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**IQBAL  
AND  
PROVINCIAL POLITICS OF  
PUNJAB  
(1926-1938)**

by

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M.Phil Pakistan Studies

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations  
Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad  
2005

**Dedicated**

to

**MY PARENTS**

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my individual research, and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

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## ABSTRACT

The study deals with the role of Muhammad Iqbal in the provincial politics of Punjab (1926-38). A detailed and comprehensive account of the socio-economic, political and religious background of British Punjab has been traced since its annexation in 1849. A brief resume of Iqbal's life coupled with a summary of various phases of his political thought is also given which would be helpful in understanding the politics of that particular era. Besides tracing the background, origin and composition of Majlis-i-Ahrar, various agitational campaigns of party has been discussed. These include the Kashmir Movement and Anti-Ahmadiyya Movement. The working of All India Kashmir Committee, its dissolution, reorganization and role played by Iqbal in this regard are also discussed at length. An over view of the movement for the restoration of Shaheed Ganj Mosque is also included.

Formation, working, infrastructure and a brief history of the Khaksar Movement has also been discussed and analyzed. A comparative study of Iqbal and Mashraqi is also appended in which their views over various contemporary issues are elaborated. Besides providing the background and history of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, the pro-British stance of Ahmadis, nature of relationship between Iqbal and Ahmadis and campaign launched by the former against the latter has also been dwelt upon. Doctrinal differences between orthodox Muslims and Ahmadis regarding Finality of Prophethood, Revelation, Resurrection of Christ, Arrival of Mahdi and institution of *Jihad* are also discussed, along with the Iqbal viewpoint.

Emergence of Punjab National Unionist Party and role played by it in provincial politics in late twenties and entire thirties has been discussed at length. The issues of Iqbal and other Punjabi leaders with Jinnah, split of League into two factions, role played by AIMC and reconciliation between League factions has been also analyzed. It is followed by a comparative study of political strategies of Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain. An attempt has been made to trace back the growth and working of League in Punjab since 1906. Besides highlighting the significance of Iqbal's Allahabad address as the basis of Pakistan movement, Iqbal's role in RTC's and Punjab Communal Agreement have also been dealt with. Sikandar -- Jinnah Pact and

its implications on Punjab politics and reservations of Iqbal and other urbanities have also been recorded. In the conclusion it is deduced that it was the miraculous impact of Iqbal's poetry, coupled with his philosophical reasoning and political acumen, which goaded on the Muslims to firmly stick to the idea of establishment of separate Muslim state. Under the charismatic leadership of Jinnah, they voted in favour of separate homeland and rejected the concept of composite Indian nationalism. Thus the Muslim community of India embraced Iqbal's concept of Islam and separate nationhood and spurned the agenda of pro-Congress nationalist *Ulama* as well as of pro-British Unionist Party, who did not conceive the departure of imperialist forces in the post second world war period.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AHI	Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam
AI	Anjuman-i-Islamia
AIKC	All India Kashmir Committee
AIMC	All India Muslim Conference
AIML	All India Muslim League
AIOU	Allama Iqbal Open University
AMTKN	Almi Majlis Tahaffuz-i-Khatmi-Nubuwwat
APC	All Parties Conference
APMC	All Parties Muslim Conference
CID	Central Intelligence Department
CMG	Civil and Military Gazette
CPB	Central Parliamentary Board
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DRSML	Dr. Razi-ud-Din Siddeeqe Memorial Library
EAC	Extra Assistant Commissioner
FMA	Freedom Movement Archives
IAR	Indian Annual Register
ICS	Indian Civil Services
IES	Indian Educational Service
INC	Indian National Congress
IOR	India Office Record
IPS	Institute of Policy Studies
IQR	Indian Quarterly Register
ISC	Indian Statuary Commission
JPHS	Journal of Pakistan Historical Society
JRSP	Journal of Research Society of Pakistan
JUH	Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind
LSG	Local Self Government
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council

NAP	National Archives of Pakistan
NDC	National Documentation Centre
NIHCR	National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research
NIPS	National Institute of Pakistan Studies
NPP	Note on Punjab Press
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OSD	Officer on Special Duty
PAR	Punjab Administrative Report
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PJHC	Pakistan Journal of History and Culture
PLC	Punjab Legislative Council
PLCD	Punjab Legislative Council Debates
PNUP	Punjab National Unionist Party
PPML	Punjab Provincial Muslim League
PPP	Punjab Past and Present
PPSAI	Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence
PWD	Public Works Department
QAP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers
QAU	Quaid-i-Azam University
RNPP	Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in Punjab
RSP	Research Society of Pakistan
RTC	Round Table Conference
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
TIAC	Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations

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## INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Iqbal (1877 – 1938) the poet philosopher of East is universally acknowledged as the spiritual father of Pakistan. He was born in Sialkot but lived in the heart of Punjab, Lahore. He articulated and upheld the idea of separate Muslim identity against the composite Indian nationalism.

Vis-à-vis his struggle for Muslim solidarity and renaissance of Islam, Iqbal was also aware of the problems of Punjab where he was born, grew up and lived. Being a keen observer of local and provincial politics, he wanted to help the Muslims in resolving the political problems with his universal outlook. Iqbal strove to inculcate the spirit of pragmatic politics in the Muslims of the sub-continent and this contribution of him was acknowledged by Jinnah in these words:

“Iqbal was a remarkable poet of the world wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indians that ever lived.... Although a great poet and philosopher, he was not less practical politician with his firm conviction and faith in the ideas of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India an Islamic state in the North West and North East zones which are historical homelands of Muslims”.<sup>1</sup>

The decade of 1920 was a pace setter for the events, which followed in the thirties and forties in the political horizon of India. The joint venture of Hindus and Muslims under the banner of *Khilafat* and Non-cooperation movements brought the two nations close to each other. However, the untimely conclusion of *Khilafat* and Non-cooperation shattered the Hindu Muslim unity, which resulted in conflict and conflagration between the two communities. The era was marked with bloodshed, religious antagonism and series of riots, which engulfed the British India, particularly the Punjab.

Jinnah and some other Muslim leaders convened ‘Unity conferences’ which aimed for some joint scheme of reforms for different communal groups. During his discussion with Hindu counterparts; Jinnah concluded that retention of separate electorate could not bring harmony between the two nations. On the basis of this

assumption he presented 'Delhi Proposals' in 1927, which were strongly opposed and criticized by the Punjab leadership comprising Iqbal, M. Shafi and Fazl-i-Hussain. The cleavages in the ranks of leaguers were further deepened on the issue of cooperation or boycott of the Simon Commission which divided the League into two factions, one led by Jinnah and Kitchlew and other led by Shafi and Iqbal.

The sole purpose of Simon Commission was to negotiate and discuss with various Indian political parties for the ensuing constitutional package. Due to its 'all-white composition' major political parties decided to boycott its activities and a wave of resentment was spread among the cross-section of masses. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India was so much annoyed with the policy of non-cooperation that he questioned the competency of Indian political parties. INC accepted his challenge and formed a committee, headed by Nehru, which published its recommendations in 1928. Report was bombshell for the Muslims, as it not only repealed the settled principles approved in the Lucknow pact but also an open deviation from Delhi Proposals too.

The attitude of Hindus acts as a catalyst of unity for Muslim. In 1928 an APMC was held at Delhi, which besides rejecting the Nehru report, issued a ten-point declaration to safeguard the Muslims interests in India. In the meanwhile, both the factions of AIML were united. On the basis of his reconciliation with Shafi and Iqbal, Jinnah presented his famous fourteen points and reiterated that no future constitution would be accepted to the Muslims, in which these demands were not incorporated.

During the first half of 1930's Muslim League was in a moribund state, particularly in the Punjab. In the period between 1930-34, the political vacuum was filled by AIMC. Iqbal in this very period provided ideological leadership to the Indian Muslims and formulated the two-nation theory. In 1930, AIML invited Iqbal to deliver a presidential address at Allahabad. This address proved the ideological foundation of Pakistan, in which he articulated the Muslim nationalism, which became the corner stone of Pakistan movement. He said:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan, amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the

British empire or without the British empire, and the formation of a consolidated North-West Muslim Indian state appears to have to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India".<sup>2</sup>

Iqbal has to fought on various fronts; against Congress who was blackmailing British Government by launching civil disobedience movement; against British government whose attitude was creating different kinds of suspicions and misunderstandings; against Sikhs, who were depriving Muslims of Punjab from legitimate majority by having an accord with Hindus; against Nationalist Muslims, who with good or bad intentions became tools of Congress and were compelling Muslim Conference to make their stand flexible regarding Nehru Report.

From 1934 to the closing years of his life Iqbal concentrated on the re-organization and consolidation of League in the Punjab. In his letters to Jinnah, he emphasized the partition of India and concluded that a separate federation of Muslim provinces would be the final solution for communal settlement between Hindus and Muslims. In this regard, he persuaded Jinnah to concentrate his attention towards the Muslim majority provinces, particularly the Punjab.

During the second quarter of twentieth century, among the political parties and groups working in Punjab, the most influential party that dominates the Punjab politics was Punjab National Unionist Party. It was an elite based party and comprised feudal and landed elites of British Punjab. The troika of the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh feudal preserved their vested interests keeping aside the interest of the Punjabi masses.

By using state power the Unionist strengthened the British rule in Punjab and in return they were awarded with privileges in the form of big *jagirs*, titles and ministries. Whether it was the division of Punjabis by deepening the cleavages of rural and urban areas, forced recruitment of Punjab youth in the British army, suppression of agitation and national movements in Punjab or providing information about the anti-imperialist forces in the region, they always proved a reliable allies of British.

Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya was another pro-British party working in Punjab, which was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908) at the end of nineteenth century. In its formative years, it emerged as a reformative movement that aimed at the containment of Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries. However proclamation of Ghulam Ahmad to be a *Mujaddid*, recipient of divine revelation, Mahdi, *Messiah* and prophet converted him into most controversial figure, which faced a severe criticism by orthodox Muslims.

Amongst the anti-imperialist forces working in Punjab, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam and Khaksar Tehrik were of prime importance. The late Khilafatists and Nationalist Ulama of the Punjab founded Majlis-i-Ahrar in Dec. 1929. These include Ch. Afzal Haq, Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Mazhar Ali Azhar, Daud Ghaznavi, Zafar Ali Khan, Hassam-ud-Din, Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, Khawaja Abdul Rahman Ghazi, and Master Taj-ud-Din. Soon after its formation, involvement in the Kashmir agitation converted Ahrars into mass movement that emerged as a threat for British imperialism. Rise of Ahrars was very much due to their involvement in the anti-Ahmadiyya movement, which aimed at the protection of the institution of Finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), to which the Muslims had emotional attachment.

Khaksar Tehrik of Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (1888-1963) was another important anti-imperialist party working in the British Punjab in 1930's. Initially this movement concentrated on social work, but its long-term policies included the Muslim domination over the entire India. Khaksar movement widely reflected the views and ambitions of its leader who was the godfather of his party. Blunt attack on the institution of *Ulama* in his works and his higher commentary on Quran in which he deviated from the traditional style, all this made him a controversial personality.

Iqbal was a keen observer of the politics of Punjab during 1926-38. Without involving himself in the party politics and intrigues, he struggled hard for the promotion of healthy politics in the Punjab. Unlike Unionists, he was not a narrow minded parochial Punjabi, but he had a universal approach for resolving the problems of Muslims of Punjab which he had derived from the eternal teachings of Islam. For Iqbal the highest moral and political value was the preservation of Muslim cultural

entity. During his whole political career, he did not indulge himself in the struggle for power among competing groups, nor, did he fix his eyes on the achievement of vested interest. His role was equally significant both for the contemporary period as well as for the future generations.

### **Statement of the Problem**

From last few years the campaign of eradicating the ideological foundations of Pakistan is in full swing. The accepted facts of the national history are once again put to the test of scepticism. As one aspect of the campaign, some political thoughts of Iqbal are taken apart from the main text and then conclusion is derived that he was not in favour of a separate and autonomous Muslim homeland, rather he wanted to establish an autonomous Muslim province in the united India.<sup>3</sup> It is astonishing that the arguments which were put up by the detractors of Pakistan movement and whose full refutation came in the shape of establishment of Pakistan, are once again gaining currency in Pakistan. The only difference is that before partition opponents of Pakistan propagated these ideas and now some Pakistani scholars and writers are putting the same arguments.

Since the inception of Pakistan up till now, western forces are trying to take Pakistan and India under the umbrella of federation or at-least con-federation. They are of the view that with one foreign policy and joint defence this proposed confederation and the resultant federation can safeguard the interests of neo-colonialism with more concentration. And it can prove for them a useful and secure trade market.

Recently several books have appeared which are sponsored and funded by various research organizations of Europe and America. Writers of these books are of the view that the solution of the present problems of South Asia lies in its past. One such writer Ian Talbot concluded:

“In order to go provide hope for their long suffering people, the present rulers of India and Pakistan would do well to go back to the future and seriously consider Khizr, consociational approach to politics”.<sup>4</sup>

As a biographer of Khizr Hayat Tiwana (1900-1975), Ian Talbot has emphasized on re-orientation and re-consideration of his role in pre-partition politics and praised his political wisdom and sagacity. He had tried to create the impression that the policies adopted by Tiwana were more practicable than that of Iqbal and Jinnah. He concluded that the idea of united Punjab envisaged by Tiwana and other Unionists was a move in right direction and is still the only way to relieve the people, living on both sides of the border, from the sufferings. In fact, from these research institute and organizations, a new ideology is coming in the forefront to unite Indian and Pakistani Punjab. Perhaps the establishment of geographical unity of the Punjab, as it was during British rule, is an easy prescription to ruin Pakistan.

Similarly, in *Region and Partition* which was edited by Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh,<sup>5</sup> an overall impression is given that Pakistan has blessed the people of sub-continent nothing except suffering, difficulties and devastation, hence the only way of salvation lies in the re-unification of India and Pakistan, as they were during the British rule. Various contributors of the book emphasized more on the human consequences of the partition rather than focusing on the causes of partition. As it is imperative to shake the ideological foundations of Pakistan in order to shatter its geographical unity, hence the ruination of the ideological politics have been skillfully depicted in this book and termed two nation theory a foundation of all ills and that the formation of Pakistan has not proved as a panacea for the problems of Muslims and difficulties of the people.<sup>6</sup>

Besides that there are series of articles published in various Urdu and English papers in which it is emphasized that countries of South Asia should establish a union exactly on the pattern of European Union.<sup>7</sup> In between there is notion that Pakistan and India should unite like East and West Germany, so that all the obstacles in the progress and stability of the South Asia should be removed.

Nevertheless, it is universally acknowledged that there is no similarity in the international border between India and Pakistan and the Berlin wall between East and West Germany. So far as the Germany was concerned, the conqueror forces had enforced that division over them, while the partition of sub-continent was the result of collective opinion and will of the Muslim masses who voted for AIML during 1945-

46 elections, which were fought on the single point agenda of demand of a separate homeland for Muslims.

In these circumstances, when these conflicting ideologies and world-views are creating confusions and mistrust among the masses, the study of Iqbal's role in the freedom movement is of paramount importance. It is also imperative to revisit the history particularly with reference to Muslim politics in Punjab, to see that what was the motive of forces that wanted to safeguard the Muslim interest in particular and other communities in general in united Punjab under the sanctuary of British rule. Evaluation of the stance of those Muslim leaders and parties who were endeavoring to setup a separate homeland for the Muslims is also of prime importance. It is also necessary to have an objective view of the political forces, which though were anti-British, but were against the division of Punjab or India, and wanted to have the domination of Muslims over entire India by means of coercive methods.

### **Review of Literature**

There exists a plethora of literature which highlights Iqbal's role as a poet, philosopher and there is little focus on his role as practical politician, and his working relationship and dealing with the provincial religio-political parties of Punjab, where he grown up and lived. Perveen Shaukat's work is a good attempt regarding the political philosophy of Iqbal but she did not aim at a detailed discussion about his role as a politician.

Rashida Malik and Kishwar Sultana in their works have narrated the role of Iqbal as spiritual father of Pakistan and dealt with his role in RTC's and Punjab Council respectively, but both of them did not focus on his political role in Punjab politics.

The compilation of works of Iqbal comprising his speeches, statements and letters by Dar, Tariq, Vahid, Sherwani, Afzal and Jinnah not only provides a useful and conceptual model for study of Iqbal thoughts and actions but also contain useful information regarding his views about the contemporary socio-political developments of his period, which have been consulted and cited frequently.

Faqeer's, Javed Iqbal's, Khurshid's and Salik's biographies of Iqbal unfold many aspects of his life and career and appreciate particularly his efforts which helped contribute to the formation of separate homeland for Muslims. Though they are well documented with facts and figures but they did not aim at a detailed discussion regarding the role of Iqbal vis-à-vis Ahrars, Khaksars, Unionists and Ahmadis.

Batalvi's work provides a detail information about the political role of Iqbal in the closing years of his life. He presented him as an ideologue of Muslim League and dwelt with the uncertain and unpredictable politics of Unionist Party and its leadership. Although, the study is profoundly comprehensive but at certain places it lacks objectivity.

Haq Nawaz and Shahid examines Iqbal role as a parliamentarian. These works provides only scanty and brief information, not properly documented and left number of points to be explored.

The letters, diary and notes of Fazl-i-Hussain edited by Waheed Ahmad and his political biographies by Syed Nur and Azim Hussain are the important sources of information on the political philosophy and dynamics of Unionist politics in late twenties and entire thirties. The analysis made by Hussain are more based on his subjective orientation. Similarly being an admirer of Fazl-i-Hussain, Ahmad promoted him as a hero in his books and speaks highly of the calibre and abilities of his leadership as a 'saviour' of Punjabi backward classes, particularly the Muslims.

Malik's biography of Sikandar Hayat and Abid's work on Punjab Politics also concentrates upon the role of Unionist Party in Punjab politics. Both writers also discussed the role of Khaksars and Ahrars in an elucidative way but don't give a complete account of these movements. Moreover, the role of Iqbal has been discussed only in passing.

Zulfiqar's work provides a critical account of personality and politics of Fazl-i-Hussain. The author fortifies his stance by citing the letters, diary and notes of the



political actor. At certain places, it seems that author is not objective and tries to superimpose his ideas.

The primary sources consulted for understanding the religio-political philosophy of Khaksar Tehrik are the works of Inayatullah Mashriqi, which are cited frequently. Most of the studies conducted on Khaksars are in Urdu and more or less comprised sympathetic works of its admirers and workers. Sher Zaman, Saleemi, Bhatti and Akhtar provide at length the details of inner dynamics of politics of the movement and life of Mashriqi. Besides providing useful insight, they lack objectivity and by and large, are emphatic studies. However, to some extent, the work of Akhtar is meaningful and systematic, who on the basis of India Office Record, projected it as a revolutionary movement.

A few scholarly studies have been conducted on Khaksars but they provide only brief references and not the full version of the movement. These include work of I.H. Malik which has a chapter on Khaksars, and books of Waheed-uz-Zaman and Smith which have short notes on Khaksars. None of them highlighted the role of movement and its contribution in the organization of Muslim masses in the crucial decades before independence.

The two recent most works on Mashriqi are of Aslam Malik and S.H. Ansari. Malik's biography of Mashriqi was an extensive and comprehensive account of Khaksar Tehrik. The latter's work present a systematic treatment of the political ideas of Mashriqi and more or less a synthesis of Mashriqi's religio-political ideals. At various places he tried to compare the ideas of Iqbal and Mashriqi, but only in passing.

Awan and Khawaja in their books explain the nature of relationship between Iqbal and Mashriqi. Though, they are a first study of this nature and based on some rare letters of Iqbal to M. Hussain, but they lack objectivity and seem to be a superficial analysis of Iqbal and Mashriqi thoughts.

Most of the material on Ahrars is in Urdu and mostly written by the admirers and activists of the party. Mirza's, Haq's and Kashmiri's works provide complete insight into the growth, working and development of Majlis-i-Ahrar. However, they

lack objectivity, teeming with irrelevant information, and are much more an exposition of their personal point of view. Rafique Akhtar's works are more or less the translations of the existing material on Ahrars and can be dubbed as abridgements of the Urdu version of other authors.

Some scholarly works, for instance, of Chopra's, Mathur's, Smith's and Rafique Afzal's discussed the role of Ahrars as a pro-nationalist Muslim organization. The information provided by them is scanty and precise and does not throw light on the vital role of Majlis-i-Ahrar as an anti-imperialist party.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's books are the primary source material to understand his religio-political agenda. Secondary sources on Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya can be classified into three categories; pro-Ahmadi, anti-Ahmadi and impartial works.

So far as the pro-Ahmadi literature is concerned, the devotional writings of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, Zafarullah Khan and Daust M. Shahid provide detail account of the movement and more or less defence of the teachings and politics of Ghulam Ahmad and his successors.

A'ejaz Ahmad and Abdul Majid in their writings dealt with the campaign launched by Iqbal against the Ahmadism and tried to refute his point of view. These works lack objectivity and analyses made by them are biased and subjective in nature.

On the contrary, anti-Ahmadiyya literature mostly comprises of writings of the activists of Ahrars and Almi Majlis-i-Tahafaz Khatm-i-Nubuwwat who in numerous numbers of tracts, pamphlets, leaflets and books vehemently opposed the dogmas and teachings of Ghulam Ahmad. A few of them are polemical in nature and lacks impartiality. However, the logical and rational rejection of Ahmadism is presented in the works of Iqbal, Nadvi, Ghazi and Maududi. They provide a lot of useful material on the topic concerned and are a valuable source of knowledge providing an insight into Ahmadi teachings and its real intentions, which are cited frequently.

Orientalists like Spencer and Walter objectively examined the claims of Ghulam Ahmad. Both works are empirical in nature and besides providing the ample

introduction of Ahmadis and their teachings; they also compare the movement with Islam and Christianity. The authors have kept the doors opened for the future historians while bringing up questions capable of forming the basis for a more detailed study in future.

### **Significance and Scope of Study**

As hinted before, although number of books have been written on the different facets of Iqbal life, career, poetry and achievements, but so far as the academic and scholarly studies are concerned regarding his role as politician, except for brief references, short notes and comments, Iqbal's role in Punjab politics vis-a-vis the working and contribution of other provincial Muslim parties has received inadequate attention. This study is thus an attempt to fill the gap in the available literature in Iqbaliyat and Punjab politics. A serious attempt is made to undertake a meaningful, systematic and objective evaluation of Iqbal's political role with special reference to Punjab.

Most of the studies on British Punjab focuses on selective parties and personalities and ignored the role played by Khaksars and Ahrars or either they received brief academic attention. By categorizing them as pro-Congress nationalist, the historians sideline their role in mobilizing the masses against the state power and fearlessness from Hindus. Therefore, the prime purpose of research is to impart a concrete knowledge about the role of Ahrars and Khaksars as anti-imperialist forces who had mass power behind them.

Keeping in view the war that was between the custodians of composite Indian nationalism and supporters of separate Muslim nationalism, this study also aims to re-visit the pre-partition politics of the Punjab to examine and analyze the arguments of either side. An attempt is made to demarcate and differentiate between the stance of Unionist party, as pro-British party and Ahrar and Khaksars, as anti-British parties, as they disapprove the division of India and formation of Pakistan.

### **Organization of Thesis**

The presentation is divided into seven chapters followed by the conclusion. Chapter one provides a comprehensive background of socio-political and religious

conditions in the British Punjab from 1849-1926. Besides tracing the causes of slow pace of educational, political and constitutional development in the province, an attempt has been made to trace the impacts of feudalism on social fabric. The factors which led to the evolution of religio-political consciousness among various communities particularly Muslims in the wake of the British annexation of the Punjab is also dwelt upon. An over view of causes and impacts of developments of canal colonies and promulgation of Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 is also presented which are more or less proved beneficial for securing the interests of landed aristocracy. Evolution of local self- government in the province is also traced up till mid 1920's and its effect on future political development is analyzed.

Next chapter comprises of brief resume of Iqbal's life and traces the various phases of Iqbal's political thought i.e. from Indian nationalist to the Muslim nationalist. Third chapter deals with the agitational politics of Majlis-i-Ahrar with special reference to Kashmir Agitation and anti-Ahmadiyya campaign. Events that led to the formation and then dissolution of AIKC are also discussed at length. Endeavours are also made to summarize the movement for restoration of Shaheed Ganj Mosque. Reasons of non-participation of Ahrars in the movement at the early stages and its active participation in its second phase are also pin-pointed.

Chapter four provides a rather detailed study of Tehrik-i-Khaksar since its inception. This comprises its formation, organization, aims and objectives and initial working. Efforts have been made to find out the reasons, which compelled both Iqbal and Mashriqi neither to meet with each other nor to exchange views. It is followed by a detailed analysis of religio-political philosophies of both and their views on various contemporary issues.

Fifth chapter deals with the nature of relationship of Iqbal and Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya. Those factors are elaborated which forced Iqbal to launch a campaign against Ahmadism. The pro-British policy of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and its leadership preceded by the origin, growth and history of movement is also traced in a summarized manner.

Next chapter discusses the emergence of Punjab National Unionist Party and role played by it in the political arena from 1927-30. Causes of split in the ranks of League and the formation of AIMC have also discussed at length. Role of Iqbal as a parliamentarian is also analyzed. In the end, a brief comparative study of political strategies of Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain is also appended.

Chapter seven discusses the role of Iqbal as an ardent supporter of Jinnah and his policies. Iqbal's Allahabad address' significance as cornerstone of Pakistan movement is also highlighted. Besides examining the efforts of Iqbal, for reorganization of PPML during 1935-38, the reservations of Iqbal and other urbanite leaders is also dealt in detail, regarding the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.

In the last, an attempt has been made to draw a conclusion from the thesis. It is acknowledged that anti-imperialist parties like Ahrars and Khaksars played a vital role in infuriating and organizing the masses against the British Imperialist forces, but failed to produce a constructive lead, as their programme was more ambitious and less rationalistic. It was the impact of Iqbal's poetry and ideological footing that Muslims rejected the agenda of pro-nationalist parties as well as disapprove the programme of pro-British Unionist Party and get united under the leadership of Jinnah on the pathway to Pakistan.

### **Research Methodology**

The methodology adopted during the course of study is both historical and analytical. Primarily, it is a library-based search, and both primary and secondary sources have been consulted in this regard.

NDC, NAP and NIHCR have been the most useful sources for collection of research material comprising IOR, fortnightly reports, Punjab Administrative Reports, private papers and files, secret and confidential reports, secret record of Punjab and NWFP police and PLCD, which are mostly in the form of microfilms.

The files of newspapers and journals such as *CMG*, *Inqilab*, *Zamindar*, *Tribune*, *Al-Fazl*, *Al-Islah*, etc. are also consulted. NAP, Punjab Public Library,

Lahore Museum Library and few private collections have been the most useful sources for conducting this part of research.

The other primary resources used in this study have been collected from various public and private libraries. These include diaries, notes, letters, speeches, statements and biographies of the key political actors. Besides, the books written by Iqbal, Mashriqi and Ghulam Ahmad are also consulted and cited frequently.

# Chapter I

## BRITISH PUNJAB: 1849-1926

### Historical Background

Punjab is the vast fertile region located in the North-west of the South Asian subcontinent.<sup>1</sup> Punjab remained cradle of the Indus valley civilization, one of the oldest in the world. Because of its vast economic resources, strategic position and indefatigable manpower, Punjab occupied a unique position since the ancient times.

Punjab derives its appellation from two Persian words, *Punj* means five and *Aab* means water. Thus the province is meaningfully called, the land of five rivers; the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Sutlej and the Beas.

In the course of history Punjab has had several names. In the Vedic period, the province was known as *Sapta Sindhva*,<sup>2</sup> the land of the seven rivers<sup>3</sup>. During the Greek period, the boundaries of the Punjab were confined to five rivers and they called it 'Pentapotamia', meaning five rivers.<sup>4</sup> In the *Mahabharata* it is referred as '*Taka Desh*', i.e., country of '*Takas*', and '*Saka Divpa*', i.e., country of '*Sakas*'. According to the *Harsha Charita*, written as late as seventh century A.D., west Punjab bore the title of '*Huna Desh*' i.e., Country of the Huns.<sup>5</sup> Before the Mughal period it was known as '*Punjad*', i.e. country of five waters and finally during the Mughal period this region was known as Punjab.<sup>6</sup>

Excluding salt range, Punjab is an extensive plain made up of alluvial soil deposited by its rivers. The plain of the Punjab is divided by its rivers into five extensive natural sections known as *Doab*; which means land lying in the bifurcation above the confluence of two rivers.<sup>7</sup> The land between the Beas and the Ravi is called *Bari Doab*; that between the Ravi and the Chenab is called *Rachna Doab*; that between the Jhelum and the Chenab is the *Chaj Doab*. The *Doab* between the Jhelum and the Indus is called *Sindh Sagar Doab* and the *Doab* between the Sutlej and the Beas is called *Bist Bisat* or *Jalendhar Doab*.<sup>8</sup> Due to the fertility of land and plenty of water the area yields good crops.

Due to the only practicable highway between the itinerant breeding ground of central Asia and the fertile valley of the Ganges<sup>9</sup> Punjab has been a strategic area of an immense significance since the ancient times. It was the geographical location of Punjab, which made it pregnable to the foreign invasions from the earliest time. Since time immemorial, it was a 'gateway to India', 'feted battlefield' and 'the first home of conquerors'. Almost all the invaders came from northwest and had faced great resistance by the people of the Punjab, before moving further into the land. The destiny of the Punjab, the heart land of India was the destiny of the whole of India. If the brave men of the Punjab were defeated, none in the whole sub-continent could dare face the invaders. A fertile region, with men of strong physique, the Punjab was a rich source of both men and wealth for the conquerors.<sup>10</sup>

Historically, it has been a birthplace of civilizations with consecutive waves of migrations sweeping across its plains to the entire Indian territory from central Asia and beyond. This gave Punjab a history of continuous change and dynamism, quite unique in south Asia. The earliest attempts of Punjab invasion were made by the king of Egypt, Orisis<sup>11</sup> and the Queen of Assyria,<sup>12</sup> Semiramis in ninth century B.C. one after the other but suffered a crushing defeat. The Tartars, the Scythians and the Persians attacked the land in 650 B.C. and 518 B.C. respectively. Punjab remained under the Persian occupation till 359 B.C.<sup>13</sup> In 326 B.C. Alexander of Macedonia established the Greek rule over the Punjab by defeating Raja Poras and swept on as far as the Beas.<sup>14</sup> Soon after his withdrawal, due to the refusal of his armed forces to move forward, his officials were ousted from the Punjab by Chandra Gupta Maurya, the King of Magodha in 317 B.C.<sup>15</sup> The first century B.C. and the early century of the Christian era was also marked with number of attacks and invasions by Mithridatres, Sythics, Sakas, Parthians, Kushans and Sassanids.<sup>16</sup>

The Muslim political supremacy in the Punjab was started in 712 A.D. when Sindh and adjacent areas of the southern Punjab up to Multan came under the Arab rule. These areas remained under the Abbasid dynasty for 300 years. In the early 11th century A.D. Mahmood of Ghazni (998-1030) invaded Punjab by giving a crushing defeat to Hindu Raja Jaipal (d. 1001). He swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards.<sup>17</sup> He made Lahore a province of his empire. The successors of Mahmood tried to bring the entire Punjab up to Delhi under their control



but failed.<sup>18</sup> In 1176, Muhammad Ghauri (d. 1206) attacked the Punjab. He captured the Punjab in 1186 and further strengthened his rule by giving defeat to ruler of Ajmer, Prithivi Raj (d. 1193) in the second battle of Tarain. Muhammad Ghauri left Qutub-ud-Din Aibak as governor of the extended territories of his state. In July 1206, after the death of Muhammad Ghauri, Qutub-ud-Din (1206-1210) declared himself an independent and sovereign ruler of India. Thus from 1206 A.D. to 1526 A.D. which was the Sultunate period of India, Slaves, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Sayyeds and Lodhis ruled over the India.<sup>19</sup> In these five hundred years Punjab observed the change of rule between the Ghazni, Kabul and Delhi Sultans.<sup>20</sup>

The Mughals rule over India was established in 1526 when Zaheer-ud-Din Babar (1483-1530) defeated the Ibrahim Lodhi (d. 1526) in the first battle of Panipat. Mughals ruled over the Indian sub-continent for two hundred years.<sup>21</sup> Under the Mughal rulers, the Punjab enjoyed a long period of peace and good government. All the kings from Babar to Aurangzeb (1618-1707) gave great importance to the Punjab for the bravery of its soldiers. Jalal-ud-Din Akbar (1542-1605) made Lahore his headquarters from 1584-1598. The Mughal forts, *serais*, mosques, mausoleums and gardens in different parts of the Punjab speak of the fondness of their builders.<sup>22</sup>

The decline of Mughal Empire started immediately after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707. Due to the wars of successions, internal intrigues and incompetent rulers the regional forces raised their heads. Meanwhile in 1738 Nadir Shah (d. 1747), the king of Iran invaded Punjab. This military adventurism further weakened the Mughal Empire and created conditions of chaos, uncertainty and disorder in the province of Punjab. In the later part of eighteenth century Punjab once again observed a series of attacks by Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722-1773). In 1761, on the request of Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), he made a full fledged attack on Marhattas and crushed their power.<sup>23</sup> He did not take steps for the betterment of the political atmosphere in Punjab and marched back to his homeland. This act of Abdali further weakened the falling empire of the Mughals. In these circumstances the Sikhs took full benefit and began to plunder villages.<sup>24</sup>

The Sikh power rose in the Punjab during the general confusion and anarchy which followed the invasion of Nadir Shah and the Abdali expanding on a period of

three decades and resulted in accelerating the process of political disintegration which had set in the death of Aurangzeb and increased under his inefficient successors.<sup>25</sup> It was the result of foreign invasions that no stable and also indigenous government could ever be established in this area. It was due to the weakness of Mughal Empire, as discussed before, that the land of five rivers became the field of action for Ranjeet Singh who established Sikh Empire in the Punjab.<sup>26</sup>

Ranjit Singh was born on Nov. 13, 1780 in Gujranwala.<sup>27</sup> His father Maha Singh was the ruler of Gujranwala district. In 1792, after the death of his father, Ranjeet Singh became the ruler. In 1803 he captured Lahore, with the help of *Arains* of Lahore and proclaimed himself Maharaja of Lahore.<sup>28</sup> In 1809 Ranjeet Singh concluded a treaty with the British in which he assured them that Sutlej would be the boundary of Punjab and he would have no concern with eastern areas.<sup>29</sup> Soon he conquered Kasur, Wazirabad, Gujrat, and Jhang and succeeded in absorbing the central Punjab into single kingdom.<sup>30</sup> By 1831 his control over Punjab, NWFP, Northern areas and Kashmir was complete.

Punjab being an agricultural province had 87 to 90 % people living in the rural areas.<sup>31</sup> The Sikhs heavily depended upon the rural society for their support and help. Like the Mughals and Sultanate dynasties, Sikhs had given the landed aristocracy a considerable importance. Ranjeet Singh used all fair and unfair means to dominate and streamline the headstrong chieftains. The Mamdots, the Hayats of Wah, the Khans of Kasur, the Noons, the Tiwanas all gave their allegiance to the Maharaja.<sup>32</sup>

During the Sikh regime Muslims of Punjab were under the dark cloud. Anti-Muslim activities were important features of Sikh rule. Bans and prohibitions were imposed over Muslim religious acts and worship. Even they were not allowed to call people for prayers. The mosques and shrines had been converted into stables. The Muslims had been deprived of these rights for more than eighty years.<sup>33</sup> This attitude of Sikhs towards Muslims was the result of deep-rooted historic antagonism.<sup>34</sup> It has been reported that during Aurangzeb period, the ninth Guru Tej Bahadur was defeated and was given capital punishment in 1675. In another incident Guru Gobind Singh, who devoted his energy to establish a Sikh Kingdom was stabbed by a Pathan while at the camp of Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775-1862) in the Deccan and died in 1707.<sup>35</sup>

Syed Ahmed (1786-1831) made an attempt in 1825 to get rid of Sikh domination as well as the British rule. In *Jihad* movement the Pathans took more interest as compared to the Punjabis. In the initial stages he managed to defeat the Sikhs and declared himself *Amir-ul-Ma'umeneen*. Conspiracies and treachery of his *sardars* compelled him to move toward northern areas where he was martyred on May 31, 1831.<sup>36</sup> *Jihad* movement, as hinted before, did not receive due attention and support by the Muslims of Punjab. It was basically due to the influence of landlords and nobles of Muslims, who supported Ranjeet Singh and pressurized the poor peasants and workers not to participate in the movement. Secondly, it was the effect of *pirs* and *sajjahnashins* of Punjab on the people, who presented themselves as intermediaries between Allah and Muslim masses. On the contrary Syed Ahmed avoids all these kinds of acts and was a staunch supporter of removing all the evil practices from the Muslim society.<sup>37</sup>

On June 27, 1839, Ranjeet Singh died.<sup>38</sup> Just after his death, conflict of power started amongst various contenders for power and throne. Conspiracies in Sikh *Darbar* further multiplied the chaos and havoc in Punjab. In fact, all these conditions were favorable for British. The British had been looking upon the Sikh state ambitiously even during the Ranjeet Singh times but the Maharaja policies kept them at a bay. Eventually, as earlier as October 20, 1843, Lord Eltenborough had written to Lord Wellington, that the time could not be very distant when the Punjab would fall into our agreement.<sup>39</sup>

The successors of Maharaja waged a war against British in 1846. After the first Anglo-Sikh war, treaty of Bhyrowal was signed and a council of Regency<sup>40</sup> was formed on Dec. 26, 1846 between British and the Sikh rulers.<sup>41</sup> The Sikh kingdom thus came under the tutelage of British government. The governor general appointed Henry Lawrence as British resident with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the state.<sup>42</sup> Henry Lawrence not only reshaped the administrative fabric of the state but also took various reformative steps for the welfare of the people.

In 1848, Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan was ordered by the British to resign on account of mismanagement and incompetence. That act of British ignited the

Sikhs, which resulted in the second Anglo-Sikh war. In that war Sikhs were defeated. On March 29, 1849, the last Sikh *Darbar* was held at Lahore. In that *Darbar*, Maharaja Daleep Singh and the council of Regency submitted their submission to the East India Company, which led to the complete annexation of Punjab during the regime of Lord Dalhousie (1848-1956).<sup>43</sup>

After the annexation, the important and foremost task before government was to strengthen and consolidate its power against any onslaught from inside or outside. Firstly, in order to pacify the Sikhs and for the purpose of winning their loyalties, the Kashmir was given to a Sikh chieftain Ghulab Singh for just Rs.7.5 million. Secondly, the last Sikh ruler was given pension by the government.<sup>44</sup> Thirdly, just after the annexation there was a general disarmament in Punjab. All classes of the people, other than Europeans and government servants were prohibited to keep and carry arms of any kind. This policy was only imposed in Punjab; however in the rest of the country the masses retained their arms.<sup>45</sup> Lastly, adapting the same policy of Sikhs, the British made the landed aristocracy and landlords more powerful than even before. *Jagirs* were bestowed upon them and even magisterial powers were given to *Lambardars* in their area.<sup>46</sup>

After the annexation of Punjab no protest was reported in the province. It was not an unusual event because the people were used to foreign conquests from centuries. In fact, some local chieftains themselves helped the British in the occupation just because of the atrocities of Sikh regime. The Muslim masses had also suffered persecution and oppression under the Sikh rule.<sup>47</sup> Therefore they regarded the British as saviours who provided them security, safety and protection. Azim Hussain writes:

“The British come to the presidencies as traders and equals, but they come to the Punjab as successful conquerors. They were looked upon as usurpers in presidencies, while in the Punjab, they were considered as saviours from the tyranny and oppression of the Sikh rule. In presidencies, people resented the assumption of power by the British, while the Punjab felt relief over the majesty and strength of their British Government.”<sup>48</sup>

After annexation, Dalhousie appointed three members Board of Administration to look after the governance affairs in the Punjab. The president of the

board was the soldier-state man, Henry Lawrence. The other two members were John Lawrence and Charles Mansel.<sup>49</sup> The board was given unmitigated executive, judicial and military authority at the discretion of Governor General. The board members were the ablest officers picked up from the civil service and the army.<sup>50</sup>

These officers were known for their autocratic attitude and they adopted stern measures which would be helpful in bringing political stability in the province. Just after the annexation, Henry Lawrence ordered that his men were expected to extend equal right to all native religions and to align with none.<sup>51</sup> Indeed this statement proved helpful in assuring the Muslims that now they would be treated on equal footings at par with other communities of Punjab. The function of the board was divided into political, financial and judicial sectors and each member was responsible and in-charge of one department.

During the first four years of the board the prime priority was given to the development of the infrastructure. The Board of Administration laid a great stress on the development of means of communication in the Punjab. It had been estimated that from 1849-1856, a little over three crore of Rupees were spent on public works and up to May 1854 some 2,251 miles of roads were constructed.<sup>52</sup>

The Board of Administration governed the Punjab from April 1848 to January 1853. The British parliament regarded the joint rule of the Lawrence unequalled for the thoroughness with which a disorganized state was brought into order and a turbulent race turned to a loyal and peaceful population.<sup>53</sup>

In 1853 the Board of Administration was dissolved. Punjab was raised to the status of chief commissionerate and Sir John Lawrence (1853-1859) was appointed as the first chief commissioner. He was also given the additional charge of commander of the Punjab frontier force. For the smooth functioning of the affairs of the government he gathered around him a group of splendid soldier-administrators like John Nicholson, Robert Montgomery, Herbert Edwardes, Donald Macloed, General Reed, Sir Sydney Cotton, Neville Chamberlain, Fredrick Henry Cooper, Arthur Roberts, Richard Lawrance, George Ricketts, Douglas Forsyth, George Barnes and Lieutenant Col. James Macpherson.<sup>54</sup>

John Lawrence collateralized the tribal chiefs by granting them cash allowances, encouraging friendship between district officers and tribal chiefs on the pattern of Sandeman System.<sup>55</sup> During the chief commissionership of John Lawrence a number of steps had been taken to improve the communication and transportation system in the province. The foundation of electric telegraph was laid on a sound footing. Schemes were prepared for establishment of railway network and organization of police force in the Punjab.

The War of 1857 was such an incident, which shook the British Empire to its foundation. During this war Punjab was divided into the anti and pro-British camps. The loyalist landlords were behind their masters. The Punjab peasants had their sympathies with the mutineers, but practically they did nothing. The Sikhs of both the Cis-Sutlej and the Trans-Sutlej expressed unconditional support for the British.<sup>56</sup> The people of the Punjab fought against their brethren and it was only the help of Punjab that British defeated the Mughal forces and allies. The Hindu moneylenders like the Muslim landlords also joined hands with the British. Leigh writes that it was a surprising reality that in the mutiny, the victor's staunchest comrades in arms were those who fought against them in the Sikh wars.<sup>57</sup>

The British Indian government had also suffered an economic setback during this war. In the suppression of revolution huge expenses of about £ 40,000,000 encumbered its finances with an annual charge of £ 1,900,000 in interest payments. In the face of this alarming increase from £ 93 M in 1857 to £ 97 M in 1860, the government embarked upon a policy of strict economic and financial control.<sup>58</sup> After the war, whole system of Indian finance was reorganized, an income tax was introduced and all expenditures were carefully scrutinized and examined.

In 1858, after the suppression of revolution, India came under the direct control of crown.<sup>59</sup> The status of Punjab was raised from commissionership to the rank of full province and Sir John Lawrence was appointed as first Lieutenant Governor.

John Lawrence also took charge of Delhi in Feb 1858.<sup>60</sup> British had in her memory that these were the Muslims from whom they had taken the control of India, therefore, after suppressing the 1857 war, they regarded Muslims as their real enemies

and suspected an element of disloyalty towards them. Besides the sons of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor, thousands of Muslims were killed, women were disgraced, and houses were looted and burnt. As Baljon recorded that it was the Muslims who had to pay the price and after rebellion the English turned fiercely on Muhammadans as their real enemies.<sup>61</sup>

### **Geographic and Demographic Profile**

The area and the political boundaries of Punjab have been changing from time to time, but in its strict etymological sense it remains a country enclosed and watered by five rivers.<sup>62</sup> According to David Russ the boundaries of the Punjab province extend on the west as far as Afghanistan and Kalat; on the north to Kashmir and Tibet; on the south to Sindh and Rajputana and on the east to river Jamna and northwestern provinces.<sup>63</sup> During the Mughal period, the Punjab consisted of areas stretched around six main rivers. Lahore was the capital of the province. Abul Fazl, the court historian of Jalal-ud-Din Akbar, marks the boundaries of province as follows:

“Its length from the river Sutlej to the river Sindh is 18 *kos*. Its breadth from Bhimber to Chaukhundi is 86 *kos*. Sirhind is to the east whereas Bikaner and Ajmer bounded on the north and Multan is on the west.”<sup>64</sup>

At the dawn of twentieth century, the province of Punjab encompassed vast areas. Besides the present-day Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab, it included the settled districts of NWFP and Delhi. Very soon in 1901 Lord Curzon separated the five districts<sup>65</sup> from Punjab and constituted the North-West Frontier Province, which was given the status of chief commissionere.<sup>66</sup> In 1912, Delhi was declared as imperial capital and was also separated from Punjab. The remaining districts were divided into five administrative divisions and twenty-nine districts, besides twenty-two native states, which had political relations either with Punjab Government or Govt. of India. After the territorial changes, the geographical position of Punjab was such that on its north lays the NWFP and Kashmir, on the west it was bounded by Afghanistan and Baluchistan. To the south lie Sindh and Rajputana and to the east lies United Provinces.

The total area of the British Punjab in 1921 was 99, 846 square miles<sup>67</sup> and according to the census of 1921 it had a population of 20,685,024 [20.6 millions].<sup>68</sup> The Muslims were the dominant religious entity of the region and contributed 50.6% of the total population. They were followed by Hindus and Sikhs with 35.7% and 12.1% population respectively.<sup>69</sup> The Buddhist, Christians, Jains and Parsis constituted only 2% of the total population.<sup>70</sup> Of the 56% of the total Muslim population majority were Sunnites, 259,351 were Shiaites, 66,644 were *Ahl-i-Hadith* and 28,851 were Ahmadis.<sup>71</sup>

Although the population of Muslims was dominant but it was not concentrated in one region and scattered in different parts of the province. About 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Muslim population was predominant in the sub-Himalayan and northwestern dry areas. The highest concentration was 91% in Attock district and 88% in Jhelum. According to the census of India conducted in 1931, the Muslims were predominated in seventeen districts<sup>72</sup> of twenty-eight and in three districts of Jalandhar, Ferozpur and Amritser the proportion of Muslim population was 44% and 47% respectively.<sup>73</sup>

On the contrary Hindus were mainly concentrated in the Indo-Gangetic plane of the eastern Punjab. The Hindus were majority in six districts,<sup>74</sup> while in the districts of Ambala and Hoshiarpur they were 47% and 40% respectively.<sup>75</sup>

By the 1931 the numerical strength of the major religious communities Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs was 57.1 %, 27.8% and 13.2% respectively.<sup>76</sup> According to the census of 1921, the population of Punjab was mainly rural. About 10 to 13 % of the population lived in towns and cities while remaining was rural in nature. The main urban centres were Lahore, Amritser, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Rawalpindi, Multan and Jalandhar. There were only two towns Lahore and Amritser with a population of over 1, 00,000 and only five over 50,000.

The rural population of Punjab was classified into four categories; the big landlords, the peasant proprietors, the tenants and the *Kammis* or village artisans. Geographically, Punjab was roughly divided into four natural regions. In the east lies the Indo-Gangetic plain, in the north lays the Himalayan division, the sub Himalayan area in the centre and northwest dry area in the west.



On account of its socio-economic and geo-political conditions, Punjab was divided into six tracts. The first tract comprised of four sub-mountainous districts of Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, and Ambala which lay between the central Punjab and Himalayas. The second tract consisted of the central Punjab, which stretched from Jhelum in the north to the riverain districts of the Sutlej in the south. The third tract included the arid and barren districts of Rawalpindi, Attock, and Jhelum. The fourth tract composed of four eastern districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Hisar and Guregoan. This area had a different life style and a different culture. The cultivators were generally Hindu; while the Muslims were half Hindu in mind and rite.<sup>77</sup> The fifth tract consisted of the southwestern area of Punjab, which included Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Mianwali. The sixth tract region included the four districts of Shahpur, Lyallpur, Jhang and Montgomery.<sup>78</sup>

After the annexation, the province of Punjab was divided into seven divisions and twenty-four districts. The divisional headquarters were located at Ambala, Jalandhar, Amritser, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and Leiah. The in-charge of division was a commissioner. Each division was further divided into districts. The deputy commissioner was in-charge of the district. He had enormous powers within his district. His duties included the maintenance of law and order, revenue collection, supervision of courts and to report the highest authorities about the local conditions. Each district was further divided into various sub-collectorates or *Tehsils*. The *Tehsil* was under a *Tehsildar* and his staff. All the officers who conducted the administration were British nationals [commissioner, deputy-commissioner and assistant commissioner], duly assisted by the Indian extra assistant commissioners.<sup>79</sup> The lieutenant governor was the executive officer in the provincial administration. A chief secretary and several secretaries assisted him.

### **Role of Feudal Elite in Politics**

The roots of feudalism were deep rooted in the Indian history. From the post-Maurya period, and especially from Gupta times, certain political and administrative developments tended to feudalize the state apparatus. The most striking development was the practice of making land grants to the Brahmans, on the ground that they would not conspire against the king and the kingdom.<sup>80</sup> In the benefices granted to them they were allowed fiscal rights and such administrative rights as the

maintenance of law and order and realization of fines from criminals. The ruling chiefs granted land to their kinsmen as well as to others who served as vassals and officials. The chief obligation to them was to render military aid to their lords. After the fall of Gupta Empire the peasants and the craftsmen attached to the land subjected to direct rule of the priests, temples, chiefs and vessels.<sup>81</sup> Thus the wide spread practice of making land grants since the early history of India, paved the way for the rise of feudatories, who perform administrative functions, almost independently.

Since the establishment of centralized government under the sultans of Delhi, *jagirdars* and landlords played an important role in the Indian administration. Besides providing military assistance to the rulers they also protected the interest of their masters. Among the sultans of Delhi and Mughals, Akbar conclusively depended upon the feudal by the help of his *mansabdari* system. When Punjab came under the Sikh oligarchy of the Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, even then the same practice was followed. Like the Mughals and Sultanate dynasties Sikh regime had also given due importance to the landed aristocracy. Ranjeet Singh employed all fair and unfair means to dominate and streamline the head strong chieftains. Including the Mamdots, the Tiwanas, the Noons and the Khans of Kasur, all influential feudal elites assured Ranjeet Singh of the loyalty.<sup>82</sup>

In 1849 British annexed the Punjab. The British task of administering a newly acquired but under developed province was facilitated by the 'Lords of the lands' who owned the body of the peasants.<sup>83</sup> British also adopted the same policy and provided land and other benefits to won their loyalty. So as to strengthen and consolidate their rule, the British made the landed aristocracy more powerful than ever before. *Jagirs* were bestowed on them and even magisterial powers were given to them in their areas.<sup>84</sup> In western Punjab the British co-opted the rural elites into their administrative system. Following the policy of co-option, as hinted before, chieftains like the Legharis, Mazaris, Mamdots, Khans of Kasur, Noons, Maliks, Khattars, Daultanas, Syeds, Qureshis, Gilanis, Gardezis, Qizilbashis, Chattas, Sials, Gaurmanis, Cheemas and Tiwanas were all tempted to offer their allegiances to the *Raj*.<sup>85</sup> They were incorporated in the administrative system by offering them the semi official posts of *Zaildar*, *Sufedposh*, Honorary Magistrates and the member of the *Darbar*.<sup>86</sup>

It was the effective role of the landed aristocracy, which convinced the British to uphold the dominance and to develop close relations with them. It was under the aegis and patronage of British that the landed aristocracy extended its dominance over the rural peasantry exploitation. The growing indebtedness of the peasantry and land alienation was a sign of danger for landed aristocracy as well as the British government. Therefore the British government had adopted such policies to facilitate the landed aristocracy. In this regard the govt. had introduced a series of legislative measures, which served their interests. The Punjab Descent of Jagirs law, The Punjab Pre-emption Law, The Punjab Tenancy Act 1887 and The Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900, all were enacted to safeguard the interest of the rural elites<sup>87</sup> and to maintain the "Punjab Tradition" which in the words of Van den Dungen was based upon complete reliance on the loyalty of the village proprietors.<sup>88</sup>

The landed aristocracy stood aloof from the nationalist and revolutionary movements<sup>89</sup> and continued to work against such political endeavours made by the intelligentsia and masses to mobilize action for the benefit of the community and ambitiously copied British customs and manners.<sup>90</sup> They had their own organization, which met annually and reiterated its pledge of loyalty to the *Raj*. That organization of chieftains and other influential members of the landed aristocracy was called Association of Landed Aristocracy in the Punjab. Later it was renamed as The Punjab Chiefs Association.<sup>91</sup> At one of its annual session, held on Feb. 23, 1909 these 'knights' of Punjab received the following commendation from the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab:

"You refer to your loyalty that the Punjab chiefs have always been loyal, goes beyond saying, and I can assure you that the British government has thoroughly appreciated their loyalty".<sup>92</sup>

Due to their allied interest with the *Raj*, they were not in a position to adopt an independent line of action in political matters. Feroz Khan Noon recorded in his autobiography:

"The people in the Advisory Council of Lieutenant Governor were the most loyal, elderly men belonging to the well-to-do class, who had rendered political and administrative services to the British govt. and they had no political opinions except those which the British liked".<sup>93</sup>

The loyalty of Punjabi chiefs and landlords to their British masters made them

the most powerful and influential pressure group in the provincial politics and administration of Punjab. The landlords were carefully promoted by grants of *jagirs*, titles and by associating them with the administration, They consisted of 'loyalists', as government called them 'moderates' as they called themselves; and 'sycophants'; as their opponents called them.<sup>94</sup>

When Punjab Legislative Council came into being, the Punjab administration nominated various landed aristocrats to the Council, from time to time<sup>95</sup>. As hinted before that, they had no political opinion of their own; therefore they defended the administration policies in the council.

The British government gave every economic and political opportunity to the landlords. They were even allowed to acquire land and property outside their home districts in the canal colonies. For instance, 7.5% of the cultivated area of the lower Bari *Doab* colony was reserved for big landlords.<sup>96</sup>

The landed class also supported the anti-reforms policies of O'Dwyre and backed the proclamation of martial law, massacre of Jalianwala *Bagh* by the govt. Umer Hayat Tiwana, Sir M. Shafi, Narendra Nath, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand and Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia and other aristocrats even presented addresses to the governor, to prove their loyalty.<sup>97</sup> To show their loyalty, during the 1919 Rowlatt Act agitation both Noons and Tiwanas provided contingents of horsemen to patrol the railway lines in Shahpur district<sup>98</sup>. In return, British richly rewarded these people who stood by them in their darkest hour<sup>99</sup> and in the words of Michael O'Dwyre were the basis of the stability and prosperity of the province.<sup>100</sup>

Punjab played a great role in saving the East India Company's empire and the crown by providing recruits from Punjab and proved itself a 'tower of strength in India'<sup>101</sup>. Since that time for the British, the Punjab became a large part of their fighting force. British were aware of the fact that the physical qualities of the inhabitants had exercised a great influence on the politics and the history. Therefore keeping in view the martial races<sup>102</sup> of Punjab, the British wanted to maintain a fair hold on the sword men of India.<sup>103</sup> The process of political and constitutional development was intentionally kept slow in the province and in the *Barani* districts of province educational advancement and industrialization was stopped for the success

of recruitment campaign.<sup>104</sup>

In order to draw the recruits from the rural areas, the British collateralized the landlords. In fact, it was an act of loyalty for their new masters that soon after eight years of the annexation of Punjab, at the eve of War of Independence (1857) Punjab provided 70,000 disciplined soldiers, of whom, 23,000 were fighting for their foreign rulers outside the province.<sup>105</sup>

At the beginning of First World War (1914-1918), Punjab had about one hundred thousand men in the British Indian army and at the end of war the number raised to 3,60,000, and of them 5/9<sup>106</sup> were Muslims. The following table shows that the Punjab's contribution was highest both in number and in proportion to population among all provinces of India in World War-I.<sup>107</sup>

**Table No. I/I**

Area	Population(in Millions)	No. of Recruits.
NWFP	03	32,000
Punjab	24	3,50,000
United Provinces	46	1,42,000
Bombay	27	35,000
Bengal	48	6,000
Bihar & Orisa	38	8,000
Madras	48	46,000
Central Provinces	16	5,000
Aasam	08	1,000
Ajmir	0.5	8,000
Native States	45	80,000
Barma	13	13,000

During the war, the landlords, whether they were Hindus, Sikhs, or Muslims, provided manpower, money and material to the British govt. and acted as military contractors. Thus the peasant proprietors and the 2500 big landlords always proved to be the bulwark of political conservation and an inexhaustible source of manpower for the British army.<sup>108</sup> For the purpose of recruitment, the landlords organize *Darbars* in

various areas.<sup>109</sup> Though the martial races of Punjab were fond of joining British army, yet force and coercive measures were applied for recruitment.<sup>110</sup>

A meeting of the leading Muslim families of the Punjab, the Tiwanas and the Noons of Shahpur District was held on Sep. 08, 1914 which was convened by Capt. Malik Muhammad Mubariz Khan. In the meeting it was resolved that

“...a unique occasion has arisen when the loyal subject of his Majesty the King Emperor can prove their devotions to the throne most demonstratively, all the members of these tribes beg to place their personal services and their possessions at the disposal of the British Govt.”<sup>111</sup>

In fact, Tiwanas, Noons and Hayats were among those rural families who proved lengthy and lucrative loyalist attitude<sup>112</sup> towards the British masters since the annexation of Punjab. They actively participated in the suppression of War of 1857 and stood by British in their darkest hour.<sup>113</sup> Reportedly Malik Sahib Khan created his own regiment during the War of 1857 and his forces defeated the soldiers of the Bengal army in the battles at Jhelum and Ajnala. His troops also joined hands with John Nicholson in the siege of Delhi.<sup>114</sup>

Amongst the landlords of Punjab Nawab Khuda Buksh Khan, Capt. Malik Mubariz Khan, Malik Sher Muhammad Khan and Malik Muhammad Khan of Tiwanas were the first ones who offered their services to the British Govt. In context of their familial tradition of British loyalty they sought permission from authorities to raise and maintain a small force of hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, during the war.

Malik Khuda Baksh Tiwana provided valuable services to the British administration in the recruitment and enlistment of soldiers from Jhelum, Gujrat and Bahawalpur Districts. For his services he received a Sword of Honor in 1917 and fifteen rectangles of land in 1919<sup>115</sup>. Similarly Malik Umer Hayat Tiwana worked as Assistant Recruiting Officer Shahpur and member of Provincial Recruiting Board. During the course of war he also served in France and Mesopotamia, for which he was awarded the Knighthood of the Order of Indian Empire and was promoted to the rank of Major.<sup>116</sup> Talbot recorded that it was due to the efforts, both coercive and persuasive, that by the eve of First World War 3/5<sup>th</sup> of Indian Army were drawn from

Punjab.<sup>117</sup>

Noon Family of Shahpur also holds a splendid and sumptuous record of services for British. As a chairman of Hafizabad and Wazirabad Tehsil sub-committees, Malik Sahib Khan Noon effectively played his role in the recruitment of soldiers from his area of influence.<sup>118</sup> Noon family enlisted and maintained at the disposal of government a force of hundred *sawars* and two hundred infantry. They also invested Rs.20,000 in war loans besides subscribing to war funds and charities.<sup>119</sup>

Sardar Diljit Singh, Raghbir Singh, Gojjan Singh, Ch. Lal Chand and Chottu Ram supported the Punjab Government's recruitment efforts. Chottu Ram made valuable contributions to the First World War in Rohtak District, in the capacity of Honourary Secretary of the District Recruitment and War Committee. Due to his efforts, recruitments in the districts rose from 6,145 in January 1915 to 22,144 in 1918, gaining a third position in Punjab. Besides a financial contribution of Rs.91,972 he also shared in war loans of Rs.1,28,865. As a reward of his services he was granted hundred acres of irrigated land in the canal colony of Montgomery in 1919 and given the title of Rai Sahib.<sup>120</sup>

Like the landed classes, the religious elites of Punjab, *Pirs* and *Sajjadahnashins*, also provided their loyal services to the British government either in the form of religious *fatwas*, help for recruitment and political influences. In fact almost all the major *pirs* and caretakers of shrines were land owners and as the lords of the shrines were *Zamindars*, they commanded both the body and soul of the poor villagers.<sup>121</sup>

British and religious elite's relationship was initiated soon after the annexation of Punjab in 1849. During First World War like the landed elites, they assisted the British by supplying them with horses, soldiers and other accouterments of the war.<sup>122</sup> For instance, Ghulam Abbas Shah, the *Pir* of Makhad Sharif, who had many followers in the western Punjab was reported to had been responsible for the recruitment of 4,000 men.<sup>123</sup> For his service during the recruitment he was rewarded landed gentry grant of ten rectangles in 1916, along with the lease of 15,000 acres of *rakh* land in his home district.<sup>124</sup>

Similarly *Sajjadahnashin* of Jalalpur Sharif (Jhelum) Pir Sayed M.Fazal Shah, and his brother Sayed Mehar Shah actively supported the British government during the First World War and provided a considerable number of his disciples for enlistment in the army. For their services, former was awarded a grant of Rs.500 per annum and the later was given the title of '*Nawab*',<sup>125</sup>

In the financial help, these landlords inspired the masses to contribute to the Imperial Relief Fund.<sup>126</sup> The Punjab had contributed more than two crore of rupees to the war fund and charities had invested about 10 crore in war loans.<sup>127</sup> Thus Punjab, with men, money and material, had made a substantial contribution to the war.

In the post World War I period, like the other parts of British India, a wave of discontent was also observed in the Punjab. Many nationalist and revolutionary movements emerged against the British imperialism. In order to cope with these movements the Punjab administrative solely relied on the rural classes<sup>128</sup>. In sum, it was the active support of the Punjab rural classes that the province was given titles such as 'shield', 'spearhead', 'sword Arm of India', 'sword land of India' and 'guard-room of Eastern Empire'.

In 1919 the British for further advancement in the field of state and governmental affairs presented Mont-Ford reforms. Though the number of seats was enlarged, but in the case of Punjab, the govt. once again showed the bias in favour of landed aristocracy. More seats were given to the rural areas in general and special constituencies. Thus the govt. vested interests always wanted the landed classes to dominate the legislature.<sup>129</sup> The rural members organized a rural bloc, which later on became rural party under the leadership of Fazl-i-Hussain. Keeping in view the 'Punjab Tradition' Fazl-i-Hussain did not defy the British and became part of their administration and was given the portfolio of Minister of Education and Local Self Government. In the early 1920, the Unionist Party emerged which was the troika of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh landed aristocracy and served for British in Punjab up till the partition of sub-continent.

### **Development of Canal Colonies**

The development of canal colonies in the western Punjab in the mid of



nineteenth century by the British Indian government was an attempt to convert unproductive and arid land into the fertile land by using the water of rivers the Jhelum, the Chenab and the Ravi. The groundwork and blueprint of these colonies was started soon after annexation and coping with the so-called 'Mutiny' in the British India.

According to the colonization scheme<sup>130</sup>, it was decided to give land to the well to do agricultural peasants who would cultivate the land with the help of their family and servants, but as far as possible, without the help of tenants. This step was taken to discourage the absentee landlords. The receiver of benefits from the colonized land belonged to all ranks and positions, tribes and creeds from all over the province. In short, there were seven categories of the colonists the nomad peasants, the military peasants settlers, the small peasants proprietors, the yeoman grantees, the capitalist grantees, the auction purchasers and the landlords.

In 1886, the first ever canal colony was put into operation when 77,000 acres of waste land in the Multan district was irrigated by the water of River Sutlej and was colonized by the immigrants from the central Punjab.<sup>131</sup> The total area colonized under that project was 10 M acres. With the success of this experiment, a new era was opened in the socio-economic history of Punjab and total of nine colonies were built.<sup>132</sup> According to an estimate, a million Punjabis moved to these colonies.<sup>133</sup> These colonies, in this manner, that they had people of different shades and opinion, constituted a miniature Punjab. The British govt. had paid due attention for the development of infrastructure in the canal colonies. It was due to the tremendous progress that by 1909, nearly all available land had been allotted. The price of the land also increased due to the development of the area. One of the greatest achievements of the administration was the creation of a splendid system of irrigation canals. Some of them were in themselves, the great feats of the engineering by the British.<sup>134</sup>

In March 1892, the government sold the 8793 acres of land reserved for auction on an average price of Rs 43 / acre. That rate was raised to Rs. 134/ acre, 305/ acre and Rs. 477/ acre in 1899, 1925 and 1927 respectively.<sup>135</sup>

The canal colonies, however, coincided with the Punjab's emergence as the sword arm of India. Imran Ali has argued that the colonial state sacrificed development goals for the pursuance of stability by placating, politically loyal and important groups.<sup>136</sup> In fact, bulk of the land was sold to peasant proprietors, but the Punjab administration had reserved areas to reward martial races and the landed gentry. British government set aside a lot of area for the landowning elites in the best, high yielded and highly valued areas of the canal colonies. For instance, in the lower Bari Doab colony 4 ½ % of land was reserved for landed gentry.<sup>137</sup> On the similar bases, land was reserved for military peasant settlers and lucrative grants of land were awarded to the ex-service men.<sup>138</sup> At the end of First World War over 420,000 acres of canal colony land were distributed to 6,000 commissioned and non-commissioned army officers.<sup>139</sup>

In the canal colonies, cattle, mule and horse-breeding grants were made mostly to the members of agricultural classes and in turn they provide them mule and horses during the wars. For instance, during the First World War, the Lyallpur canal colony provided huge amount of wheat, flour, and gifts of horses and mules to the army.<sup>140</sup> In fact leasing of land for breeding purposes was little beneficial for agricultural development, as it wasted the fertile land which, otherwise, would have vastly increased the farm output.

In sum, canal colonies brought an agricultural revolution in the western Punjab and the wastelands were converted into the fertile irrigated lands. Construction of new market towns and cheap transportation of products proved beneficial for the agricultural development and the per capita output of all crops had increased by nearly 45% between 1891 and 1921.<sup>141</sup> However to political economists the scheme was a game plan of British exploitation as it was sinister in its ultimate objective of establishing British colonialism in India on a fail-safe foundation. Definitely this great land grab spawned a class-conscious and a highly stratified social structure, in which feudal elites owed a prime position and land tillers were treated as serfs with no rights or legal protection of any kind. Moreover, it not only fulfilled their military requirements, but also acted as an 'extractive system' in order to finance their administration.<sup>142</sup>

### **Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900**

Land was a symbol of status in the Punjab and collection of land revenue was the main source of income of the government. After the war of independence 1857, the growing indebtedness of peasantry and the consequent transfer of agricultural land by mortgage or sale to urban moneylenders was a serious problem faced by the Punjab government. Many debt officers were alarmed at the growing rural debt and the transfer of land to the moneylenders particularly in the western Punjab. Landowners and the moneylenders were identified, by their interest as well as religion; the former being the Muslims and later Hindus. Due to wide spread agrarian discontent in 1869, government proposed certain measures to stop the transfer of agricultural land from small landowners to the trading classes,<sup>143</sup> so as to save them from the clutches of moneylenders. This was based on the reports of district officers of the western backward districts of the Punjab. In these Muslim majority districts the land was rapidly passing in the hands of the absentee Hindu creditors and moneylenders. Of the Muslim peasant proprietors of the western Punjab, about seventy percent were in debt.<sup>144</sup> In some districts like, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali and Dera Ghazi Khan this ratio increased up to 90%.<sup>145</sup>

Hindu Rajput peasants and Jats of Rohtak also faced the same situation. In 1884, Thornburn stated that 8% of cultivatable land in Dera Ismail Khan had been transferred to the Hindu moneylenders during the last five years due to peasant's extravagance and defects in the administrative system.<sup>146</sup> Resultantly moneylenders emerged as 'economic dictators' and a threat for stability of rural community.<sup>147</sup> Ibbeston suggested that the transfer of land could only be stopped by means of restrictive laws.<sup>148</sup> Therefore so as to protect the rural classes, undermining rural stability and keeping in view the significance of the tribal structure of the society for the stability of imperial authority<sup>149</sup> the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900 was enacted.<sup>150</sup>

The main purpose of this act was to forbid the permanent alienation of land by the non-agricultural classes, and to check the expropriation of agricultural owners by moneylenders. According to this act, the population was divided into agriculturist and non-agriculturist tribes.<sup>151</sup> Alienation was only permitted in the same agricultural tribe living in the same district. If member of an agricultural tribe wanted to sell it to a

member of the same tribe, who lived on another district or to a member of any other agricultural tribe, the district officer had to decide where the transaction was in the best interest of the transferor.<sup>152</sup> This act was enacted not only to facilitate the poor peasantry against the unprincipled moneylenders but it also secured the interests of the landed aristocracy who supported the British policies. This act could be considered as the important most of the series of land acts enacted by the British authorities during the second half of nineteenth century.<sup>153</sup>

The British govt. always relied upon the landed aristocracy, which played an important role in the socio-political affairs of the province and the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900 was in fact recognition of the importance of the strong links between the British state and the local rural elites. It also structures the politics around the idiom 'tribe' rather than 'religious community'. The agricultural ideology was carried out from this piece of legislation.

In spite of all the sincere efforts of the government the alienation of land did not stop, only the direction of flow of land changed. The Jat landlords in eastern districts and Muslim landlords in western districts began to amass larger holdings of land at the expense of the weaker and more extravagant tribes.<sup>154</sup> With the passage of time the moneylenders adopted various methods and discovered loopholes in the act. By using the method of *Benami* Transactions,<sup>155</sup> the moneylenders had amassed thousands acres of land. The appointed agents in the villages who were the members of agriculturist tribes, asked the debtors to transfer the land in their name. Thus theoretically land never officially passed out of the agriculturist tribes but practically it was acquired by urban moneylenders. However this loophole was closed by a piece of legislation in 1937 by Sikandar Hayat's ministry.

In sum, this bill deepened the cleavages between the rural and urban areas. Consequently, British govt. once again was able to win the support of the rural elites. In the opinion of Zafarullah Khan, 'this was purely an economic measure designed to safeguard all agriculturists, Muslims and non-Muslims, against the depredation of the moneylenders. Yet it became a major factor of contention between the Muslims and non-Muslims in the province'.<sup>156</sup> According to Hafeez Malik, the act emancipated the peasant proprietors, but it divided both the Hindu and Muslim societies into opposing

rural and urban classes.<sup>157</sup>

Though Muslim masses appreciated the Land Alienation Act and sought it as the protector of Muslim peasants from the Hindu traders,<sup>158</sup> But at later stages it proved that this piece of legislation was successful maneuvering of British authorities to protect the rural and traditional land holding classes. During the period of diarchy, this act remained a stepping-stone for 'rural magnets', as according to it, only members of 'agricultural tribes' as defined by Land Alienation Act were allowed to stand as candidate for rural constituencies, which at later stages gave birth to a dominant agrarian alliance- the Punjab National Unionist Party.

### **Evolution of Local Self Government**

Indian sub-continent had experienced a long history of 'village *panchayats*'<sup>159</sup> which are more or less established on the basis of hereditary privileges or along caste lines and mainly responsible for tax-collection, maintenance of public order and settlement of disputes at local level. Definite evidence of their existence is available until approximately 600 B.C.<sup>160</sup>

The first serious attempt to reform the system of local govt., particularly with reference to tax administration, was made by Sher Shah Sauri (1529-45).<sup>161</sup> These reforms were carried further and more successfully implemented during the Mughal period, in which the scope of these rural institutions was extended to urban areas.<sup>162</sup> Towns were divided into various *Mohallahs* - represented by *mir mohallahs*. The administration of the town was vested in *Kotwal*, who exercised supreme authority in magisterial, police and fiscal matters. He was assisted by a *Qazi*, who was responsible for justice and a *Mohtasib* who was required to suppress illegal practices.

The advent of British marks radical changes in the sphere of local self-government. Being an imperialist power their main motive was maximization of land revenue and maintenance of law and order. In the area of land revenue, they introduced the *Zamindar* system - a class with absolute rights on lands was created to ensure collection of taxes from the actual tillers of land. As their rule stabilized in the sub-continent, the British, out of their own compulsions introduced and consolidated their own version of local self govt., first in the urban areas and then in the rural

areas.<sup>163</sup>

In 1687, the directors of the East India Company decided to establish a corporation for providing public services to the presidency of Madras. On the same pattern the new corporations were setup in Bombay and Calcutta in 1726. In the next hundred years no significant development occurred in the sphere of Local Self government and no step was taken to change the complexion of corporations.<sup>164</sup>

One can trace the origin of Municipal committees to the early 1850's when by the virtue of Act XXVI of 1850 Municipal Committees were established in Simla and Bhiwani. They were consisted of appointed members and more or less meant for levying taxes. However after the War of Independence 1857, it was seriously felt that steps should be taken to bridge the gulf between ruled and the rulers.

As far as the Punjab was concerned, in 1862, the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab Sir Robert Montgomery initiated the process of local self-government and the municipal committees were setup in district headquarters. In the beginning elections were held annually and there electoral college were the delegates of *Panchayats*.

During 1862-65 forty-nine such committees were established. Of these committees twenty-eight had elected elements.<sup>165</sup> In 1873, elections to them were made permissive but the elective principle was restored in 1879 and the sphere of municipal activity was widened.<sup>166</sup> The British kept the policy making and large expenditure in their own control and the primary function of these committees was to regulate taxation, revenue collection and dealing in local affairs.

During 1687-1881, the nominated members dominated the local government institutions and most of the Indian population was deprived of real participation in their functioning. Definitely the sole aim of these institutions was to act as auxiliary bodies for levying and collection of taxes from local natives to defray the imperial expanses.<sup>167</sup>

The most significant development in the field of local government occurred in 1882 when famous Ripon Resolution was adopted. The resolution focused that the

best among the community should come forward and has a share in the management of their own local affairs for political education.<sup>168</sup> He was determined that local government machinery should not be established only to suit administrative requirements, but rather that political education and administrative efficiency should be put into practice. In this regard he wanted to increase the number of elected non-government members and chairman and was in the favour that local bodies were to be endowed with certain local sources of revenue and grants from provincial governments to pass necessary acts according to local conditions.

The British bureaucracy did not implement the resolution in its true spirit. In the mid 1880's 187 town municipal committees and twenty-six district boards, were established,<sup>169</sup> but the process of electioneering was not adopted as recommended by the Ripon resolution. Contrary to the Lord Ripon's (1880-84) policy of political and popular education, a rigid system of monitoring and control was enforced with strict official control.

An objective analysis reveals that the establishment of local bodies further multiplied and escalated the tension between Hindus and Muslims. Although, Hindus were smaller in population<sup>170</sup> as compared to Muslims in Punjab but they had an upper edge due to their material and intellectual superiority. The Hindu moneylenders influenced and pressurized the Muslim debtors to vote for Hindu candidates. Reportedly, from 1883-84, ninety-six elections were held of which Hindus had majority in seventy-two, Muslims in twelve and Sikh in one.<sup>171</sup> This disproportionate share of Hindus in the local bodies opened a new door of political debate, which later remitted in the Muslims demand of separate electorate. Earlier the conflicts were confined only to the cultural and socio-economic problems but with the introduction of representative institutions political question came to occupy the centre of attention.<sup>172</sup>

In 1909 the Royal Decentralization commission in its recommendations favoured for extension of elective system and restoration of nominated elements.<sup>173</sup> Commission also recommended for re-organization of local governments by electing, non-official members as chairman of urban bodies and giving more financial

autonomy to the district boards. The commission also recommended the establishment of *Taluq* or district boards, to be responsible for health, education and public works. The recommendation of this commission was accepted by the government in 1915,<sup>174</sup> but they were not effectively implemented.

The First World War (1914-1918) gave momentum to the nationalist movements in India and the people demanded more strenuously for status and self-rule. In order to satisfy their demands, the British government introduced reforms and constitutional packages in the form of piecemeal concessions. The British in the field of LSG institution adopted same policy of gradualism. In this regard in May 1918, government announced that there should be a substantial elected element in the local bodies with more control over their budgets.<sup>175</sup>

In 1919, after the introduction of Mont-Ford reforms the LSG was declared as a transferred subject and was under the direct control of the concerned minister. In the first reformed Punjab council the portfolio of LSG was given to Sir Fazl-i-Hussain by the Sir Edward Maclagan. Fazl-i-Hussain chose Harikishan Lal as his co-minister. Thus the two ministers might be described as liberal, firm believers in democracy, education and local self government.<sup>176</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain looked upon the local bodies of every kind as the *sine qua non* of the future political development of the province.<sup>177</sup> With out them, he stated, political life in the Punjab could hardly be said to exist and would be at the mercy of any whiff of breeze of political agitation that might be blowing. Fazl-i-Hussain was convinced that:

“It is disastrous to maintain order, however mechanically perfect to organize virtue and comfort, however judicially proportionate of personality and variety are gone. Self-government is better than good government and self-government implies the right to go wrong. It is noble for a nation, as for a man, to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality; however blindly and vainly, than to guidance from without”.<sup>178</sup>

During his ministership the powers and independence of district boards and municipal committees was effectively enhanced through legislation. In this regard he was completely backed by the members of first reformed council, who raised voice for extensive reforms in the district boards.<sup>179</sup> In 1919, in every district, there was a district board which had considerable official representation and therefore it can



hardly be said a self-governing institution. In the district board the constituencies were formed in such a way that the Muslim voters did not preponderate in as many constituencies as their voting strength could have justified. The District Board (amendment) Act 1922 proved a milestone in the development of local self-government in the Punjab. Elective system was introduced in all the twenty-eight district boards. The nominated element was considerably reduced and elected elements were increased up to 75% .<sup>180</sup>

After the passage of the District Boards (amendment) Act, elective system was introduced in eleven district boards where it had not existed before and the elected membership was increased significantly and in some cases it rose to 85% of the total membership and official element was reduced to great extent. In 1924-25 the ministry of Local Self Government announced the replacement of official chairman by a non-official chairman in the district boards. However the govt. did not meet much success and only few district boards availed this opportunity.<sup>181</sup>

Another notable achievement of Fazl-i-Hussain was the rejuvenation of the *Panchayat* system, which was an outcome of his desires that the benefits of Local Self Government would reach the villages,<sup>182</sup> by which he wanted to save the rural classes from the domination of the moneylenders and the petty officials. *Panchayats* were the oldest self-governing institution in the sub-continent but the British govt. took little care to operate its role particularly in the rural society. In this regard the Panchayat Act of 1921 was passed by the PLC, which aimed at the revival of corporate character of the village community,<sup>183</sup> which he [Fazl-i-Hussain] considered necessary for the administration of the common affairs of the village. It was the efforts of Fazl-i-Hussain which provided impetus to the system and the number of *Panchayats* multiplied considerably, as shown in the table.<sup>184</sup>

**Table No. II/I**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of <i>Panchayats</i></b>
1926-27	323
1928-29	453
1930-31	883
1932-33	1077

For the uninterrupted functioning of municipalities, the Fazl-i-Hussain's ministry passed four acts by which the elective system was introduced, number of elected seats was increased where it was not in operation, franchise qualifications were lowered to increase the number of votes, and the number of elected members in the committees was raised to 75% of the total members.<sup>185</sup> By the end of 1926, in the existing municipalities there were 72% elected members, and democratization of municipalities resulted in the reduction of official presidents from 20 to 41.<sup>186</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain believed that there should be separate electorates in municipalities and various communal groups should have a fair representation and official element should be reduced in the municipalities.<sup>187</sup> Therefore he devised municipal representation on the basis of formula that the elected seats should be distributed among the communities in proportion to their population as modified arithmetically by their voting strength.<sup>188</sup>

In the cities and towns Fazl-i-Hussain amended the Municipal Act and for the betterment of small towns, he introduced the Punjab Small Town Act 1921. According to this act, town committees were constituted in small towns. These committees were entirely elected by non-communal electorates and also had their elected president. The wards were arranged in such a pattern, which guaranteed the return of members from different communities in proportion to their population. The elected element was increased and nomination of non-official members was restricted and franchise was lowered.

In sum, during his ministership Fazl-i-Hussain did a lot for increasing the powers and independence of district boards and municipal committees through legislation. His predilection in favour of local bodies was so favourable and strong that even on some reported mismanagements he refused to curtail their powers and not introduced official control.<sup>189</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain efforts had not only revived urban self-government but also revitalized village corporate life. These large-scale changes were not only successful but also increased the interest of public in the working of local bodies.<sup>190</sup> The application of communal representation in the elective system of the local bodies proved helpful for the Muslim community. Previously they were suppressed and dominated by the Hindus. Muslim position was much improved by

ministry of local self-government. They secured control over half of the twenty-eight district boards, gained majority in thirty-two municipal committees and equal membership in ten.<sup>191</sup> Thus the democratization of local bodies, in its true spirit, gave the Muslims their due share in local bodies.

Fazl-i-Hussain headed the Local self-government department for five years. He was succeeded by Malik Feroz Khan Noon in 1926. The ministry could not make distinctive contribution to the affairs of local bodies.<sup>192</sup> In 1930 Malik Feroz Khan was succeeded by Dr. Gokal Chand Narang as a minister of Local self government. There was an adverse effect on the local bodies during his tenure. It was due to the reason that he was biased against the *panchayat* system since its inception in 1922. In fact Gokal Chand was dubbed as reactionary and undemocratic in his policy towards local bodies. It was due to the determination and sincerity of Fazl-i-Hussain that distinctive achievement was made in the development of local self-bodies. This process was retarded during the period of his predecessors and they had no reforms to their credit.<sup>193</sup>

The Govt. of India Act, 1935 secured substantial autonomy for provincial govt. but the economic and political conditions in India were deteriorating during the thirties and as Harold Zink says, "Local govt. could receive no attention in the final period of political struggle in the country, local bodies being under the control of political parties, more intended on national freedom than local problems."<sup>194</sup>

### **Educational Backwardness and Efforts for Its Improvement**

So far as the education is concerned, Punjab was the most backward province in the late nineteenth century, as compared to the other provinces. In the mid of nineteenth century Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1816-1898) launched his Aligarh movement which mainly aimed at the educational betterment of Muslims. Like the Muslims of other areas the Muslims of Punjab, too, benefited from the Aligarh based institutions but their number was very small. Educational standard of the Muslims during period 1884-1906 can be well judged and compared with other faiths from following table:<sup>195</sup>

Table No.III/I

Examination Passed	Religious community	Number
Matric	Muslim	4,120
Matric	Hindus	12,146
B.A.	Muslims	348
B.A.	Hindus	1,326
M.A.	Muslims	38
M.A.	Hindus	150

If we look at the number of literate Muslims in Punjab, the literacy rate was very low. According to the 1901 census, the literate Hindus were 5,63,368 as compared to 1,58,251 educated Muslims.<sup>196</sup> In the big cities of Punjab like Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan the literacy rate was 10% and in other cities it was 5 to 8% only.<sup>197</sup>

The western educational system began much later in the Punjab than in India. First director of public instruction was appointed in 1854, which was given the responsibility for the promotion of education in the province. More emphasis was laid upon the improvement and consolidation of village schools and much importance was given to “the elements of science, reading, writing and arithmetic”.<sup>198</sup>

The education report for the years 1906-07 shows that in 1906-07 there were only 7,785 educational institutions in the Punjab, whereas the number in Bengal was 44,601. The total students in Punjab were 300,000 as compared to 1,200,000 students in Bengal.<sup>199</sup>

Muslims did not respond enthusiastically to the system introduced by the British. They preferred to study Arabic, Persian and other oriental subjects than the English and other modern disciplines. On the contrary, the Hindus viewed the secular educational system as a means of obtaining a permanent ascendancy over their illiterate countrymen.<sup>200</sup>

It was due to the low literacy rate of Muslims that almost eliminated them from the official services. Moreover according to an official inquiry, the further harm

to the Muslims was due to the attitude of prejudice Hindu officers who deliberately prevented the qualified Muslims from getting higher offices.<sup>201</sup> As Hindus had taken the full advantage of modern education therefore, they demanded that competitive exams should be held for all the jobs. Muslims protested over it and demanded a due share in jobs on account of their numerical strength.<sup>202</sup> When the Muslims were crying over their misfortunes, the Hindus were making progress, and while they were benefiting from education and science, the Muslims were declining politically, economically and educationally.<sup>203</sup>

Soon Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs realized that the higher education had more recognition in the eyes of British rulers, therefore they started establishing the community based educational institutions. They concluded that this would not only be helpful in getting better jobs but also make them influential in the administration. In 1886, Dayanand Arya Vedic College was established by Arya Samaj at Lahore.<sup>204</sup> *Khalsa* College was established at Amritser in 1892 for rendering services to Sikhs by *Khalsa Diwan*. On the similar pattern Islamia College, Lahore was founded for advancement of Muslims. Government college was established in 1864 and Punjab Chiefs College in 1866. In 1875, Sir Syed laid the foundation stone of Muslim Anglo-Oriental Muhammadan School, which was raised to college just after two years in 1877. Thus every community used education as tool of progress and development, though it unavoidably increased communal consciousness.<sup>205</sup>

In the first and second reformed Punjab Council 1921 and 1923 respectively Fazl-i-Hussain was appointed the first education minister (1921-26). He took various steps for the betterment of the Muslim students; for instance, he guaranteed 40% admission to the Muslim students in different institutions for e.g. King Edward Medical College and Government College, Lahore. It was due to his zealous efforts that education department had made a remarkable progress in the Punjab. He had contributed a lot for expansion, consolidation of primary education, secondary education, higher education and adult education in the Punjab.

In the sphere of primary education, a new type of lower middle schools was introduced throughout the province. During the first year of ministry a rapid increase was observed and two hundred new schools were opened<sup>206</sup> and this number reached

to eight hundred after five years.<sup>207</sup> This increase in the number of schools and students was highest recorded data in any province of British India.

Secondary education also received due attention by the ministry. Before the Mont-Ford reforms there were 1053 secondary schools in the Punjab and by the end of 1926 the number of schools was raised to 2633 which was more than double. Establishment of new schools also gave a boost to the enrollment of new students.

In 1922-23 the number of students was 38,669, which was raised to 84,586 by the end of Fazl-i-Hussain's ministry.<sup>208</sup> This expansion was the most urgent requirement because in 1920, out of a population of 20.37 M, only 2.42% were receiving education in the Punjab.<sup>209</sup> Due to the education policy of Fazl-i-Hussain ministry that percentage reached 6.71 % in 1926.<sup>210</sup>

With the collaboration of Local self-government ministry Fazl-i-Hussain took initiative for the enforcement of compulsory education in the province. By the end of 1926, the compulsory education was enforced in fifty-seven municipalities and twenty- seven district boards.<sup>211</sup>

For the equal distribution of grants and aids to the educational institutions Fazl-i-Hussain's ministry took some bold initiatives. Preferences was given to the backward areas, backward classes particularly the backward Muslim community. For instance, the Islamia college, Lahore had been receiving Rs.30,000 from the government since 1907; Fazl-i-Hussain's ministry increased its grant to Rs.50,000<sup>212</sup>. Similarly intermediate colleges were opened in the predominantly Muslim areas of Lyallpur, Gujrat and Cambelpur, which proved beneficial for the Muslim population. He also reserved place for Muslims, Sikhs and others at a ratio of 40:20:40 respectively.<sup>213</sup> For the improvement of Muslim's education Fazl-i-Hussain decided to keep separate the Muslim share of the government grant for education. The amount allocated for thirty-eight Muslims, schools for year 1922-23 was as under:<sup>214</sup>

Table No. IV/I

Division	Amount ( in Rupees)
Multan	30,419
Lahore	61,954
Rawalpindi	37,015
Jalendhar	13,741
Ambala	15,800

The policies of a Muslim education minister proved beneficial for the general advancement of Muslim in every sphere of education.<sup>215</sup> At one time only 1.8% of the Muslim population attended any school, but during his five years period of ministership that ratio increased from 1.8% to 5.2%. Regardless of the measures taken by Fazl-i-Hussain, in Punjab, the progress of education had not been as rapid or as widespread as it would have been expected or wished for.<sup>216</sup>

### The Religious Polarization

Punjab was the home of four important religious faiths: Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism. Punjab has never had a settled government for any length of time, which would have enabled it to develop a tradition and culture of its own, like those of Oudh, Bengal or Maharashtra. Apart from a lack of cultural traditions, the religious background remained confused. Old nomad tribalism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism all throughout Punjabi history, counteracted one another and none of them could become strong enough to be a decisive influence in the life of the province. Perhaps this is the reason why the Punjab has been such a fertile ground for new faiths.<sup>217</sup>

Historical records reveal that Vedic Hinduism was evolved and developed in the Punjab and many of the great works of Sanskrit were written here.<sup>218</sup> *Rig-Veda*, the most ancient Hindu *shashtra* was composed in Punjab.<sup>219</sup> There is no conclusive evidence to prove that the authors of *Rig-Veda* came to this land from any outside country. The whole complex of *Rig-Vedic* hymns show them settled in this region from the outset and considering it their sacred land. Two famous Hindu epics, *Mahabharata*<sup>220</sup> and *Ramayana*, also place its action in Punjab.<sup>221</sup> It is believed that

parts of the *Ramayana* were written around the Shri Ram Tirath *Ashram*, near Amritser.

In 326 B.C. Maurya dynasty established rule over India. Buddhism flourished during the reign of Bindusara (son of Chandragupta) and Ashoka (grandson) in Punjab. They ruled over Punjab in a peaceful manner and built many Buddhist monasteries and pillars and signs of few are present in northern areas.<sup>222</sup> Moreover at Sanghol, in Fateh Garh dynasty have yielded relics that record the presence of Buddhism in this region.<sup>223</sup>

Sikhism was also originated in the Punjab by Guru Nanak (1469-1539).<sup>224</sup> He was a peaceful preacher of his doctrine and also respected others. It was Guru Hargobind Singh and Guru Gobind Singh who promoted militarism, formed *Khalsa Dal* and converted Sikhism from a quietist reforming group in to an aggressive religious community.<sup>225</sup>

Muslims arrived in the sub-continent in 712 A.D. when Mohammad Bin Qasim made Sindh and adjoining area up to Multan a part of Abbasid *Khilafat*. Since the eleventh century Punjab remained under the Muslims until the establishment of Sikh kingdom. It was the effort of Muslims saints, which helped in the spread of Islam in Punjab and India.

Muslims had ruled over India for about seven hundred years; although the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims were strained, but there were no reports of communal antagonism between different faiths. Arrival of British in Punjab proved a misfortune for the existing communal harmony between various religious communities. Acting on the principal of 'divide and rule' British gave vent to religious disputes and communalism. For this purpose they effectively used the facility of modern press and published contradictory literature of various faiths in which the beliefs of each other were negated and rejected, which proved as a catalyst of division of various communities on religious lines.<sup>226</sup>

Soon after the annexation of Punjab in 1849, Punjab observed a flux of Christian missionaries. Almost all school of Christians found Punjab a very convenient place for their missionary activities.<sup>227</sup> Each school established schools,



colleges, churches and opened philanthropic organizations.<sup>228</sup> The purpose of these schools and colleges was not simply to bring education to the natives, but through education to bring them the 'higher truth' of Christianity.<sup>229</sup> The Punjab proved to be a very fertile ground for the Christian evangelical activities. Ever since the British annexed the Punjab in 1849, it had attracted a "higher proportion of evangelical officials".<sup>230</sup>

These missions worked under the patronage of British government<sup>231</sup> and succeeded the conversion of Hindus and Muslims into Christians. Apart from the exceptions of upper classes, most of the recipients of message of Christianity belonged to underprivileged and lowest castes, which in the hope of better financial and social status embraced the new faith. It had been reported that the first convert to Christianity was a sweeper, named Ditt, who was described by the early missionary reports as "a lame dark man".<sup>232</sup> Hundreds and thousands of others followed Ditt from the lower castes of Hindus and illiterate Muslim masses.<sup>233</sup> Resultantly, the relative strength of the Christians increased rapidly. In 1881, there were 3912 Indian Christians and that number doubled by 1891. The total Christian population reached to 71,854 up to 1901 out of which 38,513 were converted Christians.<sup>234</sup>

There was a growing concern about the preaching and flourishing of Christianity and this activity was looked upon as a threat.<sup>235</sup> A tremor of fear ran through the natives of Punjab when a newspaper commented that this hyper rate of conversion would soon turn the Punjab into a Christian region.<sup>236</sup> This Christian threat added new dimensions to the communal conflict and competition, which gave birth to the organizations on communal grounds. To counteract the Christian missionaries, the Punjabi Hindus were the first to start the revivalist movements.

