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1st CHAPTER :

Pakistan's Ideological and Constitutional Progress

Ideology means visionary concept of some political, cultural or national movement, linguistic expert Webster has defined ideology as follows,

"Academic statement of the planning of some national, political or economical movement".

Webster takes the meanings of ideology as:-

- A rule or programme which is based on concept or philosophy.
- A strategy, which is unanimously accepted by majority of nation.
- Ideologies are such strengths which give birth to civilizations and produce motivation for movements of any revolution.
- A philosophical strategy in which solution of political, economical and social issues is avoidable.

TWO NATIONS THEORY'S PROGRESS

The base of Muslim nationality is staunch faith in oneness of God "Allah" and any other faith is against Islam, so any person on earth who embraces Islam automatically becomes a part of Muslim community.

Two Nation theory and Pakistan Movement are actually two sides of the same movement. When the Muslims of Indo Pak Sub-continent launched their struggle for a separate homeland, two nation theory was based automatically, In fact the Muslims claimed their identity as a separate nation due to their political awareness.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said very rightly that the foundation of two nation theory was laid down at the very moment, when the candle of Islam was illuminated in this continent and first ever Hindu embraced Islam.

Two nation's theory was very much active in the back ground of Pakistan's ideology, which mentioned that there were two great nations existing in the Indian sub-continent, Muslims and Hindus. Their vision, life's concept, attitude and destiny are entirely different from one another. The faith and religion, culture and civilization, and traditions and values are quite different, which made their existence together impossible, while the claim of Hindus was that there was only one nation in India which only belonged to Hindus. When the Muslims invaded India, the Hindus declared them oppressors and never accepted the Muslims as a nation. Due to this reason both the faiths kept on flourishing on opposite sides, in spite of living together for centuries.

THE SAINTS OF INDIA AND TWO NATIONS THEORY

Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh, Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti, Khawaja Zaheeruddin Masood Gunj Shakar, Khawaja Nizamuddin Aulia and Sheikh Bahauddin Zikriya Multani extended valuable services for the preaching of Islam. Sheikh Ahmed Sarhadi (alias Mujaddad Alf-e-Sani), Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Syed Ahmed Bareilvi and Shah Ismail Shaheed staged holy wars against every un-Islamic steps. Hazrat Mujaddad Alfe Sani was the prominent example in the region of Mughal emperor Akbar. The pious and devout personalities of Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-Sani, Shah Waliullah, Sultan Tipu, Titu Meer Shaheed, and Syed Ahmed Shaheed contributed a lot in awakening the concept of a separate Muslim nationalism by blocking the oppression of Hindus and British for a very long time with stone-walled defence. The British further established their rule in the sub-continent after the result of the freedom war in their favour. Under these circumstances only two options were left for the Muslims, first was to surrender themselves before the Hindu rulers and forced to spend life in slavery or struggle for the creation of a separate Islamic state keeping in view the golden principles of Islam.

TWO NATION THEORY OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN

After the freedom war of 1857, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the only Muslim leader who introduced two nation theory

scientifically. He planted the two nation theory in February 1867. He said "I state with total firmness that if we momentarily ignore the concept of God, then in all the business of daily life the Hindus and Muslims are not two sons of the mother land but a nation".

1. MUSLIMS ARE SEPARATE COMMUNITY:

The Muslim rule on Indian soil has been the longest ever. Apart from Arab Muslims, the local Hindus also embraced Islam and kept their individuality as a separate nation intact, as in spite of the British's invasion, the Muslims possessed an open hatred for separate identity as a nation and they considered the homeland, the basis of nationalism.

2. EFFORTS TO GET THE MUSLIMS SEPARATED FROM HINDUS' SOCIETY:

After the opposition of Hindus against Urdu language in 1867, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan always struggled to keep the Muslims away from the Hindu society. For this purpose he wrote two thought provoking columns on the theme of separate nationality. He also presented the qualities and status of the Muslim nation in his articles to explain the two nation theory to the British.

3. AS A NATION OR RELIGION MUSLIM APPROVED TO GET PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS:

Sir Syed made such efforts that the Muslim might not keep them separated from India's social and political affairs. They must gain prosperity by remaining within their religion's limits and keep one progressing. He, therefore, advised the Muslims to become one nation.

4. EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE MUSLIM CIVILIZATION IN INDIA:

After the 1857 freedom war Sir Syed Ahmed Khan made great efforts to keep the concept of two nation theory intact by organizing Muslim civilization.

5. ADVICE TO BEWARE OF THE HINDU'S TEACHING TO MUSLIMS:

The Hindus through their treacherous moves always inflicted damage to the Muslims of India. The objective of Sir Syed's teachings was to keep Muslim away from All India Congress.

6. MUSLIMS CANNOT AVAIL EQUAL RIGHTS FROM CONGRESS:

Sir Syed was well aware of the fact that the Muslims can't avail equal rights from All India Congress with Hindus in majority. So he advised the Muslim to pay attention to education for competing with the Hindus.

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGY

According to the Muslim philosophies Pakistan's ideology is actually attributed to Islamic ideology. The real source of this ideology is in fact Islam. As Islam is a complete rule of life, so we will have to seek a real guidance from the Islamic principles to run the state in Pakistan.

• ISLAM

Islam is a complete way of life, which possesses the guideline for managing the governance in Pakistan, so that the citizens of Pakistan may spend their life according to the Islamic teachings and the actual rule in the state must be of Allah the Almighty's. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had proclaimed on a number of occasions in their speeches that The demand for Pakistan was based only on the fact that the Muslims have a different life style. Islam is not the name of such relation between man and God, which is not related with state affairs".

• DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

According to Pakistan's ideology, the reins of the government are in the hands of the public in democratic system. The democratic process will be established in the light of Islamic teachings. Its infrastructure will be entirely different from western democracy and its basic principle will be the rule of public. The supremacy of a particular sector or a religious group will not be acceptable.

Pakistan's ideology will be wishing to establish a noble society in Pakistan. With justice and assembly where in an Islamic state, Allah will be the only ruler with supremacy of Quran and Sunnah and the implementation of Shariah laws. The responsibility of caliphate must be entrusted to the faithful as a trust

• TWO NATION THEORY

The secret of the creation of Pakistan was in this fact that there were two separate nations with different culture and heritage; religion, faith and philosophy; one is Muslim and the other is Hindu. The separate homeland demand was based on two nation theory and it was interested that there would be a distinctive status for the minorities in fact in any circumstances in the Islamic state.

• ISLAMIC CULTURE AND HERITAGE

There are indelible impacts of Islamic values upon the culture and heritage of Pakistan. The cultural heritage of the Muslims is in accordance with Islamic principles. So it is not a difficult task for them to protect the Islamic cultural values and their dissemination. However the intentions require the sincerity only.

• ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The public welfare projects are included in the basic principles of Pakistan's ideology and through these projects the state is bound to provide the basic necessities of life to all the citizens.

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGY AND QUAID-E-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah possessed boundless political wisdom and leadership qualities. He continued his struggle for the creation of Pakistan in spite of limited resources lonely like a disarmed soldier against the Hindu capitalists, British imperialists and misled Muslim leaders of congress. At last on August 14, 1947, Pakistan came into being on the map of the world as an ideological Islamic State.

Mr. Jinnah was very much fond of seeking law education, so after matriculation he proceeded to England where he sought admission in Lincoln's Inn only for the reason that on the main gate of this institution, in the list of world's greatest law conferring personalities, the name of our Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (SAW) was on the top. He completed the four year's course in just two years and achieved the honour of the youngest Barrister of the Indo-Pak sub continent.

Quaid-e-Azam got an opportunity to listen to the speeches of the Muslim politicians and intellectuals and study their thoughts, which produced mental growth and consummate of age vision. On his return he started practicing as an advocate of the high court, but his luck deserted him. In 1906 he started his active political career as a private secretary to Dada Bhai Noorjee and attended several congress meetings. In 1906 during the Calcutta meeting of congress, he delivered a very famous speech.

Quaid-e-Azam was a strong supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity from the beginning. But his view was that to get rid of British, this unity was necessary, so all Indians must think like one nation, act and adopt the platform of congress.

He was elected unopposed as a member of Central Council in 1909 from the Muslim constituency of Bombay. In 1910 in Central Council's session he had a verbal dispute with the president of council Indian viceroy Lord Minto that why Jinnah was called by the government of South Africa as oppressor. He also presented a Muslim trustee bill as a private bill in the council meeting, which was approved with great majority. This bill benefited Muslims in the result of this success and the dignity of Jinnah was immensely enhanced.

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGY AND SAYINGS OF QAUID-E-AZAM

Quaid-e-Azam began his political career by joining Indian National Congress. For some initial period, he remained the messenger of Muslims-Hindu unity, but he changed his stand after getting aware of the Muslim enmity described in the Nehru report, because in the context of this report congress violently pulled off the helping hand of Muslim leaders and claimed that there were only two powers in India "Congress and British". Quaid-e-Azam replied bluntly that there was a third power and that was the political party of the Muslims, "Muslim League". With these statements the two nation theory kept on crossing over the initial stages. The other references which strengthened the Pakistan's ideology are as under:-

1. PROTECTION OF MUSLIM'S RIGHTS:

Quaid-e-Azam in his address on the eve of round table conference 1931, said that "unless the Muslims were not ensured the protection of their rights, so that they might feel total security and self confidence in the next legislation of Indian government,

such a legislative bill without the non-co-operation and non-participation of Muslims of India would not be steady and could not provide guarantee for the security and peace in India".

2. HINDU-MUSLIMS, TWO DIFFERENT POWERS:

Quaid-e-Azam while explaining the two nation theory in the historical meeting of Muslim League on March 23, 1940 in Lahore, said that Islam and Hinduism are not only two religions but actually two different and separate social systems. This would just be a dream that Hindus and Muslims would ever create a joint nation through unity. They don't have inter-marriages nor do they take meals on one table. Hero of one nation is the villain for other".

3. NECESSITY OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE FOR ISLAM:

Quaid-e-Azam had guessed though the prevailing probable circumstances of India that this area needed an Islamic state, which would be protecting the Muslims' interest. He stressed the imposing of Islamic laws and life style in his address in these words:

"The demand of Pakistan was made due to the basic reason that we were Muslims and desired to remain Muslims. Therefore, we want such a piece of land, where we could live as a Muslim nation and might mould our life according to the golden principles of Islam. Our religion, culture and Islamic concepts have motivated us for the independence".

4. ISLAM AND HINDUISM-TWO DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

Quaid-e-Azam in his presidential address during the historical meeting of Muslim League on March 23, 1940, said that Islam and Hinduism are not only two different religions but actually two different social systems, so this wish many be considered as unaccomplished dream that both Hindus and Muslim would create a joint community".

5. MUSLIMS AND MUHAMMADEN CONFESSION OF FAITH, ONENESS OF GOD:

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said in Aligarh on March, 1944, while addressing the Muslims that the basis of Muslim nation is Muhammadan confession of faith that there is only one God, Allah. There is no discrimination of race or land. When the

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very first person of India embraced Islam, he became member of a separate nation and deserted his previous community. So a new community came into being in India. Then you might have considered that what was the motivational factor of Pakistan's demand? What was the basic reason for a separate state for Muslims and the main reason was neither the narrow sightedness nor the cleverness of the British, but Islam, our faith".

