken to Khuzdar jail.⁶

Mir Noora Mengal continued fighting bravely against the British but his other companions were deceived by the British and were arrested. He was left alone, he continued his struggle and became very popular among the masses of Balochistan. The British rulers tried their best to arrest Noora Mengal but they failed. Finally they arrested Sardar Noor ud Din and his companion Shabaz Gurgonai, Khan Muhammad Gurgonari and Rasool Bux.⁷

Since Noora Mengal left all alone, therefore he decided to shift to Kharan. He needed arms to continue his struggle, as he had no arms. Therefore, he wanted assistance from Sardar Kharan in form of arms and ammunition. Noora Mengal requested him to send him to Afghanistan. After all he was arrested and sent to Quetta and died in jail.

6 Hameed Baloch, *Balochistan Chronicles* (Karachi: Syed Hashmi Library, 2007).

7 Mir Gul Khan Naseer, *History of Balochistan* (Quette, 1952).

Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai

Dr. Nauder Bakht*

ABSTRACT

Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai stands amongst those who played significant role in the Pakistan Movement from the lands of Balochistan. He, from the very beginning, had been a freedom lover, though he joined Muslim League in 1939, yet he had been contributing in the freedom movement since his youth. He belonged to the Jomezai family of the famous Pashtoon tribe, settled in Zhob. Pashtoons are freedom loving in general and so the Pashtoons of Balochistan. The British had allowed no political activities for the masses in Balochistan, however, the Indian National Congress had been successful in making its way and had dominated the general political environment of Balochistan. Nawab Jomezai stands among those who faced the British rule and congress challenges very courageously and contributed in the freedom movement. This paper is focused upon Nawab Jomezai as a leader of Pakistan Movement, and his role in the struggle for liberty in Balochistan, to get rid

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of the British slavery, and have an independent homeland.

Limitations

Since much of the documented work is not done in the pursuance of freedom movement in Balochistan and the role of the local leaders except on the leaders like Khan-e-Kalat, Kazi Issa and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali. Hence, much of material is not available in a codified form so the extensive information could not be added here.

However, more work could be done provided the required plenty of time and sources are poured in. Anyway, it may be treated as a humble effort and a tribute to this freedom fighter.

Brief Life Sketch

Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai was born in 1884. The name of his father was Nawab Bungal Khan Jomezai. This family had been ruling the lands of Zhob for a fairly longer time. He is linked with Qais Abdul Rashid on the twenty third step of the Pashtoon dynasty. He was chosen the Chief of his tribe in 1908, just at the age of twenty-four. Even in his years of youth he was quite mature to join the freedom movement. He joined Muslim League in 1939, when the League was established in Balochistan, and became an active partner of Qazi Mohammad Essa and Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, the greatest champions of Pakistan Movement. Since his entrance in the League he became an active member and contributor in the movement, and remained a devoted Pakistani throughout his life.

Historical Background

It will not be very inappropriate to share here some pictures of the political conditions of Balochistan where these people worked for the political mobilization and struggle against the British rule.

Balochistan was governed by some special arrangements like, the rule of Khan-e-Kalat in the Riasiti Balochistan and

the British direct governance in the British Balochistan. It did not have the provincial status, rather it was in the strong clutches of Frontier Crimes Regulations of 1901, where the British had completely disallowed the printing and publishing of any material repugnant to their interests.

There had been much curbs on the expression of political opinion. The government did not give even basic rights of assemblage and expression of opinion to the people of Balochistan and kept them away from even the movement of the pen. However, gradually a group was developed in Balochistan who started their struggle with pen. In 1927, Abdul Aziz Kurd with the help of Nasim Talvi started a newspaper "*Balochistan*" from Delhi to express the voice of Balochistan. Though it was not easily possible from Balochistan.

It was a very significant development and could pave the way for further struggle, hence the government banned this newspaper. But on November 17, 1929, Mir Yousaf Ali Magsi wrote an article, "The Cry of Balochistan". It was published in a newspaper of Lahore. Arrival of this article and newspaper in Balochistan was not less than an earthquake, whereupon the Kalat's Prime Minister Sir Shamas Shah issued warrants and orders for its confiscation. Mir Yousaf Magsi was arrested and trialed in a special Jirga. The jirga was held on July 17, 1930 at Kalat, and, sentenced him with one-year confinement and a fine of Rs. 12,900/-.

It was also the time when Quaid in his famous Fourteen Points demanded, "separate electorates for the Muslims and the fullfledge provincial status for NWFP and Balochistan". Quaid also demanded that the constitutional reforms should be introduced in Balochistan as are in other provinces of India." Hazrat Allama Iqbal in 1930, while giving the presidential address at Allahabad said that, "I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire and 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.”

Another significant development of 1930, in reference with the independence movement in Balochistan is the establishment of “Anjaman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan.” This was the first ever political organization established in Balochistan. The Anjaman wanted to see Kalat State as a democratic and free state Anjuman opposed to the tyrannical role of Shamas Shah the Prime Minister of Kalat State. Since, Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi was the key player of this agitation movement, so it is known as the “Magsi Agitation”. Magsi also helped publish a newspaper, “Azad” from Lahore, and in 1933, another newspaper “*Al-Baloch*” from Karachi by some other Balochs, for the furtherance of the liberation movement, but, all of it could not go a long way.

The pace of political development during 1933 and 1939 was faster and the political struggle was gaining momentum day by day. The movement for complete liberty had become the voice of all the Muslims without any difference of race or language. It is in this environment that Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai joined the Pakistan Movement.

Services

Right from the very beginning he became very active and contributive in the freedom movement. He was among those who declared Pakistan Resolution of 1940 as the real reflector of the wishes of the people of Balochistan and Pakistan. After the Resolution, he worked very hard to popularize Pakistan Movement in the people of Balochistan. In the times of his association with Quaid-e-Azam, he always shared the problems and the sentiments of the people of Balochistan. Quaid also heard his voice always with attention. In response to his briefings, the Quaid repeatedly said that Balochistan was his own province and he himself will work for the development of Balochistan.

Nawab Mohammad Khan Jomezai was among those who extended a very warm welcome to the Quaid and his sister

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah in 1943. The welcome was accorded at the Railway Station of Spezand. Here, the Guard of Honour was presented by the Guards of Khan-e-Kalat. The British authorities in Balochistan showed their anger on this event. But Khan-e-Kalat and the soldiers of freedom movement like Nawab Jomezai and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali met the Khan and assured him of their complete and unconditional support against the British displeasure.

It will also be quite interesting to note here, that it was the time when the big stalwarts like Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bezanjo and Mir Gul Khan Naseer also remained in the Muslim League for some time. Nawab Jomezai met Quaid on different occasions at Quetta, Sibi and Ziarat and briefed him about the sentiments and problems of the people of Balochistan along with his proposals for the solutions of the problems.

Nawab Jomezai was also among those who were in good touch with Quaid when he visited Balochistan on July 2, 1943. It was the event, when the Quaid exchanged his views with these leaders and appreciated their struggle in the hard conditions. Here, Quaid offered Juma prayer in the Jameh Masjid Quetta. At this occasion Quaid raised the flag of Muslim League and said now we the Muslims have our own flag. We, all of us, are to keep this flag high and very high. All of us are to remain united under this flag. I can see the political awareness and unity in Balochistan, it will further be increased in the coming days. Next time when I will visit Balochistan, it will be even more stronger. After the emergence of Pakistan, Balochistan, certainly, will be an integral part of it.

Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar acknowledged the vision and services of Nawab Jomezai in very high words when he paid a visit to Balochistan shortly before the Referendum in Balochistan where the future of Balochistan was to be decided, as Nawab Sahib had played the role of centre forward in this game. It was the time when Mir Mohammad Siddique Khan Marri and Mir Mahmood Khan Gichki also

assured their stronger cooperation for the furtherance of Pakistan Movement in Balochistan.

Nawab Jomezai and Muslim League had become so popular that he won the elections of 1946 from Balochistan. It was a very strong reply to those who were working for the Congress. Here he showed the strength of Muslim League in Balochistan.

He also resisted against the pressures of Pandit Nehru and refused to sit with them in the Legislative Council, though he had given him presses and incentives but he stood by Quaid very firmly. He firmly and straight forwardly declared that he was to stand by Quaid and that he was a soldier of Quaid.

His love for Quaid may also be seen from a very small but significant event where in a meeting with the Quaid at the residence of Qazi Issa, the Quaid appreciated the golden buttons of Nawab Sahib, he, immediately, made a gift of those buttons to Quaid. Quaid resisted but then gave a cheque of their amount to Nawab Sahib which he received but presented it back in donation to Quaid. This and other events reflect a picture of his love for Quaid.

Conclusion

It can safely be concluded that Nawab Jomezai had been the heart and soul of the Muslim League in Balochistan; a very loyal and dependable companion of Quaid. His commitment for the cause of Balochistan and Pakistan was beyond all doubts. He utilized his every capacity and capability for the promotion of the cause of Balochistan, Muslim League and Pakistan. His services are to be remembered and appreciated at all levels along with all other leaders and soldiers of Pakistan movement.

Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani

Dr. Munir Ahmad Gichki*

ABSTRACT

Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani was son of Mir Shaddad who belonged to Mekrani area of Kolwah and Nausherwani tribe. The tribe as Sir Thomas Holdich remarks that fighting, raiding and restless clam are very touchy on points of Baloch honour. Kalwah is the birth place of Mir Chakar Khan Rind, the hero of so many Balochi battles and once it was well irrigated and enjoyed great agricultural prosperity. Mekran was famous in ancient history under the name of Gedrosia, and its importance lies in the fact that for several centuries it became the settlement of Baloch previous to their migration towards Kachhi and Punjab.

Approximately 22,000 square miles in size Mekran in southwest Pakistani Balochistan, is one of the largest division of the country. Mekran has a coastline of 700 miles along with Perso-Oman Gulf on the south. On the west of Pakistani Balochistan lies the Iranian Mekran.¹

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1 A. B. Awan, *Balochistan, Historical and Political Process* (London: New Century, 1985), 5.

Mekran consists of two parts, to which, the words Makranat, the Makrans, has been applied by some writers. That is situated in Pakistan and is generally known as Kech Mekran to distinguish it from Persian Mekran.²

Like the rest of Balochistan, throughout its history Mekran has witnessed continuing encounters with foreign powers.³ With their rise to power of British Colonial rule over India, Balochistan, came under their influence in 1875, and was portioned among Iranian and the British. Strategies, therefore, had to be developed to insure the peace on the Baloch frontier including Mekran by lying the loyalties of the Khans of Kalat and their confederate Chieftains, the Baloch were able to create a buffer force of relatively dependable tribesmen their Indian empire and possible Russian invasion routes through Iran and Afghanistan. The British tactic of indirect rule reached its most progressive and least cynical form, through the so called Forward Policy of Sir Robert Sandeman.⁴

The political status of Balochistan was changed and the British resident became the supreme authority of the state. Kalat's regular army was abolished and a new "Levy System" was introduced under the British Army Officers. The British rule also brought injustices and poverty to Balochistan. Nevertheless, the Baloch tribes continued their struggle against the British to liberate Balochistan.⁵

Sir Robert Sandeman converted the Baloch unwritten constitution into a new system the Sandeman or Sardari system of indirect rule. He recognized the Sirdars as feudals instead of elected chiefs. After the death of Sir Robert

2 Stephen L. Pastner, "Lords of the Desert Border: Frontier Feudalism in Southern Balochistan and Eastern Ethiopia", *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 10 (1979): 94.

3 A. M. Conaghey, *Balochistan District Gazetteer Makran* (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1986), 36-40.

4 Inayatullah Baloch, *The Problem of Greater Balochistan: Study of Baloch Nationalism* (Stallgart: Steiner Verlag Wesbodern GMBH, 1987), 127-37.

5 Thornton, Thomas Henry, *Col. Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and work on our Indian Frontier* (London: John Murray, 1895), 54.

Sandeman in 1892, and succession by General Brown, the British interference increased in the affairs of Balochistan which resulted in a general uprising in Mekran.⁶

During 1895-96 Mir Mehmood Khan, the ruling Chief of Kalat, with Captain Le Mesurier the Political Agent in Kalat visited Mekran. The main feature of this tour were the establishment of Diwan Udho Dass in Kech Mekran as the Khan's Nazim, which was the introduction of a new form of administration.

The increased British interference in the affairs of Baloch rulers resulted in a general uprising in Mekran, on the morning of January 6, 1898. Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani and Mir Mehrab Khan Gichki, who coveted authority in Kech Valley, revolted against the British, made an attack on the Nazim Diwan Udho Dass and made him prisoner, at the same time they took over the possession of Turbat Fort. The Nazim was eventually released, who sought refuge at Kalatuk.⁷ Mehrab Khan next communicated with his brother Mir Rustam Khan, who was incharge of the escort with a survey party working in the Kolwahhills under Captain Bum and Rustum Khan with Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani, made an attack on the camp and killed many of them. Then Mir Baloch Khan marched towards the sea coast, looted Pasni and destroyed much of the telegraph between Pasni and Gawadar.⁸

Apart from the main cause of Sir Robert Sandemans Forward Policy there appeared to have been other causes of this outbreak. In the first place Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani who already had been granted the Bit Fort in Buleda by the Khan of Kalat. However, the fort was under the occupation of Mir Azim Khan Buledai, who had a *sanad* for its possession from the Khan and consequently refused

6 Baloch, *The Problem of Greater Balochistan: Study of Baloch Nationalism*, 142-43.

7 Mansoor Bokhari, *District Gazetteers of Balochistan*, Vol. IV (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1997), 694-95.

8 Bokhari, *District Gazetteers of Balochistan*, Vol. IV, 695.

to give it up, and the question was referred to the Agent to the Governor-General who decided in favour of Mir Azim Khan. Mir Baloch Khan Nasherwani considered the Nazim was responsible for this decision. Another important cause was that Mir Mehrab Khan Gichki had long cherished resentment at Sir Robert Sandeman's action in nominating to the chieftainship of the Kech Gichkis, his elder brother, She Umar. All such causes were responsible, which resulted in battle between the British forces and the tribes of Mekran.⁹

It was typical of the British at this time in a remote and physically difficult area like Mekran. The use of force either directly or through local intermediaries, was an impractical way of keeping the peace. Anyhow, the British ordered an attack on Mekran from Karachi to assert their authority. Resistance was organized by Mir Baloch Khan Nousherwani and Mir Mehrab Khan Gichki. A large number of Lashkar tribes gathered at Gokprosh hills, a few miles from Turbat, on January 27, 1898 to fight the advancing British forces. The British column which had promptly dispatched from Karachi landed at Pasni under Colonel Mayne consisting of 400 infantry and two guns, defeated the Baloch Lashkar, killing all 250 of them including Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani. The forts of Shahrak, Nag, Hor and Sehr were subsequently demolished. It is said that after Baloch Khan martyred, Mehrab Khan Gichki sought refuge in western Balochistan. The freedom fighters of Iranian Balochistan Hussain Khan and Mir Behram Khan, both had close relations with Mir Baloch Khan Nausherwani and Mir Mehrab Khan Gichki. After Baloch Khan martyred, so as bribes for good behaviour asserted grants in land and money and titles, ranging from Sahib Bahadur to order of the British Empire who were considered to have greatest trouble making potential.¹⁰