Brahmo Samaj that was effectively working in Bengal since 1828 in the patronship of Raja Ram Mohan Rai (1722-1883) extended the jurisdiction of its activities to Punjab. In 1863 its unit was established in Lahore by Babu Navin Chandra Roy.<sup>237</sup> Later its branches were opened at Rawalpindi (1867), Amritser (1873), Multan (1875) and in later years at Rupal, Ambala, D.G. Khan and Sindh.<sup>238</sup> Primarily it aimed to promote education, diffuse theism and to effect social reforms.<sup>239</sup> An outstanding representative of Brahmo Samaj in Punjab was Dyal Singh

Majithia who actively propagated the ideology of Brahmo Samaj. He was renowned for his generosity and charity and started a college and library at Lahore.<sup>240</sup> Besides it the other Hindu reform movements were working in Punjab in their limited spheres. These include Sat Sabha, Anjuman Hymala, Delhi society, Nit Prakash Sabha, Amritser Dharma, The Indian National Society, Hindu Sabha, Widow Marriage Association, Guru Singh Sabha etc.<sup>241</sup>

In 1887, Dayanand Saraswati established the most militant Hindu organization Arya Samaj in Punjab. It was headquartered at Lahore. It believed in the superiority of orthodox Hinduism and started a campaign of vilification of Islam and Christianity. The Arya Samaj launched a series of newspapers to advocate their ideas.<sup>242</sup> Swami Dayanand, an activist of Arya Samaj, launched anti-cow killing movement and he asked the government to ban the slaughter of cow in India.

This opened the door of another conflict that resulted in Hindu Muslim riots. Barrier<sup>243</sup> recorded fifteen and Ikram Malik<sup>244</sup> mentioned twenty riots on this issue from 1883-1891, which played a significant role in widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. Dayanand spoke against Islam and Quran in his book *Satya Rath Parkash* and used abusive and polemical language against the basic concepts of Islam and made attacks on the character of Holy prophet of Muslims. He commented that the Quranic concept of *jihad*, the status of women and features of paradise were all cruel, unjust and falsehoods. He denied that Quran was a revealed book and that Quran had no valid foundation.<sup>245</sup> Lekh Ram another biased Arya Samajist also wrote thirty-two articles about various religious issues and most of them had a bitter critic on Islam.<sup>246</sup> This aggressiveness of the Arya Samaj, created imbalance and bitterness that led to the communal tension between Muslim and the Hindus.<sup>247</sup>

Deva Dherama was another contemporary movement, which was launched in Lahore in 1887. It opposed the policies of Arya Samaj and emphasized to respect all the religions. In 1880, another movement Sanatan Dharma Sabha was started in Lahore. It primarily concerned with the conversation of ancient Hindu religion as envisaged through *Vedas*, *Puranas* and other *Shastras*.<sup>248</sup> Hindu Sabha was also founded in the same year at Amritser and became an important Hindu organ in second and third decade of twentieth century.<sup>249</sup>

This wave of communalism disturbed the smooth functioning of public life in the province. The increase of religious enthusiasm and fervor was due to the religious freedom and neutrality of govt. coupled with progress in the education and material prosperity.<sup>250</sup> It was due to the reason that from the year 1889-93 as many as eighty-six riots took place.<sup>251</sup> It had been reported that in most of the riots Hindus adopted an aggressive attitude as a whole.<sup>252</sup> In short-run their roots remitted in the communal estrangement, economic boycott and suspension of social relations and in long run played an important role in the partition of subcontinent.<sup>253</sup>

Early twenties was once again mark with the rise of fanatic and prejudiced Hindu organizations and movements. The most important of them was Hindu Mahasabha, originally formed in 1909 but reorganized in 1920 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946) and Lala Lajpat Rai (1856-1928).<sup>254</sup> Apparently, Mahasabha disclaimed any political aims and pretended to be the reform movement which primarily wanted to define the position of Hindus in relation to other groups in the society.<sup>255</sup> Practically, it saw itself as an arm of the INC. It strengthened and supplemented the Congress agenda by representing the viewpoint of orthodox Hindus.<sup>256</sup>

Soon after the termination of *Khilafat* movement, Arya Samaj in association with Hindu Mahasabha launched *Shuddi* and *Sanghathan* in order to overcome Hindu weakness and to create a Hindu identity. The new agenda of Hindu Mahasabha, in the words of its leader Lala Hardyal, published in *Partap* (Lahore) indicated that survival and existence of Hindus depended upon these four points:

- (a) Hindu *Sanghathan*
- (b) *Shuddi* of Muslims
- (c) Conquest and *Shuddi* of NWFP and Afghanistan
- (d) Hindu *Raj* in India<sup>257</sup>

Though there is no concept of proselytism in Hinduism but in Arya Samajist literature they dubbed *Shuddi* as the re-conversion of Hindus who had become Muslim or Christian. These sort of teachings coupled with the notions of expulsion of Muslims from this land filled the heart of Hindus with hatred against Muslims and such anti-Muslim notions were propagated that:

The work of *shuddi* must not stop,  
Nations find such opportunities through good luck alone;  
Hindus, if you have any vestiges of faith left in you,  
Not a single Muslim should be left in the world.<sup>258</sup>

*Sangathan* was the movement that ran parallel with *Shuddi* and meant for the organization of Hindus for communal purposes through unification, integration and consolidation. Addressing the third session of Hindu Mahasabha at Ayodhya, Dr. Moonje, the main organizer of *Sangathan* movement explained its objectives in these words:

“Just as England belongs to the English, France to the Frenchs and Germany to the Germans, India belongs to the Hindus.....If the Hindus get organized, they can handle the English and their stooges, the Muslims..... the Hindus henceforth create their own world, which will prospers through *Shuddi* and *Sangathan*”.<sup>259</sup>

Such kind of attitude and teachings of Arya Samajist gave birth to various semi-military organizations, whose members marched on the roads and carried swords, *lathis* and javelins with them. Rashtriya Sewak Singh (RSS), Vishva Hindu Parished, Shiv Sena, Virat Hindu Samaj, Bajrang and Mahavir Dals were some of them, details of which is out of the scope of this study.<sup>260</sup>

To cope with the wave of communalism a number of Muslim associations were established in 1860's, 1870's and 1880's. They were meant for specific needs such as conservation of Muslim culture, to promote interest of particular community, to safeguard interests of professional and occupational groups, literary societies, educational societies, security of sacred places and issue oriented societies.<sup>261</sup>

The first ever Muslim organization was the Lahore Anjuman-i-Islamia, established in Lahore in 1869. Initially it was formed for the maintenance of Badshahi mosque, which was converted into military store-house during Sikh period and other holy sacred places of Muslims. Later it raised voice for all the issues related to the Muslim community.<sup>262</sup>

Sir Syed visited Lahore twice in 1873 and 1884 on the invitation of Anjuman-i-Islamia. Inspired by the educational policy of Sir Syed, the Amritser Branch of AI

also opened a school at Amritser on the pattern of Mohammadan Anglo Oriental School Aligarh.<sup>263</sup> However the membership of AI was limited and it did not attract the attention of Muslim masses.

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore was founded on September 22, 1884. The major objectives of this organization were to promote modern education, defend attacks against Islam and social up-lift of the Muslims masses and to advocate loyalty to the *Raj*.<sup>264</sup> Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din was its first president, Ghulamullah Qasuri was secretary, Munshi Chiragh Din and Munshi Pir Bakhsh were joint secretaries and Munshi Abdul Rahman was treasurer.<sup>265</sup> In a very short period it gained popularity and its membership rose from 200 to 6000 within a year. It made a network of educational institutions in big cities of Punjab<sup>266</sup> with the help of noble persons.<sup>267</sup>

Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam also trained missionaries, so that they could save the common Muslims from the tactics of Christians and Hindu missionaries. It obtained the services of famous religious scholars Molvi Syed Ahmed Delhvi and Sufi Ghulam Mohyyi-ud-Din to propagate Islam and counteract influence of Christian missionaries through debates and discussions. Hundred of Muslims who had converted to Christianity were brought back to their faith, Islam. On intellectual planes, Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam started a monthly journal *Himayat-i-Islam*<sup>268</sup> for propagation and protection of Islam. The objections and charges of Christians and Hindus were logically tackled and refuted. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam also compiled and published a *Dinayat* series to abreast Muslim children about the basic and fundamental tenets of Islam. This series became the basis of religious teachings for students in the Islamic schools.

According to Barrier, the AI and AHI represented the most progressive forces in the Punjab. These two were the wealthiest societies with 7,000 and 10,000 credit respectively. As a result both were able to carry on impressive progress. Together they formed a single network covering most of the Punjab.<sup>269</sup>

In 1920's in order to counter the Hindu militancy and onslaught of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew (1884-1963) and Ghulam Bhik Nairang (1876-1952) laid the foundations of *Tanzim* and *Tabligh* movements.<sup>270</sup> *Tabligh* primarily

deals with the propagation of Islam and provide religious instructions to the poor and backward Muslims. *Tanzim* was formed to resist against the re-conversion of Muslims and socio-economic and political organization of the Indian Muslims.

In the first year of its formation, *Tanzim* programme was largely operated through the existing *Khilafat* committees and even the funds of provincial *Khilafat* Committee were devoted to the objectives of *Tanzim* such as establishing banks, cooperative societies, schools, poor houses in every city and village.<sup>271</sup>

In 1923 Ambala based central Jamiat-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam was founded. Its main purpose was to counter the *Shuddi* amongst the Malkans in United Provinces. It started working under Sir Rahim Bukhsh (president) and Ghulam Bhik Nairang (secretary) and soon opened its branches at Lahore and Amritser. Paucity of fund and lack of coordination were the main hurdles in their functioning.<sup>272</sup>

Sir Abdul Qadir also established a missionary organization from Lahore named as Anjuman-i-Da'wat-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam.<sup>273</sup> Besides preaching of Islamic basic concepts by means of establishing educational institutions, it also established orphanages for training of orphans for *tabligh*.<sup>274</sup>

*Brelvi* organizations like Jamiat-i-Raza-i-Mustafa, Jama'at-i-Ashrafia Isha'at-al-Haq and Anjuman-i-Khuddam-ul-Sufia-i-Hind had also played an important role in tackling the *Shuddi* movement.<sup>275</sup>

In late thirties Maulana Muhammad Ilyas (1885-1944) launched his Tabligh Movement which at earlier stages worked for reawakening of faith and a reaffirmation of religio-political identity of Mewati Muslims so as to save them from the Hindu proselytizers.<sup>276</sup> Very soon it caught the attention of ordinary Muslims, and hundreds and thousands of groups were trained and organized and sent to almost every part of India. The rapid success of this movement could be seen from the fact that 25,000 people attended the first *Tablighi* congregation held in Mewat and many of them walked ten to fifty miles in order to attend the meeting.<sup>277</sup>

In early thirties another version of Muslim concern to counter the growing

Hindu influence emerged in the form of semi-military organization, which comprises, Khaksar Tehrik, of Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi and Juyush-i-Ahrar-i-Islam of Majlas-i-Ahrar-i-Islam. The volunteers of these organizations paraded on roads, carrying spade, axe or *lathis* and wearing uniform and thus gave a message to the ordinary Muslims that they could live a honourable life in India, if they could unite and organize themselves.

In the religiously charged environment Sikhs were not only conscious for socio-political advancement but also protected their religious identity. The first ever Sikh movement was the Singh Sabha Movement which was established in 1873 at Amritser. Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia and Giani Gian Singh were its first President and General Secretary respectively. Soon it opened more than thirty-seven branches all over the Punjab. In the beginning its members were mainly drew from upper classes, but with the expansion of its organization, it also drew membership from middle class. Sikh reformers had three tasks before them; checking the activities of Christian missionary organizations, inculcating love and reverence for Sikhism and dehinduising the Sikh religion.<sup>278</sup>

In order to reclaim Sikhs as Hindus, the Arya Samajists emphasized the superiority of Hinduism over the teachings of Sikh *Gurus*. Dr. Narang described the founder of Sikhism as the first Hindu reformer of modern times and one whose advent aroused among the Hindus the consciousness of a common nationality. He further argued that Sikhs were an integral part of Hinduism and by tradition a nationalist wing of the Hindu society. They had not only common names but also common national heroes. He concluded that Sikhism may be called as an extremist religious sect of Hinduism.<sup>279</sup>

The Sikhs, on the contrary, always claimed themselves a separate religious community. They argued that they had different religious ideas, different *Gurus* and a separate Holy book "*Garanth*". They employed all efforts to detach themselves from the Hinduism and projected themselves as a separate community.<sup>280</sup>

Baba Dayal Singh (1783-1854) laid the foundation of Nirankari sect, which emphasized on the formless nature of the divine being. It vehemently opposed the idol

worship and was a staunch supporter of reforms in birth, death and marriage rituals. In April 1887, Baba Balak Singh founded the Namdhari Kuka Movement. It emphasized on the observance 5 k's: *kara, kacha, kangha, kas* and *kirpan*. *Adi Granth* was the main source of inspiration for the followers of this movement.<sup>281</sup> In 1890, Khalsa Tract Society was established which used Punjabi language as a medium for conveying the message for reformation of Sikh society.<sup>282</sup> The Khalsa Sodhi-Bans was an orthodox Sikh movement started by the end of nineteenth century and its main objective was to act on the teaching of Guru Nanak in its purist form.

In sum, Punjab remained a hotbed for religious confusion and social incoherence for centuries. In the later half of nineteenth century and earliest twentieth century, the birth of these various religious organizations on the name of revival and reform, further deepened the cleavages between the major religious groups; the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs.

### **Slow Pace of Political and Constitutional Development**

The Punjab being a province of martial races had been kept far behind in the matter of constitutional and political development. In the matter of constitutional development, the British government had deliberately kept the Punjab behind all the other entire provinces.

The Indian Council Act, 1861, established legislative councils in Bombay and Madras, and authorized the establishment of similar councils in the other provinces. In Bengal and United Provinces legislative councils were established in 1863 and 1866 respectively. In the Punjab similar council did not come in to being till 1897, thirty-six years after the Indian Council Acts of 1861.<sup>283</sup> Before 1897, the legislative affairs were in the hands of governor's Legislative Council. Moreover the lieutenant governor was also empowered to issue regulations, from time to time, if required.

In 1897, a legislative council was established in Punjab, with nine members, all nominated by the lieutenant governor.<sup>284</sup> Although the Indian Council Act 1892, authorized an increase in the membership of council and allowed reserved seats to be filled by indirect elections from public associations and municipalities and other



bodies.<sup>285</sup> Except Punjab, every other province of India, took advantage of these provisions. In Punjab there were only nine members and all to be nominated by lieutenant governor.<sup>286</sup> The argument of the Punjab government about the delay in constitutional development in Punjab was that the creation of a legislature would effect the discipline in the province and weaken the prestige and power of the Punjab administration with the martial races of the province.<sup>287</sup> In fact it was the fear of British to retard the process of constitutional development because in the presidencies the British had established themselves diplomatically while in Punjab they adopted coercive measures to take over the rule.

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 was another piece of legislation, containing some more set of reforms for the people of India. The government conceded to the Muslims demand for separate electorate in the reforms, enlarged the councils and their power was increased and for the first time, the principle of election to the council was embodied. However the reforms had a traditional discrimination against the Punjab, as the separate electorate was not made a part of it in Punjab for the reserved seats. Moreover the Punjab was allowed only thirty seats in the council like Assam, whereas the population of the Punjab was 20 M, while Assam had only 07 M. Similarly, while the proportion of the elected members to the total strength was 53% in Bengal, 48% in Bombay, Madras and eastern Bengal, 42% in United Provinces the Punjab had only 19%. Although Assam and United Provinces were merely chief commissioners, they had a great proportion of elected members than Punjab.

The elected members represented other provinces in the Imperial Legislative Council, while the Punjab was represented by majority of nominated members<sup>288</sup>. The Muslims of Punjab considered the mode of mixed electorate unsatisfactory and urged for adequate representation by separate electorate as given to the Muslims of other provinces.<sup>289</sup> Thus, till 1920, a lieutenant governor without any executive council ruled Punjab. This was mainly due to the desire to keep Punjab as non-regulation province, under the autocratic control of British bureaucracy and feudal lords.

The Mont-Ford reforms of 1919 open a new era of development, particularly in the field of state and governmental affairs. It brought some radical and drastic

changes in the British India administration. In the Act of 1919, 70% of the seats of provincial legislature for the elected members and 20% seats were reserved for nominated members. A system of diarchy divided the departments into two compartments: reserved and transferred.<sup>290</sup>

The provincial legislatures were also enlarged under Mont-ford reforms. In the case of Punjab the total seats were ninety-three, out of which seventy-one were for elected and twenty-two were for nominated and ex-officio members.<sup>291</sup> Thus there was a substantial advance for Punjab and elected element was nine times larger than that of previous Minto-Morlay reformed council.

The break down of seventy-one elected seats revealed that sixty-seven elected seats were for general constituencies and seven for special ones.<sup>292</sup> Being a numerical majority in the Punjab, Muslims got 50% (i.e.32) of the elected seats out of which twenty-seven were for the rural and five for urban areas.<sup>293</sup>

The distribution of seats, between rural and urban areas, once again, showed the bias of government in favour of landed aristocracy. Out of sixty-four general constituencies, fifty-one were given to rural areas. Similarly in special constituencies, four were reserved for land holders. Thus the government vested interests always wanted the landed classes to dominate the legislature.<sup>294</sup>

The elections for first Mont-ford reformed council were held in 1921. Under the system of diarchy, only 745,000 Punjabis had the right to vote, which was only 3.1% of the total population.<sup>295</sup> As expected, the first council was entirely rural in composition. Of the seventy-one elected members, there were only fifteen who were regarded as towns men, and even of these fifteen, ten were land owners.<sup>296</sup> The thirty-five Muslims constitute a solid group in the council. The other groups were the non-Muslim group of twenty-one members, out of which thirteen were rural and seven were urban. Twelve Sikh members formed their own group, of them eleven were rural and one urban.

Due to the educational backwardness, lack of political consciousness and scarcity of constitutional institutions, Punjab contributed little towards national

politics for a long time. A Bengali nationalist leader Sunder Nath Banerjee founded the first political organization in the province, in 1877 at Lahore, namely, The Lahore Indian Association.<sup>297</sup> Though it short lived but provided a common platform to all the communities. Dyal Singh and Barkat Ali Khan were among the prominent participant of this organization.

In 1885, Lord A.O. Hume<sup>298</sup> laid the foundation stone of Indian National Congress at Calcutta. In the same year a branch of INC was setup in Punjab. Since its inception in the Punjab, it lagged behind in establishing political contacts with the masses and did not work for most of the year. Its activities were confined to the urban centres and annual meetings. Soon after its formation, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advised the Muslims to abstain themselves from the activities of INC due to Hindu hegemony over it. Attempts were made by the Hindus to won the Muslim support so that they join the INC by putting up Badr-ud-Din Tayyabji and Rahmatullah M. Syani in the presidential chair at Madras and Calcutta sessions in 1887 and 1896 respectively.

In 1888, the INC gave an undertaking to the Muslims that it would not discuss any subject to which Muslim delegates as a body objected, unanimously or nearly unanimously.<sup>299</sup> The Punjabi Hindus did not like the Congress policy of winning Muslim support and its neutrality in the communal matters. The gulf between Hindu masses and the INC was further increased when Congress did not participate in the protest of Hindus against Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900. Duni Chand, a Veteran congressman remarked, that the Congress from 1885 to 1905 was nothing but a gathering of a few holiday makers, out for intellectual entertainment.<sup>300</sup>

In late nineteenth century, govt. had accepted some demands of INC for instance, councils were enlarged, their powers were increased and elective principal was introduced. In lieu of changed circumstances in 1884, Sir Syed founded Muhammad Anglo-Oriental Defence Association, whose main objective was the defence of Muslim political rights.<sup>301</sup> Punjab leaders like Barkat Ali, Yousaf Shah, Shah Din, Niaz Mahmood, Abdul Rahman, Abdul Hakeem and Muhammad Shafi were leading members of this organization and actively participated in its activities<sup>302</sup> and demanded for extension of electorates on communal basis at all levels.

The political history of British India took a new turn in the first decade of twentieth century. Two important territorial changes took place. In October 1901, the Lord Curzon made a new province NWFP, by cutting the territory west to the river Indus in Punjab. New province was given the status of a chief commissionerate.<sup>303</sup>

Similarly, on October 16, 1905, on the basis of administrative problems the province of Bengal was also divided into two-provinces; east-Bengal and west-Bengal. The new province with a total area of 106,500 sq-miles and 31 M population with two-third Muslim majority<sup>304</sup> offered enormous opportunities to the Muslims in every sphere of life which were previously under the Hindu monopoly.

The Hindus and all their organizations including INC strongly condemned the partition of Bengal and started agitation and made attacks on the British officers. This agitation politics of the Hindus made the Muslims conscious of the need to safeguard their own interest in a more dynamic and coherent way.<sup>305</sup>

The Muslims reached at the conclusion that without community representation, through direct community electorates, the Muslims would have no hope of securing adequate and genuine representation. Muslim leadership seriously thought in terms of protecting their interests and in this regard they took two important steps.<sup>306</sup> Firstly, in order to bring in the notice of government the reservations of Muslims, a delegation of leading Muslims met with the viceroy Lord Minto in October 1906, under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan. Punjab had played a vital role in this deputation and of thirty-five members; eight prominent figures belonged to Punjab.<sup>307</sup> The members of deputation expressed the need of special protection of the rights of Muslims. Besides various demands, the delegation asked for a guarantee of electorates for the Muslims in the forthcoming reforms.<sup>308</sup>

Secondly, the Muslims of the sub-continent were fully convinced that establishment of a separate political organization was a must for the safeguard of Muslim interest. Eventually, on Dec. 30, 1906 at Dacca, on the eve of annual session of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, a separate Muslim organization, AIML came in to being. Prior to the formation of AIML two separate Muslim Leagues were working in Punjab under the leadership of Sir Muhammad Shafi and

Mian Fazl-i-Hussain respectively. However after the formation of AIML, in very next year, at the annual session of AIML at Karachi, both factions of Muslim League were merged into single Punjab Muslim League. Shah Din, Mian Shafi and Fazl-i-Hussain were selected President, Secretary and Joint Secretary respectively.<sup>309</sup>

From 1911-14 such political development took place at national and international level, which later changed the political scenario of British India. Annulment of partition of Bengal, failure of the project of Muslim university due to refusal of government, demolition of mosque at Cawnpur, the Balkan wars and anti-Turkish policies of British changed the Muslim way of thinking and attitude. Muslims reached at the conclusion that cooperation between League and Congress would be useful to tackle the British government.

In 1916, a Congress-League rapprochement took place at Lucknow in which Congress accepted the Muslims demand of separate electorate not only where they existed but they also agreed at their extension in the Muslim minority provinces. However in Punjab and Bengal Muslims had been allocated 50% and 40% seats respectively which were not in proportion to the population. From Punjab, except Muhammad Shafi, all prominent leaders like Fazl-i-Hussain, Zafar Ali, Pir Taj-ud-Din and Khalifa Shuja were in favour of this agreement.<sup>310</sup>

Although Punjab had a unique record of services in the cause of empire; yet it was kept intentionally backward in political area and stern actions were taken by govt. to tackle the political activities on revolutionary lines. The people were not satisfied with the policies of govt. regarding the unrest of 1907;<sup>311</sup> the historical trial of Arya Samajists in 1909, the prosecution for sedition of 1909-10, political trials held during First World War and methods adopted for army recruitment during last days of war.

In Jan 1919, British govt. enacted the notorious Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, which aimed at the use of executive action rather the legal process to punish or prevent anarchical and revolutionary activities.<sup>312</sup>

This act spread a wave of discontent and hatred against the British throughout India as it was imposed against the will of the people. In the Punjab, the movement against this act was lead by Congress leaders like Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and

Satyapal and was also supported by Punjab Muslim League.<sup>313</sup> Protest meetings and demonstrations were organized by various parties in which people of Punjab participated irrespective of faith and creed. Lahore and Amritser were at fore front in processions against the act. On April 13, 1919 when one of such kind of meeting was being held at Jalianwala *Bagh*, Amritser the British opened fire with out giving any warning. As a result about 400 people were killed and 1200 were injured.<sup>314</sup> General O'Dyre was the military officer who was behind all this mis-happening.

Martial law was proclaimed at Amritser on April 15, 1919 and in five other districts of Punjab between April 15 to April 24, 1919.<sup>315</sup> Later govt. repealed the act to satisfy the masses but it was too late.<sup>316</sup>

In 1919, when Muslims initiated their efforts to protect Ottoman Empire and Caliphate by starting *Khilafat* Movement, Gandhi showed deep concern with the Muslims. Soon he started his non-cooperation movement and thus Muslims and Hindus worked unanimously against the British Empire.

The Hindus and Muslim worked collectively in the Rowlatt Act Agitation and *Khilafat* Movement. The first blow to this unity was struck in the 1921 when the Moplah rebellion<sup>317</sup> broke out, which later proved a stepping-stone of Hindu Muslim parting. In 1922 riots broke out in Multan and Bengal. In the same year Chaura Chauri<sup>318</sup> incident took place, which provided basis to Gandhi and he called off the disobedience and non-cooperation movement and left the Muslims with their Caliphate movement in wilderness. This act of Ghandi further shattered the League-Congress unity and gave vent to communal riots all over the India.

Despite the British efforts to kept Punjab behind in the fields of political and constitutional developments and adopted repressive measures to contain revolutionary political activities; Punjab produced leaders of great perspicacity, foresight and wisdom who produced political awareness and consciousness among the masses which could be observed in the movements against British imperialism in 1920's. Leaders like Iqbal, Barkat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Fazl-i-Hussain, Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi and many others effectually played there role in the crucial decades before the partition of sub-continent.

## Chapter II

# IQBAL: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

Iqbal was the great poet-philosopher, prolific writer and politician who articulated and unfolded the concept of separate homeland for the Muslims of sub-continent in the twentieth century. His poetry infused a new spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people of sub-continent and his involvement in the political affairs of sub-continent had given birth to a “new school of politics”, the adherents of which did not fix their eyes on the vested interest but for them the interest of Muslim community was of prime importance.

Iqbal was born on November 09, 1877 at Sialkot, <sup>1</sup> a border town of western Punjab. It was the time when British had fully grabbed the whole sub-continent into its imperialistic clutches. Not only the Europeans but the Russians also strengthening and consolidating their political and economic hold on Muslim world.

Iqbal's father Sheikh Nur Muhammad alias Mianji belonged to Sapru branch of Kashmiri Brahman family, which converted to Islam due to the influence of Muslim *sufis* in seventeenth century. <sup>2</sup> The ancestors of Iqbal migrated to Sialkot in late 1850's when Kashmir was under Dogra *Raj*. <sup>3</sup> Due to the policy of Muslims' persecution many Muslim families had left their native land and Iqbal's family was one of them.

Sh. Nur Muhammad (d. 1930), the father of Iqbal was a devout Muslim and spent most of his time in religious gatherings and company of the *Sufis*. <sup>4</sup> He benefited a lot from their company that's why his friends used to call him an 'untutored philosopher'. <sup>5</sup>

The mother of Iqbal, Imam Bibi (d.1914) had also a religious bent of mind. Like her husband, she also had not received any formal education except the recitation of Quran from *maktib*. Iqbal had one brother, Sheikh Atta Muhammad <sup>6</sup> and three sisters.

According to the routine of these days Iqbal was admitted to the *maktib* of Maulana Ghulam Murtaza for preliminary education. Few months later he was transferred to the *Madrassa* of Syed Mir Hassan (1844-1929), a close friend of his father,<sup>7</sup> from where he learnt the in vogue languages; Arabic, Persian and Urdu and also completed the recitation of the Holy Quran.

In 1882 Iqbal was admitted to the Scotch Mission School from where he passed his secondary School Examination with distinction. After matriculation, it was Mir Hassan who persuaded Sheikh. Nur Muhammad to let Iqbal continue his education. He took admission in Scotch Mission College<sup>8</sup> (later renamed as Murray College) and passed his intermediate examination in 1895. During his stay at Scotch Mission, Mir Hassan acted as his abettor, who at that time was working as Arabic and Persian teacher there. Mir Hassan created a special attitude of literature and poetry in Iqbal.

At that time Government College, Lahore was considered one of the best *alma matters*. Therefore in 1895, Iqbal joined Government College Lahore.<sup>9</sup> Here Iqbal once again benefited from Mir Hassan, who was working there in the capacity of professor of Arabic.<sup>10</sup>

Iqbal took philosophy as a major subject for B.A. along with English literature, history and Arabic. Here he also came into contact with Thomas Arnold<sup>11</sup> who was professor of Philosophy. Iqbal was much impressed by the in-depth knowledge and scholarship of Thomas Arnold. Arnold also recognized the talent and genius of Iqbal and gave him special attention. This established a close relationship between the two, just like of *Pir* and his *Murid*.

In 1897, Iqbal passed his B.A. examination with distinction and awarded scholarship. It was due to his affiliation with Thomas Arnold that he developed a deep interest in philosophy. Two years later, in 1899, he successfully passed the M.A. examination and won a gold medal.<sup>12</sup>



In Dec. 1898, Iqbal had also gone through the law examination but he failed<sup>13</sup> and not allowed to reappear in the examination without repeating the schedule of lectures.<sup>14</sup>

After completing education, Iqbal was selected for Macleod Arabic fellowship and he was appointed as Macleod Arabic reader at University Oriental College, Lahore in May 1899.<sup>15</sup> During his reader-ship Iqbal taught history, Economics and Arabic. During his stay at Oriental College Iqbal wrote first ever book on economics in Urdu language titled *Ilm-ul-Iqtasad*.<sup>16</sup>

In 1901, Iqbal was transferred to Government College Lahore as professor of English and Philosophy.<sup>17</sup> In same year, Iqbal again tried to jump out from teaching profession. He applied for the competitive examination of extra assistant commissioner, but the medical board on minor physical defects rejected him.<sup>18</sup>

Up till 1904-05 Iqbal remained busy in teaching at Oriental College and Government College. For some times, he also taught at Islamia College, Lahore. In 1904, Thomas Arnold left Lahore and went to London. As Iqbal had developed a very deep association with him, therefore he felt the parting of his teacher and expressed his feelings in his poem 'Wailings of Separation'.<sup>19</sup> He expressed his strong will and determination that he would proceed to England for further studies.<sup>20</sup>

In 1905, Iqbal parted from his motherland and proceeded to England for higher studies. Although he was a master degree holder but he had to get him registered as an advanced student at Trinity College, Cambridge. There he worked under a distinguished scholar Mc.Taggart and specialized in philosophy.<sup>21</sup> So as to accomplish his unfulfilled desires to be a law graduate he also enrolled him at Lincoln's Inn. On the advice of Thomas Arnold Iqbal also registered himself at Munich University for doctorate in philosophy. On the request of Iqbal, university exempted him from the two year residential student-ship. He was also allowed to submit his thesis in English language. Eventually Iqbal passed the final examination of Bar in April 1907.<sup>22</sup> Now Iqbal went to Germany, there he submitted his thesis on "The development of Metaphysics in Persia" and received his doctorate degree on Nov. 04, 1907. Thus in a short time span Iqbal received the three degrees:

philosophical tripos, Bar-at-Law and Doctorate from Cambridge, Lincoln's Inn and Munich University respectively.

During his stay in England, Iqbal did not keep him aloof from the social and political activities. He was closely intact with the literary and academic circles of England. He delivered a series of lectures on Islam and the Muslims of sub-continent and also wrote articles in the leading journals.<sup>23</sup>

Iqbal took keen interest in the association of young students of the Muslims world. They were working for the unity of Muslims. They also formed a society Anjuman-i-Islam, which was later renamed as pan-Islamic society. Iqbal delivered many lectures in this regard and one of which was delivered at Caxton Hall was also reported in the leading papers of England.<sup>24</sup>

After one year of departure of Iqbal from India, an important political development took place and that was the formation of AIML at Dhaka. In May 1908, Syed Ameer Ali (1848-1928) organized the London Branch of AIML. Iqbal was elected as the member the executive committee of AIML. Later when a sub-committee was formed to frame the rules and regulations, Iqbal was also nominated as its member.<sup>25</sup>

Iqbal returned home on July 27, 1908.<sup>26</sup> After three months in Oct. 1908 he got himself registered as an advocate with Punjab Chief Court.<sup>27</sup> Eventually after the death of professor James of Government College, Lahore he was pressed to join the education department. Therefore he joined Government College in September 1908. This time he did not concentrate himself in the teaching as a profession. Even during that period he did not quit practicing law but managed to fix his cases in the afternoons. In fact Iqbal had no more interest in the government service. Due to certain obligations the government servants could not express their ideas. Moreover the native intellectuals were viewed with distrust by the British controlled educational bureaucracy. Iqbal's stay in the Europe and his education opened the new vistas of knowledge, on the basis of which he had drawn some conclusions which he wanted to share with the Indian masses. Therefore, Iqbal decided to resign because these ideas could not be conveyed if he remained in the service.<sup>28</sup>

To some critics Iqbal quitted the education department because of low salary and opted law practice because it paid more. In fact Iqbal never aspired to earn more than he actually needed. It had been reported that the cases coming to him after the tenth of each month were either refused or referred to other attorneys.<sup>29</sup>

The end of First World War (1914-18) also saw the fall of Ottoman Empire besides the defeat of Germany. Prior to that the Balkan wars 1911-14 opened a new era of Muslim suppression. It was a period when Muslims were in miserable condition all over the world. During that period, Iqbal defended Islam and Ottoman Empire in his poetry and vehemently denounced the British imperialism.<sup>30</sup> But he did not participate in the *Khilafat* and non-cooperation movements. He was of the view that Muslims participation in these movements would further intensify their grievances and sufferings. During that period Iqbal adopted a policy of seclusion and wrote to his friend that he preferred not to attend any political meetings.<sup>31</sup>

In 1919, the annual session of AIML was held in Amritser. The League committee had elected Iqbal as chairman of public relations committee. Iqbal did not accede to it that and attended the session as an ordinary member.<sup>32</sup>

In 1920, when *Khilafat* movement was at its full swing, Iqbal was appointed as a member of *Khilafat* committee, but he resigned from that committee. In a letter to his friend Mr. Muhammad Niaz-ud-Din he wrote:

“The way this committee was commenced and the object some of its member had in view, the existence of this committee was in my opinion dangerous for the Muslims”.<sup>33</sup>

Iqbal was also not in favour of Non-cooperation movement and he opposed the idea of Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar who wanted to start non-cooperation in Islamia College, Lahore. He considered that in this regard consensus of *Ulama* was necessary.<sup>34</sup> He was of the view that the method adopted for carrying non-cooperation was against the spirit of Islamic *shari'at*.<sup>35</sup>

In fact during that very particular period Iqbal was least interested to join any organization. According to secret reports, in July 1917, when Iqbal was asked to be a

patron of Punjab Muslim Educational Conference, he refused. He wanted to maintain no connection with any association or society.<sup>36</sup>

Emergence of *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* under the umbrella of Hindu Maha Sabha resulted in the Hindu Muslim riots in the early twenties. It not only proved a bitter end of honeymoon period between League and Congress after Lucknow pact (1916) but also resulted in creating a political and religious gulf between the two communities. Meanwhile the untimely end of *Khilafat* movement by Gandhi further worsened the situation of the India. The lack of political acumen and foresight of the political leadership, particularly in Punjab, realized him that "indifference to practical politics could be an act of betrayal to Islam".<sup>37</sup> Therefore he decided to serve the masses on practical planes.

In fact Iqbal himself never seriously attempted to involve in the prevailing practical politics, yet he sacrificed himself just as to safeguard and protect the interest of the Muslim masses of India. According to S.A. Vahid.

"By plunging into politics he was sacrificing himself and yet he did not show the slightest hesitation in taking the plunge when he thought it was necessary. By this sacrifice Iqbal made a notable contribution to the cause of political resuscitation of his people in the sub-continent".<sup>38</sup>

In 1923, before the commencement of elections under the 1919 Mont-Ford reforms, some friends of Iqbal pressed him to stand for the elections in Punjab Legislative Council. Several deputations came to him in these connections. Iqbal had almost decided to participate in the ensuing elections. But in the meanwhile he came to know that one of his old friends Mian Abdul Aziz also wanted to stand from the same constituency, Iqbal decided to withdraw.<sup>39</sup>

In 1924, Iqbal joined two organizations; the Lahore based National Liberal League and Bombay based National Conference. But soon he resigned from both due to their ineffectiveness and lack of any constructive programme.<sup>40</sup>

In 1926, the elections for the second Mont-ford reformed council were held. Iqbal contested this election as an independent candidate. He did not showed his interest in the ticket of Unionist Party. although he had very cordial relations with

Fazl-i-Hussain, the chief of Unionists. It was due to the reason that program of this party was disliked by Iqbal.<sup>41</sup>

During his election campaign he lamented that the misfortunes of the Muslim community had forced him to extend his sphere of activities to the electoral fields and he wanted to serve his people so as to safeguard their rights.<sup>42</sup>

He defeated his opponent, Malik Din Muhammad by securing 5675 votes over 2498 votes.<sup>43</sup> During his three years stay (Dec. 1926-1930) in the PLC. Iqbal bluntly criticized those policies and plans of Unionist ministry and British bureaucracy that he deemed injurious to the interest of Muslim Community.<sup>44</sup> No doubt he was anxious about the political and cultural future of Muslims in the Indian sub-continent and he had his own philosophical grounds for coming to the council. In fact for him, personal interest had no value over the vital national interest and announced in unequivocal words that he “would prefer death to giving precedence to personal interests over the national interest”.<sup>45</sup>

During late 1920's when Jinnah was still groping for co-existence with the INC, Iqbal differed with the Jinnah's policies. On the issue of cooperation with the Simon commission, AIML was divided into two factions,<sup>46</sup> one led by Jinnah and Kitchlew and other by Shafi and Iqbal. The later denounced the Delhi proposals presented by Jinnah in 1927 and was in favour of co-operation with Simon Commission.

In December 1930, Iqbal delivered his famous presidential address at Allahabad at the eve of meeting of AIML council. Here Iqbal presented his idea of separate Muslim State, which proved the conceptional basis for Pakistan. In this address Iqbal articulated the Muslim nationalism, which became the corner stone of Pakistan movement. He said:

“I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British empire or with out the British empire, and the formation of a consolidated north-west Muslim Indian state appears to have to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of north-west”.<sup>47</sup>

In early thirties a series of RTCs were held at London, which primarily aimed to resolve the constitutional problems and to break the deadlock between various communities of India. Iqbal was not invited in the first RTC. However he attended the second and third RTCs in 1931 and 1932 respectively. He was appointed as the member of sub-committees for minority affairs and Anglo-Indian and European Educational Committee.<sup>48</sup> However he did not show much interest in the proceedings of RTC. Noticing the pro-British attitude of some Muslim delegates coupled with the inflexible attitude of Gandhi, he boycotted the second RTC and came back home.<sup>49</sup> He had shown least interest in the deliberations of third RTC because most of its debates dealt with the all India federation and affairs of central government, of which Iqbal had no interest, as he was a staunch supporter of giving maximum provincial autonomy to the provinces.<sup>50</sup>

From 1932 onward, Iqbal retained his activities from the platform of AIMC, which at that time raising the cause of Muslim rights. In 1935, Iqbal concentrated on the re-organization and consolidation of AIML, particularly in the Punjab. In the leadership of Jinnah, he significantly played his role in the Punjab Provincial League Parliamentary Board. During 1936-38, Iqbal wrote a series of letters to Jinnah, in which he urged upon him to concentrate on the League organization in Muslim majority provinces. He persuaded Jinnah to launch campaign for a separate Muslim homeland in North-West India<sup>51</sup> In spite of his bad health, he provided his ideological guidance for the betterment of Muslim masses, both at political and religious fronts; whether it was the curtailment of Ahmadiyya movement, refutation of beliefs of Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908), containment of Hussain Ahmad Madani's concept of 'nation and nationalism' or coaching of Punjab League leaders. Iqbal expired on April 21, 1938<sup>52</sup> and with his death a chapter of Muslim politics was closed which was serving the Muslims both on intellectual and practical planes.

He left four offsprings; two daughters and two sons. Iqbal's marital life did not move smoothly. As was the custom in the country, he was tied in nuptial knot in 1892 with the Karim Bibi (d. 1946) of Gujrat when he was almost sixteen.<sup>53</sup> Although Iqbal had two children Me'raj Begum (1896) and Aftab Iqbal (1898) from his marriage, however the couple remained poles apart. Although Iqbal remained in marriage with her, she had been living away from him till her death.<sup>54</sup>

In 1910, Iqbal married second time to Sardar Begum (d. 1935), a middle class Kashmiri woman from Lahore. Though matrimonial rites were performed, marriage was not consummated yet when some relatives related to the uncle of that woman, who had also been trying to get her married in their class, wrote some anonymous letters to Iqbal to tarnish the image of Sardar Begum. Iqbal grew suspicious and her departure to husband's home was suspended.<sup>55</sup> In the meantime in 1913, Iqbal's third marriage occurred with Mukhtar Begum (d. 1924) of Ludhiana.<sup>56</sup> Later on, misconception hung between Iqbal and Sardar Begum was also removed and she gave birth to Javed Iqbal and Muneera Begum. Until the death of Mukhtar Begum both wives of Iqbal lived together in the same house in Lahore.<sup>57</sup>

### **Evolution of Iqbal's Thought: An Overview**

Muhammad Iqbal was universally recognized as one of the profound poet-philosopher who stirred the passions of the Muslim through his poetry and infused in them a spirit of love for freedom and hatred for British imperialism.

Since his childhood, Iqbal had a special attitude of poetry and literature in him. It has been reported that Iqbal had been composing poetry since teen ages in Sialkot and attended the local poetry sessions in Sialkot. Sir Abdul Qadir<sup>58</sup> has stated that Iqbal sent his early lyrics for the correction to Mirza Khan Dagh (1831-1905), who was a renowned poet.<sup>59</sup> Dagh recognized the poetic talent of Iqbal. He returned the lyrics of Iqbal without any correction as he found it completely perfect.<sup>60</sup> It shows that Iqbal had a in born tendency of being a poet.

After doing intermediate, Iqbal shifted to Lahore, the provincial capital, the centre of knowledge and other socio-cultural activities. It was one of the cities of Punjab having population more than one lakh and with 10% literacy rate, while in other cities it was only 5-8%.<sup>61</sup> During his stay in Lahore, Iqbal regularly attended the political symposia, arranged by two Muslim dignitaries Hakim Amin-ud-Din and Mian Shuja-ud-Din.<sup>62</sup>

During his stay in Lahore he kept on composing poetry. AHI provided him a platform to publicize his poetical works.<sup>63</sup> On Feb 24, 1900 Iqbal for the first time

made his debut as a poet in the annual session of AHI. There he sung his poem '*Nala-i-Yatim*' [orphan's lament] in his melodious voice, which had a remarkable impact on the people, and they devoted generously for the cause of AHI.<sup>64</sup> From then onward, Iqbal regularly attended the meetings of AHI. Muslim intelligentsia and literary personalities from all over the India attended the annual meetings of AHI, therefore he caught the attention of people at all-India level. Thus by 1899 he had well established his reputation in the literary circles.

Iqbal was a staunch exponent of 'Art for the sake of purpose' and considered poetry as a perfect vehicle for expressing one's introspective feelings and reaction to the external events. Therefore at various stages of his life and political career he often used his poetry for the exposition of his thoughts and observations.

During his prolonged poetic career, which spread over a span of almost forty years Iqbal had approved, imbedded, applauded and commended a number of ideas at various stages of his poetic flight. In this context, on the basis of his poetry in particular and writings in general; the thoughts of Iqbal can be divided into three distinct phases. First, the phase of Indian nationalism which was originated from the studentship period and terminated in 1905. The second phase of Muslim universalism which commenced during his stay in Europe and reached the climax in late twenties. The third phase of his thoughts could be labelled as 'Muslim nationalist' during which he presented, upheld and advocated the concept of separate Muslim homeland for the Muslims of India and remained stick to it till the last of his sighs.

There is a mark difference between the pre and post 1905 period poetry of Iqbal. In the formative years of his poetical voyage Iqbal emerged as a 'nationalist poet' who was profoundly influenced by the nationalistic ideas and overtly expressed his patriotism for his motherland. Besides showing love for his country and desires to saw an autonomous and sovereign India, free from the yoke of British Imperialism, and harmony among the Hindu-Muslim communities, he applauded and admired the glorious past and cultural heritage of India. It was during this period he felt that the renaissance and regeneration of Indian Muslims lay in their unity with their co-nationalist Hindus. Poems like *Himalah*, *Hindustani Bachoon Ka Qaumi Geet*, *Tarana-i-Hindi* and *Niya Shiwala* are teeming with such sort of sentiments.



In '*Himalah*',<sup>65</sup> Iqbal expressed his views about the majestic Himalayas range -the rampart of Hindustan's domain.

O Himalah! O rampart of the realm of India!  
Bowling down, the sky kisses your forehead  
To the outward eye you are a mere mountain range  
In reality you are our sentinel, you are India's rampart.

In '*Hindustani Bachoon Ka Quami Geet*'<sup>66</sup> [National anthem of Hindustani Children], he traces and recounts the salient points of Indian history and highlighted the glory and wealth of the country.

The land whose elegance is the stairway to the sky  
Living in whose environment is like living in Paradise  
That same is my homeland, that same is my homeland.

In '*Tarana-i-Hindi*', he teaches that religion does not teach animosity towards each other and expresses his love for his motherland. According to some critics, it reads like a national anthem of independent India, in which Iqbal holds that India has no match and is superior to the rest of world.<sup>67</sup>

Better than the whole world is this India of ours  
We are its nightingales; it is the garden of ours;  
Religion does not teach hostility with each other  
We are Indians, India is our homeland;  
Greece, Egypt, Rome are all extinct from the world  
But our renown and fame have continued so far.<sup>68</sup>

In '*Niya Shiwala*'<sup>69</sup> [New Temple] Iqbal challenged the monopoly of Hindu Brahmins and Muslim clerics. He showed his discontent from their fanaticism and floated the idea of construction of a new temple, which did not breed enmity among the people. He made the people realize that their salvation lies in unity.

I will tell you truth, oh Brahmin, if I may make so bold!  
These idols in your temples-these idols have grown old;  
To hate you fellow mortals in all they teach you, while  
Our God too sets his preachers to scold and revile;  
Sickened, from both your temple and our shrine I have run,  
Alike you preachers' sermons and your fond myths I shun.  
In every graven image you fancied God:  
I see in each speck of my country's dust, divinity.  
Come, let us lift suspicion's thick curtains once again,

Unite once again the sundered, wipe clean division's stain.  
Too long has been deserted the heart's warm habitation  
Come build here in our homeland an altar's new foundation,  
And raise a spire more lofty than any of this globe,  
With high pinnacles touching the hem of heaven's robe!  
And there at every sunrise let our sweet chanting move.  
The hearts of all who worship, pouring them wine of love:  
Firm strength, calm peace, shall blend in the hymns the votary sings.  
For from love comes salvation to all earth's living things.

As he was fully aware of the socio-political degeneration and degradation of his fellow countrymen, therefore in *Tasweer-i-Dard*<sup>70</sup> [Portrait of Pain], he warns the natives to think of the country, and otherwise result would be complete effacement of Indian nation. Disunity among the various segments of Indian population was painful for him and he admits that it is a difficult task to unite them, but he shows his determination to find a solution for his problem.

During that period, besides that nationalistic poetry, Iqbal shared with the Indian Muslims their feelings of desolation at finding themselves faced with spiritual and economic poverty and spoke of the Muslims as '*Nala-i-Yatim*' [the sighing of an orphan] and as *Pirande Ki Firyad* [plaint of the captive bird].<sup>71</sup>

It was due to those themes of poetry that he was considered as an ardent-nationalist. An objective analysis of the Iqbal's poetry and the prevailing socio-political and economic conditions of that time revealed that his poetry was more patriotic as compared to 'nationalistic' and his nationalism did not become an object of worship, rather it is a kind of "experience that he [Iqbal] gathered to express his emotions of the time".<sup>72</sup> Therefore the poetry of his formative phase emerges from his innermost emotion and love and attachment for the geographical entity where he born and lived. At later stage of his life he himself explains, "Love of one's native land is a natural instinct and requires no impressions to nourish it".<sup>73</sup> Moreover, Iqbal's poems composed in the early days of his poetic flight signify love for the homeland and servitude of Indians. Iqbal hoped that commonality of interests would weave Hindus and Muslims together. Iqbal was in favour of Hindu Muslim unity but did not endorse composite Indian nationalism. From the earlier period he regarded sub-continent a homeland of different nationalities. Some writers argues that by comparing the poetry

of post and pre-sojourn to Europe, there is a great extent of diarchy and duality and it was dubbed that this phase of Iqbal's thought was 'ephemeral'.<sup>74</sup>

If we looked at the poetry of Iqbal from this angle, then it is a reality that from Sir Syed to Jinnah almost all major political leaders were in favour of peaceful co-existence of Hindus and Muslims in the united India. It was the case with Iqbal. It may be possible that in the formative period of his political thought he was influenced by the nationalistic ideas of INC, but later after his sojourn from Europe, he rectified himself and dubbed that period as his phase of ignorance and folly<sup>75</sup> and seriously thought about the separate homeland where Muslims could protect their separate identity and culture. In an interview with the representative of *Bombay Chronicle*, he admitted, that during his student days he was a staunch nationalist, but a change come in his ideas later on:

"There is no doubt my ideas about nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days I was a zealous nationalist, which I am not now. The change is due to a mature thinking".<sup>76</sup>

Iqbal himself realized the uselessness of his early ideas of Hindu Muslim unity and declared it as a 'poetic appeal'. In a letter to his friend he writes:

"I have myself been of the view that religious differences should disappear from his country. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present condition and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfillment".<sup>77</sup>

In 1905 Iqbal went to London for higher studies. Due to his immense engagements at England he could not give much time to poetry and his poetic output was meager. Eventually he decided to quit the poetry but due to inspiration and insistence of Abdul Qadir and Thomas Arnold he decided to carry on.<sup>78</sup> It has been reported that he wrote only twenty-four poems during 1905-08<sup>79</sup> and most of them were written on the personal request of his friend Abdul Qadir. However in Europe he shifted from Urdu to Persian as a medium of his poetry.<sup>80</sup>

Iqbal's stay in the Europe proved very helpful in the reconstruction of his

philosophy and ideas. In Europe he had got the opportunity to compare the values and systems of east and west. Besides getting formal education from Munich and London he also benefited himself from the libraries and scholars of Europe. He reached at the conclusion that root cause of political troubles in Europe was the narrow and selfish nationalism. Thus his stay in Europe acted as a catalyst, which enabled him to perceive things in a wider perspective and in clearer terms.<sup>81</sup>

The progress made by west in socio-economic fields had captivated Iqbal's imagination but its moral and religious decay had also disillusioned him.<sup>82</sup> Iqbal understood the hollowness of the western civilization and as early as March 1907, when he was in Europe, he addressed in following words and warned them that the materialism would lead them to complete destruction.<sup>83</sup>

You the dwellers of the west, should know that,  
The world of God is not a shop (of yours);  
Your imagined pure gold is about to lose its standard value.  
Your civilization will commit suicide with its own daggers.  
A nest built on a frail bought cannot be durable.

He closely studied the double standards of west that practiced democracy at home but practiced imperialism in their colonies. He concluded that if religion was divorced from the politics whether it is imperialism or democratic system; the result will be tyranny, aggression, lawlessness and exploitation which he termed as 'barbarianism'.<sup>84</sup>

Thus Iqbal stay at England helped in the nourishment of an 'Iqbal' who was no more an Indian nationalist but he emerged as a staunch supporter of Islamic universalism. After his return from Europe in 1908, his vision was broadened. Now he had given up the idea of superficial Hindu-Muslim unity and in *Trana-i-Milli*<sup>85</sup> [Anthom of Islamic Community], he talked in terms of Muslim unity as an *Ummah* at international level.

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours.  
We are Muslims, the whole world is ours.  
God unity is held in trust in our breasts.  
It is not easy to erase our name and signs.  
We, O heaven, are not to be suppressed by falsehood!

A hundred times you have tested us.  
The Lord of Hijaz is the leader of your community.  
From this name comes the peace of our soul.

Iqbal concluded:

“Islam is non-territorial in its character, and its aim is to furnish a model for the final combination of humanity by drawing its adherents from a variety of mutually repellent races, and then transforming this atomic aggregate into a people possessing a self consciousness of their own”.<sup>86</sup>

In *Wataniant*<sup>87</sup> [Territorial Nationalism], Iqbal forcefully rejected the prevalent concept of nationalism. To him it was a modern form of idolatry and against the primary injunctions of Islam. He concluded that the concept of territorial nationalism, the nations of world are at loggerhead with each other.

This era has a different cup, different wine and another Jamshed.  
The saqi has adopted new ways to charm the drinkers.  
Western civilizations has fashioned new idols and the Muslims has created ,  
A new Harem (sanctuary) where these new idols are being worshiped.  
Country is the supreme among all the contemporary idols.  
Its cloak is the shroud of religion.  
This idol country of as fashioned by the contemporary civilization,  
Destroys the home of the Prophet. Your arm obtains strength from the  
power of Tauheed.  
Islam is your home, and you are the follower of the Prophet.  
Show to the world a glimpse of the old days? O followers of Muhammad.  
Crush this idol in the dust.  
If one were bound with a place, the result will be utter destruction.  
You should live like a fish in the ocean independent of country.  
In the parlance of politics ‘country’ means something different,  
And according to the saying of the Prophet country is something else.  
The nations of the world are at odds with each other because of the concept of  
territorial nationalism.  
The aim of the commerce has become the conquest of  
Other nations because of territorial nationalism.  
Because of this concept politics has divorced itself from the truth  
And the destruction of the house of the poor is justified by the idea of  
territorial superiority.  
God’s creation is divided into nations by territorial nationalism.  
The roots of Islamic nationality destroyed by it.

Iqbal felt that grievances of Muslims all over the world was the result of mechanization of British imperialism who wanted to dismember the Muslim world by popularizing territorial nationalism among its various components.<sup>88</sup> Therefore in his

poem "*Mazhab*" [Religion] he advises the Muslims to be free from bondage of land and expounds that Muslim's nationalism emerged from the spiritual homogeneity and is absolutely different from the western nationalism, which not only based upon territorial nationalism but also contrary to their faith.<sup>89</sup>

Do not compare your nation with the nations of the West  
Because the nation of the Prophet of Islam is of a different mould.  
Western nationalism is based on territory or race  
But your nationalism gets its strength from the power of religion.  
With the loosening of the religious  
Hold your unity as a distinct nation will be lost.

Citing examples from the life and traditions of Holy Prophet (PBUH), Iqbal asserted that religious ideals have a paramount importance for Muslim *Ummah*. It was for his religious ideals that Prophet left his homeland and selected Madina as his permanent abode. He believes that those who adopted country as the basis of nationalism or racial superiority have shattered the fabric of human fraternity. He concluded that it was the love and reverence for Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which could unite the entire Muslim community.<sup>90</sup>

From the opening decade of twentieth century to the following years, the Muslim world was continuously on the decline. Evil designs of Europe against Muslim countries of Asia and Africa were a great challenge for Muslim community. Italy's attack on Tripoli (1911) and Balkan wars (1911-14) were a great set back for Muslims. It was during that period, in which Iqbal wrote some of the finest poetry on Muslim universalism, about miserable conditions of Muslim *Ummah* that were teeming with nostalgia for the grandeur of the past. The most important of them were *Shikwa*<sup>91</sup> [Compliant], *Jawab-i-Shikwa*<sup>92</sup> [Answer to the complaint] and the *Tulu-i-Islam*<sup>93</sup> [Dawn of the Islam]. He urged upon the Muslims to sink the differences of race, language and tribes and exhorted them to get united for defence of '*Bait-ul-Harm*' from the banks of Nile to the frontiers of Kashgar.<sup>94</sup>

In 1926 Iqbal entered into the arena of practical politics and besides serving his community on 'intellectual planes' he decided to render his practical service on 'political planes'. As discussed before, he successfully maneuvered to win the election and during his period of membership of PLC, he showed his concerns to

safeguard the socio-political and cultural interests of the Punjabi Muslims. He vehemently criticized those policies of Unionist ministry which he apprehended dangerous for Punjabi masses. It seems that in spite of Iqbal's universal outlook, he did not left himself uncovered with the fate of the Muslims of South Asia in general and the Punjab in particular. Though till 1926 he did not play the role of 'political actor', but as a keen observer of Indian politics he was well aware of the political situation and developments.

In December 1930, Iqbal delivered his presidential address at Allahabad session of AIML. Here he floated the idea of a separate state for the Muslims of North-West region of India, which was not less than a bang in the stagnant political atmosphere of British India. It was the beginning of the third phase of his political thoughts, which may be termed as 'Muslim nationalist'. In fact he synthesized his Muslim universalism with the modern territorial nationalism and till the closing years of his life he adhered to his ideals. In his confidential letters to Jinnah, Iqbal vigorously advocated and exhorted him to launch a campaign "for a separate federation of Muslim provinces", which he concluded as "the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from domination of non-Muslims".<sup>95</sup>

Though, Iqbal was criticized for demanding a separate Muslim state because it was contrary to his ideas of Muslim universalism. However in-depth study of Iqbal's treatise revealed that the demand for a separate Muslim state was not to be an end itself but the union of this state with other Muslim states.<sup>96</sup> In one of his lectures Iqbal differentiated between pan-Islamism and Islamic universalism and expounded that being a universal religion Islam does not have a nationalism of its own. Iqbal says:

"Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for fairthy of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members".<sup>97</sup>

Elucidating the attitude of Islam towards nationalist ideals he described nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour as a part of Muslim's faith. Iqbal concluded that it comes into conflict with

Islam only when as a 'political concept', it claimed to be a principle of human solidarity and demanded that 'Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life.'<sup>98</sup> He further writes:

"In Turkey, Iran, Egypt and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i.e. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam, are either 'people of the Book' or 'like the people of the Book' with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations including matrimonial alliances. It becomes a problem for Muslims only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. In either case, it is thoroughly consistent with itself'.<sup>99</sup>

Javed Iqbal has very well commented that "if Iqbal had lived to see the establishment of Pakistan it is certain that he would have developed into yet another phase, and laid the foundations of what may be termed 'Pakistani nationalism'.<sup>100</sup>

At the closing stage of Iqbal's life a debate erupted between him and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni (1879-1957), a leading theologian and *Sheikh-ul-Hadith* of Deoband Seminary, regarding nation and nationality. In fact besides some *Ulama* comprising Shabbir A. Uthmani (1885-1949), Zafar Ahmed Thanvi (1893-1974) and Ashraf Ali Thanvi (1863-1943) who seceded from JUH, the majority of Doabandi *Ulama* opposed the Pakistan movement and formation of separate homeland for Muslims on nationalistic ground and acted as Muslim wing of Hindu Congress.<sup>101</sup> In March 1938, Hussain Ahmad through his press statement advised the Muslims to stick to the creed of Indian nationalism and asserted that nations are formed by territory. The dissemination of such view could prove beneficial for the promotion of agenda of Congress' composite nationalism – on the name of which it wanted to establish Hindu hegemony over the entire India. Iqbal at that time was seriously ill and when he heard about the views of a leading and eminent Muslim scholar he felt sorry and in his Persian verses he stated that it was his ignorance of Holy Prophet (PBUH) teachings, on the basis of which Hussain Ahmed preached in the favour of territorial nationalism.



The *Ajam* has not yet mastered the secrets of the faith, otherwise  
We would not have seen the strange spectacle of Deoband producing a  
Hussain Ahmed.  
He sermonized from the top of the pupil that it is the territory that makes a  
nation;  
How ignorant he is of the standpoint of Muhammad of Arabia!  
You must reach out to Muhammad, the chosen one, for he personifies the  
religion,  
If you do not reach out to him, you follow the father of the flame. <sup>102</sup>

On March 09, 1938, Iqbal expounded his viewpoint regarding the issue of nationalism in his statement published in *Ehsan*. Perhaps this was the last political statement, just forty-two days before he expired in which he examined at length the concept of *Qaum*, *Ummah* and *Millat*. He denied that his critic on nationalism aimed to propagated the cause of some political party [AIML], as he was repudiating this concept since the times it was not well known in India or Muslim world. <sup>103</sup>

He acknowledged that love for one's native land is a natural instinct and according to saying of Holy Prophet (PBUH) "is a part of one's faith". <sup>104</sup> However in contemporary political literature the idea of nation and nationalism are connoted as political concepts and conflicts with Islam. <sup>105</sup>

Iqbal explained that in the pre-Prophethood period, the nation of Muhammad (PBUH) was no doubt a 'nation', but as Muhammad's *Ummah* began to be formed, the status of the people as a nation became a secondary one. Those who embraced Islam and accepted Muhammad as their leader, now formed the 'Muslim or Muhammadan community', irrespective of the fact whether they belong to his own nation or other nations. <sup>106</sup> For Iqbal, love for one's country could not be the sole basis for a existence of a nation, but there are number of other forces which are inevitable for a consolidated nation, for instance, indifference towards religion and absorption in the day to day political issues. <sup>107</sup> If a nation could exist only by the love for one's country Muhammad would not have invited '*Bulahab*' to the faith of Islam. He writes:

"It was a very easy course for Muhammad to tell Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, or the unbelievers of Mecca that they could stick to their idol-worship while he himself would hold fast to the worship of God and that they could together form an Arabian unity by virtue on the factors of race and land

common to them both. God forbid, but if he had adopted this course, it would certainly have done him credit as a patriot but not as the last Prophet. The ultimate purpose of the prophetic mission of Muhammad (PBUH) is to create a form of society, the constitution of which follows that divine law which the Prophet Muhammad received from God. In other words, the object is to purify the nations of the world of the abuses which go by the name of time, place, land, nation, race, genealogy, country, etc., although the differences of nations, tribes, colours and languages are at the same time acknowledged. It is thus to bestow upon man that spiritual idea which at every moment of his life remains in constant contact with Eternity. This is where Muhammad stands and this is the ideal of the Muslim community".<sup>108</sup>

In the concluding paragraphs of his statement Iqbal equates the concept of nationalism as expounded by Hussain Ahmed with the Qadianis concept regarding Finality of Prophethood, as both these views lead to the denial of the perfection and consummation of Prophethood in Muhammad.<sup>109</sup> In fact it was the blessing of Iqbal's thinking and his religio-political acumen, that Indian Muslims rejected the concept of composite Indian Muslims as projected by Hussain Ahmed and other pro-Congress *Ulamas* and adapted the path of separate Muslim nationalism as envisaged by him.

## Chapter III IQBAL AND THE AHRARS

### BACK GROUND

The end of the First World War ushered in traumatic conditions for the Muslim world. The Ottoman Empire sided with the Germans during the First World War and this act was penalized by unleashing such forces, which jeopardized the existence of this empire. The vengeance of the European imperialistic forces against the Muslim world not only infuriated the *Ulamas* but also the *Ummah*. Muslim Turkey symbolized the temporal grandeur of the achievements of the Muslims. Moreover, *Khalifa* being the custodian of the Holy Places of Muslims was held in high esteem in the entire world. The *Khalifa* was revered greatly in the Muslim India where people always showed great love for their religion. Now the *Ulama* came out of their hibernation to safeguard the interests of the Ottoman Empire and the sacred places. Their concern for this cause was reflected in the emergence of two organizations; the All India Khilafat Committee<sup>1</sup> and Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind.<sup>2</sup> Both these organizations joined hands with Gandhi to launch a prolonged *Khilafat* and non-cooperation movements. However there seems no need to pursue the details of the activities of these movements at this point.

The Lucknow pact integrated both the INC and AIML to such an extent that both parties agreed upon a joint scheme of reforms. The *Khilafat* movement further strengthened the Hindu Muslim Unity. In 1922 Gandhi (1869–1948) suspended the non-cooperation movement, when it was in full swing, under the pretext of Chaura Chauri incidence.<sup>3</sup> Later on, Turkey herself abolished the institution of Caliphate and this pushed the Muslims into dubious situation. The collapse of the institution of *Khilafat* and the untimely termination of non-cooperation movement not only shattered the Hindu Muslim unity, but in the long run also shook the unity of AIML and INC also.<sup>4</sup>

The middle class, town dwelling leadership of Khilafat Committee, which hitherto had neither any share nor any role in the politics of the country, was in search of a new role in politics. The pre-mature suspension of movement opened the doors of

petty quarrels, divisions and dissensions among the Khilafatists, especially between the Ali Brothers and the Azad's followers.<sup>5</sup> Here, those events and conditions need to be examined which resulted in the factioning and later secessions among the Khilafatists.

The rift between Punjab Khilafat Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee erupted in the earlier phase of 1923. The support or the opposition of the government of Amanullah Khan in Afghanistan became the basis of this rift. All the leaders of Punjab Khilafat Committee pledged to support Amanullah because of Bacha Saqqa's attack on his government.<sup>6</sup> But the Central Khilafat Committee criticized this act of Punjabi leaders as being "absurd and fatal for Afghanistan."<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, another issue, which further widened the political gulf between central and Punjab Khilafat Committees, was that of demolition of tombs of revered personalities of early Islamic period by Ibn-i-Saud regime. Maulana Muhammad Ali Joher was against that act. However Abul Kalam Azad<sup>8</sup> was in favour of Ibn-i-Saud policy.<sup>9</sup> The Khilafat leaders of Punjab followed the dictates of Azad in this matter, as they followed him in all the policy matters. As a result Ali Brothers got annoyed with them.<sup>10</sup>

The members of the Punjab Khilafat Committee also criticized Muhammad Ali Joher (1878–1931) and Seth Haji Jan Muhammad Chotani (1873–1932) on the issue of *Khilafat* funds. It has been reported that almost 8.6 million rupees were collected under the banner of *Khilafat* movement,<sup>11</sup> which was not deposited in the bank. It was kept with the treasurer, Seth Chotani, who put them into his business. However, the investment did not yield profit and collapsed.<sup>12</sup> When some people pointed out mishandling and mismanagement in the accounts of the central office and criticized the credentials of some persons related to that office,<sup>13</sup> a committee of three Punjabi workers was formed to look into the matter. In the report published by this committee Ali Brothers came under attack for being lax and unskilled in handling the matters of *Khilafat* movement.<sup>14</sup> Afzal Haq (1891–1942) comments that report was unseeingly the result of ongoing rivalry between Azad and Joher.<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Ali Joher faction assumed that this report was based on the findings of Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri, who was, then the President of Punjab Khilafat Committee and

was also very close to Azad.<sup>16</sup> The publicity of inner dissention introduced further deterioration in the ranks of Khilafatists.<sup>17</sup>

The last important reason, which caused the expulsion of Punjab Khilafat Committee from the central Khilafat Committee, was the controversy over the Nehru report. As Joher was one of the opponents of the Nehru Report, while some of the top ranking members of Punjab Khalifat Committee, Daud Ghaznawi, Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Zafar Ali Khan and Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi were influenced by the views of Azad and wanted to approve the Nehru Report. The latter attacked Joher for opposing it and declared the supporters of report *tayyib* and the opponents *khabith*.<sup>18</sup> Nehru report was presented in APC which was held on August 28, 1928 and was presided by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari (1880–1936). Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873–1938) and Mufti Kifayatullah did not agree to the contents of that report. However all the members of Punjab Khilafat Committee accepted the proposal of joint electorate without determining the number of seats.<sup>19</sup> They maintained that “the Nehru Report is an important step towards the Indian Constitution and if we are not given independence at present, then at least we obtain dominion status like Australia, Canada and Newzealand”.<sup>20</sup> They wanted to disapprove the assumption that they would never be able to present a constitution, which was agreed upon by all communities.<sup>21</sup>

This act of Punjab Khilafat Committee was considered a ‘revolt’ against the central body and was also labelled as ‘unconstitutional’ and Punjab Khilafat Committee was suspended.<sup>22</sup> Soon after the suspension, the Punjab Khilafatists discussed to launch a separate organization. However in a short time, they cut themselves into two parts. The affluent sections of Khilafatists, led by Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew (1888–1963), Dr. M. Alam and Ghazi Abdul Rahman established the Muslim Nationalist Party in the last days of July 1929.<sup>23</sup>

They wanted to use the Congress as a prop as they were convinced that Muslims had lost the capacity to stand on their own.<sup>24</sup> Their primary aim was to inculcate feelings of patriotism in Muslims so that they take part in the political struggle of the country without indulging into communalism. They also aimed at

maintaining such relations between the majority and the minority that the Hindu majority open heartedly gets ready to acknowledge the rights of Muslim minority.<sup>25</sup>

## FORMATION AND INITIAL WORKING

The commonality of Punjab Khilafat Committee was in a paradox since its suspension.<sup>26</sup> Unlike those who joined the ranks of Muslim Nationalist Party which affiliated itself with the Indian National Congress, they wanted to play vital roles as “leaders of an individual organization rather than allow themselves to sink into comparative obscurity as a minority group in the Congress party”.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, on Dec. 29, 1929, at the eve of annual session of INC at Lahore the foundation of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam had been laid, under the presidentship of Ch. Afzal Haq (1895-1942).<sup>28</sup> It has been reported that this organization was established on the instigation of Azad.<sup>29</sup> He was the one who also suggested the name of this organization.<sup>30</sup> At that occasion the prominent personalities who joined this organization include Maulana Attaullah Shah Bukhari (d. 1961), Zafar Ali Khan, Sh. Hassam-ud-Din (1897-1967), Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, Syed M. Daud Ghaznavi and Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1974).<sup>31</sup> They sought full support from those Muslims who believed that they did not enjoy that political and social importance which their majority in the province entitled them.

After its inception, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam as an organization remained almost inactive for a year and a half. It is a notable point that Ahrars did not practically separate themselves from the INC. They actively participated in the non-cooperation movement launched by Congress.<sup>32</sup> Mazhar Ali Azhar, Taj-ud-Din Ansari and many other Ahrars, at a time, kept the membership of both the organizations.<sup>33</sup> In June 1930, when the working Committee of INC was declared “illegal” by the government; Ahrar leaders like Ch. Afzal Haq were nominated as the members of All India Congress Committee and these people controlled and monitored the civil disobedience movement before their arrest.<sup>34</sup> Gandhi-Irvin Pact caused the release of most of the members of All India Congress Committee including some Ahrars such as Ch. Afzal Haq and Bukhari on January 31, 1931.<sup>35</sup> Though they had accepted the Nehru report in the beginning, but when the INC discarded the Nehru Report, the Ahrars also reiterated their earlier demand of separate electorate.<sup>36</sup>

However, Congress never gave due weightage to this proposal of Ahrars. Every effort was made to stop the participation of Ahrars in the annual meeting of Congress held in Karachi in April 1931. Hindu Congressmen of Punjab, particularly Dr. Gopi Chand Narang, did their best to exclude the Ahrar leaders to be the representative for the Congress meeting. Even the staunch Congressmen Ghazi Abdul Rahman from Amritser was barred to be elected as the member for the above mentioned meeting of Congress.<sup>37</sup> Despite all this, the Ahrars participated in this meeting as observers.<sup>38</sup> According to the confidential report, Ahrars in their earlier stage desire to obtain more adequate Muslim representation in the Congress working Committee.<sup>39</sup> But soon it dawned upon them gradually that they should play their role in the politics as a separate independent party, rather than making efforts to secure their position in the Congress ranks as a minority group. Definitely, the dominating principle by which the Ahrar Policy was governed was not to play the second fiddle. It was on that principle that they separated from INC, "though even after this, they continued flirting with and kowtowing before the INC."<sup>40</sup>

Though the session of INC was held in a Muslim majority province, its atmosphere was so Hindu that request of Zafar Ali Khan for an adjournment for Muslim prayers were met with a remark that if he went he would forfeit his right to vote.<sup>41</sup> During the proceedings of the meeting, Gandhi in consultation with Azad and Abdul Qadir nominated Dr. M. Alam for the new working committee of INC. But this step was opposed by the Ahrars<sup>42</sup> as they wished to secure the same membership for Dr. Satyapal.<sup>43</sup> These two events raised a rift between the two organizations for the time being, but Ahrars still maintained their nominal allegiance to the Congress.<sup>44</sup>

On May 04, 1931 Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was formally launched in Lahore.<sup>45</sup> They held a meeting in Lahore on June 22, 1931 which was attended by seven thousand people. This made them realize their increasing popularity and numerical strength.<sup>46</sup> Now the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam was revived in its first general meeting held at Lahore in Habibia Hall of Islamia College on July 11-12, 1931 under the presidentship of Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi.<sup>47</sup> The important participants of this meeting were Maulana Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Ch. Afzal Haq, Khawaja Abdul Rahman Ghazi, Zafar Ali Khan, Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din, Daud Ghaznavi and Mazhar Ali Azhar.<sup>48</sup> In that meeting Ahrars showed concern over the conditions of

Kashmiri Muslims. They demanded the British Government to allow them to keep sword with them without license, as the Sikhs used to keep *Kirpan* with them in the Punjab.<sup>49</sup>

The meeting resolved the retention of separate electorates until the Hindus abandoned their aggressive attitude towards the Muslims.<sup>50</sup> It was unanimously decided in the meeting that deputations should be send all over the province to spread Ahrar ideas, to collect funds and to raise a force of ten thousand volunteers.<sup>51</sup> By August 1931, fresh branches of Majlis-i-Ahrar had been established at Multan, Rawalpindi and Ferozpur and a central organization had been formed.<sup>52</sup>

## ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

Attaullah Shah Bukhari<sup>53</sup> was appointed as the first President of Majlis-i-Ahrar. Ghulam Murshid, Muhammad Amin and Dr. Abdul Qadir were incorporated as vice presidents. The posts of Secretaries were given to Daud Ghaznavi, Mazhar Ali Azhar and Sh. Muhammad Hayat. Muhammad Din was appointed as Finance Secretary and Shafa'atullah Khan as Auditor.<sup>54</sup> Besides the formation of a two member executive council comprising Ch. Afzal Haq and Ghazi Abdul Rahman,<sup>55</sup> a working committee consisting of Ch. Abdul Aziz Beghowal (Kapurthala), Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman (Ludhiana), Ch. Afzal Haq (Hoshiarpur), Attaullah Shah Bukhari (Gujrat), Sh. Hassam-ud-Din (Amritser), Maulana Daud Ghaznavi (Amritser), Mazhar Ali Azhar (Gurdaspur), Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad (Lahore) and Master Muhammad Shafi (Lahore) was formed.<sup>56</sup> In this way, the first organizational phase came to an end.

Initially, activities of Ahrars were limited to Punjab only, but later they won popularity in other parts of India. In fact, Kashmir movement, Kapurthala movement, *Madah Sahaba* movement, anti-Ahmadiyya campaign and other agitational movements paved the way for its popularity. In July 1932, the organization of Ahrar-i-Islam was expanded at all-India level. Besides Punjab, delegates from United Provinces, Bombay, Calcutta, Sindh and NWFP also attended the meeting of All India Ahrar Working Committee at Amritser.<sup>57</sup>



The main centre of activities of Majlis-i-Ahrar was Lahore, which was its headquarters. It opened its branches in other important towns. In cities it was active as a political force but in villages it was considered as propagator of Islamic values. Primarily, it drew the attention of middle and lower class Muslims, like the Khaksar movement. Its leadership also belonged to the urban middle class having strong sense of affiliation towards their "community and its problems".<sup>58</sup>

According to its constitution every adult and sane Muslim who believed in aims and objectives of the Majlis-i-Ahrar could become the member of the organization. For this purpose he has to sign a declaration and would pay an annual fee of two *annas*.<sup>59</sup> Its leadership<sup>60</sup> consisted a liberal youngster of diverse natures. They included *Deobandi*, *Brelvi*, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Shiates. Even some communist revolution inspired persons were also with them. But ninety nine percent of its followers belonged to *Ahl-i-Sunnat-wa-Al-jama'at* and followed the *Deobandi* School of thought.<sup>61</sup>

Every branch at village or town must have at least ten members and this local branch could send its two representatives at district level branch. If the primary members exceeded fifty, for every extra fifty members one additional representative was to be sent to district level branch. For every 200 members at district level, two members would be sent to represent at the provincial level. Twenty-five percent members would be elected at provincial level that would represent at central level.<sup>62</sup> Thus it had a very strong four-tiered network of organization, which enabled it to attract the attention of masses.

The agitational politics of Ahrars also paved way for their popularity. They were always ready to take up such issues, which were related to the primordial of masses. The enthusiastic involvement of Ahrars in movements such as Kashmir movement, Anti-Ahmadiyya movement, Alwar and Kapurthala movement, campaign for *Madah Sahaba*, etc. turned them into such powerful figures that people had no reluctance to follow and obey the calls of Ahrars. The rationale of Ahrars for involvement in agitational politics was, as explained by their political mentor Afzal Haq, "if the leaders of a party remained out of sight for a year or so, the people would forget them".<sup>63</sup>

An important feature of the charisma of Ahrars was the presence of so many fiery orators. Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Sh. Hassam-ud-Din, Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, Shorash Kashmiri and many other speakers could inspire people with their oratory.<sup>64</sup> Amongst them Bukhari was the top rank orator and the busiest speaker of the Majlis-i-Ahrar. It was reported that there was seldom a night when he did not address the public meeting. He used to start his speech after dinner and would continue until dawn. Quoting from Quran and Muslim History, and embellishing his speeches with Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Punjabi and Siraiki couplets, saying and jokes, he used to control the people's feeling.<sup>65</sup> People showed so much enthusiasm for his speeches that even they sometimes used to buy tickets to get into the meeting place. Bukhari could calm down every sort of disturbance with his speech. This quality of Bukhari urged Joher to declare him "the greatest charmer of Hindustan".<sup>66</sup>

Another striking feature of Majlis-i-Ahrar was the active participation of women folk in various agitational movements. Unlike the prevalent fashion of the absence of women from the religious political parties, activists of Majlis-i-Ahrar encouraged women's participation. A women wing of *Majlis* was established by the wife of an Ahrar member Ch. Abdul Sattar of Ferozpur.<sup>67</sup> Abdul Sattar was not convinced that there were separate sets of injunctions regarding *Jihad* for men and women. He was of the view, if half the population remains unaware of the spirit of *Jihad* how such a nation can get its place among the comity of nations struggling to win an inimitable position for themselves.<sup>68</sup> Although his ideas regarding women wing of Ahrars were not appreciated yet women actively participated in fund raising and in indoctrinating process while the Kashmir movement was on. According to fortnightly reports, there had been a marked increase in Sialkot in the number of women participating in the agitation. The district magistrate estimated that not less than 7,000 women took part in the processions on the women's day.<sup>69</sup>

There were three secondary organizations of Majlis-i-Ahrar that were established at various stages of the movements regarding different contemporary issues.

As mentioned before that in cities Majlis-i-Ahrar was considered as a political party but in villages its role was confined to religious propagation. In April 1934 it

formally launched the '*Shoba Tabligh-ul-Islam*' which was headed by Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi and Abdul Karim Mubahila was its secretary.<sup>70</sup> Its important objectives include; establishment of missionary organization for propagation of Islamic doctrines at home and abroad; to safeguard Muslims against apostasy and heathenism. It also aimed at engaging itself in social service and in translating Islamic moral values into reality, while keeping away from politics.<sup>71</sup>

Politico-religious tension heightened after the end of *Khilafat* Movement. In this context, militant wings of every community marched on roads, wearing semi-military uniforms of their organizations to show their strength. The militant wing of Majlis-i-Ahrar was known as Jayush-i-Ahrar-ul-Islam. The volunteers wearing *Khaki* and red uniform, carrying an axe, sword or *lathi* marched on the roads.<sup>72</sup> They were accompanied with bands and bugles and carried red flags with crescent and star on it.<sup>73</sup> The corps were instructed to provide assistance to widows and orphans living in their vicinity.<sup>74</sup> It seems that Ahrars were greatly impressed by the performance of Khaksars, regarding marches, social service and drilling, as they were regarded the pioneers in these areas.<sup>75</sup> In 1941, when government banned all sort of military drill, the *Juyush* of Ahrar-i-Islam confined their activities to social works and renamed to *Khudam-i-Khalq*.<sup>76</sup>

An important part of Ahrars' policy was to oppose Ahmadis. In fact they used to give vent to such sentiments, like other Deobandi *Ulamas*, even before the formation of Majlis-i-Ahrar. In March 1933, Ahrars established a separate organization Majlis Dawat-wa-Irshad to continue the anti-Ahmadiyya campaign.<sup>77</sup> It was also decided that from now onwards Ahrars would take part in anti-Ahmadi campaign only in their individual capacity. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned policy of Ahrars was not materialized and their men and material was overtly and covertly utilized in campaign against Ahmadis.

## AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Objective analysis reveals that there were no clear-cut aims and objectives of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam. If we take into consideration the short-term objectives Ahrars desired to achieve while taking part in various movements, we can safely assume that

they just strove to achieve those targets during these movements, which their leaders set for them. In fact the genesis of the society was the need of the nationalist, pro-Congress Muslims to hold their own view within the Congress body.<sup>78</sup>

Primarily, if we examine the views of their leaders during the period of 1929-31, we see that it aimed at independence of India; political as well as economical. For this purpose they planned to outline their political agenda on the lines, which were followed, by JUH and INC or even they were willing to seek the help of INC and JUH to streamline their political activities.<sup>79</sup>

According to Attaullah Shah Bukhari, the party was founded to make it possible for the Muslims to play an effective role in the freedom movement along with the other nations of the sub-continent.<sup>80</sup>

In April 1939, Majlis-i-Ahrar gave a final shape to its revised constitution of the organization and approved three main objectives; attainment of complete independence of India by constitutional means; correct guidance of Muslims in Indian politics; and advancement of religious, educational, economic and social progress of Muslims.<sup>81</sup>

In 1941, Afzal Haq, defined the objectives of party under three heads.

- a) Equal distribution of wealth of the country.
- b) Removal of untouchability.
- c) Respect of every religion and complete autonomy to live according to *Shariah*.<sup>82</sup>

## AHRARS AND CONGRESS

The political creed and ideals of Majlis-i-Ahrar were very much akin to that of INC<sup>83</sup> and it was considered an offshoot and Muslim wing of Congress. In fact, there was a harmonious relationship between the leaders of Congress and Ahrars and moreover the leadership of Ahrars was unable to extricate them from the influence of Gandhi. According to Rafique Afzal, 'the Congress call for complete independence appealed to their anti-British sentiments and they rallied around the Congress'.<sup>84</sup> It seems that Ahrars saw the remedy of all the afflictions of the people of this land in the

independence of Hindustan.<sup>85</sup> In this context they valued their liaison with the INC. Even Bukhari went to the extent of saying, 'If I would have to join hands with the devil forces for the sake of liberation of country, I would certainly do it'.<sup>86</sup>

In this regard if we cast a look at the politics of the decade of 1930 and the collaboration of Ahrars and Congress; with the exception of some instances and their short-term alliance with League Parliamentary Board, both parties had close co-operation and Ahrars enjoyed the patronage of Congress.<sup>87</sup>

Soon after the inception of Majlis-i-Ahrar, in December 1930 INC passed its resolution for complete independence. This allured the Ahrars into close ties with the Congress because Ahrars, as already mentioned, saw panacea for the distress of the inhabitants of this land, in independence.<sup>88</sup> During the Congress' civil disobedience movement (1931), Majlis-i-Ahrar, threw its full weight behind the INC and added to their strength by violating laws and involved in picketing.<sup>89</sup> It had been reported that when the working committee of INC was banned and its top ranked leadership was arrested by the British authorities in June 1931, Afzal Haq was appointed as member of the Congress' Working Committee and he controlled the movement throughout India.

In the following days, Majlis-i-Ahrar, advised Muslims to join INC and its platform was used for Muslim mass contact campaign launched by INC.<sup>90</sup> On May 9, 1937 at a private meeting of working committee of Majlis-i-Ahrar, it was decided to join forces with the Congress and to bring the Muslims into the fold of INC and Majlis-i-Ahrar.<sup>91</sup>

Like Congress Majlis-i-Ahrar had never accepted the pro-British and non-communal stance of Unionist and challenged their hegemony in Punjab and considered Unionist government as 'Satanic'.<sup>92</sup> Ahrar leaders condemned the 'anti-National policies' of Unionist Party government and advised the Muslims to join INC.<sup>93</sup> It was due to these policies of Ahrars, that Fazl-i-Hussain was much disturbed by them and considered them 'dangerous unemployed' out to create disruption in the Muslim Community and thus injure its solidarity.<sup>94</sup> In the All-India Ahrar Political Conference held at Batala from Oct. 23-25, 1937, Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar

denounced the AIML, PNUP and the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and criticized the liaison between AIML and PNUP, which according to him aimed at driving “the cart of the British prestige”.<sup>95</sup>

The Ahrar-Unionist enmity had further intensified over the issue of Shaheed Ganj. Though in the initial phase of Shaheed Ganj agitation it kept itself away from the agitational politics; which also produced difference within Ahrars, resulting in the secession of Zafar Ali’s faction and formation of Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat. In the post-elections of 1937 period Ahrars marked their presence by joining the agitational campaign over this issue. Shortly after the formation of Unionist ministry in Punjab, Ahrars signed an agreement with INC to oppose the ministry which they held responsible for their downfall in Punjab. Congress fully exploited the circumstances and used Ahrars to dislodge the Sikandar ministry. It supported the Ahrars to oust Sikandar Hayat by all means.<sup>96</sup>

This is difficult to guess whether the Ahrar leadership was naïve enough or just ignoring the glaring facts while playing the game on the front foot at the instigation of Congress. The Congress regarded them just puppets to get its vested interests. This reality dawned upon them when Gandhi in a statement said that “Ahrars carry an axe which is the symbol of torture, so Congress has no ties with them”.<sup>97</sup> So in August 1942, when INC initiated the Quit India Movement the Ahrars by passing the resolution of ‘*Hukumat-i-Ilahiya*’ disentangle themselves from the Congress.<sup>98</sup>

## **IQBAL, AHRARS AND THE KASHMIR AGITATION**

Kashmir is situated in the extreme north-west corner of the South Asian Sub-Continent. It was one of the largest princely states of the British India with a total area of 84,471 sq-miles.<sup>99</sup>

Kashmiri people were introduced to Islam in fourteenth century when the Muslim mystics of Central Asia started the dissemination of teachings of Islam there. Syed Bilal Shah, Syed Jalal-ud-Din of Bukhara, Syed Taj-ud-Din, Syed Ali Hamadani were amongst those *Ulamas* and mystics who played a significant role in spreading

Islam. Of them, Syed Ali Hamadani paid three visits to Kashmir in 1372, 1379 and 1383 A.D. and converted thousands of Kashmiris to Islam.<sup>100</sup>

Muslim rule in Kashmir lasted for four centuries. Under Muslim rule Kashmiris experienced three types of rulers, namely the Independent Sultans (1320-1586); the Mughals (1586-1753); and the Pathans (1753-1819).<sup>101</sup>

In 1819, Kashmir was captured by Sikhs<sup>102</sup> who ruled there till 1846. During their rule of twenty-seven years, the Sikhs unleashed unbounded tyranny on Kashmiris and their rights to perform their religious duties were also curtailed. What to speak of prayers in the mosques, Muslims even could not utter the words meant to call for prayer. The whole family was butchered even at the suspicion of cow slaughtering.<sup>103</sup>

In 1845, Kashmir came under the British control. Following the treaty of Amritser in 1846, the administration of Kashmir was handed over to a Dogra Chieftain Ghulab Singh.<sup>104</sup> Thus the Kashmiris, who had been earlier subjected to repression under the Sikhs oligarchy, were now bequeathed to the Dogra autocrat, Ghulab Singh. Ghulab Singh and his successors by means of series of repressive laws tried to disempower Muslim majority both politically and economically. The state claimed exclusive ownership of land. Landlords had no proprietary rights and required official permission to cut down a tree or build a residence on their own premises. Most of the land was seized by the state while cultivators paid hefty taxes.<sup>105</sup> Muslims made up the 80% of the population, but their representation in civil and army departments was very low. The following table shows these details:-<sup>106</sup>

**Table No. I/III**

Departments	No. of Muslims	No. of Non-Muslims
Education	734	1,613
P.W.D	54	183
Electrical/Mechanical	03	47
Telegraph and Telephone	07	72
Customs	14	195
Patwaris/Gurdwas	40	216
Clerical Staff in different dept.	189	1,224
Total	1,041	3,550

With few exceptions, most of the Muslim religious places were in the possession of state. The conversion of a non-Muslim to Islam entitled the Maharaja to confiscate the individual's property.<sup>107</sup> Dogras got many temples built in Jammu and slaughtering of cow was completely banned. If any Muslim even slaughtered his diseased cow for economic reasons, he was sentenced for ten years or was burnt into fire. As a precautionary measure, the state prohibited Muslims from keeping arms.<sup>108</sup>

With the rise of educated middle class, a political consciousness began to emerge among Kashmiri Muslims. In 1922, the Young Men's Muslim Association was formed in Jammu by Ch. Ghulam Abbas and a 'reading room' established by Sh. Abdullah<sup>109</sup> in 1930 to address the situation of Muslims and newspapers from other states and provinces were collected in which issues against the tyranny of Dogras were raised.<sup>110</sup>

The daily *Inqilab*, under the editorship of Abdul Majeed Salik (1894–1959) was constantly appealing to the sentiments of the Punjabi Muslims by making them conscious of the atrocities, Dogra rulers were committing against Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>111</sup> According to Sh. Abdullah, this put life into the complaints of Kashmiris.<sup>112</sup> For this reason, state authorities banned the entry of this paper in Kashmir.<sup>113</sup> Political unrest and economic exploitations were brewing the situation to be erupted into a catastrophe. Two events in 1931 raised a launching pad for a public resistance movement.

On April 29, 1931, on the instruction of DIG police Ram Chand, a Dogra Sub-Inspector Babu Khem Chand ordered Munshi Muhammad Ishaq, an *Imam* of mosque to stop delivering the Friday sermon. This was an open intrusion into the religious liberty of the Muslims.<sup>114</sup> In June 1931, in another incident, a Head Constable Labhu Ram profaned and insulted the Holy Quran, which was said to have been kicked by him in the police lines.<sup>115</sup>

The blasphemy of Quran spread a wave of unrest throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir. Muslims started a well-organized agitative movement, which was formally initiated from the shrine of Syed Hamadan Ali Shah. A rally was held there on June 21, 1931, at the end of which Abdul Qadeer, a Pathan servant of a British



major who had come to the valley for vacations, had delivered a fiery speech and persuaded the people to lay in ruins the *Raj Mahal*.<sup>116</sup> He was arrested and a case was registered against him under the section 124(A) and 153 of Penal Code for treason and rebellion. The hearing of the case was decided to be held in the Central jail.<sup>117</sup>

On July 13, 1931, at the eve of hearing the frenzied Muslim mob clashed with the police. The police opened fire to disperse the crowd that resulted in the killing of twenty-two Muslims, and hundreds were injured.<sup>118</sup> The situation went from bad to worse that Maharaja Hari Singh imposed martial law and gallows were fixed at different places to cane the Muslims.