6. DESIRE TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT:

Quaid-e-Azam desired that Muslims must have a separate state, where they might live independently to keep the lamp of their culture burning. He expressed these views during his address of Muslim League Conference on November 21, 1945 that Muslims' demand for Pakistan was due to the fact that they desired a separate rule for the Islamic laws and principles, their cultural development and traditions, so that they might spend their lives accordingly.

7. HATRED FOR HINDUS' RULE:

Quaid-e-Azam on so many occasions expressed his hatred for the Hindu mentality. In a letter to Gandhi he expressed his sentiments that India was not one community and nor its inhabitants form a single nation, as it is in fact a sub-continent of different nations or communities of which Hindus and Muslims were the most important".

8. ONLY SOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL ISSUE:

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah termed the independent state for the Muslims of India as the only solution for the prevailing distress and war of differences in Indo-Pak sub continent. He said in November 1946 that the only solution of the Indian issue was to divide it into two parts. There should be separate legislative assemblies, which may formulate their constitutions. The present struggle would carry on up to that moment, until desire of one nation to rule the other one forcibly dismisses from one's mind".

9. MUSLIMS AREN'T MINORITY BUT A NATION:

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah explained the two nation theory on March 23, 1940 in a grand meeting of the Muslims during the first seminar of All India Muslim League and said that:

"On the basis of disinformation and decreeing ideas, the Muslims of India have been declared a minority. This wrong thinking has been given that much stimulation that there are great problems in imposing it. The Muslims are not a minority in any respect, but according to the comprehensive and certified definitions of nationality, the Muslims deserve, as a nation, a separate sovereign state in this continent".

10. THE DESTINY OF MUSLIMS:

On one occasion the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said while addressing the audience, "The Muslims are a separate and isolated nation and they can't spend their life with the Hindus, so it is the dire need of hour to establish a separate and independent state for the Muslims of India".

Apart from this he urged upon the Hindus in an address to the Central Assembly on November 19, 1940, "We have absolutely and forever made Pakistan our destiny and we are ready to struggle and lay down our life to achieve this goal."

On the eve of the birth of a new nation in 1947, he addressed the Pakistanis as the first Governor General of Pakistan and said, "The creation of Pakistan has finally become a reality with the grace of Allah the Almighty, for which we had been struggling for so many years in the past. The actual objective of this country is not independence, but establishing a true Islamic society."

11. OBLIGATION AFTER ACHIEVING FREEDOM:

In October 1947, the Quaid in an order to create awareness in Pakistanis about their obligation for the country, said in Lahore, "Everyone of us not only must give his word to sacrifice his own self but also express the determination to make Pakistan a citadel of Islam and to bring our country in the row of such countries, whose objective is to maintain peace and serenity, not only within the country but at all places."

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGY AND ALLAMA IQBAL

ACTIVE POLITICAL CAREER OF A . MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Allama Muhammad Iqbal was a great poet and philosopher of Indo-Pak sub-continent. He produced patriotism, love for Islamic values, sentiments of nationalism and independence among the

Muslim youth and presented the idea of a separate state for the Muslims of Indo-Pak sub-continent. Actually he opened the way for the creation of Pakistan.

Allama Iqbal started his active political career in 1926, and was elected as a member of Punjab Assembly in the same year. He has the credit to present the first ever private bill in the Assembly, which aimed at to avoid giving contemptuous remarks about the religious scholars and to pay due respect and protection to the worshipping places of all religions. This legislation was formed in 1927, when the sub-continent politics has become the victim of distress and depression. Punjab Muslim League under the leadership of Sir Muhammad Shafi had decided to extend co-operation with the Simon Commission. The Quaid-e-Azam and his companions opposed the stand of their fellow Muslim Leaguer Sir Muhammad Shafi on this issue. While Allama Muhammad Iqbal fully supported Sir Muhammad Shafi regarding this issue. They presented a memorandum to Simon Commission, in which the stress had been given on the protection of the rights of the Muslims and provincial autonomy through legislative bill, whereas in the Nehru Report, the Muslim demands had been entirely ignored.

When Quaid-e-Azam's efforts for Hindu-Muslim union were completely failed, then Allama Muhammad Iqbal organised an All Muslim Parties Conference together Muslims on one platform in December 1928, in which the demands of Muslims were presented in detail. Later on, Allama Iqbal termed the demands of Muslims very rightly in the three round table conferences organised by British Government in London.

PAKISTAN'S IDEOLOGY IN THE LIGHT OF IQBAL'S CONCEPT

Allama Iqbal was the first personality who presented the concept for a separate state for the Muslims of Indo-Pak on ideological basis. According to his thinking the Muslims have a separate life style and a different culture from the Hindus, which is based on oneness of God and Prophethood. He presented the concepts of Pakistan existence even till his death, which is as follows:

- **NATIONAL CONCEPT:**

He always talked in the favour of Muslims and his speeches were the sum up of the deep study of Holy Quran. His concepts had

reached such a finite that according to him any concept of nationalism based on colour, creed, race, language and country would inflict heavy damages to Islam.

- **CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC WORLD UNITY:**

Allama Iqbal opposed the nationalism based on colour, creed and language in Indo-Pak, as according to him Islam had rejected such type of concepts, because under the influence of such concepts and thoughts, the nations taking birth in the west had become the victim of conflicts.

- **REPUDIATION FROM THE CONCEPT OF UNITED NATIONALITY:**

According to Allama Iqbal, two different nations could not survive united under one flag and on one soil, so the united nationalism is a conspiracy against Muslim nationalism.