The rising led to arrangements for the introduction of a new form of administration, and at the end of the year Mir

9 Bokhari, *District Gazetteers of Balochistan*, Vol. IV.

10 Mir Gul Khan Naseer, *Tarikh-e- Balochistan*, Vol.II, 343.

Mehrulla Khan Raisani was sent to Mekran as Nazim. Lord Curzon landed at Pasni at the end of 1903, the first viceregal visit ever paid to Mekran and in the following year an Assistant Political Agent was appointed with his headquarters in Panjgur. He was the commandant of the Mekran Levy Corps which was to enforce the Khans, authority, known as Baloch Council Corps to mention the peace of Iranian border land. This direct British presence continued until the time of partition in 1947.¹¹

11 Pastner, "Lords of the Desert Border: Frontier Feudalism in Southern Balochistan and Eastern Ethiopia": 99.

**The Role of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang in
Pakistan Movement: A Case Study of All India
States Muslim League**

Dr. Muhammad Akbar Malik*

ABSTRACT

In world history, there have been a few men whose achievements made them immortal. The distinguished status they earned was due to their untiring efforts, devotion, diligence and their patriotic feelings. They always remained above all kinds of motifs like personal gains and privileges rather they spent their lives to achieve the goal of national integrity and solidarity.

Among them is Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, a hero of Pakistan Movement, from Hyderabad State whose unforgettable role to create the consciousness of self-correction and consolidation among Muslims made him enduring for all the times to come. He was an Afghan by origin and his great grandfather had come with Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722-1772) and settled in Jaipur. In the first half of 19th Century, during the reign of Nawab Sikandar Jah, his family migrated to Hyderabad to reside there. They were

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unusual qualities which ranked his ancestors high among the nobles of Hyderabad. The state conferred upon them various titles and land (Jagir) for their services and it continued in the reigns of almost every Nizam.

Mohammad Bahadur Khan (Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang) was born on February 3, 1905 in a family which was quite sound on political, economic and social grounds.¹ His mother died in his infancy and father left no stone unturned to get him educated in the best possible way by well known scholars of the time. Other than traditional education in Persian and Arabic, he got modern western education but he was in matriculation yet when his father died. So, he left education and took the charge of his family affairs and was very soon able to pay back heavy debt liable to his father. Then he went on a holy pilgrimage to Hijaz. Having performed Hajj, he visited several Muslim countries and watched their affairs at close quarters.² This journey gave rise to his pan-Islamic sentiments. Samdani Naqvi says:

As far as the definition of nation is concerned Nawab believed that all Muslims are one either they live in East or West. So, he emerged as the champion of Pan-Islamism and had the motto that the teachings of Quran be adopted by the Muslims in their social and political lives.³

On his arrival in Hyderabad, he laid the foundation of an organization i.e. the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimin.⁴ The chief

1 Samdani Naqvi, "Makateeb Sey Pehlay" [Urdu: Before the Letters], *Makateeb-e-Bahadar Yar Jang* [Urdu: Letters of Bahadar Yar Jang] (Karachi: np, 1967), 40.

2 The countries he visited were Hijaz, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia and Afghanistan. He met leading persons there. Khawaja Hassan Nizami gave him the title of Ibne-Batuta-e-Hind. Naqvi, "Makateeb Sey Pehlay", 41.

3 Naqvi, "Makateeb Sey Pehlay", 46.

4 This organization was founded on December 7, 1928. Some of its aims and objectives were,

- i. To unite Muslims of various sects in accordance with Islamic principles;
 - ii. To safeguard Muslim economic, social and educational rights; and
 - iii. To express loyalty with the rulers and follow the laws of the government.
- See Ahmad Saeed, *Husool-e-Pakistan* [Urdu: Acquisition of Pakistan] (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 1992), 302.

objective of it was to unite Muslim Ummah on a single platform and direct it on the way to modern progress and development. Though it was founded as a religious organization yet it had some political objectives as well and a clause regarding political objectives was also included in its constitution in February 1933⁵ Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang was elected its Joint Secretary in 1937, later President in 1939 and held this office till he breathed his last.⁶ He endeavoured hard for the promotion and development of this organization.

These were the days when extremist Hindu revivalists had spread their activities to establish Arya Samaj⁷ [Sanskrit: Society of Nobles] in Hyderabad. Their Shudhi Movement⁸ [Sanskrit: cleansing] to convert Muslims into Hindus was in full swing. To diffuse its momentum Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang setup⁹ an association by the name of Majlis-e-Tableegh-e-Islam.¹⁰ In the later years of thirties Allama Almashriqi's Khaksaar Movement was in full bloom. Nawab was moved by its manifesto and joined it.¹¹ Irrespective of

5 Saeed, *Husool-e-Pakistan*, 302.

6 In 1937, Majlis' branches were 58. This number extended to 384 in 1939 and in 1942 Qamar Bagh (Darus-Salam) which was a big patch of land of 24 thousand yards circumference was bought and made its headquarter. See Saeed, *Husool-e-Pakistan*, 46.

7 Arya Samaj was an Indian Hindu reformist movement aimed to promote values and practices based on the belief in the infallible authority of the Vedas. The samaj was founded by the sannyasi (ascetic) Dayananda Saraswati on April 7, 1875.

8 The socio-political movement, derived from ancient rite of *shuddhikaran* or purification was started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati and his followers like Swami Sharddhanand, who also worked on the Sangathan consolidation aspect of Hinduism, in the North India, especially Punjab in early 1900s, though it gradually spread across India.

9 This association was founded in 1927. For three incessant years, Nawab travelled from village to village and bore all odds on the way. By his untiring efforts twenty thousand people embraced Islam. See Naqvi, "Makateeb Sey Pehlay", 42.

10 His letter to Maulvi Wali Ullah Shah Ashrafi reveals his hectic efforts for preaching Islam and his sincerity in the mission. see Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 170.

11 Ghulam Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang* (Karachi: np, 1990), 82.

the fact, he was used to luxurious life; he set an example of tough life style of Khaksaars by taking hard exercise, parades and abiding by its strict discipline. Unfortunately, Allama Mashriqui (d. 1964) had inflexible rigidity and did not compromise with the prevailing circumstances. So, Nawab had to separate himself from Khaksaar Movement to fully concentrate on his responsibilities as a Muslim League leader.

There existed 562 states in British India which roughly comprised one third of India's territory and one fourth of its population. They were outside British administrative set up and were ruled by princes who under treaties and agreements had accepted United Kingdom a paramount power which was responsible for foreign affairs and external and internal security. A political department worked directly under Viceroy to deal with the affairs of the states. With a view to the accession of states with the proposed federation of India, the representatives of states were invited to attend Round Table Conferences in London in 1930-32.¹²

It was due to the great importance of the states that Congress leaders established All India States People Conference¹³ in 1927 with the objective of attaining responsible government for the people in the Indian states through responsible institutions under the patronage of their rulers.¹⁴ There had been serious political unrest in Kashmir and some other states during the thirties but despite much suppression and repression, legislative assemblies were established with much limited powers. The Government of India act 1935 opened the way to the federation of India and

12 Ch. Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore, Sang- e-Meel Publications, 2001), 222.

13 All India States People Conference founded in 1927 was a sub-organization of Congress. Its major objective was to protect Hindus in states.