### **Formation of Kashmir Committee**

When the news of these developments reached Punjab after breaking the censorship barrier, the Muslims of Punjab felt concerned. Ghulam Rasool Mehr (1895-1941) and Abdul Majeed Salik used to write about the plight of the Kashmiri Muslims and castigated the Maharaja for his despotism in their columns. Because of such a scathing criticism of Maharaja those newspapers were banned in Kashmir. The Kashmiri families which migrated to Punjab and settled in big cities such as Sialkot, Amritser and Lahore, etc. because of Dogra despotism, limited economic and educational opportunities, were also stirred by these happenings and it produced dissensions among their ranks.<sup>119</sup>

Kashmir was also Iqbal's ancestral land, so he enjoyed a spiritual link with Kashmir. He had a psychological tilt towards that land and migration from there always pinched him.

We have abandoned Kashmir to live in Hindustan;  
The nightingale sought the abode away from that lovely place  
My heart is entangled in the scenic panoramas of Kashmir  
The nightingale pines for that heavenly place  
We are the successors of the legacy of Adam  
The homeland of us is a replica of paradise.<sup>120</sup>

Iqbal was anxious for his Kashmiri brethren since he was a student. When different *baradaris* of India started activating and organizing themselves for philanthropic motives, the Kashmiri Muslims also laid the foundation of 'Anjuman Kashmiri Musalmanan' in February 1906. Iqbal was the student of Government College, Lahore at that time. He recited his poem *Falah-i-Qaum* (Welfare of the nation) at the opening meeting of Kashmiri *Anjuman*. The poem consisted of twenty-seven verses and later was published in *Kashmiri Magazine* in March 1909.<sup>121</sup>

Iqbal wished to see the Kashmiris on a single platform, so that unity and closer cooperation could safeguard their rights and privileges as a nation. Unlikely this organization remained functional only for a limited time. Such a situation saddened Iqbal.

On January 10, 1909, the Kashmiri Muslims of Lahore re-activated the Anjuman Kashmiri Mussalmanan and Iqbal was made the General Secretary of it.<sup>122</sup> The induction of Kashmiris in the army and their desire to be declared agriculturist were the two major problems which posed a challenge to the Kashmiris in those days. Iqbal took up the case of employment of the Kashmiris in the British Indian Army with the Governor General. Since most of the Kashmiri migrants during the past century were landless from Punjab, they were treated as non-agriculturist and therefore, refused employment in the British Indian Army. Iqbal fought out the case and said that name Kashmiri did not denote a caste, but an area and a territory. He pleaded there were agriculturist and non-agriculturist, in Kashmir as in Punjab.<sup>123</sup> According to M. Abdullah Qureshi, this organization played a major role in waking up the Kashmiris from their slumber for their rights and in making up for their deficiency in education. Most of the Muslims in Kashmir who clenched top positions were the recipients of the scholarships of this organization.<sup>124</sup>

While working for the welfare and organization of the Kashmiri community, Iqbal felt that Muslims were sacrificing the dream of universal brotherhood for limited interests of *baradaris*, so he himself curtailed his activities regarding the affairs of this organization after 1918.<sup>125</sup> But his relationship with Kashmir remained unscathed. Iqbal, irrespective of his Kashmiri origin thought:

“Geographically, Kashmir is the only area where religious culture is purely Islamic. Islam prospered there not under any compulsion but this tree flourished there because of the tireless missionary zeal and preaching of pious preachers such as Shah Hamadan”.<sup>126</sup>

Iqbal along with other contemporaries had a close watch on the events happening in 1931. In these circumstances, at the behest of Khawaja Hassan Nizami<sup>127</sup> (1878–1957), a meeting was held at the residence of Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan (1876–1933) at Simla, on July 26, 1931. The prominent personalities who attended the meeting included M. Iqbal, Khawaja Hassan Nizami, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Kanjpura, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, Abdul Rahim Dard, Sh. Rahim Buksh, Syed Mohsin Shah Advocate, Maulvi M. Ismail Ghaznavi, Maulvi Noor-ul-Haq (Proprietor *Muslim Outlook* Lahore), Syed Habib Shah (Editor *Siyasat*) and Allah Rakha Saghar.<sup>128</sup>

In that meeting an all India Kashmir Committee was formed. The post of president and secretary of AIKC was given to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din (1889–1965) and A. Rahim Dard, the head of Ahmadiyya Community and its activist respectively.<sup>129</sup> Iqbal played a prominent role in the formation of AIKC and on his suggestion Mirza Bashir-ud-Din was made the president of this committee. Iqbal was of the view that Ahmadi resources, committed workers, better organizational skill, all would help in the effective working of AIKC.<sup>130</sup> The important objectives of the AIKC are:

- a) To organize the public opinion in favour of Kashmiri people.
- b) Introduction of reforms in Kashmir through constitutional means.
- c) Financial support for the heirs of the martyred and the injured Kashmiris.
- d) Provide legal aid to the arrested ones for their release.<sup>131</sup>

In that meeting it was resolved that August 14, 1931 would be fixed as Kashmir Day to inform the public about the real state of affairs in Kashmir.<sup>132</sup> Iqbal made an appeal to the Muslims to make the Kashmir Day a greater success so it would be proved that Muslims were not a dead nation and were not ready to bear any tyranny or despotism.<sup>133</sup>

Kashmir Day was observed throughout the India on August 14 on the appeal of AIKC. Meetings were held in the big and small cities including Lahore, Calcutta,

Patna, Bombay, Deoband, Karachi, Aligarh, Sialkot, Delhi, Lughnow, Meerath, Hyderabad Deccan, Bihar and Orrissa.<sup>134</sup> While addressing one such meeting in Lahore, Iqbal clarified that it was wrong to label the public demands as a mutiny or link them to Hindu-Muslim clashes. He said;

“I say this with a conviction this is not a Hindu Muslim riot. Many *Pandit* approached me with a complaint against the government. I advised them to enter into an alliance with the Muslims to present their demands to the Government.”<sup>135</sup>

The Hindu press covered the developments in Kashmir in a prejudiced way and declared them Hindu-Muslim communal riots. The *Milap*, *Tribune* and *Partap* are the most notable in this regard.<sup>136</sup> The Hindu press turned the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors into a movement against the Hindu *raj* in Kashmir. Hindu papers wanted to enlist the sympathy of the entire Hindu community in India and in this way conceal the atrocities of the Dogras.<sup>137</sup> To *Milap*, the tension in Srinagar was an intrigue concocted in Lahore, which aimed at the replacement of Hindu rule by the Muslim rule.<sup>138</sup>

Formation of AIKC was also dubbed by Hindu circles as a political organization formed for removal of Maharaja Hari Singh and would result in elevating Hindu-Muslim communal tension.<sup>139</sup> The *Tribune* connoted the agitation as the “professed aim of Iqbal school to have a chain of provinces and states under Muslim *raj* in the north-west of India.”<sup>140</sup>

A Hindu *Pandit* Gasha Koul Lal accused Iqbal of instigating the Kashmiris.<sup>141</sup> Iqbal refuted such accusations and suggested that Hindus and Muslims should made concerted efforts for their rights. He opined that this matter must be between the ruler and the ruled ones, so that people would not get a chance to say that the matter had been turned into Hindu Muslim issue.<sup>142</sup> It was also propogandized that Iqbal desired to be the Prime Minister of Kashmir and he had applied for this appointment. Iqbal categorically rejected such rumours and clarified that he hated to be the minister of such a ruler.<sup>143</sup>

In fact, the uprising in Kashmir and its echo in Punjab was a reaction to the tyrannies of an oppressive government whose atrocities compelled the masses to rise against it. The sole purpose of AIKC was to remove the valid grievances of Kashmiri Muslims and strive to achieve its goals through constitutional means.<sup>144</sup>

During first year of its working, AIKC extended her help for providing relief and legal aid to the distressed Kashmiris who were victims of false charges. Under the presidentship of Iqbal, a Kashmir fund Committee was also constituted,<sup>145</sup> which planned to collect donations for the oppressed Kashmiris. This committee was also made to refute this negative propaganda of Hindus that it was established on communal basis.<sup>146</sup>

On August 03, 1931, the General Secretary of AIKC sent a note to Maharaja Hari Singh and requested to allow a delegation comprising Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan, Khawaja Hassan Nizami, Khawaja Rahim Bukhsh and Maulana Isma'il Ghaznavi to monitor the situation in Kashmir. Maharaja disapproved such a demand saying that everything was under control now and the presence of delegation here might give rise to suspicions and hostile views among the local population.<sup>147</sup> On the further insistence of AIKC, Maharaja issued the orders to arrest the members of committee, if they intend to enter Kashmir.<sup>148</sup>

There was a distinct difference between Iqbal and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din's stance on the issue of British intrusion into Kashmir. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din during his meeting with political secretary of the Govt. of India and Viceroy Lord Willingdon stressed the desirability of British interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir.<sup>149</sup>

Iqbal strongly differed with these proposals as it was considered by him to be against the larger interest of Kashmiri Muslims. He thought that it was pre-mature at that stage and would only provide a tool to the Kashmir government to exploit the affairs in Kashmir. Instead of that he proposed to send a three men mission to London to explain the problem to British public and parliament. He promised to criticize boldly the Kashmiri administration in case he found time during proceedings of RTC.<sup>150</sup>

On November 09, 1931, Iqbal, Jinnah, Zafarullah Khan and Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, the Muslim members of Indian delegation to RTC held a meeting with Under Secretary of State Mr. Findlater Stewart and brought into his notice the atrocities of the Dogra army.<sup>151</sup> Iqbal stressed upon the inquiry into the atrocities committed by Dogra Army and said that if the Maharaja and his administration were to blame then the Maharaja ought to be deposed.<sup>152</sup> Iqbal declared that selling of Kashmir to the Dogras by the British was a blatant injustice. He said that it was a sale, which no modern jurisprudence would recognize and a sale which no modern conscience would recognize.<sup>153</sup> In this way, Iqbal openly supported the cause of the oppressed Kashmiris before the British Government.

AIKC hold sixteen meetings from July 1931 to March 1933.<sup>154</sup> Unlike the activities of Ahrar-i-Islam, AIKC kept its activities limited to the legal help of the prisoners and financial aid to the heirs of the martyred and the wounded. As AIKC had its headquarters in Qadian, so Mirza Bashir-ud-Din used to issue every important directive.<sup>155</sup>

Although the situation in Kashmir was still in disarray, and the recommendations of Glancy Commission were not operational yet, Kashmiri Muslims split up into opposing groups. The Government of Kashmir banned some political parties and leaders were arrested and Kashmir once again relapsed into agitations and political unrest. On the other hand, AIKC was also in disarray. The general opinion was that Qadianis were misguiding the Kashmiris under the garb of Kashmir Committee<sup>156</sup> and this was invalidating the value of AIKC.

### **Ahrars and Kashmir Agitation**

Soon after the formation of AIKC, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Muhamood invited the leaders of Ahrars; Ch. Afzal Haq and Mazhar Ali Azhar to join the Committee but they plainly refused,<sup>157</sup> and declared it an outpost of Qadianis.<sup>158</sup>

Objective analysis reveals that this attitude of Ahrars had two concrete reasons; one the political and other the religious. Majlis-i-Ahrar was vehemently in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity for political purposes. Ahrars felt that the formation of AIKC would cast a negative effect upon the Hindu-Muslim unity. Habib-ur-Rahman

Lundhianvi, Attaullah Shah Bakhari and Sh. Hassam-ud-Din discussed the Kashmir problem with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Keeping in view the policy of the INC, Azad gave this opinion that "Ahrars should take up the Kashmir issue to maintain communal harmony and they should approach the Maharaja for democratic rights in order to secure the welfare of the state."<sup>159</sup>

In fact, Congress did not want a British backed agitation to succeed at the popular level because of its likely repercussion on the attitude of the Kashmiris towards the INC. The inclusion of Ahmadis in the AIKC was a sign of danger for INC because Ahmadis generally kept away from political unrest and agitation.

Congress could not have direct interference in this issue because the extremist section of the Hindu community would not have liked any action that might injure the interest of Hindu *Raj*. And of course, the Ahmadis could not be permitted to build up an influence in the state. Hence the Ahrars were indirectly instigated through Azad to take up the issue.<sup>160</sup>

As far as religious reasons were concerned, it seems, they were more important as Ahrars were committed to castigate Ahmadism. Ahrars censured and curtailed the Ahmadis from every platform. Ahmadis were also not used to play active role in political affairs and were regarded as loyal partners of the government and all this was a part of their religious teachings.<sup>161</sup>

Ahrars were annoyed when they saw Ahmadis playing a role in a purely political issue. Ahrars feared the dissemination of the influence of Ahmadis on the twenty-four lakh people of that region,<sup>162</sup> and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din would preach his beliefs under the cover of the Committee, so they decided to launch a movement for the Kashmiri people on their own line. By doing so, they would not only aim at reducing the influence of Ahmadis but they would also be fighting for the rights of the Kashmiri people.<sup>163</sup>

From the very beginning Ahrars expressed their concerns about the composition of AIKC. On August 13, 1931, in a meeting of Kashmiri Muslims of

Lahore, Majlis-i-Ahrar, expressed opposition to the personal of AIKC, especially the Ahmadiya influence on it.<sup>164</sup>

A meeting of the working committee of Ahrar-i-Islam, under the presidentship of Maulana Ahmad Ali was held in Lahore on August 15, 1931 in which he made a formal declaration to take up the Kashmir issue. He announced that Majlis-i-Ahrar did not regard Kashmir agitation as an Hindu-Muslim issue. He clarified that it also did not want to over throw the Hindu Raja to implant Muslim rule there but the Majlis sought the betterment of Muslims by adopting peaceful and fair means.<sup>165</sup> They asserted that the British government was responsible for the present plight of the Kashmiris, therefore, they were not willing to accept British interference in the matters of Kashmir.<sup>166</sup> Afzal Haq explained to Ahrar that it was to be an anti-British movement and the aim was to curb British influence in Kashmir.<sup>167</sup>

On the same day addressing a public meeting of 6,000 people, Majlis-i-Ahrar's leaders publicly declared that they would take up the question of agitation on behalf of the Muhammadans of Kashmir, and that the deputation headed by Mazhar Ali as dictator, would be sent to Kashmir to make enquiries at the end of Kashmir week, extended from August 19-25.<sup>168</sup>

They threatened that if enquiry committee was arrested, *jathas* were to be sent to form a *morcha*.<sup>169</sup> After observing a Kashmir week, on August 31, 1931, first definite announcement was made that a delegation headed by Mazhar Ali Azhar would be sent to Kashmir .It comprised of Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad , Taj-ud-Din, Ch. Afzal Haq and Rana Aftab Ahmad .<sup>170</sup>

On September 02, 1931, Ahrar delegation left Lahore for Srinagar. The delegation reached Sialkot on 03 September after staying for a short time in Gujranwala. As the details of Ahrars programme had already reached the Kashmir government so the governor of Jammu himself paid a visit to Sialkot to analyze the prevailing situation.<sup>171</sup> Mazhar Ali and his delegation were invited through the governor of Jammu to visit Srinagar to see things for himself on the condition that he called off his *jathas*<sup>172</sup> and did not address away public meeting.<sup>173</sup>



The delegation reached Srinagar on September 04 and was received as official guests to stay in House Boat. Ahrars readily accepted the offer because they did not deem it appropriate to give vent to their feelings against the state with their arrival. The main objective of delegation was to study the prevalent situation and not to issue an ultimatum. Secondly, if the government was willing to bear all the expenses why they should burden themselves.<sup>174</sup> In sum, the prestige of Mazhar Ali was some what shaken that he had accepted bribe from Kashmir authorities to damp down the movement by reporting that the rumours of the ill-treatment of Muslims in Kashmir were exaggerated.<sup>175</sup>

An objective study of the whole situation would reveal that conclave of Ahrars with Maharaja coupled with acceptance of his offer to be the state guests, instead of visiting martyrs houses to sympathize with them, was the blunder on their part. There were rumours in the city that the Ahrar leaders were even ready to neutralize the Kashmir agitation in Punjab against a heavy amount which they had badly needed, so that they would be able to withstand the influence of Muslim League and resist the onslaught of Khaksars.<sup>176</sup> Sarwar Abbassi states that the accusations against Ahrars for getting material resources are baseless. No nonpartisan source substantiates the claims that they received any cash.<sup>177</sup> However, somewhat the rumours of bribery weakened their prestige.<sup>178</sup>

The Ahrar delegation returned without any remarkable achievement. On October 01, 1931 the working committee of Majlis-i-Ahrar decided to launch a campaign of civil disobedience as all efforts for an amicable settlement was hopeless".<sup>179</sup>

On October 03, 1931 the Sialkot authorities arrested a *jatha* of 119 Ahrar volunteers led by Mazhar Ali. Now the *jathas* of the Ahrar volunteers were constantly being sent to Kashmir border where they were being arrested by the state authorities.<sup>180</sup> Sialkot became the centre of activities of Ahrars. The people were so excited that they even gave up their livelihood and courted arrests. Within three days about 1500 volunteers were arrested.<sup>181</sup>

Things came to normalcy a bit when on the eve of birth day of Maharaja on October 05, a general amnesty was announced and all the political workers were released.<sup>182</sup> *Jathabandi* was suspended for the time being as the result of negotiations with the state officials. Mazhar Ali with few colleagues allowed to return to Kashmir to talk with the state authorities.<sup>183</sup> Mazhar Ali claimed that *Darbar* should carry on negotiations only with Ahrar-i-Islam and no other body.<sup>184</sup>

On October 09, 1931, Mazhar Ali accompanied by Zafar Ali Khan, Hassam-ud-Din, Ghulam Muhammad and Muhammad Afzal left for Kashmir. Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Ahmad Said also accompanied them.<sup>185</sup> The delegation realized that the *Darbar* was playing the Ahrars against the AIKC and none of its promises were to be relied upon.<sup>186</sup>

Muslim representatives from Kashmir invited one member each amongst the members of AIKC and Ahrar-i-Islam at the residence of Khawaja Sa'ad -ud-Din Shaal to give their views on the draft demands to be presented to Maharaja. The Ahrars were in favour of responsible government, indirect election and adult franchise.<sup>187</sup> AIKC representatives were of the view that Maharaja would not accede to these demands, so the petition of Ahrars was turned down.<sup>188</sup>

To Mazhar Ali the conduct of Kashmir state throughout these dealings had been deceptive. On one hand they allowed Ahrar-i-Islam to go to Kashmir and on the other hand they had been engaging agents to work up propaganda against them. The *Darbar* had been trying to conspire with the AIKC and had been sending their agents to persuade them to come to Kashmir so as to divide the Kashmir Muslims public into two parties and to bring about a conflict between them and to ruin the real issue.<sup>189</sup>

Somehow, after the negotiations, thousands of volunteers marched towards Kashmir border and Mazhar Ali courted arrest along with a band of volunteers at Sochaitgarh.<sup>190</sup> From the beginning of November 1931 onward, the agitation gained much momentum. The death of an Ahrar volunteer Ellahi Buksh of Chiniot by the para-military forces on November 03 at Jammu further aggravated the situation.<sup>191</sup> According to Ashraf Atta, the martyrdom of Ellahi Buksh not only made the situation complex but also put a new spirit in the movement.<sup>192</sup>

The corpse of Ellahi Buksh was paraded at Gujrat , Gujranwala, Lahore and Chiniot to gain sympathies of the people.<sup>193</sup> On November 05,1931, Ellahi Baksh day was celebrated in Lahore and the Ahrars coffers began to bulge with subscriptions poured from all sides.<sup>194</sup>

With the passage of time, the movement got so much momentum that thousands of people decided to move towards Kashmir. A reliable estimate revealed that almost forty to fifty thousand people were arrested.<sup>195</sup>

The main centres of activities were Sialkot, Amritser, Jhelum, Kohat and Rawalpindi. Sialkot was the base camp of this movement. From here thousands of volunteers were raised locally. The natives of Sialkot sacrificed a lot for the success of this movement. They not only hosted thousands of '*surkhposh*' for several months but also suspended their business activities.<sup>196</sup> The enthusiasm was so high in Amritser that during the movement, a big cauldron full of red colour was placed at the 'Hathi Gate'. People took off their shirts there and after dipping them into that cauldron wore them wet and presented them for arrest. The children of age twelve to old men all participated in this exercise.<sup>197</sup> When jails failed to accommodate more prisoners, the authorities laid down barbed wires in the ground to turn them into prisons.<sup>198</sup> The situation grew so embarrassing for the jail authorities that new prisoners were left by them in the offices of Ahrars on the promise that they would take them in the morning. Even some prisoners were shoved out of the prison.<sup>199</sup>

Besides Punjab, Ahrars also gathered *jathas* from places like Ajmeer, Ahmadabad, Aligarh and Calcutta which showed their influence beyond Punjab. The *jathas* were so peaceful that government could take no action on the basis of clauses 125 or 126 of the Indian Penal Code against them who may attempt to force their entry into Kashmir.<sup>200</sup> The parade of Ellahi Buksh's body gave a strong impetus to the movement and enlisted wide spread sympathy with the cause of Ahrars.<sup>201</sup> Therefore on Nov. 07, 1931, Govt. of India promulgated an ordinance to prevent the inrush of volunteers in Kashmir territory.<sup>202</sup> It was followed by the arrest of 1150 persons including the then dictator of movement Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din at Sialkot on November 11.<sup>203</sup>

The effect of this special ordinance was that, it diverted the agitation towards British Government. The Ahrar workers who were subjected to hardships in Kashmir tended to bring an increasingly large number of moderate Muslims in the Ahrar camps.<sup>204</sup> Posters were issued against Dogras and British in which a new definition of Muslim was given that 'a Muhammadan is one who is neither afraid of Dogra nor of the British soldiers.'<sup>205</sup> Ahrar leaders expressed their determination to continue the struggle. Habib-ur-Rahman advised the Ahrar workers that, "in view of the Government's announcement, you must continue work. You are now fighting against the English. In this campaign we should never retreat. We started this fight in order to give Kashmir a responsible Government and not to serve the ends of the British Government."<sup>206</sup>

Somehow in first half of November almost all the top ranked leadership of Ahrars including Hassam-ud-Din, Nazar Muhammad, Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi, Maulana Ahmad Ali, Muhammad Chirag, Zafar Ali Khan, Muhammad Sadiq and Ghazi Abdur Rahman were arrested besides 15,776 activists.<sup>207</sup>

Meanwhile, in the end of second week of November Glancy Commission<sup>208</sup> was appointed by the Maharaja of Kashmir to inquire into the Muslim demands. Secondly, the state premier, was also replaced by a British officer Calvin.<sup>209</sup> The appointment of Glancy Commission was welcomed by Sh. Abdullah faction, however Ahrars decided to not to cooperate with it.<sup>210</sup> According to official notes the appointment of Glancy Commission "is believed to have temporarily satisfied local Muslim opinion in Kashmir, where recrudescence of troubles is unlikely unless reduced from outside."<sup>211</sup>

The movement also came to a lull because of the month of *Ramazan*. Enthusiasm for the Kashmir agitation has been slowly decreasing. Leaders, fearing the exhaustion of their forces, were daily becoming more anxious to start negotiation.<sup>212</sup>

The Government, on the other hand, also desired an end to Ahrar's movement. As RTCs had met a failure and Gandhi was also threatening to launch civil

disobedience movement. The government could not afford war at two fronts so it adopted conciliatory approach towards Ahrars.

Maharaja Hari Singh and the Premier of Kashmir Raja Hari Kishan Kol went to Dehli at the end of November 1931. Probably, Government of India had invited them there to discuss the Kashmir situation. On Dec. 02, 1931 Maulvi Anis Ahmad and Nawab Farid-ud-Din Meerathi gave a letter of the Kashmir's Premier to the President of JUH Maulana Kifayatullah Delhvi (1875-1953). The letter was an invitation for him and Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary of JUH to see the Maharaja.<sup>213</sup> That meeting happened to be in Kashmir House, Delhi on the same day. Hari Singh wanted the JUH leaders to serve as mediators to settle the matters with the leaders of Ahrars. Mufti Kifayatullah was willing to undertake this task. Hari Singh agreed to this proposal of them that Ahrar leadership should be shifted to Borstal Jail, Lahore, so that leaders of JUH and Ahrars who were still out of the prison were to see imprisoned Ahrar leaders for reconciliation dialogue.<sup>214</sup> Raja Hari Kishan Kol said to Mufti Kifayatullah to inform him when he would reach Lahore, so that he himself or his representatives get there to keep in touch with them to know the progress of the on-going dialogue.<sup>215</sup>

On December 06, the premier of Kashmir sent a telegram to Mufti Kifayatullah informing him about the delay in bringing Ahrar leaders together and told him to intimate him about his point of view in the meanwhile.<sup>216</sup> Mufti Kifayatullah responded next day that he could not formulate any opinion without meeting and consulting the Ahrars. Moreover, such a proposal would not be fruitful.<sup>217</sup> On December 11, the premier reviewed his earlier stance and wrote to Mufti Kifayatullah that he must convince the Ahrar leaders to quit agitation as it was a useless exercise.<sup>218</sup> Kifayatullah responded reiterating his earlier suggestion.<sup>219</sup> In the meanwhile Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Ahmad Saeed went to see Mian Fazl-i-Hussain on his request. Khawaja Hassan Nizami and Seth Abdullah Haroon were also present at that occasion. Fazl-i-Hussain brought the matters related to Ahrars into discussion. Both representatives of JUH, offered their services to resolve the matter if there was any reasonable way out for Ahrars. However, they emphasized that Ahrars should be assembled in a particular jail and certain demands needed to be evolved after meeting with them, as Ahrars were the main stakeholders in this dispute.<sup>220</sup>

On Dec. 13 and 14, 1931, Ghazi Abdul Rehman and Ch. Afzal Haq visited Sir M. Shafi and K.B. Rahim Buksh (Retd. Session Judge) and it was believed that they had asked them to pave the way for negotiations with the government.<sup>221</sup> Resultantly a special meeting of Muslim leadership was arranged on December 18, 1931 which was attended by Ch. Afzal Haq, Ghazi Abdul Rahman of Amritser, Sh. Sadiq Hussain, Hakim Nur-ud-Din of Lyallpur, Sayed Zain-ul-Abadin of Multan, Dr. Abdul Qavi of Lahore, Dr. Aziz Ahmed, M. Sanaullah Amratsari, K.B. Sh. Rahim Buksh, K.B. M. Amir-ud-Din, M. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Advocate, Malik M. Sadiq, Hussain Mir and Abdul Majid Salik (Editor *Inqilab*).<sup>222</sup>

In that meeting it was decided that negotiations should be opened on conditions that the following demands were granted:

- 1) That a representative government to the people should be established in Kashmir.
- 2) That all Ahrar leaders and volunteers at present in jail should be released prior to the negotiations start.
- 3) That the British troop should be withdrawn from Kashmir.

All the participants were totally agreed with the first demand. However, there was a difference of opinion regarding the release of Ahrar leaders. It was decided to not to press the demand of withdrawal of British army from the state. It was also agreed that if the government were to hold hopes of agreeing to the demands, the dispatch of *jathas* would be stopped and propaganda by means of objectionable posters had been ceased.<sup>223</sup> Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana M. Said were chosen to place these demands before Sir M. Shafi on his return to Lahore.<sup>224</sup>

On December 22, Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Afzal Haq and Ghazi Abdul Rehman met with Mazhar Ali Azhar, Maulana Ahmad Ali, Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi and Sh. Hassam-ud-Din in Borstal jail Lahore.<sup>225</sup> On Dec. 23, Mufti Kifayatullah sent a petition to the Kashmir premier that Ahrars were willing for conciliation if the on-going talks also focus on the formulation of responsible government in Kashmir and a dependable officer should be appointed for dialogue process.<sup>226</sup> On Dec. 25, the Kashmir premier answered to Mufti Kifayatullah that as the dialogue with Ahrars was being conducted under the supervision of the

government of Punjab, so the Kashmir government could not intrude into it. He advised Mufti Kifayatullah to talk to Sir Sikandar Hayat and Sir Henry Craik in this regard.<sup>227</sup> On Jan. 05, 1932, Mufti Kifayatullah and Ahmad Saeed went to see Sir Sikandar Hayat. He refused to talk to them in the capacity of the representative of the government and said that this issue concerns the government of Kashmir and Punjab government had nothing to do with it. Its only responsibility was to assemble the members of Ahrar working committee and to facilitate a linkage between you and them.<sup>228</sup> As Maharaja had succeeded in convincing Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Ahmad Saeed to be mediators between his government and Ahrars, he should have sent his representatives to partake in this dialogue but Maharaja Hari Singh, firstly, did not keep his promise of sending his representative, then he blankly refused to do so. In fact these were only delaying tactics to dampen the intensity of the movement.<sup>229</sup> So Mufti Kifayatullah and Ahmad Saeed wrote to Hari Kishan about their departure to Delhi and advised him to make a direct contact with Ahrars for further talks.<sup>230</sup> In this way, this dialogue failed to yield any positive result.

The movement was gradually losing its rhythm. The attempts of raising funds and collection of volunteers also met with a little success.<sup>231</sup> Moreover factionalism among the party also proved disastrous and embarrassing. The gulf between Habib-ur-Rahman and Attaullah Shah Bukhari, decidedly communal and the other headed by Zafar Ali Khan, Ghazi Abdul Rahman and Muhammad Akram with distinct Congress leanings was increasing day by day.<sup>232</sup> The position of Ahrar was further affected by mutual squabbles between the Lahore district branch and central Majlis-i-Ahrar regarding misappropriation of funds.<sup>233</sup>

The Government on the other hand, was taking tough measures regarding the movement; even all the copies of the *Eid* issue of daily *Ahrar* were confiscated. In the same way, two thousand *Eid* cards featuring the photographs of affected of this movement were also taken into custody. More than 500 copies of three different pamphlets were also seized by the Punjab government.<sup>234</sup>

As a reaction to the repressive measures of the government the Ahrars decided to launch civil disobedience movement on February 28, 1932. Different branches of Majlis-i-Ahrar were asked to sent *jathas* to Kashmir, travel on railways without

tickets, peaceful picketing of liquors and foreign cloth shops. The main centre of such activities were Sialkot, Multan, Amritser, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Dehli, Rawalpindi and Jalandhar.<sup>235</sup> As this programme coincided with the Congress' one, Muslim masses further alienated themselves from the Ahrar's activities and they thought that the Ahrar leaders were bribed to follow the policy of Congress.<sup>236</sup>

Towards the end of March 1932, the Kashmir agitation was once again revived when about two thousand Muslim refugees arrived at Jhelum with harrowing tales of atrocities committed by state functionaries. Ahrars plan to exploit these refugees by exhibiting them in different areas of Punjab.<sup>237</sup> As a result little success was gained because during first week of April the refugees returned home after the prompt enquiry into their grievances by the British officials.<sup>238</sup>

To increase the tempo of agitation, Ahrars planned that women emissaries would be sent to the state for winning support of the people and procurements of funds. However, this plan did not prove much successful because the *Ulama* affiliated with the movement disliked the idea of women participation.<sup>239</sup>

On March 27, 1932 the Glancy Commission submitted its recommendations to the Maharaja of Kashmir.<sup>240</sup> Instead of the responsible legislature, the commission recommended a legislative council of 75 members, 33 were to be elected and rest of them were to be nominated. Only 20 seats of 33 were given to Muslims. However limited religious freedom was granted to Muslim masses; call to prayer was allowed, certain key shrines were placed under Muslim control. Steps were taken to improve the educational condition of the Muslims. For the first time in history of Kashmir, the state agreed to confer land rights on the actual cultivators. Reforms on political side included the permission of formation of political parties and bringing out newspapers according to the provisions of the press act operative in British India.<sup>241</sup>

The reforms were accepted by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and he called off the civil disobedience movement.<sup>242</sup> AIKC was not altogether satisfied with the report<sup>243</sup> and it formulated a sub-committee to examine the report.<sup>244</sup> Ahrars completely rejected the recommendations. In fact, despite recommendations to improve the Muslim conditions, the Dogra Maharaja did little to affect change.



In the preceding months the amount of funds collected by Ahrars was constantly decreased and they had lost the confidence of masses due to charges of embezzlements of funds. Due to less number of volunteers who offered themselves for arrest and less subscription, it would appear that the leaders were experiencing difficulty in keeping alive even a remnant of the former enthusiasm. Total arrest during January 10-16, 1932 was 167 and total subscription was Rs.582.<sup>245</sup> In April and May 1932, due to paucity of resources many leaders were threatened to be ousted of their offices for non-payment of rents.<sup>246</sup> Throughout June the movement continued to die through sheer inanition and both the public and even the Ahrars themselves lost interest. Nothing more was heard of the agitation till June 1933 when it was feared that the burning of three mosques in Mirpur Tehsil, where there had been a temporary recrudescence of the trouble might revive the agitation.<sup>247</sup>

Prior to that, in July 1932, the Ahrars sought another field of action; Alwar state, where Muslim converts called Meos was agitating against the state atrocities. Ahrars celebrated July 22, 1932 as Alwar Day.<sup>248</sup> On December 03, 1932 an all India Ahrar conference was held in Guregaon district. It was attended by 10,000 people.<sup>249</sup> During the Alwar movement, the Ahrars tried to repeat the tactics adopted by them in the Kashmir Movement. But due to shortage of funds, deployment of British army and non-cooperation of Meos with Ahrars, the movement died down every soon.<sup>250</sup>

In fact, the Kashmir agitation was the spontaneous reaction of Punjabis who showed their sympathies with the Kashmiri Muslims who were being subjugated to ruthless oppression by the Dogra rulers.<sup>251</sup> Although, the movement was initiated to fight for the right of Kashmiries but soon this protest developed its outlook as the defence of Muslim community as a whole. According to David the wide base of religious leadership turned the agitation into a serious ideological challenge to the entire British system of authority.<sup>252</sup>

Kashmir movement was one such movement under the supervision of Ahrars that it caused a stir in the whole of North India and Iqbal's remarks were quite apt when he said, "In the present situation prevailing in India, after the Khilafat movement, the Kashmir movement has given a practical shape to the pure Islamic sentiments and it has reinvigorated the dead nation".<sup>253</sup>

The power of Islamic symbols used by Ahrars was substantial, but without a solid and consolidated organization base, the Ahrars became captives of their symbolic issues. The gradual waning of the Kashmir issue and the subsequent move of Ahrar into cooperation with the INC threw their politics into confusion. In a nutshell, the movement subsided with the internal squabbles, arrest of leaders, paucity of resources, and embezzlement of funds and thus lost its momentum and vigour. However to some historians "the Ahrars agitation vis-a-vis Kashmir considerably helped in awakening the Kashmir Muslim from their political lethargy."<sup>254</sup>

### **Dissolution of Kashmir Committee**

After 1933, Ahrars started having a close watch on the activities of Ahmadis. They did not like the dominance of Ahmadis in AIKC. Now they started the business of purging Ahmadis from AIKC. A delegation comprising Ch.Afzal Haq, Attaullah Shah Bukhari and Daud Ghaznavi met Iqbal . They communicated their concerns to Iqbal and told him as he had accepted the authority of the Ahmadis and if the Kashmiri Muslims following him turned into Ahmadis, he would be answerable to Allah on the doomsday. They insisted to dissociate himself from the deliberations of AIKC.<sup>255</sup>

An objective analysis would reveal that inclusion of Ahmadis in AIKC and later acquiring its presidentship gave them an opportunity to disseminate their ideas in Kashmir.

Historical perspectives would show Ahmadis' interest in Kashmir. In his writings and controversial claims Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had "proven" the death of Jesus in Kashmir and his burial in Srinagar.<sup>256</sup> Prior to the incident of July 13, 1931 Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood traveled three times in Kashmir; July 1909, September 1921 and June 1929.<sup>257</sup> Later he organized a scholarship programme to bring Muslim boys to Qadian for education.<sup>258</sup>

When AIKC was established in 1931, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din was elected as the President with the support of Iqbal and Khawaja Hassan Nizami. In fact, they did this

keeping in view Mirza Bashir-ud-Din's connection with the British and if he could make the influence on Hari Singh, many problems of Kashmiri could be resolved.<sup>259</sup>

Contrary to that, the presidentship of AIKC proved a blessing for Ahmadis. They established seventy relief camps in the whole Kashmir with the hidden agenda of preaching of Ahmadism.<sup>260</sup> In August 1931, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din formed a Publicity committee comprising Sahibzada Bashir Ahmed, Syed Zain-ul-Abideen and Maulvi Abdul Mughni Khan, which would publicize and support rights and demands of the Muslims<sup>261</sup> but actually this was a secret refuge to preach their teachings.<sup>262</sup>

With the inception of AIKC, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din got a chance to give this impression to all and sundry that his presidentship of the committee showed the acceptance of his father's creed by the Muslim leaders and intelligentsia. Ahmadis launched this propaganda hastily and sent their preachers across Jammu and Kashmir and started ensnaring the simple folk into accepting the fabricated prophethood of their prophet [Ghulam Ahmad]. This movement proved successful and a majority of Muslims of Shopian and other areas turned into Ahmadis.<sup>263</sup>

Sheikh Abdullah disclosed in his autobiography that when the Ahmadis started preaching their religious doctrines under the umbrella of Kashmir movement, he in a meeting gave vent to his concern on this malpractice.<sup>264</sup> Mirza Bashir-ud-Din curtly responded saying:

“The Ahmadiyya organization is basically a missionary organization. He did not let such activities flourish in Kashmir but that was only an impermanent phase. This is impossible for us to follow restraints in this regard and to quit our mission permanently”.<sup>265</sup>

In this context, rumours also crept in the ranks of AIKC that Ahmadi members of AIKC instead of helping the Kashmiri Muslims were propagating their religious doctrines. The members of AIKC also came to feel that it was not advisable to keep Mirza Bashir-ud-Din as its president. According to Abdullah Malik, “During the Kashmir movement, Iqbal also came to know from certain sources that the president and the secretary of AIKC were passing on some classified information to the viceroy and other British officials.”<sup>266</sup> Later when Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Anwar Shah

Kashmiri and other chided Iqbal for supporting Ahmadis and endangering the future of Islam not only in Kashmir but also in whole of India, then he decided to curtail his powers which he enjoyed being the president of AIKC.<sup>267</sup>

It was also decided that the constitution of the committee was to be outlined, so as to streamline the proceedings of the committee, and complaints against each other would not surface.<sup>268</sup> Ahmadis' response to such a suggestion was negative as they did not want curtailment in the powers of their president. Ahmadis were of the view that trimming of the President's powers was merely an excuse; actually they wanted to make him leave the presidentship.<sup>269</sup>

On May 04, 1933, a statement was published in *CMG*, informing about an application of some of the AIKC members, that onwards only a non-Ahmadi should be the president of the committee.<sup>270</sup> It further made the situation complex. Meanwhile, Iqbal, Barkat Ali and Syed Mohsin Shah and eleven other non-Ahmadi members of AIKC sent a letter to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din to convene the meeting of AIKC for electing new office bearers.<sup>271</sup>

Eventually, on May 07, 1933, the extra-ordinary session of AIKC was held in Cecil Hotel, Lahore. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din in a statement announced his resignation before the start of formal proceedings.<sup>272</sup> In his valedictory message, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din accused Ahrars of the rift in AIKC.<sup>273</sup> He did not refute the allegations levelled against him in connection with Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya's missionary agenda in Kashmir. No doubt, the members of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya earned fame or notoriety for the propagation and preaching of their religious beliefs.<sup>274</sup> In the same meeting, Muhammad Iqbal and Malik Barkat Ali were elected acting President and secretary of AIKC respectively.<sup>275</sup> Both the leaders, soon after their election, issued a joint statement and appealed for helping the Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>276</sup>

On June 05, 1933, Iqbal as a president of AIKC sent a memorandum to the viceroy and showed his fear that baton charging and frequent arrests in Kashmir would bring more complexities to the situation.<sup>277</sup> On June 07, 1933, Iqbal issued another statement on the disturbance in Kashmir. He appealed to Muslims of Kashmir to get united and form a single political party representing all Muslims in the state.<sup>278</sup>

As President of AIKC, Iqbal concluded that the Ahmadi members showed greater allegiance to their religious head than to the AIKC leadership, and this fact hindered the smooth working of committee. In these circumstances on June 20, 1933, i.e. just after forty-three days after his election to the President of AIKC, Iqbal resigned from the presidentship and dissolved the committee.<sup>279</sup> In his statement, he said:

“Unfortunately there are members in the committee who recognize no loyalty except to the head of their particular religious sect. This was made clear by a public statement recently made by one of the Ahmadi pleaders who had been conducting the Mirpur cases.<sup>280</sup> He plainly admitted that he recognized no Kashmir committee and that whatever he or his colleagues did was done in obedience to the command of their religious leader. I confess that I interpreted this statement as a general indication of the Ahmadi attitude of mind and felt doubts about the future working of the Kashmir Committee”.<sup>281</sup>

Ahmadis termed their separation from the AIKC as the result of Iqbal and Ahrar’s collusion. According to Sheikh A’ejaz Ahmad, ‘on the behest of Ahrars, Iqbal nurtured the idea of disruption in Kashmir Committee’.<sup>282</sup> He further elaborates in his book that Iqbal, Afzal Haq and Ataullah Shah Bukhari had meetings regarding the affairs of AIKC and it was decided that if Abdul Rahim Dard and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din were not removed from the key positions in the committee, then the thirty-two lakh Muslims of Kashmir would be devoured by apostasy and infidelity.<sup>283</sup> He further added that Iqbal had a soft corner for the Ahmadis,<sup>284</sup> but Ahrars could finally cause a breach between Iqbal and Ahmadis regarding AIKC. They maneuvered Iqbal to their favour by means of intimidation and exhortation. He cites a meeting of AIMC which was presided by Iqbal and held on March 22, 1932. Ahrar’s interfered by convincing Iqbal that despite his popularity there, he could be pelted with bricks.<sup>285</sup>

Now the question arises whether Iqbal was such a pliant personality as far as his ideas and beliefs were concerned that he could be maneuvered so easily with threats or persuasions. The answer must absolutely be in the negative. In fact, Iqbal had been working with the Ahmadis in the AIKC and his statements showed that he was despaired by Ahmadis as a community in 1933.<sup>286</sup> Another quarter considers that Iqbal blatantly opposed them when he came to know about their political agendas. Ahraris had an old animosity against Ahmadis. Iqbal got dismayed over the

performance of Ahmadis in AIKC and that might have built relations between Iqbal and Ahrars, as the prevailing conditions were conducive for such an alliance. However, this remains merely an accusation that a scholar of Iqbal's caliber was unable to stick to his ideology. Such a claim is an obvious denial of facts.

### **Formation of New Kashmir Committee**

At the eve of dissolution of AIKC, Iqbal gave his opinion that if Muslims of India wanted to support their Kashmiri brethren, they could form a new Kashmir Committee.<sup>287</sup> In this context on July 02, 1933 a large meeting was held in Lahore in which it was resolved that Muslims had full confidence in M. Iqbal. He was requested to nominate members from all over India for a new AIKC.<sup>288</sup> On very next day, a new AIKC was constituted in a meeting at Lahore. Iqbal and Barkat Ali were elected as the president and general secretary of new AIKC respectively.<sup>289</sup> In that committee no Ahmadi was included.<sup>290</sup>

Iqbal in the capacity of President of newly constituted AIKC sent a circular to five hundred distinguished Muslims of India and pointed out that the Kashmir movement is now passing through a critical stage. He requested them to open branches of Kashmir Committee in their cities, to enlist members and realize Rs. 3 as annual subscription of AIKC.<sup>291</sup>

In a poster titled, "A Sincere Appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir" issued by Iqbal, Barkat Ali and Mohsin Shah, an appeal was made to Muslims to take more interest and sympathize with their co-religionist in Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims were advised to abandon their mutual wrangling and to get united to face their enemies.<sup>292</sup> The Resident of Kashmir took strong notice of Iqbal's published poster and wrote to the Punjab government to prevent this sort of propaganda against that state of Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>293</sup>

Situation in Kashmir further deteriorated in 1933. Ahrars had exhausted all their efforts. The report of Glancy Commission had been published.<sup>294</sup> But the recommendations of that report were of a little worth in comparison to those demands which were drafted by the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir on August 15,

1931. Secondly, the *Darbar* did not give any positive sign to materialize them and this caused more unrest among the Kashmiri people.

On July 11, 1933, Iqbal received a letter from Garbett, in which he was intimated that on the basis of directives issued by the Punjab government, he (Iqbal) and the other members of AIKC were not allowed to visit Kashmir and “any interference on behalf of the local Muslims would only tend to aggravate the situation”.<sup>295</sup>

Iqbal responded that the Kashmir Committee’s only anxiety was to see normal conditions prevailing in Kashmir. He further clarified that at this moment he or any other member of AIKC had no intention of visiting Kashmir but “if the situation deteriorating to the extent of disturbing the Muslims outside Kashmir. I cannot anticipate the action which the Kashmir Committee may decide to take”. He appealed the Punjab government to impress upon the Kashmir government the desirability of immediately remedying the ‘real grievances’ of the Muslims.<sup>296</sup>

Meanwhile Ahmadis formed a new organization named ‘Tehrik-i-Kashmir’ in late September 1933 and Iqbal was offered its presidentship. Iqbal answered that he could not take any decision without consulting the AIKC. The Ahmadis interpreted it that Iqbal himself was willing to accept it.<sup>297</sup> In order to dispel the effect of this misinterpretation of Ahmadis, Iqbal issued a statement on October 02, 1933, to turn down that offer. Iqbal in unequivocal terms made it clear that he even did not deem it fit to think about such an offer. He expounded how any Muslim could associate himself with a movement which had revealed itself to be the instrument of a specific propaganda in the veil of non-sectarianism.<sup>298</sup> He further added that the reasons responsible for the break up of former AIKC were still existing and that:

“No definite declaration has yet emanated from the Qadiani headquarters that in the event of the Qadianis joining a Muslim political organization, their allegiance will not be divided. On the other hand, events have revealed that what the Qadiani press describes as Tehrik-i-Kashmir and in which, according to the Qadiani newspaper *Al-Fazl*, Muslims were only courteously allowed to participate, has entirely different aims and objects from those of AIKC”.<sup>299</sup>

The first annual conference of AIKC was held in Amritsar on Nov. 26, 1933. It was presided over by K.B. Rahim Baksh. The conference expressed its regrets at the failure of the Kashmir *Darbar* to redress the grievances of the Muslim subjects of the state, where even the recommendation of the Glancy Commission had not been implemented.<sup>300</sup> Conference demanded the release of individuals arrested in connection with the riots at Mirpur, Srinagar and other places.<sup>301</sup>

Conference also appointed a committee comprising Iqbal, K.B. Haji Rahim Bukhsh, Malik Barkit Ali, Syed Mohsin Shah and Siraj-ud-Din to prepare a memorandum in regard to the present political and economic status of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir state and to circulate it in India and England and as well as to submit it to the authorities concerned.<sup>302</sup>

In late 1933, the situation had worsened because Kashmiris had split into various factions. In fact the events followed by the formation of All Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1932 led to the conflagration and confrontation between various Kashmiri groups.<sup>303</sup> Conflict between Sheikh Abdullah Group and Moulvi Yousaf Shah Group slowed down the momentum of mass resistance in Kashmir.<sup>304</sup>

The recommendations of the Glancy Commission were yet not put into action, when Yousaf Shah faction wanted to discontinue the agitation so that Maharaja did find time to resolve the communal problem.<sup>305</sup> The other faction led by Sh. Abdullah desired to go on with the agitation. This dissension in the ranks of Kashmiris was deplored in a meeting of AIKC held on June 04, 1933 at Lahore. Both the factions were urged to co-operate with each other. It was also decided that a representative delegation should be sent to Kashmir to reconcile the opposing factions.<sup>306</sup>

Sheikh Abdullah was in favour of a conference of workers in Srinagar to put an end to the prevailing antagonism and he also invited Iqbal to attend that conference.<sup>307</sup> Though Iqbal declined to participate in the conference but in a letter to Sh. Abdullah he made it clear that "co-operation was a remedy for all political and cultural ills. Indian Muslims could not move up the development ladder because of the absence of unity among them and especially their *Ulamas* were manipulated by others."<sup>308</sup>



When almost after three months, the Franchise report was made public; it further aggravated the prevalent discontentment of Muslims. The report suggested election only on the 33% seats of the state assembly while the remaining seats were to be filled through nominations. The Muslims were entitled to hold only 50% seats although they made up 80% of the total population.<sup>309</sup> When Kashmiris ventured to register their remonstrance on this issue, a new spate of violence and arrest gripped them.

Iqbal sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Kashmir protesting against the punishment of flogging which had been inflicted on Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>310</sup> In this regard he also sent cables to the League of Nations, the viceroy and the *London Times* newspaper requesting them to protest against the punishment of flogging.<sup>311</sup>

On Feb 11, 1934 a meeting of AIKC was held at the residence of Iqbal. Besides Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali, Syed Mohsin Shah, Raja Muhammad Ikseer, Muhammad Ghulam Rasool, Muhammad Rafiq Ahmad, Feroz-ud-Din, Sh. Niaz Ali and Sh. Abdullah attended it. It was resolved that in view of unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailing in Kashmir state, the British government should take steps to put an end to the atrocities which were being practiced on Muslims for demanding their rights.<sup>312</sup>

Taking the advantage of the presence of Sheikh Abdullah, the Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference was recommended to purge itself of Ahmadi element.<sup>313</sup> In fact, Sh. Abdullah right from the start of his political career had a tilt toward Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya. That's the reason he was dubbed as an 'Ahmadi' in the official secret reports.<sup>314</sup>

In fact Mirza Bashir-ud-Din helped a lot for the personal projection of Sh. M. Abdullah. A handsome amount of money was given to him through Abdul Rahim Dard and Khawaja Ghulam Nabi Gulkar.<sup>315</sup> It was due to his affiliation with the key Ahmadis that, during a meeting on June 30, 1932 Mir Wa'iz Yusuf Shah accused him of adopting Ahmadi beliefs. However Sh. Abdullah disowned such claims.<sup>316</sup> Similarly, Ahrar-i-Islam also held Sh. Abdullah responsible for their failure and was charged with being the henchman of Ahmadis.<sup>317</sup> Like most of the Muslims of sub-

continent, Sh. Abdullah also took Ahmadis as an Islamic sect, as he was not familiar with their beliefs. That is why he expressed his displeasure at the ousting of Mirza Bahsir-ud-Din from AIKC.<sup>318</sup> He was of the view that neither the Majlis-i-Ahrar nor the AIKC was in a position to assist the Kashmir agitators and welcome the efforts made by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din in this regard.<sup>319</sup>

Iqbal almost dissociated himself from the AIKC in 1934 but urged his friends to take up cases of the Kashmiri detainees, because Ahmadis were reluctant to play any positive role in the affairs of the Kashmir since their exclusion from the AIKC. Iqbal sought the services of a notable lawyer, Naeem-ul-Haq of Bihar to plead the cases of political captives.<sup>320</sup> But the fact of the matter is that shortage of workers, scarcity of funds and most importantly Iqbal's declining health was responsible for the inoperativeness of AIKC and gradually it disappeared from the scene.

During this period, Iqbal's contact with the Ahmadis completely deteriorated. Iqbal concluded that Ahmadis were exploiting the Kashmiris for their vested agenda and in fact, were not interested in the political and economic interests of the Kashmiris.<sup>321</sup> Till 1933-34, Iqbal felt exhausted and dejected because of his illness and the prevalent strife in Muslims politics.<sup>322</sup> He did not find any attraction in meetings, conferences and conventions.<sup>323</sup> Now Iqbal started a *Jihad* against Qadianis through his writings. His interaction with them during the working of AIKC unraveled their agenda, so he deemed it necessary to inculcate the Muslim masses about all this. Secondly, he diverted his attention towards the re-organization of AIML in Punjab and in association with Barkat Ali and other urbanites he took the responsibility of turning League into a mass party.

## ANTI-AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT

The conflict between the Ahmadis and orthodox Muslims had existed since the origin of sect in the nineteenth century but it had been confined only to *Fatwas* and *Mannazras* at limited scale.<sup>324</sup>

There had been a mild anti-Ahmadiya campaign in 1920, by the *Tabligh* branch of JUH, but it did not assume any real threat of seriousness.<sup>325</sup> These were Ahrars who for the first time brought the issue to the public level. One of the main

activities of Ahrar was opposition of the Ahmadis, in one form or another it may indeed be said that Ahrar took their birth in the hatred of Ahmadis.<sup>326</sup> During Kashmir agitation, when it was only two years old, Ahrars passed a resolution that no Ahmadi should be elected to any public body.<sup>327</sup> On Oct 08, 1932 the Majlis-i-Ahrar celebrated anti-Qadiani day in Lahore. They chanted slogans, took out processions and shouted in denunciation of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Large meetings were also held in Sialkot, Lyallpur, Julundher, Amritsar and Gujranwala.<sup>328</sup> During Kashmir agitation Ahrar felt that on the pretext of AIKC, the Ahmadis actually launched their campaign to prorogate their own creed.<sup>329</sup> It was due to the efforts of Ahrar, that AIKC was purged from Ahmadis. After which the Ahrars became more active in their anti-Ahmadiyya movement.

On March 04, 1933, the working committee of Majlis-i-Ahrar met at Lahore. Here Attaullah Shah Bukhari and Ch. Afzal Haq decided to push forward the campaign against the Ahmadis by the formation of separate body, the Majlis-i-Dawat-wa-Irshad.<sup>330</sup> For that purpose it was decided to evolve a volunteer corps of one hundred thousand persons and to launch a newspaper.<sup>331</sup>

It seems that in these concerted efforts of Ahrars, Maulana Abdul Karim Mubahila played a vital role. He briefed Ch. Afzal Haq for three hours about the secretive activities and agendas being brewed in Qadian. This remains a fact that before this Ahrars as an organization were not familiar with the plans of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya.<sup>332</sup>

Throughout 1933, Ahrars' opinion against the Ahmadis became more and more bitter; the holding of public meetings, marching in the streets, chanting anti-Ahmadi poems, distribution of handbill against Ahmadis was a daily routine.<sup>333</sup> On various *Tabligh* conferences resolutions were passed or suggestions were made that Ahmadis should be expelled from schools, colleges, and all Muslim institutions. They should be subjected to social boycott and should not be admitted to general or provincial legislatures and local bodies.<sup>334</sup>

On the other hand Ahmadis also celebrated "*Tabligh* Days" on limited scale and used their paper *Al-Fazl* for an equally offensive anti-Ahrar campaign, but they

did not face them on public platform and confined themselves only to distribution of their literature.<sup>335</sup>

In this anti-Ahmadi Movement, the JUH did not come in fore front actively, being the supporters of INC policies. But they offered very possible assistance to the Anjuman-i-Dawat-wa-Irshad by publishing pamphlets and issuing *fatwas* against Ahmadis.<sup>336</sup>

In October 1933, the Ahrars made the plan of occupying the building in which the *Mubahilla* newspaper was located and using it as an office in Qadian, from where they could conduct an anti-Ahmadi campaign.<sup>337</sup> The Ahmadis beaten the volunteers of Majlis-i-Ahrar and demolished that building and built latrines on the site. It further aggravated the conflict.<sup>338</sup> To cope with such sort of incidents Ahmadis formed a volunteer corps at Qadian which paraded daily on the grounds of Ta'leem-ul-Islam High School, equipped with *lathis* and *khaki* uniform.<sup>339</sup> Probably, it was a threat oriented message for Ahrars that they [Ahmadi] were ready for their protection and offence, which likely stimulated the Ahrar agitation against the Ahmadis.<sup>340</sup>

On Oct. 22, 1933 the Ahmadis observed *Tabligh* Day in Lahore. At that occasion the volunteers of Ahrars also paraded in the streets of Lahore singing anti-Ahmadiyya songs and chanting slogans. The police had arrested many of them. This further evoked Ahrars protests, that government was adopting a pro-Ahmadi policy.<sup>341</sup>

On Dec. 04 and 05 Ahrars held a conference at Batala in Gardaspur, which was not far from Qadian, under the presidentship of Shiekh Hassam-ud-Din. During the deliberations, Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya was strongly criticized and speakers openly denounced the pro-Ahmadi policy of British. Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman criticized the British for draining India for its wealth and execrated Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, the head of Ahmadis for imbibing the spirit of slavery.<sup>342</sup> In the conference a proposal to sent *jathas* to Qadian in retaliation for the demolishing of *Mubahilla* Building was rejected,<sup>343</sup> which, for the time being, saved the situation from going worst.

In early 1934, Majlis-i-Ahrar had established its office in Qadian.<sup>344</sup> By making it a base camp; Ahrars commenced a propaganda campaign against Ahmadis by distribution of pamphlets and posters and by speeches in mosques in whole of Gurdaspur district. They also enlisted volunteers for this purpose.<sup>345</sup>

In September 1934, Ahrars decided to hold a *Tabligh* Conference in Qadian. This was not less than an open challenge for Ahmadis. Meanwhile Ahrars had wound up the Kapurthala agitation movement and were prepared to grapple with the onslaught of Ahmadism, and were determined to check the spread of Ahmadi influence.<sup>346</sup> To refute the doctrines of Ahmadis, Ahrars invited *Ulamas* of all school of thoughts to attend the meeting.<sup>347</sup>

Although the Punjab government knew the conference and its potential difficulties, it decided not to ban the meetings lest the Ahrars claim undue interference with their religious rights.<sup>348</sup> When Mirza Bashir-ud-Din made a request to the governor for putting off the meeting, the governor asked some of his officers to convince Ahrars about the postponement of their convention in Qadian, because the majority of Ahmadis were residing there and the minority had no right to injure their sentiments. Ahrars responded by posing a question, "Where are the Ahmadis in majority, excluding Qadian? Their preaching campaigns must be banned from other places. Then they can think over government request."<sup>349</sup> This backlash silenced, the government.

In the end of August 1934, the Commissioner Lahore called the representatives of the Ahmadiyya community and told them that they should do nothing during the days of Ahrar meetings to cause any provocation.<sup>350</sup> Government also frame orders forbidding the Ahrars to take out a procession in Qadian, and the carrying of *lathis* etc. and cancel the arrangement of Ahmadis to hold a counter meeting.<sup>351</sup>

Ahmadis proposed to summon, 25,000 volunteers from outside to assemble at Qadian to protect the Ahmadiyya community from Ahrar agitators.<sup>352</sup> The Punjab govt. ordered Mirza Bashir-ud-Din under Section 3(1)(d) of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932 to cancel any summon send by him or under his authority to

members of Ahmadiyya community and to abstain from calling outsiders and arranging meeting until Oct. 24, 1934.<sup>353</sup>

In view of the fact that the Ahmadis had in the past been conspicuous in their loyalty to government, the local government had endeavoured by methods of persuasion to induce Ahmadis to adopt more moderate tactics, and they have treated them with such patience and consideration that they exposed themselves to the charge of favouritism from the Ahrars.<sup>354</sup>

The *Tabligh* Conference was held at Qadian on Oct. 21, 22 and 23, 1934, under the presidentship of Attaullah Shah Bukhari,<sup>355</sup> in the playground of Dayanand Anglo Vedic High School in Rajada, a village mile away from Qadian. Between 8 –10 thousand persons including three hundred *Ulamas* attended the Conference.<sup>356</sup> Besides local audience, the deputations from far off places like Dera Ghazi Khan, Bahawalpur, Shahpur, Muzaffargarh, Panipat, Peshawar and Brailley also attended the meeting.

Maulana Baha-ul-Haq Qasmi, Abdul Karim Mubahila and Abdul Ghaffar Athar were much active to make the conference a big success.<sup>357</sup> In its opening address, Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman making God the witness to his claims, elaborated that being enmeshed in the war of independence for the motherland, they took Ahmadiyyat as a religious cum sectarian problem like other such disputes engulfing Punjab. He expounded that they could not entangle themselves into those but as soon they got acquainted with the ideas of Ghulam Ahmad they came to know about their blunder and realized that Ahmadiyya movement was the real obstacle and it must be rooted out immediately; as the friend of the British cannot be loyal and true to Islam.<sup>358</sup>

During the conference, Bukhari in his speech accused the Ahmadis of being tailless dogs of British<sup>359</sup> and other speakers also made scurrilous attacks on Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his sons.<sup>360</sup> The first important resolution, which was unanimously passed by conference, demanded immediate action from government to designate Ahmadis as non-Muslims. It states:

“As Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has declared that those who do not recognize him as a prophet are excluded from pale of Islam, therefore *Ulama* considered him an apostate and to be excluded form Islam because of his claims of prophethood and blasphemous interpretation of Islamic doctrines. This conference demands that in its census report the government should enroll them as non-Muslims”.<sup>361</sup>

Speakers not only accused government for undue favouritism to Ahmadis<sup>362</sup> but also criticized those Muslim organizations who permitted Ahmadis to become members. Indian Muslims were urged upon by the Ahrari speakers not to elect Ahmadis for any government post. Maulana Hussian Ahmad Madni moved a resolution, which denounced the appointment of an Ahmadi, Zafarullah Khan as member of Viceroy's Executive Council.<sup>363</sup>

Due to the strictest measures taken by the govt. the conference ended in a peaceful manner. Attaullah Shah Bukhari advised the audience not to enter Qadian in view of the restrictions of the government.<sup>364</sup> However on the contrary, inspite of the orders of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din and the assurances given by Mirza Sharif Ahmad, several Ahmadis including Mirza Mubarak Ahmad son of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din and other were seen taking photographs and distributing pamphlets in the Ahrars Camp.<sup>365</sup> Though the conference eventually came to a close without any disturbance, but it left considerable bitterness in the wake. A storm of protests were raised by the Ahmadis all over the world against the action of government.<sup>366</sup>

A researcher needs to know the circumstances, which pushed Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya into defensive position despite their loyalty to the British government. When Ahrars took an offensive step by announcing a conference in Qadian, the government not only permitted them to do so but also remained dumb over these developments. To Ahmadi historians, it was due to the involvement of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya in agitational politics over Kashmir issue, which disregarded their previous pledges of loyalties and submissions. They claimed that Ahmadiyya community was misinterpreted as a parallel government by governor of Punjab Sir Herbert Emerson and suspected that the movement was a sort of state within a state.<sup>367</sup>

In fact Ahmadiyya courts known as *Idara-i-Faujdari* summoned the people in the courts of Qadian. It was reported that people were sentenced to boycott if they offended the Ahmadiyyas and non-Ahmadis were brought into these proceeding under pressure.<sup>368</sup>

Government agencies also reported that Mirza Bashir-ud-Din had established a parallel government in Qadian by introducing the 'Mahmudia Penal Code,' which was openly contrary to British Laws.<sup>369</sup> According to Abdullah Malik, the death of Hakim Noor-ud-Din provided an opportunity for Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood to clinch *Khilafat* for himself and enthusiastically took the job of turning this section into a fascist party. He also brought novel interpretations of Ghulam Ahmad's complex teachings, to strengthen his own position.<sup>370</sup> He stressed upon the heathenism of non-Ahmadis so that orthodox Muslims nurtured hatred against Ahmadis. This way Ahmadis would be compelled to stay aloof from orthodox Muslims and evolve unity among themselves.<sup>371</sup>

Some months before, the Ahrar Conference was mooted, the local government had received reports from their local officers that there was a real danger of the Ahmadis establishing a position of practical independence at Qadian.<sup>372</sup> The reports of non-Ahmadi residents of being harassed by Ahmadis were common. Therefore government decided to allow Ahrars to hold a conference at Qadian, "since a prohibition of this kind would arouse very strong sympathy with the Ahrars form Orthodox Muslims".<sup>373</sup> Thus the government got the chance to reprimand Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and even Mirza Bashir-ud-Din to receive a summon.<sup>374</sup> The Ahmadis were aggrieved at the action taken by the local govt. and declared that it was an insult to the head of community to serve an order under his own personality.<sup>375</sup>

On October 26, 1934, addressing the Friday Congregation at Qadian, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din criticized the magistrate that he had taken no action against the offensive and objectionable speeches by Ahrar speakers in Qadian. He stated that the Ahmadiyya community must be prepared to take up the Ahrar challenge and be ready for any sacrifice. Then he explained at length how loyal his community had been to the govt. and how unjustly government had treated him in serving him with a notice under the Criminal Law.<sup>376</sup>



On Nov. 02, 1934, addressing the Friday Congregation Mirza Bashir-ud-Din reiterated his complaints against the Punjab government and stated that Ahrars have never been allowed to held their conference at Qadian.<sup>377</sup> He threatened the govt. that every member of the Ahmadiyya community would be prepared to sacrifice every drop of his blood until government admitted its mistake in having served the notice on him personally, instead of on his *Nazir Umoor-i-A'mma*, who had issued the order to which govt. had objected.<sup>378</sup>

To meet the feelings of the Ahmadis the Punjab government informed the Head of the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, that they would not have served the order upon him personally if they had known at the time that he himself had not issued the summons.<sup>379</sup> The government further clarified that during their previous dealings that had been with him in person, they had not unnaturally assumed that he was the responsible person.<sup>380</sup>

On the contrary, the speeches of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din provoked the Ahrars who decided to recruit a lakh of volunteers for an anti-Ahmadiyya campaign.<sup>381</sup> In November 1934, a Muslim youth who had armed with a knife was arrested in Qadian, who allegedly, intended to murder Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood.<sup>382</sup> Throughout the month of November both the communities exhorted their members to raise money and enlist volunteers for counter campaign.<sup>383</sup>

On Dec 07, 1934, Attaullah Shah Bukhari was arrested for his speech at Qadian under section 153-A of Indian Penal Code. Subsequently after trial he was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment.<sup>384</sup> During the trial of Bukhari various *Tabligh* Conferences were arranged by Ahrars where highly provocative speeches were made against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers.<sup>385</sup>

Daud Ghaznavi and Mazhar Ali, General Secretary of Majlis Ahrar-i-Islam issued an appeal to observe anti-Qadiani Day on Dec. 14, 1934. At that occasion it was suggested that efforts should be made to hold successful meetings at which protest should be made against govt. pro-Ahmadi policy, the appointment of Ch. Zafarullah as member of Executive Council and confiscation of *Zamindar Press*.<sup>386</sup>

Throughout 1935, Ahrar - Ahmadiyya controversy mainly confined to press statements and the speeches.<sup>387</sup> Ahmadiyya community changing the strategy employed their volunteers to other districts, instead of Gurdaspur to carry on *Tabligh* work individually and avoided holding public meetings.<sup>388</sup> Ahrar did not bring a change in their stance. While addressing a Friday congregation of about twenty-five thousand people in Gurdaspur, Attaullah Shah Bukhari, despite the impending prosecution against him, criticized the government and accused them of partiality.<sup>389</sup>

On the contrary, Ahmadis also accused the officers of the government of partiality and in the first week of January 1935 formed National League<sup>390</sup> - the political wing of Ahmadis, under the presidentship of Mahmood Ahmad Irfani.<sup>391</sup> The aims and objects of the National League were to promote good relation with the government and its subjects and to help the authorities in maintaining law and order.<sup>392</sup> In fact, the National League practically had the same relationship to the Central Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya as the Akali Dal had to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee.<sup>393</sup> Very soon spokesman of National League stated that they would offer their lives to maintain the honour of the Ahmadi community and would held govt. responsible for any bloodshed which might occur as a result of insult offered to their religion.<sup>394</sup>

Since June 1935 Ahrars were on a defensive mode, clarifying their position for being not participating in Shaheed Ganj movement and Ahmadis were making use of Shaheed Ganj affairs to taunt the Ahrars for not throwing in their lot with the Muslims of Lahore. They also attempted to stir up strife between the Ahrars and the Sikhs to their own advantage.<sup>395</sup> Both parties also clashed number of times on the issue of burying the dead bodies of Ahmadis in Muslim graveyards. Such incidents took place in Amritser and Batala.<sup>396</sup>

In 1934-35, the issue of Ahmadism surfaced with more vigour when a dialogue between Iqbal and Nehru (1889-1964) started in the national press about Ahmadis. Nehru in his articles published in *Modern Review* of Calcutta, referred to the diversity of Islamic sects and demanded toleration for Ahmadis. Iqbal in his articles declared that there were two fundamental concepts of Islam; Oneness of Allah and finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). He made it clear that the belief

in the finality of Prophethood reflects the national unity of the Muslims and one who disowns this belief is not only to be excluded from Islam but also bounds to be murdered. The Iqbal's articles fueled the cause of Ahrar-i-Islam<sup>397</sup> and they became more offensive in their attacks against Ahmadiyyat.

Mirza Bashir-ud-Din regarded Ahrar's activities as detrimental to the best interests of the Muslim community. He claimed that Ahmadis had more right to be Muslims than the Ahrars, because they supported separate electorates against the Nehru Report, while the Ahrars were in favour of joint electorates.<sup>398</sup>

Ahmadis could never logically invalidate Iqbal's writings on finality of Prophethood rather they strived to heap reproaches on Iqbal, announcing that twenty-five years ago he had a different stance towards Ahmadism and now he was opposing them at the provocation of Ahrars who had misled him.

## AHRARS AND FAZL-I-HUSSAIN

Fazl-i-Hussain enjoyed a significant position in the politics of Punjab. He and his party PNUP had been actively involved in the Punjab politics. In the same manner, the roots of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya were fixed in Punjab and like Unionist Party; it also showed loyalty to the British. From Ahmadiyya point of view, even, political struggle against the British was *haram*.<sup>399</sup> Ahmadis believed that as Ahrar's popularity among masses received a serious jolt because of their support of INC and Nehru Report, so they were opposing Ahmadis just for their political aggrandizement.<sup>400</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain considered Ahrars as extremists, the riff raffs of Muslims<sup>401</sup> and he anticipated that in future they could also be used against him.<sup>402</sup> Being a member of Executive Council of Viceroy, Fazl-i-Hussain very well knew that Ahrars were anxious to find a platform in order to retain an identity in the world of politics. If they could raise volunteers for a communal issue and get them supported by subscription, they would use them later for their own political ends.<sup>403</sup>

Fazal-i-Hussain being a pro-British and pro-Ahmadi leader, disliked the intervention of Ahrars in Kashmir and Kapurthala affairs and their campaign against the Ahmadis and declared that in extreme orthodox Muslims they were extreme sectarians,<sup>404</sup> and a "menace to the Muslim community",<sup>405</sup>

To Fazl-i-Hussain Ahrar's tendency was to create disruption in Muslim community and thus injured its solidarity.<sup>406</sup> Referring to their past he commented that when they were Khilafatist, they did a great deal of harm to Muslim community and persuaded them to left school and colleges and quit government institutions during non-cooperation movement.<sup>407</sup> In this context, he was so angry with the Ahrar's agitation in in the state of Jammu and Kashmir that he stated that he would finish the Ahrars in one day.<sup>408</sup> Fazl-i- Hussain concluded, "they indulge in professions of being defenders of Muslim interest so as to obtain a footing in the Muslim masses and appeal to their fanaticism where necessary".<sup>409</sup>

It is a matter of fact that due to his close association with a staunch Ahmadi, Zafarullah Khan and his stand against sectarian considerations, his sympathies were with the Ahmadis. The question arises that what were the circumstances which brought Ahmadis and Fazl-i-Hussain closer to each other? What were the reasons for his sympathetic attitude toward the Ahmadism? According to Abdullah Malik, it was probably due to the reason that the Ahmadis were better organized, more influential and being pro-British, was more useful for Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>410</sup>

In Punjab, Fazl-i-Hussain established his party purely on a supra-communal basis. He had not only working relationship with the Hindu and Sikh leaders but he also co-opted Muslim landlords and religious elites with him. In fact Fazl-i-Hussain and his family had close relations<sup>411</sup> with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya. When Fazl-i-Hussain returned to homeland after completing his education in United Kingdom, his father took him to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and requested him to pray for his son.<sup>412</sup> It has also been reported that in April 1908, he met with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad at Lahore and asked some questions about Ahmadiyyat and felt satisfied.<sup>413</sup>

It was on the basis of these close liaisons between families of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and Fazl-i-Hussain, that in 1926 when Zafarullah Khan was elected the member of PLC, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din instructed him to extend full cooperation to Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the council and in the arena of politics. Zafarullah said, "I was already greatly impressed and much obliged to Main Sahib, so it was easy for me to follow his orders".<sup>414</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain wielded such powers over Ahmadi politics, especially over Sir Zafarullah that he took part in the Muslim politics only to the limits decided by Fazl-i-Hussain or by Unionist party interests.<sup>415</sup> In fact, Zafarullah inclusion in AIMC, taking control of the presidentship of AIML, his nomination in RTC as a delegate and his efforts to merge AIMC and AIML all this was effectuated, following the dictates of Fazl-i-Hussain, which had been discussed at length in other chapter.

Why did Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya struggle to carve a niche in the domain of politics for itself? The answer is very simple one, that no religious movement can sustain its distinct identity or increase its numerical strength, without being a stakeholder in the main- stream politics.

The reason for the political alliance between PNUP and Jama'at-i-Ahmadiya was that although former was a secular and non-communal body yet Muslims dominated it. Ahmadis in the garb of religious sect and keeping themselves intact within the parent body, could have increased their reasonable numerical strength and restore their distinct status. Superficially, being counted among the Muslim public, in return to the fidelity with the British they could accrue all those positions, which were solely reserved for Muslims.

Fazl-i-Hussain also supported Ahmadis during Ahmadiyya - Ahrar controversy on AIKC. He blamed Iqbal for being hostile towards Ahmadis to safeguard his political interests. In a letter to Zafarullah Khan, he writes, "for personal reasons some Muslim leaders feel that by bringing this element they might be improving their position in the political world."<sup>416</sup> In another letter he writes to Sir Zafarullah, "It is very regrettable that Iqbal and some others are emphasizing sectarian differences among Muslims. This is an attack on Muslim solidarity from within."<sup>417</sup>

Nomination of Zafarullah Khan as member of Viceroy's Executive Council further intensified the tension existing between Ahrars, Ahmadis and the Fazl-i-Hussain. Ahrars concluded that Ahmadis gained support because of the increasing influence of Zafarullah Khan.<sup>418</sup> In spite the Ahrar's opposition; Zafarullah was appointed as an officiating member of Viceroy's Council for the period of four months in the absence of Fazl-i-Hussain from June to October 1932. It raised a chorus

of protest from the Ahrars who claimed that Muhammad Iqbal should have been appointed instead. Fazl-i-Hussain was criticized for abetting the creation of an Ahmadi *imperium in imperio*. But he refuted the charge that he was disrupting the unity of the Muslims.<sup>419</sup>

*Zamindar* published an open letter in which it was declared that “Ch. Zafarullah is a Ahmadi and Ahmadism in no way, is a faction of Islam, rather it is a separate religion. So he should not be appointed at Fazl-i-Hussain’s place rather that dignified post should be given to such an illustrious Muslim who enjoys the support of Indian Muslims”.<sup>420</sup>

On Aug. 29, 1934, the president of Majlis-i-Ahrar, Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi issued a statement in which he protested on the appointment of Zafarullah as member of Viceroy’s Executive Council. He said:

“There is a rumour that Ch. Zafarullah who is a comrade of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani and believes in Ahmadism is being nominated the member of viceroy’s council at the place of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Ahmadis never identify themselves with Muslims and never offer a funeral prayer for a Muslim, following their religious dogmas. For these circumstances, it would be a great injustice if Ch. Zafarullah is appointed as a member of Viceroy’s Council.”<sup>421</sup>

Despite a barrage of criticism unleashed against the appointment of Sir Zafarullah, the government went ahead to appoint Sir Zafarullah as a member of Viceroy’s Council on Oct. 30, 1934, on the recommendations of Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>422</sup> Ahrars termed this step as a naked usurpation of Muslim rights. Definitely Fazl-i-Hussain had his own style of politics. He was the well wisher of the Muslim to the limit where interests of the British were not endangered; at times he was more conscious of saving his own interests.<sup>423</sup> As hinted before participants of Ahrar Conference, which was held at Qadian in October 1934 strongly criticized the appointment of Zafarullah and condemned this move of Fazl-i-Hussain. Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, moved a resolution which was unanimously approved by the conference. It states:

“Sir Fazl-i-Hussain’s recommendations played a vital role in the appointment of Ch. Zafarullah and it was flagrant act of treachery against Islam. This

conference denounces this act of Fazl-i-Hussain and expresses its distrust over it.”<sup>424</sup>

After adopting these measures, Ahrar leaders violently turned against Fazl-i-Hussain as he was not sympathizing with them and general masses on the issue of “*Jihad* against Ahmadis.”<sup>425</sup>

In fact, Fazl-i-Hussain following the fashion of youngsters of Victorian age and imbibing the western ideas about religion regarded it as a personal matter. He also did not have any in-depth knowledge of religious affairs.<sup>426</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain had a liberal and tolerant approach towards the followers of the other religions. He also disliked the antagonism among various Muslim sects because this might jeopardize the political interests of Muslims. Like other liberal and modern enlightened people he regarded Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers belonging to a Muslim sect. We find no historical evidence showing him an Ahmadi. Although he got a chance to see Mirza Ghulam Ahmad once or twice yet he did not took the oath of allegiance to him. Though Zafarullah had claimed that Fazl-i-Hussain’s son, Nasim Hussain was administered an oath of allegiance by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din.<sup>427</sup> We can conclude by stating that he expressed his adherence to Ahmadis by nominating a devout Ahmadi Zafarullah Khan as the representative of Muslims and dubbed it as his ‘victory’.<sup>428</sup>

## **THE SHAHEED GANJ DISPUTE**

In late thirties the issue of Shaheed Ganj not only widened the political gulf between the Muslims and the Sikhs, but also strengthened the sentiments of communal consciousness. Like Kashmir agitation it also produced a wave of unrest and discontent amongst the Muslim masses and provided them with another opportunity of showing their hatred against British authorities.

### **Historical Background**

“Shaheed Ganj” was an older dispute between Muslims and the Sikhs, which lasted about 250 years. Muslims made several attempts to get the mosque under their control but failed. In 1935 Shaheed Ganj Mosque was demolished by the Sikhs, which resulted in the heightening of tension between the two communities.

Shaheed Ganj mosque was located in the Landa Bazar, outside Delhi gate, Lahore. Historical record reveals that it was built by Abdullah Khan, during the regime of Shah Jehan in 1753.<sup>429</sup> Near the mosque there was a place where criminals were given punishment during the regime of Nawab Moeen-ul-Mulk, a Mughal governor of Punjab in eighteenth century. In those days Taro Singh, a Sikh religious leader was slain there.

Before the reign of Ranjit Singh, three Sikhs, belonging the *Bhangi Misal*, drove the Muslims out of Lahore. They were known as *Seh Hakeeman-i-Lahore*,<sup>430</sup> Lahna Singh, Sohna Singh and Gojar Singh. During their rule they occupied the mosque of Shaheed Ganj and its adjacent areas. They stated that it was a religious and historical place of the Sikhs, which had been soaked, with the holy blood of thousands of Sikh men and women.<sup>431</sup> Tomb of a Sikh leader Bhai Taru Singh was built by them<sup>432</sup> and named that place as Shaheed Ganj. They also built a garden on that place.

During their rule over the Punjab, the Sikh seized the mosque and used it for the residence of sikh priest. Syed Shah Alam, Extra Assistant Commissioner, reported to his official that mosque, one third was used as a *dharamsala*, one third as *langer* and one-third as a shed for storage of chaff.<sup>433</sup> After the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849, Muslims used lot of legislative channels for the restoration of status of mosque.<sup>434</sup> In 1880's Nur Ahmad, a resident of Lahore, filed series of suits in courts, for the possession of mosque and claimed to be a *mutawalli* of the mosque, but each time the Sikhs succeeded in maintaining the status quo. Sikhs asserted that the Gurdwara Shaheed Ganj Singhian was a religious and historical monument of the Sikhs that had been irrigated with the holy blood of thousand of Sikhs. They further claimed the "possession of the whole *gurdwara* for more than two centuries and a half".<sup>435</sup>

In 1925, due to the efforts of Gurdwara Reform Movement, the Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925 was passed. According to this act, a Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) was formed and management of all the Gurdwaras was placed under its control.<sup>436</sup> This act declared Shaheed Ganj to be a scheduled Gurdwara, and its management was also transferred to SGPC, Lahore.



## Demolition of Mosque and Muslim Agitation

After the passage of Sikh Gurdwara Act, Syed Mohsin Shah, the secretary AHI, Punjab filed a petition in Lahore High Court and claimed the endowed property. In June 1935 court announced its verdict in favour of Sikhs. It was mainly, due to the non-availability of some legal documents, which were in the custody of Zafar Ali Khan.<sup>437</sup> Decision of Court, further strengthened the view point of SGPC and they decided 'to clear off all, un-Sikh like deviations and non-Sikh usages'<sup>438</sup> and wanted to improve the condition of shrine of Sikh martyrs.<sup>439</sup>

To clear the site of all old and dilapidated buildings for the construction of a new building on the evening of June 28, 1935, some Sikhs demolished the northern portion of the mosque. Hearing of this demolition the Muslims assembled outside the Shaheed Ganj Mosque and there was a danger that Sikh-Muslim clash would occur.<sup>440</sup> With the passage of time the number of Muslim demonstrators was increasing, but due to the arrival of Deputy Commissioner and City Magistrate, clash was prevented and Sikhs were ordered to cease their activities in connection with the demolition of the mosque.<sup>441</sup>

On June 30, a Sikh *Dewan* was held in Gurdwara Dera Sahib, Lahore and Jathedar Achkar Singh asserted that the land attached to the Gurdwara Shaheed Ganj had been awarded to the Sikhs by the High Court and Muslim had no reason to interfere.<sup>442</sup>

On the evening of the same day Lal Din and Akhtar Ali Khan advised the Muhammadans to await the decision of the local authorities, but that if this decision was against their wishes they would then have to lay down their lives for their cause.<sup>443</sup> To run the agitation on constitutional plane a meeting was held at the residence of Barrister Mian Abdul Aziz and a Committee was formed which was given the task to constitute a deputation for parleys with Sikhs.<sup>444</sup>

In the evening of July 01, 1935 a huge Muslim public meeting was held outside the Mochi Gate. It was presided over by Zafar Ali Khan. Muslims protested against the profanation of the mosque by the Sikhs and resolved that the govt. took

immediate steps to prevent any further interference with the mosque to restore its possession to the rightful trustees.<sup>445</sup> During the meeting the names of the members of various sub-Committees were also finalized which were given the task to start work for the restoration of Shaheed Ganj mosque. These include Committee of *Ulamas* and pleaders, Committee to collect material regarding the property of the mosque, Committee to negotiate with Sikh leaders, Committee to interview the Deputy Commissioner and other high officials, propaganda Committee and Committee to collect funds.<sup>446</sup>

On July 03, about ten thousand persons attended a Muhammadan meeting outside Mochi Gate, Lahore, which was presided by Zafar Ali Khan. Zafar Ali and Syed Habib delivered speeches exhorting the Muslims to obey their leaders and remain peaceful at present. They declared that they would at first make every effort to affect a compromise with the Sikhs, but if these efforts failed, they would be justified in taking any action to protect the mosque.<sup>447</sup>

On July 04 a deputation of the Muslims met with the members of SGPC under the leadership of Zafar Ali Khan. He presented the Muslim case on issue of the Shaheed Ganj Mosque. Eventually, it was decided in a meeting that the Anjuman-i-Tahafaz-i-Masjid Shaheed Ganj would present the demands of Muslim through resolutions and SGPC would respond to it.<sup>448</sup> On July 05, 1935 a committee of the Muslim presented their demands before the SGPC and strongly appealed for the peaceful resolution of the Shaheed Ganj mosque issue, so that the relations of the two communities would remain cordial. However Khatrak Singh, the Sikh leader made provocative speeches in which he threatened to continue the occupation of mosque.<sup>449</sup>

The situation created by the Sikh - Muslim tension took a serious turn on July 05, 1935 when a crowd of Muslim estimated about three thousands, armed with *lathis* and bricks marched toward the Shaheed Ganj site from Badshahi Mosque after Friday congregation. When police interfered to stop them they were stoned by demonstrators, injuring several police constables.<sup>450</sup>

## Governor's Meeting with Muslim and Sikh Deputations

In view of the seriousness of the situation the Herbert Emerson (1881-1962), Governor of Punjab came to Lahore from Simla and met with the deputation of Muslim and Sikhs.

On July 06, 1935 the Governor met the Muslim deputation. The Muslims deputation traced back the origin and history of Shaheed Ganj and laid particular stress on Muslim law of *Waqf*. They explained the strong feeling that existed about this question in their community and demanded that either the building should be returned to the Muslims and if it was not possible, then it should not be used for purposes which would offend the feelings of Muslims and should be left as it was.<sup>451</sup>

Emerson explained to the Muslims deputation that the Punjab government had carefully examined the legal aspect of the case and were bound by the decisions of civil courts and it was clearly not possible for the government to go beyond their decision.<sup>452</sup> In fact the British found themselves in a difficult position, because if the principle, that a mosque converted into the *gurdwara* by the Sikhs during their rule would be restored to the Muslims, were accepted, some other *gurdwaras* also would have to be taken away from Sikhs. Besides, the British themselves had occupied some mosques and were using them for profane purposes.

On the afternoon of July 06, Governor met the Sikh deputation, which lasted for three hours. Sikhs said that there could be no talk of any compromise or settlement so long as Muslim agitation continued.<sup>453</sup> Sikhs expounded that the legal decisions gave them the right "to do what they liked with the building". The Sikhs were determined that mosque would not go back to Muslims.<sup>454</sup>

To Government, the demolition would, in present state of feeling, give great offence to other community and embitter relation between the communities. The governor observed that the 'farthest the Sikhs would go was to say that there was no intention to demolish at present, and there was a suggestion that if agitation by Muslims ceased their attitude might change'.<sup>455</sup>

The Punjab Governor once again met with Muslim deputation on July 07, 1935 and it was made clear to them that it did not hold out much hope of a settlement due to Sikh attitude.<sup>456</sup> It was mentioned as a possibility to be explored in the last resort if no other solution could be reached, the Punjab Govt. gave government land for the purpose to build mosque on the condition that Muslim were allowed themselves to do the demolition.<sup>457</sup>

The govt. did not assure Muslims that mosque would not be demolished. The governor did assure the deputation that so long as a way to a solution lay open they would take every possible effort to reach one.<sup>458</sup> Thus the parleys of governor with Muslims and Sikhs deputation failed and there was no improvement in the prevailing situation.

It was reported that when the negotiations were in progress, a prominent Sikh leader Baba Kharak Singh took oath that he himself would demolish the mosque on July 08, if the Sikh party in possession did not do as themselves.<sup>459</sup>

When the Sikh and the Muslim deputations were having talks with the governor, it became evident that although the Sikh leaders were not in favour of immediate demolition of the mosque, their more ardent followers were no longer ready to follow the advice of their leaders and the Sikh *Jathas* who arrived from Gujranwala threatened to demolish the mosque.<sup>460</sup> Large scale Muslim demonstrations, exaggerated accounts of which were reported by the Muslims press with large headlines resulted in the ingress of Sikhs into Lahore, though the authorities tried their best to stop them.<sup>461</sup>

Excitement was further increased due to the death of Sikh near Shah Almi Gate on evening of July 07, which was assumed by Sikhs that it was a case of murder. As a result Sikh leaders slowly lost control over their extreme followers which later resulted in demolition of mosque.<sup>462</sup> Consequently the fanatical group of the Sikhs commenced demolition on July 08, at about 1:00 am without waiting for the decision of SGPC.<sup>463</sup>

At that critical moment when the mosque was about to be demolished the excitement caused by Baba Kharak Singh among the Sikhs gathered inside the Shaheed Ganj "made it impossible for the Sikh leaders to keep their followers under control".<sup>464</sup> In sum, the fatal step of demolishing the mosque led to an increased agitation by the Muslims of Punjab.<sup>465</sup>

In order to monitor the press from sensitizing the issue, on 08 July, 1935 the District Magistrate Lahore had notified the publishers of all news papers in Lahore that they had to submit all articles, news items and comments of all kinds for censorship, of any kind in connection with the Shaheed Ganj affairs.<sup>466</sup>

### **Non-Participation of Ahrars**

The Muslims had many expectations from Ahrars due to their religious orientation and public sentiment demanded that Ahrars should participate in the movement for restoration of Shaheed Ganj mosque. On July 12, 1935 a meeting of Muslim leaders belonging to different schools of thought was held in the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. Key Ahrar leaders including Attaullah Shah Bakhari, Ch. Afzal Haq, Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi and Mazhar Ali Azhar attended this meeting. More than 15,000 Muslims attended the meeting. Explaining the Ahrar's point of view Attaullah Shah Bukhari announced that as a separate organization, Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Shaheed Ganj had been formed few days earlier to deal with the Shaheed Ganj affairs, therefore Ahrars considered it desirable to left the matter entirely to that body and would not interfere in the Shaheed Ganj crisis, as an organization.<sup>467</sup>

Both the steps of Ahrars whether they took part in agitation or not, were beneficial for Unionist party. When Ahrars decided for their non-participation in the agitation for restoration of mosque, Fazl-i-Hussain labeled Ahrar a responsible organization and concluded, "The Ahrars have taken a bold course and plumped right for condemning the Muslim agitation. This will make Ahrar a constitutional party and to that extent make them less irresponsible".<sup>468</sup> On one hand, Fazl-i-Hussain appreciated Ahrars absence from the agitation, on the other representatives of his own party participated in Muslim agitation, the details of which not need to be pursued here.