- **CONCEPT OF A SEPARATE HOMELAND FOR MUSLIMS:**

Allama Iqbal in his sermons termed the creation of a separate homeland for Muslims within Indo-Pak, as equally beneficial for the interest of Hindus and Muslims. In his famous Allahabad address he said that, "I demand an organised Islamic state for the welfare and prosperity of Islam in India only, which will keep balance of different nations in sub-continent and due to this very decision the peace and tranquillity will be prevailed."

- **ISLAM IS A LIVELY FORCE:**

Allama Iqbal has advised the Muslims to adopt the golden principles of Islam for generating political enthusiasm and emotions, because he thought that Islam is a lively force, and it can shatter the idols of colour, creed, language and homeland.

- **ISLAM CONSIDERS RELIGION AND WORLDLY AFFAIRS AS ONE:**

Allama Iqbal thought that religion is a personal affair of the Muslims and this fact has great link with politics. In this regard, in a letter addressed to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Allama Iqbal expressed his views and said, "At present you are the only Muslim in India, who can provide safe and right guidance in this period of turmoil to the Muslim nation, which can

engulf perhaps the whole continent or particularly the North-Western India."

- **AWARENESS OF FREEDOM DESIRE IN THE MUSLIMS:**

Allama Iqbal during his address on the eve of Lahore's All India Muslim Conference in 1931 told the Muslims of India that, "You are the master of the most admirable and prestigious civilization and you also possess the best life style of the world in the shape of Islam."

Allama Iqbal repeated these words on another occasion and said, "A nation cannot maintain its religion and civilization if it has no piece of land. The religion and the civilization survived through the splendour and magnificence of rule, so in Pakistan the only solution of the issues faced by the Muslims is to control the economical and financial issues."

- **ALLAMA IQBAL PRESENTED THE STRATEGY FOR COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT:**

Allama Iqbal visited Aligarh on the invitation of faculty of Aligarh College in 1910 and presented a thoughtful research paper entitled '*Islam as a social and political idea*'. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan published the Urdu translation of this research paper in his newspaper with the title '*A social review of the faithful nation*'. In this presentation such issues had been highlighted which had become obstacle in the path of development. He also presented important proposals for the bright future of Muslim nation.

- **NEED FOR MUSLIM UNITY:**

Allama Iqbal stressed upon the Muslims of the world to adopt Islamic values and lay the foundation of the nation. He urged the Muslims for the need of unity of Islamic world in his Allahabad address of 1930;

"Neither have trust in Hindu's promises nor confide in the British, but try to achieve at your own expense. First create political awareness among the Muslims and rely on your combined force."

He also asked the scattered Muslims to get united on a single platform.

- **SEPARATE STATE SET UP IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH – MUSLIMS AND HINDUS:**

According to Allama Iqbal the set up of a separate Muslim state was in the deep interest of both Hindus and Muslims. He expressed this strategy in his Allahabad address as under:

"I demand for the creation of an organised Islamic State in India only for the welfare and prosperity of Islam, which will maintain the balance of power and help in prevailing peace and tranquillity in the sub-continent. Islam will also avail an opportunity to get rid of the Arabic imperialism which has been greatly affecting it. This will also break the stalemate which has been prevailing on Islamic civilization, culture, Shariah and teachings of centuries."

MUSLIM LEAGUE INSTITUTED

In 1905, the British rulers in view of administrative measures divided Bengal into two parts. The Hindus opposed the move and provoked sectarian violence, which created an atmosphere of bitterness between the Hindus and Muslims. A Muslim delegation called on Lord Minto on October 1, 1906 and explained the actual situation of opposing Bengal and apprised the Indian Viceroy of the demands of Indians. They also ensured the viceroy that the Muslims were a separate nation and desire separate electorate and were not desirous of Bengal's division.

After meeting viceroy of India, the Muslim leaders felt the need of an organisation on the pattern of Indian National Congress to create political awareness among the Muslims. In this regard a meeting of Mohammedan Educational Conference was held in Dhaka on December 30, 1906. In this session a new party was established. Nawab Saleemullah proposed the name of political party for Muslims as '*Ali India Muslim League*' which was approved by the majority.

Its aims and objectives were as follows:

- To promote the sentiments of faithfulness among the Indian Muslims about the British rulers and to remove the created misunderstandings about the government's actions.
- To present the issues faced by the Muslims of sub-continent regarding the protection of their political rights, interests, necessities and desires in a respectable manner to the government.

- To curb the rising of negative sentiments about other nations among Muslims.

MOTIVES FOR THE SET UP OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

- **HINDUS ATTITUDE:**

The Muslims were well aware of about the mentality of Hindus in Congress. They were very active due to their movements. In 1900, the U.P. Governor McDonald declared Hindi as the official and judicial language. The decision was followed in Bihar and there were incidents of the same nature, which forced the Muslims to organise a separate political party. The incidents which motivated the Muslims significantly were Shudhi movement, Urdu Hindi disputes, Bengal's division and the movement of cow killing.

- **RELIGIOUS FREEDOM:**

The Muslims desired that there should be no interference in their religious rituals but Hindus in order to save their 'Gao Mata' (mother cow) had initiated a movement against the Muslims and had been oppressing them on this issue. The fire of Hindu Muslim riots had been excited, so to raise their voice the Muslims thought to set up a separate political party, detaching themselves from the Hindus.

- **VANDE MATARAM SONG:**

The Vande Mataram song was derived from the short story of Bengali Hindu writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, *Indar Muth*, which included the overthrowing and looting of Muslim Empires and incidents of oppression on the Muslims. This song was sung in schools and colleges with full honours at the time of assembly as a national anthem. This was a direct attack on Muslim students' religion, so the separate organisation for the Muslims was urgently needed.