14 V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States* (Calcutta: V. N. Bhatlacharya, 1956), 22.

it included states. The sweeping victory of Congress¹⁵ in majority of the provinces in 1937 elections made the Congress leaders realize that Congress would be the successor to the British power over the whole of the India, including Indian states. So, in 1938, Congress passed a resolution that Indian states would be the integral part of India and demanded the same political, social and economic freedom as in the rest of India. In 1939, Nehru (1889-1964) was elected as the president of All India States Peoples Conference.¹⁶ The Muslim League¹⁷ could not ignore the efforts of Congress to extend its sphere of activities and influence to the states.

Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang consulted Quaid-i-Azam (1976-1948) and on his instructions laid the foundations of the State Muslim League¹⁸ in 1939. The first meeting of the All India States Muslim League was held in Lahore and the Muslim representatives of all Indian states attended it. Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang was unanimously elected its president. In a very short span of time, he aroused the Muslims of states and got them united. Mahmood-ul-Hassan Siddiqui, League's Secretary General made a tour of twelve states on Nawab's expenses and extend the sphere of State Muslim League and organize it everywhere. States of Cochain, Malabar, Mysore and Travancore in South India; Jaypur, Jodhpur and Gwalior in Central India and Kashmir in North India were also included in this.¹⁹

15 Indian National Congress, founded in 1885 on the instruction of A.O. Hume, a retired English Officer, claimed to represent all the people of India but inwardly it protected the rights of Hindus.

16 Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan*, 219.

17 All India Muslim League was founded in 1906 with the objective to safeguard the rights of Muslims and promote better relationship with the government.

18 All India States Muslim League headquarter was established in Nagpur on the expenses of Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang. He paid 160 rupees per month for its expenses. See Saeed, *Husool-e-Pakistan*, 303.

19 Saeed, *Husool-e-Pakistan*, 303.

In 1940, Muslim League put forward the demand for Pakistan in Muslim Majority areas. The states' Muslims also joined this struggle for Pakistan. Specially the states in the North West territory of India like Kashmir and Swat; in Baluchistan, Kalat and Las Bela; in Sind Khairpur and Hala; in Punjab Bahawalpur, Kapurthalah and Patiala and in Rajhistan Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Farid Kot, Jeind, Loder, Patodi, Chamba, Mandi and Kaleesa could accede to Pakistan and after the accession of these states, the proportion of Muslim population in Pakistan would be 61.63 percent.²⁰

In his Presidential Address to the meeting of the Majlis-e-Itehadul Muslimin in 1940, he elaborated in detail the causes and objectives of the States Muslim League. He said:

The horrible affairs of Muslim hardships and sufferings in the states of Jaipur, Gwalior and Kashmir etc. and the constitutional amendments there emphasized the need to establish it. So, with the grace of Allah and in His name I put the scheme of States Muslim League before States Muslims and requested them to assemble at its platform to protect their solidarity. Yes, they all cheered from all corners."²¹

The strategy adopted to extend the States Muslims League's network was that two of its meetings were essential to be held where the All India Muslim League's meetings were to be held. It provided the leaders with an opportunity to ponder over the problems of the Muslims of States. While he was setting up the branches of states Muslim League in various states, he sought the following information about states from Khawaja Hassan Nizami (1778-1857) due to his extensive familiarity with India.

- i. Does a parliament exist in the state and if so, what is Muslim representation in it?
- ii. What is Hindu Muslim proportion in ministries, secretariat and services of various sorts?

20 Assad Ali Sheikh, *Encyclopedia Tehreek-e-Pakistan* (Lahore: np, 1999), 243-245.

21 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 122.

- iii. What privileges do Hindus get from the state?
- iv. What is Muslims' ratio in state population? What is their condition?²²

Nawab had heard about the sufferings of the Muslims in the state of Gwalior and he immediately wrote to Maharaja:

All India States Muslim League's working committee is deeply concerned over the complaints the Muslim population has against your government. It requested me to present the matter before your Highness in a suitable way. Kindly, grant me time on nearest date so that I may appear before Your Highness to discuss the same.²³

Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang very actively and responsibly represented the states Muslims when he visited Sir Stafford Cripps (1889-1952) on his arrival in March 1943. The latter intended to see the representatives of states peoples, so, the former wrote to him:

You may be aware of the fact that the only representative of the States Muslims is All India States Muslim League whose presidentship has been entrusted to me.....I am confident that you will not neglect the Muslims of states and welcome the idea of an interview with me to find out their point of view."²⁴

State government did not like his political activities. A Royal furman was issued in 1943 that all 'Mansabdars and Jagirdars' would be considered state servants whereas the state had already banned the freedom of speech and political activities of its servants. At this moment, Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang decided to revert his titles and land (Jagir) to the state to keep his freedom of speech and political activities intact.²⁵

22 He wrote this letter to Khawaja Hassan Nizami on February 28, 1938. Khawaja was a famous prose-writer and held the office of Chistia Nizamia Order on the Mausoleum of Nizam-ud-din Aulia and had wide range of disciples of all over India. (see the letter in annexure 2).

23 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 170.

24 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 170.

25 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 170.

Nawab wanted to setup a branch of States Muslim League in Bahawalpur State. For this purpose, he wrote to Sheikh Abdul Rasheed of Bahawalnagar:

All India States Muslim Leagues surely can help the Muslims in States provided they themselves are willing in this connection. First, they should perfect their internal organization.²⁶

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, the great leader of Pakistan Movement, was the right hand of Quaid-i-Azam. His great qualities of mind and heart won him an applause and appreciation by the Quaid. The mention of two of his achievements during Muslims' struggle for freedom will help us judge how towering and influential personality he had among Muslim Leaguers. Muslim League had decided to hold its 27th meeting in Lahore but due to turmoil of Khaksars, government had banned public gathering. Unionist Prime Minister in Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat informed the Quaid about whole situation in detail. Quaid-i-Azam called a meeting of the Muslim League leaders. Most of them were in favour of cancellation of meeting but Bahadar Yar Jang assured Quaid-i-Azam that nothing would happen and requested him to ask Sir Sikandar Hayat that I (Quaid-i-Azam) would take the responsibility of law and order. Later on his assurance proved right and the meeting was successfully held.

The annual Muslim League meeting of 1941 was held in Madras. In this meeting the Pakistan Resolution (passed in Lahore in 1940) was to be adopted as the aims and objectives of Muslim League. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi of Sind says that there was a great controversy on this issue but the whole credit goes to Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang who convinced all contradicting people. Resultantly, it was passed by a huge majority vote.²⁷

His honesty and devotion, diligence and industry made him a cherished man of the Quaid. Owing to his deep affiliation

26 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 170.

27 Mohammad, *Hayat-e-Bahadar Yar Jang*, 141.

and close relationship with the Quaid, people began to think that he would be the successor to Quaid-i-Azam.

On June 25, 1944 his sudden demise at the age of 39 shocked every Muslim in India. Thousands of people, mostly the poor, attended his funeral prayer.

God had gifted Nawab with countless qualities. He was a zealous orator whose enthusiastic speeches enchanted and excited the audience. On speaking against the Dogra rulers' atrocities upon Kashmiri Muslims, he was expelled from Kashmir. His valour and boldness, his selflessness and sacrifices are visible from the fact that he did not lose heart despite being deprived of his Jagir.

Nobody can deny the fact that his speeches organized the hundred million Muslims of India who were nothing but a disorganized and scattered mob.