Categorically, if we look at the sequence of the events it seems that all was pre-planned. Since its inception, Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, due to its agitational style of politics and fire brand orators were an eye-sore for government and Fazl-i-Hussain considered them a "menace".<sup>469</sup> As elections were due in Punjab under the Government of India Act 1935, Fazl-i-Hussain was busy in re-organization of his party. Fazl-i-Hussain feared that being a mass party, it could be the formidable rival of Unionist party in Punjab. He was haunted by the threat that they would be used as a pressure group against the ruling party. In this context, an intrigue was allegedly hatched between Zafar Ali and Fazl-i-Hussain to entrap the Ahrars in the Shaheed Ganj mosque controversy, which had been a constant source of tension between Muslim and Sikhs in Punjab.<sup>470</sup>

In fact, the Unionist manipulated this religious issue to involve Ahrar into it and to seize it by offering civil disobedience.<sup>471</sup> Now it was a test case to check the political acumen and foresight of Ahrars. They had two choices; either to lead the movement against demolition of mosque or stand aloof and adopt constitutional measures in this regard. If they chose to participate in the agitation, the government could take drastic steps to crush them. If they stood aloof, there was a high risk of unpopularity amongst the Muslim masses. *Inqilab* advised the Ahrars to "come into action with their traditional glory for the restoration of mosque, while obeying law".<sup>472</sup>

Actually the Ahrars wanted to keep themselves aloof from the Shaheed Ganj agitation because they considered it impossible to restore the mosque through agitation and nothing could be achieved except bloodshed. Attaullah Shah Bukhari in one of his speeches observed that by withholding their support to the Shaheed Ganj agitation the Ahrar "had stopped civil war in the province".<sup>473</sup> It was also argued that at a time when election were ahead<sup>474</sup> they did not desire to go to jail by joining a struggle out of which Muslims were not well to emerge successful. In fact Ahrar had in sight to form a majority group in the Assembly and to form the next cabinet with the help of *Akalis* whom they did not want to annoy.<sup>475</sup>

According to CID reports, Ahmadis wanted to make capital out of the Shaheed Ganj situation and *Al-Fazal* has resumed its objectionable effort to keep the agitation alive.<sup>476</sup> Ahmadis strongly hoped that Majlis-i-Ahrar would offer sacrifices for Shaheed Ganj mosque and such an act would clear their way to move forward. But, when they sought legal help to resolve this issue, Ahmadis resorted to propagandist tactics, in the form of posters, hand bill and pamphlets to defame Majlis-i-Ahrar. According to Janbaz Mirza these pamphlets targeted Ahrar leaders with abusive and accusatory language.<sup>477</sup> Mirza Bashir-ud-Din commented on Ahrar's absence from the Shaheed Ganj agitation:

"The demolition of mosque has proved that Ahrars were false when they were opposing us [Ahmadis] and claiming to do so in the service of Islam. They don't offer sacrifices for Islam but to secure their personal interests and when they cannot achieve these ends, they even refuse to fight for the sanctity of the mosque."<sup>478</sup>

Ahrars were not unaware about the propaganda of Ahmadis regarding their non-participation in Shaheed Ganj issue. They challenged their traditional rivals in equally strong terms by visiting their areas of influence, Qadian. Moulvi Baha-ud-Din Qasmi while delivering a Friday sermon in Qadian said that if Ahmadis were genuine they should start an agitation in connection with the local *gurdwara*, which was formerly a mosque. Quoting from the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's writing, he said that when the Sikhs invaded Qadian, they converted many mosques into *gurdwaras*. If the Ahmadis refused to attempt to regain the local *gurdwara* it was clear that their attitude on the Shaheed Ganj agitation was purely artificial and directed against the Ahrars.<sup>479</sup>

It was also reported by Sir Herbert Emerson that he had received information which suggested that the Ahmadis were taking a hand in the Shaheed Ganj agitation, and that this was being done deliberately owing to the personal grievance, which the head of the Ahmadis was cherishing against the governor for the action which the Punjab government had taken from time to time regarding Ahrar - Ahmadi controversy.<sup>480</sup> The head of community Mirza Bashir-ud-Din hoped that by making things as difficult as possible he might be able to gratify his personal animosity by discrediting Sir Herbert Emerson's share in handling the situation in Lahore during the Shaheed Ganj agitation.<sup>481</sup>

## Formation of Ittehad-i-Millat

After the demolition of Shaheed Ganj, a wave of unrest gripped the Muslims and the law and order situation was in jeopardy. So as to placate the agitating Muslims and to dissuade them from the lawless behaviour a press communiqué was issued on July 13 that the Punjab Government has decided to hand the Shah Chirag Mosque to the Muslim community through the Anjuman-i-Islamia.<sup>482</sup>

Very next day on July 14, 1935, Zafar Ali addressed a public meeting of fifteen thousand persons. As mentioned earlier that Majlis-i-Ahrar kept it aloof from the agitation, therefore Zafar Ali<sup>483</sup> defected from it and launched Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat and raised a volunteer force "*Neeliposh*" to fight for the Shaheed Ganj mosque.<sup>484</sup>

Zafar Ali thanked the government for his decision of handing over Shah Chirag Mosque but expressed the views that the government action could not deflect Muslims from their demands for the site of demolished Shaheed Ganj mosque.<sup>485</sup>

On the night of July 14, 1935 government has interned under section 3 of Punjab Criminal Law (amendment) Act 1932, Zafar Ali Khan, Sayed Habib, Malik Lal Khan and Feroz-ud-Din Ahmad due to involvement in agitational activities,<sup>486</sup> and government has forbade all public meetings in Lahore.<sup>487</sup>

## Second Phase of Agitation

In the absence of first-rate leadership and ban on meetings the strategy of agitation in Lahore was changed. Now the bands of Muslims of five each were sent to proceed to Shaheed Ganj and offered arrest. At a private meeting of the Anjuman Tahaffaz-i-Shaheed Ganj, in the office of *Zamindar* it was decided that efforts should be continued to offer persons for arrest until July 27, when a meeting of prominent Muslims would be held in Lahore to decide the future line of action.<sup>488</sup>

On July 17, 1935, on the invitation of Punjab government, the thirty-two non-official members of PLC attended a conference at council chambers which was presided by Governor Sir Herbert Emerson. Agenda of the meeting was restoration of harmony and good will in the province. The members asserted that for restoring



harmony and good will, we would ourselves individually and collectively do every thing, which was within our power and to explore venue of reconciliation between Sikhs and Muslims on Shaheed Ganj issue. They appealed all the communities "to abstain from acts which may prejudice the maintenance of peace".<sup>489</sup> Governor while talking to members clarified that no help or encouragement was given by govt. to the Sikhs to take the course which they deem fit to take.<sup>490</sup>

Since July 19 the situation grew more tense when in a public meeting Muslims decided to violate the order under section 144 Cr.P.C and started processions toward the Shaheed Ganj.<sup>491</sup> Due to result of encounters with crowd on July 20 and 21, 1935, fifteen Muslims were reported killed by District Magistrate.<sup>492</sup> To stop the influx of Muslims bands from other cities, necessary steps were taken by the government. Gurkha military police was called from Bihar, Orissa, Delhi and United Provinces to keep law and order.<sup>493</sup> Four companies of British troops were also deployed to check the Muslim agitation.<sup>494</sup>

A Muslim deputation comprising K.B. Ch. Shahab-ud-Din, Mian Abdul Aziz, Sh. Amjad Ali, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Mian Amir-ud-Din, K.B. Nawab M. Hayat Qureshi MLC, Syed Mubarak Ali Shah MLC, K. B. Malik M. Amin, MLC and Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdoot met the governor on July 21, 1935, to discuss the situation.<sup>495</sup>

Ch. Shahab-ud-Din suggested to the Govt. that under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, take possession of mosque for two months and deny access to Muslims and Sikhs. By doing this, time would be obtained for soothing the Muslim feeling. It would be possible then to persuade the Muslims that they had no legal claims to the mosque.<sup>496</sup> The members of delegation regretted, that incident of firing would delineate the sympathies of all Muslims.<sup>497</sup> Governor while giving his arguments in favour of firing said that it was not possible and practicable measure to disperse a crowd by *lathi* charges which persisted in re-assembling.<sup>498</sup> The Muslim deputation agreed with the governor that to control the situation "bands of Muslims should not be allowed to come into Lahore from outside"<sup>499</sup> However they failed to convince the governor that the Sikhs had acted unreasonably. F.K. Noon wrote to

Fazl-i-Hussain that "he was helpless because the Governor was cowed by the Sikhs and refused to listen to the Muslim claims".<sup>500</sup>

Various political parties and groups showed their concern over the incident of firing. The PPML has appointed an enquiry committee comprising Sh. M. Sadiq MLC as president, Ghulam Rasool as General Secretary and Malik Barkat Ali and Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din as members to enquire into the firing on the Muslim on July 20 and 21 and also to ascertain the number of persons killed in the incident.<sup>501</sup> In a resolution passed by PPML council on July 25, 1935, the council strongly condemned the demolishing of the mosque, and recorded its deepest regret that the authorities did not stop the demolition of the mosque. They further resolved that the firing against peaceful and unarmed Muslim crowd was unjustified, excessive and inhuman.

PPML considered it imperative that a Muslim *Auqaf* Act in accordance with the dictates of the *Shariat* be passed with out any loss of time, and call upon the Muslim members of the PLC to take necessary action in this regard.<sup>502</sup>

Similarly Muslim press strongly condemned the act of firing upon the Muslim. The wording used was so telling that resolution adopted at the meeting of Muslim press Lahore on July 31, 1935 at the office of *Siyasat* Lahore were not allowed by the censor to be cabled. It was resolved that firing on unarmed and peaceful demonstrators was wholly uncalled for and shots were deliberately directed at vital parts. They dubbed shooting by British as "jolly man hunt" and demanded for a public inquiry. They asserted that dispersal of masses could have been easily effected by other humane methods.<sup>503</sup>

### **Rawalpindi Conference**

A conference of sixty Muslim delegates was held on Sep. 01, 1935 at Rawalpindi to think over the practical measures for the restoration of mosque.<sup>504</sup> Ahrars were not invited in that meeting.<sup>505</sup> On that occasion Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, (1888-1963) urged the Muslim to get united and elect one *Amir* in order to achieve their objectives in regard to Shaheed Ganj.<sup>506</sup> Consequently Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah (1841-1951) was unanimously elected to the position of *Amir-i-Millat* and Maulvi Muhammad Ishaq as its *Naib*.<sup>507</sup>

On Sep. 27, 1935 a delegation of Muslim members of the Central Legislature met with viceroy and presented a memorandum and discussed with him for an amicable settlement of the Shaheed Ganj Dispute.<sup>508</sup> They demanded the release of all prisoners, the grant of suitable relief to the families of the person killed and seriously wounded; the maintenance of the status quo at the site of the mosque.<sup>509</sup>

They also demanded the government to introduce legislation or accord in respect of a mosque of the property of a *waqf*, could never be claimed in future and cancellation of the orders of forfeiture of the securities of the *Ehsan*, *Zamindar* and *Siyasat* for articles and notes published in connection with Shaheed Ganj affairs.<sup>510</sup> However, this meeting brought no change in the situation. Meanwhile the Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat decided to observe the second Shaheed Ganj day on Nov. 8, 1935.<sup>511</sup>

According to the decisions of the Rawalpindi conference, on September 20, 1935 the Muslims observed the Shaheed Ganj day and the tension prevailed every where in the Punjab. To ease the situation, Maulana Shaukat Ali invited Master Tara Singh to negotiate on the issue.<sup>512</sup> The leaders of the two communities met at Amritser on Oct. 03, 1935, but the joint efforts failed to create cordial relationship between the two communities. On Oct. 23, 1935, communal riots broke out between Muslim and the Sikhs. In view of this crucial situation, Pir Jama'at Ali Shah convened a joint conference of Muslim Leaders<sup>513</sup> and *Ulamas* at Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall, Lahore on November 09, 1935. The conference was attended by prominent Muslim leaders who resolved to enlist ten lakh of volunteers and to raise a fund to vindicate the Muslim right in Shaheed Ganj.<sup>514</sup>

To chalk out the future programme a private meeting of the Advisory committee of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat comprising Muhammad Iqbal, Malik Lal Khan, Syed Habib, Feroz-ud-din Ahmad, Prof. Inayatullah, Dr. M. Alam, Farrukh Hussain, Hafiz Me'raj-ud-Din, Syed Inayat Shah and Khalid Latif Gauba was held at Barkat Ali Muhammad hall in evening of November 10, 1935, under the presidentship of Syed Jama'at Ali Shah. The question of inauguration of a civil disobedience movement was discussed but taking a final decision on the future programme of action was postponed until January 9, 1936.<sup>515</sup>

Over the issue of civil disobedience movement a split occurred in the ranks of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat. Extremists led by Amin-ud-Din Sahrai and Haji Ghulam Jilani demanded an immediate start of civil disobedience but Jama'at Ali Shah was against it. He was in favour of legal solution of the problem because he thought that it would result in the loss of innocent lives, as already many innocent Muslim had been killed.<sup>516</sup> He diverted his energies to the economic boycott of Hindus and Sikhs as he asked the Muslim to start "buy Muslim campaign".<sup>517</sup>

From January 17-19, 1936 Ittehad-i-Millat conference was held. Winding up the conference Pir Syed Jama'at Ali Shah exhorted the Muslims of India to render all possible assistance to the central Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat and to discharge a national duty by collecting funds and enlisting volunteers so that the Majlis became an organized and strong body.<sup>518</sup>

Nevertheless the Shaheed Ganj movement under the leadership of Jama'at Ali Shah failed to achieve its aims. Jama'at Ali was criticized by Ahrars<sup>519</sup> due to his pro-government stance<sup>520</sup> and he also faced a covert pressure by the government due to which he left for *Hajj*.<sup>521</sup> His half heartedly measures did not organize the agitators effectively,<sup>522</sup> due to which the movement nearly collapsed.

### **Arbitration of Jinnah**

During late thirties Punjab was ruled by a pre-dominantly Muslim party but it was hardly capable of giving a lead to the Muslim on a purely communal line. When the Shaheed Ganj issue comes into prominence, the Key Unionist Fazl-i-Hussain was taking rest at Abbottabad in seclusion. Fazl-i-Hussain was totally against restoration of Shaheed Ganj mosque movement. On July 12, 1935 the note about Shaheed Ganj agitation in the diary of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain reads, "nothing could come out of it excepts a few murders, a few hung and imprisoned, and general bitterness".<sup>523</sup> He was against the option of civil disobedience movement and considered that direct action was not the right course to adopt.<sup>524</sup> In sum, he was not in a position or mood to play any conciliatory role over the issue of Shaheed Ganj.

Another keynote politician Jawahar Lal Nehru when visited the Punjab, was approached by Zafar Ali Khan. He requested him to act as arbitrator between the two communities on the Shaheed Ganj issue, but he plainly refused.<sup>525</sup>

In these circumstances, K.L Gauba,<sup>526</sup> a member of the Central Legislature from Punjab, appealed to Jinnah to arbitrate in the matter.<sup>527</sup> His view was also shared by some Muslim members of the Unionist party.<sup>528</sup> The *Amir* of Khaksar Tehrik, Inayatullah Mashriqi, also sent a telegram to Jinnah and requested him to intervene "in order to give the right kind of lead to the Muslims".<sup>529</sup> The governor of Punjab also requested Jinnah to visit Lahore and conveyed his message through Henry Craik, a member of Viceroy's Executive Council.<sup>530</sup> The governor invited Jinnah because he was well aware of the fact that Fazl-i-Hussain was least popular in urban Muslims and he completely kept himself aloof from the Shaheed Ganj issue. Muslim masses of Lahore also disliked him because of his close relations with Zafarullah who was a staunch Ahmadi. In fact, for Jinnah this was the best opportunity not only to build up his own image in Punjab politics but also revive and consolidate PPML.

On Feb. 14, 1936, in a private meeting at Badshahi Mosque Lahore, K.L. Gauba MLA announced that Jinnah had accepted an invitation to visit Lahore in the near future with the objects of affecting a settlement of the Shaheed Ganj dispute on condition that the present civil disobedience movement was suspended.<sup>531</sup>

Jinnah reached Lahore on Feb. 21, 1936 and was given a rousing reception by five thousands Muslim at railway station. Talking with the correspondent of Associated Press, Jinnah declared that he had not come to Lahore in a partisan spirit but his "task is purely that of a conciliator and peacemaker".<sup>532</sup> Addressing a gathering of about fifty thousand Muslims in Badshahi Mosque on afternoon of February 21, 1936 Malik Inayatullah, the dictator of the Muslim civil disobedience movement, after welcoming Jinnah, announced that in obedience to his instructions he had suspended the movement but not permanently abandoned it. The movement would be abandoned only when Jinnah would bring us the order accepting our demands.<sup>533</sup> In his speech, Jinnah requested the Muslim community to stop the civil disobedience movement and behave as an organized and disciplined community and

“maintain a helpful attitude and do nothing which may hurt the feelings of other communities”.<sup>534</sup>

On very next day Jinnah met the leaders of both communities and the governor.<sup>535</sup> He also visited the site of Shaheed Ganj accompanied by Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Harnam Singh Advocate.<sup>536</sup> He also met Tara Singh and others and had prolonged conversation with them for about three and a half hours.<sup>537</sup> On Feb. 24, 1936 the leading members of Unionist party in Punjab Council met Jinnah in the office of Feroz Khan Noon, the Education Minister and expressed their confidence in him and promised for every help.<sup>538</sup>

Jinnah stayed in Lahore till March 07, 1936 but could not succeed in bringing about a permanent solution between the two communities but it certainly raised Jinnah's standing tremendously.<sup>539</sup> Before his departure Jinnah said that his negotiations with Sikh leaders and Muslims leaders had clearly brought out on both sides and there was a genuine and sincere desire for an honourable understanding and settlement. Referring to various suggestions and proposals he added:

“In order to consider various proposals and counter proposal it is not only necessary to maintain a calm and peaceful atmosphere, but they require examination and adjustment so that both communities satisfied with any ultimate agreement that may be involved”.<sup>540</sup>

Before his departure, Jinnah formulated a committee comprising Mahammad Iqbal, Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri, Mian Abdul Aziz Advocate, Raja Narendra Nath, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Pindat Nanak Chand and Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana so that further steps would be taken to resolve the issue of Shaheed Ganj.<sup>541</sup> When he left Lahore, besides other, Ch. Afzal Haq and Mazhar Ali Azhar represented Ahrars to see off him.<sup>542</sup> Though Jinnah was not successful in reconciling the differences between Muslims and Sikhs, however his visit had given some relief to the Muslims, as the governor decided to release the leaders of the agitation subject to their promise that they would fight their case on legal grounds. In the first week of March 1936, the movement ultimately seemed to have lost its momentum.

## Final Phase of Agitation

In late 1930's another spell of agitation was started on Shaheed Ganj issue. In 1936 the issue was abandoned due to the facilitation of Jinnah. Though the matter was not solved but it was timely subsided. For the first half of 1937 the election campaign eclipsed the Shaheed Ganj issue and its agitation. As a result of elections the Unionist government was established and after signing Sikandar Jinnah pact, both Muslim League and Unionist party became coalition partners in October 1937 at a special session of Muslim League at Luknow. In that particular session the Muslim League has expressed itself strongly in favour of the return of the Shaheed Ganj site to the Muslims and passed a strongly worded resolution condemning the demolition of mosque as a most intolerable interference with the law of Islam and the British govt. was called upon to restore the mosque to its original condition.<sup>543</sup>

Sikandar Hayat, the premier of the Punjab, later declared that his adherence to the Muslim League did not effect in any way the policy of the Unionist party govt., and that he would continue to support the line hither to taken by govt. with regard to Shaheed Ganj dispute.<sup>544</sup>

In the close of 1937, Majlis-i-Ahrar which was so long dissociated from the Shaheed Ganj agitation, recharged the agitation for the restoration of site of Shaheed Ganj Mosque. With the object of embarrassing the government, Ahrars have been sending five volunteers daily to the Shaheed Ganj site to court imprisonment. As hinted before that in 1936 after Jinnah's facilitation the matter was again taken to district court. Malik Barkat Ali and Dr. M. Alam were pleading the case. The Muslims claimed that according to *Shariah*, a place specified for a mosque always maintains that status. So, no one can occupy that place and deny the right of prayer to Muslims there. This petition was dismissed on May 25, 1936.<sup>545</sup> The petition was filed in the high court after consulting with Iqbal. Jinnah was requested to plead the case but he excused himself from this request by saying that he had already served as an arbitrator to resolve this issue, now he could not be a party to this law suit. So, Malik Barkat Ali pleaded the case alone. The court after hearing the arguments of either side reserved the judgment. Some how, it leaked that decision was against the

Muslims. Majlis-i-Ahrar and Majlis-i-Ittehad once again threatened to launch an agitation against the decision.<sup>546</sup>

On January 26, 1938, Punjab high court rejected the petition of Muslims. Full bench comprised of Chief Justice Mr. Young, Mr. Justice Murroe and Mr. Justice Din Muhammad. The first two judges held that the personal laws of the Muhammadan had been modified by the Punjab Act and the Limitation Act, so the right of the Muslims to prayer in the Shaheed Ganj mosque had been annulled.<sup>547</sup> However, Justice Din Muhammad in his differential note wrote that the demolition of the mosque by Sikhs, gave a valid cause for action both to the institution and its beneficiaries from seeking legal redress. He further held that a mosque once dedicated could never be treated as private property by any human being and all proprietary rights of men were extinguished. He further expounded that the mosque was outside the jurisdiction of Limitation Act and held that British courts in India could not ignore the Muhammadan law in this regard.<sup>548</sup>

The decision of High Court generally disappointed the Muslim India. When the appeal was dismissed, Zafar Ali Khan discussed with Iqbal for further action. Iqbal suggested to launch an agitative movement. He was of the view that such an act might or might not get them back the mosque but one thing would be crystallized that Muslims had the capabilities to demonstrate for their rights.<sup>549</sup>

The Muslims protests intimidated Sikandar Hayat who feared that the situation might grow out of control. He made an attempt to get a news statement issue from Iqbal that there remained the chance to appeal in the Privy Council for the resolution of this issue, so Muslims must not lose hope. A delegation consisting of Mian Amir-ud-Din, Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Nawab of Mamdot met Iqbal in this regard, but, he flatly refused to do so.<sup>550</sup> Any how, such a statement was issued and falsely attributed to Iqbal, however he immediately disowned such a statement.<sup>551</sup>

In an important private meeting of Majlis-i-Ahrar held at Lahore on November 18, 1937, attended by Mazhar Ali Azhar, Ch. Afzal Haq, Attaullah Shah Bukhari and Daud Ghaznavi, it was decided to launch the civil disobedience movement for the restoration of Shaheed Ganj Mosque.<sup>552</sup> In the beginning they received little sympathy



from other Muslims as it was recognized that their motives were political i.e. to topple the govt. and embarrass the ministry but immediately after the judgment of the Punjab High Court in January 1936 it gained momentum.<sup>553</sup> Later Ittehad-i-Millat also joined the civil disobedience campaign. Its two well-known members Maula Buksh and Sufi Inayat joined Majlis-i-Ahrar to promote the Shaheed Ganj Agitation.<sup>554</sup>

Throughout January 1938, civil disobedience movement to secure the recovery of Shaheed Ganj mosque continued unabated. The Sikh leaders as Tara Singh and Kartar Singh, insisted the INC to criticize the Ahrars; as both were allies. Nehru disapproved the Ahrar agitation,<sup>555</sup> but it continued.<sup>556</sup>

In fact the INC was unfriendly toward Sikandar. Although the INC did not support the Ahrar against the Sikhs but, it was surely with the Ahrars as far as toppling the Sikandar ministry was concerned. INC supported the Ahrar's attempts to oust the ministry by whatever means.<sup>557</sup>

### **Muslim Mosque Protection Bill**

In the meantime, Malik Barkat Ali at the instance and under the guidance of Allama Iqbal,<sup>558</sup> drafted a bill the Punjab Muslim Mosque Protection Bill, 1938 and gave a notice in early February 1938 for moving this bill in the Punjab Assembly.<sup>559</sup> The passing of this bill would have overridden the judgment of the court and transferred the Shaheed Ganj mosque and many other buildings now in Sikh or Hindu occupation to the Muslims.<sup>560</sup>

With the help of Majlis-i-Ahrar and Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, Barkat Ali was able to secure the support of twenty-four members of Assembly who had so far put in motions for leave to introduce a bill in the same terms as that sponsored by Barkat Ali.<sup>561</sup>

A meeting regarding Muslim Mosque Protection Bill was held on Feb. 25, 27 and 28 at Lahore. K.L.Gauba, Syed Habib, Muhammad Abdul Hannan, Professor Inayatullah and Amin-ud-Din Sehrai urged the Muslims members to support the bill which Barkat Ali intended to introduce in the assembly.<sup>562</sup> On Feb. 27, 1938 Barkat Ali said that in case the bill was not entertained in the provincial assembly, there

could be a 'revolution in the country' and the government would find it difficult to suppress the rebellion with which it could be confronted.<sup>563</sup>

Addressing a large gathering of ten thousand workers of Ahrars, Ittehad-i-Millat and Muslim League, Barkat Ali in his speech said that it was advisable for the government not to stand in the way of bill. If his Excellency disallowed the bill, it would be the religious duty of every Muslim member of Punjab Legislative Assembly to vacate the treasury benches and to create such an 'ugly situation' that it would be difficult for the government to control.<sup>564</sup>

Sikandar Hayat in his speech in Punjab Assembly declared that Malik Barkat Ali's bill as drafted cannot be introduced without the sanction of the governor under section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935. He gave two main arguments: First, if the non-Muslims claimed similar immunity for their places of worship in the Punjab which had passed out of their hands into Muslim possessions, it would not be logical to resist such a request in untoward consequences and bitterness, unless that Muslims agree to part with such places which were not less sacred than any other place of Muslim worship.<sup>565</sup> Second, introduction of such a bill in the Punjab, with the consent of his ministry, would provoke similar bills in those provinces where the non-Muslim were in majority, for the restoration of many historic and important places of worship originally belonging to non-Muslims, but now in Muslim possession.<sup>566</sup>

On March 17, 1938 Malik Barkat Ali responded to the speech of Sikandar in Punjab Legislative Assembly and in his statement maintained that Shaheed Ganj question could only be solved if the Punjab Legislative Assembly was prepared to take a bold step in this direction.<sup>567</sup> He said that the argument made by govt. that the Muslims would have to return the temples and *gurdwaras* at present in their possession was entirely fallacious as no such property had come into the possession of Muslim in India since the advent of British rule. He urged upon the Muslims to continue their agitation and to bring pressure to bear upon the Muslim members of Punjab Legislative Assembly to continue to fight for the bill.<sup>568</sup>

Towards the end of March most of the Ahrar leaders expressed their opinion that the civil disobedience should be suspended to give an opportunity to the Sikandar Hayat to come to an honourable agreement with the Sikks.<sup>569</sup>

Mazhar Ali Azhar in his statement of April 01, 1938 said that the viewpoint held by Ahrars for the last two and a half years had been proved correct and that the Ahrars had started the civil disobedience movement to help the AIML in its efforts to achieve the restoration of Shaheed Ganj mosque. He further declared that the Ahrars were prepared to abandon the civil disobedience movement if Sikandar Hayat asked them to do so.<sup>570</sup> If the premier did not make a specific request for the suspension of civil disobedience movement, the Ahrar would continue their agitation till the special session of AIML at Calcutta and act in accordance with the decision of the League.<sup>571</sup>

Most probably the Ahrar having exhausted their resources, could not provide more *jathas* and were trying to manage escape. They fully knew that Jinnah would not stand for extra-constitutional methods at the Calcutta session of League.<sup>572</sup> This way they would get an excuse to terminate this movement in a proper way.

At the Calcutta session AIML passed a resolution on April 18, 1938, to assure Sikandar Hayat of its full cooperation in view of the fact that the Punjab government was adopting every means for arriving at an honourable settlement of the Shaheed Ganj problem "and appeals to Muslims to create and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in order to facilitate that settlement".<sup>573</sup>

On May 21 and 24, Majlis-i-Ahrar and Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat both suspended the civil disobedience movement in view of the League resolution, and agitation in its active form came to an end.<sup>574</sup> By April 21, 1012 people were arrested in Lahore, of them 739 were Ahrars and 273 belonged to Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat.<sup>575</sup> On June 21, Punjab government ordered for unconditional release of arrested since December 17, 1937.<sup>576</sup> Later the Privy council in its judgment in May 1940 also upheld the previous judgments.

This remains a fact and no historian can ignore this that rift between Zafar Ali Khan and Ahrar leaders did a considerable damage to middle class leadership in

Punjab and in this way Unionist Party and privileged land lords got an opportunity to fortify their position in the Punjab. Provided that various Muslims groups joined hands regarding the Shaheed Ganj movement, it might not build a pressure against the Unionist ministry but also shook the foundation of British *Raj*, as it was jolted during Kashmir agitational movement.

## MAJLIS-I-AHRAR IN RETROSPECT

Ahrars ability to mobilize the masses reached its zenith in the politics of the decade of 1930's. Their fiery speakers and street power produced such a breed of politically conscious and mentally agitative individuals who later on played vital roles in the Pakistan movement. Their dynamic political workers dispelled fear of the exploitative groups from the minds of the masses, and they became vocal in their expressions.

In fact the Ahrari leaders surely knew the techniques to catch the mass attraction and their orators had a 'knack of rousing the masses'.<sup>577</sup> They could instill in people's minds hatred against the British even in those Punjabi areas which were supposed to breed only toadies of the Britishers.<sup>578</sup>

The reactionary and agitational politics of Ahrars instill in people's mind hatred against the British and it grew stronger till the end of 1940's. But after the adoption of Pakistan resolution, the Muslims became unmindful of Ahrars, even Congress opted to keep aloof from them. According to Shorash Kashmiri, "Ahrars were politically sidelined when the time was ripe to enjoy the fruit after a hard and long day's toil".<sup>579</sup>

Majlis-i-Ahrar as a 'movement' played an important role in every important issue regarding Muslim masses, and showed its strength through its agitative politics but it did not pay any attention to strengthen itself as an 'organization'. It inculcated in people the fundamentals of Islamic faith but as an 'organization' it did not take into consideration the economic and social problems of the people. It excelled in the art of mobilizing the people for demonstrations but did not know the techniques to mobilize any popular scheme. All this led to its decline, as K.K. Aziz concluded, 'the

Ahrars were particularly successful in creating restlessness among the rustic masses but failed to provide a constructive lead".<sup>580</sup> Lack of effective organization, frequent arrest of leadership, insufficient financial resources, lack of co-ordination and inconsistent political behaviour all act as catalysts to the process of its fall.

Though Ahrars have no set planning, in spite of that they wielded considerable influence and proved itself a major rival force against the PNUP. However Ahrars suffered a lot due to confrontation with Unionists who had not only adopted strict measures to deal with them and also had political expertise coupled with sophisticated administrative machinery to tackle them.

Being shrewd and experienced political actors, Fazl-i-Hussain and Sikandar Hayat both, kept Ahrars involved in a variety of fronts and cleverly exploited differences between Ahrar leadership.<sup>581</sup> Unionists successfully maneuvered to fan the differences between Majlis-i-Ahrar and Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat for their vested interests.

Ahrars were not consistent in their policies; some times they joined the camp of INC and sometimes adopted an independent course. However during the maximum period of thirties and forties, Ahrars more or less gave the appearance of a Muslim wing of Hindu congress. Like INC, it also opposed the formation of Pakistan and considered partition as "vivisection of the country".<sup>582</sup> To Ahrars, AIML was coterie of Knights, Khan Bahadurs and Nawabs.<sup>583</sup> They were also vocal in the expression of their anti-Pakistan sentiments and used derogatory language against Jinnah. Ataulah Shah Bukhari criticized the leadership of League oftentimes and considered Jinnah as the biggest obstacle in the way of India's freedom.<sup>584</sup> However in late 1940's some Ahrars drifted them away from anti-Pakistan policy and supported the Pakistan movement.<sup>585</sup> During his last day, Ch. Afzal Haq warned the Ahrars, not to oppose the idea of Pakistan as it was appeal of the oppressed people but they did not pay heed to it because of their tilt towards impulsive and emotional politics.<sup>586</sup>

The difference between League and Ahrar programme lies in the fact, that the Ahrars aims at the political solidarity and integrity of Indian Muslims and claim for

them an independent place in a future India where they will be free to develop according to the best traditions of Islam.<sup>587</sup> However Ahrars fail to understand that without the political emancipation of Muslims as an independent and sovereign nation, they cannot put their programme into practice.

No doubt, internal fissures were present in the ranks of Ahrars, yet their anti-British posture kept them together. Ahrars took their war against British not just as something temporary or emotional but they supposed it quite natural because they thought, as Muslims, it was their inborn right to rebel against the Britishers.<sup>588</sup> While making speeches, Ahrari speakers claimed to even shed their bloods against the British usurpers and their volunteers used to keep axes with them. For these reasons it was looked as a militant body. In practical its militancy was limited to emotional agitational speeches and at no stage, it ever advocated forceful over throw of the British regime in India. Even during Kashmir agitation, the Ahrari *Jathas* merely courted their arrest and did not confront with Dogra army.

There is an unbridgeable gap between the ideas of Iqbal and those of Majlis-i-Ahrar and this gap was so wide in some matters that Iqbal had to publicly explain his position. Iqbal did not feel any reluctance to support Ahrars wherever he found them in the interest of the Muslim community. Whether it was anti-Ahmadiyya movement or demonstrations in Kashmir, there was complete consonance between Iqbal and Ahrars. But when the question of 'nation and nationalism' came under discussion, Iqbal despite his illness disproved the position of Ahrars and Hussain Ahmad Madani on that issue. In one of his private discourses Iqbal said.

“Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Khawaja Abdul Rahman and such other workers deserve my sympathy. Their views on various questions may not match with mine but it would be injustice if their good deeds are not appreciated. They contributed in the plans of national interest quite selflessly”.<sup>589</sup>

It seems that the common stand of Ahrars and Iqbal on the issue of Kashmir fetched them closer and closer. In fact, on the issue of Kashmir, the interests of both coincided. If Iqbal had a love for Kashmir being his native land and desired to work for the betterment of Muslims, Ahrars dared to go to the jails for their Kashmiri Muslim brethren.

The bond between Iqbal and Ahrars was more cemented when both of them took an identical position on the question of the expulsion of Ahmadis from AIKC. Ahrars were fully aware with the thesis of Ghulam Ahmad regarding the Jesus that he died a natural death in Srinagar and was buried there. Secondly, they could predict the dangerous results of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din's growing manipulation of the people and leaders of Kashmir. Iqbal closely observed the Ahmadiyya's attitude during working of AIKC and came to know that Ahmadis joined that Committee for their vested interests. And they were more loyal to their religious leader than to the recommendations of Committee. This led him to the dissolution of AIKC and resignation from the president ship of it. Later he constituted a new AIKC, which did not include Ahmadis. The confrontation with Ahmadis exhausted the Ahrar's energies. But it proved quite productive for Muslim *Ummah* as it created awareness regarding the Ahmadi problem. Prior to that common Muslim took Ahmadis as a sect of Muslims but Ahrar's campaign made the people realize the fact that Ahmadis were out of the pale of Islam. In this connection, Iqbal also contributed a lot with his scholarly writings.

Fazl-i-Hussain had a soft corner for Ahmadism, he took Iqbal and Ahrars anti-Ahmadiyya posture as an inward threat for Muslim *Ummah*. He was a staunch opponent of Ahrars and he did not value Muslim public opinion on the question of Sir Zafarullah's membership in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

During Ahrars anti-Ahmadiyya movement, in 1935, Nehru through his essays and governor Punjab Sir Herbert Emerson through his speeches, made appeal to Muslims to be tolerant toward Ahmadism. This stirred Iqbal to action and he supported Ahrar's movement because of its sound ideological footing. He termed Ahmadism as a continuity of pre-Magian cultures and a Jewish machination. He vociferously claimed that Ahmadis were a political necessity of the British government to undermine the orthodox teachings and beliefs of Indian Muslims.

Ahmadis time and again repeated their accusation that Iqbal had been maintaining a positive stance towards them for the last twenty-five years and now had changed his position only at the instigation of Ahrars. An objective analysis would reveal that Ahmadiyya accusations were not founded on solid basis. Actually, Iqbal's

liaison with them in the AIKC had brought him disillusionment about their performance as an organization. On the other hand Ahrars, who were the traditional rivals of Ahmadis also approached Iqbal for his support against them. It might be possible that conformity of views had brought Iqbal closer to Ahrars against Ahmadis because such a situation was conducive to their integration. Anyhow, this would be contrary to facts and not more than an accusation that Iqbal was not able to form his own opinion on these issues.

Iqbal was fully aware of the fact that PNUP under the leadership of Fazl-i-Hussain, was a reality and had been performing its role in the politics for the last twenty years. He also knew that Jinnah's assumption of the leadership of AIML and his efforts to reactivate it in Punjab would not bear fruit until other main political parties of Punjab co-operate with League to face the onslaught of Unionists. In this context, Iqbal got Majlis-i-Ahrar and Ittehad-i-Millat, co-opted in League Parliamentary Board, so that they could be propped up against Unionists. Through at later stages both these parties seceded from the League's Board for different reasons but we can state it with conviction that Iqbal supported Ahrars neither under any force nor under any emotional imbalance but he did so after calculating the whole situation, which demanded unity among Muslim parties to protect the interests of Muslim community.

This remains a fact that Majlis-i-Ahrar consisted of those nationalist *Ulamas* who valued such political ideas which linked them to INC. Ahrars openly opposed Jinnah and AIML and were against the partition of India. This stance of Ahrar was an absolute rejection of Iqbal's concept of separate homeland for Muslims, the details of which do not need to be pursued here. Iqbal strongly challenged and refuted Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's<sup>590</sup> thesis regarding nationalism and nation, in the same way he had opposed Ahmadis and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on the issue of the finality of Prophethood. He writes:

"The truth is that in the mind of Maulana Hussain Ahmad and others who think like him, the conception of nationalism in a way has the same place which the rejection of the Finality of the Holy Prophet has in the minds of Qadianis. The upholders of the idea of nationalism, in other words, say that, in view of the present day needs, it is necessary for the Muslim community to



take up a position in addition to what the divine law has prescribed and defined for them for all time to come, in the same way in which the Qadiani view, by inventing a new Prophethood, directs the Qadiani thought into channel which ultimately leads to the denial of the perfection and consummation of prophet hood in Muhammad. *Prima face* nationalism is a political concept, while the Qadiani denial of the Finality of Muhammad is a theological question, but between the two there exists a deep inner relationship which can be clearly demonstrated only when a Muslim historian gifted with acute insight compiles a history of Indian Muslims with particular reference to the religious thought of some of their apparently energetic sects".<sup>591</sup>

In fact, if Iqbal was afraid of Ahrars he would not present such types of views, in which he bluntly refuted their political ideology. Unlike Iqbal, Ahrars political theory was not democratic; rather it was autocratic in nature. On the contrary, Iqbal believes in democratic theory and co-existence of nations. Iqbal believed that Muslims should be free to live according to the teachings of Islam in areas where they were in majority and Hindus had the right to govern where they enjoyed such a status. No doubt, Ahrars kindled in the masses the zeal for liberty through their movements and laid the foundation of anti-imperialism, but the claims of Ahrar to rule over entire India seemed medieval. Because of these ideological differences there always remained a chasm between Ahrars and Iqbal and that divergence lasted.

## Chapter IV

# IQBAL AND THE KHAKSARS

### FORMATION OF KHAKSAR TEHRIK

The decade of 1920 was marked with the growing estrangement of Hindus and Muslims in general and League and Congress in particular, which ultimately resulted in the partition of sub-continent. The untimely decision of Gandhi to call off the non-cooperation movement sowed the seeds of miss-trust between the Hindus and Muslim masses. A series of unprecedented communal riots started in India, as a result of which Muslims had to bear mortal and material damage and they were in complete disarray. The religio-political environment of India was further polluted, when Arya Samaj launched the biased and fanatic movements of *Shuddi* and *Sangathan*, aimed at conversion of Muslims to Hinduism and to organize Hindus on military lines.

Some political circles started unity conferences, which did not prove fruitful. For the betterment of communal situation, Jinnah, despite of opposition of Muslim leadership, came forward with his 'Delhi Proposals' in March 1927. Although the immediate reaction of INC to these proposals was favourable, the ultimate outcome, in the form of 'Nehru Report', shocked the Muslims. Congress not only rejected the genuine Muslim demands but also reverted back from the settled issues, finalized in Lucknow Pact. Muslim leaders bitterly criticized this policy and a wave of anger prevailed among the masses, which further widened the political gulf between the League and the Congress.

In late twenties Muslims were divided into different small groups. Even AIML fell prey to factionalism and due to absence of common stand, it had been splitting off into Calcutta League and Lahore League. On provincial level, different Muslim political parties, keeping in view the local politics, were working in their limited sphere of influence. Not a single party was there to face the challenges and onslaught of INC and growing Hindu influences.<sup>1</sup> However, Muslims reached on the consensus that 'self-government' under the Congress, would mean independence only for Hindus, and Muslim will be given secondary status in independent India. Keeping this fact in view, Muslims kept themselves aloof from *Sawaraj* movement of INC.

Mashriqi was a keen observer of the Muslim politics during 1920's. When *Khilafat* and *Hijrat* movements were at their full swing, he was posted in Government High School, Peshawar as Headmaster. Though he had soft corner for *Khilafat* movement, yet he did not participated in it,<sup>2</sup> because he thought they were arrows in the dark; without planning and sure to meet failure.<sup>3</sup>

The *Ulamas* gave decree that India was *Dar-ul-Harb* and the present government was government of disbelievers so Muslim must migrate to Afghanistan, which was *Dar-ul-Aman*. As a result, hundred of families, sold their properties on cheaper rates and moved toward Afghanistan. Afghan government checked the influx of refugees and closed the boundaries. The returning migrants found themselves homeless and penniless; their property sold earlier only for the fifth of its value was in the hands of others. A large number perished through exhaustion and disease.<sup>4</sup> Allah Baksh Yusufi, reported that Mashriqi secretly stressed the members of *Hijrat* Committee, to stop that migration as that could not go longer and on being a failure could be the cause of defamation for Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

In the heydays of *Hijrat* movement, the British Government through H. Grant, Chief Commissioner N.W.F.P, Mr. Mont, Director Public instruction and Mr. Adam, the Inspector General Police, offered Mashriqi that if he brings immigrants before government in Kabul, then he will be awarded the title of Sir, given High Salary and send to Afghanistan as ambassador.<sup>6</sup> But he refused because he was not ready to be a stooge of the British against the interests of Muslims. Seeing the failure of these meaningless protests Mashriqi had resolved to take out the nation from slumber into the state of action. He concluded that the existing parties had not been able to advance the cause of India's freedom satisfactorily.<sup>7</sup> He believed that the disintegration of Muslim's political, social and economic ascendancy in sub-continent had been caused by their disunity and lack of central organization, which could have brought them together.<sup>8</sup>

Mashriqi saw both League and Congress with contempt; on one hand he deemed Congress' non-violence, *ahinsa*, civil disobedience, passive resistance, imprisonments absolutely wrong.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, he thought League as a party of some inactive Nawabs, Lords, status conscious atheists<sup>10</sup> and characterless people,

who did not think any thing beyond 'safeguards'; it was for these safeguards that they kept on shuttling between Congress and the British. <sup>11</sup>

In 1926, Mashriqi attended an Islamic conference in Cairo, on the invitation of Sheikh Muhammad Sinnusi (d. 1859). During his address, he strongly protested against the proposal to elect the Sultan of Egypt as '*Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen*', on the ground that a vassal ruler could not be the spiritual leader of the Islamic world.<sup>12</sup> In that conference he launched the idea of forming a connecting link between different Muslim countries and approached all the delegates of the conference to organize a *Bait-ul-Mal* with a capital of £ 20,000 contributed by all Muslim countries for the uplift of the Muslims.<sup>13</sup> However, the proposal failed to materialize, owing to the apathy of various Muslim potentates, whom Mashriqi approached.

Back to his homeland, Mashriqi focused again to scholarly pursuits, particularly in propagating his ideas contained in *Tazkirah*; a higher commentary of Quran, in which he reinterpreted it in the light of scientific disciplines. Though, this brought him appreciation from all over the world, at the same time, he had to face the criticism of orthodox *Ulama* who described his ideas as atheism wrapped in the garb of Islam.<sup>14</sup> Until 1930, Mashriqi proclivity lay not in the active politics but in intellectual and scholarly pursuits.

He was pondering over the Muslims decline, mental confusion and the internal disruption which undermine their power of action. On Nov. 01, 1930 he went on long medical leave, during which he struggled hard to make a united party that not only face bravely the British Government but also counter the aggressive policies of INC in an effective manner.<sup>15</sup> For this purpose he exchanged views with Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Utmanzai and M. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, who promised to offer him every possible assistance.<sup>16</sup>

In 1931, he published his another important treatise *Isharat* which was not less than a Bible for his movement. Through this book he gave the message that Muslims still had a potential to organize themselves into a ruling community.<sup>17</sup> He also finalized the details about uniform of Khaksars, symbol of spade, sign of unity, names of the office-bearers, organizational structure, flag, rules of drilling, methods of

recruitment and daily engagement.<sup>18</sup> In April, 1931, Mashriqi launched his Khaksar<sup>19</sup> movement, which he connoted as “a united and permanently ready army which was resolute to face the enemy”.<sup>20</sup>

On August 25, 1931, the first regular contingent of Khaksars held its parade at Panduki, a small town twenty-five miles away from Lahore.<sup>21</sup> Instead of starting his movement from a big city he opted rural area because he believed that real source of power are the artisans, laborers and skilled people.<sup>22</sup> Soon he rented a house at Ichra, a sub urban town of Lahore and makes it a centre of its activities. On February 14, 1932 Khaksar movement formally started working in Lahore.<sup>23</sup> With the strange combination of military discipline, social service, ascetic living and an apparently non-communal stance, the movement caught the attention of masses.

After setting in Ichra, Mashriqi intended to co-opt the support of students probably he knew that a movement that has students at its forefront certainly attains its successful end. For this purpose he enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of Prof. Islam-ud-Din Salik, Headmaster of Islamia High School; Fazal-ud-Din Noor, Muhammad Buksh, Ghulam Murshid of Islamia College Lahore; and Hafiz-ur-Rehman of *Paisa Akhbar* Lahore.<sup>24</sup> By the cooperation of his sympathizers, he delivered various addresses in Islamia College, Lahore, and succeeded in enlisting a few volunteers for his movement.<sup>25</sup> But soon he had to stop his campaign, because the principal of college declined to allow his propaganda to be carried on in his institution.<sup>26</sup>

## ORGANIZATION AND SALIENT FEATURES

### *Idara-i-Aliyya*

The organization of the Khaksar movement was substantially different from other political parties of British India. In its hierarchy, *Idara-i-Aliyya* stood on the top. In fact *Idara-i-Aliyya* was Inayatullah Mashriqi and Mashriqi was *Idara-i-Aliyya*. Of course it was the highest functionary and *Amir* of the movement who enjoyed complete authority over the organization and was answerable to none except the party's constitution.<sup>27</sup> The most distinctive characteristics of the movement were obedience to *Amir* and strict discipline.<sup>28</sup> In fact even one who wanted to enroll him

as a Khaksar, had to sign an agreement with the statement, by making God a witness, that he would render his life for the dominance of Islam, follow the rules of movement, and would comply with the orders of the chief commander.<sup>29</sup>

## Membership

The doors of membership of the party were open to the cross-section of society irrespective of religion, creed and sect.<sup>30</sup> Any Muslim who had complete faith in God, believe in the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) and in the Day of Judgment was eligible for the membership.<sup>31</sup> However the non-Muslims before joining the movement had to express their belief in the unity of God and the world hereafter.<sup>32</sup> Similarly a member of any other political body could join the movement without resigning from the membership of his parent body. According to the secret reports, in theory, the Khaksar movement was open to all communities but in practice, "it is entirely Muslim and its appeal is purely communal".<sup>33</sup> The total number of non-Muslim Khaksars never exceeded fifty.<sup>34</sup> The members of the movement were called *sipahis* and were divided into different categories which were *Mujahids*, *Mahfooz*, *Janbaz*, *Pakbaz* and *Muawins*.<sup>35</sup>

Women were permitted to join the movement, but it was decided that their congregations would be segregated from male members and worked under separate women commanders. Though, they were allowed to wear *khaki* uniform but they were ordered to hold spade only when they were doing drilling or social service. But women joined this movement in small number.<sup>36</sup>

## Social Service and Military Parade

During its formative phase, Khaksar Tehrik confined itself to social service, including cleaning of roads and gutters and helping the poor and the needy.<sup>37</sup> Besides that they also march on the roads, wearing *khaki* uniform and carrying a spade, as the 'weapon of service', which was characterized by Mashriqi as a religious and national symbol.<sup>38</sup> Khaksars were required to participate in military parades and social service on regular basis.<sup>39</sup> The purpose of uniform, spade and social work was to create unity within ranks; inculcate discipline and equality; and to instill in them a spirit of social service.<sup>40</sup> To Mashriqi, the spade and uniform were not the essential elements for the movement but these things were adopted so that this might attract the attention of the

people very soon<sup>41</sup> and by seeing each other they could create an external sameness, an apparent unity and a formal equality, so as to artificially linked them in one chain.<sup>42</sup> J.M.S. Baljon recorded that the programme laid down by Mashriqi was a modern Muslim decalogue<sup>43</sup> and Islam became to speak "the infallible and divine sociology".<sup>44</sup>

### **Military Camps**

Besides the conduction of parade on military lines, another important feature of the movement was holding of military camps at various central places. According to Mashriqi, holding the camps was a way of preparing for war.<sup>45</sup> In these camps, the participants were given the military training and through various demonstrations people were inspired to join this movement. One aspect of these military camps was mock wars, which was started in 1935.<sup>46</sup> These wars were a sort of simulative wars which were commenced on plot of land closed by *Qanats*; a circle of hedges had been erected to represent a fort and so called attack and defence operations were carried in presence of people.<sup>47</sup> To give impression of real war crackers were used to represent bombs and fire arms. Similarly it was part of the mock war to give first aid to the wounded soldiers in the field hospitals.<sup>48</sup>

The duration of these camps was usually three days and the participants brought with them dried eatables. While the responsibility of all the camping items including horses, tents, camps, carts, swords, ammunition and military band rested with central command which was fulfilled with the co-operation of well-off *Khaksars*.<sup>49</sup> At the occasion of these military camps, the influential and elites of that particular area or national level leadership were invited as the guests, so as to make them realize about the growing strength of *Khaksar* movement and to seek their support and co-operation in this regard. Another important aspect of these camps was the key note address of Allama Mashriqi who in accordance to the contemporary political situation expressed his views and highlighted the policy of movement. In fact these camps were in accordance with the militaristic policy of *Khaksar* movement. On one occasion, Mashriqi said 'I want the mock wars gradually transformed into real wars'.<sup>50</sup> However, in practical, no step was taken, at any stage of the movement to materialize these plans.

## Subscription

There was no concept of monthly or annual subscription or membership fee in the Khaksar movement. Mashriqi believed that collection of subscriptions usually led to the ultimate failure of such organizations.<sup>51</sup> He concluded that spiritualism was the first and last thing which could raise some low nation. It was necessary for some universal and long lasting movement that it must exist without donations.<sup>52</sup>

Every member himself bore expenses from spade to uniform and activities during the camps. But for the help of poor volunteers, the commander gave money from his own pocket, so as to enable them to start small cottage industries from which the income will be paid into the fund.<sup>53</sup>

Though regular subscriptions were not demanded, some of the well off members voluntarily donated large sum of money and properties for the proposed *Bait-ul-Mal*. In fact, establishment of *Bait-ul-Mal* was one of the dreams of Mashriqi, whose idea was floated by him in 1926 during the Cairo Conference.<sup>54</sup> The money deposited in the *Bait-ul-Mal* was not spent on the organizational activities of the movement. Mashriqi had saved this amount for the time of some national calamity.<sup>55</sup>

There was no concept of paid workers in Khaksar. As mentioned before that every Khaksar had to bear his own expenses. However promissory notes of Rs.1, 2½, 5, 10 and 50 were issued to the officers of Khaksar movement,<sup>56</sup> and on that it was written to pay the bearer the above mentioned rupees on the attainment of independence.

## *Al-Islah* – The Party Organ

In the beginning, Khaksar movement continued its activities without any official organ. But in May 1934, *Al-Islah* was started to communicate with the volunteers and general masses. After the start of *Al-Islah* the movement flourished rapidly, and Mashriqi accepted himself that it was due to the *Al-Islah* that the message of the movement reached from Peshawar in the North-West to as far as Burma in the East with in four months.<sup>57</sup> According to an estimate each copy of *Al-Islah* created hundred Khaksar in six months.<sup>58</sup> The primary contents of this journal comprised of speeches, statements and articles of Allama Mashriqi. Besides that it acted as the



source of co-ordination between the members of the Khaksar movement. Moreover, all important order and messages to the volunteers were sent through it.

*Al-Islah* was regularly published from Lahore, on weekly basis, during the period May 1934 - March 1940. After the incident of March 19, 1940, when the movement and its literature was banned and proscribed by the government of Punjab, it was shifted to Delhi for some time and its publication remained suspended from June 1941 to 1946. It was a great set back for the movement, because it resulted in the suspension of means of communication between the workers and affected the growth of party. Though other Khaksar journals and magazines for instance, *Sipahi* [Hyderabad], *Tarjaman* [Gujrat] and *Al-Mashraqi* [Peshawar] tried to fill that gap of communication and co-operation but none of them could substitute *Al-Islah*.

### **Aims and Objectives**

The aims and objectives <sup>59</sup> of Khaksar movement were:

- ❖ to promote peace and brotherhood by doing social service; irrespective of creed and caste
- ❖ organization of Muslims purely on religious basis
- ❖ to create sense of discipline and duty
- ❖ to train the Muslims on military lines to remove the feeling of insecurity
- ❖ to fortify the bond between Muslims and the Holy Quran, after abandoning sectarianism and extremism
- ❖ to establish Muslim hegemony over entire undivided India

### **INITIAL WORKING AND DEVELOPMENT – A RESUME**

During first half of 1930, Mashriqi was busy in expansion and consolidation of Khaksar Tehrik and he neither confronted with the Unionist government nor with the British. Mashriqi intended to launch a village and ward wise organization to be linked up through *tehsils*, cities, districts and provinces to the central command, which was dubbed by a contemporary critic as a 'parallel government'.<sup>60</sup>

Mashriqi's main attention of focus was Punjab. It has been reported that up till 1933 Mashriqi himself claimed to have five to six thousand volunteers in Punjab<sup>61</sup> and established branches in Lahore, Amritser, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sargodha, Ferozepur, Jalendhar, Sheikhpura and Hoshiarpur.<sup>62</sup> However, the government estimated the membership not more than 600-700 members in Punjab,<sup>63</sup> majority of them belonged to the bourgeoisie.

In October, 1932, on the pattern of Punjab Mashriqi intended to open branches of his movement in NWFP. On October 7, 1932 a contingent of Punjabi Khaksars, landed Peshawar to open its branch office. The provincial administration did not agree to the uniformed march of contingents carrying spades and obeying military type orders.<sup>64</sup> In fact the NWFP government was facing a danger that as the *Khudai Khidmatgar* movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1891-1988), which started as a social uplift movement and later on changed into a reactionary movement, lest Mashriqi should not have the same intentions.<sup>65</sup>

With these reservations, NWFP government later permitted Khaksars on the mediation of few influential of Peshawar to continue their activities but with few restrictions.<sup>66</sup> These restrictions remained imposed on the movement for five years and Mashriqi was not allowed to enter Peshawar. As Khaksar movement was passing through its formative phase, so it did not meddle with the NWFP government and paid more attention to consolidate the movement in Punjab.<sup>67</sup> Up till 1935, Khaksar established an effective network in various districts of Punjab and also secured a footing in Delhi and Sindh.<sup>68</sup> Most of the volunteers of Khaksar movement were town dwellers and belonged to down trodden classes. To I.H. Malik, "the semi-military pattern of movement created a sense of identity, dignity and cohesion amongst the unrecognized bourgeoisie at a time when politics remained the monopoly of few landed classes".<sup>69</sup>

On May 20, 1937, Mashriqi gave an ultimatum to the authorities that if the NWFP government did not lift the sanction till October 15, 1937, it would violate all the restrictions and start their activities overtly and would not care for their lives.<sup>70</sup> In this connection, a delegate headed by *Nazim-i-A'ala* Punjab and NWFP Bashir Ahmad Siddique met with the premier of NWFP, Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan

(1864-1939). The other members of this delegation were Salar-i-Peshawar Syed Buzurg Shah, Illahi Buksh, Gul Muhammad and Faqir Hussain. As a result of this meeting, the NWFP government, announced the lifting of sanctions from the movement on August 22, 1937,<sup>71</sup> which was regarded as unprecedented success by Allama Mashriqi.<sup>72</sup>

Mashriqi put forward his "fourteen points" on October 15, 1937, and expounded his formal and more visible form of his political programme. He emphasized on non-sectarian stance of Khaksar movement; denounced the course adopted by traditional *Maulvi*; assured protection of civic rights of Muslims and other communities; rendered respect to religious and social customs of other communities. He also aimed at attainment of collective and political supremacy; establishment of *Bait-ul-Mal* in India; improvement of economic conditions of masses. He showed his enmity and mistrust for those political leaders who propagated hatred between different communities. Mashriqi also announced to raise funds for better working of movement.<sup>73</sup>

Mashriqi and his movement gained momentum in late 1930's due to its involvement in two issues; an attempt to arbitrate between Shiaites and Sunnites in Lucknow and tussle with the Sikandar Ministry for acceptance of three demands.

Dispute between Shiaites and Sunnites in regard with *Maddah* and *Tabarra* of the companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)<sup>74</sup> had been going on for thirty years in Lucknow. In earlier 1939, it reached at the extreme and resulted in the form of sectarian riots between the two. Mashriqi doubted that the Congress ministry of United Provinces was giving vent to these riots. In July 1939, he volunteered himself and set a deadline and declared that if the two sects did not reach a settlement by them, the Khaksars *jathas* would forcibly intervene to resolve the differences.<sup>75</sup> The intrusion of Khaksars in the Lucknow imbroglio was dubbed by the Congress government as an intervention of external elements in the provincial affairs and imposed a ban on the entry of Khaksar *jathas* in the territory of United Provinces. It aggravated the existing antagonism between Khaksars and Congress ministry. The involvement of Ahrars, at later stages, further worsened the situation.<sup>76</sup>

As a result of antagonism, Mashriqi was arrested on Sep. 01, 1939 and expelled from the province. Consequently, Mashriqi again tried to enter in Lucknow, due to which he was arrested, confined for one month along with fine of Rs.50. <sup>77</sup> As a reaction, Khaksars tried to enter United Provinces by forming *jathas*, resultantly, six Khaksars were killed and more than eighty injured in the clashes with the police.<sup>78</sup> Though Khaksar campaign in United Provinces did nothing to solve *Shia-Sunni* conflict in Lucknow but it enhanced the prestige of organization and they emerged as 'champions of Muslim cause'. <sup>79</sup>

Now it will be examined that what was the nature of three demands of Khaksar Tehrik that harboured mistrust between the Sikandar Ministry and Mashriqi that eventually led to showdown between the two and resulted in killing and injuries of Khaksars on March 19, 1940. <sup>80</sup>

In late thirties, after getting the demands fulfilled by the NWFP government, Khaksar Tehrik once again gathered its energies in Punjab and revived its activities to establish a *Bait-ul-Mal*. In this regard, a delegate headed by Dr. Muhammad Nazir, Salar-i-Jhelum met Sir Sikandar Hayat on Dec. 11, 1937 and presented their demands which included:

- (a) Establishment of a government agency for *Zakat* collection, which would be administered by *Idara-i-Aliyya* of Khaksar Tehrik.
- (b) Establishment of a broadcasting station at Lahore to disseminate knowledge of Quran.
- (c) Grant of permission to Government servants to join the Khaksar Tehrik.<sup>81</sup>

In fact, it was not in the sole discretion of Sikandar Ministry to accede to these demands of Khaksar Tehrik, which were of purely Muslim nature. Due to the supra-communal nature of the Unionist party, he deemed it impossible to accord approval to the communal demands, without the consultation of his Hindu and Sikh colleagues. More over, the issue of broadcasting station was a federal subject and without the consent of the federal government, the provincial authorities could not issue any directives in this regard.

Khaksar Tehrik insisted that as in NWFP, the premier Abdul Qayyum Khan, in his personal capacity, persuaded Governor to lift restrictions from the movement, likewise Sir Sikandar Hayat could oblige them by getting approval of these demands. To build up pressure on the government, Khaksar Tehrik in association with other Muslim organizations and influential *bradaries* wrote letters, presented memorandums and adopted resolutions to lay emphasis upon government to accept their demands.<sup>82</sup>

Sikandar Hayat indicated in his addresses and statements that soon a law would be enacted to establish a *Bait-ul-Mal* for Muslims. He assured that recommendations for setting up a broadcasting station would be sent to central government. However he did not announce any policy regarding the participation and enrollment of government servants in Khaksar Tehrik. He held that the intending employees could participate in the religio-social reformative activities of Khaksar. However, the *Idara-i-Aliyya* of Khaksar Tehrik demanded the government's reply in black and white and refused to admit the assurances of Sikandar in the form of press statements.<sup>83</sup>

Sikandar, tactfully kept the Mashriqi busy in endless and fruitless dialogue without formally breaking off negotiations. Meanwhile he secretly encouraged both Hindus and Sikhs organizations to come out with similar demands so as to obfuscate the issue and provide the govt. with an excuse to refuse all of them.<sup>84</sup> Annoyed at the fruitless negotiations and sureties, Mashriqi gave ultimatum to the Punjab Government to concede the demands till Nov. 19, 1938, otherwise the Khaksars were ordered to reach Punjab for the final combat.<sup>85</sup> Mashriqi asserted that out of 175 members of Punjab Assembly 104 were in favour of these three demands.<sup>86</sup>

This assertion was not less than a bombshell for Sikandar Hayat. As a matter of fact, it was a crucial time for his ministry. The Shabeed Ganj imbroglio, its associated issues coupled with the Muslim Mosque Protection Bill of Malik Barkat Ali had already shaken the foundations of his government. The Sikandar-Jinnah pact signed at Lucknow (1937), though for the time being had saved his ministry from the tides of totalitarianism of INC, which emerged as a single largest party in majority of the provinces, but it gave vent to suspicions in its non-Muslim allies. Approval or

rejection of Khaksar's demands, in either way, could result in heightening the religio-political tension between various communities.

To resolve the issue and to prevent the circumstances from going worst, in Nov. 1938 parleys were held between Mashriqi and Mir Maqbool, the parliamentary secretary of Unionist government. On the basis of these negotiations, Mir Maqbool prepared a rough draft in which it was agreed that:

- (1) Institute of *Bait-ul-Mal* will be in the control of *Idara-i-Aliyya* [of the Khaksar Tehrik], however, its funds would be utilized in accordance with the injunctions of Quran and *Sunnah*.
- (2) The Punjab government will forward its recommendations regarding the establishment of broadcasting station, however, if British Indian government do not accord approval, then Khaksar movement will be allowed to use the broadcasting Station of Punjab government.
- (3) As soon as Khaksar Tehrik declared itself as social and religious reform movement, the government will withdraw all restrictions imposed on the party.<sup>87</sup>

The stance of Sanaullah Akhtar is tantamount to hide the facts, that by keeping the matter pending for several months, the government was evaluating the strength of the movement and the rapprochement between Khaksar Tehrik and Punjab Government is an acceptance of the growing influence of movement, which with the support of public, ceaselessly, pressed their demands.<sup>88</sup>

However, factual analysis reveals that policy of delay adopted by the government was just to buy time because in the crucial political juncture it could not afford clash with Khaksars, which could be hazardous for the Ministry. So far as the approval of demands was concerned it could not go further beyond the unsigned draft agreement, that did not advance, but Allama Mashriqi declared it his success, that signifies his non-realistic attitude.

At the initial stages of his movement, Mashriqi concentrated on 'social work' and declared that he had 'no intention either to oppose the British government or to indulge in Indian politics'.<sup>89</sup> British authorities were much conscious about the movement and inspite of Mashriqi clarifications dubbed it as the real danger to the

British rule in India.<sup>90</sup> The secret reports clearly indicated that Mashriqi was not in any way sympathetic to, or had any respect for the British Government in India.<sup>91</sup> The para-military nature of movement coupled with uniformed workers marching on roads carrying spades very much irritated the British authorities. In order to dispel the apprehensions of British, Mashriqi argued that mock-wars, military camps etc did not aim at military preparations but were solely meant to train Khaksars for real social service<sup>92</sup> and self efficiency, and to attain *sawaraj* in a short time than the methods obtained by the Congress.<sup>93</sup> Factually Mashriqi, in very beginning of his movement, pleaded that tension between Hindus and Muslims was due to British policies to fortify their own hold over India.<sup>94</sup> Initially, he did not challenge the authority of British government because he wanted to prepare his own organization and then he wanted to ascertain his position in the political horizon of India. Mashriqi viewed British, as one of the political enemies of Khaksars in their mission of domination over the world. But he wanted to deal with them when the time came or when they interfered with Khaksars.<sup>95</sup>

In fact, Mashriqi was trying to baffle the government in the garb of social service. However, the government judged the Khaksars not what they said or what they wrote but purely what they did and how they acted.<sup>96</sup> It was in this context that British Government politely turned down Mashriqi's repeated offer to provide fifty thousand volunteers<sup>97</sup> during the initial stages of second world war and its offer to counteract the civil disobedience movement of INC.<sup>98</sup>

In 1940, Mashriqi overtly described British rule in India as "Trade Imperialism" which exploited the Indian economic resources relentlessly.<sup>99</sup> He argued, that British presence, had always worked to sow the seed of discord between the communities. Such presence was a hindrance to the minimization of mutual antagonism and promotion of mutual good will and concord. British departure from the Indian scene was necessary for promoting a *modus vivendi* among various religious communities.<sup>100</sup>

It was after 1940, that the British government felt the sensitivity about the growth of Khaksars. The government officials even apprehended that if the Khaksar movement emerged victorious, it would result in massacre of British men, women and

children, throughout the country and "it would be more disastrous than the mutiny".<sup>101</sup> Therefore, after April 1946, British government decided not to permit the slightest action on part of the Khaksar movement that might have revived the military character of the organization as it was identified as the only 'private army' in India which must be crushed.<sup>102</sup>

Unlike Ahrars who were the political allies of INC, Khaksar movement, from very beginning dubbed INC as "a debating club, impotent babus and a bigoted religious sect"<sup>103</sup> - cemented together with the bigotry of *Bania* capitalism and pseudo-spiritual knavery".<sup>104</sup> Mashriqi used violent and aggressive language against the leadership of Congress. He writes:

"You effeminate leader is the head of that nation which had not wielded the sword all its life, fought not a single battle as a brave warrior, conquered not a single fort; such a helpless man could not teach his community any better ways to achieve freedom than telling them, 'you are meant to be victims of beating and you should allow themselves to be beaten like women'.<sup>105</sup>

A secret report indicated, "Inayatullah Khan's political opinions are decidedly anti-Congress and in favour of coalescence of the Muslim lest they should be totally annihilated from India as they were from Spain".<sup>106</sup>

Congress avoided any direct confrontation with Khaksars and adopted covert tactics to handle them. Congress very successfully used Ahrars against Khaksars, just as they used them against Sikandar Hayat to topple his ministry. Ahrars were critical of Khaksars for three reasons, the novel ideological interpretation of Islam by Mashriqi; offensive attacks against the *Ulamas*; and the political one i.e., the rising of Khaksar movement in Punjab. To save their side and to save their partner INC, Ahrars inaugurated campaign against the Khaksars, proved that Khaksars programme was anti-Islamic, dubbed Mashriqi as infidel and an agent of the British.<sup>107</sup>

## MASHRIQI AND HITLER

An oftentimes repeated allegation on Mashriqi and Khaksar movement was that it is a titular copy of fascist German party of Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). He was also blamed of getting funds from Germany and Japan. Seth Heralal has declared



Mashriqi as 'German trained Leader'<sup>108</sup> and Brailsford has opined for his movement that it had been organized on the Nazi pattern.<sup>109</sup> The biographer of Jinnah, Hector Bolitho has also concluded that Khaksars, 'were a Muslim group founded on Nazi lines'.<sup>110</sup> Ayesha Jalal also dubbed Mashriqi as a "self-avowed admirer of Hitler" and considered Khaksars as the "Indian version of SS".<sup>111</sup>

As far as circumstantial evidences are concerned; meeting of Hitler and Mashriqi at Berlin, identical programmes of Hitler's Nazi Party and Mashriqi's Khaksar Tehrik, the common emblem of spade of two organizations, anti-British stance of both, the concept of uniformed private army, propogandistic approaches to attract the masses and unquestioned and blind obedience of leadership all indicate that both the parties and their leaders supplement each other. Another important cause of suspicion was the fact that the *Al-Islah*, the mouth-organ of Khaksars almost regularly published articles and photographs related to the history of Nazi movement and the struggle of Hitler.<sup>112</sup> In one of its issues, Mashriqi presented the translation and synopsis of Hitler's autobiography<sup>113</sup> and applauded that he raised his nation to level of success after so much struggle.<sup>114</sup> As both the movements were contemporary, so it is difficult to say that the one influenced the other or both the movements evolved independently and all the resemblances were accidental.

In the following paragraph it is objectively analyzed what were the circumstances, which resulted in such a severe propoganda against Khaksar Tehrik, that it had close relations with Germany, and secured assistance from Nazi funds. As it has been already discussed that since its inception up till 1935, Mashriqi was busy in the expansion and consolidation of his party and he did not indulge in political affairs actively. However, on the basis of his works and statements the secret agencies reached at the conclusion that Mashriqi had an anti-British and anti-Congress attitude.<sup>115</sup>

On Oct. 15, 1937 he expounded his formal and visible form of his political programme in the shape of fourteen points. Later his involvement in *Madah Sahaba* agitation at United Provinces irritated the Congress Government. Moreover, the tussle of Khaksars with the Unionist ministry over the acceptance of there "three demands" increased the tension between Khaksars and Sir Sikandar Hayat. He was much

conscious over the growing influence of Khaksars and foresaw them as his political rival in the emerging future political scenario.

It seems that at this stage with the backing of Unionist a severe propaganda campaign was launched through the *CMG* and the *Statesman* in which it was repeatedly asserted that Mashriqi had close liaisons with Germany. The Hindu correspondent of the *CMG* described Khaksar Movements as a branch of Nazism in India and financially supported by Hitler.<sup>116</sup> It was asserted that Dr. Schact, a German scholar met Mashriqi during his visit to India in April 1939 and gave Rs.70,000 to consolidate his organization.<sup>117</sup> Nehru wrote a letter to Secretary of State of India in London and requested for an official inquiry to investigate the matter.<sup>118</sup> However, in a query from Indian Secretary of State, Lord Linnithgow discounted any connections between Germany based Nazi party and Khaksars and said that "further enquires will be necessary before definite suggestions for an answer can be made".<sup>119</sup>

Mashriqi was quite aware about the propaganda campaign launched against him. On June 24, 1939 while addressing the Khaksars at central camp, Gujrat he severely criticized the Hindu correspondent of the *CMG*, for his continuous articles against the movement. He said that observation of movement in western paradigm and comparing of its autocratic system with that of dictatorial organization of Hitler was tantamount to blaspheme Islam and an attempt to debase the Muslims.<sup>120</sup>

Mashriqi challenged the British Government to hold an inquiry and prove their liaison, direct or indirect with Hitler, any of his lieutenants or any other external power. If they were liable to receive even a single penny from Hitler or any other source, he was accountable for that.<sup>121</sup> The British authorities were not satisfied with the explanations of Mashriqi and they kept on probing the issue. After thorough investigation, the official reports, which appeared in early August 1939 could not lay hand on any proof to support the allegations.<sup>122</sup>

In the beginning of 1940's, some secret reports of home department tended to show Khaksar's connection with the enemies of British Empire. Of the rumours the most important was the statement of Shankar Lal Bansal, the forward block emissary to Japan, who had been informed by the German Counsal at Kabehead that the German

army was nourishing an army of four lakh Khaksars. Similarly two Germans internees at Ahmadnagar, Schulz and Bron Ehrenfels, when interrogated in December 1939, affirmed, on that the funds were being supplied to the Khaksars. A close contact between Khaksars and Japan government was also suspected to be maintained through Khaksar branch at Celebas in Dutch East Indies, through Muhammad Amin, the founder of that branch there.<sup>123</sup>

This time again the allegation could not be proved and in spite of strict censor policy, regarding the letters and parcels sent or received by the Khaksar movement, no concrete evidence to that effect was found.<sup>124</sup> In fact, the personal letters that Mashriqi received from Germany were from Miss Berth Prokauer, whom Mashriqi came to know during his visit to Germany. They exchanged letters in connection with the translation of *Tazkirah* into German and English languages, It was also reported that when she came to India, she remained Mashriqi's guest for one month.<sup>125</sup>

In a nutshell, the crux of the matter is that a meeting took place between Hitler and Mashriqi in the Berlin Library,<sup>126</sup> in mid 1920's when he visited a few European countries including Germany. Mashriqi himself accepted that it was a short time duration meeting which prolonged for three minutes.<sup>127</sup> According to Ashraf Khan, a Khaksar leader, Hitler before meeting Mashriqi, knew about him through his book *Tazkirah* and was much impressed by his teachings and ideas.<sup>128</sup> At that time Hitler was neither heard nor had prepared any scheme of Nazi organization. Hera Lal was not objective in saying that Mashriqi's work *Isharaat* that expounded the principles of Khaksar Tehrik, included a partial translation of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.<sup>129</sup>

This remains a fact that Mashriqi had completed his work *Tazkirah* as early as 1924 and its ten decalogue suggested that he had outlined the details regarding the Khaksar Tehrik, eight years prior to its launching. This is also a notable point that Khaksar adopted spade as their emblem even five years before Hitler did so. Thus the Hera Lal's arguments that Hitler had made profound impact on Mashriqi that he launched a movement on the pattern of Nazi party proved baseless.

The official records verified the visit of Mashriqi to Germany but uncertain about the alleged meeting between him and Hitler. To some historians, the meeting

between both never took place.<sup>130</sup> It might be a propaganda campaign of Khaksar's propaganda machinery, which by publishing translation of latter's writings and his photographs wanted to put pressure on British government. In spite of striking similarities, if any of the two movements was inspired by the other, then keeping in view the order of precedence; it was Hitler's party and not the Khaksars.<sup>131</sup>

## MASHRIQI AND IQBAL

Mashriqi and Iqbal were that genius and stalwarts of Punjab who spearheaded and guided the Muslims on ideological, intellectual and practical spheres throughout twenties and thirties. There is a distinct difference in their thinking and ideologies. Throughout his political career Iqbal stood to safeguard the constitutional rights and separate identity of Muslims and upheld the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. On the contrary, Mashriqi aspired for an absolute and complete Muslim hegemony over entire India, by promoting the India of 'militarism' as corner stone of his religio-political ideology. Both the contemporaries inspired and influenced the Muslims of subcontinent by their acts and thoughts.

Mashriqi was born in Amritser on Aug 25, 1888 in a Muslim Rajput family of Amritser.<sup>132</sup> Thus, he was eleven years younger than Iqbal who was born on Nov. 09, 1876 at Sialkot. Like Iqbal whose ancestors embraced Islam in the seventeenth century, Mashriqi's ancestor Lal Muhammad accepted Islam during the reign of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1618-1707). He was given the rank of the *Panj-Hazari* and a *jagir* in Gurdaspur. They served for four generations under various Mughal rulers. When Sikhs captured Punjab, his family had faced lots of difficulties. However under the regime of Ranjit Singh (1807-1841), the family of Mashriqi succeeded not only in securing appointments but also got back their *jagir*.<sup>133</sup>

Unlike Iqbal, whose father Sh. Noor Muhammad was a 'untutored philosopher' and often attended and participated in the discourses of *sufis*, Mashriqi's father was busy in scholarly pursuits and authored many books on various subjects. He was much interested in the educational betterment of the Muslims and occasionally attended the sessions of All India Muhammadan Educational Conferences arranged by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1816-1898).<sup>134</sup>

Mashriqi's mother not only bore a strong character but she also stuck firmly to her beliefs. She regularly performed the daily prayers and recitation from the Holy Quran.<sup>135</sup> Like Iqbal, Mashriqi was lucky enough to imbibe Islamic values at home, which in the later phase of his life served as a driving force to work for the cause of Islam.

The last quarter of nineteenth century, when these two personalities were born, was a very crucial time, as on the one hand, the Christian missionaries aimed at the conversion of Hindu and Muslim natives into Christianity and on the other hand Hindus had initiated proselytism movement which primarily focused its attention to bring the Muslims into the fold of Hinduism. Thus polemical speeches and mutual imprecations were the vogue of the day and the three nations, the Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims were engaged in a combat among themselves.

As was the tradition in those days, Iqbal and Mashriqi started their early education at their homes and later were admitted to schools for formal education. Iqbal and Mashriqi both continued their education till intermediate in their native towns i.e. in Sialkot and Amritser. Formal education of Mashriqi was started in 1892 when he was only four.<sup>136</sup> He passed his middle standard examination from Baji Nath Public School in 1900 and earned scholarship. In 1902 he won the jubilee scholarship, when he did his matriculation from Government High School, Amritser.<sup>137</sup> He successfully managed to clear his entrance exams from the Church Mission School, Amritser in 1904.<sup>138</sup> Here a similarity is to be mentioned that though Iqbal and Mashriqi both received their education from missionary institutions, but this could not pacify their surging feelings to establish the dominance of Islam. It has been reported that Mashriqi's father was of the opinion that when a Muslim attends Christian educational institutions, his faith grows more and he inclines more towards his religion.<sup>139</sup> Both Iqbal and Mashriqi, were sent to Lahore for further education and they got admission in Government College and Forman Christian College respectively. In 1906, Mashriqi completed his graduation and received degree from the Punjab University.<sup>140</sup>

After graduation, both Iqbal and Mashriqi, did their masters from Government College, Lahore in Philosophy and Mathematics and both topped in their subjects. Reportedly, Mashriqi not only obtained first class degree but also prepared for the exams in record eight months period and got through the exams, so he made a new record.<sup>141</sup> Both selected Europe for higher education. Iqbal proceeded to England in 1905 and stayed there for three years and returned home in 1908 after doing L.L.B from Lincolns Inn and Ph.D from Munich University, Germany.<sup>142</sup> Mashriqi proceeded to England in October 1907<sup>143</sup> and stayed there for five years. He joined Christ Church College of Cambridge University. During his entire stay at college he performed well and obtained four triposes in Mathematic (1909); Oriental Languages (1911); Natural Sciences (1911); and Mechanical Sciences (1912). Normally to pass four degrees, required a period of twelve years which he accomplished in just six years and won several scholarships.<sup>144</sup> Like Iqbal, who received an offer from Maharaja of Alwar for state's premiership and declined; Mashriqi, when he was still in London received a similar offer from Maharaja of Alwar, but he was not interested and did not present himself to Maharaja for the services required.<sup>145</sup>

Although, they have differences of opinion in many matters but their life history resembled to a great extent. After returning back to homeland, both adopted education as a profession. Iqbal served at Government College and Punjab University, taught many subjects and played an effective role as a teacher. Mashriqi also joined the education department in March 1913, but as an educational administrator and served in the capacity of vice Principal and Headmaster of Islamia College and Government High School, Peshawar respectively.<sup>146</sup>

It is interesting to note that Iqbal and Mashriqi both competed for Indian Education Service in their respective periods but Iqbal failed, however Mashriqi succeeded and served for some time in IES in the capacity of Assistant Secretary.<sup>147</sup> In 1919, he was appointed as Headmaster of Government High School, Peshawar, where he served till his pre-mature retirement in October 1932.<sup>148</sup>

As Iqbal deemed government job as a hurdle in the promotion of his ideas and notions and did not approve of British controlled educational bureaucracy, so he left the job in the end of 1910 and started practicing Law. Similarly, Mashriqi did not

find any charm in government job because he thought that it was not in accordance with his abilities. He himself said that he had wasted the best portion of life, "in an unenviable position and a worthless school" and rotting their ever since.<sup>149</sup> It is generally given out that he faced discrimination being an Indian and not received preferential treatment in the matter of promotion.<sup>150</sup> In fact, it was the "rare spirit for independence which stood him and the highest posts in the educational department".<sup>151</sup>

As Iqbal moulded his ideas according to a certain pattern and was busy in shaping his ideas on philosophical grounds and kept him aloof from practical politics till 1926, similarly, Mashriqi, did not step in politics till 1930 and kept busy in compilation of his *magnum opus Tazkirah* and *Isharaat* - the bible of Khaksars. Like Iqbal, who served the nation on intellectual planes through his poetical works; *Asrar-wa-Ramooz* and *Bang-i-Dara* (1924), Mashriqi through his writings tried to evolve an ideological and notional revolution. By making 'social service' as a stepping-stone he attempted to pave the way for a 'military revolution'.

Iqbal started his practical politics as a member of PLC (1926-38). During his tenure as councilor, he strongly denounced the policies of Unionist ministry and criticized the imperialist agenda of British bureaucracy.<sup>152</sup> In 1927, when Jinnah was still groping for co-existence with Hindus, Iqbal in the capacity of general secretary of PPML opposed the Delhi proposals (1927) and boycott of Simon Commission (1928). This led to the split of League into two factions; Shafi League and Jinnah League. However, after the publication of Nehru Report, both factions of League reconciled their differences. In 1930, Iqbal in his presidential address at the annual meeting of AIML at Allahabad presented the concept of a separate Muslim state which was a bang in the stagnant political atmosphere of India.<sup>153</sup>

Mashriqi's debut in practical politics begun in 1931, when he launched his movement. By raising the slogan of social service and unique propaganda tactics he snatched the attention of masses and at later stages aimed at Muslim dominance over entire India. He declared that independence could not be achieved by civil disobedience, passive resistance, hunger strikes or merely political agitation. It could only be achieved by snatching rights in the battle field.<sup>154</sup> Thus the basic difference

between both political philosophies was that, Mashriqi believed in 'militarism' and Muslim hegemony over entire India and was of the view that freedom was achieved by the dint of force; lenient requests could not win even the ordinary civil rights.<sup>155</sup> On the contrary, Iqbal believed in Muslim preponderance but based on Islamic activism of a democratic and egalitarian essentialism which differentiated him from other radical Islamic organizations like Khaksars and Ahrars.

Iqbal and Mashriqi lived in the same city and province for years and years and both were striving in their respective fields of activity for the renaissance of the Muslims. Both touched the pinnacles of glory in the same period i.e. second half of 1920's and entire thirties. It was an era when Iqbal emerged as a poet and visionary politician while Mashriqi, after the publication of *Tazkirah* surfaced as a renowned personality, though remaining a controversial entity in some respects. However, the record affirms that both never got a chance to see each other.

In first half of 1990, some rare letters<sup>156</sup> of Iqbal to Master M. Hussain<sup>157</sup> were discovered which revealed that in 1924 Mashriqi had send, his book *Tazkirah* through his publishing house to Iqbal. However, Iqbal refused to comment on it and criticized the thoughts of Mashriqi in his private letters to Hussain which at that time were not made public.<sup>158</sup>

From 1924 to 1938, which is the year of Iqbal's death, Iqbal and Mashriqi never had an opportunity to see each other and they never issued any statement about each other. This is an amazing fact that during this period, Mashriqi's Khaksar movement captured the attention of the people in Punjab through meetings, camps and parades, while Iqbal had also won an important position among the top leaders of Muslim India through his poetry and practical political activities.

It has been reported that in 1934 besides some other notables, name of Iqbal had been also proposed for the editorship of party organ *Al-Islah*.<sup>159</sup> It means that the Khaksar circles had high opinion about Iqbal's literary faculties. Nevertheless that suggestion was not materialized, probably because of his [Iqbal] illness and manifold literary engagements.



In the closing years of his life, at the eve of a private discourse with Muhammad Ya'qoob Khan, editor of the *CMG* and few others, a person made Iqbal realize that Mashriqi who was hanging shovel over the shoulder, dreamt to conquer the world and taking others as fools. Another person reaffirmed it and called Mashriqi mad and insane. These comments annoyed Iqbal and he said:

“Some people called Mashriqi fool and mad due to his appearance and thoughts, but don't hurry in taking decisions about him. If he kept his strength gathered, he would do something great, but if he spread himself thin he would be unable to do anything”.<sup>160</sup>

It seems that Iqbal had no hatred about Mashriqi and he had in his subconscious that Mashriqi could happen to perform something extra ordinary.

At the eve of Iqbal's death (1938), Mashriqi in his obituary remarks accepted the fact that Iqbal was not merely a poet but also deemed poetry being a part of Prophet's consciousness; as a vehicle of spiritual advancement. He further added that Iqbal's poetry to some extent, had stir the passions of Muslim community, now it was the duty of Muslims to act upon his teachings, so that his soul might rest in peace.<sup>161</sup>

### **Tazkirah and Iqbal**

In 1924, Mashriqi published his *magnum opus* the *Tazkirah*. Just like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, he annotated Quran in the light of scientific disciplines and concluded that Islam is action, not simply rituals. Islam, says Mashriqi, does not comprise simply in verbal affirmations, formulas, amulets, rosary counting and secluded prayers. He asserted that faith loses its value and importance if it is not translated into practice.<sup>162</sup> He claimed that he had learnt from Quran that the 'sole' and 'right' purpose for which the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was commissioned was to get dominance over the world.<sup>163</sup> Citing a verse (24:55) from Quran he explained that it “has decided two things, first that faith is a prerequisite for inheritance of the earth or which is called survival and stability, and thus God's promise for inheritance of the earth applies only to those who possesses faith; accompanied by 'righteous action'”.<sup>164</sup>

The Quran, according to Mashriqi, was the last of the revealed books and it contained comprehensive lessons. Whoever was engaged in the fulfillment of a

portion of the Quranic principles and programme was bound to reap reward.<sup>165</sup> The west was sincerely engaged in the investigations of nature and was to that extent, reaping rewards in the shape of dominance over many areas of the world. Mashriqi believed that British earned rulership because it had captivated certain characteristics on the strength of which rulership happened to be theirs. The British rule, that is, was based on some divinely approved tracts.<sup>166</sup> Mashriqi holds that offering five time prayers in mosques was similar to five-time 'salam' of a servant, it was not worship at all. God's worship starts after these five times when people get themselves busy in obeying God's orders, after getting up from prayer-mats.<sup>167</sup>

He asserted that words of testimony (*Kalima-i-Shahadat*), prayer, fasting, *Zakat* and *Hajj* were only meant for recognition of Muslim *Ummah* and were its basis. Mashriqi deduced ten principles,<sup>168</sup> that he claims to have essence of 'wisdom of Quran', as the new 'Muslim Decalogue'. These principles included:

- |     |  |                                      |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1.  | Practical acceptance of Unity of Allah                 | توحيد في العمل                       |
| 2.  | Solidarity of Muslim <i>Ummah</i>                      | وحدة الامة                           |
| 3.  | Obedience to the <i>Amir</i>                           | اطاعة امير                           |
| 4.  | <i>Jihad</i> in the name of Allah with money           | جهاد بالمال                          |
| 5.  | <i>Jihad</i> in the name of Allah with sword           | جهاد بالسيف                          |
| 6.  | Willingness to migrate from Motherland to other area.  | الهجرة                               |
| 7.  | Perseverance in action and resignation in consequences | الاستقامة في اعمى مع التوكل في نتائج |
| 8.  | High standard of moral                                 | مكارم الاخلاق                        |
| 9.  | Pursuit of knowledge of nature                         | العلم                                |
| 10. | Faith in life hereafter                                | الحياة الآخرة                        |

These principles, in his view, constituted the main weapon for nation's survival and stability on the earth.<sup>169</sup> This book<sup>170</sup> that was written different from Islamic tradition, was simultaneously lauded and condemned by various schools of thought in India. Mashriqi send its copies for comments to prominent scholars, scientist, *Ulamas* and politicians all over India and abroad.<sup>171</sup> In the literary and educational circles, it was ranked parallel to the Shah Waliullah's work *Hajjatulla hil Baligha*.<sup>172</sup> However, the traditional orthodox *Ulamas* condemned the views of Mashriqi and dubbed him infidel and heretic. To orientalist, like Prof. Nicholson, the translator of Iqbal's *Israr-i-Khudi*, in his letter to Mashriqi described it as "the

magnificent work and higher criticism to the Quran and was bound to be a landmark in the development of Muhammadan thought".<sup>173</sup>

In mid 1920's Mashriqi visited Europe to draw the attention of scientists and scholars toward *Tazkirah* and to create a favourable climate in the intellectual circles, enabling him to win the noble prize for literature which he had been the claimant in the preceding years.<sup>174</sup> It was presented twice, in 1925 and 1927, to the noble committee for award but rejected on the grounds that it was not translated into any European language, which was a pre-requisite to present a book for award.

In 1924, after the publication of *Tazkirah*, a copy of it was sent to Iqbal for commentary. But he refused by saying that as he did not go through the book yet.<sup>175</sup> We cannot infer from this that there was some ill feeling in them. In fact, Mashriqi was of high views about Iqbal. To what extent, Mashriqi was familiar with Iqbal's qualities, this could be surmised from those recommendations which he gave as an Under Secretary of the Government of India in his note which he wrote about the prevalent prejudices towards Muslims regarding their appointments on top positions. In that report, Mashriqi recommended Iqbal as well as some other persons as highly qualified persons to be considered for top slots against the Hindus.<sup>176</sup> His recommendations helped some individuals for selection but as Iqbal's degrees were not up to the requirement academically, so he was not offered any such position.<sup>177</sup> Secondly, earlier, that same publishing house had sent to Iqbal Mashriqi's another book *Kharita* for comments. Iqbal reviewed that book and sent it back<sup>178</sup> but that was not published and not even sources revealed anything about it.

Why did not he review *Tazkirah*? The one reason may be that Iqbal underrated himself to comment on such a book, which was a higher commentary on the Holy Quran. A reference of Hafeez Jalendhari (1901-1982) can be quoted here who had reported that once in his presence, some people brought the copy of *Tazkirah* to Iqbal to make him write something against it. Iqbal answered, "Should I write against the Holy Quran".<sup>179</sup> In that situation, Iqbal wrote to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (1884-1953) to attract his attention towards *Tazkirah* and made a request to him for a detailed review.<sup>180</sup> This remains a fact that Iqbal used to consult Nadvi through letters before expressing his view about religious matters. In this context, he made some queries

from Nadvi<sup>181</sup> before writing his essays in response to Nehru's treatise on Ahmadism. In those essays, he made it clear that he was not an authority in religious matters and he even did not want to entangle himself in any theological arguments<sup>182</sup> rather he desired to express his opinion on comparative study of religions and political implications of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya.

In short, Iqbal, in his letter to Nadvi,<sup>183</sup> explained to him that the commentary on *Tazkirah* written by Master Muhammad Hussain has revealed to him that Mashriqi's understanding of western ideas was only superficial and requested him to judge his [Mashriqi] grasp on the Holy Quran, Islamic history and Quranic exegesis. However, he rejected the allegations raised by certain quarters that he was a follower of Bahai sect or claimant of Prophethood.<sup>184</sup> Regarding Iqbal's reluctance on writing a review on Mashriqi's book, Zahoor Awan commented that Iqbal's refusal imply that he did not hold an apologetic position about this rather he did not comment because of his reservations about some contents of the book.<sup>185</sup>

Iqbal did not agree to some of the contents of the *Tazkirah* and he did not deem it appropriate to make such a disagreement public. After inviting Nadvi's attention towards this, he expressed his views in his personal correspondence with Master M. Hussain. Hussain till his death and later his family till 1994 kept those letters secret.<sup>186</sup> When these letters were made public, the Khaksars tried to defend Mashriqi and Khawaja Abdul Qadeer in his book showed anger towards Iqbal and severely criticized him. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to analyze the letters that Iqbal wrote to Hussain.

In Iqbal's opinion, Mashriqi has no privilege to write about the religion because if a person, who lacks perception and comprehension of Islam and Quran attempted to do so it would resultantly vulgarize the lofty and exalted message of the Quran.<sup>187</sup> Indicating the British policy of non-interference in religious affairs Iqbal concluded that it was in the absence of any strict government vigilance that every body deems himself capable of commenting on literature, religion and philosophy, which lost their importance.<sup>188</sup> Iqbal was of the view that an Islamic aristocracy based on *Taqwa* had the right to interpret Quran, and in his opinion, Mashriqi was not the

part of that Islamic aristocracy who had the right to rule over Muslim community and capable of understanding the lofty meanings of the Holy Scripture.<sup>189</sup>

Iqbal believed that Mashriqi was not cautious in his manner of speech and style of writing because he was not himself clear about his views and fell a prey to intricacy and his writings were the result of some foreign influence.<sup>190</sup> According to critics, Iqbal's allegation on Mashriqi of borrowing the thinking is not in accordance with the principle of magnanimousness. Iqbal's own thinking was largely based upon the Quran and *Sunnah*. Besides Islamic history and philosophy, he also benefited from Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1207-1273), Nietzsche (1844-1900), Henri Bergson (1859-1941), John Milton (1608-1674), Marx (1818-1883), Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) and many other intellectuals.<sup>191</sup> In a letter to Nicholson, he himself admitted that philosophy of *Asrar-i-Khudi* was adopted from the thoughts and observations of Muslim scholars and mystics.<sup>192</sup>

Iqbal also accused Mashriqi of quoting the main theme of his poetic work *Asrar-i-Khudi* in *Tazkirah* without reference of the context.<sup>193</sup> It's a matter of fact that Mashriqi in the preface of his work *Kharita* has criticized the Persian poetry in the same tone and language which was the hallmark of Iqbal's poetical works particularly, *Asrar-i-Khudi*. The main cause of Iqbal's irritation was that he reproduced his viewpoint without any reference. However, in this regard a comprehensive comparative study of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* and Mashriqi's *Tazkirah* and *Kharita*, is indispensable which could pinpoint the resemblances present in the works of both the genius contemporaries. However, the subject is beyond the scope of this study.

According to Iqbal, *Tazkirah* was being published under official patronage.<sup>194</sup> However, this allegation of Iqbal, levelled in 1924, lost its validity soon after the emergence of his letters in 1994, because, Mashriqi's anti-English policies were the essential part of the movement, on this no other opinion can be based. The Khaksars view these remarks as a 'contemporary jealousy'.<sup>195</sup>

Iqbal's views are concordant with Mashriqi's to the extent that Quran is an ardent supporter of experimentation and observation. But he differed from Mashriqi's

opinion that Quran was a book which only persuaded to seek knowledge of Geography and mechanics, and nothing else.<sup>196</sup> Iqbal also disagreed with Mashriqi's conclusion that cause of Quranic teachings and sole purpose for which Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was commissioned was the establishment of Muslim hegemony over entire world.<sup>197</sup> Iqbal expounded that the only purpose of man's struggle and action was not aggrandizement of empire, which was envisioned by European countries, as a primary purpose. Indeed, every intense endeavour of Muslims aimed at the disclosure of spiritualness of divine system.<sup>198</sup> It depicts that for Iqbal reformation of inner self is more important, because a spiritually developed person, who is aware of his abilities can easily subdue this whole universe.