- **MUSLIM RIVALRY OF "ARYA SAMAJ":**

At that time, the mockery of Muslim culture was made in the Bengali literature. The Muslim civilization was termed as cause of all evils, so to break this image; an organised movement was the need of the hour, so the Muslim League was set up.

- **BIASED LEADERSHIP OF CONGRESS:**

Indian National Congress was founded by a British A.O. Hume in 1885. The basic objective of congress was to make the educated public of India aware about the demands of modern era. But it was hijacked by the extremist Hindus at the outset of its inception, so Muslim representatives decided to leave the Congress.

- **SET UP OF SECTARIAN GROUP BHARAT MAHA MANDAL:**

The extremist Hindu leaders instituted a party, Bharat Maha Mandal in 1900. At the start of 1906, millions of Hindus participated in its meeting. This organisation left other parties well behind in displaying anti-Muslim attitude and kept on strongly opposing the just demands of the Muslims.

- **PARTITION OF BENGAL:**

The Eastern Districts of Bengal were given the status of a separate province, by including Assam, in October 1905. This province comprised of Muslim majority. The Hindu community did not accept the division of Bengal and almost every sect of Hindu religion sent memorandum to the government, held protest meetings and protest marches, as the supremacy of Hindus was threatened. When the Muslims observed the attitude of Hindus, then they pondered over forming an organisation separately.

- **DAMAGES TO MUSLIMS' INTEREST:**

Due to this unjust behaviour and deplorable attitude of Hindus, great damages were being inflicted to the Muslims politically, socially, economically and culturally. The doubtfulness and suspiciousness was at its peak. The Muslims were parting in groups. The Muslim nation was backward and illiterate, while the Hindus were very much developed in every respect, so for transparent culture of Islamic faithful and protection of the interests of Muslims it was imperative to set up such an organisation of Muslims which can work for their betterment and protect their interests. So for the achievement of this goal, All India Muslim League was created. In brief, the set up of Muslim League was created for the rights and security of the Muslims.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The idea of creation of the Muslim League was the brain child of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk, while its

manifesto was drafted by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar. In this regard one thing may be kept in mind that:

1. The Muslims participating in the formation of the Muslim League were not biased as Hindus of Congress.
2. This was not a sectarian and narrow minded political party.
3. The set up of Muslim League was the result of Congress' attitude.
4. The efforts were initiated to upgrade the depleted educational and economic state of Muslims through the creation of mutual harmony among different sects by Muslim League.
5. The main objective of Congress was to create awareness among the Hindus and get them united against the Muslims. These were the main causes for the demand of Pakistan by Muslim League.
6. The Muslim League broke the stalemate of Muslims through generating political sense and awareness.

Several sessions of Muslim League were held up to 1908, in which the separate electorate for the Muslims was demanded. On the other side, the Congress opposed the move and due to this reasons the enmity between Hindus and Muslims extended extremely. Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk published a number of articles on the significance, importance and expedience. The Muslims achieved not only great success through this activity, but the British government had to accept this important demand of the Muslims in 1909. The allocation of separate seats for Muslims in the light of separate electorate in the Minto-Marley reforms was a result of the efforts of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

HINDU-MUSLIM ALLIANCE:

The events and prevailing circumstances of 1911 clearly manifested the treachery and deceptiveness of British to the Congress and Muslim League, who saw through the evil designs of the rulers to follow the principle of divide and rule. At this juncture the dire need of Hindu Muslim alliance aroused, this clearly explained to the British that the Muslims have been greatly disappointed. This resulted in the development of cordial relations between Muslim League and Congress.

In 1911, Italy attacked Tripoli and committed oppression against the Muslims, while in 1912 due to Balkan War and the end of Turkish Ottoman empire, a wave of outrage and anger ran

through the Muslims of India. They staged rallies and protest marches. A Hindu Muslim united front was on the cards, but the British became against the Muslims.

QUAID-E-AZAM'S JOINING OF MUSLIM LEAGUE:

Keeping in view the domestic and international situation of All India Muslim League decided to adopt aggressive policy instead of reconciliation strategy which was abandoned. Sir Agha Khan did not like the existing political strategy and he resigned from the president ship of Muslim League in 1913. Later on Raja Ali Muhammad Ali Khan of Mehmoodabad was elected as president. In the meantime, two Muslim League political leaders, Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Sir Wazir Hassan visited England and called on Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was a member of Congress at that time. On the motivation and insistence of both leaders Quaid-e-Azam joined Muslim League, so he at one time became the member of Congress and Muslim League.

LUCKNOW PACT

BACKGROUND:

The twentieth century was the age of political uprising in the Sub-Continent. The politics of India entered a new era due to changes in the objectives of Muslim League. The political awareness of the Muslims had greatly matured and they became cognizant of the design of the Hindus and Congress. The political party of Muslims, All India Muslim League laid the foundation of cordial relations with all communities of India especially the Muslim League and the Muslims desired to reduce the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, which further widened due to following reasons.

• CANCELLATION OF BENGAL'S PARTITION AFFECTING THE HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS:

Indian Viceroy Lord Curzon divided Bengal (area 1,89,000 square kilometres, population 80 million) into two parts for the comfort of administration, East and West Bengal on October 16, 1905. East Bengal had majority of Muslims so this decision benefited the Muslims at large but the Hindus due to their evil nature could not digest the prosperity of the Muslims, so they staged agitation and demanded cancellation of Bengal partition.