When he joined Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam said:

Muslim League was yet tongue-less (voiceless). Bahadar Yar Jang has given it tongue (voice).²⁸

On Quaid's instruction, Bahadar Yar Jang spontaneously translated his English speech into Urdu in a famous meeting of the All India Muslim League in Lahore in 1940.

Last but not the least is that he was a sincere Muslim, sympathetic leader who felt pain for the worst condition, the Muslims had fallen in. He spent every moment of his life for the betterment and uplift of the Muslims politically, socially, economically and religiously. It was due to his strong personality and force of conviction that the States Muslims stood united and supported Muslim League in its demand for Pakistan.

28 Syed Ahmadullah Nusrat Hashmi, *Quaid-i-Millat, Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang*, (Karachi: np, 1971), 5.

Pivotal Role of Personalities from Northern Areas in Pakistan Movement

Said Alam*

ABSTRACT

Born in 1900 in Simla, Syed Mehdi Ali Shah was the eldest of the seven siblings born to Syed Mustafa Shah of Shigar (Baltistan). Syed Mustafa Shah had migrated from Baltistan in 1860.



Mehdi Ali was educated in Simla and went to join the hospitality industry. Through his sheer hard work he went on to become a successful entrepreneur and came to own a luxurious property by the name of Central Hotel in Simla. He was also elected Vice President of the Municipal Corporation and in recognition of his political, civil and social services he was awarded the title of Khan Bahadur by the British Government.

Being a pro-independence activist he organized the Congress in Simla and became a dynamic member. He subsequently returned the title of Khan Bahadur awarded by the then British government. Out of his commitment to freedom inspired politics and his association with Congress

* Scholar of Gilgit, *Historical Facts* written by Said Alam from Astore.

he brushed shoulders with Muhammad Ali Jinnah who later became a good acquaintance.

Later on when he realized that the Hindu majority in undivided India was blatantly inclined towards preserving their own rights while ignoring those of the Muslims, he parted ways with the Congress.

He was one of the chief architects of laying Muslim League's foundation in Simla and organized the first ever congregation for Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah upon his visit to Simla. He remained committed to Muslim League and was instrumental in establishing it as a front line Muslim political outfit in Simla.

After announcement of partition all of Syed Mehdi's properties became home to hundreds of Muslim refugees who, fearing Hindu wrath sought shelter. He was also a respected name in the Kashmiri community owing to his social activism in the region.

He died in 1956 in Lahore and was buried in Wadi-e Salam in Iraq as per his will. A number of his family members, disciples and followers emerged as important figures and played a pivotal role of in the Pakistan Movement from Northern Areas.

Khan Bahadur Syed Mehdi Ali Shah

His family belongs to Shigar, Baltistan. His father's name was Syed Shah Abbas who migrated from Baltistan and settled down in Shimla. Syed Mehdi Ali Shah reached at the designation of Deputy Mayor of a beautiful and developed city of Shimla and performed the historic achievements which were not less than any other part of the country in respect of the activists of Pakistan Movement. He had great adherence with the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah for which he participated in the Pakistan Movement progressively. Whenever Quaid-e-Azam happened to come to Shimla for the cause of Pakistan



Movement, he used to welcome him in a zealous and wonderful way.

There is his famous incident in respect of Pakistan Movement. Once Mr. Jinnah held a public meeting in Shimla and knowing this, Congressmen also tried to get permission of holding a public meeting but with the opposition of Syed Mehdi Ali Shah congressmen were not permitted. On which they threatened Syed Mehdi Ali Shah. When he was questioned, "Did Muhammad Ali Jinnah not hold public meeting here yesterday"? He replied, "there is a difference between yesterday and today". After that, Congressmen became his strict opponents for which he took no notice and strived ever more for the Pakistan Movement. In addition, Syed Mehdi Ali Shah did not forget the fact of financial assistance of Pakistan Movement. The money he provided was presented to Fatima Jinnah through his wife as a donation for Muslim League.

During 1947, when residents of Baltistan in Shimla were suffering the problem of unemployment, he said to them if you have difficulty you may come to my house. In this way, his house became a free boarding house for poor and labourers. After the division of India, he migrated to Pakistan. Arriving to Pakistan, he got nothing in return of his property or not demanded anything. It is heard that he was going to be appointed as the caretaking president of Azad State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Counted in front line in respect of political, social and welfare works in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, Miss Fozia Saleem Abbas — a member of the ex-Northern Areas Council — is his grand daughter, who had always been striving to keep alive the traditions of her forefathers. She is endeared by all in the whole Northern Areas for her indifferent political and social services. She is the first woman who participated in election for a seat in the National Assembly of Pakistan from the city like Islamabad. In addition, Mohterma let provided constitutional position to Northern Areas through an historic decision taken in May, 1999 by the Supreme Court of

Pakistan on her constitutional plea. Unfortunately, no action has been taken in this regard until now.

Mirza Hussain Abbas

Mirza Hussain Abbas also belonged to Baltistan. He was the younger brother of Khan Bahadur Mirza Bader-ud-Din. He was very active member of the Pakistan Movement. He had a great political insight and he was general secretary of the Muslim League in Shimla. He was known more for his welfare and social works. He belonged to a wealthy family and he could serve people well. He left no stone unturned to make the Pakistan Movement active and effective. Arrangements of public meetings and processions of the Muslim League in Shimla were being done through him. That's why the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his dear ones respected him a lot.

Coming to Pakistan, he showed adherence with the Muslim Conference. Together with Quaid-e-Kashmir Ghulam Abbas had established the branches of Muslim Conference in Gilgit Baltistan. Before this, he was only the general secretary of Muslim League in Shimla. Mirza Hussain Abbas has an historical place among the prominent figures of Pakistan Movement.

Khan Bahadur Mirza Bader-ud-Din

His native country was Baltistan Shigar. His father Mirza Ghulam Muhammad migrated from Baltistan and settled down in Shimla, where he got a great name through his strenuous and devoted work. He did a lot for construction and development of Shimla. He successfully completed many projects among which was the changing direction of river Ohal in a tunnel to generate electricity at Gander Nager in State of Mandi. It is said that this tunnel was three miles long. The second big and important project



was the construction of Baakhra Dam. He was bestowed with the title of Khan Bahadur by the British government on the completion of these projects.

In addition, he had a big hotel, famous by the name of Metropole. He spent a lot of wealth and money for the success of Pakistan Movement. He remained at forefront for the financial assistance of the unemployed Balti residents in Shimla. He was one of the richest persons in Shimla.

When the country was divided, Khan Bahadur Bader-ud-Din and his brother Mirza Hussain Abbas came with his family in Shimla — Chorr Colcotta Camp, made for Mahajareen. Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah both persuaded Khan Bahadur Mirza Bader-ud-Din that where he was going. We and Hindustan need you. You do not go to Pakistan; we will provide you every kind of protection. You must go back home and play your role in building Hindustan. Sheikh Abdullah came to Kalka Camp to take back both the Khan Bahadurs of Baltistan but they refused even electricity at his home and Raees-e-Shimla remained contented in poverty and miserable condition. He always thanked God that they are in Pakistan. Whatever pain it may be, it's the Will of God. Thanks to God that we and our generation's nationality is Pakistani. What bigger profit we may have from our life that our identity is Pakistan. *Al-Hamdo-Lillah*.