Factual analysis reveals that Iqbal had neither studied Mashriqi's *Tazkirah* with deep consideration nor gave any conclusive remarks on it. Even in his correspondence with Master M. Hussain, who was busy in writing his commentary on *Tazkirah*, he cursorily gave his opinion about Mashriqi and his thoughts, which could not be called consequential. Moreover, the letters of Master M. Hussain that he wrote to Iqbal in regard with that of his queries about *Tazkirah* are not available. However, it seemed that Iqbal had some difference with him in relevance with Mashriqi's book, due to which Iqbal conveyed to him that he [Hussain] was free in the expression of his opinion but 'I do not agree with him'.<sup>199</sup>

Somehow, he differed with some thoughts of Mashriqi's but he did not overtly express his reservations, as he did in the case of refutation of Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani's concept regarding nationalism and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's pertaining Finality of Prophethood. It might happen that Iqbal reviewed his opinion about Mashriqi later on that's why he kept quiet. It was also indicated by the fact that in 1927, Sir Abdul Qadir, an old friend of Iqbal, presented Mashriqi's book *Tazkirah* for noble prize, which did not seem happening without taking Iqbal into confidence.

## **ANALYSIS OF IQBAL'S AND MASHRIQI'S THOUGHTS**

In the following pages an attempt is made to analyze the selective facets of religio-political thoughts of Iqbal and Mashriqi, and their views regarding various contemporary issues. It should be ascertained that how far they agree with each other and in which matters their views were not in consonance with each other.

## Poetry and Literature

Very few people knew that Mashriqi was also a poet and produced four poetic works in Persian and Urdu. Like Iqbal, Mashriqi started composing poetry in the early age when he was a student. Besides composing poetry, Mashriqi remained an avid reader of poetry. It has been reported that his excellent memory helped him to commit one thousand collections of poetry to his memory.<sup>200</sup>

Mashriqi's father also composed a book of poetry<sup>201</sup> and held the view that one should be able to understand poetry. But, according to Mashriqi, he was not sanguine about the role of poets in society and thought that natural sciences and mathematics could make man perfect.<sup>202</sup>

In 1902-04, when Mashriqi was in teen-age, he versified in Persian a few hundred lines. As he was allowed only to enjoy poetry and not to 'waste time' in composing poetry, so he had to keep, his poetry composing skill, a secret.<sup>203</sup> Like Iqbal, Mashriqi, during his stay in Europe concluded that poetry had a vital role in the decline of Muslims and therefore he decided to quit poetry. He writes:

"Worthlessness of poets in England, Europe's thirst for knowledge, marvelous struggle of that nation, love for nature, knowledge of the laws of nature [God], the similarity of their deeds and actions with the Islamic principles, all this disenchanting me from poetry".<sup>204</sup>

On the contrary, Iqbal had an inborn tendency towards poetry. He has been composing poetry since his teen-age.<sup>205</sup> Since 1895, during his studentship at Lahore, he not only attended the poetical symposiums but also recited his poems at the public meetings of Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalmanan and AHI.<sup>206</sup> Due to his purposeful poetry, very soon he emerged as a renowned poet who stirred the passions of the people through his poems.

Like Mashriqi, Iqbal during his stay in Europe (1905-08) thought of giving up poetry and decided to concentrate on more sturdy pursuits. However due to pleading and counseling of Abdul Qadir and Thomas Arnold, who argued that his poetry was useful for his country and nation,<sup>207</sup> he decided to carry on. But as he was in pursuit of

studies, therefore during his stay at Europe he only composed twenty-four poems and seven *ghazals*.<sup>208</sup>

Since Persian was the language of higher education and literature in India from middle ages to 1835, therefore, during his stay in Europe Iqbal switched over to Persian as the medium of his poetry; not only to communicate with his fellow Indian Muslims but also with the Persian speaking Muslims of Iran and Afghanistan.<sup>209</sup> Back to his homeland, Iqbal composed poetry both in Urdu and Persian, but his main thirst was for Persian. By 1924, he was ranked among great poets of India and the publication of *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), *Ramooz-i-Bekhudi* (1918), *Piyam-i-Mashriq* (1923) and *Bang-i-Dara* (1924) put him on the height of glory.

In 1924, Mashriqi got published his old Persian poetry under the title '*Kharita*'. In that collection, his poems, *ghazals* and quatrains were collectively published which he composed during 1902-04. However, in its foreword titled as 'A glance at poetry', he vehemently condemned poets and poetry and considered them not only a symptom of decay and decadence of people, but an antagonist of knowledge and action.<sup>210</sup> According to Khawaja Abdul Qadeer, during the heydays of *Hijrat* movement (1920) when Mashriqi was serving in Peshawar, he was dejected to see the wretched conditions of the poor and ruined Muslims. He was of the view that the emotional songs of Indian poets have pushed twenty-five thousands families into the valley of death. So *Kharita* was his response against poet and poetry in the backdrop of above mentioned catastrophe.<sup>211</sup>

Narrating the history of the poetry, Mashriqi asserted that best poetry was always composed when a nation became a victim of decline and decadence. It was such a period when people used poetry and other such literary pursuits as a vehicle of expression of their sentiments and feelings, and spirit of knowledge and action was obliterated from their hearts. Instead of using their energies in the practical business of life, people took refuge in poetry and fell prey to inertness and infirmity, which in the long run incapacitate their national spirit.<sup>212</sup>

Mashriqi identified a poet with 'grave digger' and 'time server', who for the time being instigate the passions of masses through his artistic skills, and people recite



his work with zestfulness.<sup>213</sup> He asserted that a poet never put a nation on the path of 'knowledge and action' as he did not have such capabilities which could sow the seeds of 'revolution'.<sup>214</sup>

To Mashriqi, a poet is a symbol of descent of a society, as Sheikh Sa'adi, Hafiz Sherazi, Hoomer, William Shakespeare, Asadullah Khan Ghalib and Ummul Qais all were the products of period of degeneration and decadence-when ignorance was its heights and 'law of nature' suffered an annihilation.<sup>215</sup>

He further added that the people, inclined toward poetry, were stupid, dunce, indolent and devoid of the knowledge of physical and natural sciences. The nation who composed, liked and promoted poetry could not achieve the goals of material and spiritual progress and finally fell in the hades of decline.

After the negation and refutation of poets and poetry Mashriqi discloses that he published his poetical work *Kharita* because it contained the crux of 'true Islamic teachings'. He holds that this book focused to divert the attention of poets and their admirers toward the Holy Quran, so that they could comprehend those vistas of knowledge and philosophy that exalted the Muslims of earlier ages to the zenith.<sup>216</sup>

Iqbal was aware that Mashriqi viewed poetry as an absurd activity and he critically examined and cavilled at poets and poetry in his work.<sup>217</sup> In fact, Iqbal had written a comprehensive review on that book [*Kharita*] which was sent to him by the publishing company,<sup>218</sup> but it was not published for one reason or the other. It seems that perhaps, Iqbal has countered Mashriqi's views about poetry, due to which it was proscribed by the Khaksar Tehrik or Mashriqi. It could be guessed from those letters of Iqbal to Master M. Hussain in which he declared Mashriqi as a person devoid of literary and artistic skills and who considered literature as totally a worthless thing.<sup>219</sup>

Iqbal was of the view that definitely knowledge associated with Prophethood has a preference over poetry and the latter was only for the subservience of the former.<sup>220</sup> However, he rejected Mashriqi's view point that verses were not meant for the service of the nation and said that it was the calumny of his incautious course of action and confusion of his thinking.<sup>221</sup>

Unlike Mashriqi who considered poetry a disease,<sup>222</sup> Iqbal regarded the fine arts such as literature and poetry, painting and music relevant and helpful to life. For this reason, he regarded them, as innovation and creative process, rather than merely a source of entertainment. He was of the view that a poet can make or shake the props, which support a nation's life.<sup>223</sup> Iqbal divided literature into two categories; the art which responds to the urge to progress is healthy and the art which fails to do so is dangerous and detestable.<sup>224</sup>

No doubt, when Iqbal and Mashriqi were born, the Muslims were being swept away by inward deterioration and slavery. As every department of life was on the decline, the poets were no exception, as their poetry was composed primarily around erotic themes. This marred the morals and thinking pattern of that society.<sup>225</sup> The idea of 'art for the sake of art'<sup>226</sup> which had engulfed India like the rest of the world, Iqbal was a staunch critic of it. To him, "the dogma of art for the sake of art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power".<sup>227</sup>

He believed that "the spiritual health of people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists receive.... The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attilia or a Changez".<sup>228</sup> In his poem '*Hunerwaran-i-Hind*',<sup>229</sup> he condemned those poets and artists who followed the erotic tradition.

Their fancy kills love and ecstasy,  
In their dark realms of thought are the sepulchers of nations.  
In their temples they carve symbols of death,  
The Art of such Brahamins is disgusted with life.  
They obscure lofty views from man's view;  
They put the spirit to sleep; and awaken the body.  
Women dominates nerves of the poor  
Indian poet, painter and the storywriter.

According to Iqbal, the real poet is the one who can feel the problems of his nation. Such a poet is the descendent of Prophet, who tries to reform the collective life of the community, in a truest sense.<sup>230</sup> In *Javed nama* he writes:

And if the aim of poetry be the creation of men of stamp,  
Then the fire of poesy is no less than part and parcel of the  
inheritance of Apostleship itself.<sup>231</sup>

Iqbal was very vocal in rejecting that version of fine arts, particularly the literature and poetry, which were devoid of any message. Besides *Zarb-i-Kaleem*, a large portion of discussion about music and painting of slave nations was present in *Zaboor-i-Ajam*.<sup>232</sup> Similarly in *Asrar-i-Khudi* a separate chapter was inducted to refute the poetry of period of decline.<sup>233</sup> For Iqbal, poetry is only the means of expressing his thoughts, what he really emphasizes was the content. He believes that as there is a natural inclination towards poetry as compared to prose, therefore "I employed 'poem' as a tool to familiarize the Muslims with the true meaning of life, to make them tread on the path of their forefathers, to keep them safe from hopelessness, cowardice and lack of courage".<sup>234</sup>

Being an exponent of art for the sake of purpose, Iqbal was determined to create the concept of community in the Muslims of India, which was the peculiarity of the Muslims of early ages.<sup>235</sup> He firmly believed that poetry, without any concrete and constructive message, is a futile activity just like a tree which is deprived of leaves and fruits.

To bard and scholar listened I,  
Philosopher to boot;  
Although their palm is proud and high,  
It yields nor leaf nor fruit.  
The gleam that hoary acolyte  
So prides himself upon;  
Reveals a thousand shades of night.  
But never glow of dawn.<sup>236</sup>

Like Mashriqi, Iqbal also had a complaint against those poets who ignore practicality in their creativity. He criticized those poets who did not try to instill boldness in the individuals of a community to wage a war against the odds and tribulations of life, rather they hibernate themselves in the world of literature, retreating from the battlefield of life.<sup>237</sup> Iqbal considered poetry as the medium of encouraging men to noble deeds, spurring him to activity and calling him to battle against all untruths. In a letter to Nadvi, in 1919, he wrote:

“I never followed the theories emphasizing literature for the sake of literature because I can’t spare time to appreciate the nuances of art. I desired a revolution in ideas and nothing else. Keeping these views in mind, I try to present in art, those ideas which I deem productive”.<sup>238</sup>

To him ‘highest art’ was that which awakens our dormant will force and helps us to face the hardships of life ‘manfully’.<sup>239</sup> He lamented that there was no ‘opium eating’ in art and all such works which brought drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to reality around was a ‘message of decay and death’.<sup>240</sup> Quoting the criticism of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on the contemporary Arabian poetry, Iqbal prescribed them profitable for Indian Muslims whose literature was chiefly the work of the period of their national decadence, as they were in search of new literary ideals.<sup>241</sup> Expounding the Prophet’s (PBUH) saying about Imra-ul-Qais that he was the most poetic of all poets and their leader to hell, Iqbal writes:

“Now what we do find in the poetry of Imra-ul-Qais? Sparkling wine, enervating sentiments and situations of love, heartrending moans over the ruins of habitations long swept away by stormy wind, superb pictures of the inspiring scenery of silent deserts, and all this is the choicest expression of old Arabia. Imra-ul-Qais appeals more to imagination than to will, and on the whole acts as a narcotic on the mind of the reader. The Prophet’s criticism reveals this most important art principle that the good in art is not necessarily identical with the good in life; it is possible for a poet to write fine poetry, and yet lead his society to Hell. The poet is essentially a seducer; woe to his people; if instead of making the trials of life look beautiful and attractive he embellishes decadence with all the glories of health and power, and seduces his people to extinction”.<sup>242</sup>

Iqbal added that Prophet (PBUH), on the contrary, when heard the verse of Antra of Abs tribe in which he said that he passed through whole nights of toil to merit a livelihood worthy of an honourable man; was immensely pleased and wished to meet him.<sup>243</sup> Iqbal commented that the Prophet (PBUH) desired to meet that infidel poet because he idealizes the pain of honourable labour. He writes:

“The Prophet’s (PBUH) appreciation of this verse indicates to us another art-principle of great value-that art is sub-ordinate to life, not superior to it”.<sup>244</sup>

Both Mashriqi and Iqbal adopted a strict but different course of action regarding the criticism on mystical poetry. In 1915, Iqbal published his first collection of verses entitled as *Asrar-i-Khudi* in which he unequivocally criticized the

teachings of occult mysticism and the poetry composed by such schools of thought. In 1924, Mashriqi in the preface of his Persian verses *Kharita*, besides criticizing the mysticism, rejected, in toto, the poetry as a worthless.

Iqbal concluded that as Mashriqi was unaware of the embellishment and elegance of literature due to which he committed mistakes and considered poetry as an absurd thing. He criticized Mashriqi for his objections raised on the personality of companion of Holy Prophet (PBUH), Hazrat Hassan and said that in his opinion Mashriqi was not pellucid about his own concepts because his views were borrowed ones.<sup>245</sup> Without entangling in the issue that whether Mashriqi had borrowed the views of Iqbal or not, in the following paragraphs an attempt is made to analyze and compare the views of both regarding mysticism and mystic poetry.

Mashriqi stated that it was the mystification of Islamic concepts by so-called '*sufis*', which played a vital role in Muslim decadence. The conversion of *Jihad* into spiritual endeavour, lesson of secluded prayers, abstention from Jihad with sword, deserting obedience of *Amir*, abdication of concept of *Ummah's* unity and *Hijrat*, swerving from concept of Muslim dominance over the entire world, and glorification of God's names on chaplet were such concepts of mysticism that lead people from action to inactivity. In this aforesaid state, adoption of poetry as an expression of one's love with Allah and Prophet resulted in the transference of their faith into poetry.<sup>246</sup>

He holds that it was the output of the teachings, sayings and poetry of illustrious poets like Sherazi, Abdul Rahman Jami (1414-1493) and Jalal-ud-Din Roomi, who were the exponent of mystic knowledge, which greatly affected the imagination of Muslim *Ummah* and mutilated the concepts of Faith, Unity of God and converted Islam into a compendium of sayings.<sup>247</sup> As a next step, modulation, then music and finally chorister's songs at the eve of death anniversaries of *pirs* were also started and rival groups fought for successions of the shrines.<sup>248</sup>

During his early period of life, Iqbal was inspired by the poetry of Hafiz Sherazi, the mystic poet of Iran. However, during his stay in Europe, he conducted his research on the development of metaphysics in Persia, which revealed upon him

some of the weak points of mystic life and philosophy and gradually the conviction grew in his mind that a life of contemplation and lethargy which many mystics had adopted was primarily responsible for the decline and degeneration of Muslims in their social, religious and political life.<sup>249</sup>

In 1915, he published his *magnum opus* - the *Asrar-i-Khudi* in which he deeply reflected on those causes which led to the Muslim downfall. In *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal criticized Hafiz's rebellious hedonism which he considered dangerous for the spiritual health of the Muslim community and diverted the Muslim from the right path, from the way of constant struggle with the lower self, and lured them into the delightful rose gardens of Shiraz, where, lulled into slumber by melodious undulating verses, they would forget their duties.<sup>250</sup>

It does not depict that Iqbal had any sort of enmity with mysticism. He does not attack Hafiz's poetic skills but criticized all poetic treasure and mystic literature that nourished on the philosophy of *wahdat-al-wajaud* and where roots go to Greek mythology and ancient Hindu *Vedas*.

With the publication of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, a spate of criticism was unleashed against it. Loud protest was roused by *sufis* led by Khawaja Hassan Nizami (1878-1957). On the persuasion of his father, Iqbal adopted a milder attitude towards Hafiz Sherazi and deleted the relevant verses from the second edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi*.<sup>251</sup> Later he commented:

"I appreciate Hafiz Sherazi's exquisiteness but when he persuades us to embrace complacency and waywardness, there erupts a rebellious cry from my soul against all this".<sup>252</sup>

In a letter to Maulvi Siraj-ud-Din he further explained his views about mystic poetry. He wrote:

"Most of the non-Arab poets are those who cherished the existential philosophy because of their natural tilt towards it.....These poets employed odd yet fascinating ways to contradict and refute the Islamic doctrines, and every appreciable thing of Islam has been labelled as something contemptible. If Islam reproaches indigence, Hakim Sanai declares it a great auspiciousness. Islam emphasizes the value of *Jihad* in the name of Allah, inevitable for life but these poets find different meanings in this custom of Islam".<sup>253</sup>

Iqbal had not criticized him publicly in spite of Mashriqi's absolutely opposite views regarding poetry, except those personal letters which were written to Master M. Hussain. Similarly, the comments of Iqbal on *Kharita*, though not published, but possibly might have seen by Mashriqi, no debate erupted between the two in Iqbal's life. However, after forty days of Iqbal's death, Mashriqi, while addressing the Khaksars in Ludhiana Camp, has said:

"In fact the verses of Iqbal created no ego and self-reliance in the nation. The national poet has only sung verses and songs. He could not prepare his nation for action".<sup>254</sup>

In early fifties Mashriqi's poetic works came to light which can undoubtedly be termed as 'anti-Iqbal'. Tracing the origin of his books, Mashriqi stated that during his imprisonment, he studied the poetry of Iqbal in order to comprehend the message of Iqbal given to his nation. He dejectedly concluded that except intoxicating the people and enticing the emotions, no message was given to the people.<sup>255</sup> Line of action envisaged by Iqbal was not deduced from Quran or by keeping in view the ascendancy of western nations. His viewpoint is so self-contradictory that it is also perplexing for the readers also.<sup>256</sup>

During his imprisonment, Mashriqi published his three poetic works comprising of about 5,000 verses.<sup>257</sup> He held that it was the, 'will of God' and 'wish of Prophet (PBUH)'<sup>258</sup> which compelled him to compose poetry, despite of his enmity and hatred with poets and poetry. He expounded that as the Muslim community had a deep inclination toward poetry, which led them to inactivity, therefore, as a remedial measure, he composed 'good verses' against the 'bad verses' and intended to their reformation.<sup>259</sup> In *Arghaman-i-Hakeem*, he again reiterated that as this declined nation was inclined towards poetry, therefore, he used poetry as a tool to capture the attention of the people.<sup>260</sup>

In the second phase of his campaign against poetry, he also targeted 'Iqbal as a poet' and severely criticized him. He viewed poetry as a profession of such persons who had no other positive activity to do,<sup>261</sup> and termed it as a 'collective death of nation'.<sup>262</sup> Criticizing the poetic works of Iqbal he declared it an opium which renders ineffectiveness to the nation. He said that Iqbal taught the lesson of indigence [*saqar*]

contentment and elegiac which further palsied the powers of the nation.<sup>263</sup> He humiliated Iqbal's concept of *Khudi*, *Ishq*, *Mard-i-Mau'min*, etc and declared them impracticable,<sup>264</sup> which had a disastrous effect on the people's capabilities of efforts and action.<sup>265</sup>

Mashriqi concluded that Iqbal's poetry is replete with literary pitfalls and linguistic twists. He further added that Persian used by Iqbal was faulty, has ambiguity of meanings and verses are beyond comprehension.<sup>266</sup> Employing very derogatory and satirical language, Mashriqi labeled Iqbal an opium-lover, a juggler, a pleasure-seeker, a drinker, a lunatic, a rogue, an idler, a mentally depressed person and Satan,<sup>267</sup> who wears English dress and mourns the losses of Islam while reclining in a chair.<sup>268</sup> Mashriqi lamented that Muslim community has invited its own destruction by accepting such a person as a leader.<sup>269</sup> He advised the nation to abandon the legacy of Iqbal if they wanted to make progress.<sup>270</sup>

Besides his poetical works, Mashriqi also criticized Iqbal in his book *Tikmalah* and declared him a so-called '*Maumin*' who taught Muslims the lesson of inactiveness.<sup>271</sup> He accused that Iqbal was not aware of the ABC of the religion Islam and his concept of '*Khudi*' was only a poetic appeal which was totally against the teachings of Islam.<sup>272</sup>

It could be unhesitatingly stated that books written by Mashriqi were primarily meant to defame and degrade Iqbal. Study of his books reveals that wherever he used the word 'you', 'rival' or 'opponent' he is referring toward Iqbal. Besides that, at number of places, he obnoxiously addressed Iqbal and even called him names which was not worthy for a well educated person like Mashriqi.<sup>273</sup>

Mashriqi's criticism on poets and poetry is not completely baseless. In fact, the poetry that is composed primarily for prolixity, verbosity and relishness is worthless and wastage of time. The hedonistic themes, eroticism and seductive tactics led the masses to an imaginary world and encouraged moral debasement and inactivity. However, the poetry which gives the lesson of unceasing activeness and struggle and awake our dormant will force leads the nation to the road of progress. In fact, it was the bigotry and egoism of Mashriqi that he did not give due weightage to



the merits of positive poetry and irritably argued in favour of effacement of poets and poetry from the society.

Mashriqi himself composed one Persian and three Urdu books on poetry, which did not receive due acceptance, recognition or appreciation by the masses. Most of his work, if analyzed in the light of science of prosody, could be dubbed as poetry; otherwise his poetry is devoid of the elements, which are considered as prerequisite for the composition of fine poetry. His Urdu works are teeming with satiric and ironic remarks against Iqbal and he vehemently and vigorously criticized his poetry, personality and teachings. He did not write even a single sentence about those poetic schools of thought, which under the spell of Persian mystical trends gave Muslims the lessons of inertness, and intoxicated the minds of masses with such concepts that lead them to hell. It is a negligence on the part of Mashriqi, who did not highlighted the efforts of Iqbal, who like Altaf H. Hali (1837-1914), laid the foundation of constructive poetic school of thought which was the custodian of that 'high art' that helped people to face the trials of life manfully.<sup>274</sup> If Tennyson (1809-1892) was right in saying, 'The song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed', then Iqbal was indeed an activist of the highest order for not only did he set before the Muslims the loftiest Islamic ideals, but he also gave them the will to attain these ideals believing firmly that a determined, disciplined seeker could find anything including God.<sup>275</sup>

It shows that Mashriqi did not dig deep into the poetry of Iqbal; otherwise, he must not have categorized his poetry as a chapter for mystics, which led the nation towards inertness and inactivity. For the Muslims of sub-continent, Iqbal's poetry was a strong message to rise against the oppressive forces. He employed his philosophy of *Khudi* to infuse in the Muslims the spirit of struggle and soaring high above the tradition-ridden environment. He incorporated the profiles of great Muslim commanders in his poetry. He highlighted the military maneuvers and praised the visionary approach of Umer Farooq, Hazrat Ali, Khalid Bin Waleed, Tariq Bin Ziad, Tipu Sultan, etc. This provided a chance for some people to align him with the 'war poets'<sup>276</sup> as he massively knit the deeds and exploits of Muslims commanders into his poetic themes.

As it has been mentioned earlier that if Mashriqi's poetry is taken into consideration from the laws of prosody, then it may be called poetry, otherwise it defied every definition of poetry. Despite the shortcomings in his poetry, he presented himself as an unmatched poet<sup>277</sup> and declared his verses to include essence of 'knowledge and action'.<sup>278</sup> Contrary to this, Iqbal's poetry has not only the technical perfection but also has its own uniqueness. Diction, tone, rhythm and rhyme, similar and metaphors, flow and spontaneity, all these trappings of fine poetry are present in his works and been excellently contrived by Iqbal for the maximum aesthetic and technical pleasure to be gleaned from his poetry. Despite of that Iqbal under rated himself and called his poetry as 'stray voice' and not liable to be a poetry in its real sense.<sup>279</sup>

Actually, Mashriqi could not understand Iqbal's poetry. That's why he declared it beyond comprehension.<sup>280</sup> Contrary to this, he suspected that people might not comprehend his poetical works, so he added glossary at the end of all his books. With some exceptions, such a practice is not traceable in Iqbal's publications, as Iqbal had a firm technical grip over his content of poetry. Majnaun Gorakhpuri (1904-88), one of the contemporary of Iqbal, who despite having differences with him wrote:

"Iqbal is the first poet of Urdu language who is also a philosopher and messenger. His poetry is based on a particular ideology. His views are properly compiled, show continuity, arguments and result oriented. His diction has also a connexion and properly coded. He has a cognitive knowledge of life and presented the reality of life so accurately which no one can deny".<sup>281</sup>

Unlike Mashriqi who like the mathematical theorems presented the solution of problems of Muslim *Ummah* in his 5,000 verses, in a calculated time, Iqbal never wrote the poetry consciously. In fact, it has been reported that it was only twice a year when a condition of ecstasy overcame him and the process of beneficence continue for hours.<sup>282</sup> It depicts that his poetry to a large extent was inspirational and revelational. It was admitted by a notable Indian scholar A.A. Nadvi that 'he thinks that Iqbal is that poet from whom Allah caused to say some facts according to the need of time, which are not imparted by any other contemporary poet or philosopher'.<sup>283</sup>

In sum, contrary to Mashriqi, Iqbal did not view poetry and literature as worthless things. However, he definitely disliked those poets and writers whose predilection solely meant for mental voluptuousness and devoid of any message. Like Hali, Iqbal keeping in view the higher purpose of art used his poetry as a powerful weapon to combat political tyranny, social injustice and economic exploitation.<sup>284</sup> Using '*Afrang*' as the metaphor for western Imperialism<sup>285</sup> and '*Bu lahab*' as the symbol of Arabian Imperialism, he wrote series of poems in Urdu and Persian to expose the inner mechanics of this exploitative order.<sup>286</sup>

Though Iqbal was a staunch supporter of 'Art for the sake of purpose'; but colloquial diction and perfect versification are such features of his poetry, which converted him into the most important poet of Muslim India, both for the quality of his verse and for the influence exercised by his ideas.

Mashriqi accused Iqbal, that it was his poetry which sowed the seeds of incapacitation in the Muslim and taught them the lessons of inactivation.<sup>287</sup> In this regard, I just want to quote Lini S. May, who unlike Mashriqi, after the in-depth study of Iqbal's works reached at the conclusion that the *Asrar-i-Khudi* attempted to induce psychological change in the Muslim individual, and the *Ramooz-i-Bekhudi* constituted a call to all Muslim to join together in the struggle for their political redemption and the *Piyam-i-Mashriq* preached action.<sup>288</sup>

Since the death of Iqbal, up till 1952 Mashriqi did not utter even a single word regarding Iqbal's teaching and character, though he was vocal in his expressions. What were those abrupt changes that during his imprisonment in early fifties he scurrilously criticized Iqbal's poetry and passed derogatory remarks about his personality.

It seems that frequent arrests, solitary confinement, strict government restrictions and vigilance, and failure of his political ideology, disturbed him a lot.<sup>289</sup> Moreover, protracted ailment, improper medical treatment and unsmooth matrimonial relations<sup>290</sup> further added fuel to the fire and he fell prey to neurasthenia.<sup>291</sup> It was in these circumstances, when during his imprisonment, he went through Iqbal books. The nostalgia of being the sole spokesmen and leader of Muslims and his old wish

that rest of prominent personalities would follow him once again haunted Mashriqi and it emerged in the form of anti-Iqbal literature.

In fact, formation of Pakistan (1947), emergence of AJML as a national party of Muslims was such realities, which were intolerable for Mashriqi. In other words, failure of religio-political agenda of Mashriqi coupled with imprisonment, maltreatment and humiliation by the state authorities produced a natural reaction and he reacted presumptuously against Iqbal whom he deemed responsible for all atrocities committed against him. A detailed analysis of Mashriqi's poetry can reveal those hidden psychological aspects of Mashriqi's personality, which converted him into an opponent of Iqbal, in the closing years of his life.

### **Sources of Muslim Law**

There is a difference of opinion between Iqbal and Mashriqi regarding the sources of Muslims Law and their importance. To Mashriqi, Quran is the only source of knowledge which has full and final programme of men's collective progress.<sup>292</sup> He was of the view that there was no need of any translation or exegesis to understand the Quran. In the existing commentaries of Quran, there was no firm principle or worthwhile conclusion and "the dark clouds of wrong conclusion and reckless deviations have covered the meanings [of Quran] with thick layers of black smoke".<sup>293</sup> Mashriqi concluded that *Fiqah* and commentaries which are now appended to Quran, for its interpretation by *Ulamas* are only man-made adjuncts.<sup>294</sup> They were unimportant as they were not present in the early days, when Islam was in full glory and Quran in full action.<sup>295</sup>

Like Ghulam A. Perviaz (d. 1985), Mashriqi did not accept the validity of *Ahadith*. He was of the view that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) during his lifetime prohibited to record his statements. Compilation of *Ahadiths* in third century (A.H), he expounded, proved a root-cause of sectarianism, which at later stages engulfed the Muslim *Ummah*. He writes:

"*Ahadith*, because they were stray utterances of the Prophet (PBUH) separated from the context and the atmosphere of the conversation, and did not even sometimes mention the status of the man to whom the conversation of the Prophet (PBUH) was addressed, created a tremendous confusion in the

original teachings of Quran, and Islam became even ten times more sectarian in its teaching aspects”.<sup>296</sup>

During last days of his life, Mashriqi wrote a commentary on selected chapters of Quran titled as *Tikmalah* (1960) and *Hadith-ul-Quran* (1963), which he declared as ‘a last word on teachings of Quran’.<sup>297</sup> In these works, he asserted that if Muslims did not ponder over his translation and exegesis of Quran, then it was impossible for them to understand its real content.<sup>298</sup> In these works he thrasonically repeated that earlier exegists and annotators of Quran did a futile translation and misunderstood the meaning of verses and correct meanings were as under, as comprehended by him.<sup>299</sup>

This depicts the contradiction in his teachings. Though, he advised the Muslims to ponder over Quran, because it is self-explanatory, he challenged that without his translations of the Holy Quran, and no one could understand the message of God. He wanted to reinterpret the Quran and held that all old, outdated and futile views about the divine revelation should be ignored.<sup>300</sup> This total rejection of exegesis of scholars since the earlier ages and his claims of having an intimate knowledge of words of God is indicative of his autocratic behaviour, even in the realm of Islamic teachings.

Contrary to Mashriqi, Iqbal believes in the four accepted sources of Muslims Law; the Quran; the *Hadith*; the *Ijma*; and the *Qias*.<sup>301</sup> Iqbal believed that Quran was the ‘primary source’ of Islamic law whose purpose was to ‘awaken in man the higher consciousnesses’ of his relations with God and the universe. He was a firm believer that the words of Quran were eternal and beyond any shadow of doubt. However, quite different from Mashriqi, Iqbal never tried to understand Quran on the spear of his own intellect, but he arrived at some opinion about some verses of the Quran after consulting numerous Islamic scholars.<sup>302</sup> Unlike Mashriqi, Iqbal was of the view that *Ahadith*, in spite of theoretical possibilities of errors, pointed out by scholars were genuine record of early Islam and said:

“Further intelligent study of the literature of traditions, if used as indicative of the spirit in which the Prophet himself interpreted his revelation, may still

be of great help in understanding the life-value of the legal principles enunciated in the Quran".<sup>303</sup>

The *Sunnah* or *Ahadith*, demonstrates how the Prophet's thoughts and deeds were grounded in the eternal verities of the Quran as well as in the realities of the social and natural environments in which he lived. The authority of the *Sunnah* springs from explicit declaration in the Quran.<sup>304</sup> However, on the explicit orders of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), his sayings were either not written down in his lifetime in order not to confuse them with the Quran, or were written down in limited cases and for particular purposes. Later this ban was lifted and it was allowed to record traditions.<sup>305</sup> According to Justice Taqi Uthmani (b.1943), firm belief on *Ahadith* and their usage, as an important source of Muhammadan Law, to interpret the teachings of Islam is inevitable. He expounded that *Ahadith* are in fact, revelation without recitation [*Wahi Ghair Matlau*] which were revealed upon Prophet as an explanation of various Quranic injunctions, and made public through the sayings and actions of Holy Prophet (PBUH).<sup>306</sup>

## Taqleed

Iqbal and Mashriqi, both in their own ways criticized the concept of '*Taqleed*' in religious affairs. Mashriqi argued that people considered it a sin to reason about faiths and not dare to ponder over their philosophy and purport and to draw conclusions after an in-depth study of divine books.<sup>307</sup> He negated the wrong attitude of people in which blind following was made as a normal practice. He said:

"The dwellers of the earth are convinced that the commandments of the master of the Heaven and Earth are meant to be accepted blindly; that they are devoid of any worldly wisdom".<sup>308</sup>

To Iqbal, *Taqleed* is contrary to religion.<sup>309</sup> He believed that the finality of the Quranic message did not mean that the details which were worked out to implement the fundamentals of Islam, in the past, under different political and social economic conditions, were to be binding for all times to come.<sup>310</sup> To him, *Taqleed* is the root cause of the ills of the Muslim society, particularly in Indian sub-continent.<sup>311</sup> That's the reason due to which he declared himself '*ghair-muqallid*' in *fiqah* related affairs.

However, so far as the religious beliefs were concerned, he admitted to be the follower of the predecessors *Ulama*.<sup>312</sup>

## Sectarianism

Mashriqi and Iqbal, both, condemned sectarianism in unequivocal words. Mashriqi was convinced that as a principle there is no sect in Islam,<sup>313</sup> and he considered that division of Muslims into water tight compartments of various sects was a greatest *shirk* as well as oppression.<sup>314</sup> He was of the view that the group of man who after the fall of Islam began to interpret Quran from this sectarian point of view, and began to style themselves *Ulama*, cut Muslims into various sects according to their own schools of thought.<sup>315</sup>

This notion of Mashriqi is very much in consonance with the Iqbal's perception of sectarianism, which had condemned the misinterpretation of Quran and *Sunnah* by 'Mulla' and 'Sufi'. He says that both the *Mulla* and *Sufi* tried to explain Quran in their own way but their meanings are so far-fetched that God, Gabriel and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) are all surprised at their distortions.<sup>316</sup>

Mashriqi opposed sectarianism in all forms, theoretical and convictional, verbal and practical, of following and non-following and aimed at the unity of Muslim *Ummah*.<sup>317</sup> He said: 'I do not favour any sectarianism, neither I label myself as Sunnite or Shiaite, being a Muslim is enough for me'.<sup>318</sup>

Almost in the similar words Iqbal disliked sectarianism and grouping. He showed his concerns over the growing trend of sectarianism and *baradarism* amongst the Indian Muslims. Referring to the one sect's decrees against other he writes:

"As long as a person is loyal to the two basic principles of Islam i.e., the Unity of God and Finality of Prophethood, not even the strictest *Mulla* can turn him outside the pale of Islam even though his interpretations of the law or the text of the Quran are believed to be erroneous".<sup>319</sup>

## Ijtehad

Iqbal was one of the protagonists of *ijtehad*. He viewed *ijtehad* as an instrument of change, a movement toward progress and link between permanent values and the requirements of fast changing environments of life.<sup>320</sup> He concluded

that false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for people's decay and was contrary to the inner impulse of Islam.<sup>321</sup> He stresses the need of stability and adaptability of Islamic doctrines in modern times and defined *ijtehad* as 'principle of movement in the structure of Islam'.<sup>322</sup>

After tracing the origin of four established schools of Muslim jurisprudence, discussing the causes of intellectual decline which reduced the law of Islam to a state of immobility, and monitoring the religio-political development in Iran and Turkey, he evolved a thesis that a national legislative assembly was a competent authority to exercise *ijtehad* in matters of religion and politics in a Muslim society.<sup>323</sup>

Mashriqi on the other hand also expressed that the decisions of early jurists should be held in esteem but there ought to be a logically free room for extension, evolution, mutation and even whole sale contradiction of previous decisions in order to make Islamic law more perfect and better fitted for an advancing nation.<sup>324</sup> However, unlike Iqbal, Mashriqi denied the necessitousness of other auxiliary sources, for instance, *Ahadith* and *Fiqh* to comprehend Quran and its reinterpretation in the rapidly changing human environment.<sup>325</sup>

### **Separation of Church and State**

Iqbal and Mashriqi both have uniformity in their views regarding the separation of Church and state and both believed that they were inseparable. To Mashriqi, "we approach religion through politics and after proving the two as an inseparable whole, we will turn to God".<sup>326</sup>

In his poetry and prose Iqbal has explicitly discussed the interaction between religion and politics. He did not view politics as a separate entity, but considered it subservient to the religion.<sup>327</sup> Like Mashriqi, Iqbal rejected the European experience that "religion is the private matter of the individual and had nothing to with its temporal life". He believes that, "Islam does not bi-furcated the unity of man", into two separate entities of "spirit and matter". He holds that "in Islam, God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other".<sup>328</sup>



It does not mean that Iqbal believed in theocracy. According to him, the unification of politics and religion means that political thought and action should be under spiritual values and principles. He asserted that there was no aristocracy in Islam, no privileged class, no priesthood and no caste system.<sup>329</sup> Tracing back the political history of the Muslim, Iqbal clarified that the separation of state and church meant only the separation of functions, not of ideas. It could not be maintained that in Muslim countries this separation means the freedom of Muslim legislative activity from the conscience of the people which had for centuries been trained and developed by the spirituality of Islam.<sup>330</sup> He further expounded that it was Christianity, not the Islam, which began as an order of monks having nothing to do with the affairs of the world; Islam was from the very beginning, a civil society with laws civil in their nature, though believed to be revelational in origin.<sup>331</sup>

### Concept of Prayer

Both Iqbal and Mashriqi viewed prayer [*Salat*] somewhat different from traditional Islamic concept. Besides a vehicle of spiritual sublimation, they considered it a search for knowledge and military training respectively. In Mashriqi's opinion all Islamic beliefs including prayers, *zakat*, fasting and pilgrimage are aimed at developing a military type discipline among the Muslims.<sup>332</sup>

Prayer, to Mashriqi, was the prototype of military obedience. It resembles the military training of an army which through regular parades submit his obedience to the leader.<sup>333</sup> He stressed that it was through 'prayers' that the early Muslims were endowed with the qualities of extreme discipline, unity and *Taqwa*, and able to develop a creative form of spiritualism in them.<sup>334</sup> In his works *Tazkirah* he further elaborated:

"Offering prayers five times a day in mosques resembles servant's *salam* to his master which is not worship at all. God worship starts after these five times when people get busy in obeying the commandments of God after getting up from prayer-mats".<sup>335</sup>

Iqbal also visualize prayers as an 'agency' through which 'association' was achieved with Allah Almighty.<sup>336</sup> "Thus the prayers", he added, "as a means of vital

act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in a large whole of life".<sup>337</sup>

Prayer, in Iqbal's opinion, also resembles to seeking knowledge.<sup>338</sup> In fact, prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of the nature. The scientific observations of the nature keep us in close contact with the behaviour of reality and thus sharpen our inner perception for a deeper vision for it.<sup>339</sup> Like Mashriqi, who resembled prayer with military drill, Iqbal connoted that seeking knowledge was also a form of prayers. He writes:

"The truth is that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer".<sup>340</sup>

It did not mean that Iqbal rejected the importance of prayer in its ritual form.<sup>341</sup> To him the performance of these prayers was expedient but not sufficient.<sup>342</sup> He viewed the exploration of universe as the practical extension of traditional and ritual prayers. The human efforts of ever un-accomplished conquest of universe were interpreted by Iqbal as a continuance praise of God. Thus, in this process of conquest, the man gradually moves forward in the immense expanses and exaltations of universe and raises the slogans of praise of God.<sup>343</sup>

Like Iqbal, Mashriqi also explicitly equated ceaseless struggle for conquest of universe as a pre-requisite for 'meeting with God' on doomsday.<sup>344</sup> By citing a verse of Quran in which Allah Almighty ordained about himself that 'Every day He appears with a new glory',<sup>345</sup> Mashriqi concluded that Allah also expect consecutive action from His people.<sup>346</sup>

### **Critique on Early Logicians**

Like Iqbal, Mashriqi too, criticized the early logicians who under the spell of classical Greek thought tried to interpret the Quranic injunctions and natural phenomena. Inayatullah Mashriqi denounced the attitude of the Muslim logicians like Ibn-i-Razi, Ibn-i-Rush and Al-Ashri for synthesizing purist Islamic thought with those of Greek and criticized them for indulging themselves in aimless debates on supernatural propositions of destiny, Day of Judgment, metaphysics, reality of soul

and *Khalq-i-Quran*.<sup>347</sup> He concluded that in spite of much progress made by man, he was still unaware of what this life and its process constituted. 'The reason', Mashriqi added, 'is our worship of the Greeks; we are not the worshippers of Nature and God. Had we been worshippers of God we must by now have ourselves become creators of life'.<sup>348</sup>

Iqbal analyze the Quran and history of Islam in the light of post-modern theory of dynamism. Like Mashriqi, he too concluded that the early Muslim logicians study Quran and history in the light of Greek thought which was entirely classical in nature. For instance, Iqbal gave example of Plato, who despised sense perception as it yielded mere opinion and no knowledge. To him, it was against the Quranic teachings, which regards 'hearing' and 'sight' as the most valuable gifts and declared them to be accountable to God for their activity in the world.<sup>349</sup> He expounded that it was under the spell of Greek philosophy, which though broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, but on the whole it obscured their vision of the Quran,<sup>350</sup> and they started interpreting it in the light of Greek thoughts and knowledge.<sup>351</sup>

### **Khilafat and Allied Movements**

Like Iqbal, Mashriqi also kept himself aloof from the Khilafat agitation. During the heydays of Khilafat and non-cooperation movement Mashriqi was in Peshawar, serving in Education department. To him, 'it is a futile exercise, as it was devoid of discipline and direction'.<sup>352</sup> It has been reported that Mashriqi was offered knighthood and ambassadorship in Kabul, if he influenced the Afghan authorities to stop migration of Muslims to their country. In spite of his reservations regarding Muslim agitation, he refused and considered that it would mean a sell out of his own self and of those who had scarified all they had.<sup>353</sup>

In fact Mashriqi's concept of Muslim unity was different from Pan-Islamism. He was not in favour of restoration of institution of caliphate, because to him collective purification and regeneration among the Muslims should precede the restoration of caliphate.<sup>354</sup> In 1926, he attended the Cairo Conference, which aimed at the restoration of Muslim caliphate. In his speech he said that the task of revival of the Muslims was more important than that of restoring a titular *Khilafat* and

contained the British ideas of installing a Muslim king of their own choice as Caliph.<sup>355</sup> He argued that a vassal ruler could not be the spiritual ruler of the Islamic world.<sup>356</sup>

Prior to that, on similar grounds Iqbal opposed the idea of sending the *Khilafat* delegation to England. He concluded that even if the Ottoman Caliphate was revived in accordance with the Muslim's demands, it would be a caliphate under the suzerainty of England or other European powers and could therefore be of no benefit to the Muslims.<sup>357</sup>

Like Iqbal, who believes that 'Islam is neither nationalism or imperialism but a League of nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only and not for restricting the social horizon of its members',<sup>358</sup> Mashriqi also wanted to establish central League of Islamic nations to protect the interests of every Muslim nation through effective political force.<sup>359</sup>

Like Mashriqi, Iqbal presumed that *Khilafat*, non-cooperation and *Hijrat* movements<sup>360</sup> would never be beneficial and British government would do whatever it likes. He considered that participation in these movements was absurd and tantamount to waste the time.<sup>361</sup> At the initial stages of *Khilafat* movement, Iqbal worked for sometime as member of *Khilafat* Committee. But soon he sagaciously perceived that INC in the pretext of these movements was solely aimed to achieve its own ends, therefore, he segregated himself from *Khilafat* Committee.<sup>362</sup> Mashriqi also harboured his doubts regarding the practicality of these movements and believed that these tentative agitation movements would drain the strength of Muslim nation.<sup>363</sup>

Both Iqbal and Mashriqi were offered jobs in newly established *Jamia Millia* of Muhammad Ali Joher in the capacity of principal and Head of Mathematics department respectively. Mashriqi was approached by Joher<sup>364</sup> himself but he did not acceded to his request due to his engagements in Indian Educational Service coupled with his efforts to finalize his work *Tarkirah*.<sup>365</sup>

Iqbal was approached through M. K. Gandhi, but he too declined the offer on the grounds that non-cooperation with British in the field of education would not be

beneficial for the Muslims. Secondly, he concluded that in *Jamia Millia* more stress had been laid on literature and philosophy, therefore while declining the offer of Gandhi he suggested that keeping in view the economic backwardness of Indian Muslims, it was imperative to design a syllabus in which primary importance should be given to the physical and technical disciplines.<sup>366</sup>

### Capitalism and Socialism

Mashriqi and Iqbal both denounced the systems of capitalism and socialism in unequivocal terms. To Mashraqi, it was a curse,<sup>367</sup> which promotes concentration of wealth in few hands and helps to crush the poor; which eventually led to the domination of smaller nations by more advance ones.<sup>368</sup> Both Mashriqi and Iqbal believe that capitalism, like nationalism was a wrong philosophy. They not only exploit the working classes, but were the source of division and factionalism of human beings and resulted in the nationalistic battles which the western capitalist countries had frequently fought for markets and raw materials.<sup>369</sup>

Mashriqi like his contemporary Iqbal also rejected socialism and dubbed it as illusion<sup>370</sup> that aimed at economic equality, but it completely denied the individual freedom. He condemned it as the most wretched kind of serfdom which tramples the individual personality and will of man.<sup>371</sup> Mashriqi concluded that communism was piousness for versatility of human's sociological life as it made no distinctions between the ignorant and intelligent people and did not recognize the right of masses to improve their socio-economic status according to their own will.<sup>372</sup>

Contrary to Mashriqi who called Karl Marx (1818-1883), V.I. Lenin (1870-1924) and Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) fraudulent and defined communism as barbaric, secular and oppressive system,<sup>373</sup> Iqbal, however, at initial stages, welcomed socialist revolution as he regarded it a strong reaction against Europe's reckless and usurper capitalism. He composed poems such as *Lenin-Khuda Ke Huzaur Main*, *Nawa-i-Mazdaur*, *Khizr-i-Rah*, *Qismatnama Sarmayadar wa Mazdaur*, etc which later were published in *Bal-i-Jibril*,<sup>374</sup> *Bang-i-Dara*<sup>375</sup> and *Piyam-i-Mashriq*.<sup>376</sup> In these poems, he not only discussed the differences between capital and labour but also censured the exploitative practices of capitalist system. This led some people to label Iqbal as a communist.<sup>377</sup> Iqbal immediately rejected this blame and explained that a person

having communist ideas was to be equated with the one who is expelled from Islam.<sup>378</sup> He remained an enthusiastic supporter of communism to the limit where it performed an historic duty by challenging and uprooting the imperialistic system of the west.<sup>379</sup> But he disliked its Godlessness and lack of spirituality. Secondly, he did not deem the exclusion of capital from 'economic system'<sup>380</sup> rather he wanted to see this force operate within certain limits through the imposition of Quranic injunctions on this system.<sup>381</sup>

In fact, Iqbal considered capitalism and socialism as challenge to the Islamic society and both were unacceptable to him on the ground that they made a distinction between the 'profane' and the 'sacred'. To cope with these challenges, Iqbal envisaged that Muslims in India needed a separate territory where they could develop the Islamic *Shariat* to meet the socio-economic challenges in a frame-work which would keep intact the integral relationship between religion and politics,<sup>382</sup> and to save the Muslim masses from the clutches of capitalism and socialism.<sup>383</sup>

## Democracy

Mashriqi and Iqbal both have expressed their reservations and dissension about prevailing democracy in British India. According to Mashraqi, democracy is a practicable thought and successfully functioning in the west only because of the result of a long process of historical evolution. He considered it unjust to impose the western democratic traditions on a degenerate people such as India.<sup>384</sup> He believed that democratic conditions, could not flourish in India because the Indians were incapable of making an intelligent use of the right of vote.<sup>385</sup> Like Iqbal, who believed that principles of European democracy could not be applied to India without recognizing the facts of communal groups,<sup>386</sup> Mashriqi also hold that democracy could only be set up when there was a single nation having one culture and dominant religion and civilization. In democracy, minority form part of the same culture. "This false democracy," he added, "which is in vogue in India has resulted today in the despotic leadership of Congress which is crushing all non-Congressites."<sup>387</sup>

Mashriqi concluded that western democracy is an illusion and a conspiracy of capitalism,<sup>388</sup> in which a capitalist rules the populace by trading their votes in the whim of wealth.<sup>389</sup> The real democracy is that one, where commonalty, which formed

the majority, establishes a government. 'For establishment of such a government', Mashriqi added, 'there should be constituencies for the poor and the rich, so that a rich may not buy the votes of a poor'.<sup>390</sup>

Democracy, in Iqbal's opinion, was an ideology, which through its deceptive concepts had created moral and political lawlessness in the life of modern man.<sup>391</sup> Iqbal viewed democratic system based on western ideas as same old musical instrument that contains no tunes other than imperial ones. It is not freedom but the demon of autocracy in the garb of democracy.

In the West the people rule, they say:  
And what is this new reign?  
The same harp still, the same strings play  
The despot's old refrain;  
In Demos-dress let tyranny's  
Old Demon-dance be seen  
You fancy call up Liberty's  
Blue-mantled fairy queen!<sup>392</sup>

He expressed his utter disgust with so-called democracy because it is based on numbers, rather than wisdom and insight.

By some European sage  
This secret was revealed,  
Though men endowed with sense,  
Keep points like this concealed.  
Democracy means a mode  
To rule the common man;  
No doubt, they count the votes  
But conducts do not seen.<sup>393</sup>

Despite all the drawbacks and flaws in Indian democracy, Iqbal did not get aloof from this system. Because he thought that at that time, there was no other alternative. Under that prevailing democratic system, he remained member of PLC from 1926-1930.

According to Iqbal, Islam is in essence democratic and this Islamic democracy was completely different from western democracy and it did not "grow out of the extension of economic opportunity, it is spiritual principle based on the assumption

that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character".<sup>394</sup> In fact 'spiritual democracy' is the only form of government which suits the ideological state of Iqbal and an 'ultimate aim of Islam'.<sup>395</sup>

### Western Civilization

Like Iqbal, Mashriqi was equally critical of western civilization. To him western civilization is like a spider's network which gets demolished by a mere gust of wind after which not a trace of the captivating structure is left.<sup>396</sup> He observed that emphasis on materialism in the West resulted in ignoring the spiritual potentialities of human being.<sup>397</sup> He concluded that destiny of Western system was collapse, like a house of cards.<sup>398</sup>

Iqbal was extremely critical of contemporary western civilization, which he viewed, based on aggression and imperialism.<sup>399</sup> He believed that Europe was the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement,<sup>400</sup> as it led the human beings towards moral degeneration and decay.

The culture that prevails in west,  
Corrupts the heart and gaze of man:  
Its soul is full of stain and spots  
That at leisure one can scan.  
If soul of man becomes defiled,  
Of conscience clean it gets bereft:  
It soon forgets high aims and ends,  
No taste refined in it is left.<sup>401</sup>

### Tauheed

Mashriqi and Iqbal both visualized *Tauheed* as an acting force and dynamic principle of unity. To Mashriqi, Islam is the only religion, which aims to unify the mankind on the basis of *Tauheed*. The immediate purpose of *Tauheed* is to create people capable of uniting the entire humanity as single fraternity.<sup>402</sup> Similarly, Iqbal viewed principle of *Tauheed* as the foundation of world-unity. He believes that 'Islam as a polity is only a practical means of making this principle a living factor, in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind'.<sup>403</sup> To him, the essence of *Tauheed* as a working idea was equality, solidarity and freedom.<sup>404</sup> In his note book, Iqbal



interpreted *Tauheed* as 'absolute freedom from fear and superstition',<sup>405</sup> which demands 'loyalty to God not to the thrones'.<sup>406</sup>

### **Mullaism**

Both Iqbal and Mashriqi, strongly condemned '*Mullaism*',<sup>407</sup> and considered it as the cause of Muslim's sectarianism, educational under-development, decay and retrogression in world in general and sub-continent in particular.

Mashriqi in his writings and speeches repeatedly challenged the community of *maulvis* and asserted that neither the institution of '*Maulvi*' nor the word *maulvi* existed in the Quran, *Hadith* or earlier Islamic history. He believes that *Maulvi's* knew nothing about Islam and their version of Islam taught the lesson of opportunism and to cheat Allah Almighty.<sup>408</sup>

In 1930's Mashriqi launched a series of pamphlets in which he claimed that the path adopted by *Maulvi* was wrong. He vigorously attacked them and abhorred the institutionalization of clergy in Islam.<sup>409</sup> According to Mashriqi, it was the *Mulla* who put the original and true Islam under the cloak for his vested interests and did not impart the Quranic teachings in its true spirit to the Muslims.<sup>410</sup>

To Mashriqi, *Ulama* are those people who study the nature made by God. The *Ulama* of the Quran are only those people, which according to Mashriqi, not only have a profound knowledge of Holy Scriptures, but also of the larger book of nature which is the only existing truth.<sup>411</sup>

To Iqbal, *Ulama* have always been a source of great strength to Islam. But during the course of centuries, particularly, since the destruction of Baghdad, they became extremely conservative.<sup>412</sup> Iqbal has always expressed dissatisfaction with such orthodox *Ulamas* and declared them a hurdle in the nation's progress. Unlike Mashriqi he kept up relations with the *Ulamas* and sought their guidance on many theological matters.<sup>413</sup> In his poetry, Iqbal dubbed *Mulla* as a root cause of Muslim decline, who was not capable to lead the Muslim community and devoid of leadership qualities.

The Mulla and Jurist both alas!  
About this fact are not aware;  
As long as thoughts are not the same,  
The ripeness of acts leads nowhere.  
The Mullas who lead prayers brief,  
Don't know a nation's goal and aim.  
How can they learn a nation's weight,  
When things like this they do not claim? <sup>414</sup>

*Mullaism* in Iqbal's opinion has degenerated Islam into heathenism and converts Muslims into heretics. The *Mulla's* vision of religion, as Iqbal viewed, was like those of dead stone and mindless cold which lack efforts of men self-knowing. <sup>415</sup> Being a victim of extreme ignorance, he lacks vision and indulges in irrelevant and irrational talks, and creates troubles in the name of God. <sup>416</sup> No doubt, Iqbal appreciated the blessings of the righteous Islamic scholars but considered theocracy as a biggest danger for Islam.

Like Iqbal, Mashriqi also acknowledged the religious services of *Ulama-i-Haq* and declared himself the friend of such fine scholars. <sup>417</sup> He further stated that he had no feelings of enmity for *Maulvis* and appreciated their efforts; so far as the retention of Islamic rituals was concerned. <sup>418</sup> He admitted that it was the efforts of *Ulama* who kept alive the spirit of *Jihad*, from NWFP to Bengal, through their revolutionary teachings. <sup>419</sup>

## **Mysticism**

Mashriqi and Iqbal detached themselves from the occult mysticism, which misinterpreted the spirit of Islam and considered devotional part of Islam to be the only way to secure redemption in life hereafter.

Mysticism, in Mashriqi's opinion, arose from the exaggerated ideas of some Muslim divines, which split the Muslim community into various groups. It seduced the public mind from practical life and its progressive and really elevating aspect, the object of which had been to unite all mankind on the one embracing idea of Divine Unity. <sup>420</sup> To him, it is a supreme deviation or *Shirk* to detach oneself from the parent body and follow any saint or mystic and considered it as a worship of somebody other than God. <sup>421</sup>

Iqbal always opposed the occult mysticism and vehemently criticized it. He was not ready to accept such mysticism that may make Muslims go astray after taking true spirit of Islam.

The mystic mode has naught except  
The inner changes of the heart:  
The talk of *Mulla* on his creed  
Is merely piece of fiery art.  
Alas! My eyes do not behold  
The Holy Knight whose fervor high  
May cause his blood to seethe and boil  
In veins that lend such might to thigh.<sup>422</sup>

To Iqbal, prevailing Hellenistic and Persian mysticism was the root cause of decadence of the Muslim world, <sup>423</sup> as it teaches to shut our eyes to the hard realities of life. He asserted that it 'obscured the men's vision of Islam' as a social polity, which resulted in blindly following of theological schools and ceasing of *ijtehad*. <sup>424</sup> In the long run, he concluded, that 'version of mysticism gradually and invisibly unnerved the will of Islam and softened it to the extent of seeking relief from the rigorous discipline of law of Islam'.<sup>425</sup>

Some critics viewed Iqbal as an antagonist of mysticism who deemed mystic chains detrimental to humanity. <sup>426</sup> It is not true. To Iqbal, mysticism, in its high state is a force of spiritual education.<sup>427</sup> He has a great reverence for those *Sufis* who in accordance with the principles of *Shariat*, worked for the spiritual reformation of Muslims.<sup>428</sup> However, he opposed that version of mysticism, which after taking oath of allegiance from Muslims, on the name of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), intentionally or unintentionally imparted such things which were not related to Islam.<sup>429</sup> Iqbal resembled such mysticism with 'occult tree' that struggles to find easy ways to explore nature rather than through struggle.<sup>430</sup> To Iqbal, there was absolutely nothing esoteric in the Prophet's teachings. Every word of Quran was brimful of light and joy of existence. He advised the Muslims not to listen to those pessimistic mystics who say "there is a secret doctrine in Islam which cannot be revealed to the uninitiated".<sup>431</sup>

## Hell and Paradise

Iqbal's and Mashriqi's views regarding hell and paradise are quite different from the traditional orthodox concept of Islam. To Mashriqi, *Jannat* is the eventual success in this world in the form of material advancement, which he gave the name of 'worldly kingship'.<sup>432</sup> He was of the view that a Muslim should undergo hardships in the service of others because it is an *ibadat*, a key to paradise. Inheritance of earth is the reward of such service.<sup>433</sup>

He asserted that '*Jannat*' has no relationship with hereafter.<sup>434</sup> All the attributes mentioned by Quran in regard to life hereafter refer only to this world;<sup>435</sup> peace of mind, vast empire, knowledge, intelligent and obedient off-springs and beautiful pious spouse were all a sort of paradise.<sup>436</sup> He further elaborated that annotators of Quran put aside the concept of worldly monarchy and kingship and took it as a celestial love and converted Islam into a priesthood.<sup>437</sup>

Similarly, Mashriqi equates domination by others, disease, worries, poverty, characterlessness, illiteracy and ignorance with hellish conditions.<sup>438</sup> In his calculations, socio-economic and political disorders were the most important indicators of hellish life, which can devour groups and individuals in those groups.<sup>439</sup>

Later Mashriqi distinguished between *Jannat* and *al-Jannat*. He asserted that for celestial *Jannat*, the Quran used the phrase *al-Jannat*.<sup>440</sup> But where worldly comforts have been mentioned there the plural of *Jannat* is given as '*Jannaat*', which means worldly heaven. However, for celestial Heaven, being one in the universe, the word '*al-Jannat*' is used at all the places.<sup>441</sup>

Iqbal, like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1816-1898) who takes heaven and hell as spiritual pleasure and pain,<sup>442</sup> equates them as 'states' not the 'localities'.<sup>443</sup> He expounded that descriptions about them in the Quran are visual representations of an inner fact i.e., character.

In his opinion, Hell is God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts - the painful realization of one's failure as a man. The word 'eternity' used in certain

verses, relating to hell, is explained by the Quran itself to mean only a period of time. Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its reshaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by Quran, "is not a pit of everlasting torture inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace".<sup>444</sup>

Similarly, Iqbal viewed heaven as a joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration<sup>445</sup> and not as a holiday. He expounded that it was not a locality of eternal pleasures derived from the drinking of wine and the listening to the chorus of the Angels, but it was a 'state', where the soul continuously progresses by receiving 'ever fresh illumination from an infinite reality, which every moment appears in a new glory'.<sup>446</sup>

### **Divine Revelation**

Divine revelation has always been the source of human knowledge and Quran regards it as a universal property of life. There is a variation in the opinions of Iqbal and Mashriqi on revelation. To Mashriqi, divine revelation is the highest form of science.<sup>447</sup> He felt that the man's own faculties of knowing were still in an evolutionary stage. Man has too scanty evidence before him to compile or comprehend the law, which governs the rise and fall of human societies and civilizations. This inherent shortcoming of man makes him dependent on the divine revelation. He concluded that without the recourse of revelation, it was not possible for man to know his collective responsibility.<sup>448</sup> It seems that Mashriqi viewed the last divine revelation - the Quran as the only source of human knowledge.

However, to Iqbal revelation was in fact universal property of life, but he believes that its nature and characteristics were different at different stages of evolution of life.<sup>449</sup> Iqbal concluded that at the earlier stages of mankind revelation had a vital role which he called "prophetic consciousness - a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing readymade judgments, choices and way of action".<sup>450</sup> Unlike Mashriqi who believed that Quran is the only source of knowledge, Iqbal asserted that inductive reason was an important achievement of men which inhibits the growth of other modes of knowledge.<sup>451</sup> Thus, in his opinion,

revealed knowledge [Quran] was one source of human knowledge and other two sources of knowledge were nature [science, contemplation and exploration] and History, and by tapping these sources of knowledge "spirit of Islam is seen at its best".<sup>452</sup>

## **Militarism**

There is a lot of difference between the ideals of Iqbal and Mashriqi, regarding militarism for the political dominance of Muslims. In fact, achievement of political power through militancy was the corner stone of Mashriqi's ideology, which he based on the verse of Quran. 'Those are the believers who kill and get killed in the path of Allah'.<sup>453</sup>

Mashriqi stated that so far he comprehended from the Quran, the sole purpose for which Prophethood has been bestowed upon Muhammad (PBUH) was dominance of Muslims on this entire world.<sup>454</sup> He believed that root cause of suffering of Muslim community was the abandonment of military life from religion, and religion from the world. In his writings, Mashriqi, time and again exhorted the Muslims to again become the conquerors and masters of the world.

He concluded that policy of non-violence and negotiations with the British and Hindus was only suited to coward nations.<sup>455</sup> In Mashriqi's opinion, Islam enjoins on us to be soldiers, to bring the world under our sway. If they do not do that they cease to be Muslims.<sup>456</sup> He forcefully stated that the power was another name for politics and it must be snatched and not begged for.<sup>457</sup> It is the belief of Allama Mashriqi, that Islam was a military religion to be guided and controlled by a dictator, and that it should pursue the aim of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his successors to establish Muslim sovereignty over the whole world and to convert the Muslim community into a ruling class.<sup>458</sup>

Concept of militancy was the cornerstone of his political philosophy. Mashriqi considered that militarism made people strong and powerful so as to enable them to perpetuate their domination in the material world.<sup>459</sup> He equated domination with shedding of blood. As long as a nation sticks with this ideology, it rules over the world. Downfall starts when a nation forgets this lesson.<sup>460</sup> On one occasion he said:

“Militarization of the nation will breed in it sense of duty, discipline, organization, struggle, thriftiness, equality, solidarity, self-respect, magnanimity, valiance and desire for victory, which are essential for the general advancement of a nation”.<sup>461</sup>

Unlike Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908) who deemed subservience of British government as one of the religious obligation,<sup>462</sup> Mashriqi holds that the only way for Muslim domination and collective salvation lies in militancy and firm belief in Unity of God.<sup>463</sup> He criticized that the concept of *Jihad* by pen has taken away the true spirit of *Jihad* from Muslims.<sup>464</sup> In this regard, he rejected the apologetic attitude which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1816-1898), Syed Amir Ali (1848-1928) and Maulvi Chirag-ud-Din (d. 1895) adopted in their writings by presenting *Jihad* as ‘defensive war’ and made it clear that ‘to attain power and kingship is our faith. We, therefore describe it as our religion’.<sup>465</sup>

Later, he further expounded his theory of militancy in his pamphlet ‘Majority or Blood’<sup>466</sup> and stressed upon the British government by manipulating figures,<sup>467</sup> that it was blood not the majority which permits ones to rule over a country. ‘We Muslims’, he added, ‘are the actual defenders of India, and therefore, we have natural and hereditary right to control it. Blood and rule have always gone together in all history’.<sup>468</sup> He expounded that after the demise of Holy Prophet (PBUH), within a period of twelve years; the Muslims of earlier ages had conquered 36,000 cities and fortresses. Within hundred years, they managed to reach the snow-clad mountains of Spain (Hispania) and greenish pasturelands of France.<sup>469</sup>

Iqbal was not merely a poet and philosopher but he was also a modern reformer and statesman. He urged upon the Muslims to get rid of the medieval concepts of Islam, superimposed on the Islamic society during the period of Arabian imperialism, and for this purpose, he wanted to reinterpret and reconstruct Islam in the light of post-modern theory of dynamism. As discussed before Iqbal believed in the co-existence of Hindus and Muslims in Indian sub-continent. Unlike Iqbal, Mashriqi, at various places in his speeches and statements upheld the concept of ‘All Faith Unity’ and persuaded the Muslims to adopt the good deeds of other religions<sup>470</sup> but practically he instigated Muslims to dominate entire India by forcefully ousting the British. Iqbal clearly stated that Islam does not preach bloodshed and tyranny.

Actually God's domain does not confine itself to Muslims only, but all human beings can enter it provided they abandon racism and nationalism and accept each other's personalities.<sup>471</sup>

Iqbal holds that all the wars fought in earlier ages, during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the rightly guided Caliphs, were defensive and did not aim at the collection of booty or expansion of empire. It was during the period of Kingship when Muslim rulers concentrated on aggrandizement. 'No doubt', he added, 'the Muslims succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely repaganized their political ideas, and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith'.<sup>472</sup> Iqbal expounded that Islam, certainly aims at absorption, but it should not be achieved by territorial conquest, but by the simplicity of its teachings, its appeal to the common sense of mankind and its aversion to abstruse metaphysical dogma. The practical example of Islam as an inherent force is sufficiently from the Muslim missionary work in China, where it had won millions of adherents without the help of any political power.<sup>473</sup>

In Iqbal's viewpoint coercive methods should not be adopted for the propagation of Islam and it was against the Islamic injunctions.<sup>474</sup> He concluded that *Jihad* should only be waged with utmost sincerity of intention; for the sake of serving his cause and pleasure of God, and it was not meant for collection of booty or expansion of empire.<sup>475</sup> He rejected all such wars which solely meant for expansion of empire and rule over the world.<sup>476</sup>

Iqbal expounded that according to the dictates of the Quran, there are only two grounds for waging war with infidels or non-believers. Firstly, in self-defence, when Muslims are tyrannized over and driven out of their homes, they are permitted to appeal the arms. Secondly, for reformative purpose, i.e., for the establishment of conditions of universal peace or to enforce the regime of law in human society.<sup>477</sup> Though Iqbal laid stress on defensive *Jihad*, but he declared that in case of collective security, *Jihad* might be offensive and as a doctrine of pre-emption, could be waged for safeguarding the ideological and geographical boundaries of nation.<sup>478</sup>



The contemporary *Ulamas* too denounced the Mashriqi's approach of militancy. In fact, militancy is one of the fundamental parts of the Quranic teachings. But to say that Islam is nothing but militancy is in a way an attempt to distort Islam.<sup>479</sup> In early Islam, the wars by the Muslims against the big powers were purely defensive and for self-preservation. These wars were never waged with a view to usurp the property of the enemies or impose Islam on them.<sup>480</sup> These powers due to their intrigues against Islam and Islamic state compelled the Muslims to resort to arms for self defence and self-preservation which ultimately led to their annihilation. Muslims in their struggle for survival were neither motivated by the fertility of foreign lands nor did they wage wars against them for avoiding the so-called danger to Islam due to internal strife in Arabia.<sup>481</sup>

Iqbal believed that "the ideal of Islam is to secure social peace at any cost. All methods of violent change in society are condemned in the most unmistakable language".<sup>482</sup> By citing Tartushi (Muslims lawyer of Spain) that "forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of anarchy", Iqbal explained that people should avoid blood shed and civil strife and launch a peaceful political struggle in pursuit of their political ends.<sup>483</sup> As a constitutionalist, Iqbal deemed constitutional method as a *prima face* essential for achievement of independence. Unconstitutional measures, he added, instead of reinforcing the freedom movement, detract it in other directions. This political thought of Iqbal did not depict his weakness or cowardice, but it was the essence of his mature political thinking. He admitted that immense sacrifices were the prerequisite for freedom movement. These sacrifices, he concluded, must not be in the form of rebellious activities, but should be given in the form of political struggle.<sup>484</sup>

### **Consultation and Role of Leadership**

Contrary to Mashriqi, Iqbal was a staunch supporter of democratic consultative process. Mashriqi upheld the idea that the history of the world showed that whenever a nation enjoyed a glorious position, it happened because of the charisma of one person, so he regarded a single person's government a natural phenomenon.<sup>485</sup> Therefore, in Khaksar movement, unconditional obedience to the *Amir* was considered one of the important principles and Mashriqi stressed upon the

*Ikhtiar-i-Natiq* of the leader.<sup>486</sup> He urged that whatever judgments he gave, remained absolute and nothing could be done against them. Every person must accept them unconditionally and no discussion on them needs to be initiated.<sup>487</sup>

There was no concept of accountability in the Khaksar Tehrik because all the officers of the movement were the rational authorities within their area of activity and particularly the personality of the leader of the movement was supposed to be beyond any doubt and suspicion and his honesty and integrity were never to be questioned.<sup>488</sup>

According to Iqbal, leadership was not monopolistic in nature. Monopoly of power by an individual or group is contrary to the Islamic injunctions. He holds that “even after his ascendancy to the seat of authority the leader does not acquire unbridled prerogatives to pursue the course of action that he likes”.<sup>489</sup>

Unlike Mashriqi, who considered his orders final, unchallengeable and irrevocable, Iqbal believes that while ‘a leader exercised his authority’, he was not expected to consider his ‘power of decision infallible’. ‘He must rely’, Iqbal expounded, ‘on consultation, so that the interests of the masses are properly articulated’.<sup>490</sup>

In compliance with the Quran, even the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) used to consult with his companions in legal, technical, political and religious issues frequently. During the period of the first four rightly guided Caliphs, the *Shura* [consultative body] developed into an extremely powerful institution and served as a check on unrestrained use of authority by the ruler.<sup>491</sup>

Mashriqi stressed so much on the *Ikhtiar-i-Natiq* of the *Amir*. He was not ready to bear any question about his personality. Even the well known historical incident which took place during the Caliphate of Hazrat Umer (R.A) in which an ordinary Arab publicly asked him about the alleged unequal distribution of booty gained in the battle of Yeoman, was described by Mashriqi as a false and later invention of *Maulvis*.<sup>492</sup> Mashriqi’s concept of leader was one of a ‘dictator’ and was in consonance with the Nazi belief, based on concepts that “reason was a delusion”

and "faith in the leader, instinct and blind obedience were better guides to action than was reason".<sup>493</sup>

### **Finality of Prophethood**

Iqbal and Mashriqi both firmly believed that Muhammad (PBUH) was the last Prophet sent by God, and anyone who came up with the claim of Prophethood after him, is a liar. Mashriqi announced this, time and again that 'without having a true belief in the finality of Prophethood, no one could claim to be a Muslim. There remains no need of any new book or Prophet after the revelation of the Holy Scripture'<sup>494</sup> and 'rather any claim of challenge these would end in atheism'.<sup>495</sup>

Like Iqbal, who took the personality of the Prophet (PBUH) as the most powerful and workable force for the unification of Muslim community,<sup>496</sup> Mashriqi also viewed Prophethood as the highest stage and form of learning and knowledge on the basis of which humanity could be unified.<sup>497</sup>

Though Mashriqi, denounced the Bahaism and Qadianism,<sup>498</sup> but he adopted a different strategy to counter them. He holds that even a discussion about the Prophethood, where the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) has been declared final, is an insult to the institution of Prophethood. Some people governed by stupidity or just to sound funny reveal that such and such Prophet was born in such and such town, while writing for newspapers. Mashriqi equates these practices with the insult and disgrace of Prophethood. He lamented that the people involved in such activities had no idea of true worth of Prophethood and its implications for Muslims. "Such philistines", he added, "are defaming and making the word Prophethood disgusting as has been done with the word '*Khilafat*' - thus they are butchering glorious Islamic values".<sup>499</sup>

Mashriqi reached the conclusion that by adopting propagandist tactics and collecting donations, few newspapers and organizations of the Punjab, were instigating the sentiments of Muslim masses and their oppositions, though unconsciously, giving vent to the Ahmadi sect in the province.<sup>500</sup> Otherwise, few thousands were his followers or worthy of attention of his teachings.<sup>501</sup>

Unlike Iqbal whose writings provided an ideological footing and reinforcement to Ahrars in their campaign against Ahmadism, Mashriqi concluded that this movement was based on ill-intentions<sup>502</sup> and various excuses to collect the donations by exploiting the Muslims love and reverence for Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).<sup>503</sup> Anyhow, Mashriqi's writings depict that he had no intention of laying the foundation of a new Islamic sect.

### **Arrival of Madhi**

Like Mashriqi, Iqbal's ideas about the arrival of Mahdi did not coincide with the conceptions of traditional Muslims viewpoint. In this regard their views were in consonance with Ibn-i-Khuldaun's ideas who holds that all the reported traditions of Holy Prophet (PBUH) regarding Mahdi were not totally unsound and unacceptable.<sup>504</sup> Though, in this context, Mashriqi did not give vent to his ideas as overtly as Iqbal did but he knew that the leader of a nation never came from the other world, it is certainly the one from amongst them.<sup>505</sup> So it was a sin not to act and just keep on waiting for Mahdi.<sup>506</sup>

Likewise Iqbal who believed that while waiting for Mahdi, people avoid facing the challenges around them,<sup>507</sup> Mashriqi also came up with the same conclusion that merely waiting, though spanned over one thousands years, was not enough to produce a great leader.<sup>508</sup> He further added, "This is a known fact if a Mahdi, is to come to the Muslims, certainly, he will appear only if the nation has the potential to produce such a great leader".<sup>509</sup>

### **Views on Educational System**

Iqbal and Mashriqi both criticized the prevailing educational system in India and considered it detrimental for the vital national interest of Indians. In Mashriqi's viewpoint due to the education imparted to the Indian students since last seventy years, they could not even think about national glory and dignity. Due to the superimposition of English literature and philosophy most of the educated people were influenced by the philosophy of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and were not aware of the oriental vistas of knowledge.<sup>510</sup> Almost on similar lines Iqbal concluded that:

“The present system of education tends to produce an un-Muslim type of character, it is not determined by our national requirements, and it breaks entirely with our past. Our educated young men knew all about Wellington and Gladstone, Voltaire and Luther. He will tell you about that Lord Roberts worked in the South African war like a common soldier at the age of eighteen; but how many of [them] know that Muhammad-II conquered Constantinople at the age of twenty-two? How many of us are familiar with the wonderful historical productions of Ibn-i-Khuldaun”.<sup>511</sup>

To Mashriqi, the education system in the public schools, imparts such education to the students, which not only serves as a sedative but also deteriorates them gradually and takes them away from religion.<sup>512</sup> Like Iqbal, who valued industry and trade as a cornerstone in the development of a nation,<sup>513</sup> Mashriqi also upheld these developmental ideals very essential for the Muslim community. He believed as these professions largely needed physical power so English or Western education was not important for them.<sup>514</sup>

Being a protagonist of scientific disciplines, Iqbal concluded that observation of natural phenomenon, inductive method of reasoning and experimental system of research were those guiding principles which would be the basis of educational system. However, he feared that if these subjects were taught in a secular style, keeping the students away from religion, such a practice would inculcate atheism in students.<sup>515</sup> He advised that scientific education must be preceded by the comprehension of the Quran so that students get acquainted with their creator Allah.<sup>516</sup>

Mashriqi also viewed religious education as a vehicle for the spiritual orientation of pupils. In this context, during his career as an educationist, he, in the capacity of headmaster of Government Islamia School, Peshawar, introduced the subject of ‘religious instruction’. Despite of rigid, fixed and centralized curricula,<sup>517</sup> he made it compulsory for all Muslim students. No doubt, it was the practical exposition of Iqbal’s ideas who was a staunch supporter of imparting religious education along with the modern subjects.<sup>518</sup>

## Fatwas of Infidelity

Iqbal and Mashriqi both faced the vituperative attacks of the *Ulamas* and religious verdicts were issued against both, at various stages, declaring them infidels. Allama Mashriqi faced a severe opposition of contemporary *Ulamas*. In 1924 when he published *Tazkirah*, in which he tried to reinterpret Quran on scientific footings, his ideas were described by fundamentalists as atheism wrapped in the garb of Islam.<sup>519</sup> Secondly, during his campaign against *Maulvis* in 1930's, when he published a series of tracts in which he passed derogatory remarks against them,<sup>520</sup> get united the *Ulama* against him irrespective of their differences. They criticized the Mashriqi not only in their personal capacity but also issued collective *fatwas* against him.<sup>521</sup> For instance, Maulana Abu Barkat Syed Ahmad Shah of *Hizb-al-Ahnaf*, Lahore and Maulana Abdul Hakim Qasuri of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect issued religious verdicts against him. Similarly the Deobandi *Ulamas* like Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Ghulam Gouth Hazarvi branded Mashriqi an infidel.<sup>522</sup> Maulana Baha-ul-Haq Qasmi raised objections on the very formation of Khaksar Tehrik and said that it was formed "with the object of robbing Muhammadans of their religion".<sup>523</sup>

Majlis-i-Ahrar and JUH chided Mashriqi for its materialistic approach toward religion. Ahrars had criticized the Khaksar Tehrik for "its lack of a spiritual crusade and its revolt against the *Sufi* and the *Maulvi*".<sup>524</sup> JUH resolved that Khaksar Tehrik was an atheist organization which was equally injurious for Muslim like the Ahmadis. They warned the Muslim masses to refrain themselves from the teachings of Mashriqi and did not elect him as their *Amir*, because he was preaching atheism in the garb of apparent militarization.<sup>525</sup>

Many 'Fatwas' of infidelity were issued against Iqbal but there was a low degree of intensity, as Iqbal did not directly criticize or denounce the institution of *Ulamas*. He was labelled as 'kafir' for the views which he expressed in his poems and in a lecture on *ijtehad* in 1924.<sup>526</sup> The *Khateeb* of Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore issued a religious decree against him, declaring him *Fasiq* and *Kafir*.<sup>527</sup> Iqbal also faced a vituperative attack of the Brelvi *Ulamas* of Thana Bhawan, who branded Iqbal as 'unbeliever' leading the people astray by indoctrinating them with the

notions of earnest endeavour and activism and creating ambiguities about the concept of '*Tagleed*' of the existing four Islamic schools of jurisprudence.<sup>528</sup>

### **Predestination**

Citing a verse of Iqbal in which he commented that no body could comprehend the logic of predestination, otherwise 'Taimuri Turks' were not less capable than 'Uthmani Turks,'<sup>529</sup> Mashriqi criticized him that he was not aware of the teachings of Quran. He argued that all the decisions made by Allah are based on subtleness and discernment and He never does wrong on any one because He has strong hold on every thing.<sup>530</sup> 'All hardships', he added, 'are the result of man's own evil deeds' otherwise the 'will of God' is not like 'pleasures of a *Nawab*', who does what ever he likes.<sup>531</sup>

If we compare the ideas of Mashriqi and Iqbal ideas regarding fatalism or predestination, a close resemblance is present. Both disliked inactivity and considered that it was the deed or action of men, which either mar or adorn their destiny. Mashriqi criticized the Indian natives for their lack of comprehensibility of the concept of destiny. He holds that to denote pre-destination as a pre-decided divine prerogative, as envisioned by custodians of fatalism, and normally practiced in India, was wrong and tantamount to the misconception of Arabic terminology. He explained that for every entity, nature has derived a set of measures, on which it had to act upon, and that's its fate. The perpetuity or extermination of that entity, largely, depends upon the following of these divine measures. He concluded that it was the misdeeds due to which a men ruins his fate by his own hands.<sup>532</sup>

Likewise, Iqbal thought that deviation from divine injunctions was the prime cause of annihilation of men and nation. Like Mashriqi, Iqbal also disliked the concept of fatalism and inactivity.<sup>533</sup> He believed that inculcation of such ideas that every body brought his fate innate with his own which was unconditionally unalterable, and men should bowed down their head before poverty and even slavery, as a divine decree, was against the dynamic teachings of Holy Quran.<sup>534</sup>

This dependability on '*Taqdeer*' in Iqbal, opinion, besides other reason was an outcome of slave mentality of Muslims.

The Quranic teaching that did bring  
The moon and Pleiades within human reach:  
Is now explained in manner strange,  
Twixt man and word to cause a breach.  
Their mode of work has changed entire,  
Before the freaks of fate they bow:  
They had a say in what God decreed,  
But Muslims now have fallen low.  
What was so evil has by steps  
Put on the shape of good and fine:  
In state of bondage, as is known,  
The shift of conscience is quite sure.<sup>535</sup>

Quite like Iqbal, Mashriqi also holds that “to make a divine function an excuse for our own acts, and to think that we are obliged to do so and so and to think that man cannot be responsible for what God has already ordained; and that he cannot be justly punished for what he has been compelled by God appointed destiny<sup>536</sup> was only a shield for his freedom to do whatever he likes”. Iqbal declared fatalism among Muslims as un-Islamic and remnant of monarchy,<sup>537</sup> which flourished and was promoted by Umayyad rulers, in order to support their vested interests.<sup>538</sup>

## Conclusion

Iqbal and Mashriqi were contemporaries but both of them neither met each other nor kept any relations or exchanged views. Historical record reveals that there were no signs of prevalence of any overt tension between them that kept them pole apart.

It seemed that like Fazl-i-Hussain (1898-1936), Hussain A. Madani (1879-1957), Abdul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) and some other Muslim leaders, Mashriqi also aspired that he should be considered as the sole leader of Indian Muslims and other prominent personalities must be rated as his followers only. In early thirties, Mashriqi stepped into the politics with his novel religio-political agenda. At that time, Iqbal had already envisioned for a separate Muslim state and gave a roadmap in his Presidential address at the eve of annual sessions of AIML (1930) and AIMC (1932). In 1940's Muslims of sub-continent spurned Mashriqi's agenda of Muslim's hegemony over entire India by coercive means and voted in favour of Muslim League's demand of separate homeland. This not only led to the liquidation of Khaksar Movement but also gave a new impetus to his dormant enmity against Iqbal,



which erupted in the form his anti-Iqbal campaign in early fifties. After the inception of Pakistan when his ideas were looked by the government with suspicions, his frustration mounted very high, which erupted in the form of his poetical works, in which he vehemently criticized Iqbal – the national poet of Pakistan.

Preceding discussion shows that despite of contradictions regarding religio-political thoughts of Iqbal and Mashriqi, at various places there is so much similarity in their views, that it seemed that Mashriqi tried to realize the ideals of Iqbal or vice versa. For instance, like Iqbal, Mashriqi believed that Islam was action not a ritual and he tried to build up an organization which in the opinion of Annemarie Schimmel, was regarded, in a certain way, as a practical expression of Iqbal's dynamism.<sup>539</sup>

To some critics, Mashriqi's views represented the dynamic aspects of Iqbal's thought on the nature of Islam as a religion. Some have added to Kraemer's view by comparing Mashriqi's ideas with those of Iqbal's, particularly in the realm of 'action', noting that Mashriqi and Iqbal both had insisted that Muslims become energetic.<sup>540</sup> According to L.S. May, Mashriqi has emphasized that Islam meant three things: *Jihad*, united effort and belief in oneself.<sup>541</sup> She concluded that "Mashriqi's call to unity, a sacrificial spirit and self assurance seem to fit perfectly into Iqbal's appeal",<sup>542</sup> who holds that it is action, which builds up a pleasant and successful life or vice versa; otherwise men, by his nature, is neither pious or impious.<sup>543</sup> It seems that the above mentioned three principles could act as a tool for consolidation of Indo-Islamic community and shall be successful in Iqbal's quest for self-realization which he viewed as *Khudi* coupled with dynamism.

Being contemporaries and living in the same political atmosphere, they had similarities in their views on separation of state and church, democracy, western civilization. Both were the critics of *Mullaism*, occult *Mysticism*, sectarianism and blind *Taqleed* of existing theological schools of thought. In their opinion, capitalism and socialism were against the essence of Islam and tools of exploitation of masses. There was a variation in their theses over revelation, sources of knowledge and Muslim Law. Unlike Iqbal who believed that besides Quran; *hadith*, *Ijma* and *Qias* are other sources of Muslim Law, Mashriqi considered that Quran was the only valid source of Islamic law. Stance of Iqbal and Mashriqi regarding prayers, paradise and

hell is quiet different from traditional Islamic viewpoint. Both were the critics of early logicians who under the spell of Greek and Hellenistic knowledge interpreted and annotated the divine scripture – the Quran.

As far as political affairs are concerned, both kept aloof from *Khilafat* movement on their own grounds and were not in favour of non-cooperation, particularly in the field of education. Unlike Iqbal, who promoted and upheld the concept of separate Muslim state for Muslims and considered him the soldier of Jinnah, Mashriqi believed in the Muslim hegemony over entire India and criticized the policies of Jinnah and AIML.

Iqbal had concluded as early as 1921 that the endeavours to obtain Islamic universalism in actual life might involve Muslims national organizations as temporary phases towards achieving the dream of collective life. He had realized that, the ideal of Islamic universalism could not be obtained while Muslims were in a state of political submission.<sup>544</sup> Like Iqbal, Mashriqi believed that the ultimate destiny of Islam as universal principle could not be realized without the Islamic dispensation of power.<sup>545</sup> In spite of the consensus, Mashriqi opposed the League's demands of a separate Muslim state. This depicts the contradiction in the political thoughts and action of Mashriqi who wanted to organize a society for the realization of Islamic principles, but practically he opposed the partition and formation of a consolidated Muslim state.

As far as Iqbal's objections regarding *Tazkirah* are concerned, they seem very superficial. That's why Iqbal never repeated or mentioned them at later stages. So in fifties, Mashriqi's derisive campaign against Iqbal, through his poetry, was not justifiable on any grounds rather it was merely based on antagonism. If we see Iqbal and Mashriqi in the context of presentation of their ideas and thoughts, Iqbal followed a balanced formula in expressing his ideas, and acted on the principles of modesty, sobriety and humbleness. While Mashriqi's style was blunt, extremist and emotional. Mashriqi justified his harsh tone in his writings by saying that "The Holy Quran is strict against its opponents, so am I. I woke up the people by being harsh because the contemporary Muslims are not willing to act upon the Quranic injunctions".<sup>546</sup> But he forgot that the Quran ordered the Muslims to talk to people in a nice and polite

tone.<sup>547</sup> Some critics opined that harsh tone was, in fact, used as a tool to introduce the movement among the people as quickly as possible.<sup>548</sup>

The important point on which Iqbal and Mashriqi diverged, was Iqbal's belief in democratic norms for co-existing with Hindus, in the form of separate homelands for both Hindu and Muslim communities. While Mashriqi envisioned Muslim hegemony in entire India through militarism. So, unlike Mashriqi, Iqbal reclined on democracy and the power of the masses to save the Muslims from the hegemony of Hindus. He gave a clear sketch of those of his ideas in his Allahabad address (1930), AIMC presidential address (1932) and in his letters to Jinnah (1936-38). Contrary to Mashriqi, Iqbal believed that God's earthly domain was not just for Muslims rather all the human being could enter into it. The only condition which needed fulfillment, was the rejection of idols of racism and nationalism and acceptance of each others individuality.<sup>549</sup>

Basically, Iqbal supported complete freedom of creed and deed. He did not like the employment of coercive tactics to subdue the human beings in order to impose on them one's own cherished ideals of life. Iqbal strongly accepted the idea that 'you can safeguard your own rights but cannot usurp others'. He concluded that political subjugation and territorial aggrandizement were not the ideals of Islam.<sup>550</sup> He rejected Mashriqi's viewpoint that Quran encourages the Muslims to take control of the world and it aims to establish governments and expand territorial limits'.<sup>551</sup> As far as the earlier Islamic conquests and expansions are concerned, which Mashriqi cited in his writings time and again, those were not practicable in the democratic twenty-first century.

In fact, Islamic state emerged as a 'progressive state' during the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the rightly guided Caliphs. The neighbouring countries took it as a threat against their oppressive agendas. By and large, the radical teachings of Islam always restricted it to self-defence. In the earlier period of Islam, the militarism did not aim at the expansion of empire or to annex the lands of other countries. However, during the monarchical period of Ommiads and Abbasids, conquests supremely led to territorial expansionism. As Iqbal pointed out, "with such expansions, the Muslims could built a grand empire yet their political ideals absorbed

un-Islamic values and they ignored this fact that Islamic principles and ideals had very wide ranging importance and implications".<sup>552</sup>

### **KHAKSAR TEHRIK – AN APPRAISAL**

In the crucial period of 1930's, when communal tension between Hindus and Muslims and political tension between League and Congress were at its heights, Khaksar Tehrik emerged on the political horizon with its novel socio-political programme. In the formative period, it laid more stress on 'social service', however, at later stages it aimed at establishing Muslim domination over entire India by using military power.

No doubt the emergence of Khaksar Tehrik was the product of reactionary politics, which engulfed the Punjab politics during first two decades of twentieth century. Punjab was an important centre of Hindu revivalism. The main objective of Arya Samaj and other Mahasabhai organizations wanted to Indianize the Muslims through the policy of *Hinduvata*. Hindu activists concluded that Muslim invaders forcefully converted the native people into Muslims and became their rulers. In that perspective, they launched the *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* movements, which primarily meant for renaissance of Hinduism.

Consequently, as a counter reaction, the Muslim revivalist movements, for instance, *Tanzim* and *Tabligh* and Khaksars appeared on the scene. Of them Khaksar Tehrik was notable, which was the protagonist of Muslim rule over India, on the basis of their services rendered for the security and integrity of India.

This notion of Mashriqi that Muslims in spite of their low numerical strength, might convert themselves into a sovereign power by acting, upon the principles of 'unity and militarism was only an ambitious, romantic and imaginative programme. The programme and plans of Mashriqi are more medieval and they have no conformity with the contemporary socio-political environment. Thus "the movement represented a rather ill-defined and largely rhetorical inter-mixing of religion with politics, applying modernistic symbols and reconstructing a glorious past".<sup>553</sup> However, this credit goes to Khaksar movement, which was the only Muslim

organization, who as a body, cherished the ideal of a sovereign independent state comprising entire India.

Apparently, Khaksar Tehrik was a closely-knit body held together by stern discipline and semi-military type organization. The Khaksar's militancy was only confined to the emotional speeches, marching, camping and mock fighting. Like Ahrars, they did not seriously plan of forceful ousting of the British from India. Mashriqi's assertion that eventually spades would be replaced with modern weapons was never materialized.<sup>554</sup> According to Aslam Malik, on the pattern of contemporary fascist parties of Europe, Khaksars "sought to revitalize the nation by organizing the bourgeoisie class on military lines by glorifying its history",<sup>555</sup> but it failed.