At last due to Hindu's pressure King George-V cancelled the division. The Muslims were greatly shocked and grieved and treacherous designs of the Hindus were also exposed. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar termed the cancellation of Bengal partition as treason and contemptible precedence.

• **HINDU OPPOSITION FOR ALIGARH COLLEGE UPGRADATION AS UNIVERSITY:**

Hindus not only opposed the Bengal partition but also up-gradation of Aligarh College as University, as it also had to provide benefit to the Muslims. Although the efforts had been initiated to make Aligarh College a University during the life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (death 1898), but these remained unsuccessful. The efforts continued after his death. On the other side the Hindus due to their narrow sightedness kept on opposing this move, but at last it was granted the status of a University in 1920.

• **OPPOSING SEPARATE ELECTORATE:**

On October 1, 1906 a delegation of the Muslims called on Indian Viceroy Lord Minto and presented the major demand of separate electorate along with other demands. According to 1909, the old demand of the Muslims was at last accepted.

This act conferred the right of vote of a Muslim to a Muslim candidate only and separate seats for the Muslims were reserved. But as the Hindus were against the representation of the Muslims in the Assembly so they also opposed the act, which further exposed the evil designs of Hindus to the Muslims, and the latter developed a sense of hatredness for the former. Hence the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims was further extended.

• **MASJID KANPUR TRAGEDY:**

On August 10, 1913, a road located in Kanpur's Machhli Bazaar needed extension. There was a Masjid on one side of the road, and a temple on the opposite side. The Hindus pressurized the government to demolish the bath rooms of the Masjid, which agitated the Muslims and they staged protests. Then the real character of the Hindus was exposed to the Muslims. Under these circumstances both the nations needed to come closer and bury their differences.

• **QUAID-E-AZAM JOINED MUSLIM LEAGUE:**

During 1913 the Quaid-e-Azam joined Muslim League on the recommendation of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar and Syed Wazir Hassan. But he never deserted Congress himself and at the same time, he remained the member of both the Congress and Muslim League. In 1920 Quaid-e-Azam was a member of both the parties; he was very popular in both the communities of Muslims and Hindus. Quaid-e-Azam was a member flag-bearer of Hindu Muslim alliance at the start of his political career, (later on he was disappointed), so he launched his sincere efforts to achieve his objective, as the Hindus also paid him great respect. At last he succeeded in his efforts and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the fruit of his efforts. Mrs. Sarojni, (daughter of Gokhale) alias Indian Nightingale, gave him the title of the ambassador of Hindu Muslim alliance.

SECTION OF LUCKNOW PACT

- One third representation of the Muslims in the Central Council.
- Separate electorate method to be applied.
- Total members of central council would be 150, and their term would be of five years.
- Minorities to be awarded seats on the basis of their population in the major provinces.
- Provinces be accorded autonomy and the control of centre to be reduced.
- Four out of five Provincial Councils to be elected while the remaining one to be nominated. In major provinces there would be 125 Provincial Council members, and 50 to 75 minor provinces.
- The legislation on law accepted by one third members of a community would not be further discussed.
- Councils be granted authority for legislation along with authority for presenting budget.
- All other departments except Railways, Telegraph, Treasury and Port, be given under provincial control.
- Half of the members of central and provincial councils be elected by the legislative councils.
- Central and Provincial Council members would have the right to present adjournment motion.

- Judiciary be separated from the administration and all courts of the provinces would work under the Provincial High Court.
- Independent system would be set up for India's finances. Two under secretaries, one of them an Indian, would work with the Secretary of State.
- The central government would not interfere in the provincial governments affairs.

Congress accepted the rights of Muslims for separate electorate under Lucknow Pact, which was imposed in Punjab and C.P. and Muslim League was recognized as the representative political party of the Muslims of Sub-Continent. The Muslims achieved one third majority in the central Assembly, while in the provinces where Muslims were in minority, they achieved more seats than the natives of population. The Muslims became sure that no legislation against their interest will be made.

The path of co-operation between the Muslims and the Hindus had been levelled, but to disrupt the mutual relations Madan Mohan Malvia and Lala Lajpat Rai initiated a campaign against the Muslim's separate identity as a nation and separate electorate, so after a brief period of Hindu Muslim alliance, a new and prolonged rift started between the two nations, which ultimately finished as India's partition.

At the end of Khilafat movement in 1924, the Muslims were divided in two groups. When the elections were held according to the Indian law the members of Khilafat movement boycotted it. Under these circumstances to put the Muslims on right track, a meeting of Muslim League was summoned on May 24, 1924, under the Chairmanship of Quaid-e-Azam, in which it was expressed very clearly that the start of a foreign rule in India and its lingering on has only been due to the parity and lack of confidence between Hindus and Muslims when these nations would get united, on that very day the Indian would be able to set up their self rule in India.

DELHI PROPOSALS

In the 1927 Lucknow Pact the right of separate electorate for Muslims was the only point which could not be digested by the Hindus. In this regard Pandit Moti Lal Nehru said that the main cause of the differences was the right of separate electorate, if the Muslims withdraw this demand then he could get other demands accepted by the Congress. In the light of these demand a meeting of the Muslim leaders was held in Delhi at the residence of Quaid-e-Azam. The leaders unanimously decided on March 20, 1927 that if the Congress leaders accepted the our demands then they would give up the right of separate electorate. These demands later on became famous as Delhi proposals:

1. Sindh be made a province and separated from Bombay.
2. The Frontier and Balochistan provinces may be accorded equal status of other provinces through imposing legislative reforms.
3. The Muslims would be ready to offer same privileges to the Hindu minority in Sindh, Frontier and Balochistan, as the Hindus would deliver to the Muslim minority in the provinces with Hindus in majority.
4. At least one third seats must be reserved for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal for Central Assembly in mixed election seats.