Arriving to Pakistan, he did not express any kind of demand, although his countless wealth was left in India and in return of that he did not demand anything. He did not get discouraged on the mutation of Government of Pakistan. He restarted his business. Coming to Khushab (Punjab) which was a Tehsil of district Sargodha and is in district Khushab now, he started the business of coal mining on which his grand-children are still working in a nice way. They have expanded the business of their grandfather from district Khushab to districts Chakwal and Jhelum. He had two sons, Mirza Ghulam Abbas and Mirza Hussain Abbas. Ghulam Abbas has three sons, Mirza Saleem, Mirza Kalbay Abbas

Mirza Raza Abbas. Mirza Saleem Abbas and Mirza Kalbay Abbas are taking care of business of their grandfather.

Mehmuda Begum Mehdi

Mohterma Mehmuda Begum's family does not need any introduction. She was born in Shimla, her father's name was Mirza Ghulam Muhammad, whose motherland was Baltistan Shaggar. He migrated from there and settled down in Shimla. Mohterma Begum Mehdi was the younger sister of Rayees-e-Shimla Khan Bahadur Mirza Bader-ud-Din and Mirza Hussain Abbas. Mirza Bader-ud-Din was one of the wealthiest and respected persons of Shimla. He played an important role in the construction and development of Shimla by successful completion of many plans among which two main plans are worth mentioning. Firstly, changing the direction of river Ohal in a tunnel to generate electricity at Gander Nager in State of Mandi. The length of this tunnel was three miles. The second very important project was the construction of Baakhra Dam. British Government gave him the title of Khan Bahadur on the completion of these plans. Apart from this he had also a big hotel in Shimla which was famous by the name of Metropole and an industrial estate at Amritsar by the name of metropole work

Mohterma Begum Mehdi's second brother Mirza Hussain Abbas held a front line position in political arena of Shimla. He was General Secretary of the Muslim League in Shimla. He had close intimacy with Quaid-e-Azam, that's why, Mohterma Mehmuda Begum stepped in the field of politics very early. Mohterma Mehmuda Begum always used to be with Mohterma Fatima Jinnah whenever she came to Shimla. Mohterma Mehmuda Begum played a very important role in establishing a woman branch of the Muslim League and the Muslim League force of women in Shimla. Quaid used to stay in Matropole Hotel Shimla, gathering all the Muslim women of Shimla under the flag of Muslim League, she organized the Muslim League branch of Muslim women in a better way. It is heard that Mohterma Mehmuda Begum was so active in the Pakistan Movement that whenever there

was no ladder available. In any public meeting, she used to lift the tallest woman on her shoulders to hoist the flag of Muslim League.

For these countless services of Mohterma Mehmuda Begum, Quaid-e-Azam and Mohterma Fatima Jinnah both liked her. That's why Mohterma was close to them. This is also heard that Zubaida Begum Mehdi Ali Shah was also equally participating with her. Zubaida Begum was known more by the name of her husband. Syed Mehdi Ali was the Mayor of Shimla. Collecting funds for the centre, she used to give it to Fatima Jinnah. But Mohterma Mehmuda Begum Mehdi's emotions and feelings were valuable. Right from her youth, she participated enthusiastically in the Pakistan Movement. In fact, when the writer met with her, he felt that the same emotions and feelings were still alive in her heart. She expressed her emotions as she were addressing to a procession. I thought what could be her emotions at that time? Anyhow I feel proud that today I am writing about the great woman of my area, who offered her great services to Pakistan Movement and made herself a part of history.

I applaud her sons, Mirza Asad Abbas Baig and Mirza Ajmal Baig from the core of my heart that their mother is alive in history due to her prominent deeds. Mohterma Mehmuda Begum died in Lahore a few years ago. May God rest her soul in peace.

Role of Women

Along with the role of prominent figures and students of the the Northern Areas, the common women have also played very important role in the Pakistan Movement which can not be neglected. As it has been mentioned earlier that the people of different families of Baltistan residents in Shimla offered their important services in the Pakistan Movement, Mirza Abbas and Sultan Mehdi Ali Shah are worth mentioning among them who were counted in aristocrats of Shimla. A daughter of this family, Mehmuda Begum played very important role to make Muslim League active in Shimla. Mehmuda begum was the younger sister of Mirza Bader-ud-

Din and Mirza Hussain Abbas. Mirza Hussain Abbas had been an active member in the Pakistan Movement. In the city like Shimla he was elected as the general secretary of Muslim League that's why he had deep relation with the founder of Pakistan and other important personalities of Pakistan. When the writer met with Mohterma in the house of Muhammad Saleem Abbas at Islamabad, a woman came with Tasbeih in her hand and Mohterma Fozia Saleem Abbas was also with her. Mohterma Fozia said to me that you will get a whole material for your book today because Mohterma herself has been an active member of the Muslim League, even her whole house was a complete house for Muslim League in Shimla. In the meanwhile, before I could ask question Mohterma Mehmuda Begum started speaking that they have not done so much work as their forefathers did for the Muslim League and Pakistan. The atmosphere of our whole house was political and God had provided a lot to my brothers who spent generously for the country and nation. The real reason of my plunge into politics was Mohterma Fatima Jinnah who always stood side by side with her brother. When Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah came in Shimla on the invitation of the residents of Baltistan, Mohterma Fatima Jinnah was also with him. Our people welcomed them tremendously on which Quaid-e-Azam and Mohterma Fatima Jinnah became very impressed. Women at large were also present to welcome them. Coming out of rickshaw, Mohterma Fatima Jinnah went to women and thanked them. The arrangements of their meals and accommodation were made in our hotel which was known by the name of Metropole.

I remained with them and Begum Mehdi Ali Shah was also with me who was known in Shimla by the name of her husband. In the meanwhile, Mohterma Fatima Jinnah addressed to women that they should establish a branch of the Muslim League women and acting on these we all established the branch of Muslim league women in Shimla. In addition, collecting donation for the centre, we gave it to

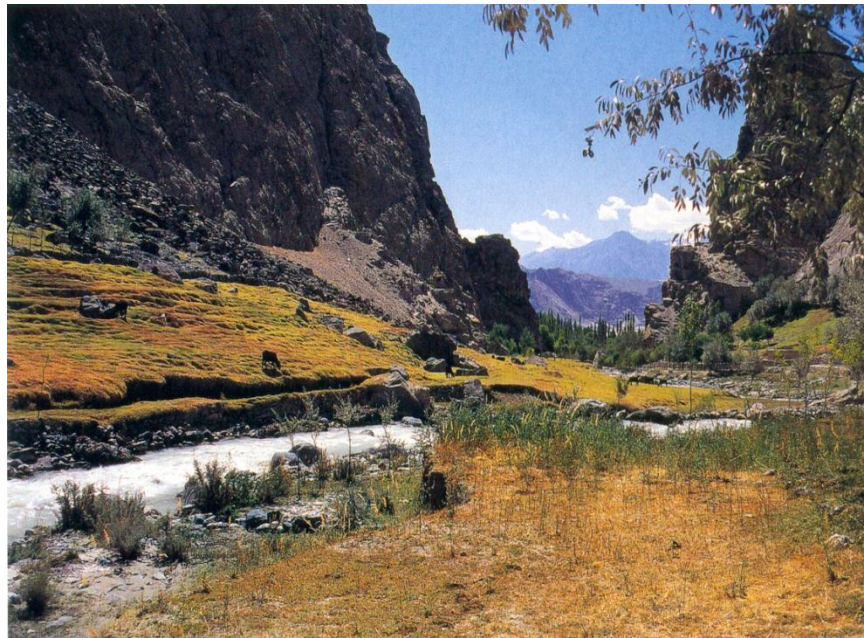
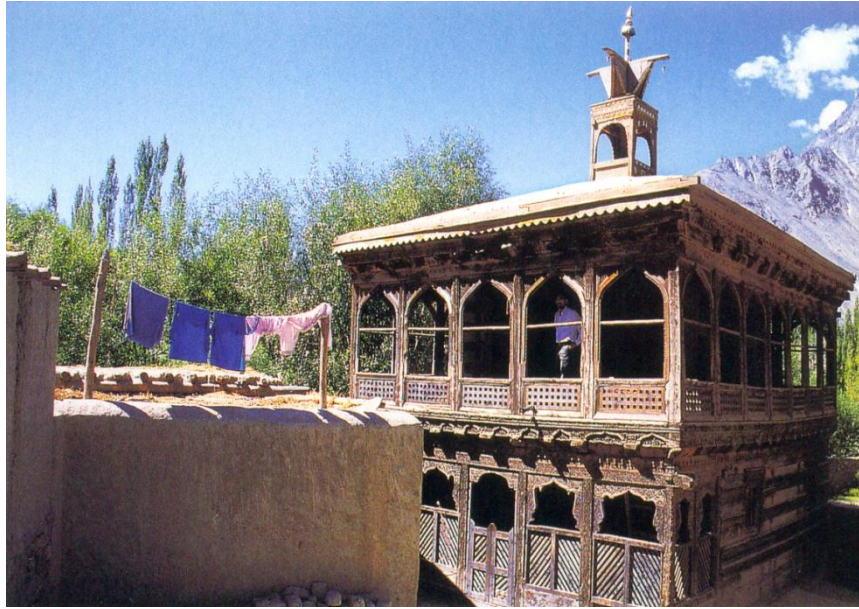
Mohterma Fatima Jinnah. Begum Sultan Mehdi Ali Shah played a major role in it.