Khaksars used modern media and propaganda techniques of marching on roads, wearing brown uniform and carrying spades, camping and mock-fighting, and influx of literature, to attract the attention of the masses. According to a contemporary source, it was the military uniform and emblem of spade coupled with military cautions and actions which inspired the youth to join their ranks. In fact, it was 'militarism' of Khaksar Tehrik which they considered as a right path for their political deliverance from the Hindu majority.<sup>556</sup>

Though the programme of Mashriqi was un-realistic and irrational but it produced religious fervor among common Muslim masses. The language and idealism of Mashriqi appealed to the Muslims and they stood up against landed elites and feudals. No doubt, being an anti-imperialistic force, the movement remained successful and it jolted the foundation of British *raj* in India.<sup>557</sup>

The seed of British enmity sown by Mashriqi in the hearts of the people, later on flourished as a towering tree whose fruits were used as a vehicle of 'mass revolution' against pro-British parties. Perhaps, these were the teachings of Iqbal, which made the Muslims realize that protection of their separate religious entity, security and solution of socio-economic problems lies in the partition of India. Though, Iqbal was no more alive then, but in fact it was the righteousness of his policies, which compelled the Muslims to vote in favour of Jinnah and League. On

the contrary, despite the physical presence of Mashriqi and other like minded persons, people rejected their ambitious programme which was not in accordance with the ground realities.

In early thirties Mashriqi emerged on the political horizon with his revolutionary programme. Up till 1935 he managed to establish a network of his organization in almost entire India, and reached at the pinnacle of power in late 1930's. Show down with the Unionists on March 19, 1940, which resulted in the massacre of Khaksars at Lahore, initiated the process of its decline that resulted in the liquidation of Khaksar Tehrik in June 1947. This was not the sole reason of its decline, but there were number of other reasons, which include, organizational flaws, contradictory religio-political philosophy and involvement in multi-pronged issues at provincial and national issues.

Domination of Islam in India by means of militarism was a target that was unattainable in the democratic scenario of twentieth century. Due to anti-British and anti-Hindu stance of the organization, its activities were closely monitored by various government agencies. Due to its resemblance with Hitler's Nazi Party British authorities looked them upon as fifth columnist. Propaganda of Hindu press also acted as a catalyst in the process of its decline.

Autocratic behaviour of Mashriqi, lack of accountability, absence of any definite system of alternate leadership, lack of clear line of action, reaction against corporal punishment given to Khaksars, created several problems for the movement and its effective working and functioning. Interventionist role in *Shia – Sunni* conflict in United Provinces and confrontation with Unionist Ministry in late thirties resulted in the arrests and confinement of Khaksars, which reduced the membership in Punjab from ten thousand to five thousand in 1940.<sup>558</sup> Similarly, meddling in different sorts of affairs with Congress, Ahrars, Unionists and Khudai Khidmatgars, exhausted the energy, resources and manpower of Khaksar movement and added fuel to its process of decline.

Reinterpretation of Quran on the basis of scientific knowledge and campaign against the *Ulama* were also important causes of its decline. The contemptuous

phrases and derogatory remarks used by Mashriqi against the institution of *Ulama* resulted in a strong wave of resentment and agitation against him and in the *fatwas* by the religious seminaries, he was declared infidel.

Although Mashriqi tried to synthesize the modern and orthodox trends but his political philosophy was full of contradictions. Though, he believed in the universal humanitarianism but on the other hand he was convinced of Muslim dominance over entire India. Theoretically, he upheld the concept of religio-political tolerance but practically he vehemently opposed and denounced the Congress' and Gandhi's way of politics. In his treatise he urged the Muslims to seek guidance from the Holy Quran without the help of any sort of auxiliary sources. On the contrary, he declared his annotation of the Quran as 'last word on the Quran' which would be helpful in its comprehension. Despite of his severe criticism on prevalent democratic system, he actively participated in the elections of 1945-46. On one hand he was not ready to accept the institution of *Maulvi*, on the other hand he appreciated the efforts of *Ulama* for the perseverance of Islamic ritual in subcontinent. All these disparities affected the mind of common people and they got suspicious about Khaksar movement.

<i>waqf</i>	property endowed and held in trust for the welfare of Muslim community
<i>zail</i>	an administrative unit in British Punjab, usually comprising five to forty villages, mainly carved for extraction of revenue
<i>zaildar</i>	a representative of government in a <i>zail</i>
<i>zakat</i>	muslim alms paid in God's service, on yearly basis, @ 2½%
<i>zamindar</i>	a peasant proprietor; landlord
<i>zil</i>	shadow
<i>zindeeq</i>	heretic; unbeliever



## Chapter V

# IQBAL AND THE AHMADIS

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

In the religio-political history of Indian sub-continent, the period of late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century was of paramount importance. Era was marked not only with the political subjugation of Muslims but their ideological foundations were also being challenged. Local natives, particularly the Muslims, looked upon the renaissance of Hinduism in the form of Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and influx of Christian missionary organizations as a threat. This erupted in the form of series of heated debates and discourses between Muslims, Hindus and the Christians. The major draw back was that the Muslim scholarship of that era were equipped with the traditional Islamic concepts, but unaware of the comparative studies of various religions and modern philosophical and scientific disciplines and were incapable of even defending their religious beliefs on rational basis. This gave rise to unprecedented riots, which engulfed the length and breadth of the India.

General masses were despaired of bringing about any change and reform through normal process and people had begun to await the advent of some divinely appointed leader. It was a common perception that at the turn of twentieth century the Promised Messiah would make his appearance. Martyrdom of Tipu Sultan (1749-1799), had already closed the chapter of Muslim armed struggle and East Indian Company had succeeded in suppressing the native people and consolidated their control over the entire region. Failure of War of Independence, 1857, further proved as a catalyst of Muslim decline. At the end of war the entire blame of uprising was put on the Muslims and Hindus assured the British of their loyalty and continued faithfulness.

Nevertheless, Punjab welcomed the arrival of the 'British' and departure of Sikh oligarchy, which from the last eighty years had deprived them from their socio-political and religious rights in the province. The bewildered Muslims of Punjab who were haunted by the military absolutism of Sikhs; confused and rather upset by the internal polarization and dissention among the ranks of *Ulama*; and economically

subjugated by the landlords, were anxiously waiting for some divinely appointed leader. It was in these circumstances, Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, came forward with his innovative ideas and interpretation of Islamic doctrines, which was largely, welcomed by the masses.<sup>1</sup> As 'obedience and loyalty' to the British rulers was given priority in his teachings, therefore, he was provided a 'favourable atmosphere', by the British authorities for growth and development of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, which at later stages actively participated in the religiously charged and communally conscious British Punjab in first quarter of twentieth century. The policies and programmes of this movement were based on the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who proclaimed himself the 'defender of Islam'.

Ghulam Ahmed was born in 1838,<sup>2</sup> in a small village Qadian, in the Gurdaspur district. He belonged to a middle class land owning Muslim family. He belonged to the Barlas branch of the Moghuls<sup>3</sup> and his ancestors came to India from Samarkand and Turkestan in the region of Zahir-ud-Din Babur (1483-1530). Later by means of inspiration, he came to know that he was of Persian origin.

Ghulam Ahmad received his early education in his village from different local tutors. He studied philosophy, logic, Persian, Arabic grammar and religious teachings.<sup>4</sup> In 1864, he began his career as a clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office, Sialkot,<sup>5</sup> to help his father with several pending suits involving family lands.

It was there he came in contact with the Christian missionaries, and he had conversations with them on religious topics in a friendly environment.<sup>6</sup> It has been reported that in his youth, he spend most of his time in studying his own and other religions.<sup>7</sup>

In 1868, he resigned from his job and came to Qadian. Besides looking after his landed property he spent most of his time on pondering over the Holy Quran and studying *Tafaseer* of various scholars.<sup>8</sup> From his youth, Ghulam Ahmad had strange visions and dreams, which he interpreted himself<sup>9</sup> and later claimed that these visions and dreams were revelation from God.<sup>10</sup>

In 1876, his father Mirza Ghulam Murtaza died.<sup>11</sup> After the demise of his father, he asserted that he began to receive 'divine revelations' incessantly.<sup>12</sup> This was the first claim of Ghulam Ahmad of his series of claims that he made up till his death. In fact his father repeatedly asked him to left his seclusion and study, for the more practical business of life.<sup>13</sup> Passing away of his father marked the drawn of a new era for him. Walter observed that after his father death, 'his hatred of the world grew upon him and various eccentricities developed',<sup>14</sup>

From 1880-1884, Ghulam Ahmad published his *magnum opus Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya* in four volumes.<sup>15</sup> The primary motive behind the publication of this book was to communicate with those who did not agree with him in matters of religious doctrines and to falsify the wrong beliefs of Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam, Brahma Samaj and the Christian missionaries.<sup>16</sup> Ghulam Ahmed vehemently refuted the teachings of Arya Samaj<sup>17</sup> and systematically argued the view of Sarsoti's *Satyarth Parakash*, in which he employed abusive, derogative and offensive language against the teachings of Islam, Quran and the Prophet.<sup>18</sup>

In *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*, Ghulam Ahmad for the first time announced that he had been appointed by God to demonstrate the 'truth of Islam' and to show the 'ignorant', the correct path.<sup>19</sup> In his works, Ghulam Ahmad, reinterpret the *Jihad* as a way of getting Islam to re-assert itself both in Punjab and India against the growing militancy of the Arya Samajist and evangelical missionaries.<sup>20</sup>

Muslims generally welcomed the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya* when it was first published. For instance, Muhammad Hussain, a leader of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Batala, praised for his vigorously fight against all the opponents of Islam especially Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj.<sup>21</sup>

In the last decade of nineteenth century the tension between Arya Samaj and Ahmadiyyas was at its height. After the death of Dayanand (d.1883), Lekh Ram, another extremist Arya Samajist, succeeded him. He vehemently spoke against cow-slaughter, accelerated the propoganda against Ahmadis and refuted the claim of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1816-1898) that Islam was not spread by force.<sup>22</sup>

The controversy between Arya Samajists and Ahmadis reached at its climax in 1893, when Ghulam Ahmad in a prophecy claimed that Lekh Ram would die within six years. Lekh Ram reciprocated with a book called '*Takzib-i-Ahmad*'<sup>23</sup> [The Refutation of Ahmad], which was polemical in nature and teeming with derogatory remarks against Islamic teachings. Lekh Ram also countered the claims of Ghulam Ahmad regarding the orthodox Hindu beliefs.

The tussle and controversy between Ghulam Ahmad and Lekh Ram, and polemical language used in their speeches and books, intensified the already existing communal strife which resulted in the form of bloody communal riots in 1896 and 1897.<sup>24</sup> According to one contemporary source during late nineteenth century more than twenty-four major riots took place between Hindus and Muslims.<sup>25</sup> On March 06, 1897, Lekh Ram was murdered by a Muslim<sup>26</sup> and Ghulam Ahmad claimed that his prophecy had come true.

Ghulam Ahmad's argumentation against the Arya Samaj not only raised the tension between them but also shattered the Hindu-Muslim working relationship in general. Despite his efforts to defend Islam, Ahmad received nothing but abuse for other Muslims.<sup>27</sup> According to historians and critics Ghulam Ahmad's treatment of Arya Samajist was highly polemical. He passed disparaging remarks against the Hindu gods and their religious rites and did not hesitate even at calling names. For instance, in 1895 he wrote a book '*Arya Dharam*', in which he challenged the parentage of Aryans and declared *Vedas* as misleading books.<sup>28</sup> In one of his books he disgraced the Hinduism by symbolizing permeshar with the male sexual organs.<sup>29</sup> It has been reported that it was the reaction of Arya Samajists against the polemical campaign of Ghulam Ahmad, that they vigorously attacked the Islam and Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by adding chapter XIV in the second edition of *Satya Rath Parakash*.<sup>30</sup> According to an eminent Indian Scholar A.A. Nadvi (d. 2003) the British were aware of the dangerous possibility of inter communal concord in India, a manifestation of which was the struggle for independence of 1857, found it expedient to encourage religious controversies. The British political interest was served by these controversies in so far as they led to mutual hatred, intellectual bewilderment and moral chaos in the country, so that all the communities concerned became disposed at

least to tolerate a government which sought to protect all of them and under whose shadow all could carry on their holy debates.<sup>31</sup>

A careful examination of Ghulam Ahmad's biographies, writings and history of Ahmadiyya movement reveals that from 1868 to 1879, he did not make any claim, except that he received revelation from God. He successfully maneuvered to paint himself as a 'preacher and defender of Islam', whose primary motive was to counteract the onslaught of Arya Samajists and Christian missionaries.

In the formative period of his 'career' Ghulam Ahmad did not come out with the actual ambition of 'Prophethood'. He started with creating confusions about the death of Jesus and his resurrection, reinterpretation of concept of *Jihad* and theological cum philosophical hair splitting regarding the idea of Finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), and then swiftly moved toward his 'goal'. In almost all of his books he wrote about the general decay of the Islamic life and stressed upon the need of a *Messiah*, who could introduce reforms for the salvation of general Muslim masses.

In 1883, Ghulam Ahmad claimed that he was the *Mujaddid* of the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> He insisted that he had similar beliefs in all religious matters as held by the orthodox Muslims.<sup>33</sup> In 1889, he took first practical step for the organization of Ahmadiyya community and started preaching his own version of Islam.<sup>34</sup>

On December 01, 1888, he announced that God had commanded him, through revelation, to accept *bay'ah* and to form into a separate class of these people who came to spiritual life through him.<sup>35</sup> In this regard, the first *ba'yah* taking ceremony was conducted at Ludhiana and about a dozen of people joined the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya.<sup>36</sup> Nur Muhammad (d. 1914) was the first person who make *bay'ah*. He was one of the closest disciple<sup>37</sup> of Ghulam Ahmad and later become first *Khalifa* of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya after his death.

Since late 1880's, Ghulam Ahmad started comparing himself with Jesus, that as he lived in poverty and humility, so he was carrying out his reformatory work. He also claimed that he was superior to all the saints and mystics of Islam.<sup>38</sup>

In 1891, Ghulam Ahmad made the controversial claim that he was Mahdi and Massih-i-Mau'aud of the Muslims.<sup>39</sup> The meaning of this claim for Ghulam Ahmad was that, it was the fulfillment of a Divine promise made to all Muslims, that at the commencement of every century the God will raise a man who will revive and resuscitate his religion.<sup>40</sup> He announced that the Jesus was not alive and would not return to this world in person, and that by the "return of Jesus" was meant the coming of an *Imam* and *Mujaddid* of the Muslims who would bear spiritual resemblance to the Jesus and work like him. Thus in unequivocal terms he claimed to be that particular *Mujaddid* of the Muslims who was going to be the promised Messiah.<sup>41</sup>

In 1900, some leading disciples of Ghulam Ahmad started proclaiming him a prophet in unambiguous terms. He interpreted their statements by calling himself partial prophet, apostolic prophet i.e. prophet who is continuation of Prophet Muhammad, *Buruzi* Prophet, i.e. by prophet by way of incarnation and *Zilli* Prophet. However, the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad abstained from putting forth in clear terms, his claims to prophethood.<sup>42</sup>

On August 07, 1900, on the eve of Friday congregation, an Ahmadi preacher Maulvi Abdul Karim, in his sermon said:

"If you do not follow the lead of the Massih Mau'aud in all matters and if you do not affirm faith in him as the companions believed in the Holy Prophet (PBUH), then you shall stand guilty of discriminating among God's Prophets just as the non-Ahmadis do".<sup>43</sup>

It has been reported, that Maulvi Ahsan, another follower of Ghulam Ahmad, objected to this and started arguing with Maulvi Abdul Karim. At that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, intervened and disliked the quarrel and recited the verse of Holy Quran.

"Oh people [Muslims] do not loud your voice on the voice of Prophet".<sup>44</sup>

In 1901-02, he declared himself to be a prophet and messenger in clear and unequivocal terms<sup>45</sup> to which he stuck till his last sighs. According to contemporary sources, who recorded these claims as deviation from orthodox Islam, and write:

“It was here that he practically broke with orthodox Islam, for though he did not profess to bring a new book, he claimed to be a prophet, while orthodox Islam recognizes no prophet after Muhammad”.<sup>46</sup>

From 1901-08 he claimed prophethood in clear and unequivocal terms. In a letter written only three days before his death to the editor *Akhbar-i-A'lam*, i.e. on May 23, 1908 and which was published on May 26, 1908, he writes:

“I am a prophet under a divine decree. I shall be a sinner if I disclaim it and when God calls me a prophet, how can I deny it, I will stick it to my last breath”.<sup>47</sup>

The second caliph of Ghulam Ahmad also opined that, according to recognized interpretations of the word ‘prophet’ held by the Islamic *Shariah*, ‘Hazrat Sahib’ was a real and not a symbolic prophet.<sup>48</sup>

The claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad stirred the passions of orthodox Muslims and he was vehemently criticized by all other sects of Islam. *Fatwas*<sup>49</sup> were issued in which he was declared as infidel, liar, faithless, *Dajjal*, *murtadd*, *zindeeq*, devil, accursed one, etc. He was challenged by *Ulamas* to face them in *Mubahilahs*.<sup>50</sup>

Muhammad Hussain of Batala, who was staunch supporter of Ghulam Ahmad, after the publication of *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*, turned strongly against him when he claimed to be Mahdi and Massih-i-Mau'aud.<sup>51</sup> He joined hands with Muhammad Bukhsh, editor *Jafar Zatalli* of Lahore, to propagate against the teachings of Ghulam Ahmad. However, the activities of both were later paused due to proclamation of court orders in 1899.<sup>52</sup> The other principal opponents in the struggle against Ghulam Ahmad were Maulvi Abdul Jabbar, Maulvi Abdul Haq Ghazanvi, Nazir Hussain Dehlvi, Ahmadullah Amratsari and Sanaullah Amratsari.<sup>53</sup>

Ghulam Ahmad took an extensive tour of important urban cities and towns including Lahore, Sialkot, Delhi, Ludhiana and Amritser in 1904-05. Perhaps it was for first time that he diverted his attention towards the urbanites. While addressing the congregation he presented the programme of *Jamat-i-Ahmadiyya*, adopted a defensive style to counter the propaganda campaign launched against him and his movement by Muslim *Ulamas* and Arya Samajists.<sup>54</sup>

On November 02, 1904 he explained his mission to the Hindus of Sialkot. Here he claimed himself to be the *Krishna* of Hindus. He said that the Hindu prophecies relating to the advent of a *Avatar* were also fulfilled in his person.<sup>55</sup> He said:

“My advent in this age is not meant for the reformation of Muhammadans only, but Almighty God has willed to bring about through me a regeneration of three great nations, viz: Hindus, Mohammadans and Christians. As for the last two I am the promised Messiah, so far the first I have been sent as an *Avatar*”.<sup>56</sup>

However, the Hindus treated this claim as absurd and unworthy of notice, feeling confident that their religion was quite safe from the Ahmadi intrusion.

Ghulam Ahmad died of Cholera on May 26, 1908.<sup>57</sup> After his expiry his followers elected Maulvi Noor Muhammad<sup>58</sup> (d.1914) as his first caliph; who was considered by Ahmadis as ‘Abubakr of promised Messiah’.<sup>59</sup>

In 1914, after the death of Noor Muhammad, the Ahmadiyya community splits into two factions.<sup>60</sup> The majority members of Jama’at-i-Ahmadiyya elected son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood (1889-1965) as second caliph of Messiah.<sup>61</sup> That group believe in the prophethood of Ghulam Ahmad and considered all those persons as infidels who deny it.

The second group, mainly comprised of Maulana Muhammad Ali<sup>62</sup> (1874-1951), Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din (1870-1932) and Dr. Mirza Yaqoob Baig (d.1935) seceded from the central body and formed Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha’at-i-Islam at Lahore. They claimed that they did not believe in Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet in the real sense of the term, and they regarded him only *Mujaddid*.<sup>63</sup>

## **INCLINATION TOWARDS BRITISH**

In political affairs Jama’at-i-Ahmadiyya always remained inclined towards the British government and always seconded its policies. It believed that British Empire was meant by God to serve a nucleus for the establishment of world peace.<sup>64</sup> Mirza Ghulam Ahmad concluded in his book:



“God has established the British government in this country for your good only....If a misfortune befalls this government, that will exterminate you also... The British government is a divine favour, a blessing of God and shield for you”<sup>65</sup>

In fact Ghulam Ahmad was a staunch supporter of British government and he himself admitted that he published hundreds of books and pamphlets in various languages, in which he presented the British as great benefactor to the Muslims. He compelled the Muslims to be loyal and obedient to the British.<sup>66</sup>

Loyalty to British was the familial tradition of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. During War of Independence 1857, it has been reported that Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, father of Ghulam Ahmad rendered an active and valuable assistance in breaking the backbone of the ‘rebellion’ in the Punjab. He enlisted, mounted and equipped fifty *sawars* at his own expense which he put at the disposal of authorities.<sup>67</sup> A *khilat* was being presented to Mirza Ghulam Murtaza in recognition of his services for British.<sup>68</sup>

The British authorities also looked on the Ahmadis as “a most loyal and law abiding community”.<sup>69</sup> As from British point of view the Ahmadiyya community has rendered valuable service to the cause of law and order, notably in the days of critical situation created in the country by the agitation in connection with the Rowlatt Act, *Khilafat* agitation, *Hijrat* movement and the wave of anger which swept over the country in connection with Simon Commission and Round Table Conference.<sup>70</sup> They were secretly assigned the task of making all such movements ineffective in order to perpetuate the British rule in India.<sup>71</sup>

During the great wars, the record of Ahmadis was of continuous loyalty. Besides providing war loans to the government,<sup>72</sup> Mirza Bashir-ud-Din debited Rs.500 on behalf of the Ahmadiyya community for war purposes.<sup>73</sup> According to the Ahmadi sources, more than three thousand Ahmadis joined the British army in various capacities during the First World War (1914-18).<sup>74</sup>

Similarly during Second World War (1939-44), the Ahmadiyya community supplied more than 1400 recruits to the British army. Whole hearted cooperation was provided to the British recruiting staff and about 7,000 recruits have been enrolled for British army, as a result of the efforts of Ahmadiyya leadership at Qadian.<sup>75</sup>

Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya kept herself and her followers aloof from the Muslim agitation over the *Khilafat* issue. They took no part in the *Khilafat* movement. They concluded that the British should consider the feelings of Muslims world and maintained that it owed no spiritual fidelity to the Sultan, but recognized the British as their 'temporal sovereign'.<sup>76</sup> The Ahmadis called on the general Muslims to remain loyal to the British and concluded that war in Europe had no direct effect on Islam. Turkey had declared war not on the basis of an Islamic injunctions but had acted solely out of political motives.<sup>77</sup> In his article 'The Turkish peace and the Muslim Duty', Mirza Bashir-ud-Din publicly announced his refusal to participate in the *khilafat* conference at Lahore.<sup>78</sup> However he sent a delegation who in their speeches uphold the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya's position. In his paper that was read out at the All India Muslim Conference on September 21, 1919 at Luknow, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din emphasized that Ahmadis by no means prepared to accept the Sultan as the Caliph in the true sense of the word. The person rightly entitled to be the Caliph "can be no other than this humble writer".<sup>79</sup> In mid December 1919, an Ahmadi delegation led by Sir Zafarullah met Sir Edward Maclagen, Lieutenant Governor Punjab and expounded him about their views over the issue of *Khilafat*. They said:

"Religiously speaking, we do not admit owing any allegiance to the Sultan. We hold that only a successor of promised Messiah is entitled to be the spiritual head of the Muslims, and for our temporal sovereign we recognize only the power [British] under whose rule we live".<sup>80</sup>

Mirza Bashir-ud-Din severely opposed the *Hijrat* and non-cooperation movements.<sup>81</sup> He not only questioned the religious and legal soundness of the *fatwas* given for such movements, but also denounced those who preached crusade against the British. He resorted to an abusive language against the *Ulama* and Hindu leaders for 'misguiding' masses and arraying them against the British government.<sup>82</sup> He also supplied the list of *Ulamas* to the British authorities, who believed that the India was 'Dar-ul-Harb' a hostile territory and where *Jihad* was inevitable.<sup>83</sup> In order to pacify the strong anti-British movements, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din strongly criticized the idea of non-cooperation against the government and underlined its main implications for the Muslims of India at large.<sup>84</sup>

In 1919, the passage of Rowlatt Act produced a wave of discontent in the cross-section of Indians; irrespective of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs.

Throughout the agitation, Ahmadis remained loyal to the British government<sup>85</sup> and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din urged the Ahmadiyya community to open their shops during the strikes.<sup>86</sup> It was reported that Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya sent delegations to various surrounding areas of Qadian to keep the law and order and to cool down the temper of the masses.<sup>87</sup> Influential people of the surroundings were also invited to Qadian so that they could advise them not to take part in 'riots'.<sup>88</sup> Two weeks after the Jallianwala *Bagh* tragedy, *Al-Hakam* an Ahmadi organ, supported government efforts to "keep the peace" while decrying any attempts at Muslim unity with Hindus.<sup>89</sup>

During the movement for progressive self-government and Home Rule, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din protested against the proposals to make India self governing,<sup>90</sup> in the context that there was unrestrained religious intolerance in India. *Al-Fazl* denounced the concept of self-government and Home rule as expounded by the Hindus and Muslims political organizations. The paper thanks for the presence of the British, without whom India would not know its present prosperity.<sup>91</sup>

On the arrival of Montague at Delhi, all classes of interests presented memorials on the question of ensuing reforms. On November 15, 1917 a nine-men Ahmadi deputation led by Sir Zafarullah presented an address to Montague at Delhi. It was pointed out that present discontent and unrest among the people of India was not for the demand for self-government, for the majority of the people did not know about self-government meant. An extreme concern was expressed on behalf of the Ahmadiyya community<sup>92</sup> over the British policy and the goal of self-government for India was regarded detrimental for religious minorities especially for Ahmadiyya community. It seems that Ahmadis wanted that Muslims should remain under the domination of alien rule so that they could freely and fearlessly consolidate their 'faith'. In fact the conducive environment provided to them for growth and consolidation by the British, as Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself confessed, could not even they had in Mecca and Medina.<sup>93</sup>

Again in 1921, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din presented an address to the Secretary of State for India in which he stated that India did not stand in need of important and far-reaching reforms but demanded the abolition of racial distinctions and wider

education.<sup>94</sup> He stressed the government that so long as religious prejudice retained its sway over the people's mind, the British element should pro-dominate in India.<sup>95</sup>

Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya looked at AIML and INC with disliking and disapproved both of them as harmful.<sup>96</sup> It is a matter of fact that when AIML was founded in 1906, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad not only refused to cooperate with it but also opposed the idea of its formation because of the fear that "in future this party might oppose the British government".<sup>97</sup> Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya spent large sum of money for combating the INC agitations.<sup>98</sup> In late 1920's when Gandhi launched the civil disobedience movement, Ahmadis were in forefront to oppose it. It has been reported that it spend Rs.50,000 to print and publish tracts and pamphlets against the movement and hired workers for speeches against it.<sup>99</sup>

As a loyal supporter of the government, the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya remained aloof from the agitation against Indian Statuary Commission<sup>100</sup> and in fact argued in favour of cooperation. In the issue of *Sunrise* for December 22, 1927 Mirza Bashir-ud-Din gave many reasons in favour of cooperation with the commission.<sup>101</sup> He considered British rule necessary as long as minorities in India were insecure and until such time as the British educated their subjects "to discharge their responsibilities with fairness and equity". He insisted that the British were not to be blamed for communalism in India; rather the Arya Samaj was responsible.<sup>102</sup>

In sum, loyalty and allegiance to the British was one of the two pillars of their faith.<sup>103</sup> The professed loyalty to the British by Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, its non-participation in the agitational and national movements and language used by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his successor Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood to praise British, created problems and obstacle for its growth and working in the India, particularly in the Punjab. It was dubbed by the orthodox Muslims and *Ulamas* that Ahmadis views were not in consonance with the original teachings of Quran and *Sunnah*, but were the result of British conspiracies against Islam.

## **IQBAL AND AHMADISM**

The political unrest had spread in Kashmir in 1931 more than the limit. The Muslims of Kashmir were leading a miserable life under the Dogra rule. Iqbal had strong spiritual and psychological affiliation with Kashmir, as he himself was a

Kashmiri. He was in contact with the organizations of Kashmiris since his studentship days. When he came back home in 1908, he was made secretary of Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Mussalmans.<sup>104</sup>

To ameliorate the condition of Kashmiri Muslims, a Punjab based Muslim organization Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam had started a civil disobedience movement against the barbarities of the Dogra rule. Thousands of Ahrari activists were incarcerated. The Punjabi Muslims had also set up an AIKC to launch a movement for restoration of rights of Kashmiri people on constitutional planes. Head of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood was made President of that Committee.

Ahrars blamed that the President of Kashmir Committee was taking undue advantage of his title and was spreading Ahmadiyyat in Kashmir and was preaching his own specific religious beliefs. Iqbal had been looking keenly over all these developments. In the meantime, there came new suggestions for the reorganization and formation of the constitution of the AIKC so that the authorities of the President should be restrained<sup>105</sup> and that everything should run on the smooth footing. Ahmadi members of AIKC differed with this and Mirza Bashir-ud-Din resigned from the office of President of AIKC.

After the resignation of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, Iqbal was elected as the new President of AIKC.<sup>106</sup> In the second session of AIKC when draft constitution was presented, members belonging to Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya opposed it. Iqbal felt that to Ahmadis, Kashmir Committee or any other Muslim Organization has no importance, because according to their faith, obedience to their *Amir* is more important. In these circumstances, Iqbal resigned from the committee and dissolved it.<sup>107</sup>

After the dissolution of the first Committee a new committee was formed under the presidentship of Iqbal. For the betterment of Kashmiri Muslims, he appealed the Indian masses to help their Kashmiri brethren.<sup>108</sup> Ahmadis also set up a new organization for the Kashmiris. Iqbal was offered its presidency but he rejected this offer on the grounds that how a Muslim could participate in a party whose only objective was to preach slightly its own specific aim under the garb of non-sectarianism.<sup>109</sup>

In pre-1935 period, Iqbal had been expressing covertly in his poetry, letters and statements regarding Ahmadiyyat. After resigning from AIKC and viewing the behaviour of the Ahmadis he took special interest in the Ahmadiyyat. On May 06, 1935 he gave his statement regarding the 'Qadianis and Orthodox Muslims' which was undoubtedly a declaration of an open war against them. In this, he logically proved the superiority of Islam over other religions, about the non-Muslim status of Ahmadis, and the critic on undue support to Ahmadis by the British.<sup>110</sup>

In 1935 the Governor of Punjab Sir Herbert Emerson advised the Muslims to show tolerance for the Ahmadis. Iqbal while mentioning the anti-Ahmadi campaign of the Muslims, alleged that Ahmadis were a danger for the national unity of the Muslims. He added that if the integrity of a community was threatened, the only course upon to that community was to defend itself against the forces of disintegration.<sup>111</sup>

While discussing the governmental support for the Ahmadis, Iqbal regretted and said that it was not fair "to preach toleration to the parent community whose integrity is threatened and to allow the rebellious group to carry on its propaganda with impunity, even when the propaganda is highly abusive?"<sup>112</sup>

Iqbal asserted that Ahmadiyyat was far more dangerous to the collective life of Islam in India than the metaphysics of Spinoza<sup>113</sup> to the collective life of Jews.<sup>114</sup> To Iqbal the Indian Muslims, instinctively, realized the peculiar nature of the circumstances in which they were placed in India and were naturally much more sensitive to the forces of disintegration than the Muslims of any other country.<sup>115</sup> It was the toleration of the spiritually powerful man who, while jealous of the frontiers of his own faith, could tolerate and even appreciate all forms of faith other than his own.<sup>116</sup> For Iqbal, those persons were not objective in their opinion, who blame a person for in-toleration who was the saviour of boundaries of his religion.<sup>117</sup>

Iqbal has repeatedly said that Islam has two basic beliefs: Oneness of God and Finality of Prophethood. When somebody deviates from them, particularly the latter, it was considered as an assault to the boundaries of Islam. That's why he concluded that the feelings of Muslims was so intense against the Ahmadis.<sup>118</sup>

Iqbal advised the Ahmadis that they had two options, “either frankly to follow the Bahais or to eschew their interpretations of the idea of finality of Prophethood and to accept the idea with all its implications”.<sup>119</sup>

To Iqbal, Bahaisim<sup>120</sup> was far most honest than Ahmadism, for the former openly departed from Islam, whereas the latter apparently retained some of the more important externals of Islam with an inwardness wholly inimical to the spirit and aspirations of Islam.<sup>121</sup> Their diplomatic interpretations were dictated merely by a desire to remain within the fold of Islam for obvious political advantages. It seems, Iqbal knew well the Ahmadi movement and its intentions, that’s why he advised the British authorities ‘to declare them a separate community’.<sup>122</sup> To him it was the only way out which could promote tolerance and harmony in the religiously charged environment of India.

Ahmadis were shocked over the statement of Iqbal and started criticizing him. *Light and Sunrise*, the mouth organs of Jama’at-i-Ahmadiyya accused Iqbal of inconsistency. Iqbal replied that he had no hesitation in admitting that about twenty-five years ago he had hopes of good results from that movement, but he was not aware of the ‘real contents’ of it. Indicating towards the internal quarrels between the two sections of movement, he asserted that ‘even those who were in personal contact with the founder, were not quite aware of how the movement would evolve itself’.<sup>123</sup>

Iqbal expounded that he became suspicious of the movement when the claim of a new Prophethood, superior even the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), was definitely put forward, and the Muslim world was declared infidel. ‘Later his suspicions’ Iqbal added, ‘developed into a positive revolt when he heard with his own ears an adherent of the Ahmadiyya movement using ‘disparaging language’ against Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)’.<sup>124</sup>

Concluding his statement he said, “Not by their roots, but by their fruits will you know them. If my present attitude is self contradictory, then, well only a living and thinking man has the privilege of contradicting himself. Only stones cannot contradict themselves....”<sup>125</sup>

## **Expulsion of Ahmadis from Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam**

The working relationship, which Iqbal had developed with Ahmadis, had made Iqbal well aware that Ahmadis always preferred their own interest to the national interests. From then onward he started his campaign to purge Ahmadis from other Muslim organizations, particularly from Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Iqbal was attached with AHI since his college days. In 1935, when Iqbal was the President of AHI he tried to rid it from the influence of the Ahmadis by firing them from the Committee. At this Ahmadis and their supporters came face to face with Iqbal. Disappointed Iqbal resigned from the post on November 22, 1935.<sup>126</sup> Though he relinquished on the grounds of his said failing health and ailments, but he cleared it in his letter to Shaikh Azeemullah that "there were several other reasons of the resignation about which I kept mum for their publication would have harmed the *Anjuman*".<sup>127</sup> After much thinking the working Committee did not accept his resignation and ensured him that the AHI was ready to do needful and appropriate reformation after their instructions.<sup>128</sup>

In the year of 1936 the Ahmadi-Ahrar conflict had attracted the attention of the people. In this situation Iqbal advised the AHI, as its President to clear its policy towards Ahmadis, to clear doubts.<sup>129</sup> In the meantime in his personal capacity he tried his best to purge the Ahmadis from the AHI so that they could not gain any political advantage from it. On the move of Iqbal, on January 31, 1936 in the annual meeting of AHI, Ahrars presented a resolution from the Muslim public that the Ahmadis were non-Muslims; hence they should be excluded from AHI. After a brief debate the resolution was approved. Ahmadis not only were excluded from the AHI but were also disqualified from membership next time.<sup>130</sup> Meanwhile on February 02, 1936, the General Council of the AHI also clarified that the matter of Finality of Prophethood was a fundamental element of Islam. And there would come no prophet in any way after Muhammad (PBUH).<sup>131</sup>

## **Iqbal and Nehru on Ahmadism**

In 1935 a debate erupted between Iqbal and Nehru (1889-1964) over Ahmadism, when the latter wrote a series of articles titled, "Solidarity in Islam: Comment on Iqbal's Articles", in *Modern Review of Calcutta*. In these articles he called "for openness and toleration, pointing to the great diversity in Islam".<sup>132</sup>



Iqbal wrote a detailed and comprehensive essay titled, 'Islam and Ahmadism' and explain the Muslim viewpoint regarding the issue of finality of Prophethood.<sup>133</sup>

Iqbal was aware of the fact that due to low numerical strength, Ahmadis were not capable to be a fourth communal cum religious group besides the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. But he feared that if they grew in number then they would badly affect the marginal Muslim majority in the legislatures and even convert it into minority, either on the wishes of British government or by using influence of Unionist Party. That's the reason which compelled Iqbal to write an essay, in which he answered to the questions raised by Nehru, and presented Muslim case concerning the institution of finality of Prophethood.

Iqbal disagreed with the Nehru's stance that the only way to Indian nationalism lies in a total suppression of the cultural entities of the country through the interaction of which alone, India could evolve a rich and enduring culture.<sup>134</sup> Interpreting the stance of Nehru, Iqbal writes:

"Both [Nehru and Ahmadis] inwardly resent, for different reasons, the prospects of Muslim political and religious solidarity, particularly in India. It is obvious, that the Indian nationalist whose political idealism has practically killed his sense for fact, is intolerant of the birth of a desire for self-determination in the heart of North-West Indian Islam".<sup>135</sup>

Ahmadis were nervous by the political awakening of the Indian Muslims, because they felt that the rise in political prestige of the Indian Muslims was to defeat their designs to carve out from "the *Ummat* of the Arabian Prophet a new *ummat* for the Indian Prophet".<sup>136</sup>

Iqbal advised that it does not suit Jawahar Lal Nehru who was giving us [Muslims] the lesson of forbearance for such movements who were the "forces of disintegration" for internal cohesion of the Muslims and masquerading themselves as reformist movements.<sup>137</sup> In a letter to Nehru, Iqbal assured him that the paper written by him was with the best intentions for Islam and to India and he had no doubt in his mind that 'Ahmadis are traitors both to Islam and to India.'<sup>138</sup>

Meanwhile, when Nehru visited Lahore on May 29, 1936, he was warmly welcomed by Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya. They gave splendid ovation to him as President

of INC. Top rank leadership of Ahmadis comprising Ch. Asadullah Khan, President National League, Sir Zafarullah Khan and Sh. Bashir Ahmad Advocate were also present at the occasion.<sup>139</sup> According to Ahmadi sources, the reason of warm reception of Nehru was his recently published articles in which he had refuted those treatises of Iqbal that had been written to separate Ahmadis from mainstream Muslim. Ahmadis were inspired by the efforts of Nehru because he proved that Iqbal's objection over Ahmadism was unreasonable and was contrary to his past attitude.<sup>140</sup>

The defence of Ahmadiyyat by Nehru was a bang because prior to that he once given a statement that for toppling the British government, one should topple the Ahmadiyya movement.<sup>141</sup>

Similarly the Ahmadis, had too, no soft corner for INC and it opposed its activities and policies. In fact it was the doctrine of necessity, which compelled both Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and INC to come closer. Firstly, due to the efforts of Muslim *Ulamas* particularly the Ahraris, many Ahmadis reverted back to their parent body [Muslim] and it was looked by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din as a great danger for the movement.<sup>142</sup> Secondly, due to their involvement in Kashmir agitation, disregarding the pledges of loyalty of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, the British government allowed the Ahrars to hold their annual conference in Qadian. This sowed the seeds of dissension between the Ahmadis and the British government. In this context Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya inclined towards the Congress so as to snatch the attention of government. In this regard, the following statement of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood is ponderable. He said:

“I have observed the Congress very closely and I think Congress is preparing a scheme in which it looks as if it has left its position. But soon it will cause a couple of problems for the government, in which the government will need its well wishers and then we will forget our disputes and go for its help. But government while permitting Ahrars to hold conference in Qadian has taught us not to cooperate with them without any deal. We too shall deal with the government in the same manner and we will teach others to bargain with the government”.<sup>143</sup>

Iqbal was keenly watching all the activities of Ahmadis, gave his comments in a nutshell that “Mirza Bashir-ud-Din had submitted the tender to the government in a

manner which is much like that as he says, 'I am annoyed come and cheer me up'. It was nothing else than that".<sup>144</sup>

On the other hand INC supported and favoured the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya only because it wanted to amalgamate the Muslim community into composite Indian nationalism. That's why Hindus not only tolerated but also favoured the movement. Nehru's behaviour can be defined clearly in the light of Dr. Shankar Das Mehra's article which was published in Hindi paper *Band-i-Matram*.<sup>145</sup> According to Shankar Das the most important question, which the country had to face at present, was how to infuse nationalism into Indian Muslims who always looked toward Arabia for seeking guidance in socio-political, and religious affairs. He was much inspired by the teaching of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and concluded:

"If any ray of hope is visible to Indian nationalists it is the Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya. When Muslims turn to Ahmadiyyat, they will look upon Qadian as their Mecca and eventually will become nationalist themselves. If any movement can put an end to Pan-Islamism and Arabian culture, it is the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya".<sup>146</sup>

Shankar Das further added that when a Hindu embraced Islam, his loyalty and devotion were transferred to the Arabia. Similarly when a Muslim becomes an Ahmadi, his angle of vision changes; he would feel love and reverence for India because his spiritual centre, Qadian, lays here.<sup>147</sup>

It seems that Nehru adopted the thesis of Shankir Das, that for the higher Indian national interest, an 'Indian prophet' was more beneficial for them who could weaken the Muslims' bond with Mecca and Medina and tie it up with an Indian town 'Qadian'. That is why in his articles, Nehru advised the Muslims to tolerate the Ahmadis.

### **DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AHMADIS – ORTHODOX MUSLIMS AND IQBAL'S VIEW POINT**

Apparently, Ahmadis have set their beliefs according to the *Hanafi* School of thought, which has the largest follower-ship in the Muslim world, but inwardly they considered orthodox Muslims as infidels. Ghulam Ahmad in his book *Haqiqat-al-Wahy*, clearly states that "his opponents and he cannot be considered Muslims at the same time".<sup>148</sup>

Ghulam Ahmad described parent community as 'rotten milk' and his followers as 'fresh milk', and warned his followers not to mix with the non-Ahmadi Muslims.<sup>149</sup> Maulvi Muhammad Ali, a staunch follower of Ghulam Ahmad, was so vocal in his expressions regarding the status of Ahmadis that he went to the extent of saying that "the Ahmadiyya movement stands in the same relations to Islam in which Christianity stood to Judaism".<sup>150</sup>

The first attempt of Ahmadiyyas segregation from the main stream Muslim community was observed in 1901, when during the census, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad requested the government for a separate counting of Ahmadis.<sup>151</sup> In the preceding years they developed their own school, colleges, mosques and graveyards and converted themselves into a small and well knit closed society.<sup>152</sup> The Muslims reacted to the boycott of Ahmadis by enforcing similar *fatwas*. These actions and reactions disturbed the social fabric of Punjab.<sup>153</sup>

### **Finality of Prophethood**

The root cause of difference and controversy between Ahmadis and the other orthodox Muslim sects was on the issue of finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). The orthodox Muslim had a firm belief that the finality of the Prophethood is the cornerstone of the Islamic faith. Muslims have an unshakable belief that the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is the last of all Prophet and no prophet will come up till the day of judgment. The teachings of Holy Prophet (PBUH) are final, perfect and comprehensive and he is the 'role-model' to be followed by the Muslims.<sup>154</sup> In fact, on the concept of finality of Prophethood (PBUH) stands not only the "...theological structure of Islam, but also its cultural edifice".<sup>155</sup>

On the contrary, Ahmadis believed that the door of divine revelation and arrival of prophets was always open<sup>156</sup> and this succession of prophets will continue in the future as it has done in the past.<sup>157</sup>

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad divided the Prophets into two categories. First, the law-bearing Prophethood, entrusted with bringing a new book of revealed divine law and usually founders of new communities. Second, the non-law bearing Prophethood who

do not receive the divine law and sent to existing community to urge it to implement the divine law brought by an earlier, legislative Prophet.<sup>158</sup>

Ahmadis argued that Prophethood in its all forms had not been terminated<sup>159</sup> and the belief in the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) applies only to the first legislative category.<sup>160</sup> Ghulam Ahmad asserted:

“No law bearing Prophet can now arise, but a Prophet without law may arrive, provided he is primarily a follower of Holy Prophet. Thus I am both a follower and a Prophet”.<sup>161</sup>

Zafarullah argued that such a Prophet was the reflection of the Prophethood of Muhammad and did not in any way contravene or violate the seal of Prophethood.<sup>162</sup> Ahmadis dubbed that in the Holy Quran the word is “*Khatam*” which means seal and not “*Khatim*” which means the last.<sup>163</sup> To Ahmadis the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is the “seal of the Prophets” and they do believe in it. They considered that he is not the last Prophet.<sup>164</sup>

Zafarullah expounded that the “last of the Prophet” means that there would be no prophet after him who could abrogate this law or who would receive the bounty of Prophethood independent of him.<sup>165</sup> The phrase ‘*Khatam-al-Nabiyyin*’, therefore, does not ban the coming of Prophets. Instead, it sanctions their coming, the raising of prophets from among the followers of Holy Prophet.<sup>166</sup>

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself explained that term ‘*Khatam-al-Nabiyyin*’ means that nobody’s Prophethood could be deemed to be authentic unless it bears his [Muhammad’s] seal. Just as a document becomes authentic only when it has been duly sealed, similarly, no Prophethood is genuine unless it has been attested by and bears the seal of the Holy Prophet Muhammad.<sup>167</sup>

Ahmadis believed that neither has Prophethood in all its forms been terminated, nor has divine revelation of every kind ceased to take place.<sup>168</sup> Ghulam Ahmad claimed to receive divine revelation since early 1870’s till his death, which extend over a period of thirty years.<sup>169</sup> Zafarullah, expounding the long tenure of his revelations said that if a claimant of divine revelation persists in his claims over a period equal to the period of Prophethood of Holy Prophet (PBUH), his claims must be accepted as true.<sup>170</sup>

To the Muslims, it is imperative for the believer of the belief of the finality of the Prophethood, to be a complete follower of him (PBUH) and would love him whole- heartedly. Because without it nobody can reach the pinnacles of obedience and submission to God. Iqbal not only paid homage to his handsomeness and conduct but also tried hard to defend his impeccable career and immaculate life. In both of his poetry and prose Iqbal was undoubtedly the first Muslim leader who unemotionally and with logic defended the institution of the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH). Iqbal unveiled the religio-political motives of the Ahmadis and suggest a very peaceful constitutional remedy to this problem. To Iqbal, 'to collect the Muslims of India at one platform, there is only one personality of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), who can be powerful enough to do so'.<sup>171</sup>

Iqbal considered the finality of Prophethood as a great benediction of God which, had been successful in bringing the Muslims under one banner.

No Prophet after me in God's grace,  
And veil the modest beauty of the Faith,  
Muhammad brought to men. The people's strength  
All rest in this, that still the secret guards,  
Of how the Faith's community is one.<sup>172</sup>

To Iqbal the idea of finality is perhaps the most original idea in the cultural history of mankind, <sup>173</sup> after the last revealed Holy scripture - the Quran. He considered that Ghulam Ahmad's assertion of Prophethood and claims that he was the recipient of divine revelation was a blasphemy of all Prophets. It was an attempt to demolish the integrity of entire Islamic system, which was an unpardonable crime.<sup>174</sup>

Iqbal defined Prophethood as "a type of mystic consciousness in which 'unitary experience' tends to overflow its boundaries, and seek opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life. In his personality the finite centre of life sinks into his own infinite depths only to spring up again, with fresh vigour, to destroy the old, and, to disclose the new directions of life. This contact with the root of his own being in by no means peculiar to man".<sup>175</sup>

According to Iqbal, Prophethood has two major elements:

- (i) Prophethood is considered to be a peculiar factor of spirituality in certain conditions.
- (ii) To built a certain socio-political institution that aims to create and develop a certain moral atmosphere in which a person is brought up and finds its highest potentials. One who is not the part of it or refuses to be the part of this system is considered a non-Muslim.<sup>176</sup>

Iqbal asserted that if only the first element is present, then in Islam it is not considered as Prophethood but labelled as sainthood. Finality of Prophethood means if a person after accepting Islam claims to have these two elements and that he received divine revelations, and says that a person who does not join him is a non-Muslim, then he would be a liar and deserves to be killed.<sup>177</sup>

To Iqbal, from Quranic point of view revelation (*wahy*) was a universal property of life.<sup>178</sup> Its nature and characteristics were different at different stages of the evolution of life. At an earlier stage of human evolution, i.e. during the minority of mankind, psychic energy develops which Iqbal called "Prophetic Consciousness" – a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgments, choices and way of action.<sup>179</sup>

Logically, proving the causes of abolition of Prophethood and cessation of revelation, Iqbal added:

"With the birth of reason and critical faculty, however, life, in its own interest, inhibits the formation and growth of non-rational modes of consciousness through which psychic energy flowed at an earlier stage of human evolution. Inductive reasons, which alone makes man masters of his environment, is an achievement; and when once born it must be reinforced by inhibiting the growth of other modes of knowledge".<sup>180</sup>

According to Iqbal, so far as the source of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) revelation was concerned, it belongs to the ancient world; so far as the spirit of his revelation was concerned, it belongs to the modern world. In the person of Muhammad (PBUH), life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its own direction.<sup>181</sup> Thus the birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect.<sup>182</sup> According to Iqbal, Prophecy kept evolving and all Prophets were Muhammad in the making.<sup>183</sup> In Islam prophecy attained perfection in the person of Muhammad and perfection meant the end of the process and thus "discovered the need of its own abolition".<sup>184</sup>

God set the seal of Holy Law on us,  
As on our prophet all apostleship  
Is sealed. The concourse of ending days  
Is radiant in our lustre; he was seal  
To all apostles, to all people we.<sup>185</sup>

Iqbal was of the view that concept of finality of Prophethood indicates that life could not for ever be kept in leading strings of future Prophets of Islam.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps, after becoming the follower of one revelation or intuition, to accept any other thing like that is *Haram*. And the amusing thing is that the subservience of the last Prophet is not subservience, but liberty because the decrees of his [Muhammad (PBUH)] are so close to nature.<sup>187</sup> He further added, in order to achieve full consciousness, men must finally be thrown back on his own resources.<sup>188</sup>

Regarding the different aspect of the concept of finality of Prophethood and its implications on the human life, Iqbal commented:

“The abolition of Priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in Quran, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same ideas of Finality”.<sup>189</sup>

Criticizing Iqbal's concept and ideas, the Ahmadi magazine *Light* wrote, “Iqbal's claim that institution of Prophethood had culminated, is based on his permeability to western thought, because he prefers reason over Prophethood”. Clarifying his position, Iqbal wrote:

“The idea of finality, therefore, should not be taken to suggest that the ultimate fate of life is complete displacement of emotion by reason. Such a thing is neither possible nor desirable. The intellectual value of the idea is that it tends to create an independent critical attitude towards mystic experience by generating the belief that all personal authority, claiming a supernatural origin, has come to an end in the history of man. This kind of belief is a psychological force which inhibits the growth of such authority”.<sup>190</sup>

Iqbal also removed this misconception that concept of finality of Prophethood did not mean that mystic experience has now ceased to exist as a vital fact and saints in the psychological sense of the word or men of saintly character will always appear.<sup>191</sup>



Iqbal was of the opinion that after the revelation of Muhammad (PBUH), intuition occupies a secondary place. Concatenation of intuition is still continued but it is worthless for other persons but for him who claims to receive it. In other words after the revelation of Muhammad (PBUH), intuition is a private fact. It has no social importance and has a secondary status.<sup>192</sup> Modern man has the right to a critical examination of mystic experiences.<sup>193</sup> The finality of the Prophethood means, among other things, that all personal authority in religious life, denial of which involves damnation, has come to an end.<sup>194</sup>

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claims to receive revelation for thirty years.<sup>195</sup> For Iqbal predictions and miracles cannot be the basis behind Prophethood. Many astrologers predict. Some prove true, some not. This was merely a chance. The only proof for Prophethood can be the teachings and life of the Prophet.<sup>196</sup> In *Zarb-i-Kalim* Iqbal has criticized Murza Ghulam Ahmad's claim of Prophethood and illogical hallucinations and intuitions.<sup>197</sup> According to him Muslim *Ummah* needs such an intuition that can instill life into its dead body. Such intuition,<sup>198</sup> Prophethood<sup>199</sup> and *Imamat*<sup>200</sup> were termed as massacre of Changiz Khan (1162-1227), leaves of opium and civil strife that did not mean to strengthen the nation but to ruin it and teaching idleness and cowardice.

Iqbal expounded that when some nation faces disintegration, this disintegration becomes the source of deriving emanation in which pessimism is robed in the motley dress of hope. The life history of nations, he added, shows that when the tide of life in a people begins to ebb, decadence itself becomes a source of inspiration, inspiring their poets, philosophers, saints, statesmen, and turning them into a class of apostles, whose sole ministry is to glorify, by the force of a seductive art of logic, all that is ignoble and ugly in the life of their people.<sup>201</sup> These apostles unconsciously clothe despair in the glittering garments of hope, undermine the traditional values of conduct and thus destroy the spiritual virility of those who happen to be their victims. He concluded, that, all the actors who participated in the drama of Ahmadism were only instruments in the hands of decadence.<sup>202</sup>

To Iqbal, Ahmadiyya's concept of continuity of Prophethood was Magian in nature, than the Islamic. He asserted that to pre-Islamic Magian<sup>203</sup> cultures and religions.

“...the idea of the continuity of Prophethood was essential, and consequently they lived in a state of constant expectation. The result of the Magian attitude was the disintegration of old communities and constant formation of new ones by all sorts of religious adventures”.<sup>204</sup>

Iqbal disapproved the ideas of *Zill*, *Buruz* and partial Prophethood. Tracing the origin of such ideas he stated that it was under the influence of pre-Islamic Magian ideas that heretical movements in Muslim Iran invented the words ‘*buruz*’,<sup>205</sup> ‘*hulul*’,<sup>206</sup> ‘*Zill*’,<sup>207</sup> to cover the idea of a perpetual reincarnation.<sup>208</sup>

Iqbal disagreed with Ghulam Ahmad’s argument that the spirituality of Muhammad (PBUH) would be regarded imperfect, if it did not create another Prophet. He also refuted the Ahmadiyya’s assertion that finality in the sense that no follower of Muhammad (PBUH) could ever reached the status of Prophethood, was a mark of imperfection in Muhammad’s Prophethood.<sup>209</sup> Iqbal says:

“...in the interest of his own claim to Prophethood, that avails himself of what he describes as the creative spirituality of the Holy Prophet of Islam, and at the same time deprives the Holy Prophet of his Finality by limiting the creative capacity of his spirituality to the rearing of only one Prophet, i.e. the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement. In this way does the new Prophet quietly steal away the finality of one whom he claims to be his spiritual progenitor”.<sup>210</sup>

To Iqbal, the claim of Prophethood, in any form, either *Zilli* or *Buruzi*, after the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) is an antipathy,<sup>211</sup> which extern the deponent and his followers from the sphere of Islam.

In his article, ‘Islam and Ahmadism’, Iqbal further clarified the concept of *Buruz*.<sup>212</sup> He writes:

“He claims to be *Buruz* of the Holy Prophet of Islam, insinuating thereby that being a *buruz* of his, his finality is Virtually the Finality of Muhammad; and that this views of the matter, therefore, does not violate the Finality of the Holy Prophet. In identifying the two finalities, his own and that of the Holy Prophet, he conveniently loses sight of the temporal meaning of the idea of Finality. It is, however, obvious that the word *buruz* in the sease even of “complete likeness”, cannot help him at all; for the *buruz* must always remain the other side of its original.<sup>213</sup> Only in the sense even of “reincarnation”, a *buruz* becomes identical with the original. Thus if we take the word *buruz* to mean “like in spiritual qualities” the argument remains ineffective; if, on the other hand, we take it to mean “reincarnation of the original” in the Aryan sense of the word, the

argument becomes plausible; but its author turns out to be only a Magian in disguise".<sup>214</sup>

Though Ahmadis, retain the important externals of Islam and as hinted before, pretend to be the follower of *Hanifi* school of thought but covertly they were 'wholly inimical to the spirit of Islam'.<sup>215</sup> Due to ideas of a God with an inexhaustible store of earthquakes and plague for its opponents; its conception of the Prophet as a soothsayer; its idea of the continuity of the spirit of Messiah, are so absolutely Jewish in nature, that the Ahmadiyya movement can easily be regarded as "a return to early Judasim".<sup>216</sup>

Iqbal was also aware of the fact, that in the guise of 'Indian Prophet', Ghulam Ahmad had rendered some greatest services to the British Imperialism. Perhaps, British authorities had concluded that it was not easy to alter or conquer the orthodox Muslim beliefs, specifically regarding arrival of Mahdi and *Jihad*, by mere logic or by verdict of pro-government *Ulama*. To fulfill their designs, the British felt the need of a new Prophet, who should provide revelational basis, so as to demolish the established religious dogmas of orthodox Muslims, which would strengthen the British authority. Iqbal has very rightly concluded that 'to the intensely religious masses of Islam' in Indian subcontinent, it was only a "divine authority", which would be effective in the 'eradication of orthodox beliefs'. 'This revelation basis', he added, 'is provided by the Ahmadism'.<sup>217</sup>

Ahmadis, citing the renowned Muslim mystic Mohiy-ud-Din Ibn-i-Arabi<sup>218</sup> claimed that a Muslim saint could attain, during the course of his spiritual evolution, the kind of experience characteristics of the Prophetic consciousness.<sup>219</sup> Iqbal who had an extensive knowledge of mysticism stated that the Ahmadiyya interpretation of Ibn-i-Arabi's views was based on a complete misunderstanding of his exact position.<sup>220</sup> Iqbal accepted that, "psychologically possible for a saint to attain to Prophetic experience", but such an experience had "no socio-political significance", which entitled him to form a new organization and authorized him "to declare this organization to be the criterion of the faith or disbelief of the followers of Muhammad".<sup>221</sup>

After the in-depth study of Ibn-i-Arabi works *Fatuhah*, Iqbal clarified that the great Spanish mystic was a firm believer in the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH) as any orthodox Muslim.<sup>222</sup> Iqbal further added that if Ibn-i-Arabi, had seen in his mystical vision that sometimes, an Indian amateur in mysticism, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, would seek refuge of his “mystical psychology” to destroy the “Finality of Holy Prophet”, then “he would have certainly anticipated the Indian *Ulama* in warning the Muslims of the world against such traitors to Islam”.<sup>223</sup>

### ***Jihad***

The second important issue, on which the Ahmadis differed with the orthodox Muslims, was the interpretation of *Jihad*, which is considered sixth pillar of Islam.

To Ahmadis, the *Jihad* means to expound by word and deed, the worth and wisdom of Holy Quran and to invite all to accept and promote the teaching contained in the Holy Quran.<sup>224</sup> To them, Islamic *Jihad* in its truest and prime sense is “*tabligh* not *talwar*”,<sup>225</sup> and a spiritual warfare, to carry the message of Islam to non-Muslims by simple preaching.<sup>226</sup>

In his pamphlet ‘Jihad and the British Government’, Ghulam Ahmad in clear words advised the Muslim masses to refrain them from *Jihad*. He writes:

“Now that the promised Messiah has made in appearance, it is the duty of every true Muslim to hold back from *Jihad*”.<sup>227</sup>

In one of his treatise, discussing the issue of *Jihad*, he asserted that the conditions laid down for *Jihad* in Quran, were not to be met with at the present time in India. Therefore, it was illegal for Muslims to fight for the religion. And God had made clear the illegality of *Jihad* when there was peace and security”.<sup>228</sup>

Ghulam Ahmad considered that doctrine of *Jihad* as understood and upheld by the orthodox *Ulamas*, was opposed to the teachings of Quran and *Hadith* and claimed that the did not reject *Jihad* but “orthodox interpretation” thereof.<sup>229</sup>

In his works *Arbae'en*, Ghulam Ahmad further explained his views regarding *Jihad*. He asserted that God has gradually reduced the harshness of *Jihad*. During the time of Moses there was such harshness that even acceptance of belief could not save a man from being killed, and even children were put to death. Then during the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the killing of the children, the old and womenfolk was prohibited. Then for certain nations, instead of acceptance of belief, payment of *Jizya* was accepted as the means of saving them from punishment. Then in the time of promised *Messiah*, the injunction of *Jihad* was absolutely repealed.<sup>230</sup>

In fact, the struggle for abolition of *Jihad* was only to prevent the Muslims from fighting against the British Government and to gain favour from the alien masters. Ghulam Ahmad, himself admitted that Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya had tried hard to wipe off the absurd feelings of *Jihad* among the minds of the Muslims.<sup>231</sup>

Careful analysis reveals that Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be the Mahdi was closely associated with the view of *Jihad*. The classical tradition regarding "Mahdi's arrival; breaking the cross, killing the swine and abolishing the war" was interpreted in such a way by Ghulam Ahmad, which transformed the Mahdi into an entirely peaceful figure. He argued that these were metaphorical symbols and were considered as the Mahdi's victory over Christianity by means of argument and spiritual power. It was on the basis of these grounds that Ghulam Ahmad announced that after his appearance as promised Messiah and Mahdi, *Jihad* with sword had ceased to exist.<sup>232</sup>

It is noteworthy, that while Islamic *Jihad* was abolished by Ahmadis, warfare in the cause of British was declared as "religious duty" and a "moral obligation".<sup>233</sup> *Al-Fazl* advised the Punjabi youth to cooperate with British government, to enlist themselves in military and to buy war bonds.<sup>234</sup> Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself pointed to the government of Punjab, that he would lay down his life, in the cause of British government, feeling proud that the same was done by his family.<sup>235</sup> Reportedly, many Ahmadis get themselves recruited in British army and fought for them in various countries.<sup>236</sup> *Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya Baraye Imdad-i-Jang* had also celebrated the success of Britain in the First World War.<sup>237</sup>

During the great wars, the followers of Ghulam Ahmad, record continuous loyalty to the British government. In a sermon delivered by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Muhammad he said:

“It is the religious duty of all the Ahmadis to get themselves recruited in the British army for establishing the truth, and in order to remove the obstruction in their way”.<sup>238</sup>

In sum, Ghulam Ahmad reinterpreted the Quranic doctrine of *Jihad* and confined it only to ‘spiritual warfare’ against the opponents of Islam by means of preaching. Freeland concluded that “no theologian disagreed to this meaning of the *Jihad* [preaching], but none of them, maintained, as did Ghulam Ahmad, that it was the primary meaning”.<sup>239</sup> No doubt, the term *Jihad* has been occasionally, utilized by opportunist for vested interests but it embodies the spirit of Islam for peace preservation in all aspects.<sup>240</sup>

Iqbal’s concept of *Jihad* was cent percent in consonance with the traditional teachings of Quran and Islam. He believed that by acting upon the principle of *Jihad* as presented by Holy Prophet (PBUH), the Muslim *Ummah* could live like a honourable ‘nation’.

Iqbal was of the view that the British assessed from the passionate freedom loving nature of Tipu Sultan that the doctrine of *Jihad* was a permanent danger for their government. And the future of the British was not safe until it was excluded from the Muslim *Sharia*. For this purpose they made many scholars of Muslim community to issue *Fatwas*. But when they felt that just these *fatwas* could not obliterate a firmly established doctrine, and it needed a modern prophet, which could preach the cancellation of *Jihad* to the Muslim *Ummah*.<sup>241</sup>

Iqbal was a great critique of Jama’at-i-Ahmadiyya’s concept of *Jihad*, which laid more emphasis on preaching and tried to decrease the importance of institution of *Jihad*. Iqbal in one of his discourse recorded by Nazir Niazi said:

“Is Islam left only with preaching and it is completed only by fulfilling it that means that we have fulfilled all those responsibilities which are on us as a *ummah*. But the inquiring point is that is preaching of Islam means only to

preach beliefs or the preaching of that code of life which Islam has bestowed on the mankind due to which that *ummah* of Muhammad was considered beneficial *ummah*. But it is imperative for the individual and the nation to keep on endeavoring continuously. Obviously, this struggle will not be on the individual basis, but on political and collective level, so that we could bring that change in our mutual relations and demeanor that Islam deems to bring in us and which takes in its fold the existence of the state as an imperative. Hence if the requirement of this preaching is to preach the code of Islamic life, the party which acts upon it, can do it, otherwise, it is impossible to have any meaningful result of it. But the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya has not such aims at all. To them politics is an occult tree and loyalty to the rulers, who ever they may be, is the vital part of their faith".<sup>242</sup>

It does not mean at all that Iqbal was an opponent of preaching and supporter of the war. He thought that there were two conditions of war: defensive and reformative. The first condition is when Muslims are living under oppression and they are faced to leave their homes, then they are allowed to take up arms. In other condition where *Jihad* is allowed is for the collective security. Except these two above mentioned conditions Iqbal did not express any other type of war.<sup>243</sup>

In fact, Iqbal thought it forbidden to take up arms to spread Islam.<sup>244</sup> For him to wage *Jihad* in the name of Allah was not to get booty or aggrandizement of empire.<sup>245</sup> According to Iqbal, all these wars are "false whose sole aim was to rule the world and expansion of empire".<sup>246</sup> Iqbal believed in the co-existence and did not believe in the clash and conflict of civilizations. He thought that 'kingdom of God on earth' was not reserved for Muslims only, but non-Muslims had a equal right on it provided they say good-bye to their idols of race and nationality and treat one another as personalities.<sup>247</sup>

Iqbal thought, if pilgrimage to Mecca and *Jihad* would be excluded from Islam, they would make prayers and fasting lifeless, and resultantly individual and the nation would be at disadvantage. This not only stops moral training and edification of the individual but also jeopardizes the system of Islamic *millat*. In *Javed Nama* he pointed to the same reality that Bahauallah of Iran excluded *Hajj* and Murza Ghulam Ahmad abolished *Jihad*.

He has fallen a victim to the  
Vitiating influence of the modern age;  
And his religion he takes from to apostles.

One of them from Iran, the other from India:  
One denies the importance of pilgrimage to Makkah;  
While the other denies the importance of *Jihad*.  
When *Jihad* and the pilgrimage no longer remain binding  
The life went out of his Prayer and Fasting;  
And when the soul had flown out of his Prayer and Fasting,  
The individual became rough, and disagreeable;  
And the leadership and discipline of the nation fell into disorder.<sup>248</sup>

No doubt Iqbal believed that *Jihad* was normally defensive, but if required, it could be aggressive. As a doctrine of pre-emption, one can fight to defend his country's ideological and geographical boundaries.<sup>249</sup> In the same context, Iqbal in his poem '*Jihad*' has criticized Ahmadis that Islam did not demand only 'pen' but also 'sword' at the hour of need. Iqbal lamented that the world should not feel any fear from the Islamic doctrine of *Jihad*, as Muslims hearts had lost all memory of delight in death. Pointing towards the pro-British policy of Ahmadis Iqbal enquire the permissibility of Muslim's fighting for the cause of British Empire and about the harmness if they armed themselves against alien rulers.<sup>250</sup>

### **Resurrection of Christ and Arrival of Mahdi**

Ahmadis thesis regarding the Jesus crucifixion is totally different from traditional Christian and Muslim views. Christian believes that Jesus, after his crucifixion and burial he became alive again on the third day. He then gave his disciples advice and instruction where after he ascended to the heavens.<sup>251</sup>

Muslims believed that Jesus had been taken up into the heavens when he was about to be crucified, where he is still alive and would descend to earth in his physical body in later days and join hands with Mahdi to fight against infidels for the Muslims supremacy over the world.<sup>252</sup>

Ghulam Ahmad rejected the orthodox Christian and Muslim views and asserted that Jesus remained only for six hours on the cross.<sup>253</sup> His disciples helped him to escape and he started his journey in search of lost tribes of *Bani Israel* and ultimately reached Kashmir. He died at the age of 120 years and buried in Srinagar in the tomb of *Yus Asaf*.<sup>254</sup>



Ahmadis ridiculed the traditional Muslim view regarding the Jesus resurrection and commented that God does not had to bring back one of the dead Prophets and he could raise a new one from amongst his creatures.<sup>255</sup> It was futile to insist that Jesus of two thousand years ago should come again.<sup>256</sup> It was further expounded by the Ahmadis that;

“When followers of Holy Propbet need spiritual reform and resuscitation they should not have to look up one outside the Holy Prophet’s own following. It was the followers of Moses who reformed the followers of Moses. Why not a follower of Holy Prophet come and reform the followers of Holy Prophet”.<sup>257</sup>

Undoubtedly, such controversial and baseless statements of Ahmadis were only an attempt to find some theological footing to secure the assertion of Prophethood of Ghulam Ahmad. However, Muslim seminaries and Christian clerics equally rejected the thesis of Ghulam Ahmad. Griswold dubbed the utterances of Ghulam Ahmad as ‘fraud theory of resurrection’<sup>258</sup> and some other contemporary orientalist like Walter also refuted his theory.<sup>259</sup>

Iqbal considered that the Ahmadis belief that Christ died the death of an ordinary mortal and his second advent of a person who is spiritually ‘like unto him’, were only preliminary steps towards the idea of full Prophethood, for which he launched his movement.<sup>260</sup>

To Iqbal, Ahmadism was a ‘mixture of Semitic and Aryan mysticism’, which not aimed at the ‘purification of individual’s inner life’, but was interested in satisfying the ‘expectant attitude’ of the general masses by providing a ‘Promised *Messiah*’.<sup>261</sup> Iqbal has very rightly concluded that

“the function of this Promised *Messiah* is not to extricate the individual from an enervating present but to make him slavishly surrender his Ego to its dictates. This reaction carries within itself a very subtle contradiction. It retains the discipline of Islam, but destroys the will which that discipline was intended to fortify”.<sup>262</sup>

Iqbal tracing the origin of phrase ‘Promised *Messiah*’ asserted that early Muslims never used this expression nor it was find in early Islamic religious and historical literature; Because it did not appeal to them, as it implied a false conception

of historical process.<sup>263</sup> He concluded that this 'bastard expression' was derived from pre-Islamic Magian religions, who regarded time as a circular movement and was contrary to the Islamic concept of dynamism.<sup>264</sup>

Iqbal's viewpoint regarding the resurrection of Jesus and arrival of Mahdi was different from traditional Muslim opinion. In this context he was in favour of Ibn-i-Khuldoon<sup>265</sup> who believed that all the *Ahadiths* narrated regarding the arrival of Mahdi and Jesus were 'weak' and 'unauthentic'.<sup>266</sup>

Iqbal never believed in the doctrine of arrival of Mahdi and resurrection of Christ. In his opinion, this belief develops impracticality and weak attitudes and people avoid themselves to face the hard and ground realities. People have made up their minds that Mahdi and Christ would come to solve all contemporary problems.<sup>267</sup> In one of his private discourse, he has been reported to said:

"I believe that a great personality will appear in the Muslims. This is not one the basis of *Ahadiths* but it is my belief for some other reason".<sup>268</sup>

It seems that Iqbal means that the theme of arrival of Mahdi is connected to that demand of life in which a reformer is born in a nation when its need him. In this regard he expresses in *Zarb-i-Kalim*.

It is the time that expected guide  
May soon appear on worldly stage;  
His piercing glance in realm of thought,  
Would cause a violent storm to rage.<sup>269</sup>

On the same footings Iqbal considered that *Ahadith* regarding arrival of *Mujaddid*, like *Mahdi* and Christ, were based on Hellenistic and Persian imaginations. They had no relations with the teachings of Quran. However, he considered it right to connect the word *Mujaddid* or *Mahdi* for a scholar or leader as a title.<sup>270</sup>

When an Ahmadi organ *Light* asked Iqbal to opine on a tradition about the appearance of *Mujaddid* at the head of every century. Iqbal replied:

“I do believe in man’s spiritual capacity and the possibility of the birth of spiritual men, I am not sure that the historical process is so mathematical as the *Light* thinks. It is beyond our intellectual capacity to understand the nature of historical process”.<sup>271</sup>

In fact, Iqbal was inclined to Ibn-i-Khuldoon’s view, which regards the historical process as a free creative movement and not a process that has already been worked out with definite land marks.<sup>272</sup>

Iqbal even did not accept Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a *Mujaddid*. According to him if any person deserves to be called *Mujaddid* in recent times, is Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (1838-1897)<sup>273</sup> because “no other man in our times has stirred the soul of Islam more deeply than he”.<sup>274</sup>

In sum, Iqbal thought it a satanic trap so that a Muslim would be entangled in absurd interpretations and theological maneuverings, whether Jesus is alive or dead? What would be his qualities? These are the instruments with which Satan and his followers ruin the unity of Islamic community.

Whether the son of Mary perished once,  
Or knew no death: Whether the Attributes  
Of God from God are separate or are God’s  
True essence: Whether ‘he who is to come’  
Betokens the Messiah of Nazareth or  
Some new reformer clothed with Christ’s own vesture;  
Whether the words of Scripture are late-born  
Or from eternity, and which answer holds  
Salvation for the chosen people; - Let  
These theologian’s graven images  
Content the Muslim of this century.<sup>275</sup>

## **IQBAL – AHMADIS RELATIONS: AN APPRAISAL**

During 1932-33, Iqbal got a chance to have working relationship with Ahmadis at the platform of AIKC. Their Iqbal felt that Ahmadis were more obedient to their ‘*Amir*’ than to the nation or religion. In 1935 Iqbal stepped forward to launch a campaign against Ahmadism. Iqbal raised some such cogent questions in a scholarly style that could not be answered by the Ahmadis till now. Due to principled stance of Iqbal, Ahmadis got shocked and confused and raised a series of allegations

and blatantly criticized him. Iqbal's relation with the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and its prominent figures were traced and he was recalled by the Ahmadis that up till recent past he was not an opponent of Ahmadis, but to some extent a sympathizer. Ahmadi historians argue that Iqbal, his father and other family members had been supporters of the movement since Iqbal's younger days in Sialkot.<sup>276</sup> They claimed that Iqbal was so much attached with their movement that in 1897 he took *bay'ah* of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.<sup>277</sup>

In the following pages it will be objectively analyzed whether Iqbal or his father were Ahmadi? Whether Iqbal took *ba'yah* of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad? What were the conditions which forced him to openly air his views against Ahmadiyyat?

Viewing in the historical perspective, orthodox Muslims and *Ulama* had written books and held debates to curtail Ahmadiyyat in the last decade of nineteenth century. But Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers kept it twisted and mysterious. Involving themselves in debates and propaganda against Arya Samajists and Christian missionaries they emerged as defender of Islam. Almost all the Muslims avoided investigation into it and considered it a religious sect and ignored the allegations against it regarding them just a partial differences among the *Ulamas*. Earlier even the staunch Muslim scholars were hesitant in declaring Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as an infidel. *Ulamas* like Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi (1829-1905) and *Sheikh-ul-Hadith* of Deoband avoided issuing *fatwas* of infidelity against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. But when they were shown all the writings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, they agreed upon to exclude him from the circle of Islam.<sup>278</sup> Similarly, a great *Sufi* and poet of state of Bahawalpur, Khawaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901) thought of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in good terms and considered him to be the supporter of the religion.<sup>279</sup>

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers took full advantage of the positive opinions of the lords, nobles, *sufis* and the *Ulamas*, and publicized them for their own interests.<sup>280</sup> Iqbal was also amongst one of them who considered that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was one of the profoundest theologian among the modern Indian Muhammadans.<sup>281</sup> As Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was contemporary of his father and his mentor Syed Mir Hassan (1844-1929) and they had deep relations, hence, he

respected him a lot. It is to be cleared here that Iqbal and his father were not attached to the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, but their attachment was only with Ghulam Ahmad who during his stay in Sialkot emerged as propagator and defender of Islam. And later on when the reality of Ahmadiyyat dawned upon him he fully separated himself from it.

In 1893-94 a neo-Muslim of Ludhiana Sa'adullah Sa'adi wrote jeremiad of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Ahmadis claimed that Iqbal due to his reverence with the founder of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya wrote the jeremiad of that poet containing twenty-one couplets, which was published in Ahmadi organ *Al-Fazl*.<sup>282</sup> However historians believe that Ahmadi attribution in this regard is wrong, because its versification does not match with the early poetry of Iqbal.<sup>283</sup>

On February 22, 1902 at the eve of annual session of AHI, Iqbal recited a poem in which he praised Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) and recited a verse in which he declared that after the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), if anybody claims to be a Prophet, in any form or meanings, it was a *shirk*.<sup>284</sup> Inclusion of this verse shows that the Muslims of that age were disturbed because of the perplexity spread by Ahmadis regarding institution of Prophethood. That's why Iqbal clarified in unequivocal terms that deviation from the doctrine of finality of Prophethood, in any sense, is *shirk fin-nubwat*.<sup>285</sup>

Ahmadis also asserted that Iqbal was so much impressed by their beliefs that he often used to consult Hakeem Nur-ud-Din, who was one of the closest companions of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, for the solution of some problems of Islamic law. In this regard Sh. A'ejaz Ahmad has quoted two references of 1909 and 1913.<sup>286</sup> So far is the matter of Iqbal consultation was concerned; he used to consult Hakim Nur-ud-Din, only because he was a close friend of Syed Mir Hassan and nothing more.<sup>287</sup> And he was not aware about the real content of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, its founder or followers.

Ahmadis oftentimes, gave reference of a lecture, delivered by Iqbal at Aligarh in 1910. Lecture was titled as "Muslim Community – A Sociological Study". In that lecture Iqbal referred to Ahmadiyya movement in these words:

“In the Punjab a true model of Islamic life has arisen in the form of that community which is known as the Qadiani sect”.<sup>288</sup>

No doubt, it was the period when Ahmadiyya movement proclaimed itself as defender of Islam against the onslaught of Arya Samajists and Christian missionaries and general public and even intelligentsia were not aware of its real motives. In October 1935, Iqbal expressed his disliking about the movement because at that time the reality of Ahmadism came to the surface before him. In his explanatory note, on the lecture of Aligarh, Iqbal revised his remarks about Ahmadis, which he passed in 1911 and said that apparently Qadianis look Muslims but inwardly their whole mentality was Magian, as spirit of movement was inimical to Islam.<sup>289</sup>

So far as the issue of *Bay'ah* was concerned, Ahmadis claims were baseless. If it is correct that Iqbal took oath of allegiance on the hand of Ghulam Ahmad in 1897, then why did in 1902, Syed Hamid Shah, who was one of the leading members of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, Sialkot invited Iqbal to take *Bay'ah*. It is on the record that in May 1902, Iqbal published his poem '*Manzoom Khat - Paigham-i-Bay'at key Jawab Main*' [Versified Letter – A Reply to the Message of *Bay'ah*] in which he declined that offer.<sup>290</sup>

An eminent Iqbalist, Dr. Muhammad Abdullah Chughtai, in his book *Rivayat-i-Iqbal*, which is largely based upon the statements of his meetings with Iqbal, recorded that neither Iqbal nor his father took *Bay'ah* of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.<sup>291</sup>

It is far from reality that Iqbal was Ahmadi or had taken *Bay'ah* of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, in fact he even never wanted to have any relation with them. On August 27, 1910 a Ahmadi paper *Al-Hakam* published that Dr. Iqbal married the grand daughter of Sh. Yaqoob Ali, who was a Ahmadi. Iqbal in a rejoinder to the newspaper clarified that, 'Dr. Iqbal was somebody else and he had no concern with that issue'.<sup>292</sup>

Eventually, Iqbal, like his contemporaries admired the religious services of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in the pre-1930 period because at that time he was not certain about the beliefs and real motives of Ahmadis. His association with them during the

working of AIKC revealed him that Ahmadis beliefs were not congruent to the orthodox Muslim dogmas and spirit of movement was inimical to Islam. From then onward till the closing days of his life, he launched a vigorous campaign for the refutation of Ahmadism. So far as the issue of *Bay'ah* was concerned, Iqbal never took oath of allegiance on the hand of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. This is a story of falsehood, prepared by Mirza Jalal-ud-Din, Sh. A'ejaz Ahmed (b.1889) and Abdul Majeed Salik (1894-1959). Of them the former two were Ahmadis and father and brother of the latter was Ahmadi.

According to Sheikh Abdul Majid, in 1911, Iqbal admitted his son Sh. Aftab Iqbal in a Ahmadi institution named Ta'lim-ul-Islam High School, where he studied for four or five years.<sup>293</sup> However objective analysis reveals that the assertions of Abdul Majid were not based upon independent sources and he quoted the Ahmadi references. None of Iqbal's statements or letters and biographies narrated the incident. Secondly, it might be possible that it was some other Sheikh Aftab Iqbal having the same name. Thirdly, if we accept that Iqbal admitted Aftab in that School, then it was the period when Iqbal viewed Ahmadism as an Islamic missionary organization and considered Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a reformer.

In 1916, *Al-Fazl*, the spokesman of Ahmadis issued a statement of Iqbal in which he said:

“Any person who believes in the coming, after the Holy Prophet (PBUH), of a Prophet, the rejection of whom makes one a *Kafir*, is excluded from the fold of Islam. If the Ahmadi Jama'at holds this belief, it too is excluded from the fold of Islam”.<sup>294</sup>

Here Iqbal used the condition 'if', which means that, at that times, as hinted before, Iqbal has suspiciousness in his mind about the teachings and objectives of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, and he did not reach at a conclusion. Here a letter of Iqbal should be cited that he had written to an Ahmadi paper *Paigham-i-Suleh*, in which he denied the article published by his name in another Ahmadi paper *Al-Fazl* in which the following words were put into his mouth that, “I think Qadianis are true in their beliefs, but I have a sympathy with Lahori group”.<sup>295</sup> In his letter to the editor, Iqbal clarified:

“Only that person can comment about the differences of Ahmadi groups who is completely aware of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad’s works and I am not aware about them. And how it is possible that a non-Ahmadi Muslim who does not believe in the coming of any Prophet after Prophethood of Muhammad [PBUH] can admit that the beliefs of Qadianis are true”.<sup>296</sup>

It’s a matter of fact that Iqbal in his will that had been written on October 13, 1935 appointed four guardians for his children, Javed Iqbal and Munnera. These include Khawaja Abdul Ghani, Chaudhry Muhammad Hassain, Munshi Tahir-ud-Din and his Ahmadi nephew Sh. A’ejaz Ahmad.<sup>297</sup> One year before his death Iqbal requested Sir Ross Masud<sup>298</sup> for the guardianship for his off-springs. Explaining the reason of alteration in his will he said that although his nephew A’ejaz Ahmed was a pious man but “I am sorry to say that he is a Ahmadi by faith. So I wish to nominate you as a guardian instead of him”.<sup>299</sup> This reveals that at that stage he was completely aware of Ahmadi ideology and its implications.

Before 1935, Iqbal covertly expressed his reservations about Ahmadi beliefs and never opposed them overtly. In this regard Ahmadi writers and other historians present their own viewpoint.

Sh. Abdul Majid in his book *Iqbal and Ahmadiyyat* has repeatedly given his viewpoint that during 1935 and after that Iqbal’s various statements and remarks about Ahmadism are the result of pressure of Majlis-i-Ahrar.<sup>300</sup> Sheikh A’ejaz Ahmad has too stated that during the formation of AIKC, Majli-i-Ahrar had interfered between the collaboration of Iqbal and Jama’at-i-Ahmadiyya. Majlis-i-Ahrar under duress had pressurized Iqbal for his help. As a result of rapprochement between Iqbal and Ahrars, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din was ousted from the Presidentship of AIKC. It was after that, Iqbal encouraged Majlis-i-Ahrar at every stage of their campaign against the Ahmadiyyat.<sup>301</sup> As per A’ejaz’s Ahrars exploited Iqbal’s love towards Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by giving unfounded statements and Iqbal took that as true without any investigation.<sup>302</sup>

In reality Iqbal’s viewpoint was not so weak and untenable, as to get it changed by pressurizing him. Undoubtedly, Iqbal’s love toward Prophet (PBUH) was so much firm and true that whenever he heard his name, his eyes became wet.<sup>303</sup> In



*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he had also presented his arguments regarding finality of Prophethood and he was trying to understand factual position of Ahmadiyyat. In this context, letters were exchanged between Iqbal with Sulaman Nadvi<sup>304</sup> and Professor Ilyas Burney<sup>305</sup> which are on record.<sup>306</sup> Therefore it is wrong and tantamount to hide the facts to say that Iqbal became an antagonist of Ahmadiyyat on the pressure of Ahrar.<sup>307</sup>

A'ejaz Ahmad alleged against Iqbal in his book that as he was not elected as a member of Viceroy's Executive Council after retirement of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, but Sir Zafarullah Khan who was Ahmadi was made member who took charge in 1935, made Iqbal frustrated and on instigation of Ahrars, he became opponent of Ahmadis.<sup>308</sup>

In fact, in 1935 health of Iqbal was starting deteriorating. The protracted ailment of his wife Sardar Begum, and her death and responsibilities of children was an additional factor to his miseries. Due to derailment of his vocal system, he could not continue legal practice.<sup>309</sup> If, at all, Iqbal was interested in the membership of Viceroy Council, the facts could have definitely have found in the diary or letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain. Azim Hussain pointed out in his father's biography, that his father tried his level best to bring Iqbal to a higher place in British regime but each time he lost the trust of the government due to his criticism on the British.<sup>310</sup> In addition to that intelligence reports were against Iqbal.<sup>311</sup> Therefore in view of the protest of *Zamindar* and *Majlis-i-Ahrar* his appointment was not possible. Nevertheless, this could not be derived that Iqbal was a candidate for the membership of Viceroy's Council, was not correct.

Explaining that why Iqbal did not openly criticize Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya in his writings in pre-1935 period, Javed Iqbal stated that it was due to the influence of his teacher Syed Mir Hassan on him. Since Mir Hassan and Iqbal's father Sh. Nur Muhammad belonged to Sir Syed's school of thought, who believed that discussion of disputed matters with Ahmadis was not conducive for the unification of Muslims. This was the reason that Iqbal during the lifetime of Mir Hassan (d.1929) and Nur Muhammad (d.1930) did not openly oppose Ahmadism. Anyhow, whenever he found

a chance, he described his point of view regarding the baseless beliefs of Ahmadism.<sup>312</sup>

Iqbal himself presented his arguments in a comprehensive manner, regarding his quarter century old views about Ahmadiyyat, when he was criticized and accused of inconsistency. He said:

“I have no hesitation in admitting that a quarter of century ago I had hopes of good result following from his movement. But the real content and spirit of a religious movement does not reveal itself in a day. It takes decades to unfold itself. The internal quarrels between the two sections of the movement is evidence of the fact that even those who were in personal contact with the founder, were not quite aware of how the movement would evolve itself. Personally, I became suspicious of the movement when the claim of a new Prophethood, superior even to the Prophethood of founder of Islam, was definitely put forward, and the Muslim world was declared *Kafir*. Later my suspicions developed into a positive revolt when I heard with my own ears an adherent of the movement mentioning the Holy Prophet of Islam in a most disparaging language. Not by roots, but by their fruits will you know them. If my present attitude is self-contradictory, then, well only a living and thinking man has the privilege of contradictory himself. Only stones do not contradict themselves, as Emerson says”.<sup>313</sup>

In nutshell, if there was any relation of Iqbal or his family with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, it was only personal, which was due to his being a scholar and preacher of Islam. He had never associated with Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and nor he or his father ever accepted allegiance to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Iqbal was a true lover of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and he had unwavering belief in the finality of Prophethood. In the early period of his life and career, he did not know the real content of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and he was rather uncertain about it. During his association with Ahmadis in AIKC, he closely watched them. In the last six years of his life, when he came to know about Ahmadis beliefs and thoughts, Iqbal through his action, words and deeds tried his best to refute Ahmadism.

## EPILOGUE

Although, Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya started its activities in 1889, however the movement was officially came into being in 1900, by a declaration by Ghulam Ahmad.<sup>314</sup> During its formative period, it was chiefly centred in the Gurdaspur District.<sup>315</sup> Later Ghulam Ahmad paid his attention towards the rural population of

Sialkot and Ludhiana District. During the fifty years period of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood *Khilafat*, the movement was organized, consolidated and operated throughout the Indian sub-continent and remaining world.

The controversial views on the death of Jesus, reinterpretation of Quranic doctrines of *Jihad*, finality of Prophethood and divine revelation has stirred the Muslim community of Punjab. The orthodox Ulama considered it as an attack on the fundamentals of Islam and in their verdicts declared Ghulam Ahmad heretic and infidel.

Ghulam Ahmad's claims have no strong footings and "he based his arguments primarily on theological footings".<sup>316</sup> It was believed that he issued controversial and challenging statements to attract public attention. At the early stages of his 'prophetic' career he appeared as protector to defend the Islamic teachings, Quran and personality of Holy Prophet (PBUH) from the naive attacks of Arya Samajists and onslaught of Christian missionaries.

Ghulam Ahmad's highly polemical style of addressing his opponents resulted in galloping communal strife between Hindus and Muslims, which caused bloodshed and havoc in Punjab. It seems that his policies towards Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries were not, in any manner, proved beneficial for Muslims masses, rather they aimed to "materially promote the aims and objects of British government"<sup>317</sup> and to pacify the passions of Muslim masses.

Ahmadis considered British rule as a "blessing", which enables them to grow and flourish freely. That's why they always opposed the process of initiation of self-rule or home rule in India during 1920's and 1930's. The British authorities too recognize them as Muslim sect and provided them sanctuary during the anti-Ahmadiyya movement of Ahrars. According to Syed A.A. Mududi, "the British accepted Ahmadis as the most loyal elements among their Muslim subjects, they used this community as their tool not only in India but also in other Muslim countries".<sup>318</sup>

In historical perspectives, Punjab remained the home of various religions. Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam all flourish here. Keeping in view this

religious tolerance of the local natives, Ghulam Ahmad, selected Punjab for its 'religious adventurism'. It was the unawareness in the religious matters that self planted twig of the British bloomed to a full tree, as Majeed Nizami (Editor *Nawa-i-Waqt*) concluded.<sup>319</sup>

According to some orientalist, Ahmadiyya movement cannot be dubbed as a modern reformative movement or a reactionary organization. More or less it gives the appearance of a conservative party<sup>320</sup> and a closed system, which avoid inter-marriages between different sects, prohibit the relationship with pupil other than their own creed, enforces '*Purdah*' for womenfolk and encourages polygamy. Unlike Sir Syed, who wanted to rationalize the Islamic teachings and to assimilate the western knowledge and teachings, the Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya is against the modern teachings based on rationalism.

Freeland is not objective in his assertion that "Ghulam Ahmad's position was eminently sensible and not all unique among Muslims in India".<sup>321</sup> In fact, he tries to raise a new structure of religious beliefs and practices in contrary to that of orthodox Islam. Some how he tried to amalgamate different faiths of India by claiming himself the *Messiah* for Christians, Mahdi and later Prophet for Muslims, *Krishna* or *Neha Kalank Avatar* for Hindus and *Mesio Darbhani* for Zoroastrians. In words of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, "he was the promised *Messiah* of every nation and was appointed to collect all mankind under the banner of one faith".<sup>322</sup>

Thus Ahmadism constitutes a separate 'religious community' and propagated a 'new religion'. It seems that it represent a continuation of syncretistic movement in India, whose foundations were laid by Bhagat Kabir, Baba Nanak (1469-1539) and Jalal-ud-Din Akbar (1542-1605).<sup>323</sup>

Iqbal was the first Muslim Philosopher, who with out involving him in theological maneuverings and polemical debates defended the concept of finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH).

The purpose of Ahmadism, in the eyes of Iqbal was "to flourish a revelation basis for India's political subjugation".<sup>324</sup> Iqbal traced back the history of Ahmadism

to its Magian origin and concluded that these were pre-Islamic Magian ideas interwove with occult Muslim mysticism, which gave birth to Ahmadism in India.