In view of these proposals, the Hindus were delighted but they concealed their delight and started to find loopholes in the proposals. On May 27, 1927 the Muslim League's proposals were presented in the Delhi Congress executive committee and All India Congress committee meeting and approved. However,

for a final approval, the matter was again discussed in the Congress session of December 1927. Nehru Committee rejected the proposal by maximum opposition and declared to formulate the unanimous legislation for independence. The greatest loss of the Delhi proposals was suffered by the Muslims of India; as All India Muslim League was divided into two factions after the Delhi proposals of 1927. One faction was known as Jinnah League under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam, while in Punjab the Muslim League's other faction was named as Shafi League due to being led by Sir Muhammad Shafi with strong support from Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

ALL PARTIES' CONFERENCE

An All Parties' Conference comprising of seventy organizations of Muslims, Hindus and other communities was called on February 12, 1928 in Delhi. In this conference the Delhi proposals were repudiated and separation of Sindh and imposing of reforms in Frontier and Balochistan provinces were strongly opposed. A total of twenty five sessions were held, but no conclusion could be reached, so at last a committee was constituted, headed by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, while Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru was its secretary.

NEHRU COMMITTEE

Nehru Committee prepared a report within three months in Allahabad, in which the proposals of Lucknow Pact were torn into pieces, when this report was made public it was revealed that the rights and issues of Muslims have not been accorded significance. On this occasion Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Hasrat Mohani highlighted the flaws and defects of Nehru report and strongly represented the Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam and Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar had gone to England. The Congress was aware of the fact that the front line of Muslim leaders were out of country, so they mischievously called All Parties Conference for the approval of the report on December 22, 1928 at Calcutta. Quaid-e-Azam immediately returned to India and simultaneously requested for the extension in the December 22 session but it was refused. So only one member of Muslim League and central Khilafat committee could attend the conference and took down an adversary note, while the second member did not participate at all.

ALL PARTIES' CONFERENCE

The Muslim League had been divided into two factions; one was led by Quaid-e-Azam and the other by Sir Muhammad Shafi. The Nehru report became a factor for the reunion of both the factions. A sense of unity and integrity was felt rising. On this occasion Sir Muhammad Shafi called upon the All Parties' Muslim Conference in Delhi on December 25, 1928. The objective of the conference was to create faith in Muslims about their rights and unanimity of opinion on the issue of their protection. Sir Agha Khan presided over the conference. The conference served the cause of re-uniting the Muslim nation. Quaid-e-Azam summoned another session of the conference on March 31, 1919 in Delhi, which was attended by Sir Muhammad Shafi and leaders of both the factions of Muslim League. Quaid-e-Azam presented his famous resolution of fourteen points, which was approved with great majority.

FOURTEEN POINTS OF QAUID-E-AZAM

All India Muslim League after great meditation and discussion declared that no legislation would be acceptable to the Muslims of India until the following basic principles are not taken into consideration:

1. The coming legislation should be of Federal nature, which may intrust the remaining authority to the provinces.
2. All the provinces must be given internal autonomy on equal basis.
3. The legislative assemblies and electoral institutions must be constituted as such that the minorities should be awarded proper and effective representation and no majority will be changed into minority or equality by reducing it.
4. The Muslim representation in the centre will be one third of the total.
5. The system of separate electorate must remain intact, but every community will have the option to go for the blended electorate, whenever desired.

6. If in future new demarcation of boundaries is required, then the Muslim majority of Punjab, Frontier and Bengal may not suffer.
 7. Every religion will be provided guarantee and security of complete freedom of belief, worship, rituals, preaching congregations and education.
 8. No such bill, resolution or a part of these must not be approved by the legislative assembly, if three fourth of the effected community opposes the move.
 9. Sindh must be separated from Bombay.
 10. The legislative reforms must be imposed in Frontier and Balochistan like other provinces.
 11. The Muslims be granted proper share of the jobs in Government and autonomous institutions like other Indians on the basis of merit and capability.
 12. Such reservations should be kept in the legislative, so that the Muslim culture and heritage could be provided protection and security. The progress and protection of the teachings, language, religion, personal laws and charity organization of the Muslims must be provided and the grant in aid donated by the government and autonomous bodies to charity organization must have proper share for the Muslims.
 13. There must be one third representation of the Muslim in central and provincial cabinets.
 14. The Central Assembly must not make any amendment until all member States of Federation don't express their acceptance.
- Quaid's fourteen points under most the significance of Nehru report as these points were the reflection of the passion and demand of Muslim nation, but Congress didn't accept it and termed it as against the soil of Indian Nationalism and separatism of Sindh as a lavishness.

These were the points which pulled the Muslims out of mental unrest and tension and put them on the track of actual destiny.

ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE

In May 1929 the Labour Party had come into power in the general elections of British Parliament and succeeded the Conservative party. The British government decided to organize round table conferences of representatives of all nations of India to settle down the legislative affairs between the Muslims and Hindus. These conferences were organized in November 1930, December 1931 and 1932 in London. The new British Prime Minister, soon after taking the charge discussed the matter of formulating the document of legislative bill with the Indian leaders. In this regard Quaid-e-Azam was also asked to submit proposals in 1929. The British Premier explained his intentions that the basic purpose of the consultations was to give political autonomy to India, in the category of a colony. All Indian Leaders not only welcomed the desire of the Prime Minister but also appreciated the conducting of round table conferences.

The British government left the sectarian issues with McDonald to make the final decision, who recommended to accept the right of separate electorate for Muslims on August 14, 1932, which was approved. Later on separate electorate was also awarded to Sikhs, Christians and Untouchables.