Seeing Mohterma Fatima Jinnah we got great courage. She was very vigilant and possessed a high character as well. Therefore, we thought that why do not we help our brothers. That's why with lot of efforts we involved Muslim women in the Muslim League and organized a branch of the Muslim League Women. In addition, we also prepared the Muslim League Force of Muslim Women. Today I am contented that whatever could be done for Pakistan we did it together with our brothers; thanks God a lot that Pakistan, an Islamic country came into being and we are living our lives happily. May God grant Pakistan progress (Ameen).

Before Muslim League both the Khan Bahadurs worked with Nehru in Congress and it was when Quaid formed a separate organization the PML that they joined PML.

Views of Shigar Valley





**Jan Mohammad Kasi (1898-1961):
Life and Work**

Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi*

ABSTRACT

*History is witness to the fact that in struggle of nations there are numerous names who not being the captain of the ship but ordinary crew played an important role in the its successful reaching to destination. They deserved award, without having them they remain in the least limelight. It can be rightly said about Malik Jan Mohammad Kasi — a least known Muslim Leaguer whose services were immense. Jan Mohammad Kasi is one of the leading stalwarts of freedom and independence from arid Balochistan. His contributions as a tribal man and social worker in the mobilization of support for the Muslim League, and later on for the Shahi Jirga's decision in favor of Pakistan is a hidden episode of the Pakistan political history. He loved the idea of independence and freedom from his early life, as the famous historian/novelist Nasim Hijazi writes in his book *Tehrik-e-Pakistan aur Balochistan* [Urdu:*

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Independence Movement and Balochistan], he left no stone unturned from the early days of his activeness against the British till he breathed his last. He actively participated along Quaid-i-Azam for the promotion of Muslim League cause in pre-dominated Sardars and Congress Balochistan. He played an important part in familiarizing the Muslim League cause amongst public in the British Balochistan.

This paper is an attempt to highlight the life and works of a Muslim Leaguer and freedom fighter. An effort is made to focus the important events of his life and the way he dedicated himself to the cause and services of the Muslim League.

Malik Jan Mohammad Kasi was born in the respectable family of Kasi tribe in Quetta in 1898. His father Malik Wazir Mohammad Khan was a proud but simple man whom the British titled as Khan Bahadur. He denounced the award during the Muslim League's struggle for Pakistan when its leaders were surrendering the titles from the British government. He belonged to Akazai section of the tribe. Kasi is a respectable and known Pasthoon tribe of Quetta about which it is historically proved that they owned Quetta when it was called Shalkot.¹

He believed in freedom and independence and was proud of Afghans as peace and freedom loving nation. He supported struggle against the British and believed in the independence of British India from the yoke of imperialism. As evident from the historical documents that, as a supporter of the reforms, King Amanullah Khan adopted to stratify Afghan society into a modern state. When in 1928, King Amanullah reached Quetta from Qandahar, Malik Jan

1 Akhtar Ali Baloch, *Balochistan ki Namur Shahhsiyat* [Urdu: Important Personalities of Balochistan) Vol 1 & II "(Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1999); Inam ul Haq Kausar, *Jadohehid Azadi mein Balochistan ka Kardar* [Role of Balochistan in Freedom Struggle], (Lahore: Tehkikat Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1991).

Mohammad Kasi mobilized crowd to welcome him, despite strict surveillance and risk on the Quetta railway station. He along Pir Zainuddin Agha had the honour to be invited by Amanullah inside the personal boggy of the King and dined with him.

He believed in the friendship of bad days and proved it when King Amanullah in May 1929 being exiled from his homeland landed again in Quetta (on his way to *Rome en rout* Karachi). Jan Mohammad showed him more respect and arranged a huge crowd and lunch in his spacious house. History is witness to the fact that King Amanullah was besieged by hardship and was accompanied by hundreds of relatives being unable to accompany him due to financial hardship and supportive documents to Rome. Jan Mohammad disposed his expensive property and arranged lodging and food for the families for six months in Quetta. They included Abdul Ahad Wardec, the ADC of the King who later on returned to Afghanistan and became the Speaker of Afghan National Assembly under Zahir Shah. During the reign of King Nadir Shah, Malik Jan Kasi received special invitation to visit Kabul and was officially decorated with highest Afghan medal *Satara Afghan*. King Nadir offered him a big orchard in Kabul for the services of him during Amanullah and struggle of Afghan royal army against Bacca Saka which he declined by saying, "*I did not help you people for the sake of reward. It was my duty as a Pashtoon and freedom fighter. I, being an independent dweller of a slave nation, proud of freedom lovers.*" Malik Shaib was decorated by one of the swords of Ahmed Shah Abdali by King Nadir Shah which he accepted with a kiss in public ceremony in the royal palace in 1937. It was nine years later when he gave the sword to Quaid-i-Azam on his arrival to Quetta in 1946. "I feel delighted to honour to bestow you with the sword which having been in the proud hands of a holy war lord was offered to this humble (me: Malik Jan Mohammad Kasi)". Quaid-i-Azam had big admiration for him and was his personal guest (stayed/dined in his house). Quaid visited

Quetta twice and it was an honour for him, besides him two others were Khan of Kalat and Barrister Qazi Essa.

Quetta and its Pashtu speaking areas, part of the British Balochistan between 1876 to 1947 was a strong base of the Indian National Congress but Jan Mohammad did not join it. Rather he enjoyed friendly relationship with Congress leaders and received repeated invitations from them such as Samad Khan Achakzai, Khan Ghaffar Khan, and shared anti-British feelings but he refrained from becoming its veteran. Why he was reluctant to join Congress Party despite the fact that he appreciated their struggle for independence. It was basically the Hindu mentality he did not want to rely on for the promotion of Muslim cause. To him, the Congress was predominantly under Hindu influence and it was due to that they supported One-Nation Theory of India is for Indians.