Iqbal termed the assertion of Prophethood and reception of divine revelation a blasphemy after Muhammad (PBUH) and Holy scripture; and declare such a person to be worthy of murder and liar. He concluded that Prophecy kept evolving and in the person of Muhammad, it attained perfection and discovered the needs of its abolition. To Iqbal after the revelations of Muhammad (PBUH), the place of all intuitions was not mandatory, but they are private facts and hold secondary position.<sup>325</sup>

In fact, Ahmadism by establishing perpetual Prophethood not only emerged as a sign of danger for Muslim solidarity in India, but also a threat for the marginal majority of Muslims in the Punjab. Iqbal was very objective in his analysis that to strengthen its authority in India, British felt the necessity of a new 'Indian Prophet' so as to demolish the concrete orthodox religious beliefs of Muslims and to provide a 'revelational basis' for it. Punjab was selected as an incubator for this newly born religion, because its semi-literate peasants and downtrodden classes could be easily vanquished who were oppressed since centuries.

## Chapter VI

# IQBAL AND THE UNIONISTS

The second decade of twentieth century was fraught with such events at international and national level which not only stirred the patience of Indian masses but also a mighty wave of unrest swept across Muslim India. The end of First World War (1914-18) evinced the Muslims that the fate of Turkish Caliphate was at stake and sanctity of the Muslim sacred places was also in jeopardy.

Nevertheless the political situation in the Punjab was ripping for the initiation of an agitational movement. The Martial Law of 1919 in the province and the events preceded its imposition; the Rowlatt Act, insulting attitude of Micheal O'Dwyre (1913-1919) and the Jallianwala *Bagh* tragedy resulted in narrowing the political gulf between various communities of the Punjab. The two larger communities, the Hindus and the Muslims had already agreed on a joint scheme of reforms (1916) at Lucknow, which brought the League and the Congress closer to each other.

The deteriorating economic conditions in the post-war period, which not only raised the prices of daily use commodities but also affected the trade activities, added further discontent to the prevailing conditions. In these circumstances the Muslims and the Hindus launched a series of agitational movements; the *Khilafat*, the non-co-operation and the *Hijrat* under the leadership of Gandhi, Ali Brothers and other orthodox *Ulamas*. Though in the long run they proved futile, but they played an important role in the political socialization and mobilization of the masses, particularly of the Punjab.

Meanwhile on Dec. 23, 1919 final approval was accorded to the new constitution, i.e. India Act of 1919 most commonly known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.<sup>1</sup> It was for the first time in the constitutional history of India that a substantial advance had been made in the structure and functioning of provincial and central governments by introducing a system of Dyarchy or partially responsible government.<sup>2</sup> An important feature of new act was the decentralization and devolution

of power to the provinces, which not only provincialized the politics, but also at later stages resulted in the emergence of provincial political parties.

The liberal Punjabi Muslim leadership had already dissociated itself from the non-co-operation movement, as it adopted unconstitutional means for the protest against the government. They were of the view that full advantages should be taken of the opportunities, the new act provided. In fact it was a great achievement for Punjab that its status was raised under the act and it became a Governor's province, and constitutional reforms were also introduced in it at par with other provinces.

### **FORMATION OF UNIONIST PARTY**

The elections for the first Mont-Ford reformed council were held in late 1920.<sup>3</sup> Only 74, 5000 Punjabis had the right to vote, which was only 3.1% of the total population.<sup>4</sup> Results were according to the expectation of the British government and the landed classes dominated the legislature. Of the seventy-one elected members, there were only fifteen who were regarded as town's men, and even of these fifteen, ten were land-owners.<sup>5</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain managed to reach the council by defeating Mian Bashir Ahmed (son-in-law of Mian Muhammad Shafi) from one of the landholder constituencies. After the election of 1920, the Punjab government decided to take two ministers from the elected members. On January 03, 1921 Fazl-i-Hussain was appointed as Minister of Education and Lala Hari Kishan Lal as Minister of Agriculture.<sup>6</sup> In the end of 1923 he resigned from his office and was succeeded by Lal Chand from Rohtak district.<sup>7</sup>

Efforts for the formation of a party on supra-communal basis were soon started after the formation of first Mont-ford reformed council.<sup>8</sup> Although most of the members of the council were elected purely through personal influence and contacts, yet it was observed to organize a party which had a common outlook about political, economic, social and administrative problems and which was able to bring the members of different communities close for 'joint activities' in pursuit of 'common objectives'.

Fazl-i-Hussain was one of the experienced members of the council<sup>9</sup> and being an astute politician reached at a conclusion that as majority of the members of the council were land-lords and generally pro-British, therefore, political authority would rest with those members. It was in this context; Fazl-i-Hussain co-opted with Chottu Ram (1882-1944) and welded the rural members into a 'Rural Bloc' which sooner came to be known as 'Rural Party'.<sup>10</sup> The basic motto of rural bloc was to help the backward areas, classes and communities and to protect the peasantry from the clutches of the moneylenders.

The rural bloc commanded full majority in first PLC. Fazl-i-Hussain initiated a series of reforms in the rural Punjab and adopted measures for rural uplift.<sup>11</sup> It seems that in some way or the other, consciously or unconsciously, acting on 'Punjab Tradition' he was consolidating the rural areas, which were considered as the backbone of the British Empire. However, Fazl-i-Hussain justified his policy with reference to the Congress programme of nation building activities by which he wanted to satisfy all the communities by granting them due share on communal basis.<sup>12</sup>

Prior to the elections for next Mont-ford reformed council he started his groundwork for re-organizing his party, which would strengthen his political supremacy in the Council. In late 1923, with the collaboration of Muslim landlord,<sup>13</sup> Hindu Agriculturist group of Ambala led by Chottu Ram<sup>14</sup> and Sikh chieftains of Haryana district led by Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Fazl-i-Hussain converted the Rural Bloc into an organized party named as "Punjab National Unionist Party".<sup>15</sup> It was mainly an agrarian coalition on supra-religion and non-communal basis, with a handful of urban ideologues supporting them. Fazl-i-Hussain through his maneuvering skills held the unwieldy elements together and always proved his *ispo facto* position as the "boss of the Unionists".<sup>16</sup> Soon it emerged as the most influential party of the province and with the patronage of British it dominated the political sphere for two decades.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The main objective of the party was to save rural agriculturists from the clutches of the moneylenders. By using the phrase backward classes,<sup>17</sup> areas and communities and an ideological exploitation of the word 'Zamindar', the Unionists, at



different times and in different ways, ensured the success of their party in the reformed council.<sup>18</sup>

Some writers assert that the main aim of formation of the Unionist party was to create unity and brotherhood between different communities.<sup>19</sup> It is completely baseless, because they primarily aimed at the preservation of vested interests of agriculturists, "if necessary at the expense of the townsmen".<sup>20</sup>

However, the PNUP published from time to time, their objectives and programme, which included:

- Achievement of dominion status within Commonwealth by constitutional means.
- Promotion of provincial autonomy.
- Judicious share to all communities in the services.
- Promotion of indigenous industry.
- Consolidation of institutions of local self-government.
- Assurance of religious and cultural integrity to each community.<sup>21</sup>

## INITIATION OF REFORMS BY FAZL-I-HUSSAIN

During his ministership, Fazl-i-Hussain introduced many reforms in rural areas such as compulsory primary education, inclusion of elected electorates in the local bodies and steps for improvement and betterment of *Panchayat* system. He wanted to bring rural areas at par with the urban ones and initiated a four-fold programme of expansion, economy, efficiency and equality.<sup>22</sup> For many influential Hindus (urban) the experience of the Mont-Ford reforms seemed like a dress rehearsal for an unmitigated 'Muslim *raj*'. Every step taken by Fazl-i-Hussain was invariably interpreted as tilling the balance of advantage in the pawn of Muslims.<sup>23</sup> The Mahasabha members of the Council were much conscious due to the growing influence of the Fazl-i-Hussain and dubbed him as bigoted Muslim Minister, who was anti-urban, against non-Muslims and enemy of the Hindu Muslim unity.<sup>24</sup>

As a result of Fazl-i-Hussain policies, the Muslim community of the Punjab gained immensely and general conditions of the Muslim improved. Due to his policies the Hindus started losing their politico-administrative influence and

superiority. Reservation of seats for the Muslims in big colleges of Punjab, introduction of quota system in Medical and other colleges and inclusion of elected electorate in local bodies were such steps from which the Muslims psychologically for the time being felt freedom from the Hindu pressure.

Fazl-i-Hussain was convinced that the Hindus wanted to dominate by sheer force of numbers, and, therefore, he decided that under the British government the Muslims should rapidly rehabilitate themselves and acquire strength so as not to be crushed when political power passed into the hands of the majority community.<sup>25</sup> The official bloc also supported the policies of Fazl-i-Hussain as a "counterweight to the policy of obstruction adopted by the Congress".<sup>26</sup>

Even the Muslim and the Hindu press were at loggerhead with each other over the policies of Fazl-i-Hussain. The pro-Hindu press visioned the policies of Fazl-i-Hussain, as an attempt to establish a Muslim *raj* in the Punjab.<sup>27</sup> President of the Punjab Hindu Sabbha wrote a series of articles in *Tribune*, criticizing the policy of Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>28</sup> *Kesari*, appealed the Hindus to boycott the municipalities until their rights were adequately safeguarded.<sup>29</sup> The Arya paper *Milap* accused Fazl-i-Hussain of 'dancing to the tune of government' which wanted to clear municipal committees of political workers.<sup>30</sup>

To encounter the propaganda of the Hindu press, the Muslim press of the Punjab played a vital role and appreciated the policies of the Muslim minister. The *Zamindar*, *Muslim Outlook* and *Inqilab* wrote columns and editorials in support of steps taken by Fazl-i-Hussain. The *Zamindar* highly appreciated the 40% quota of Muslims in the educational institutions.<sup>31</sup> The Muslim organizations also passed resolutions in favour of his policies and prayed for his health and long life. Malik Barkat Ali, who was at that time a staunch supporter of Fazl-i-Hussain's policies, addressed public meetings and condemned the attitude of nationalist Hindus towards the new reforms.<sup>32</sup> He also published articles in the *Watan* and argued at length in order to "show the utterly baseless and pointless character of the Hindu agitation".<sup>33</sup>

In August 1922, anti-Fazl-i-Hussain movement was intensified by Narendra Nath, Manohar Lal and Lala Lajpat Rai.<sup>34</sup> They met the governor and presented a

memorandum, signed by twenty-six non-Muslim members of council. They appealed to the Governor to exercise his discretionary powers and contain the alleged misuse of power by the minister.<sup>35</sup> The climax of the campaign against Fazl-i-Hussain was the no-confidence motion presented against him by Narendra Nath<sup>36</sup> on March 13, 1923.<sup>37</sup> However Fazl-i-Hussain vigorously defended his policies and motion was defeated.<sup>38</sup>

If we observed it factually, since the early 1880's, it was the policy of the British Government to keep some kind of communal considerations in view on providing educational facilities to the people and recruitment to the public services. The Hindu and the Muslim leaders conceded the policy of government. But in the absence of definite rules, disputes often arose when specific questions had to be decided.<sup>39</sup> The Hindu criticism was quite baseless and undue over the attempt of Fazl-i-Hussain to form regular laws and regulations of these traditions. Fazl-i-Hussain concluded that uplift and unification of the Muslims was that effective weapon, which could help them to keep their pace with other nations of sub-continent, and would lead to the goal of *sawaraj*.

When Fazl-i-Hussain successfully maneuvered to defeat the no-confidence motion against him, there was another battlefield before him, i.e. the next election under Mont-ford reforms, which were due at the end of 1923. It was the period when Gandhi suspended the non-cooperation movement and communal tension between the Muslims and the Hindus was accelerating. In this communally charged political atmosphere how could a supra-communal organization survived, the answer to question is simple. If there existed Unionist Party, it was only inside the council. Outside the council the British authorities had manipulated the constituencies and the electoral rules in such a way that for rural elites there was no hurdle in winning seats, especially when they also had the support of religious elites.

In the second reformed council, once again the rural based PNUP attained majority and of eighty-six elected members it had secured the support of thirty-nine members.<sup>40</sup> In the second council Fazl-i-Hussain opted Lal Chand, as his co-minister. But due to an election petition,<sup>41</sup> he had to resign and Fazl-i-Hussain selected Sir Chottu Ram, co-founder of PNUP as minister.<sup>42</sup>

## FACTIONALISM AMONGST UNIONISTS

It was a reality that Unionist Party never converted into a mass party. Majority or maximum members of party won elections in their personal capacity without using party platform. After coming in the assembly, they hold personal interest dearer than the national interest. So long as Fazl-i-Hussain remained in the Council, he kept them united.

In November 1925, Fazl-i-Hussain was called to officiate as member of Viceroy's Executive Council. Afterwards he was appointed<sup>43</sup> as the Revenue member of Governor's Executive Council. According to David Page, "this reshuffle was the first step towards reconciliation with the urban Hindus and the reasons for Fazl-i-Hussain's promotion made a mockery of the constitutional arguments which had been advanced only a year before".<sup>44</sup> Actually the tussle between the government and PNUP played an important role, which had started on a principle – whether the President of PLC would be an elected one. The government wanted to nominate H.A. Casson as the President, but on the basis of their political strength, the Unionists succeeded in electing Abdul Qadir (1874-1950) as the President.<sup>45</sup>

The British Government which often adopted the policy of divide and rule while dividing the people of Punjab into rival groups, by giving vent to communal issues and encouraging personal factions, whenever it seemed necessary, once again became active. To check the growing strength of PNUP, the Punjab Governor, Malcolm Hailey, co-opted the urban Hindus by giving political concessions,<sup>46</sup> vetoed few pieces of legislations which were important items of agenda of Unionist Party<sup>47</sup> and Fazl-i-Hussain was appointed as member of Viceroy's Executive Council.<sup>48</sup> Soon after the departure of Fazl-i-Hussain, there started an era of personal rivalries in the party, which made the party weaker. Selfish interests, personal conflicts and lust for power shattered the party. Majority of the members of the Punjab Council preferred their vested interest, than the progress of province or welfare of people, and their internal differences became public.<sup>49</sup>

A great deal of jealousy existed among the top ranking Unionists in pursuit of high offices.<sup>50</sup> In 1927, at Sikandar Hayat's instigation and facilitation a forward bloc

was formed in the Unionist Party.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes the situation became so critical that the Governor had to intervene to put an end to the intrigues and squabbles within the party.<sup>52</sup>

The successor of Fazl-i-Hussain, Sir Chottu Ram (1926-1931) could not resolve the disputes and rivalries among the upper tier leadership of the party. The Unionist Party and its leaders were divided into two distinct groups; Noon - Tiwana faction and Shahab ud Din - Daultana faction. Fazl-i-Hussain was shocked over the tug of war between the rival groups in his party and expressed his reservations often, which were recorded in his diary and letters. The inner dynamics of the politics of PNUP are not mentioned here, as it is out of the scope of the study, except brief references.<sup>53</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain remained away from Punjab for a long period,<sup>54</sup> but his association with the Unionist Party continued to inspire him to act as an informal leader. He kept himself abreast of the latest developments in his province and party. In 1930 he advised the Unionist leaders to, "bear in mind that this party should never permit itself to become either a communal party, or a racial party, or caste party, or a professional party. It should be the unity of faith and belief; the political faith and belief, which should be the determining factor as to who is to be and who is not to be in the party".<sup>55</sup>

In fact, most of the members elected from rural and urban areas belonged to that privileged class, which were forced upon the public to make the Government of British stronger; whose vigilance and progress was being dreamt by Fazl-i-Hussain.

As a result of factionalism, in the next elections held in 1930, the strength of Unionists decreased to thirty-six, of whom only three were non-Muslims. Raja Narendra Nath gained strength and increased its membership to twenty under the banner of National Progressive Party. The new Governor Geoffrey de Montmorency gave only one ministry to the Unionists and appointed F.K. Noon<sup>56</sup> as minister of rural development. The other three ministries were given to Dr. Gokal Chand Narang (Mahasabha), Jogendra Nath (independent) and Manohar Lal.<sup>57</sup>

## PRO-RURAL POLICIES

A repeated allegation on PNUP was that it was anti-urban in nature, pro-rural and was responsible for widening the gulf between rural and urban masses. Although the Unionists consistently argued that its policy was never anti-urban, because its object was not to stop the progress of urban areas but to help the backward areas come up.<sup>58</sup>

Though the differences of rural and urban were not included in the rules and regulations of Unionist Party's membership, yet it was in their programme.<sup>59</sup> Hence there were many of its members and leaders who were urban and non-agriculturist, which include Sheikh Muhammad Din, Sh. Muhammad Sadiq, Abdul Ghani, Mir Maqbool Mehmood and Sh. Abdul Qadir, etc.<sup>60</sup> However it is a matter of fact that under the Act of 1919, the majority of elected seats were allotted to the rural areas, from where the landed aristocracy was elected as member of PLC. The idea of rural and urban differences was thus forged by the British Government, which provided Fazl-i-Hussain and Chottu Ram, an opportunity to organize a political party and programme for the benefit of the rural peasantry.

That programme was not changed for which Fazl-i-Hussain had worked and which was supported by most of the Muslim members. On the question of communal quota, he favoured the views of Haryana Jats and the desires of the Muslim members at least half. He accepted the quota of 50% for the Muslims, 30% for the Hindus and 20% for the Sikhs but made it necessary that 60% of each communal quota must come from the rural areas. This was the formula of the Unionist Party instead of the Government of the Punjab. It was, for this reason, very strange that "for some time, the Unionist ministers would follow the party quota, while non-Unionist ministers would follow that of the Government".<sup>61</sup> However, gradually; the Unionist formula became the standard.

Though it was the same Fazl-i-Hussain who objected the policy of Micheal O'Dwyre that he fanned the rural urban differences in the Punjab. But later in the presence of the same person, members of the Punjab Council, showed their factional and racial prejudice and questioned as to how many Hindu Jats were agriculturist?

What was the proportion of Rajputs? What was the share of agriculturists? What Gojars and Gakhars would get? This was how the members of Unionist Party acted upon the policy of factional and vested interest, which ruined the unity of the whole province by dividing it into rural and urban, Jats and Rajputs, agriculturists and non-agriculturalists,<sup>62</sup> and strengthened the 'tribal' as against 'communal identity'.<sup>63</sup>

In this way on one side the Unionist Party was uniting the Hindus and the Muslims and on the other hand was dividing the Muslim groups on the basis of places, residence and professions, thus creating a gap between them. Superficially the main objective of establishing this party was to safeguard the rights of 'backward classes and areas', but all of its leadership comprised feudal elites and landlords. It was just Fazl-i-Hussain's wishful thinking that he would be able to do something for the welfare of the Punjabi Muslims with the help of feudal lords. It is however a reality whether some body accepts it or rejects it that "accentuation of differences between ruralites and urbanities were indeed the basis of formation of the Unionist Party".<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, the ideological definition of the Unionist as champions of the backward classes drew on the party's role as protector of the imperial order and of local, kin-based organization which it saw as the foundation for protecting the economic interest of a rural, agricultural "class".<sup>65</sup>

## **IQBAL IN THE PUNJAB COUNCIL**

The elections for the third reformed council were held in 1926. In these elections, Iqbal, besides other Muslim urban representatives<sup>66</sup> managed to reach the Punjab Legislative Council. This was the first debut of Iqbal in the electoral politics and he was elected by securing heavy mandate from the urban constituency of Lahore, in the capacity of an independent candidate. In fact Iqbal was a staunch critic of electoral politics and topical democratic system and did not like it. For Iqbal Montford reforms were a "trap to ensnare helpless victims of colonial tyranny"<sup>67</sup> and dubbed councils as "Millionaires Club"<sup>68</sup> where voting behaviour was generally believed to be dictated by the British bureaucracy.

Prior to the elections for second reformed Council in 1923, Iqbal was persuaded by the repeated insistence of his friends to contest elections for Punjab Council from Lahore. But as one of his friends Mian Abdul Aziz <sup>69</sup> was also contesting elections from the same constituency, hence he did not like to contest against him.<sup>70</sup> Because he did not want to end so lasting relationship just for worldly gain.<sup>71</sup> It had never been Iqbal's motto to create a dissension among the ranks of the Muslims just for vested interests. For Iqbal, the highest moral and political value was the preservation of the Indian Muslims separate identity and to safeguard the Muslim culture.

In 1926 he announced to contest election from the urban constituency of Lahore, only when his friend Mian Abdul Aziz stepped down for him and assured Iqbal to support him in the election.<sup>72</sup> He clarified that "the misfortunes of the community has forced me to extend the sphere of my activities in the hope that perhaps I may be of some service to my people.... and I hope they will not hesitate to repose confidence in me and return me to the council so that I may safeguard their rights".<sup>73</sup>

Sagacious people of Lahore thought they would help Iqbal being elected uncontested keeping in mind his educational qualifications.<sup>74</sup> In this regard they were succeeded in persuading Malik Muhammad Hussain, the President of Lahore Municipal Corporation, to withdraw his candidature to give way to Iqbal.<sup>75</sup>

According to Hanif Shahid, being feared from the fame of Iqbal, the then Chief Justice of Punjab Chief Court, Shadi Lal instigated Khan Bahadur Malik Muhammad Din (Bar-at-Law) to contest election against Iqbal.<sup>76</sup> He launched his election campaign by using negative tactics based upon clanship, fanning the religious sectarianism based on bigotry and arousing personal rivalries of *Arain* and Kashmiri *baradaris* to win the sympathies of the people. Contrary to his rival, Iqbal campaigned for the election going beyond personals and avoided direct criticism, factionalism and communal tactics. In one of his election speech he said:

"The people, who think that I am Kashmiri and will cast their vote on that count, should not do it. And those who wish to help me on sectarian basis



should withdraw their support. I am just Muslim, servant of every Muslim and want to represent Muslims. Only those who accept this status should help me and I don't accept any other relation except Islam".<sup>77</sup>

Iqbal also avoided conventional election tactics and unfulfilled slogans. His election campaign only consisted of twenty processions.<sup>78</sup> Almost all the famous personalities of Lahore, including noblemen of *Arain* clan declared to support Iqbal. Except the Shiates and *Ahl-i-Hadiths* of Lahore, every religious community, including the Lahori and Ahmadi groups of Qadianis also supported Iqbal.<sup>79</sup> According to secret reports; meetings and processions of Iqbal were better attended than those of his rival Malik Muhammad Din.<sup>80</sup>

Though Iqbal contested this election as an independent candidate, yet as he agreed with the principles adopted by All India Khilafat Committee and even signed their manifesto,<sup>81</sup> hence *Khilafat* Committee also campaigned for Iqbal with full vigour. The top rank leadership of Khilafatist including Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi, Abdul Qadir Qusuri, Dr. Muhammad Alam, Zafar Ali Khan, Mazhar Ali Mazhar and Ch. Afzal Haq addressed the public meetings in favour of Iqbal.<sup>82</sup>

In short, Iqbal comfortably managed to defeat his opponents and won the elections by an overwhelming majority. According to polling results, out of 12,000 registered voters, Iqbal secured 5675 votes and his opponent Malik Muhammad Din gained 2498 votes.<sup>83</sup>

On Dec. 26, 1926 while addressing the reception arranged in his honour, Iqbal forcefully pleaded to the Muslim members to go beyond the differences of being urban and rural and get united to serve Islam and nation.<sup>84</sup>

Iqbal took oath of his membership as legislature on January 03, 1927.<sup>85</sup> Iqbal was of the view that a member's greatest quality should be to sacrifice his interests over that of the nation's<sup>86</sup> and reiterated that in his opinion it was worst than death to give more importance to personal whims instead of national interests.<sup>87</sup>

## **Iqbal's Association with Unionists**

In the second reformed council, most of the elected Muslim members belonged to the influential families of rural areas. They were united under the patronage of Fazl-i-Hussain and were busy in consolidating the Unionist party, which was formed with the co-operation of Hindu and Sikh feudal on the basis of land interest. Of the total 93 members of PLC, twenty-six were nominated and ex-official members and sixty-seven seats were allocated for elected members. The total number of the Muslim members comprising rural and urban, who managed to reach in the council was thirty-one.<sup>88</sup>

When Iqbal reached PLC, he had two options, either to co-operate with the PNUP or to organize a separate bloc of like-minded Muslim urbanite numbers in the assembly. Iqbal knew very well that the Unionists were the alliance of landlords formed on supra-communal basis for the protection of vested interest. He was also aware that Fazl-i-Hussain was the chief supporter of separate electorate for the Muslims and secondly he supported the Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900.<sup>89</sup> On the contrary the Congressite members and the Hindu Sabha were in favour of joint electorate and overtly desired to eliminate the Land Alienation Act.

Like other independent members, as the lesser of two evils, Iqbal also supported the Unionist Party and sat on treasury benches. He was fully aware of this reality that by forming a separate group in the Council, they would reduce the Unionist's strength which would fortify the position of the Hindu Sabha.<sup>90</sup> This question was raised in certain circles whether Iqbal joined the Unionist Party or he only co-operated with it as its urban ally. According to Zafarullah Khan, Iqbal remained the 'member' of Unionist party during his tenure of three years membership.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, Azim Hussain has also asserted that including Iqbal, Sh. Abdul Aziz, Sh. Muhammad Sadiq, Mir Maqbool Mahmood and many other urban and non-agriculturists were the distinguished 'members' of the Unionist Party.<sup>92</sup>

However according to Abdus Salam Khurshid, Iqbal's affiliation with the Unionist party was customary but he was not under their obligations, neither he could be. It was because; his mental approach was higher than many other members of the

council. He had his own opinion on every matter. He continued to represent for the rights of the rural Muslims but remained aloof from the rural-urban conflict. He did not second every view point of Unionists; instead many times he opined totally against it.<sup>93</sup> Iqbal's association with the Unionist party was termed by Batalvi as such an experience which brought before him the real content and motives of supra-communal alliance of landed classes. He writes:

"Iqbal remained the member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1927-30. During these three years he while remaining in Unionist party closely watched its working. The conflict of rural and urban was created by this party in the council, which later spread in the whole province. All these happenings could not remain hidden from Iqbal. If he had not observed minutely the working of the Unionist party while remaining with in it, he might have not done which nature bestowed upon him to do in the last two years of his life".<sup>94</sup>

Unionist party was a non-communal party and ideologically Iqbal's views were not in consonance with it. During his stay in the council he acted upon what he promised in his election campaign. He did not serve any of his personal interest from the platform of the Unionist party. This was the fruit of his severe criticism on the policies of the Unionist that he, in spite of being qualified for the presidentship of the council, he was not elected. It has been reported that, Fazl-i-Hussain suggested that Iqbal should be elected after the superannuating of Ch. Shahab-ud-Din as President of the Punjab Council. But Iqbal lost all those sympathies for he objected the policies of the Unionist party and castigated the Unionists members in the papers. Majority of the party members refused to elect him and Shahab-ud-Din was once again elected as a President.<sup>95</sup>

Iqbal's role as a legislature was spread over a short span of three years. Some writers are of the view that Iqbal just sat as a silent spectator in the Council and did not actively participated in its proceedings.<sup>96</sup> One must keep in mind that the Council was called into session three times a year including a brief session at Simla. Iqbal attended the Council proceedings regularly, but he was not a 'parliamentary orator' or 'vocal legislature'. During his entire period of membership, he spoke only on eight occasions. An in-depth study of his speeches reveals that they were not merely masterpieces of oratory but based on deep observation and research and fully supplemented with facts and figures.<sup>97</sup> Though his suggestions were not given any

attention, as they were against the interests of the ruling party, yet he seriously tried to safeguard the interest of masses. Of his eight speeches four were made during the annual budget discussions; and remaining dealt with the Hindu-Muslim relations, eastern medicinal system, land revenue and income tax assessment.

During his membership Iqbal tabled twenty-eight questions, of which thirteen were related to the queries about educational condition of the Muslims in the province. According to Riaz Ahmed, since he did not enjoy the support of the Unionist government and the British officials he "could not be expected to move any bill or motion".<sup>98</sup> Although he gave notice of his intention to introduce a remedial bill to solve the complex land problems in the Punjab, but the matter was not pursued.<sup>99</sup>

### **Critique on Budget Proposals**

During his stay in the council, Iqbal actively participated in the budget discussions and bluntly attacked the 'elitist policies' of the Unionist ministry and the British officials. Sometimes it appeared during the debates on budgets that Iqbal was the 'lonely voice'<sup>100</sup> rose for the defence of down trodden in general and Muslims in particular. He did not throw arrows in the dark, but commented after minutely studying the budget documents and then made his observations.

In the very first year of his membership, the budget for year 1927-28 was presented in the House on Feb. 27, 1927 by the Finance Minister, Sir Geoffery de Montmorency.<sup>101</sup> On the basis of facts and figures the Finance minister presented, Iqbal remarked that as in the government ministers opinion, financial position of the government was satisfactory<sup>102</sup> and that government spent 8.3 millions more than actual income, hence, government taxes should be reduced. As there was no provision for the medical relief for womenfolk in the budget, therefore, he suggested that "some provision ought to have been made in the Budget at least for the rural sanitation as well as for the medical relief for women".<sup>103</sup> Iqbal also criticized the anomaly which existed in the system of taxation. He said:

"We do not apply the principal of progression in the case of land revenue where as we apply that principle in the case of income-tax"<sup>104</sup>

He rejected the logic of ruling class that "all land belongs to the crown", hence the *lagan* could not be measured on the principle of income tax.<sup>105</sup> To Iqbal, it was a "barbarous theory"<sup>106</sup> which had no historical footings. Tracing back the history of land ownership he said:

"Neither in ancient India nor even in the days of the Mughals the sovereign ever claimed universal ownership. This is the historical aspect of the matter. The Taxation Enquiry Committee also has accepted this position, though half the members of that committee were of the opinion that land revenue could not be described as a tax, the other half being of the opinion that it is the nature of the tax. But the fact remains that in this country sovereign never claimed any such rights. We are told that Mughals claimed such right; but the people of the Punjab owned and possessed the land of this country long before the race of Babar entered into history. I submit, therefore, that in this twentieth century such a theory, even it is existed in any country at any time, cannot hold good....."<sup>107</sup>

In early 1928 when this matter again came on the floor of the house, Iqbal again challenged it. On Feb. 23, 1928, Lala Mohan Lal supported the assessment of the Punjab Government's revenue member Fazl-i-Hussain, regarding the principle of state ownership of agricultural land.<sup>108</sup> Iqbal citing the French Scholar Perron (1777) and English Scholar Briggs (1883) concluded that "in no period in the history of India the state ever claimed the proprietorship of land."<sup>109</sup> In the time of Lord Curzon, however, this theory was put forward, but the taxation committee's report which was published sometime ago, has come to a very clear finding that this theory has no basis at all".<sup>110</sup> These arguments made even revenue member Fazl-i-Hussain mum and he did not try to defend the present system of assessment on the basis of that theory.<sup>111</sup>

In Iqbal's opinion, the prevailing land revenue system was unjust because it did not made distinction between a small landholder and an absentee landlord. He said:

"If a man happens to be landowner, big or small does not matter he has to pay land revenue. But if a man earns from other sources other than land, less than two thousand rupees a year, you don't tax him at all. That is where injustice comes in".<sup>112</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain said that this was not possible because development work needed money. Iqbal argued, "this kind of argument can be applied in defence of any

kind of evil practice which brings the required amount of money".<sup>113</sup> Countering his arguments Iqbal further added:

"Deficiency caused in the land revenue may be met in other ways; we can reduce the expenditure on administration. We can lower the limit of taxable income under the Income Tax Act. We can spend less on the so called development".<sup>114</sup>

In nutshell, after a heated debate,<sup>115</sup> Iqbal suggested that "holdings not exceeding five *beghas* and situated in the non-irrigated area where the produce is practically fixed, should not be liable to the payment of land revenue".<sup>116</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain vehemently opposed this suggestion and argued that the minimum economical land holding in Punjab was eleven *beghas* and remission of five *beghas* would cause a deficit of two and a half crore in the budget.<sup>117</sup>

While mentioning the suggestion of Ch. Afzal Haq that a commission should be sent to Russia for inquiry in the matters of land system and revenue, Iqbal said;

"Punjab *Zamindar* is not ready to give up the right of private ownership. In this country, there are petty landholders; there are proprietors with two *beghas*, two kanals. They are practically like tenants, yet are not willing to give up the right of private ownership".<sup>118</sup>

The budget proposals for the year 1929-30 was presented by new Finance Minister Mr. A. M. Stow in the Punjab Council.<sup>119</sup> In his budget speech Iqbal suggested such steps to reduce budget deficit which were not in the favour of landed aristocracy and bureaucracy. The suggestions put by Iqbal included:

- a) Provincialization of income tax.
- b) Imposition of health duties [inheritance tax] for those who received Rs.20,000 or Rs.30,000 [fixable].
- c) Reduction of high salaries of bureaucracy.
- d) Purchase of machinery from the cheapest markets.<sup>120</sup>

This statement evoked a protest from the British officials present in the Council, because the suggestions of Iqbal directly hit the interests of British bureaucracy. Secondly, Iqbal's suggestion that machinery should be bought at lesser rates was also harmful for the British interests, for all the machinery was purchased

from Britain, which was expensive. Japan also emerged as an industrialized country whose products were relatively cheaper than the British ones.<sup>121</sup> As far as the inheritance tax was concerned it was also against the interests of feudal. Fazl-i-Hussain, the revenue member countered all these suggestions,<sup>122</sup> because the PLC, which had an overwhelming majority of landlords, was obviously not receptive to these proposals.

In the end of his speech Iqbal concluded that the present financial conditions of the province were very disappointing. He urged upon the government to adopt the policy of cutting down the expenditures and to discover new sources of revenue.<sup>123</sup>

Iqbal castigated the government for presenting the budgetary deficit<sup>124</sup> during his debate over the budget proposals for 1930-31. The problem of unemployment, lack of industrial development, and burden of debts on province were the issues, which caused the financial crisis in the Punjab. Iqbal commented that "this system must come to an end if you want to live a comfortable life".<sup>125</sup> He lamented that we spent more than any other country in the world on the present system of administration. He proposed to form a recruitment committee that should review as how to reduce the expenditures.<sup>126</sup> In his opinion the problem of unemployment could only be solved if more and more industries were established. He said:

"There is good future for weaving industry and for shoe-making industry in this province and if we encourage these industries, I think we shall be able to save the province from unemployment".<sup>127</sup>

### **Remarks on Educational System**

As Iqbal also remained attached with the education department, hence he oftentimes spoke in the council for the betterment of educational system in British Punjab. During his legislative career, Iqbal put about twenty-eight questions, of which thirteen were directly or indirectly related to education. It was a ground reality that Punjab was deliberately kept behind in constitutional and educational fields, as compared to other provinces. Iqbal had rightly observed that "a disinterested foreign government in this country wants to keep the people ignorant"<sup>128</sup> and was trying "to suppress all the agencies that tend to enlighten the laity".<sup>129</sup>

During the tenure of Fazl-i-Hussain as a minister of Education, several steps were taken to improve this neglected sector. The Compulsory Education Act of 1919 was partially implemented and twelve intermediate colleges were established in the province. However, Iqbal was disturbed at the apathy of the department of education which lacked vision and was "wasting tremendous amount of money on education with no results".<sup>130</sup>

Iqbal stressed to work seriously on the compulsory education. He lamented that the provision for the compulsory education was only a paper arrangement and a half hearted step by the government and the so-called compulsory schools were no different from voluntary primary schools.<sup>131</sup> He regretted that the education department felt its responsibility finished after giving admission to a child in class one. Though very few among those joining the primary schools went up to the higher classes. He advised to "make them reach the higher classes by compulsion",<sup>132</sup> so as to lower the drop out rate.

Iqbal vehemently opposed the grant in aid policy of the Punjab government to the private schools due to which Muslims institutions failed to compete with those of the Hindus and Sikhs. He criticized the Manohar Lal's policy during his budget speech on March 04, 1929. Iqbal pointed to the disparity between the need of the Muslim institution and the financial support they actually received.

In 1922-23, fifty-five new schools were given grants, of which sixteen were Islamia Schools. The total amount of grant was Rs.1, 21,966 of which Rs.29, 214 were granted to the Muslim Schools. In 1926-27, the total amount of grant to high schools was Rs.1, 22,287 and the same amount of Rs.29, 214 was given to the Muslim institutions. In 1927-28, the total amount of grant was Rs.10,13,154 and the share of the Muslims seminaries was Rs.2,04,330 that is to say, the population which was most backward in education and most indebted, got only two lakh out of ten.<sup>133</sup> To Iqbal, this state of affairs was unsatisfactory for the Muslims. By comparing the amount of grant in aid to the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim institutions, he falsified the government report, which embarrassed the Punjab government.



## Viewpoint Regarding Muslims Representation

In July 1927, Sardar Ujjal Singh moved a resolution which recommended the government that in future all government posts should be filled by open competition.<sup>134</sup> Iqbal raised his voice against this resolution because he was aware of this reality that the Muslims were backward in the field of education. He concluded that in the open competition, the Hindus would come forward and the Muslims would lag behind.<sup>135</sup> Iqbal highlighted the lack of mutual trust and confidence between the Hindus and the Muslims by quoting few examples.<sup>136</sup>

Iqbal was not against the open competition, but he believed in 'principle of competition tampered by selection and nomination'.<sup>137</sup> Countering the Ujjal Singh's opinion that this system was working successfully in many countries, Iqbal said that ground realities varied all over the world and where "one community is always aiming at the destruction of other and the communities do not trust each other; they have no faith in each other, this system was inapplicable".<sup>138</sup>

While speaking in favour of Ujjal's resolution, when some members termed this step useful for the promotion of composite nationalism, Iqbal ridiculed it and said, "the word has existed on the lips of the people of this country for the last fifty years and like a hen it has cackled a great deal with out laying a single egg".<sup>139</sup>

This thing is of worth-consideration that Iqbal was so much sensitive about separate electorates and the Muslim rights that he openly denounced Jinnah's proposals for joint electorate, which later resulted in the bifurcation of the League into two factions, but he did not sacrifice his principles. So far as the Muslim representation in the services was concerned, Iqbal was very much conscious about it.<sup>140</sup> And often he put questions to remain aware of the numerical strength of the Muslim officers and employees in different departments. On July 22, 1927 he asked the Punjab Agriculture Minister to state; (a) the number of Muslim and non-Muslim Executive and Assistant Executive Engineers in the Public Works Department, Buildings and Road Branch, respectively; (b) the number of Muslim and Hindu Assistant Engineers in the same department, separately?<sup>141</sup> The Agricultural Minister, Jogendra Singh, replied that there were thirty Executive and Assistant Executive

Engineers in the Buildings and Road Branch, of these only three were Muslims.<sup>142</sup> Regarding the Muslim representation in the Medical Department, Minister for local self Government Malik F.K. Noon replied that there were 711 sub-assistant Surgeons in Medical Department of whom only 165 were Muslims.<sup>143</sup>

On Nov. 22, 1927 Iqbal pointed in his question about the absence of Muslim employees in Board of Examining Engineers since last twenty-one years. In a supplementary question Iqbal also pointed the irregularities committed by District Inspector of Schools Jhelum, in the disbursement of military scholarship in Jhelum District.<sup>144</sup>

### **Comments on Hindu – Muslim Riots**

Post *Khilafat* movement period was marked with growing antagonism between the Hindus and the Muslims. Frequent communal violence and riots between the Hindus and the Muslims had suspended the social and political activities. Iqbal deduced that a rapprochement between both communities was impossible. On July 18, 1927 while talking on a motion of adjournment, he felt sorry about the communal violence, and said that in the past there were many customary things done to smoothen the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims, but no practical and concrete steps were taken in this regard. Letting the members perceive the complex nature of situation he said:

“I wonder if the members have realized the fact that we are actually living in a state of civil war. If stringent measures are not taken to put this down, the atmosphere of the whole province will be poisoned”.<sup>145</sup>

Iqbal suggested that for the suppression of the existing communal tension a Round Table Conference should be held which consider the present situation and took solid steps in this regard.<sup>146</sup>

### **Support of Eastern System of Medicine**

Speaking in favour of the resolution moved by Lala Mohan Lal regarding *Unani* and Ayurvedic systems of medicine on Feb. 22, 1928, Iqbal had made a maiden speech. He exposed the usefulness and importance of the Eastern Medical Sciences in a brief but descriptive manner. He expressed that India was a poor

country and its people could not afford an expensive Western system of medicine. The Eastern system of medicine was more conducive to the health of the people than any other method.<sup>147</sup>

Iqbal said that the government was not taking concrete steps to stream-line that system of medicine due to which "impression is gaining amongst the people that the government has commercial interests in view and is, for this reason, encouraging Western system of medicine on the one side and discouraging indigenous system of medicine on the other".<sup>148</sup>

The resolution was defeated by thirty-four votes and only twenty members voted in favour of it. Fazl-i-Hussain, the revenue member, in his speech criticized Iqbal for endorsing such a resolution.<sup>149</sup>

Iqbal's three years membership ended in May 1930. If he desired the people of Lahore would have elected him again. But electoral politics did not suit to his mood. Secondly, during his stay in the Council he concluded that only a group of likeminded people could enhance the importance of a party or a group. He spoke in the Council on very few occasions, but whenever he spoke, he spoke with facts and figures. One advantage he got from being in the Council was that he became aware of the politicking way of the Unionists. In the post-1930 period he was secluded from the political activities sponsored by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and diverted his attention toward the organization of the League in Punjab.

### **IQBAL AND THE POLITICS IN PUNJAB (1927-30)**

In the second half of 1920s the communal situation was very much worsened. The Arya Samaj's anti-Islam movements, *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* were at full swing which produced a wave of resentment and hatred among the Muslim masses and resulted in a record increase of the Hindu - Muslim riots, particularly in Punjab.<sup>150</sup> Thus the post Mont-ford reform era was marked with considerably increased unrest due to intra-religious polarization. The Hindu leadership concluded that the existence of communal electorate for the Muslims was a major factor of communal tension in India.

## Delhi Proposals

In 1927, Jinnah was in Delhi to attend the budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly. During discussions on political matters, Motilal Nehru (1861-1931) termed separate electorates as the bone of contention between the Hindus and the Muslims. He opined, if Muslims agreed to drop it, he could persuade the INC to accept the other demands.<sup>151</sup>

The Muslim leadership like Jinnah was of the opinion that the dominion status could only be achieved through intra-communal harmony. Therefore, in response to Nehru's statement, Jinnah convened a Unity Conference on March 20, 1927 at the Western Hotel, Dehli. It was attended by twenty-nine prominent Muslim leaders.<sup>152</sup> In their speeches the speakers laid stress upon the need of the Hindu - Muslim unity and co-operation and various possibilities of adoption of joint electorates were discussed. It was unanimously resolved that for the sake of mutual co-operation, the Muslims should accept a settlement with the Hindus and give up separate electorates on the basis of following proposals:

- a) Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
- b) Introduction of reforms in NWFP and Balochistan.
- c) Representation of the Muslims on the basis of population in the Punjab and Bengal.
- d) One-third seats for Muslims in the Central Legislature.

These demands were put forth on March 20, 1927, which were later called as 'Delhi Proposals' of Jinnah.<sup>153</sup>

The provincial leadership of the Punjab; Mian M. Shafi, M. Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain denounced the Delhi Proposals and harboured doubts.<sup>154</sup> On the very same day, M. Shafi issued a statement expressing his reservations about the Dehli Proposals. Fazl-i-Hussain equally opposed these proposals, as to him, the Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal could only be ascertained through separate electorates. Fazl-i-Hussain also shared his views regarding the issue of joint electorate with M. Shafi.

M. Iqbal who had recently stepped in the practical politics and was elected as a member of the Punjab Council had also similar views. Iqbal considered separate electorates as a matter of survival for the Muslim community in the India. He consistently endeavoured to establish a separate Muslim political identity.<sup>155</sup> He was of the view that tactical and eventual bargaining and co-operation with the Hindus and the British would not be achieved at the cost of separate electorate. He concluded that in case of joint electorate, the wealthy Hindus would influence the electorate and finish off their majority.

Thus the uniformity on the views of these prominent Muslim leaders led to confrontation between the AIML and the Punjab leaders, making the validity of Delhi Proposals precarious and it seriously weakened the position of Jinnah in bargaining with the Congress. He clarified that these were just informal proposals, to be ratified by the Hindu and the Muslim parties.<sup>156</sup> In order to set aside the fear of the Muslims, Jinnah issued a press statement at the end of March and said:

“Separate or joint electorates are not the end in itself but only a means towards the end. Its only aim is to satisfy the Muslims that, during the interim period before the goal of national government is reached, the majority community will not be able to commit any tyranny or excess against the Muslims. We cannot forget that in the present circumstances, there must be some sort of political equilibrium between the two communities. Only for that purpose, a straight forward way has been adopted in the proposals from the Muslim side”<sup>157</sup>

He further clarified that as soon as he received a positive answer from the INC, he would arrange an All Parties Muslim Conference in which the final decision would be taken in this regard.<sup>158</sup>

The Punjab politicians, especially Fazl-i-Hussain, were not contented with the explanation made by Jinnah. Fazl-i-Hussain feared that if the INC and British accepted these proposals, it would weaken the hands of those who wanted to retain the Muslim majority in the Punjab and Bengal through separate electorates. In his opinion, these proposals did not represent the general will of the Muslims thus lacking the legitimacy of a unanimous demand.<sup>159</sup>

The proposals of Jinnah were given cold shoulder by the Mahasabha leaders. Lajpat Rai and Malaviya condemned the system of 'bartering of rights'.<sup>160</sup> However after a lengthy discussion, the working committee of INC which met on May 15, 1927, under the presidentship of Srinavasa Ivenger (1869-1946), passed a resolution "substantially accepting the Muslim's proposals".<sup>161</sup>

As hinted before that the Muslims of Punjab opposed the Delhi Proposals and started demonstration against them. On May 01, 1927, the PPML held a public meeting at Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall to express its opinion about the proposals of Jinnah. Addressing the session M. Shafi said:

"Until the mentality of the Hindu Mahasabha undergoes the necessary change and that body comes to realize that without the Hindu-Muslim unity the attainment of *Sawaraj* for our common motherland is an absolute impossibility... and until an effective guarantee of the protection of its vital interests, the Muslim community will continue to insist on the retention of separate electorates".<sup>162</sup>

Four resolutions were adopted in the meeting. The most important of them was the second one which was moved by Iqbal. He recapitulated the League's conviction that in the existing political condition in the central and provincial legislatures, truly representative of Indian people explicitly opined that, so long as an equally effective guarantee of the Muslims interests was not forth-coming, the Muslim community could not but continue to insist on the retention of communal electorates as an essential part of the Indian constitution.<sup>163</sup>

Iqbal had a firm belief that if the Muslim leaders would accept all the conditions of the Hindu leaders and would offer them unconditional reconciliation, even then the Hindus would concoct some point of divergence and there would be no resolution.<sup>164</sup>

To asses the situation emerging after the rejection of the Delhi Proposals by PPML, Jinnah visited Lahore in June, and tried to prevent PPML from taking any independent course of action on the issue of electorates. Jinnah failed to enlist any support and returned back empty hand.<sup>165</sup> Thus the Jinnah's pursuance for the

acceptance of the Delhi Proposals met firm opposition in the Punjab and the likelihood of compromise diminished.<sup>166</sup>

Undoubtedly the separate electorate was of great importance to safeguard the political interests of the Muslims of the Punjab. In fact due to limited franchise scheme, the strength of Muslim voters was only 40% and if there would be joint electorate the most seats would go to the Hindus. Even if government applied the adult franchise scheme, instead of limited franchise, the Hindus would have affected the election due to their strong financial position and would create obstacles in the election of the Muslim candidates who could purely safeguard the Muslim interests. In the same way, in the Muslim minority provinces the Hindus were in such a large number that the Muslim voters could not play an effective part.

No doubt, it was only a wishful thinking that due to joint electorates the election campaign would be in low profile and there would be no fiery speeches over communal problems and more things about the economic progress and national affairs would be discussed. However they forgot the mentality of the Hindus, which could reduce the chance of getting vote of any Hindu for the Muslim candidate.

### **Simon Commission and the Punjab**

In pursuance of the Indian Councils Act of 1919, the British government, on Nov. 1927, had announced the appointment of the Indian Statuary Commission. The basic objectives of this commission were to examine the Indian constitutional problems, to make recommendations for the future constitution and to elicit Indian opinion on constitutional reforms. The commission was appointed; two years earlier as stipulated in Act of 1919.<sup>167</sup> The main reasons of its pre-mature formation were the political unrest, agitation and heightening communal tension.

The Statuary Commission comprised seven members.<sup>168</sup> All of them were British national and member of the Parliament. Sir John Adsebrook Simon who was a distinguished lawyer headed it. The Commission reached India on February 03, 1928 and the Governor General issued an appeal to all the political organizations for co-operation with it.<sup>169</sup> Except PPML and PNUP, almost all political and religious

parties of all shades of opinion were against the structure of Statuary Commission and were not ready to co-operate with it.

Appointment of an "all white commission" was dubbed by Jinnah as "butchery of our [Indian] soul"<sup>170</sup> and said that "Lord Birkenhead has declared our unfitness for self-government".<sup>171</sup> He argued, if it comprised only of the members of the British parliament, it would not meet the requirement of the Indians. He concluded that the only honourable rejoinder was a unanimous boycott of the commission.<sup>172</sup> In acquiescence with Jinnah's stance the INC, Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League, JUH and *Khilafat* Committee passed their resolutions and adopted his course to boycott the commission.<sup>173</sup> Thus Jinnah stimulated the public opinion and prepared for a befitting boycott of ISC.

A representative committee of the elected members of the Central Legislature was invited by Sir John Simon to co-operate with the commission. But Central Legislature refused to elect members to sit in the committee. In this regard a resolution was passed by Central Legislature on Feb. 16, 1928, which was presented by Lala Lajpat Rai. The viceroy formed an Indian Central Committee including four elected members of the Council of the State and five members of the Legislative Assembly that worked with the commission.<sup>174</sup>

Iqbal deemed that exclusion of the Indians from the ISC was "un-expected, disappointing and painful"<sup>175</sup> and declared it an attack on the honour of India. But he clarified that the British parliament did not question the capabilities of the Indians but the reason was the mistrust and suspicions between the different nations of India due to which they were excluded from the commission.<sup>176</sup> Iqbal announced that the decision of the boycott or co-operation with it would be decided by PPML in a meeting on November 13, 1927 and avoided voicing his personal opinion.<sup>177</sup>

It has been reported that initially M. Shafi and Abdul Rahim were in favour of boycott of ISC, later they decided not to join the boycott, but rather to press Muslim interests.<sup>178</sup> The Punjab League condemned the policy of boycott and in its special session on November 13, 1927, held at Shafi's residence and decided to co-operate with the commission. It is noteworthy that most of the Unionist members attended the



session. Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Feroz Khan Noon, Gul Muhammad Khan, Syed Mohsin Shah, Ghulam Rasul Shah, Sheikh Din Muhammad and Bashir Ahmad delivered speeches in favour of co-operation resolution.<sup>179</sup> Whereas only four persons including Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Zafar Ali Khan,<sup>180</sup> Malik Barkat Ali and Ghulam Mohiy-ud-Din, cast their votes against the decision of co-operation.<sup>181</sup>

On this occasion, Iqbal issued a statement on behalf of PPML in which he said that by co-operating with the Simon Commission, the minority parties of the country would have a chance to speak out about their fears, hopes and aims. He said:

“PPML has accepted this resolution after much thinking over all the aspects of the problem and it is deduced that the boycott of the commission would be directly harmful to the country and indirectly to the whole of Muslim world. In my opinion this resolution is a reflection of the feelings of the Punjab Muslims”.<sup>182</sup>

### **Split in Muslim League**

In December 1927, Jinnah with some other leaders appealed in his statement to boycott the commission. As a result the Muslim League was seemed to be divided into two factions. To counter the policy of Jinnah, Iqbal in association with Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, Mian Abdul Hayi, Syed Rajan Shah and Maulana Muhammad Ali [Lahori] issued a statement on Dec. 08, 1927 and declared that this illogical policy of boycott would give nothing except sorry state of affairs. A commission which had come there with the guarantee of justice to minorities of India, its boycott would have serious implications.<sup>183</sup> The Punjabi leaders also accepted the regret and apologies of Lord Birkenhead's contention that the Indians could not be included in the statutory commission because of wide difference of opinion.<sup>184</sup>

Maulana Muhammad Ali (1878-1931) disapproved the viewpoint of Iqbal regarding co-operation with commission. He commented that it was understood that a person like Sir M. Shafi would not disagree with the viceroy due to his loyalty. But it was set back for the Punjab that leaders like M. Iqbal could not raise the loyalists like M. Shafi to the level of their own 'liberalism'. On the contrary, it appeared that they themselves had stepped down to the level of Sir M. Shafi.<sup>185</sup> Iqbal did not reply to

Muhammad Ali's comments however he expounded that the Muslim leaders, who stood for the boycott of Commission, belonged to Muslim minority provinces. Consequently they could not understand the strategy of the leaders of the Muslim majority provinces.<sup>186</sup>

On Nov. 20, 1927 AIML Council had decided to hold its next session at Lahore with Sir Muhammad Shafi in the Chair.<sup>187</sup> Jinnah and his camp-followers were not satisfied with the decisions of Mian M. Shafi and his companions, as they committed themselves to co-operate with the Simon Commission and opposed the Delhi Proposals.<sup>188</sup> Therefore in order to re-consider the whole situation, Jinnah summoned a special session of AIML council on Dec. 11, 1927. It was argued that Muslims of Bengal, Madras and other places disagreed to hold session in the Punjab mainly because they knew that if the session was held there, Punjabi representatives would be so strong that it would force co-operation.<sup>189</sup> In the meeting, a compromise was offered to Shafi Group that Calcutta would be the venue for the next session of AIML, under the Presidentship of Mian M. Shafi. However, Shafi group showed least flexibility and heated discussion was taken place on the venue of next session of AIML. Eventually, voting was held; 84 voted in favour of Calcutta, and 54 voted in favour of Lahore. This was the defeat of the Shafi Group and they walked out of the meeting.<sup>190</sup>

In fact it was the personal wish of Dr. Kitchlew and Jinnah that on the eve of annual meeting of AIML, the League Council should duly approve the Delhi Proposal. Hence they wanted that instead of Lahore, the meeting of AIML should be held in Calcutta. They were completely assured that PPML had raised a voice against the dismissal of separate electorate. They concluded that in case of meeting in Lahore, the Delhi Proposals would be rejected and more stress would be laid on separate electorate.

On Dec. 14, 1927, Iqbal and Sir Feroz Khan Noon issued a statement in which the decision of AIML to hold its annual session at Calcutta was denounced. They said that it was because of the joint decision of the Punjabi Muslims who were in the favour of separate electorate, which compelled the promoters of joint electorate to hold the session at Calcutta, so that they could easily approve the Delhi Proposals.<sup>191</sup>

As a result of the difference of opinion, two separate sessions of AIML were held; one in Lahore and other in Calcutta. This resulted in the formal split of AIML into Calcutta League and Lahore League. The Calcutta League held its session at Calcutta from Dec. 30, 1927 to Jan. 01, 1928 and it was presided by Sir Muhammad Yaqub (1879-1942).<sup>192</sup> The important participants of this meeting were Syed Ali Imam (1869-1932), Shafi Daudee, Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad, Fazl-i-Haq, Abdul Kalam Azad, Mohammad Ali Joher, Shaukat Ali and Ch. Khalique-uz-Zaman (1889-1975). Punjab was represented by Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew (1884-1963), Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956), Malik Barkat Ali and Bengal was represented by Ghulam Mohiy-ud-Din, Maulana Akram Khan and Maulvi A.K. Fazl-i-Haq.<sup>193</sup> In this session some important decisions were taken which included; adoption of Delhi Proposal;<sup>194</sup> criticism on the Lahore League's decision to co-operate with Simon Commission; disaffiliation of the Lahore League from the parent body. The Punjabi Muslims were asked to constitute a League, which was truly representative of the Muslim opinion.<sup>195</sup>

It was resolved to appoint delegates to represent AIML in the convention called by INC to bring about an adjustment of the outstanding questions between the Hindus and Muslims arising out of the Nehru Report.<sup>196</sup> Another important decision of Calcutta League was the amendment of its constitution, which enabled it to elect Jinnah as permanent President of AIML until the next session, who alone could elect his successor.<sup>197</sup>

The Lahore League held its session at Lahore from Dec. 31, 1927 to Jan. 01, 1928 under the presidentship of Sir M. Shafi.<sup>198</sup> The arrangements were made in the Habibia Hall of Islamia College, with the facilitation of Fazl-i-Hussain. The important delegates of this session included M. Iqbal, M. Yamin Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Mian Shahnawaz and Feroz Khan Noon. In this session a resolution against the Delhi Proposals was approved and decision was taken to co-operate with the Simon Commission. M. Iqbal, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Mian Shahnawaz and Sir Zafarullah Khan jointly endorsed these decisions.

In this session another resolution was passed to elect Muhammad Shafi as President, Muhammad Iqbal as General Secretary and Hasrat Mohani as Joint Secretary of the League.<sup>199</sup> Consequently, the bifurcation of the League weakened the

bargaining position of Jinnah and he did not remain on equal footings in his dialogue with the INC, due to opposition from the Punjab. Events proved that Shafi League more accurately reflected the Muslim opinion and that its demands would be those of all the Muslims in the near future.

### **Working of Simon Commission in Punjab**

Simon Commission twice visited the Punjab and each time it faced fierce opposition in the form of strikes, processions and meetings. On March 10, 1928 the Commission arrived at Lahore. A reception committee jointly constituted by M. Shafi and F.K. Noon received it. A reception was arranged in the honour of the members of the ISC, which was hosted by Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan. Under the aegis of Punjab authorities, resolutions were moved and passed in all local bodies of the province in favour of co-operation with the commission.<sup>200</sup>

On the contrary, the extremist section of INC, the *Akali* Sikhs, and the *Khilafat* Committee arranged protests to make the ISC a failure.<sup>201</sup> Dr. Satyapal, Zafar Ali Khan, Kharak Singh, Saghaba Anand, Gopal Singh, Maulvi A. Qadir, Dr. M. Alam, Ch. Afzal Haq, and Bodh Raj were in the forefront of the campaign against the commission.<sup>202</sup>

A small minority of the Hindus and Sikhs who were in the favour of co-operation with the commission, but with some reservations, presented their viewpoint in the form of a delegation, headed by Nanak Chand and S.S. Majithia respectively. They strongly pleaded their case and recorded their reservations regarding the obliteration and abrogation of communal electorates and principle of reservation of seats.<sup>203</sup> Sir Umer Hayat Khan Tiwana, represented the Punjab landed elites and demanded the due share for landed classes and suggested that "for men of his class there ought to be something like an Indian House of Lords".<sup>204</sup>

In May, 1928 a session of the Lahore League was held at the residence of M. Shafi so as to draft the memorandum for the Simon Commission. In that meeting Iqbal forcefully advocated the concept of the provincial autonomy. A tentative draft was approved in that meeting, however it was not finalized in order to elude opinions from the other leaders of the League. Meanwhile Iqbal left for Delhi for the medical

treatment.<sup>205</sup> In his absence the Lahore League approved the final draft in which very less weightage was given to the provincial autonomy. Unlike the wishes of Iqbal, it was agreed upon to give the departments of law, peace and justice to governor, in the provincial governments.<sup>206</sup> Iqbal considered it as a reactionary approach to the contemporary political problems. Iqbal showed his dissent over the decision of the Lahore League and resigned from the post of the League's secretary-ship<sup>207</sup> and released his letters of resignation to the press on June 24, 1928. He writes:

"I now find that the extract of the League memorandum as published in the press makes no demand for full provincial autonomy and suggests a unitary form of government in which law, order and justice should be placed under the direct charge of governor.... This suggestion is only a veiled form of diarchy and means no constitutional advance at all.... I ought not in the circumstances remain secretary of the League".<sup>208</sup>

Mian M. Shafi after re-consideration incorporated the proposals of Iqbal. Consequently Iqbal withdrew his resignation and signed the final draft of memorandum of the Lahore League.<sup>209</sup>

The Lahore League recommended a scheme of constitutional advance, which was primarily based upon the due representation of the various communities in the legislature and the local bodies on the basis of population. Besides widening the franchise it was demanded to soften the qualifications for voters and to increase the size of the legislature. Strong recommendations were made to retain the system of separate electorate for minorities and thirty-three percent representations of the Muslims in the legislatures. Grievances of the Punjab and the Bengal Muslim community in connection with their representation in Provincial Councils were highlighted and demand was put for their due representation on the basis of population in both provinces. The existing system of diarchy was dubbed as illogical and it was demanded that more responsible governments both at centre and the provinces, with a weak federation and strong provincial autonomy should be formed. It was strongly pleaded for reforms extension to NWFP and separation of Sindh from Bombay.<sup>210</sup>

In the Punjab the Unionist party was working in favour of the Statuary Commission, as F.K. Noon and his colleagues had supported every step taken by the

provincial government in this regard. Before the arrival of commission, the Unionists were able to secure a declaration in favour of the retention of separate electorates signed by twenty-seven Muslim members of the Punjab Council.<sup>211</sup> More over they also sent Shafa'at and Zafarullah<sup>212</sup> as their representatives, to England "to state their views on questions which will come under review when the statutory commission is appointed".<sup>213</sup>

However, Fazl-i-Hussain was a little confused over the issue. On Nov. 18, 1927, just returning from the League of Nations he told the reporters that he opposed the Statuary Commission and would support a Muslim League boycott [provided] the Hindu Mahasbha abandon the same policy.<sup>214</sup> He categorically stated that the exclusion of the Indians would not satisfy a vast majority of enlightened public.<sup>215</sup>

It might be a political contrivance, or a threat to withdraw the Punjab Muslim support to the government, otherwise Fazl-i-Hussain being a moderate politician, had always supported the constitutional measures. Here it is also noteworthy that "when Hailey pulled him up for this, Fazl-i-Hussain immediately offered his resignation and Hailey climbed down".<sup>216</sup> Later on, in Bombay, he told the news reporter, that there had never been any question of the Punjab Muslims boycotting the commission.<sup>217</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain personally appeared before the commission and recorded his experiences regarding the working of the Act of 1919. He demanded sixty-three seats of 126 Council seats on the basis of joint scheme of reforms approved by the League and the Congress in 1916.

The Unionist Party under the guidance of its leaders offered complete support to the provincial government within and outside the Council. On the suggestion of Head of Statuary Commission, the Punjab Council, under the chairmanship of Sikandar Hayat, appointed a Punjab Committee, which comprised Chottu Ram, Zafarullah Khan, Ujjal Singh, Gokal Chand Narang, Nerandra Nath and O Roberts<sup>218</sup>

The Punjab Committee report held the opinion that in case of joint electorates, "the interest of an economically and educationally backward community cannot be safeguarded unless it is allowed a free choice in the selection of its representatives. If

joint electorates are introduced, the moneylenders and financially stronger community will be able to influence the voters of the backward communities and get their own nominees elected which will practically mean the backward communities being left un-presented in the legislature".<sup>219</sup>

### **Nehru Report – A Catalyst of Muslim Unity**

Since its arrival in India, ISC faced a severe opposition of majority of political parties. Political leaders of all the shades condemned the British authorities for the exclusion of Indians from the commission. The British Government was of the view that exclusion of the Indians was because of the reason that they had no unanimous voice. Due to the policy of non-cooperation with the ISC, Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India challenged the Indian political parties to draft an agreed constitution.<sup>220</sup>

The INC accepted the challenge and an All Parties Conference was held on May 19, 1928 in Bombay, which was presided over by Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari.<sup>221</sup> The Calcutta League accepted the invitation and attended the conference, while, the Lahore League declined the offer to participate.<sup>222</sup> The conference set up a committee, headed by Motilal Nehru to draft and determine the basic principles of the future constitution.<sup>223</sup> The committee met twenty-five times and presented its report in the second session of APC which was held at Lucknow on August 28, 1928. That report which was well known in the constitutional history of India as the 'Nehru Report',<sup>224</sup> further deepened the cleavages between the two communities – the Hindus and the Muslims.

This report discarded the separate electorates; rejected the reservation of seats for the Muslims in the majority provinces; the Muslim representation in the Central Legislature was reduced to 1/4<sup>th</sup>; idea of federation was rejected and unitary form of government was proposed.<sup>225</sup> In the absence of Sir Ali Imam, the solitary Muslim member Sir Shoaib Qureshi's views regarding separate electorate and reservation of seats for the Muslims were not accepted by the Hindu members of the Nehru Committee.<sup>226</sup>

In sum, the report contained what the Congress after coming into power would have prescribed and implemented. The report had also rejected the settled principles decided in the Lucknow Pact and was also an open deviation from the Delhi Proposals too. In December, 1928, at the eve of the annual session of INC, an ultimatum was given that if the British Parliament would not approve the Nehru Report within one year; the INC would start a civil disobedience and non-cooperation movement.

A strong wave of resentment, discontent and disappointment was spread in the Muslim India, and the Nehru Report was dubbed as Hindu's 'Magna Carta'.<sup>227</sup> Cross section of the Muslims rejected the Nehru Report. Ali Brothers who were the erstwhile lieutenants of Gandhi during the *Khilafat* movement and staunch supporters of the Congress, now turned into restless critics.<sup>228</sup>

In the Punjab, Fazl-i-Hussain and Muhammad Shafi altogether rejected the Nehru Report and said, if Jinnah League had not agreed to surrender the principles of separate electorates, the INC could have never been encouraged to present such anti-Muslim recommendations and that this report did not bring any major change in the political situation and could not resolve the political stalemate.<sup>229</sup>

F.K. Noon was of the opinion that INC had tried to centralize the entire political structure "because in the central legislature, the Hindus will always be in an overwhelming majority and if they have the power to legislate for the provinces also, then the Muslim majorities in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan will be entirely imaginary".<sup>230</sup>

Iqbal after much pondering expressed his deep concerns and reservations about the Nehru Report. While talking with the correspondent of the Free Press on September 04, 1928, he said:

"I fear that the decision of the Lucknow session of APC would worsen the communal situation in India. Personally, I support separate electorate. It is because of the financial condition of the Indian Muslims and to some extent of the Muslims of the Punjab. But the main reason is to establish communal peace and that can only be determined in my point of view through separate electorates. If there would stand two candidates of different religions on the



same seat then there is a great danger or probability of putting on fire the religious feelings of the people in the worst form".<sup>231</sup>

In September 1928 a meeting, under the auspices of the Association for the Protection of the Rights of the Muslims was held in the Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall, which was presided by M. Iqbal. This meeting upheld the declaration of the Muslims of Lahore that the Nehru Report was against the Muslim interests and it was unacceptable.<sup>232</sup> On October 26, 1928, Jinnah had also returned from England. In an interview he refused to comment on the report, saying the last word come from the APC and that the Muslims should present their views there rather than rebelling beforehand.<sup>233</sup>

Jinnah also declined the invitation of Nehru to attend the meeting of the Nehru Committee in November 1928, on the grounds that proposals of the Nehru Committee were opposite to those of the Delhi Proposals which were endorsed by the Congress in December 1927.<sup>234</sup>

The Calcutta League met on Dec. 26, 1928 under the presidentship of Raja of Mahmoodabad (1877-1931). After protracted discussions Mr. M.C. Chagla moved a resolution to the affect that the League should appoint delegates to participate in APC, empowered to bring about adjustments in the report.<sup>235</sup>

Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Raja of Mahmoodabad represented the Calcutta League in APC, in December 1928. Here Jinnah presented his amendments in the Nehru Report. In case of their acceptance, the Muslims would accept the Nehru Report. These amendments were:

- i) Federal central government with residuary powers vested in the provinces.
- ii) One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
- iii) Reservation of seats for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal for a period of ten years and introduction of reforms in NWFP and Balochistan at par with other provinces.

Though Jinnah was supported by Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1950), but the majority of the house was not even ready to listen to him. M.R. Jayakar, a

representative of the Hindu Mahasabha argued that he was only representing a small minority of the Muslims. He said, "Jinnah sahib is like an obstinate child whose mind has been spoiled by the affection of the Congress".<sup>236</sup> The session rejected all the three proposed amendments which proved a milestone in the parting of the Hindus and the Muslims and later the division of India. Thus the prediction of Iqbal proved quite true in which he anticipated that Hindus would not agree upon any rapprochement with the Muslims.<sup>237</sup>

The rejection of Jinnah's amendments greatly affected the credibility of the Calcutta League. Hafeez Malik commented: "The Jinnah League was thus in the position of being repudiated by the Congress while it was simultaneously alienated from significant Muslim public opinion".<sup>238</sup> However the un-compromising attitude of Lahore League and AIMC elevated its prestige.<sup>239</sup>

The long-term result of this report was that the Muslims of all shades of opinion were united in opposition of the Nehru Report. Consequently, the two factions, into which the League had been split since 1927, came closer.<sup>240</sup> Thus the Nehru Report in a way proved to be the harbinger of unity within the Muslim camp.

In fact, Nehru Report was a constitutional out-line of *Akhand* India and document of the Hindu hegemony over the Muslims.<sup>241</sup> Iqbal and the Punjab Muslim League were fully aware of the prejudice and bigotry of the Hindus and their wish to have an upper hand over the Muslims. Hence they were sure that efforts for the Hindu Muslim unity would result in failure. And the efforts of Jinnah for reconciliation with the Hindus in APC would be futile. That's why he avoided participating in it.<sup>242</sup>

Nehru Report served as a catalyst of communalization and furthered the partition of India.<sup>243</sup> Historian claims that this was the point when partition became inevitable, since Jinnah, previously the ambassador of the Hindu - Muslim unity, "parted away with the INC".<sup>244</sup>

## Attempts of Reconciliation between League Factions

In late thirties, the Muslim India was divided into three different schools of thought regarding the Nehru Report. The Nationalist and pro-Congress Muslims led by Abul kalam Azad and Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari wanted to accept the Nehru Report as it was issued by the Indian National Congress. On the contrary the Lahore League led by Shafi and Iqbal wanted to reject the report totally. While the Jinnah League, wanted to get it approved with some amendments.

In October 1928, an important meeting of the Calcutta League was held, which was presided over by Raja of Mahmoodabad. The sole purpose of meeting was to chalk out the future line of action and to decide about the participation in APC in December 1928. For the leadership of Punjab, Raja of Mahmoodabad's presidentship of the League session was alarming because he was one of the staunch supporters of the Nehru Report. Thus the Lahore League suspected that the Calcutta League might accept the Nehru Report.<sup>245</sup> It was at this stage that Fazl-i-Hussain managed to organize an APMC in association with Shafi and Iqbal, which primarily aimed to safeguard the Muslims from aftermaths of the Nehru Report. It was neither 'a political party nor a nationalistic movement' but a 'confederation of parties'.<sup>246</sup>

It was based on the Muslims realization that for effective bargaining with the INC and the British government, the political unity was *ispo facto*. No doubt Nehru Report exposed to the Muslims that even the enlightened and liberal class of the Congress leaders was under the influence of the Hindu Mahasabha. Hence it was tried to put up a united front of the Muslims against the Nehru Report.<sup>247</sup> In this regard it was decided to hold an APMC in December 1928. According to Bataiwi, "with Fazl-i-Hussain's covert and M. Shafi's overt attempts, an outline for APMC was structured;<sup>248</sup> about 600 Muslims delegates were invited from all the provinces and M. Shafi personally went to Europe to invite Sir Agha Khan to preside it".<sup>249</sup>

It was a serious attempt to re-unite the Muslims and to nullify the decisions taken by the Nehru Committee. The open session of APMC was held on Dec. 31, 1928 which was presided over by Sir Agha Khan.<sup>250</sup> In his presidential address, he

denounced the Nehru Report and mentioned those factors, which were the cause of tension between different communities.<sup>251</sup>

Agha Khan urged for closer contacts between the Muslim League and the masses. He declared that the Muslims of India were not a community, but in a restricted and special sense, a nation composed of many communities.<sup>252</sup>

The APMC adopted a resolution presented by M. Shafi in which future federal constitution with maximum provincial autonomy; retention of separate electorates; due share of Muslims in all cabinets; separation of Sindh from Bombay; Reforms in NWFP and Balochistan at par with other provinces; one-third representation of Muslims in Central legislature; preservation of Muslim culture, religion, language and personal laws were demanded.<sup>253</sup>

Iqbal in his speech declared that if the Muslims wanted to survive as a 'nation' in India, they must formulate a political agenda of their own. In some parts of India the Muslims were in majority, but in many parts they were in a minority. Now a day when every nation [in India] was trying to protect its rights and interests; then why should Muslims not do the same. In the end he said that in support of that unanimously adopted resolution he had a religious argument based on the tradition of the Holy Prophet [PBUH] that "His community would never collectively endorse a heresy".<sup>254</sup>

Except the Calcutta League, other prominent Muslim parties such as the JUH, Unionist party, Khilafat Committee and leaders like M. Ali Johar, Hasrat Mohani attended the conference.<sup>255</sup> In fact, Jinnah was invited to attend AMPC, but he decided not to participate neither sent any delegate, on the grounds that "if we sent their representatives in AIMC, it means that we were signing our death warrants with our own hands".<sup>256</sup>

Eventually after participating in the Congress sponsored APC Jinnah reconvened the meeting of the Calcutta League on Dec. 29, 1928. It was Chagla who moved a resolution to oppose sending their delegates to AIMC on grounds that it was disastrous to setup rival and ad hoc organizations. He concluded that organizers of

AIMC were causing serious rift among the Muslims.<sup>257</sup> Prior to that Jinnah had also expressed his reservations regarding the formation of APMC; which means to put the AIML on the back burner. And if there would be any decision, which would be against the principles of the League; then AIML, which was the representative body of the Muslims was ready to face it.<sup>258</sup>

After the failure of APC, Jinnah was much disturbed and disappointed. It was evident that without the Muslim majority provinces' support, Jinnah could not forge a new alliance between the League and the Congress. He concluded that grouping and party politics within the Muslim community had divided their political power. Jinnah realized they must be united in a single party and issue a common statement about the Muslims minimum demands in self-governing India.

Jinnah who had devoted a major part of his political career in promoting the social identity of the Muslims without disturbing the territorial integrity of India, had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to secure the communal harmony. Consequently, Jinnah was convinced by the resolutions passed by APMC at Delhi in 1928. According to Hafeez Malik, the change in Jinnah's political ideas was overstated. His agreement with the fellow Muslims was only in regard to constitutional safeguards for the Muslims; the ideology of separation was still alien to Jinnah's thinking.<sup>259</sup>

According to Javed Iqbal, "in examining the ten demands enumerated in the resolution of APMC, he realized that these could be further improved. At the same time he was anxious that the differences among the Muslims leaders should be resolved and the two faction of the League should be re-united".<sup>260</sup>

In collaboration with the leaders of APMC the joint session of both factions of the League was held at Delhi on March 28-30, 1929,<sup>261</sup> so that not only the Nehru Report should be castigated but a resolution for the united demands for Muslims should be presented that should be acceptable to all. Due to illness, M. Shafi did not attend the session but he was represented by Iqbal, Abdul Qadir and F.K. Noon.<sup>262</sup> According to Justice Javed Iqbal, it was during that very joint session of the Muslims groups in which a series of meetings were held between Iqbal and Jinnah, which

created a harmony in their political thinking which lasted till the end. Jinnah also pointed towards the same meetings with Iqbal in his letter to Inamullah Khan dated May 16, 1946. He writes:

“From 1929, there was a concord between me and Iqbal. He was that great and important Muslim who encouraged me on every moment and stood beside me firmly till his last sighs”.<sup>263</sup>

For reconciliation among different Muslim groups the League Council had already appointed a seven member committee comprising Kitchlew, Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, Nawab M. Ismail Khan, Muhammad Ali Joher, Abul Kalam Azad, Malik Barkat Ali and M.A. Jinnah.<sup>264</sup> This committee had to present its recommendations in the Delhi session of AIML on March 30, 1929 which was to be presided over by Jinnah. The nationalist Muslims led by Ali Brothers and Azad wanted the support of their community for the INC and wanted to carry on negotiations with the Congress.<sup>265</sup> According to Riaz Ahmed, they were mobilized by the INC to challenge Jinnah over his fourteen points when they were presented in the AIML session in March 1929.<sup>266</sup> At times, when Jinnah was exchanging views with Ali Brothers, that group tried to hijack the AIML session and proposed a new resolution accepting the Nehru Report.<sup>267</sup> However, when Jinnah reached, he was greeted with cheers by the audience.<sup>268</sup> Due to rambunctious attitude of the nationalists and personal jealousies of various groups, neither Jinnah presented his fourteen points nor the League was united. Jinnah adjourned the session *sine die*.

Postponement of session resulted in the ignition of various type of speculations. In order to clear the confusions, Iqbal in association with F.K. Noon and Sir Abdul Qadir, issued a press statement that Jinnah in particular and the Calcutta League in general, were ready to accept the Delhi resolution of AIMC, but the supporters of the Nehru Report tried unduly to dominate the meeting. They attempted to present a resolution in the favour of the Nehru Report, on account of which the meeting was adjourned.<sup>269</sup>

However with the little changes and few additions to the APMC resolutions, Jinnah published his fourteen points in the newspaper.<sup>270</sup> They were incorporated in a lengthy statement which completely rejected the Nehru Report and set out the

minimum safeguards and principles; without the acceptance of them any future constitution would be exceptionable to the Muslims. Indeed, according to M.H. Sayed, the idea of the fourteen points was "to accommodate all the schools of thought" and thus to make sure that "complete harmony would once again prevail within the ranks of the League".<sup>271</sup>

After the publication of Jinnah's fourteen points, both factions of the League came closer and their differences disappeared. However, formal unification of the League was declared on February 23, 1930 when Dr. Mukhtar A. Ansari (1880-1936), Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and other nationalist Muslims left the Jinnah League<sup>272</sup> and formed Nationalist Muslim Party, and started a campaign to support the Nehru Report. Later it was absorbed into the INC in 1931.<sup>273</sup>

The confrontation of the last three years had shattered the image of AIML, hence in spite of the unity; it was decided to retain the AIMC as an active Muslim political organization. Thus during 1930-34 Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain, from the platform of AIMC, advanced the Muslim cause both at all India and provincial level and introduced a policy marked with Punjabi dominance.<sup>274</sup>

### **Simon Commission Report and its Aftermaths**

In May 1930, the long awaited, Simon Commission report was published. The report disappointed the political circles, especially those, which cooperated with the commission whole-heartedly, and now anxiously waiting for its recommendations. The commission had not considered the Muslim demands formulated by APMC. It had clearly proposed the abolition of separate electorate and suggested to introduce indirect system of election through proportional representation. The commission opined that "if the Punjabis and Bengalis wanted majorities they would have fight for them within joint electorates".<sup>275</sup> The discretionary powers of the governor were also enhanced. Besides giving statutory powers to take actions disregarding the advice of ministers, the governors were allowed to have non-elected persons in their cabinets.<sup>276</sup> In the report the NWFP's demand for an equal status was neglected. Moreover the separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency was also rejected. The commission suggested the re-settlement of the provincial boundaries, which would affect the Muslim majority provinces.<sup>277</sup>

Iqbal was in the favour of starting a very strong and effective agitation against the report and was prepared for every sacrifice.<sup>278</sup> Pointing towards the discriminatory treatment with the Muslim majority provinces, he said:

“The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending statutory majority for Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorate”.<sup>279</sup>

He further added:

“So far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principles of federation in its true significance...And the report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation”.<sup>280</sup>

The Statuary Commission's report did not comply with the lowering of franchise, which was demanded by the Unionist Party. Similarly the local government control over the recruitment of services was not outlined.<sup>281</sup> The Unionist Party was however advised by Fazl-i-Hussain to suppress any campaign against the ISC report.<sup>282</sup>

In sum, Simon Commission did not evolve any agreeable formula for the constitutional advancement, which increased the political stalemate and unrest among the masses. Very soon the report of the commission lost its significance when viceroy announced the schedule of Round Table Conference at London.

In April 1930, the INC launched non-cooperation movement, which soon turned into a violent and aggressive movement. This resulted in arrest and imprisonment of Gandhi and Nehru that further worsened the political deadlock.

AIMC, held its meeting in April, 1930 at Bombay, where the Muslims reserved their judgment, as the commission's recommendations were tentative. However in this session Maulana Muhammad Ali Joher declared that “we refuse to join Mr. Gandhi because his movement is not a movement for complete independence of India but for making the seventy million of Indian Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha”.<sup>283</sup> The Executive Board of AIMC held its session on July 5, 1930 at Simla. It appreciated two recommendations of the Commission; the federal



form of government and the substantial degree of provincial authority. But it also demanded for clear majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal; separation of Sindh from Bombay; reforms in NWFP and Balochistan; adequate and effective representation of the Muslims in cabinets and public services; principle of separate electorate; and the Indianization of the Armed Forces.<sup>284</sup>

## MUSLIM POLITICS IN TWENTIES – AN APPRAISAL

During 1920s Unionists dominated the politics of Punjab. Unionists Party had so maneuvered its policies that the all India national parties such as the League and the Congress could not secure a strong foothold in the Punjab. Division among the Muslim League further helped the Unionists to advance their creed and political activism thereby securing government assistance and approval, which were bound to toe the decision of Fazl-i-Hussain.

The Muslim leaders criticized Iqbal's collaboration during 1927-30 with the pro-government political forces comprising M. Shafi, F.K. Noon, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain. In fact, there was no personal interest of Iqbal in this co-operation. But as their interests' co-incides, it made them the passengers of same train. It seems that being a Muslim leader, at provincial level; Iqbal needed the support of the pro-British leaders if he was to adopt a high profile of all India Muslim politics.<sup>285</sup>

For the pro-government Muslim leaders like M. Shafi and Fazl-i-Hussain, separate electorate was a tool which facilitated them to win the elections and to obtain majority in the Punjab under any constitutional advancement for India.<sup>286</sup> Iqbal did not think on these restricted lines. He believed that the complete provincial autonomy and separate electorates were the means through which the Muslim majority provinces could constitute their own bloc in the North-West.<sup>287</sup> Hasrat Mohani's criticism that Iqbal had stooped down to M. Shafi to a low level when he co-operated with the ISC, was not justified. Iqbal did not compromised on the principles and he resigned from the Shafi League, when the demand of complete provincial autonomy was deleted from the memorandum, which was to be presented before the Commission. Keeping in view Iqbal's sentiments regarding provincial autonomy, later that clause was retained.

It depicts that it was not Iqbal who needed Shafi's co-operation but vice versa.<sup>288</sup> Iqbal never preferred personal interest to the national interest. It was on the record that during his career as legislature Iqbal was a strong critic of those policies of the Unionists and the British bureaucracy, which were against the public interest. That's the reason when his name was floated as the President of the Punjab Council, the Unionist Councilors opposed him strongly and this post went to Sbahab-ud-Din.

As far as the differences between Iqbal and Jinnah were concerned, they were mainly on two core issues; one was retention or rejection of separate electorate and the other was the boycott or co-operation with the Simon Commission. It should be kept in mind that these differences were not based on personal or ideological grounds; they rather stemmed from equally noble but present views on serving the true interests of the Muslim community,<sup>289</sup> which emerged in 1927 and resolved in 1929.<sup>290</sup> It is a separate issue that on the basis of these differences, Unionists sycophants managed to divide and then kill the AIML.

As Iqbal was the supporter of separate Muslim identity in the sub-continent, he thought it necessary that separate electorate should be retained so that the Muslims could become the masters of their own fate in the Muslim majority provinces. He concluded that Hindus were not serious in resolving the issues or to sign an accord with the Muslims in either way. Hence he thought that there was no way out for the Muslims, except to present their recommendations before the Simon Commission. It was a principled stance of Iqbal.

Jinnah like the other leaders of the Muslim minority provinces, was hopeful of a meaningful political settlement with the Hindus. Being one of the co-authors of joint scheme of reforms, which was approved by League and Congress at Lucknow in 1916, he was groping for co-existence with Hindus, even at the cost of separate electorates.<sup>291</sup>

Javed Iqbal has made a telling comment that "the clash between Jinnah and Iqbal was a clash of two visionary personalities, who struggled to protect the Muslims right, but adopted different approaches, Jinnah was then a "Nationalist Muslim", whereas Iqbal was a "Muslim Nationalist". Jinnah being a practical politician was

optimistic about a Hindu-Muslim accord, on the basis of which, constitutional safeguards could be provided to the Muslims of India. On the contrary, Iqbal being a visionary and philosopher, had a little hope of the Hindu-Muslim settlement and wanted that energies of the League should be diverted to the organization and consolidation of the Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces, for which he uphold the principles of separate electorate and provincial autonomy.<sup>292</sup>

During 1927-30, neither Iqbal persuade Jinnah to share his vision, nor could Jinnah convince Iqbal to agree to his political strategy. Therefore during this phase, in the Muslim politics they remained indifferent towards each other. So far as the communal situation of late twenties was concerned, the separate electorates were considered best expediency to avoid antagonism between the two communities and to facilitate the election of minority representatives to stand a fair chance of being elected in the local districts municipalities and legislative councils.<sup>293</sup>

Nehru Report proved as a catalyst of unity between different Muslim groups. It made them realize that without stepping towards unity it would be difficult to address the Muslims problems. Futile attempts to secure the Hindu-Muslim unity realized Jinnah to reconcile with Iqbal. He also reached to the conclusion that none of the political party could assert itself to be the real representative of the Muslims of India unless it had the support of the Muslim majority provinces, particularly of the Punjab. In this context, the meetings between Iqbal and Jinnah in late thirties and the communion of views between them took them closer to each other. Thus from 1929 – onwards, Iqbal and Jinnah took almost identical positions on all matters. Iqbal indeed came to recognize that Jinnah not only understood the Indian problems fully but also perceived correctly the nature of the tussle between the British and the Hindus. At the later stages of his political career Iqbal admitted Jinnah as “the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to lookup for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India”.<sup>294</sup>

## **IQBAL AND FAZL-I-HUSSAIN**

Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain were that stalwart politicians of the Punjab who played their political role with great acumen and stuck to their political ideology until

the closing years of their lives. Unlike Iqbal, to whom the highest moral and political value was the presentation of the Indian Muslims separate cultural identity and self-determination, Fazl-i-Hussain was a shrewd politician who clustered around him the landed elites, irrespective of race and religion, for the achievement of common goal.

As one object of this study is to compare Iqbal's political ideas and ideology to that of the other political parties of the Punjab, it is considered imperative to compare Mian Fazl-i-Hussain who is considered a godfather of the Unionist Party and was also regarded a protector of the rights and welfare of the Punjab Muslims through non-communal party with Iqbal who was inclined to have a separate homeland on religious basis for the Muslims.<sup>295</sup> In fact the ideas and thoughts of both the stalwarts have done their fundamental role in their relevant spheres.

Fazl-i-Hussain belonged to an old Muslim Rajput family which was one of the few families to attain some distinction under the Sikhs.<sup>296</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain was born on June 14, 1877,<sup>297</sup> at Peshawar where his father Mian Hussain Bukhsh was posted as an Extra Assistant Commissioner.<sup>298</sup> Contrary to Iqbal who got his early education under the influence of his parents in Sialkot, Fazl-i-Hussain was educated at Peshawar, Abbottabad and Gurdaspur as a full time scholar,<sup>299</sup> and passed his matriculation from the Punjab University in 1893.<sup>300</sup> From here starts that basic difference which played a vital role in the lives of both of these personalities. Iqbal inherited the *sufi* piety of his father and religious atmosphere at home, while on the contrary Fazl-i-Hussain whose father was a bureaucrat could not give proper attention to his child. The death of his mother and dull life of hostel also created a difference in the thought and action of Fazl-i-Hussain as compared to Iqbal.

Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain both were college and hostel mates at Government College, Lahore. Like Iqbal, Fazl-i-Hussain also took Arabic, Philosophy and English for the degree examination,<sup>301</sup> and benefited from Sir Thomas Arnold and Syed Mir Hassan. Most probably, being class fellows there might have been casual meetings between both of them for having interest in the same subjects.<sup>302</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain had a reserved and introverted personality and his contemporaries at Government College, Lahore felt that "he was not very social lad

who had usually kept his counsel and preferred to mind his own business".<sup>303</sup> Contrary to Fazl-i-Hussain, the room of Iqbal in the hostel was a meeting corner of friends and was a centre of poetic recitations.<sup>304</sup> Due to his interest in poetry, Iqbal used to participate in the indoor meetings of Lahori life quite regularly. While Fazl-i-Hussain had no interest in art, poetry or literature,<sup>305</sup>

In 1897, Fazl-i-Hussain passed his graduation.<sup>306</sup> Both Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain were placed in the second division, however the later stood first and Fazl-i-Hussain second among the Muslims in the university.<sup>307</sup> Being the 'favourite pupils' of Sir Thomas W. Arnold, both were advised by him to go to the Cambridge for further studies.<sup>308</sup>

In 1898, Fazl-i-Hussain departed to England in pursuit of higher studies, joined Christ Church College in the Cambridge University and returned home in 1901 and started practicing law at Sialkot.<sup>309</sup> Iqbal too, though a bit late, after doing his Masters in Philosophy, proceeded to England and Germany in 1905, from where he did Bar-at-Law and Ph.D. In 1908 Iqbal came back to Lahore and started practicing law. At England Fazl-i-Hussain attempted twice, in 1899 and 1900, to clear the ICS examinations, but result was failure.<sup>310</sup> Iqbal also appeared in the competitive examination for Extra Assistant Commissioner and was successful but was rejected by the medical board due to weak sight in the left eye.<sup>311</sup>

Another common feature in the lives of Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain was their association with Education department. Like Iqbal who after his Master's remained in touch with writing, publishing and translation in the Punjab University as Meeload Arabic Reader, and afterwards taught English and Philosophy at Government College, Lahore. Similarly Fazl-i-Hussain also served in the capacity of honorary Lecturer in Islamia College, Lahore for sometime.<sup>312</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain regarded education as the *sine qua non* of social, economic and political progress. When he moved from Sialkot to Lahore in 1905, he put himself in close touch with the Punjab University, Education department and the educational work of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.<sup>313</sup> He worked as a member in the Punjab Text book Committee for about one decade from 1906-16.<sup>314</sup> In 1908, he was nominated

fellow of the Punjab University. Besides his services for educational betterment, he was also elected as the member of the syndicate of the Punjab University.<sup>315</sup>

Like Iqbal, Fazl-i-Hussain also worked in the capacity of examiner for L.L.B. and continued to be the examiner in civil, constitutional, Roman and Muslim Law till 1920.<sup>316</sup> For being in the same field and having deeper interest in the educational matter, both of them must have exchanged their thoughts, but history does not reveal anything worth mentioning about it.

AHI was the platform which united Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain for a long time. Iqbal was associated with AHI since his college days. Iqbal put enthusiasm and jubilation in the hearts of the people through his poetry and people at his request, collected funds in thousands in the accounts of AHI. In 1889, Iqbal became the member of Organizing Committee of AHI, participated actively in its working and functioning and reached to the post of its president in 1934.<sup>317</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain also played a vital role for the promotion of its activities. In 1905 he was elected as the member of Managing Committee. Next year he became the secretary of AHI College Committee, the office he continued to hold till his appointment as Education Minister in 1921.<sup>318</sup>

In short, being class fellows in the Government College, Lahore, serving the nation on the platform of AHI, being fellow of the Punjab University and keen to take interest in educational matters and lastly being co-professional lawyer in the Chief Court, there must have been interaction and interlinks between Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain. But there is no written record in this regard. However, we can guess the importance of this old relationship from the poem of Iqbal which he composed in 1910 at the death of Fazl-i-Hussain's father Mian Hussain Bukhsh in which he tried to console his friend. After wards poem was included in *Bang-i-Dara*, titled as 'Philosophy of Sorrow - In the Name of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain Bar-at-Law Lahore'.<sup>319</sup>

During his stay at Sialkot, Fazl-i-Hussain observed that it was an underdeveloped district and chances of progress were few and it needed much time to develop one's career. Secondly there was so much poverty and fees here were

deplorable.<sup>320</sup> Undoubtedly, by making law practice as a jumping board, Fazl-i-Hussain, not only wanted to earn name as well as money; but in the long run he wanted to establish himself as the national level leader of the Indians. He wrote in his diary:

“If I only succeed in working up a good practice here saving some money say Rs.5000 and then going to Lahore, establishing myself there and getting a good practice in the Chief Court and other courts, and to establish my school of politics of lecturing and achieving national leadership. If I win honours and gather up money as old Rattigan did, I may one day move to London and try my luck there. All the time I have made up my mind to keep myself in contact with politics. I will be very up-to-date, read as much as I can and think more. My ambition is to be the recognized leader of the Indian Muslims, and some day to sit in the House of Commons as the right honourable gentleman from the Punjab”.<sup>321</sup>

Unlike Fazl-i-Hussain, Iqbal was not interested in ministry or in presidentship nor did he wish to get something like titles and status.<sup>322</sup> Undoubtedly he thought it better to die than to consider personal whims over and above the national interests.<sup>323</sup> Unlike Fazl-i-Hussain he did not wish to become the leader of the Muslims, rather he wanted to serve the whole *Ummah*.<sup>324</sup>

In 1905, soon after his arrival at Lahore, Fazl-i-Hussain joined INC and the Lahore Indian Association.<sup>325</sup> He did not take a vigorous interest in the political affairs till 1913.<sup>326</sup> In 1906, he setup a political organization which was “the first organization in India to call itself the Muslim League”.<sup>327</sup> Later, when AIML was established at Dacca, that the Muslim League got affiliation with it. When Iqbal came back home from England he also joined the Punjab Muslim League. Though he had friendly relations with both Muhammad Shafi and Fazl-i-Hussain but he had no political rapport with them. Shafi was pro-government politically and Fazl-i-Hussain was pro-Congress. Ideologically, the Punjabi Muslim were divided into two camps. One was anti-Congress but pro-British like M. Shafi and other was pro-Congress like Fazl-i-Hussain. But Iqbal besides being anti-Congress was also anti-British.