The Hindus did not like this decision and staged protests. Mahatma Gandhi was the front line leader in this regard and declared that if the above-mentioned decision was not withdrawn then he would go on hunger strike till death. At last the British government surrendered in view of the enormous pressure exerted by the Hindus and instead of separate electorate, the method of blended electorate was restored.

INDIAN ACT 1935

The Indian Government published report based on the recommendations of the round table conferences in March 1933, which was extremely condemned by the Muslims and Hindus. Quaid-e-Azam had been elected un-opposed as a member of Central Assembly from Bombay. He presented a document of legislative amendment in the assembly, which was implemented

as Government of India Act 1935, which was instrumental for setting up responsible governments in the provinces.

ELECTIONS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

In January 1937 elections out of a total of 1771 seats, Congress claimed 706; Muslim League 491 and other minorities got 211 seats. So the claim of Hindus as the only major community was nullified. Congress achieved most of the seats in the Hindu majority provinces, while the Muslims could not gain overall majority in Frontier and Sindh, when the Muslims were in majority. So the results of the elections were not encouraging for the Muslims.

The election results made Congress further proud and the Hindu leaders lost their mental balance. Congress constituted its cabinets in seven provinces after 1937 elections; and accelerated their efforts to finish the collective position of the Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam demanded from the government that the oppression and attention dealt with the Muslims by the Congress provincial governments must be investigated by a Royal Commission of judges, but the British government did not agree with this suggestion of Quaid. At last on Quaid's appeal the Muslims and minorities of India announced to observe "Salvation Day" on December 22, 1939.

After the resignation of Congress cabinets the Quaid during a meeting with the Viceroy said that if any attempt to impose the Hindu rule was made then the situation of civil war would be reached. Quaid-e-Azam also reiterated that if Britain would not keep the right of Muslims intact then the Muslims would demand the partition of the country, which would be entirely on the basis of two nation theory.

LAHORE RESOLUTION

27th Session of Muslim League was held in Lahore on March 22, 1940. Two day before this event the Punjab's Provincial Government imposed a ban on semi military groups and termed the meaning of a particular uniform and parade as unlawful. The Khaksar movement was also affected with this decision. The Khaksars staged a rally inside Bhati Gate Lahore. The police did indiscriminate firing on the rally for violating the government

ordinance, killing more than forty Khaksars. The government tried to postpone the Muslim League rally after this incident. However the rally was destined to be held in Minto Park (which is known as Allama Iqbal Park at present), so the rally started at the scheduled date and time. According to an estimate, more than 50,000 persons had gathered in Minto Park. Quaid-e-Azam and other Muslim Leaders addressed the rally on the first day of the session. On the second day Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq of Bengal presented a resolution. The text of the same was following:

"This is a thoughtful opinion of the All India Muslim League's session that in this country no legislative perception would be applicable or acceptable to the Muslims until it is compiled on following principles:

1. Separate region of the area geographically limited must be formed.
2. The regional changes must be made if needed."

The above-mentioned resolution was supported and endorsed by Chaudhary Khaleeq-uz-Zaman, Syed Zahir Hussain, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Muhammad Alam, Aurangzaib Khan, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Abdul Hameed Khan, Ibrahim Chundigar, Sir Abdul Rauf Shah, Nawab Muhammad Ismail and Qazi Muhammad Essa, who also spoke on the occasion. The resolution of approved amidst the resounding slogans of *Allah-o-Akbar*.

After the approval of the resolution the Muslims of India had a clear destination for themselves. Now they didn't keep restricted to a slogan only but the achievement of a separate homeland through the resolution, because a cherished dream of Muslims – which ultimately turned into reality on August 14, 1947.

On the other side the Hindus changed the title of Lahore resolution as Pakistan resolution and satirically it became famous. The sentiments of Hindu public and press started erupting and they initiated propaganda that partition of India means dividing the mother country into pieces. Gandhi said in an interview to a newspaper that he was certain that the Muslims would not accept the partition as the two nation theory was a bundle of lies. The majority of Muslims of India were either

embraced Islam or were the children of those Muslims ——— A Bengali Muslim would speak the same language as a Bengali Hindu..... It was quite difficult to distinguish between the both apparently.

"*The Hindustan Times*" expressed in its editorial that the history had made Hindus and Muslims as one nation but then to break the unity of India at the expense of satisfying one nation would be equal to damage the progress and peace process of the people of India. The British press didn't give any importance to Lahore resolution.

The resolution put a pleasant effect on the Muslims and they began to assemble under the banners of Muslim League in troops, while the majority of religious scholars also initiated to extend their unconditional support to the League. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam was established under the leadership of Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani. Even the anti-Muslim League element of the past also joined the League, enthusiastically. There was dearth of newspapers for Muslim League to express its views to level public opinion, so some students launched "Nawa-e-Waqt" under the editorship of Hameed Nizami. The Aligarh students also revived the rich Muslim traditions and joined the activities. Gandhi became perplexed with this display of enthusiasm and favour and commented that India was being divided into pieces in its life. Bombay Muslim League in its annual session of May 1940 declared confidence in Quaid-e-Azam and proclaimed that the native has already divided India in two parts, one was Muslim India and the other was located in India's central Assembly. Quaid-e-Azam very clearly described on November 19, 1940 that we had finally and forever made Pakistan our destiny. We were ready to fight for achieving our goal and you must not develop any misunderstanding about fact in your mind..... We might be few in numbers but we possessed the courage to say that the Muslims if desired and determined could inflict hundred times more authorities than Congress..... This was not a threat but to give you awareness.

Quaid-e-Azam won the hearts of Muslims through expressing word "Pakistan" for the first time in such a courageous way.