Although without formal schooling, he had political vision, leadership traits and debating skills. He on numerous occasions of Muslim League made important speeches and proved himself a conspicuous participant. He liked political debates and was willing to travel far and wide for political meetings. He participated in Balochistan and the All India Baloch Conference under the auspice of Yousif Khan Magsi on December 28, 1932. This conference forwarded demands to the British government for reforms. He served as a member of Executive Board along Khan Abdul Samad Khan, Jam Noorullah Khan and others from Quetta/Pishin.²

He joined the All India Muslim League in early 1930s and was one of the leading activists of the party from the province. It is said that he chaired the first informal session of Balochistan Muslim League in 1934 in which the message of Quaid-i-Azam was read. It was a courageous step of Quaid-i-Azam as very few could dare to do so during the period due to the predominant role of Congressmen in

2 Inam ul Haq Kausar, "Yusuf Aziz Magsi", *Balochistan Review*, University of Balochistan, 12:13, 2004: 139; Inam ul Haq Kausar, *Pakistan Movement and Balochistan* (Quetta: United Printers, 1999).

Quetta. Nasim Hijazi had rightly said that he sowed the seeds of Muslim League in remote Congress tilted Balochistan. He was made the *Salar-e-Azam* (Chief Commander) of the Muslim League National Guard which later on rendered uncountable services for the achievement of Muslim League identity.³

The Balochistan Muslim League was formally established in 1939 and its first session as well as public conference was held in June the same year. Many events before the arrival of Quaid-i-Azam in 1943. These events were decorated and supported by people like Malik Jan Mohammad Kasi. One was on March 23, 1941 by the group of Muslim Leaguers in Quetta to celebrated as Pakistan Day. The speeches of Quaid, Abdullah Haroon and Liaquat Ali Khan were read. It was the occasion for which Maulana Zafar Ali Khan came all the way to Balochistan, his first and last visit to Balochistan. The National Guards paraded was also held on the occasion. It was two year later on the eve of the arrival of Quaid in 1943, that the Guards presented him salute about which Quaid said that such a salute I had not been offered even I had been a king.⁴ Quaid-i-Azam arrived from Karachi by train: *Quetta Mail*.

Quaid-i-Azam visited Balochistan for the first time in 1943. It was a marathon scene of people gathering around the leader from right over his entrance in Jhat Pat to Quetta railway station. As the local Weekly *Al-Islam* narrated: "Quaid was stunned by the hospitality and warmness and realized their future importance in the development of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. He made short speeches on the occasions in which he advised them to be politically united as it was indispensable to their future stability. Quaid-i-Azam in Quetta attended a number of gatherings including the annual session of Balochistan

3 S. Selig Harrison, *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptation* (New York: Carnegie Endowment, 1981); Baloch, *Balochistan ki Namur Shahhsiyat*, 183.

4 Janmahmad, *The Baloch Cultural Heritage* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1982); Baloch, *Balochistan ki Namur Shahhsiyat*, 185.

Muslim League. Flanked by Qazi Muhammad Isa, Maulana Abdul Kareem, Malik Muhammad Usman Khan and his sister Fatimah Jinnah, he insisted that Balochistan Muslim League had reached a stage where it was not only a source of pride for Muslims, but the non-Muslims of the organization also supported it (referring to the fact that Balochistan contained a sizeable Hindu population). His statement was historical and sentimental when he said, "As you know I have personal relation with Balochistan since a long period. I draw pleasure when I remember the days when the people of this province took part in our freedom struggle shoulder to shoulder with us. The part which you have played in the achievement of our objective is no less than that of the efforts made by our brethren of other provinces of Pakistan".⁵ The daily *Dawn* carried an editorial in the following words: "There has seldom been greater stirrings in the bosom of Balochistan than at the Third Annual Session of the Balochistan Muslim League. The outstanding feature of the Session was the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, whose visit to Balochistan was itself a political event of first rate importance. And the visit was not the result of a sudden fancy but the consummation of a long nourished desire which dated at least as far back as the enumeration of his now famous Fourteen Points in the twenties. Seldom has any political personality caught the fancy and won the hearts of the simple downright peoples of this province the way the Quaid-i-Azam had done."⁶

He participated in 1940 Lahore Resolution which later on Hindu press dubbed as Pakistan Resolution and was known in history with the name. Being the head of National Guard Force he was assigned the security duties of Quaid-i-Azam and other important Muslim Leaguers. It was the time when

5 Kausar, "Yusuf Aziz Magsi", *Balochistan Review*: 115; *Balochistan through Ages: A Selection from the Government Record*, Vol I and II (Quetta: Nisa Traders, 1979).

6 A.B. Awan, *Balochistan Historical and Political Processes* (London: New Century Publishers, 1985), 20; Mansoor Akbar Kundi, *Balochistan: Hope and Despair* (Lahore: Dost Publication, 2002).

the British CID was active and repressive under the anti-Muslim League Prime Minister of Punjab, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. Malik Jan Mohammad Kasi, after Jinnah arrived on Lahore Railways Station, presented the Muslim National Guard salute. Later on he led him to the place of his stay.⁷

He liked Jinnah for his special attention to Balochistan he depicted in his 1924 Fourteen Points for reforms and province status. He said about him that he was one of the greatest statesmen of the world who without shedding a drop of blood won a nation-state was indeed a history maker. He lived and died for a cause which was the direction of Indian Muslims towards independence and integrity.

His contributions as a member of Shahi Jirga in the mobilization of support of the Shahi Jirga's quest for Pakistan is a silent chapter of the Pakistan political history. He along others loved the idea of Pakistan, and for the achievement of it he left no stone unturned.⁸ He along Muhammad Masood, an Indian Civil Servant and Jehangir Shah Jogezeai played an intermediary role in mobilizing support of the Shahi Jirga for the decision of Balochistan in favour of Pakistan. He had realized the fact that British wanted Balochistan stay out of joining Pakistan for the purpose of which they believed in postponing the Jirga but their efforts failed as the members showed their staunch support for joining Pakistan. Shahi Jirga, the highest of the four-tier Jirga system in Balochistan, was crucial in its decision to make the fate of Balochistan either in or out of Pakistan. It comprised 69 members including the elected

7 Kausar, "Yusuf Aziz Magsi", *Balochistan Review*: 488; Dost Muhammad Dost. *The Languages and Races of Afghanistan*, (Kabul: Pashtu Academy, 1975); Ahmad Yar Khan, *Inside Baloch* 1st Edition (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1975). Mansoor Akbar Kundi, *Balochistan: A Socio-Cultural and Political Analysis*, 2nd edition (Quetta: Qasim Book Depot, 1997).

8 Inam-ul Haq, *Pakistan Movement and Balochistan* (Quetta: United Printers, 1999); Inam ul Haq Kausar, *Jadohehid Azadi mein Balochistan ka Kardar* [Role of Balochistan in Freedom Struggle] (Lahore: Tehkikat Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1991).

members of the Quetta Municipal Committee out of which 36 had to vote in favour of joining Pakistan.⁹

He believed in social service and was pro-Muslim. In 1947 partition riots he at the risk of his own life tried to save thousands of Bihari Muslims on their way from Patna. He along 400 National Guards who included his own two sons reached Patna and provided safest escort them to Dacca. In those bloody hours it was gigantic task Quaid-i-Azam assigned him. He and his men saved numerous families' life and honour.

9 Aziz Ahmed Bugti, *Balochistan: Siyasi Culture aur Kebaili Nizam* [Urdu: Balochistan: Political Culture and Tribal System] (Lahore: Fiction House, 2003); Mahmood Ali Shah, *Sardari, Jirga and Local Government Systems in Balochistan* (Quetta: Mairaj Press, 1994).

THE EDITORS



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