During his stay at Lahore, Fazl-i-Hussain soon emerged as a competent lawyer and gained fame by defending the cases of those political workers who were accused of seditious conduct during the Punjab disturbances in 1907-09. According to Syed

Nur, 'the end of these cases saw the beginning of a new chapter in his life' and defence of seditious cases provided him the 'intimate knowledge of terrorism and political conspiracies', which made Fazl-i-Hussain actually critical of romantic tendencies in political methods.<sup>328</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain voiced with Jinnah during 1913-15 to bring the League and the Congress closer to each other. By actively associating himself with the AIML and the provincial Congress party, he took upon himself to present a strong and united front in the Punjab politics.<sup>329</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain was among the authors of the Joint Scheme of Reforms [Lucknow Pact] which was subsequently ratified by political conferences held in different provinces. In October 1917 such conference was also held in the Punjab under his presidentship.<sup>330</sup> On the contrary Iqbal termed Lucknow pact a gross injustice to the Muslims of the Punjab. He was of the view that acceptance of passing rights for the Muslim minority provinces and lesser seats than population in the Punjab and Bengal was injurious to the Muslims interest. This would not give any benefit to Muslims in minority provinces, but the Muslims in majority provinces would become helpless. It could benefit only if the purpose was to promote the notions of composite nationalism. As it was impossible to raise a united nation in India, it was not useful to try to do it.<sup>331</sup>

In sum, Fazl-i-Hussain in the course of his intensive works towards his educational, professional and political activities, manages to gather around him people from all modes of life. From 1916, he started playing an effective part in the political affairs and was in the thick of the fray.<sup>332</sup>

In 1916 he was elected as the member of PLC from the constituency of the Punjab University. During his election campaign he experienced the ugly face of communal politics and the Hindu prejudices. He faced the biased communalism among even the most enlightened voters in the province, who despite of recognizing his qualities and abilities declined to support him against Hindu candidate of admittedly inferior cast.<sup>333</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain concluded, that however sound or attractive the system of joint electorate might be in theory, "separate electorates were essential to avoid grave injustice to a community which was in minority".<sup>334</sup>



Through out 1916-20, Fazl-i-Hussain advocated an enterprising policy of expansion of beneficent services by the government. He protested against the accumulation of financial balances and wanted the government to spend freely on education, sanitation and agricultural reforms.<sup>335</sup>

The last three years of the second decade of twentieth century was marked with tragic incidents of Jallianwala *Bagh*, massacre of the Punjabi masses and imposition of Martial Law by O'Dwyre administration. During this era of trial and tribulation, Fazl-i-Hussain preserved a cool head with a strong heart.<sup>336</sup> On April 24, 1917, Micheal O'Dwyre delivered a speech in PLC in which he stated that in the Punjab there was no demand for constitutional reforms.<sup>337</sup> In his opinion, the Punjab wanted no change in the existing order of things and was content to carry on its daily labors under the unmitigated rule of a foreign regime which had already given it peace and justice, new and fertile colonies and a wonderful system of canals.<sup>338</sup>

This statement created a wave of unrest among the masses in the Punjab and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain in a joint session of the Lahore Indian Association and the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee held at Lahore on Sep. 30, 1917 protested against the remarks passed by O'Dwyre.<sup>339</sup> In this meeting Fazl-i-Hussain was elected as the president of fifth Punjab Provincial Conference to be held on Oct. 28, 1917, at Lahore.<sup>340</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain, in his presidential address, deplored the backwardness of the province and criticized the government openly and decried it as an "insolent bureaucracy".<sup>341</sup> He demanded the reversal of the repressive policy of the government, and the acceptance of Congress-League scheme of Reforms. He concluded that the bureaucratic regime of the Punjab was the greatest obstacle in the way of popular government.<sup>342</sup> Speaking of the discrimination against the Punjab he said that:

"At every step one feels that it is the worst treated province in India. Not only has its own Executive Council, but it has no High Court. Its representation on the Imperial Council is inadequate, and is ineffective, as it is not properly recruited. Its local legislature is far too small and is badly recruited in as much as nomination is very largely resorted to .... Doors of the Punjab have been

barred against leaders of political thought of other provinces. So far as I can judge, it is not so much an insult to their political ideals and methods as it is to our intelligence or our common sense or sanity".<sup>343</sup>

He also enumerated the disabilities of the land holding classes of the Punjab and said:

"The land holding class of the province, from which the splendid army of which we are justly proud is recruited, is deprived of its right to elect its representatives for the Imperial Legislative Council. More over it has been denied the opportunity to take an effective and honourable share in self-government".<sup>344</sup>

The conference was acclaimed as a turning point in the stagnant political scenario of the Punjab and the politically lethargic province was galvanized into activity.<sup>345</sup> Thereafter the idea of excluding the Punjab from the future scheme of reforms was dropped.<sup>346</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain organized agitation against the imposition of Rowlatt Act and Martial Law in the Punjab<sup>347</sup> and presented his opinion before the Hunter Committee in an appropriate way. He concluded that Martial law was introduced not to suppress revolt, rebellion or even disorders but to punish political workers suspected of having directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously contributed towards the creation of an atmosphere which was favourable to disturbances.<sup>348</sup> He accused Sir Micheal O'Dwyre of attempting to minimize the importance of the educated class by creating the distinction between the urban and the rural population. He stated before the Hunter Committee:

"Within a few years the idea was steadily brought forward that really the persons who should be looked after are rural classes; they represent the masses of country and it is in their interest that a great deal should be done by political leaders belonging to the urban classes"<sup>349</sup>

In 1919 Fazl-i-Hussain, at the eve of joint session of the League and the Congress, delivered a historic speech in favour of Mont-ford reforms.<sup>350</sup> He supported the resolution moved in the Punjab Council on the reform scheme<sup>351</sup> which accepted the division of powers of provincial governments into reserved and transferred.<sup>352</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain while presenting his address necessitated for special representation of

the Muslims in the provincial and the Imperial Legislative Councils and favoured the retention of separate electorates.<sup>353</sup>

In those three years, the practical policies of Fazl-i-Hussain made him an important leader in the Punjab. Since 1916 he was the General Secretary of both the League and the Congress in Punjab. In 1919, when Muhammad Shafi went to Delhi in his new position, as member of Viceroy's Executive Council, Fazl-i-Hussain also became the President of the Punjab High Court Bar Association.<sup>354</sup> In this way, with in a few years after settling in Lahore, he reached to the pinnacle of politics which he wished at the earlier stage of his political career.

Now so far as Muhammad Iqbal was concerned, it would be safely said that during 1908-1919 he took no active role in the politics. During that period he was busy in creating political consciousness and awakening the Muslim masses through his poetry. However for this purpose he used the platform of AHL.<sup>355</sup> The period mentioned above was a period of political turmoil and agitation. Economic grievances of the people after First World War (1914-18), the passage of Rowlatt Act, the Jalianwala *Bagh* massacre, imposition of Martial Law in the Punjab and Micheal O'Dwyre's oppressive regime had stirred the political passions of the masses. During this entire period Iqbal's role was only of an observer.

At the end of First World War, the fall of Ottoman Empire was such an incident, which spread a wave of sorrow and anger in the Muslim world. The Muslim India was not indifferent to it and the masses of India launched the *Khilafat* movement to save the institution of Caliphate and the Holy sites of Muslims. As have been mentioned before that during this period Iqbal was not involved practically in the politics, but on the issue of the *Khilafat*, like Fazl-i-Hussain, he also came in the forefront. For sometimes he worked in the Lahore *Khilafat* Committee, under the presidentship of Fazl-i-Hussain, and attended its several meetings. Fazl-i-Hussain believed that the British had been unfair to Turkey, Arabia and Palestine.<sup>356</sup> He not only condemned the British attitude but also asked the Muslims to not take part in the peace celebrations.<sup>357</sup>

On November 30, 1919 a public meeting was held outside Mochi Gate, Lahore. It was presided by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and was attended by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Ch. Shahab-ud-Din and Maulvi Mahboob Alam. Iqbal moved a resolution in which he reminded Prime Minister of England Lloyd George of his solemn pledges during the war to save the *Khilafat*. He advised the Muslims to be self reliant and trust in God and said that "they were fighting for right and truth and in order that bigger nations might not swallow up the smaller ones".<sup>358</sup> In August 1920, on the pretext of issue of the *Khilafat* and cruelties of the British Government, particularly in Punjab, Gandhi in association with Ali Brothers started non-cooperation movement. At this, both Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain withdrew from the *Khilafat* movement. Fazl-i-Hussain was convinced that non-cooperation movement was unconstitutional and impractical with reference to educational philosophy.<sup>359</sup> Meanwhile in September 1920, the League and the Congress met at Calcutta and offered their full support to *Khilafat* and non-cooperation movements. Fazl-i-Hussain who wanted to avoid the policy of non-cooperation and his eyes were fixed on the ensuing elections under Mont-ford scheme of reforms, resigned from Congress and League both.<sup>360</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain and Iqbal, both were against the cult who wanted to make the educational institutions the handmaid of the revolutionary politics. During the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi, Iqbal was the General Secretary of AHI and Fazl-i-Hussain was the member of its grand council and also the General Secretary of college committee. Ali Brothers, Gandhi, Kitchlew and Daud Ghaznawi, who were the leaders of *Khilafat* Committee wanted the refusal of the government grant in aid by the Islamia College, and moved a resolution in the meeting of the governing body of college in this regard.<sup>361</sup> Both Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain successfully maneuvered to prevent the Muslim educational institutions from being swept away by the non-cooperation movement.<sup>362</sup>

Like Fazl-i-Hussain, who believed that the Gandhi's scheme of setting up of national school and colleges was impracticable;<sup>363</sup> Iqbal, on almost similar grounds, declined the office of the vice-chancellorship of the *Jamia Milliya Islamia*, Aligarh on November 29, 1920.<sup>364</sup>

The British Indian administration was worried over the agitational movement and the politics of unrest and protest in the Punjab in the early period of twentieth century due to financial and political turmoil. The main centre and fuel of these movements was the urban population of the Punjab. It was because that this segment of the country being more educated wanted to intensify the political struggle for the safeguard of their rights. In fact, the Punjab was the province in which the pace of economic, political and constitutional development was deliberately kept slow. It was because they thought that this province being the centre of 'martial races', was mainly responsible for the defence of the country.<sup>365</sup> It was in this context, when in May 1913 Sir Micheal O'Dwyre became the Governor of Punjab, the policy of the government about the communal representation was changed and the rural population was given more representation than the urban population.

The policy of the Punjab Government was to give more representation to the rural population than the urban in the contemplated constitutional reforms. Micheal O'Dwyre believed that the rural classes, which formed 90 % of the population, paid about 90% of the taxation and were mainly responsible for the defence of the country, had the first claim to consideration in any scheme of reforms.<sup>366</sup> O'Dwyre's policies were already tilted towards the ruralites and a sharp increase was also observed in the representation of agricultural tribes in the public services. For instance, in the irrigation branch of PWD, this increased from 29 % to 66 % of officials.<sup>367</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain was in the forefront in opposition of that pro-rural policy of O'Dwyer. As it has discussed before that he denounced that policy before the Hunter Committee at the platform of the Punjab Provincial Conference. It was because he had anticipated that this discrimination between rural-urban populations was going to be given great importance in the ensuing scheme of reforms. This thought was gaining ground that the rural population deserved the real attention and patronage.

On Nov. 02, 1918 Lal Chand presented a resolution in the PLC that there should be separate electoral constituencies for rural and urban population of the Punjab and that for both of them the seats should be determined according to population. Fazl-i-Hussain while opposing the resolution said that Lal Chand wanted to divide all the electoral areas of the Punjab in the name of urban-rural population.

He added that he was not going to accept that interest of the both of them are against or contrary to one another.<sup>368</sup> The urban Hindus also opposed this resolution but resolution was passed with the support of ten non-official nominated members against the four. The rural members demanded that agriculturist tribes should represent the rural community. Fazl-i-Hussain was against this suggestion. He was of the opinion that this suggestion would not give any benefit to rural areas nor it would give any advantage to agricultural community. And it was quite unjust and unfounded to keep the non-agricultural community of rural areas out of the electoral process. Fazl-i-Hussain was of the view that the eligibility to the membership of the council was only educational ability and intellectual superiority. If the rural voters were not given the chance to elect the best person, the council would be bereft of the best members.

In 1919 the British Secretary of State Mr. Montague and the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford signed the 1919 Act which introduced system of Dyarchy in India.<sup>369</sup> It was a political system of double rule which placed 'transferred subjects' under the charge of Indian ministers and left the rest of 'reserved subjects' under the Governor's Executive Council.<sup>370</sup> The partially responsible government in the provinces encouraged provincial leadership. The reforms also increased the franchise and created separate electorates for urban and rural constituencies in the Punjab. Moreover, only the members of the agricultural tribe, as defined by the 'Alienation Act', were allowed to contest election from the rural constituencies.<sup>371</sup>

The government justified the division of seats between the rural and the urban representatives on the ground that the urban minority would not possibly represent the interests of the preponderant peasants and the labor classes.<sup>372</sup>

In fact the intention of British government was to create in every province, especially the Punjab, such a loyal class, with a keen hope to set it as a group to counter the growing strength of the nationalist movements of which the urbanites were real backbone. It basically aimed at the retention of the 'Punjab tradition'. That's the reason which tilted heavily, the reforms of 1919, in the favour of rural electorates.<sup>373</sup> After a short while of the announcement of the new reforms, Fazl-i-Hussain not only accepted them, but also declared to contest the elections under them. Moreover after the INC call for non-cooperation in 1920, Fazl-i-Hussain like Chhottu

Ram, Madan Malaviya and Jinnah quit INC on the ground that ideology of non-cooperation was unacceptable to them and it would harm the overall interest of the Muslim community in the Punjab.<sup>374</sup>

In making his sudden switch of policy in 1920, an astute politician like Fazl-i-Hussain had realized the verdict of the time, comprehended the 'Punjab tradition' and instead of continuing to defy the British, became a part of their administration.<sup>375</sup> In fact, it was an old dream of Fazl-i-Hussain to reach the circle of powers and achieve the pinnacle in politics. The track changing policy of this shrewd politician "had altered the political future of the Punjab for next twenty years".<sup>376</sup> At least in the Punjab he was successful in containing the League and the Congress.<sup>377</sup> For the time being the British authorities were also successful, who thought that by creating a class of 'natural leaders' in Punjab, on the pattern of Bengali landlords, who would get the support for the British rule, to preserve their economic interests. It was the result of this policy that artificial divisions between the Rural and the Urban, Agriculturist and non-Agriculturist, Jats and non-Jats were created and myths of 'martial and non-martial' races were popularized.<sup>378</sup>

During 1924-1931, Fazl-i-Hussain tried on many occasions to get some post for Iqbal and assured a 'bright future' for him but because Iqbal was blunt in his criticism on the British government and the Unionist party hence 'he failed to use the opportunities offered to him'.<sup>379</sup>

In 1924, Fazl-i-Hussain urged Sir Malcolm Hailey to raise Dr. Iqbal to the bench, but while the case was under consideration Iqbal alienated the sympathies of officials by 'unrestrained criticism' of the government. In 1927 it was proposed to send a Muslim deputation to England to place before the Secretary of State the Muslims demands for the forth-coming reforms. Fazl-i-Hussain asked Iqbal to lead the deputation, and collected Rs.3000 for this purpose. According to Azim Hussain, this would have assured a first class political career for Dr. Iqbal, but he refused to go, as it would have involved an expenditure of an extra few thousand rupees. Instead Ch. Zafarullah Khan agreed to go, and assured a bright future for himself. In late 1920's Fazl-i-Hussain proposed that on the termination of the term of Ch. Shahab-ud-Din, Iqbal should be elected President of the Council, with the support of the Unionist

Party. Iqbal However, alienated the sympathies of the Party by criticizing its policy and attacking it severely in the press, with the result that the majority of the Unionists refused to accept him as a candidate and Ch. Shahab-ud-Din was re-elected as the President.<sup>380</sup>

At the occasion of second RTC, Iqbal differentiated with the Muslim delegates on the issue of participation in the Federal and Minorities Committees. He criticized the conduct and performance of the Muslim delegates and segregated himself from its proceedings and came back to India.<sup>381</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain who wanted to get Iqbal appointed as a member of the Public Service Commission, after the retirement of Sir Ali Raza. But due to the Iqbal's resignation from RTC, Dr. Haider was made the member of commission.<sup>382</sup>

One thing is clear that Iqbal had never requested Fazl-i-Hussain for appointment on any post or position. All the above mentioned efforts of Fazl-i-Hussain were to get co-operation of Iqbal so that he could not criticize the British authorities or him. Each time, due to his straight forwardness, Iqbal 'failed to utilize the opportunities offered to him'. That's why Fazl-i-Hussain had even used the word 'fool' for Iqbal, in his diary because he did not fit in his state of affairs.<sup>383</sup> According to Javed Iqbal, "the political future which Sir Fazl-i-Hussain suggested for Iqbal could only make him another Fazl-i-Hussain or Sir Zafarullah and in that case he would have ceased to be Iqbal".<sup>384</sup>

During his membership of the Punjab Council, Iqbal got the chance to watch the politics of the Unionist very closely. In his speeches he criticized their policies which he considered being against the public interest.<sup>385</sup> Outside the sphere of the Council Iqbal co-operated with Fazl-i-Hussain in the formation of AIMC and views of both were akin regarding the Simon Commission, details of which had been discussed already at length. Undoubtedly, separate electorate was the issue, which brought Fazl-i-Hussain and Iqbal closer to each other on the platform of AIMC during 1927-30. But after the announcement of the Communal Award in 1932 when Fazl-i-Hussain agreed on joint electorate in the Punjab during his negotiations with Jogendra Singh; Iqbal completely avoided him. In 1934 when he invited Iqbal for the re-organization



of AIMC, Iqbal apologized him flatly.<sup>386</sup> In the last year of his life he fully utilized his energies for organization and consolidation of the League in the Punjab.

Although Fazl-i-Hussain was known among the Hindus as a 'Muslim communalist', but "he considered religious identity to be important in politics only to the degree that it helped to define the Muslim claims to political powers within the larger structure of the British Imperial order"<sup>387</sup>. For him, "religion like many other things is essentially a personal matter".<sup>388</sup>

And being tolerant to other religions, he did not like the internal strife of the different sects of the Muslims. Like other 'liberal' and western educated people he considered Ahmadis as a sect of Islam and did not think in good terms about the activities of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam against them and considered it a 'menace to the Muslim community'.<sup>389</sup> Unlike Iqbal who considered Ahmadis as the 'traitors to Islam and India', Fazl-i-Hussain had a soft corner for them and accommodated them in his government and the Unionist Party. In spite of severe opposition of the orthodox Muslims, he successfully maneuvered in appointing a staunch Ahmadi, Sir Zafarullah as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in his own place.<sup>390</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain was annoyed at Iqbal for his participation with Ahrars in their campaign against Ahmadis and blamed him that it was solely for political interest that Iqbal was "emphasizing sectarian differences among the Muslims".<sup>391</sup> Detailed discussion in this regard will come up in the other chapter. Due to contradicting opinions of Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain regarding Ahmadis, it seems that if Iqbal was the bitterest opponent of Ahmadis, though Fazl-i-Hussain was not Ahmadi, but definitely a pro-Ahmadi.<sup>392</sup>

On September 16, 1933, during the discussion on the Hedjaz Pilgrims Muslims Bill in the Legislative Assembly, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain commented that politically the ideology of Pan-Islamism had no existence and "those honourable Muslims who imagine that there is a bogey of Pan-Islamism ..... they are suffering from some hallucination or delusion.... They better make up their minds to stand on their own legs in India as Indians".<sup>393</sup>

Of course it was the intention of Fazl-i-Hussain to make it clear for the Muslims that they had no national relation with other Muslim countries on the basis of Islamic principle of brotherhood. Iqbal knew this intention of Fazl-i-Hussain well and in his press statement of September 19, 1933 he responded so that while supporting his statement he refuted it. He said:

“Fazl-i-Hussain is perfectly correct when he says that political Pan-Islamism never existed. It has existed, if at all only in the imagination of those who invented the phrase or possibly as a diplomatic weapon in the hands of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan of Turkey. Even Jamal-ud-Din Afghan, whose name is closely associated with what is called Pan-Islamic movement, never dreamed of a unification of the Muslims into a political state”.<sup>394</sup>

Besides that Iqbal talked of spiritual Pan-Islamism so as to counter the thoughts of Fazl-i-Hussain who was advising the Muslims of India to remain indifferent to the problems of the Muslim countries so that the British imperialism could do what it wanted in other Muslim countries and the Indian Muslims would become silent onlookers. Iqbal added:

“It is however true that Islam as a society or as a practical scheme for the combination not only of races and nations but also of all religions, does not recognize the barriers of race and nationality or geographical frontiers. In the sense of this humanitarian Pan-Islamism if one prefers to use this unnecessarily long phrase to the simple expression ‘Islam’ does and will always exist”.<sup>395</sup>

Iqbal deemed it imperative to propound the term Pan-Islamism in his press statement on Sep. 28, 1933. On the one hand the Hindu papers were trying to obtain the support of the British by contorting Pan-Islamism and making it a danger for the British and the Hindu, and on the other hand Fazl-i-Hussain was persuading the Muslims for composite nationalism by refuting Pan-Islamism. Iqbal declared that the word Pan-Islamism was a derivation of French Press and it had been used as a supposed conspiracy by them who thought the Muslim countries were making against Europe. Those who made this mountain of Pan-Islamism out of a molehill wished to term European exploitations and conspiracies against the Muslim countries’ right. Iqbal said in his statement:

“The universal empire of Islam is quite different from Pan-Islamism. Islam is surely waiting for a universal empire which will be beyond the concept of racialism and in which there will be no place for autocratic and dictatorial kingship and capitalists.... It is a local Hindu paper, which has dubbed the wish of Indian Muslim’s unity as Pan-Islamism. This is the wrong use of a term. But the Muslims are not hesitant in announcing that they deem themselves a separate nation from other Indian nations and wish to remain so if any Muslim leader thinks it otherwise, he has not rightly guessed the sentiments of his nation”.<sup>396</sup>

Iqbal did not like Fazl-i-Hussain’s politics at all and there created differences even in the early period which kept on widening with the passage of time.<sup>397</sup> If we observe it objectively, the political thinking and style of their politics always remained poles apart.

According to Zulfiqar, “Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain were contemporaries, co-age, classmates and belonged to same profession but politically and ideologically there thinking was not akin to each other”.<sup>398</sup> For Fazl-i-Hussain separate electorates was a lever with which he wished to sustain for his majority in the Punjab; contrary to that, for Iqbal it’s a measure to keep the separate Muslim identity intact. Fazl-i-Hussain, thought of India as a whole and believed in the growth and development of a strong united and vigorous nation.<sup>399</sup> And for that he gave the slogan of a political party based on supra-Communal foundations and politico-economic welfare of the backward classes. Iqbal’s objective was also the economic liberty of the Muslims and for that he wanted to create a separate homeland for the Muslims where economic problems could be solved according to Islamic *Sharia*.<sup>400</sup>

Both of them stuck to their ideologies till their last sighs. Fazl-i-Hussain expired in June 1936. Even one week before his death, he was engaged in the reorganization of the Unionist party and his eyes were fixed on the seat of Punjab’s premiership. Contrary to that, in spite of being on the death bed for the last two years of his life, Iqbal kept himself busy in the reorganization of the League in the Punjab, protecting the separate identity and culture of the Muslims and persuading Jinnah through his letters for the formation of separate homeland for the Muslims. He breathed his last on April 21, 1938 with this of his dream.

## Chapter VII

# IQBAL AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

### ALLAHABAD ADDRESS – AN INTERPRETATION

The decade of 1920 was marked with the political deadlocks, religious antagonism and communal polarization. All hopes of constitutional settlement, which would have permitted the two communities to live in harmony, had vanished. Nehru report not only worsened the political situation but also ended the hopes of any future rapprochement between Hindus and the Muslims. It had left no alternatives for Muslims except to think in terms of separation from Indian federation and to ask for division of India.

Nehru Report also proved as a harbinger of unity of different Muslim factions. Lahore and Calcutta factions of AIML reconciled their differences and on the basis of ten-point declaration of APMC (1928), Jinnah presented his fourteen points (1929) in which he specifically concentrated upon the demands of the Muslims, particularly of North- West India. From 1929 onwards Jinnah and Iqbal took almost identical position on various issues regarding the betterment of Indian Muslims and their views were substantially in consonance with each other. On July 13, 1930, council of AIML unanimously gave approval to Jinnah's suggestion and elected Iqbal as President for annual session of AIML at Allahabad.

On Dec. 29, 1930 Iqbal delivered his monumental address which is one of the most important treatise in the modern history of India. It proved as a foundation stone of the Pakistan movement. It was on the basis of this address that Iqbal was universally accepted and acknowledged as the spiritual father of Pakistan. It was one of his most important political pronouncements, in which Iqbal floated the idea of a separate Muslim state for the Muslims of North-West India.

Iqbal delivered his address at the time, when British authorities were holding round table conference to frame the future constitution. On the other hand the pro-Congress nationalist Muslims were guarantying the security of separate Muslim identity within the Indian federation, by raising high slogans of growth of Muslim

civilization through constitutional safeguards. In this context, Iqbal in the very beginning of his speech said:

“To address this session of AIML you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force from freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believe that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally, who believes that Islam is itself destiny and will not suffer a destiny”.<sup>1</sup>

Justifying the need for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims, he argued that “we are seventy millions and far more homogenous than any other people in India”. He asserted that “the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a ‘Nation’ in the modern sense of the word”.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, the attempts that were made in the second half of 1910 and 1920’s were aimed at creating communal harmony in India. Even in 1928, the resolutions adopted by APMC and its ten points declaration which were afterwards came in the shape of Jinnah’s fourteen points were also presented with the same intention to try to determine the respectful status of the Indian Muslims in the Indian federation. Hindus never responded positively to these suggestions. Iqbal in his personal capacity, go further than the demands embodied in APMC resolution and said:

“I would like to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India”.<sup>3</sup>

Iqbal believed that the life of Islam, as the cultural force “largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory”.<sup>4</sup> “This consolidated Muslim state”, he added, “is in the best interest of India and Islam” both. He further expounded that for India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it....”<sup>5</sup>

As all attacks on India were from the north, hence the centralization of Muslims in North-West could prove them as great defenders of India and South Asia. Iqbal asserted:

“The centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India whose military and police service has made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia... the North West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion”.<sup>6</sup>

In this regard, later on he suggested joint defence to abolish the propaganda, that Muslim would join the foreign invaders and capture India. Iqbal further added that to base a constitution on the conception of a homogenous India or to apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiments would prepare “India for a civil war”.<sup>7</sup>

In concluding remarks he advised the Muslims to focus their vision on Islam and unite and organize themselves to adopt an independent line of action, in the near future.<sup>8</sup>

No doubt, the idea of a separate Muslim state in India was not new for the Indian Muslims. Even before Iqbal, not only the Muslims but Hindus and the Britishers had also presented different schemes for the partition, but they did not gain popularity. Sardar Man Singh (1860), Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (1889), Maulana Abdul Haleem Sharar (1890), Khairi Brothers (1917) Maulana Hasrat Mohani (1921 & 1924), Lala Lajpat Rai (1925), Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi (1928), Murtaza Ahmad Khan Mekash (1928), Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan (1929) and many others emphasized over the partition for the establishment of communal peace in India. Some of them only expressed the two nation theory and some gave the concept of consolidated Muslims districts and provinces. Some opined in the favour of partition for the settlement of communal problems of India.<sup>9</sup> But Iqbal was the first who put it up in a reasonably practical form, and brought it for serious consideration before the biggest political organization of Muslims.<sup>10</sup> He not only laid the ideological foundation for a separate Muslim state but spearheaded the campaign to materialize this idea till the end of his life.<sup>11</sup>

Undoubtedly, Allahabad address proved for the Muslims of India a blessing in disguise which paved the path for establishment of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. Though in the inception of his address he enunciated that he was not

presenting this suggestion of a separate state as a leader of any political party or a followers of some one else and it was upon his own personal level.<sup>12</sup> In fact, as a responsible politician he was aware that negotiations were going on in England and there was the possibility of some settlement between the Muslims and Hindus, though he thought it improbable. Iqbal says:-

“I am not hopeless of an inter-communal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crises. And an independent line of political action, in such a crises, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalized on a single purpose”.<sup>13</sup>

According to Fateh Muhammad Malik, “this independent line of action can flourish only by adopting Islamic way of life. Hence Iqbal thought it necessary to mention that during the crucial periods in Muslim history, only Islam has saved the Muslims and Islam is itself a destiny. It cannot be subordinated to any other destiny like the formation of composite Indian nationalism or establishment of an Indian union”.<sup>14</sup>

One should keep in mind that Iqbal in his address used the word “state” instead of ‘province’ for the Muslim majority areas, which could achieve autonomy within or without the British Empire. While presenting this suggestion, Iqbal had in his mind, that in case of any Hindu-Muslim rapprochement, that proposed Muslim state could be formed within the jurisdiction of British Empire. That’s why during his political struggle, he laid more emphasis on federal structure of government in which maximum provincial autonomy was given to the provinces.

Iqbal while presenting the idea of a separate Muslim state used the phrase “within or without the British Empire” instead of, within or without the Indian union. In fact, the foundations of British Empire were laid on the imperialist policy of expansion and colonization. Through conspiracies and naked aggression, they subjugated the countries of third world and took possession of their resources and territories. Iqbal floated the idea of a Muslim state at a time when the British Empire not only existed but it had also no danger to its stability. There was a covert threat for British authorities that if the Muslim interests were put on the back burner then they

could choose the path of freedom and separation from the British Empire. It should be kept in mind that when Iqbal was forecasting about the Muslim's future line of action, all the important political forces of India were busy in preparing an outline of a new constitution for a united India, during RTC at England.<sup>15</sup>

In sum, Iqbal on the basis of strong philosophical footings proved the Indian Muslims were a nation in its modern connotations and then demanded a separate state for that nation. Thus, the demand of Iqbal declared Muslims a nation, rather than a minority and put the Muslim politics of sub-continent on the road to 'Pakistan' instead of rambling in the blind alley of politics of securing safeguards for Muslims.

Need of a creation of separate Muslim state and total rejection of composite Indian nationalism was a bang in the stagnant political atmosphere of India. The Hindu press started a vigorous campaign against Iqbal. The *Tribune* vehemently rejected the ideas of Iqbal and alleged that the idea of a separate state had been presented at the enticement of the British.<sup>16</sup> *Tribune* blamed that as Iqbal was not invited in RTC, hence he incited Muslim delegates against joint electorate through telegram and later on razed the whole edifice of a united Indian nation to the ground by presenting the idea of a separate Muslim state in his Allahabad address.<sup>17</sup> *Band-i-Matram*, dubbed Iqbal's address unpatriotic and anti-national and commented that Iqbal's concept of consolidated Muslim state was deadly poison for the peace of India.<sup>18</sup> *Partap* went even two steps ahead of it and declared that it was a treachery to the country.<sup>19</sup>

*Inqilab* equated the anti-Iqbal propaganda of Hindu papers to their negative thinking and said that if a Muslim leader simply demanded the protection of culture and religion of his community, then it was not a crime and to raise a storm in tea cup against it was just a bigotry.<sup>20</sup> Allahabad address of Iqbal was also criticized by the British journalists in unequivocal terms. F.W. Wilson, the London correspondent of the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay said in his dispatch dated Dec. 31, 1930 that Ramsay MacDonald was highly displeased with the views expressed by Iqbal.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, in another dispatch from London published in daily *Leader* of Allahabad, dated January 04, 1931 stated that the British as well as Indian circles in the RTC



expressed resentment against the assault made by Iqbal on the idea of an all-India constitution being worked out there.<sup>22</sup>

Hindu leaders started this propaganda even before the establishment of Pakistan that Iqbal had nothing to do with the Pakistan movement. It was asserted that in the start he suggested a separate state for Muslims, but later on, thinking it harmful, he supported united India. In this regard J.L. Nehru writes in his book.

“Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realized its inherent danger and absurdity. Edward Thompson has written that in the course of conversation, Iqbal told him that he had advocated Pakistan because of his position as President of Muslim League session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Muslims especially. Probably, he had not given much thought to the question previously, as it had assumed no importance then. His whole outlook on life does not fit in with the subsequent development of the idea of Pakistan or division of India”.<sup>23</sup>

Hindu leaders feared that if Iqbal's affiliation with Pakistan movement was proved, it would find its objectivity and comprehensive ideological foundations. They believed that dissociation of Iqbal from this movement would devoid it from some strong ideological footings and it might be the cause of its death in the near future.<sup>24</sup> In this context Nehru gave vent to such ideas which primarily aimed at the creation of confusion among the Muslim masses regarding Iqbal's concept of separate homeland for them.

Nehru's argumentation were largely based on the research of Edward Thompson,<sup>25</sup> who claimed in his book *Enlist India For Freedom*, which was published two years latter the death of Iqbal, that it was not true that Iqbal saw the vision of Pakistan. He writes:

‘In the observer I once said that he (Iqbal) supported the Pakistan Plan. Iqbal was a friend, and he set my misconception right. After speaking of his despondency at the chaos he saw coming “on my vast, undisciplined and starving land”, he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan Plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu Community and disastrous to the Muslim Community. But I am the President of the Muslim League, and therefore it is my duty to support it”.<sup>26</sup>

Objective analysis reveals that the story of falsehood knitted by Edward Thompson, which he based on his personal meeting with Iqbal proved wrong from one point in which he claimed that Iqbal supported Pakistan because he was the President of the League. In fact, Iqbal became the President only once in his whole life i.e. 1930. And even there he presented the idea of a consolidated Muslim state in his personal capacity. It was quite opposite to the official policy of AIML, whose delegates, at that time were busy in bridging the gap of Hindu-Muslim communal harmony in RTC. Secondly, Nehru blamed Iqbal with the support of sources that were based on the oral conversation of Thompson and Iqbal, which are not so reliable as are the documentary letters of Iqbal which he wrote to Jinnah in last two years of his life, in which he emphasized for a separate homeland for the Muslims where Islamic injunctions could be imposed.

In his letter, dated May 28, 1937 to Jinnah, Iqbal concluded that the enforcement of the principles of *Sharia* in the free Muslim state was the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.<sup>27</sup> In another letter to Jinnah, dated June 21, 1937, Iqbal told him that the only method of creating communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims was the formation of separate federation of Muslim provinces. He writes:

“The only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities.... A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only cause by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims”.<sup>28</sup>

Some detractors of Iqbal are of the view that Iqbal had not presented the idea of an autonomous Muslim State; rather he wanted a large Muslim province by amalgamating Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan into a big North-Western province within India.<sup>29</sup> They argued that

“Iqbal never pleaded for any kind of partition of the country. Rather he was an ardent proponent of a ‘true’ federal setup for India.... And wanted a consolidated Muslim majority within the Indian Federation”.<sup>30</sup>

Another Indian historian Tara Chand also held that Iqbal was not thinking in terms of partition of India but in terms of a federation of autonomous states within

India.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Safdar Mehmood also fell a prey to the same misconception and in a series of articles he asserted that in Allahabad address Iqbal proposed a Muslim majority province within the Indian federation and not an independent state outside the Indian Federation.<sup>32</sup>

Actually these arguments were based upon the letter of Edward Thompson published in London *Times* on October 03, 1931, in which he dubbed Iqbal's concept of an amalgamated Muslim State as, 'Pan-Islamic conspiracy'.<sup>33</sup> It was the period in which Iqbal was staying in England as a delegate of RTC. He had segregated himself from the activities of RTC because he was unhappy over the nature of negotiations carried on there. British Government was insistent to leave united India after their departure. Hence the government was bent on forming a constitutional structure for an Indian Federation. Iqbal considered that idea of United India was against the interest of Muslims.<sup>34</sup> On October 12, 1931 Iqbal wrote to the *Times* and responded curtly about his demand for independent Muslim States. He writes:

".... I do not put forward a demand for a Muslim State outside the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent.... No Indian Muslim with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Muslim state or series of states in North-India outside the commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics". He also clarified that this state could be "the bulwark of India and the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic highlands".<sup>35</sup>

In this letter Iqbal did not refute the idea of Pakistan, rather he supported it thoroughly, in fact it was the requirement of his political acumen that it should be presented in a punning manner.

Some detractors also quote two more letters of Iqbal to Edward Thompson and Raghbir Ahsan, in which he denied to be a protagonist of 'Pak Scheme'.<sup>36</sup> On the basis of it these critics claimed that Iqbal was not in favour of a separate homeland for Muslims. As a matter of fact, Iqbal is here, rejecting Ch. Rehmat Ali's scheme of Pakistan, which according to Fateh Muhammad Malik was the plan of '*Akhand Bharat*' and he was planning to dominate the whole of British India by adopting fascist tactics.<sup>37</sup> Rehmat Ali (1897-1950) called for establishment for eight Muslim

states and their consolidation into a 'Pakistan Common Wealth of Nations' which in turn would be reintegrated with that heterogeneous Muslim belt all the way from Central Asia to the Bosphorus, the original Pakistan.<sup>38</sup> Like Iqbal, Jinnah also disapproved the Rehmat Ali's concept of Pakistan and considered it "as some sort of Walt Disney dreamland, if not Wellsian nightmare", and thought that "he felt the professional's contempt for the amateur's mistake of showing his hand without holding the trumps".<sup>39</sup>

According to Rashida Malik, Rehmat Ali's 'Pak plan' seeks to establish seven Muslim strongholds within India and is in the negation of the concept of separate Muslim homeland in areas where Muslims are already in majority. Rehmat Ali aimed at the creation of a Muslim empire through fascist tactics. That is why he condemned Muslim League's democratic approach to India's political crises in the meeting of the supreme council of the Pakistan National Movement held in Karachi on March 23, 1940, when the annual session of AIML had already begun its deliberations. Rehmat Ali rejected the Lahore resolution and denounced Muslim plans for the establishment of two separate Muslim states outside India on the basis of separate Muslim nationalism.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, Rashida Malik in his series of articles which were published in *Nawa-i-waqt* has proved that the pamphlet 'Now or Never' in which word 'Pakistan' was suggested, was not the sole attempt of Rehmat Ali, but was a joint effort of Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq, Inayatullah Khan of Cambridge and Ch. Rehmat Ali. The diction and style of their pamphlet was very much in akin to the treatise of Iqbal and is in fact the echo of his Allahabad address. It is on the record that during the second RTC, Rehmat Ali and Khawaja Abdul Rahim met Iqbal several times and exchange their views regarding 'word' Pakistan. From 1931 to 1933 Rehmat Ali was all praise for Iqbal. After 1935 he announced to be the pioneer of Pakistan National Movement. She concluded that the reason behind the mental change of Rehmat Ali was the outcome of his meeting with Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) and study of books on Nazism; after which he began thinking over that 'idea of Pakistan', which was contrary to the Iqbal's concept of Pakistan.<sup>41</sup>

Iqbal and Jinnah, both opposed Rehmat Ali's scheme of Pakistan, because they were in the favour of peaceful co-existence with the other communities of sub-continent. Both were the staunch opponents of the fascism and being democratic in their conduct, they did not have an iota of dominating the Hindu majority areas.

From 1930-38, Iqbal repeatedly advanced his scheme for the creation of an amalgamated Muslim scheme in North-West India on the basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities. According to A.H. Dani, "Iqbal kept up his Allahabad proposal in his mind and did not give it up",<sup>42</sup> even in the closing year of his life. A cross-section of historians, political analysts and anthropologist including K.B. Syed,<sup>43</sup> Waheed-uz-Zaman,<sup>44</sup> I.H. Qureshi,<sup>45</sup> Sheikh M. Akram,<sup>46</sup> and many others have declared Iqbal as a creator of the idea of Pakistan and considered his Allahabad address as the harbinger of Pakistan. Even the American, British and Russian scholars; Freeland,<sup>47</sup> Richard Symonds<sup>48</sup> and Gordon Poleskya<sup>49</sup> respectively, also admitted this fact, the details of which needed not to be pursued here.

To materialize his dream, Iqbal thought that it was the leadership of Jinnah, under which the Muslims could succeed in securing their separate identity and establishment of a separate homeland. It was due to the continuous persuasion of Iqbal, that Jinnah disassociates himself from the idea of a free united India and started struggle for the formation of a separate homeland for Muslims. Jinnah writes:

"His [Iqbal] views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the AIML, popularly known as the 'Pakistan Resolution', passed on 23 March, 1940".<sup>50</sup>

## **ROLE OF IQBAL IN RTCs AND PUNJAB AFFAIRS (1930-34)**

The events which took place during late twenties fostered the mistrust between various communal groups. By 1929, it was obvious that the three years of negotiations to produce a communal settlement had failed. In December 1929, INC, in its forty-fourth annual session opted for complete independence and resolved to launch civil disobedience movement in 1930.<sup>51</sup>

On May 12, 1930, <sup>52</sup> Lord Irwin announced a conference of Indian representatives at London<sup>53</sup> to resolve the constitutional problems and to break the deadlock. Now focus of political activities was shifted from Delhi to London and the politicians got the opportunity to put forward their claims directly before the Crown. Thus a new era of constitutional making process was initiated.

On July 13, 1930, Jinnah convened the council of AMIC, so as to formulate the policy of League regarding the RTC and to present the Muslims demands to the British government, unanimously and effectively. The council decided that the meeting in this connection should be held in August 1930 at Lucknow. The council also seconded Jinnah's proposal who gave Iqbal's name for its presidentship and later also responded in affirmation.<sup>54</sup>

It was an earnest desire of Iqbal that prior to the initiation of RTC Muslims should unite. In this way results of RTC could have been encouraging. Addressing a gathering in Barkat Ali Muhammadain Hall he said:

“For God's sake do something to safeguard the rights of the Muslims. Unite upon one platform and hold a conference before RTC. Give a chance to Hindus, so that if there is to be some chance of understanding, that should be. Though I don't believe in it”.<sup>55</sup>

At that time Fazl-i-Hussain (1877-1936) was the member of the Executive Council of Viceroy and his political authority was increased. The Punjab government authorized Fazl-i-Hussain to nominate the Muslim representatives in the RTC.<sup>56</sup> In the presence of critical communal antagonism; the main problem was the shortage of Muslim representatives with identical views to present Muslim cause effectively.<sup>57</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain was not in favour of inclusion of Iqbal and Jinnah amongst the Muslim delegates to RTC. He wanted to send the right-man from Punjab of his own accord. If Iqbal had presided over the meeting of the AIML in Lucknow, he would have been called to participate in RTC.<sup>58</sup> Hence upon his instructions, hurdles were created in the Lucknow session, which was later on held in 1930 in Allahabad. Thus Iqbal could not be nominated for RTC. According to Zahid Chaudhry, Fazl-i-Hussain

was also afraid of Jinnah, lest he should have some understanding with INC that could have adverse effects over the Muslims of sub-continent, particularly of the Punjab.<sup>59</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain was extremely distrustful of Jinnah whom he still suspected of having Congress sympathies<sup>60</sup> and wanted to reduce his influence to a minimum at RTC. Though at that time both the factions of AIML had resolved their differences and Jinnah also reconciled with the AIMC, whose practical evidence were his fourteen points, which were more or less replication of declaration of AIMC. In spite of that Fazl-i-Hussain feared that Jinnah was the only member who was likely to oppose the demands of AIMC.<sup>61</sup> Therefore in order to counter the Jinnah views at RTC and to secure the Punjab Muslim view, he recommended<sup>62</sup> Zafarullah<sup>63</sup> and Shafa'at Ahmed Khan.<sup>64</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain took infinite pains to coach his 'key-men' by imparting detail instructions and kept them well posted with weekly air mail and letters containing notes and points.<sup>65</sup>

### **First Round Table Conference**

The first RTC lasted from Nov. 12, 1930 to January 19, 1931. Except INC all parties participated in the RTC. The exclusion of Congress was due to the imprisonment of its leaders in connection with non-cooperation movement. Totally, nine committees were formed,<sup>66</sup> which compiled their recommendations reflecting their view point about the new constitution. The one and the important decision taken at the RTC was the approval of Federal system for India.<sup>67</sup> The Muslims favoured the proposal for dominion status and responsible government at centre by finishing the Diarchy in the provinces. However, due to absence of INC and difference of opinion over the residuary powers and Muslim representation at the centre, the first RTC failed to reach at any decision.

Though, Iqbal had not been invited to attend the first RTC, but he kept himself abreast about the latest development at London. When this news reached India that Sir Muhammad Shafi and Maulvi Fazl-i-Haq were being pressurized to accept joint electorate, Iqbal in his telegram to Sir Agha Khan, advised the Muslim delegates to boycott the conference. Because he could not tolerate any sort of deviation from the resolutions passed by AIMC at Delhi.<sup>68</sup> He also observed that the differences between Hindus and Muslims regarding the composition of Central government were being

exploited by the British through the Princely states. He pointed out that centralization had no advantage for the Muslim unless and until they were guaranteed majority rights with full residuary powers in the Punjab, Bengal, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan and surety should be given for one-third representation in the Central Legislature.<sup>69</sup>

### **Second Round Table Conference**

The second RTC was held from Sep. 07 to December 01, 1931. Before the commencement of second round of talks at London, a pact was signed between Lord Irwin and Gandhi, which resulted in the release of Congress leaders and workers, termination of civil disobedience movement and acceptance of Congress to attend RTC.<sup>70</sup>

Besides other Muslim delegates, Iqbal was also invited to the second RTC. Before his departure, he clearly stated:

“If there come out no satisfactory solution for communal unity; measures for complete provincial autonomy are not adopted; and Muslims are deprived from their rights in federal government, then the Indian Muslims have to sacrifice their individual life over the collective one. I believe that if the Muslim demands including their majority in Punjab and Bengal would not be accepted, Indian Muslims would tear down any such constitution given to India”.<sup>71</sup>

Because of Gandhi's attitude, the conference reached a deadlock when the issue of minorities was presented for discussion. Gandhi refused to accept any right of minorities, challenged the representative character of Muslim delegation and insisted that INC represented all the Indian people.<sup>72</sup> He also demanded the disbandment of minorities committee. In second RTC, Iqbal served as member of the minorities committee. Four sessions of this committee were held on Sep. 28, Oct. 01, Oct. 08 and Nov. 13, 1931.<sup>73</sup> Due to resolute and stubborn attitude of Gandhi, no formal proceedings could be conducted<sup>74</sup> and the meeting of the committee was suspended thrice for the conclave.<sup>75</sup>

Gandhi first told the Muslim delegation that matters could not proceed until the Muslim delegates had lifted the embargo on Dr. Mukhtar A. Ansari.<sup>76</sup> Then he



gave another offer to the Muslim delegates, that if Muslims agreed to his demands of adult franchise, did not press for special representation for the untouchables and support Congress demand for complete independence, then he would try to persuade Congress to accept the Muslim demands. Later Gandhi declined to refer the matter to the INC and failed in his effort to get the Hindus and the Sikhs to agree to this agreement.<sup>77</sup>

During the private discussions Iqbal explained to Gandhi all the possible implications of the minority issue and worked tirelessly to evolve some kind of compromise with the Hindus but all efforts ended into failure.<sup>78</sup> As the conversations regarding communal representation remained fruitless, therefore, the representatives of the Indian minorities comprising the Muslims, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Europeans and the depressed classes managed to sign a pact, which was handed over to the British premier in the last meeting of minorities committee held on Nov. 13, 1931.<sup>79</sup>

During the proceedings of the second RTC, it was unanimously decided by the Muslim delegates that they would not participate in the discussion of the Federal Sub-Committee. Iqbal was of the view that a great deal of efforts was needed at the provincial level, before any sort of premature efforts for framing a federal constitution. Eventually, contrary to the decision, earlier taken by Muslim delegates, some members decided to take part in the proceedings of both sub-committees simultaneously.<sup>80</sup> Noticing the pro-British attitude of some members, Iqbal boycotted RTC. Iqbal's dismay led him to write to Agha Khan<sup>81</sup> "he had nothing to do with what must be described as a shadow cabinet of Muslim delegation" and thus dissociated him from the Muslim delegation.<sup>82</sup>

### **Presidential Address at AIMC (1932)**

After his segregation from RTC, Iqbal felt extremely pessimistic about Muslim demands in England. He anticipated that the future prospects for the Muslims were not very encouraging,<sup>83</sup> therefore, he came back to India and retained his activities from the platform of AIMC. As hinted before that during early thirties, when AIML was in a moribund state, only AIMC was raising the cause of Muslim rights. As an organized party it provided guideline to the Muslim India regarding

important national issues.<sup>84</sup> In March 1932, Iqbal presided an AIMC at Lahore. The primary motives of conference were to devise means for obtaining recognition of the fourteen points formulated by Jinnah.<sup>85</sup> In spite of the opposition from the pro-Congress nationalist Muslims, particularly the Ahrars, Iqbal warned the British government not to settle the minorities question with the Congress alone<sup>86</sup> and to announce the expected award until the end of July. The conference resolved that if the British government refused to accede to the Muslim demands, it would call for a campaign of direct action.<sup>87</sup>

In his presidential speech, Iqbal exerted his efforts to re-inforce and consolidate Muslim solidarity and identity. He exhorted the Muslim masses to play a decisive role in the politics. Keeping in view the aftermaths and implications of Round Table Conferences, he advised the Indian Muslim to stand on their own legs, instead of depending upon others. During his address Iqbal presented a five-point agenda,<sup>88</sup> as a future political guideline for the Muslims in India.

- i. Muslims of India must form a political party with grass-root level organization, which should be active steadily on both of the fronts; cultural as well as political.
- ii. This central organization should raise a fund of Rs.50 Million.
- iii. Formation of Youth League and volunteer corps, which under the control and guidance of central organization devote themselves for social service, custom reforms, propaganda among indebted Muslim agriculturists.
- iv. Establishment of male and female cultural institute, which work on apolitical basis with the collaboration of Muslim educational institutions. Their chief function should be to mobilize the dormant younger generation.
- v. Creation of an 'assembly of *Ulamas*' which must include Muslim Lawyers who had received education in modern jurisprudence to protect, expand and interpret the laws of Islam in the light of modern conditions.

### **The Punjab Agreement**

As has been discussed earlier that minority sub-committee did not reach any conclusion due to the inflexible attitude of Gandhi. All minorities gave this mandate to British Prime Minister to decide about the communal problem except Sikhs and the Congress. It was expected that Ramsay Macdonald would give any award in this regard at the end of July or mid of August 1932.

Before the announcement of Communal Award, an old friend of Iqbal, Sardar Jogendra Singh (1877-1946), with whom he worked in the Punjab Council (1926-30), wrote a series of letters to Iqbal. He was prepared to concede a bare Muslim majority in the council subject to certain conditions. Iqbal observed that apparently the views of Jogendra Singh were good looking, but actually they would reduce Muslims to an equality with non-Muslims and most probably to minority.<sup>89</sup> Iqbal did not pay heed to such proposals on the ground that they might be a tactic to delay the Communal Award which had to be announced by British Premier.<sup>90</sup> He considered "it absolutely necessary to emphasize the fact that since no communal settlement prior or subsequent to the announcement can be acceptable to Muslims unless it provides for 51% seats for Muslims in the provisional legislature as agreed to in the minorities pact, it will only aggravate the situation if the announcement is allowed to be delayed by such negotiations".<sup>91</sup>

On August 07, 1932 Ramsay Macdonald announced the provisional scheme of government - The Communal Award. In this award federal form of constitution with provisional autonomy was introduced; one-third representation was given to Muslims in central legislature; Sindh's separation from Bombay was accepted; separate electorate was retained.<sup>92</sup> With a slight increase of Muslim representation in the Muslim minority provinces, Muslim majority in Punjab and other Muslims majority provinces was reduced by giving them low representation as compared to their population.<sup>93</sup> For instance in the Punjab 51% representation was given to Muslims against 57% population.

Iqbal was not satisfied with the Communal Award. Though it recognized the Muslim rights for separate representation, but it reduced the Muslim representation in the provisional legislatures against their population which Iqbal concluded as "glaring injustice to Muslims".<sup>94</sup> The award, he argued, attempted to vindicate two political principles, i.e. no majority should be reduced to a minority, and the interests of the minorities as should be protected by giving them suitable weightage.<sup>95</sup> In the application of both these principles it were the Muslims who suffered.

On the whole, Muslims welcomed the Communal Award because it retained the separate electorates. But Hindus and Sikhs rejected it vociferously, decrying the

Communal Award and specially its provision for separate electorate.<sup>96</sup> Congress severely criticized it for giving the right of separate electorate to the untouchables and Gandhi kept fast unto death, which built so much pressure on untouchables that resulted in the withdrawal of Dr. Ambedkar<sup>97</sup> from separate electorate. Commenting on that blackmailing Iqbal termed this Gandhi starvation as 'impotency' and condemned it as a threat in relation to his conduct with untouchables.<sup>98</sup>

In this condition of political instability some powerful groups tried to reach an agreement secretly through track-two diplomacy, opting for joint electorate in the place of Communal Award and it was named 'Punjab agreement'. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Ch. Shahab-ud-Din, Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana and Sardar Jogendra Singh were the main actors of this political drama.<sup>99</sup>

Eventually in May 1933, Jogendra Singh and Gokal Chand Narang proposed 'joint electorates' on the conditions that:

- a) Seats are reserved for Muslims and Sikhs in the same proportion as in the Communal Award;
- b) Muslims and non-Muslims are equally represented in the Cabinet;
- c) A public service Commission is constituted to recruit 50% Muslims, 30% Hindus and 20% Sikhs.<sup>100</sup>

These proposals were agreed to by Sir Sikandar Hayat, Shahab-ul-Din and Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana and put up them before Fazl-i-Hussain for further action. Fazl-i-Hussain unhesitatingly, agreed to adopt joint electorates if the disparity between percentage of population and percentage of electorate be removed by adjusting the franchise of all communities.<sup>101</sup>

Thereafter, on the basis of deliberations between Fazl-i-Hussain, Narindra Nath and Sardar Jogendra Singh, the former, accepted to adopt joint electorates for the Punjab Muslims on the basis of a formula, which was later, got fame as 'Punjab Agreement'. Its salient features are:

- a) The franchise reflects the population of the three communities in the voting register;

- b) The reservation of seats as prescribed in the award is confined to general constituencies and not to special constituencies which have joint electorates;
- c) There would be no time limit for the reservation of seats as the hands of future legislatures cannot be tied;
- d) That arrangements will be made whereby areas having the largest population of any will return most of the members of that community under the reserved seats system.<sup>102</sup>

When Associated Press of India disclosed that Mian Fazl-i-Hussain was busy in attempts and activities regarding joint electorate, Iqbal expressed his worry over it. In a letter to Fazl-i-Hussain, Iqbal inquired from him whether he had given his consent over joint electorate or not.<sup>103</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain replied that he was definitely against joint electorates, but it did not mean that the Punjab, under no circumstances could opt for joint electorates.<sup>104</sup> On May 01, 1933, Fazl-i-Hussain sent the draft copy of Punjab agreement to Iqbal and writes:

“The personal emanating as it does from Hindu and Sikh leaders is one that Muslim leaders should examine carefully and conscientiously and arrive at a decision after they have examined it and studied it thoroughly. The Muslim Community in the Punjab has always been anxious to co-operate with sister communities and any scheme which emanates from our neighbours and aims at mutual co-operation and mutual goodwill cannot but command the most serious consideration of all thoughtful Muslims”.<sup>105</sup>

To Iqbal this formula could be no solution of the Punjab problems and it was likely to become a source of a series unforeseen disputes among the communities. He concluded:

“The scheme will be open to serious objection from the point of view of the urban as well as the rural population. When worked out the scheme is calculated to deprive even those rural sections of the proper representation who are in the majority in their constituencies..... I am firmly of the opinion that the scheme is harmful to the best interest of every community and not nearly as good from the point of view of any community as the Premier’s award”.<sup>106</sup>

Iqbal appealed to Fazl-i-Hussain and Jogendra Singh ‘to wash their hands of this scheme’ and also appealed to the government ‘not to give any weight to their proposals, as it did not have the support of any community’.<sup>107</sup>

Prior to that in May 1933 a joint meeting to Muslim Conference and Muslim League, presided by Iqbal declared that Punjab Agreement was utterly unacceptable to Punjab Muslims. It was resolved that "Punjab Muslims cannot agree to modification of communal award calculated to deprive them of separate electorate".<sup>108</sup> It was further resolved that reopening of the settled matters would create dissensions in the community.<sup>109</sup>

Sooner, Fazl-i-Hussain invited Zafarullah, Agha Khan and other Muslim colleagues of RTC to join the ongoing mutual consultatory process regarding the Punjab agreement.<sup>110</sup> Even though they did not oppose the agreement and welcome a compromise which had the support of three communities, however, they mentioned that in many respects it was a deviation from some of the principles for which they had been fighting for in the last four years.<sup>111</sup> In this regard, Agha Khan raised some important points in which he clarified that it would breakup the solidarity and integrity of Muslims in India and split Muslim community into innumerable fragments; it would produce a very deep cleavage between rural and urban Muslims and between Muslims of Eastern and Western Punjab; Muslims in minority provinces would be dragged into the discussions of the percentage to which they would be entitled as a result of this pact between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of the Punjab.<sup>112</sup>

Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Zafarullah, Agha Khan, Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, Narendra Nath and Jogindra Singh have a lengthy correspondence regarding Punjab formula, but there was no complete agreement.<sup>113</sup> The concerned parties rejected the Punjab formula, by calling it a vague effort toward a wrong direction. Thus the Punjab communal formula which was the brainchild of Fazl-i-Hussain, Nath and Jogindra, was aborted before its birth. In Fazl-i-Hussain's view, in Punjab, it was only Iqbal and some other urban intellectuals who were opposing it.<sup>114</sup> Though his son Azeem Hussain tried to give this impression in his father's biography that at Fazl-i-Hussain's advice later on Iqbal gave up his opposition and started pondering over its reasonable position.<sup>115</sup> But he could not provide any evidence in this regard. Undoubtedly, Iqbal was a staunch supporter of separate electorate and opposed joint electorate at every level and stage. For Iqbal separate electorate was a fundamental issue in the demands of Indian Muslims; it was not merely a method of representation but was the only way out to keep intact the separate national entity of Muslims.<sup>116</sup>

According to the secret reports, the efforts of Fazl-i-Hussain and Jogendra Singh for a communal settlement "aroused no enthusiasm in any quarter".<sup>117</sup> Besides the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs groups and organization also rejected this formula. On April 29, 1933, a general meeting of Majlis-i-Ahrar resolved to disapprove the formula propounded by Fazl-i-Hussain and Jogendra Singh and declared that no one official or otherwise, had any right to make any communal settlement without consulting Muslim's organizations and that such a settlement could never be accepted by Muslims.<sup>118</sup>

Jogendra Singh and Narendra Nath also failed to persuade their co-religionist to accept Punjab formula. Sardar Ujjal Singh,<sup>119</sup> Sardar Sampuran Singh, Master Tara Singh<sup>120</sup> and Sardar Sant Singh declined to sign the proposed agreement and started a forceful campaign against the Punjab formula.<sup>121</sup> While a meeting of Sikh Youths on May 06, 1933 at the Gurdwara Baoli Sahib in Lahore rejected the settlement.<sup>122</sup> Similarly, *Khalsa Darbar* proposed that Singh Sabhas should expel those who had signed the agreement.<sup>123</sup>

Narendra Nath's voice proved to be a cry in the wilderness, as only one Hindu member of the Punjab Council signed the agreement. Actually, the Hindus like the Sikhs, who according to Communal Award enjoyed six percent weightage, were not ready to forego the advantages. In fact the communal award had granted to the minorities in the Punjab a heavy weightage, so naturally they were not likely to agree to this agreement. Yet, it appeared that Hindus were demanding joint electorates only with a hope that the Muslims' weak voting strength might provide them an opportunity to dominate the province.<sup>124</sup>

Unlike Iqbal who considered separate electorate as a catalyst for the preservation of separate Muslim entity, in Fazl-i-Hussain's political ideology, separate electorates were not an end in themselves; they were a mean towards an end, namely adequate representation of the Muslim community.<sup>125</sup> In fact, Fazl-i-Hussain's real concern was not the development of Indian Muslim policy on all India level but to strengthen the hold of Unionists in the Punjab. Of course, Fazl-i-Hussain's stance regarding separate electorate changed at times.

In early thirties, he was presenting his own twisted agreement in favour of joint electorate and discrediting his opponents. Then what was adverse in the Delhi Proposal (1927) in which Jinnah was ready to accept joint electorate, if proportional representation was given to Muslim's in Punjab and Bengal. According to Zulfiqar, "it seems that for him [Fazl-i-Hussain] separate electorate was not a fundamental issue but only a lever for the opportunity that could be reversed at the need of the hour".<sup>126</sup> In 1933 he did not hesitate to enter into a communal pact with the Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab; no matter how distasteful the whole idea might be for the Muslims minority provinces. By enacting an agreement between different communities of Punjab, even on the price of separate electorate, he only wanted to secure interests of the Punjab Province in the new constitution and to leave the centre to the British'.<sup>127</sup> In other words, he thought the joint electorate as a mode of strengthening their ministry and thought it a God-gifted opportunity for the Muslims of Punjab.<sup>128</sup>

Though Fazl-i-Hussain was the friend of Iqbal since the college days and the same teachers educated both, yet there was a lot of difference in their ideological outlook. Unlike Fazl-i-Hussain, Iqbal refused to acknowledge the political legitimacy of an ideology of state power derived from the state's protection of local kin-based identities. Nor did he have much sympathy with the attempts of the British and the Unionists – to establish religious foundations for their position through association with religious entities.

In 1926 when Iqbal was elected as the member of Punjab Council, he got an opportunity to closely watch and perceive the Unionist's politics. During his three years tenure of councillorship he opposed those policies of Unionist Party, which he considered injurious to the Punjab interest.<sup>129</sup> Separate electorate was the only issue for which he stood behind Fazl-i-Hussain and opposed the policies of Jinnah in late twenties. Later Jinnah's policy of reconciliation, made Iqbal his camp follower, and the differences between them were resolved.

In the meantime, Iqbal became aware of the latent materialism, ambitious nature and political shrewdness of Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>130</sup> The move of Fazl-i-Hussain regarding the Punjab Communal Formula, in which he had given his consent to give



up separate electorate, further increased the political gulf between the two. In 1934, when Fazl-i-Hussain, once again invited Iqbal to re-activate AIMC under the patronage of Agha Khan, he flatly refused it. His sickness of Fazl-i-Hussain is quite clear from these words. He writes:

“I am very sorry to say that it will not be possible for me to come and meet you and his Highness the Agha Khan. My present circumstances and past experience have seriously affected my outlook”.<sup>131</sup>

Of course, now Iqbal's eyes were fixed on Jinnah and under his leadership he was to sacrifice everything for the safeguard of Muslim rights and achievement of separate homeland for Muslims.

### **Third Round Table Conference**

The third and the final session of RTC began on Nov. 17, 1932 and terminated on Dec. 24, 1932. Of the total forty-six delegates only six Muslims were invited to attend the session. In the third session INC was once again off the scene. Jinnah was not invited.<sup>132</sup> Iqbal was invited but with few reservations. As Iqbal severely criticized the activities of the second RTC and also condemned the attitude of the British government, hence the authorities could not have nominated him as a member of RTC. But the position, which Iqbal had assumed in the politics of the Muslim India, for that he had to be nominated inevitably.<sup>133</sup>

Before his departure to London, Iqbal in a letter to editor *Hamdam*, Lucknow once again reiterated his assertions that only separate electorate was the base of all demands of the Muslims. He further added that if they withdrew this demand, the future historian would not condemn the British government for the political demise of Muslims in India, rather he would term the Muslims their own culprits, for they ruined themselves as a minority in the democratic system.<sup>134</sup>

The third session considered the reports of sub-committees, which has been submitted during second RTC. Iqbal was appointed as the member of Anglo-Indian and European Educational Committee. But he did not actively participated and not attended its session. His role was more or less of an observer. While expounding the attitude of his father during third RTC, Javed Iqbal wrote:

“Most of the details of third RTC deals with the All India federation and central government, of which Iqbal had no interest in them what so ever. He was the staunch opponent of the establishment of central government. He was of the opinion that complete provincial autonomy should be given to the provinces”.<sup>135</sup>

Following the third RTC, the British government had published a white paper in March 1933. After necessary amendments on July 24, 1935, the bill stimulating the report received the Royal assent that gave India new constitution; Government of India Act, 1935.

## **THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN PUNJAB**

The passage of Government of India Act, 1935 initiated a new phase of politics in British India, as it contemplated to set self-government by granting provincial autonomy.<sup>136</sup> In accordance with Act of 1935 the elections were due to be held in the provinces during January-February 1937. In Punjab PNUP was the most influential political party and the national political parties like League and Congress were ceased to exist. In the absence of Fazl-i-Hussain, who was performing his duties in the capacity of member of Viceroy's Executive Council, Unionist party fell a prey to internal conflicts and conflagrations. In 1935, Fazl-i-Hussain completed his term as member of Viceroy's Council and returned home to lead and re-organize his party. Meanwhile in October 1935, Jinnah had also returned to India in order to re-organize AIML and to participate in the ensuing elections. Punjab was the centre of their special attention. Once again another nerve-breaking political battle was about to start and its ammunition was heaps of logics and arguments from both sides.

### **Reorganization of Punjab Muslim League**

So far as the Punjab Muslim League was concerned; though established in 1907, but it had no significant support in the urban or rural areas of Punjab. 'Muslim League' as an organization was already working in Punjab, prior to the establishment of AIML at Dacca in Dec. 1906.<sup>137</sup> At that time AHI was the centre of Muslim's socio-cultural and national activities. Muslim leadership of Punjab was divided into two distinct camps. The 'conservatives' led by M. Shafi, were strong opponents of any Muslim organization on purely political lines. However, the 'progressives', led by Fazl-i-Hussain, concluded political advancement as a tool of safeguarding the

Muslim interests. In Feb. 1906, Fazl-i-Hussain set up the first organization in India to call itself the 'Muslim League'.<sup>138</sup> Few months later, M. Shafi<sup>139</sup> organized 'Punjab Muslim Association' and pleaded that Fazl-i-Hussain's League was not true representative of Punjab Muslims.<sup>140</sup>

After the establishment of AIML at Dacca, Muhammad Shafi, in Nov. 1907 formed 'Punjab Muslim League'. Shah Din was elected as its first President and Muhammad Shafi as its General Secretary.<sup>141</sup> Both Leagues tried to seek affiliation with the central body. In March 1908, in Aligarh session of AIML, a patch up was done between both Leagues with the view to promote co-operation among the Muslims of Punjab. Fazl-i-Hussain's League was dissolved; and the new body comprising Shah Din as President, M. Shafi as General Secretary and Fazl-i-Hussain as Joint Secretary came into being.<sup>142</sup>

From 1908-1913, the PPML and its activities were confined to friendly gatherings and no concrete political programme was given. Fazl-i-Hussain and his supporters such as Malik Barkat Ali,<sup>143</sup> Pir Taj-ud-Din, Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and Shahab-ud-Din avoided active participation in the PPML and covertly its status remained disputed.<sup>144</sup>

In 1913, Jinnah joined AIML, after the inclusion of self-government in the objectives of AIML. He was in favour of Hindu – Muslim working relationship and like Fazl-i-Hussain, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Pir Taj-ud-Din, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and Zafar Ali Khan wanted to befriend the INC in order to attain self-government through constitutional means.<sup>145</sup> However, the conservatives, led by Muhammad Shafi stood for preservation of Muslim rights without alienating the sympathies of British government and opposed the Lucknow Pact signed on Dec. 28, 1916.<sup>146</sup> During that period, Iqbal neither sided with progressives nor with conservatives and stood aloof from the political maneuverings. He watched all events carefully and was busy in formulating his ideas, in poetry and on intellectual planes to guide the Muslims.

As conflict arose in AIML, the PPML led by Shafi was disaffiliated<sup>147</sup> and later in January 1916, accepted the affiliation of new body of PPML headed by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, who continued to hold his office up till late twenties.<sup>148</sup>

The agitational and reactionary waves of politics in twenties cornered the League and political arena was dominated by the Khilafat Committee and Gandhi branded policy of non-cooperation. During 1920-24 League had lost its vigour and was more or less in a moribund state.

In 1924, Jinnah held the annual session of AIML at Lahore and tried to resuscitate League in province but it remained fruitless. The session was dominated by Punjabi Muslims toeing the provincial oriented, non-communal politics given by Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>149</sup> It seems that formation of PNUP had left no room for AIML, in Punjab at least.<sup>150</sup>

In early 1926, a session of PPML was held in Barkat Ali Muhammadian Hall, for the re-constitution of its body. M.Shafi was elected as President, while Iqbal was elected as General Secretary.<sup>151</sup> It is worth mentioning that Iqbal was also elected as a member of Punjab Council in the same year and started his political innings in a tremendous manner. During the period between 1927-30, League was divided into Lahore and Calcutta factions due to differences over n Delhi Proposals and boycott of Simon Commission. This further weakened the organization of PPML.

Although, both factions of League had merged and reconciled their differences till 1930, however, the Muslim leadership remained indecisive. In the meantime, Jinnah went to London to participate in the first RTC and decided to stay there.<sup>152</sup> To Jinnah's biographers like Bolitho,<sup>153</sup> Wolpert<sup>154</sup> and Allana,<sup>155</sup> he left India because he was disgusted and disappointed due to Hindu mentality, division among the Muslims and had lost faith in his Muslim colleagues. The inclusion of Fazl-i-Hussain's key men in the Muslim delegation for RTC and presence of some Muslim leaders encouraging Gandhi, prompted Jinnah to comment in a subsequent years that the attitude of "toadies and flunkies on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other" forced him to quit Indian politics and settle down in London.<sup>156</sup> However, Riaz Ahmed concluded that Jinnah stayed in London because "he visualized that now was the time when the Indian constitutional fight would be conducted for a long time to come in London".<sup>157</sup> If he was disgusted he might not have attended the first and second sessions of RTC.

Instead of seclusion, he pleaded the Muslim case in his individual and group meetings with British officials and politicians and actively participated in the public life at England.<sup>158</sup> During his stay in London, Jinnah was in contact with the Muslim leaders, who made him realize that it was necessary for him to come back to India for political organization of Indian Muslims.<sup>159</sup> However, he did not decide to return until he ensured that most of the Muslim demands were protected in the future constitution. In March, 1934, before his arrival, he resolved the differences between the two groups of AIML<sup>160</sup> and on March 04, 1934, he was elected as the President of the party.<sup>161</sup> The Muslims of Bombay also elected him as a member of central legislature in October 1934. It is to be noted that his candidature was filed in his absence and he was elected unopposed.<sup>162</sup>

Jinnah came back home on January 06, 1935. Contrary to Hindus, Muslims were deprived of a national level party. Muslim League was in doldrums. There were hundreds of religious and political parties on the scene, which claimed to represent the Muslims. *Khilafat* Committee, AIMC, JUH, Nationalist Muslim Party, PNUP, *Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam*, *Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat*, Khaksar Movement, *Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik*, *Krishik Proja Party*, *Watan Party Baluchistan*, *Momin Conference*, *Shia Political Conference* and many other small groups existed in the polarized Muslim political scenario.

### **Failure of Jinnah – Fazl-i-Hussain Parleys**

If we observe only Punjab as being a Muslim majority province, there was no support for Muslim League, of any type from rural areas except some limited urban circles. Therefore in order to secure the support of Muslim masses, Jinnah comprehended that it was essential to reorganize PPML. Jinnah was much concerned about the future of League in Punjab, because being a Muslim majority province it held a significant position in his eyes. As far as the re-organization of League was concerned, it was a long-term plan and could take several years, but election was due shortly.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, Jinnah decided to co-opt with Unionist Party. For him it was the best solution as a short cut to the successful re-birth of Punjab Muslim League.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, Jinnah attempted to contact his old friend Fazl-i-Hussain in this regard. Both of these leaders were moderate and were in favour of adopting constitutional means for political uplift and progress of the masses. Both were camp followers

during the formation of Joint Scheme of Reforms (1916), Home Rule Movement and anti-Rowlatt Act movement. In December 1920 when Congress launched the civil disobedience movement, both quit INC.

1920 was that mile stone in the political career of Fazl-i-Hussain, in which he found an opportunity to fulfill his desire which he dreamt during his studentship, that he wanted to become 'right honourable gentleman from Punjab'.<sup>165</sup> Hence, he bowed down his head before Mont-ford reforms and joined the government camp. Contrary to that, Jinnah continued his political and constitutional struggle and presented his Delhi Proposals as a second attempt for Hindu Muslim unity. In opposition to the proposals of Jinnah, the PPML, with the interaction of Fazl-i-Hussain, adopted such a strategy, which compelled Jinnah to seek the policy of re-conciliation. In 1935 when he returned home, as hinted before, as a true strategist, he attempted to secure the support of Fazl-i-Hussain. Jinnah wrote him a letter on January 05, 1936, in which he praised<sup>166</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain's abilities, leadership and political experience and requested him to preside the AIML session at Bombay in April, 1936.<sup>167</sup> Like a shrewd politician, Fazl-i-Hussain declined the offer of Jinnah on account of his bad health.<sup>168</sup> For him, at that crucial juncture, re-organization of PNUP and preparation for forthcoming elections were more important than attending the session of AIML. It is on record that he was also in touch with pro-British elements in NWFP, Sindh and the United Provinces to establish in these provinces feudal oriented and loyalist organizations along the line of PNUP.<sup>169</sup>

The twenty-fourth annual session of AIML was held on April 11-12, 1936 at Bombay which aimed at the transformation of a "small fragmented party into a mass movement".<sup>170</sup> It was presided over by Sir Wazir Hussain (1874-1947). On April 11, an important resolution<sup>171</sup> was passed, in which Jinnah was authorized to nominate a central parliamentary board (CPB) to organize the election campaign. The CPB was to consist of fifty-five members, and was empowered to affiliate the provincial boards, formed to contest elections in various provinces, to the League platform.<sup>172</sup> According to this resolution; AIML had two main objectives; strengthening the Muslim community and securing for them their proper and effective share in the provincial governments. An initial fund of half million Rs. was to be raised by League council for secretariat needs.<sup>173</sup>

Soon after the Bombay session, Jinnah came to Lahore to set up electioneering machinery. A common friend of Fazl-i-Hussain and Jinnah facilitated a meeting between the two at his residence. Jinnah met Fazl-i-Hussain, "although he must have realized that there was little to gain in that direction".<sup>174</sup> Jinnah urged him to accept the discipline of the CPB of League and contest the elections on a common platform. He further added that in the presence of separate electorate there was no need to have a supra-communal party.<sup>175</sup> He further expounded that the elected members would then constitute a Muslim League party in the assembly and could enter into a coalition with some other groups for the purpose of formation of ministry.<sup>176</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain responded that Punjab had a well established organization in the form of PNUP and as a non-communal party it suited the politico-religious conditions of province. Explaining his view point he said that in Punjab, Muslim representation was only 51%. How could they form a ministry without a co-operation of a flexible and confident ally?<sup>177</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain advised Jinnah to keep AIML out from Punjab election, as he was preparing PNUP for that purpose. Jinnah argued "if you are convinced to contest election from the platform of a supra-communal party, then why you are opposing joint electorate then". He further added that the INC was more progressive and non-communal than the PNUP. Why did not he join the Congress?<sup>178</sup>

Fazl-i-Hussain completely disagreed with Jinnah on the ground that provincial autonomy means decentralization and, therefore, it was wrong to centralize provincial elections.<sup>179</sup> Secondly, conditions in each province vary to a large extent, especially in Muslim majority as compared to minority provinces, and it was impossible to have a uniform principles applying to all.<sup>180</sup> Thus Fazl-i-Hussain flatly refused the offer of collaboration with AIML, because acceptance of Jinnah proposals would result in the weakness of PNUP. He refused to change his prevailing policy by abandoning long tried non-Muslim friends.<sup>181</sup>

Thus the dialogue between Jinnah and Fazl-i-Hussain proved futile.<sup>182</sup> Negotiations with the PNUP broke down completely, as the Unionist leaders declined to run their party on communal lines.<sup>183</sup> In fact, Fazl-i-Hussain had already made up

his mind and was not satisfied with the political programme of Jinnah since 1927 and concluded that he was a leader with no influence or recognition.<sup>184</sup> No doubt, there was difference over only one point between Fazl-i-Hussain and Jinnah, whether there should be communal parties of Muslims or not in the Muslim majority provinces. Behind this point, there was latent the political philosophy of both of them. For Jinnah, the most important issue was the liberation of India, for which he fought elections under one banner and raised a single parliamentary party of Muslims, which could join hands with Congress for the freedom of country. Contrary to that, Fazl-i-Hussain solely wanted to exploit the benefits of provincial autonomy and could not realize the departure of British and its post scenario.

Jinnah faced a formidable opposition in the Punjab where the politicians had most to gain from provincial autonomy and most to lose by permitting outsiders to rock their unionist boat.<sup>185</sup> In fact, Unionist considered League's organization in Punjab was an attack on provincial foundations of PNUP, Unionists autonomy in Punjab and structure of their local influence.<sup>186</sup> Jinnah was threatened by conveying messages through his friend Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana<sup>187</sup> that he should keep his "finger out of the Punjab Pie; if he meddled he might burn his fingers".<sup>188</sup> He was asked to "go to Delhi, or take a train to Bombay, but there was no place for him in the Punjab".<sup>189</sup> Such rudeness and indifference can be understood only in terms of Muslim League's 'needs' and Unionist Party's 'smugness'. According to Qalb-i-Abid "the alliances, pacts and agreements are only concluded when both parties involved, are in need of association. In the League-Unionist case, only the League was in need of such alliance, so as to enhance its image and prestige in India... and without some kind of association with the Punjab, the League would not claim to represent the Muslim India".<sup>190</sup>

### **Jinnah – Iqbal Collaboration**

Iqbal had a keen eye over the politics of PNUP. Iqbal had experience of working relationship with Unionists in Punjab Legislative Council. He was aware of the fact that it was Unionist party that was responsible for the urban-rural dispute in the Punjab and a hurdle in the way of mass-participation in the politics. He was one of those urban politicians who were great critic of Unionist's style of politics. In April 1935, when Fazl-i-Hussain came to Lahore, after the expiry of his membership



of Viceroy's Executive Council, Iqbal expressed his sentiments regarding the Unionists and said:

"How dreadful this fact is that there is conflict going on between the rural and the urban population in the Punjab and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain is its supporter. Fazl-i-Hussain could not gain leadership in the beginning because he was from rural area but he was the leader of the Muslims of the province. After achieving the position, he deliberately gave air to rural-urban conflict, so that his position could remain intact. Taking advantage of this rift, he selected such useless and third rate persons as his colleagues, who were totally incapable to rule and were not capable of retaining the dignity which is imperative for ministry. Consequently, these third rated leaders who are indebted to Fazl-i-Hussain for their present position, because of their incapability, considered Fazl-i-Hussain as 'superman'. Some of the government officials also supported this policy because in this way they could succeed in minimizing the effects of the Mont-ford reforms of 1919. The outcome of all these developments are that so far as Muslims are concerned, there remained no leadership [in true spirit] and the political affairs had gone into the hands of some incapable fortune seeking persons".<sup>191</sup>

Deploring the lack of proper leadership in Punjab, Iqbal commented, that it was the Government who had created rural-urban distinctions, through ambitious political adventures whose eyes were fixed on their personal interests and not on the unity of the Muslims.<sup>192</sup>

Barkat Ali, who at the initial stages of his political career, was one of the great admirers and supporters of Fazl-i-Hussain's policies, was also disgusted by the future of Unionists, for whom the vested interests were more important than the national ones. Keeping his views in consonance with Iqbal, he joined PPML in the vital interests of Muslims. In 1935, Fazl-i-Hussain also invited him to participate in the deliberations for the organization of PNUP. In his letter to Fazl-i-Hussain, dated April 04, 1936, Barkat Ali declined to accept his offer and held him responsible for deteriorating political conditions in Punjab.<sup>193</sup> He asserted that the grave responsibilities of playing with and bartering away the self respect of the province, rested solely with his key men, Noon and Sikandar, who were favourite of bureaucracy. Like Iqbal he deduced that this was the reason, which had crushed any possibility of fostering a true kind of leadership in the Punjab, based on 'talent' in the province.<sup>194</sup>

After the refusal of Fazl-i-Hussain, Jinnah did not lose heart and fixed his eyes on Iqbal, Barkat Ali and other leaders of PPML. Iqbal, despite of his helplessness promised to stand by Jinnah. On Jinnah's persuasion he also accepted to become the member of Muslim League's parliamentary board.<sup>195</sup> According to Hafeez Malik, when Jinnah visited Iqbal, he did not find a contentious man, as he had at the time of the League's split, but a leader who was willing to be led.<sup>196</sup> This was not a defeat but a victory – he had won over a leader whose integrity he had never doubted.<sup>197</sup> During their conversation Iqbal briefed Jinnah about the significant difference between the power derived from the support of the common man and that derived from the constitutional hair-splitting and party alliances.<sup>198</sup> Fazal Karim Durrani, who was editor of a weekly newspaper the *Truth* and was present in that meeting reported that Iqbal promised to support Jinnah fully and said, 'If you are looking for persons like *Taulqadars* of Oudh and millionaires of Bombay, these commodities are non-existent in Punjab. I only promise the help of masses'. Jinnah replied with enthusiasm, 'I only want the support of masses'.<sup>199</sup>

### **Co-option of Ahrars and Ittehad-i-Millat**

In order to strengthen the League in Punjab, Jinnah knocked at the door of every leader and organization that could be helpful to him. During his stay in Lahore, Jinnah met the leaders of Ahrars, including Ch. Afzal Haq and Abdul Qadir Advocate. The meeting was facilitated by Dr. Abdul Qawi Luqman at his residence. Ahrar leaders advised Jinnah to take the League out of the shackles of sycophant elites and to make it a mass party.<sup>200</sup> Jinnah during the course of conversation asked from Ahrar leaders, if they would stand by him, he was ready to confront Fazl-i-Hussain. Ahrars put up certain conditions to align themselves with the League; inclusion of demands of complete liberation of India, instead of dominion status, and exclusion of Ahmadis from the AIML. Jinnah responded that about the former, the final decision would be that of General Council of League and he did not promise about the exclusion of Ahmadis from League.<sup>201</sup>

Iqbal favourably looked the meeting of Jinnah with Ahrar leaders. On May 07, 1936 Iqbal, Barkat Ali, Ghulam Rasool Khan and Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din in a joint statement, rejected the opinion of opponent groups that Jinnah could not sufficiently succeed and that no other party except Ahrars was ready to align with them.<sup>202</sup>

Within no time Iqbal started a public campaign in favour of Jinnah. On May 08, 1936, Iqbal, alongwith Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and Malik Barkat Ali issued a statement complementing Jinnah's political acumen and sagacity and showed their full confidence in his integrity and political judgment. They further anticipated that his organizational endeavours would shatter the illusory leadership of the selfish leaders and the Muslims would elect their true representatives in the ensuing elections.<sup>203</sup>

Meanwhile, Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, headed by Zafar Ali Khan, decided to join the League's Parliamentary Board and to contest election under its banner. This further strengthened the League position in the Punjab. On May 12, 1936, a meeting of leading Muslims of Punjab was held at the residence of Mian Abdul Aziz. Iqbal presided the meeting, which resolved to reconstitute the League. Iqbal was elected as President, Malik Barkat Ali and Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din as Vice-Presidents, Ghulam Rasool as Secretary, Mian Abdul Aziz and M.Amin Advocate as Joint Secretaries and Tassadaq Hussain as Finance Secretary.<sup>204</sup>

### **Formation of League Parliamentary Board**

Meanwhile on May 21, 1936 the members of Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board were announced. Of fifty-six members eleven belonged to Punjab.<sup>205</sup> These include M. Iqbal, Mian Abdul Aziz, Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri, and Raja Ghanzafar Ali Khan of League; Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana M. Ishaq, and Syed Zain-ul-Abideen Shah Gilani of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat; Ch. Afzal Haq, Ch. Abdul Aziz, Khawaja Ghulam Hussain Advocate and Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam.<sup>206</sup> Despite of Unionists opposition,<sup>207</sup> the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board held several meetings and took various decisions in connection with the forthcoming elections, in the province.<sup>208</sup>

In order to manage the affairs of the board, an office was set up at Edward Road, Lahore. A finance committee comprising Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazalbash, Mian Abdul Mannan, Syed M. Ali Ja'afri, Sheikh Jan Muhammad, Sheikh Muhammad Hassan, Hafiz Feroz-ud-Din, Malik Nur Elahi, Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi, Mian Abdul Majeed and Ghulam Rasool Khan was also formulated to raise funds for the smooth functioning of the board and electioneering campaign.<sup>209</sup>

Besides that for the preparation of election manifesto and its dissemination in the province another sub-committee was formed which consisted of Syed Tassadaq Hussain, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash, Sh. Muhammad Hassan, M. Azeem Khan, Aashiq H. Batalvi, Malik Barkat Ali, Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi and Ghulam Rasool Khan.<sup>210</sup>

On June 08, 1936 Jinnah presided an important meeting of Muslim League Parliamentary Board held at Lahore. In that meeting the election manifesto of Muslim League was accorded approval. In that meeting, Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat, while expressing its appreciation for Jinnah's good intention, had refused to fight the elections on the Muslim League ticket on the ostensible ground that the Majlis stood for complete independence of India, while the League accepted the attainment of dominion as its final objects.<sup>211</sup> According to Javed Iqbal, Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat broke away from the Muslim League board because their rival Majlis-i-Ahrar was allotted four seats while they were offered only two seats.<sup>212</sup> To some writers, the man behind this resignation was Dr. M. Alam, who wanted to use the Ittehad-i-Millat, Zafar Ali Khan and Shaheed Ganj issue for his election and he actually did so.<sup>213</sup>

In fact Ittehad-i-Millat wanted to form its own Parliamentary Board and to contest election on the issue of Shaheed Ganj.<sup>214</sup> For that reason, they seceded from their parent body Majlis-i-Ahrar and formed a separate organization in mid 1935.<sup>215</sup> As the election drew nearer, the election campaign in Punjab gained more momentum. Different parties and groups were trying to organize themselves. Analysts were convinced that the only party, which could be the formidable opponent of Unionist Party, was Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam.<sup>216</sup>

### **Realignment of Unionists**

Prior to that we discuss the attempts of Jinnah, which he did with Iqbal to revive PPML and what were their results, it is imperative to have a view of the activities of PNUP in 1935. Fazl-i-Hussain had returned home after completing his tenure as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He wanted to keep himself aloof from the active politics because of his bad health. But due to the continuous insistence of his friends,<sup>217</sup> who requested to lead the nation towards the goal of provincial autonomy, he made up his mind to fight for this cause.<sup>218</sup>

During Fazl-i-Hussain's absence, Sikandar Hayat made his position strong by establishing close links with the urban leaders of the Punjab and he had a ambition in his heart for premiership of Punjab. Sikandar started a covert propaganda, vis-a-vis Fazl-i-Hussain,<sup>219</sup> and despite factional rivalry with the Noons and Tiwanas, shared far more in common with them than Mian Fazl-i-Hussain. It seemed that in mid thirties Fazl-i-Hussain's *de jure* status in the party started receiving jolts from his junior colleagues who engaged themselves in all sort of compromises and counterpoises against their chief.<sup>220</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain was observing all developments with heavy heart and was trying to convalesce the fast lost energy because of illness.<sup>221</sup> In November 1935, his doctor informed him that Muzaffar Khan,<sup>222</sup> a close relative of Sikandar Hayat had contacted him to know about the ailment and had asked how long Fazl-i-Hussain would live? Fazl-i-Hussain was so much upset by this incident that he even thought of committing suicide in ultimate despair.<sup>223</sup>

Though, mediation of some mutual friends facilitated a temporary understanding between Sikandar Hayat and Fazl-i-Hussain,<sup>224</sup> but the latter had lost trust in former and his company. Due to lack of any alternatives, Fazl-i-Hussain was keen to associate him with the work of party organization, but Sikandar did not respond positively. Being an astute and shrewd politician, Fazl-i-Hussain paved his way by appointing Noon as Indian Higher Commissioner in United Kingdom and Shahab-ud-Din as Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank of India.<sup>225</sup> After replacing Noon, Fazl-i-Hussain re-occupied the post of Minister of Education in June 1935. He realized that "in spite of the existence of the Unionist party for twelve years, he [found] the party towards the end destitute of first rate Muslim leaders".<sup>226</sup> He also concluded that "there should be no ruling class but that leaders arise from the common people and not to be confined to the aristocracy, the upper middle and the middle class".<sup>227</sup>

Despite his confession that regardless of having non-communal policy, he (Fazl-i-Hussain) was not successful in getting the due share for the Muslims in different departments of Punjab; in his last important treatise 'Punjab Politics' he advised all the three communities that they should constitute themselves into one party on the basis of a definitely liberal and socialistic programme and work for the

uplift of the Indian masses, pushing forward the case of backward people and backward areas.<sup>228</sup>

On one side he was talking of converting PNUP into a mass party and that its leaders should be from the common people, but on the other hand, he relied upon the same persons, who not only belonged to landed aristocracy but also opposed him to the teeth in earlier 1936.<sup>229</sup> Fazl-i-Hussain's dream of making PUNP a masses party and becoming premier of Punjab could not be materialized due to his sudden death and thus a chapter in politics came to an end. According to Muhammad Khan, "It was a clear contradiction in thinking to contest elections on communal basis, from the platform of a non-communal party to form a non-communal government".<sup>230</sup> It seems that his sole purpose was to safeguard the interests of feudal and landed elites because Unionists allegiance was always a matter of calculation not commitment.<sup>231</sup>

### **Maneuvering of Sikandar Hayat**

Fazl-i-Hussain was disliking all the activities of League Parliamentary Board and concluded that its establishment was a wrong move of Jinnah which would be detrimental to the interest of the Indian Muslims.<sup>232</sup> He was apprehensive that the support of Urbanites like Iqbal, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Taj-ud-Din and Barkat Ali would disrupt Muslim unity in the Punjab.<sup>233</sup>

On the one hand Fazl-i-Hussain was criticizing the activities of League Parliamentary Board and was expressing his happiness and contentment over the secession of Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat from League's Board.<sup>234</sup> On the contrary, one of his lieutenants Sikandar Hayat was busy in his two-pronged strategies. As it had been mention earlier that he did not want an overt confrontation with Fazl-i-Hussain. He did not want to segregate himself from Fazl-i-Hussain but by strengthening his position, he wanted to become the premier of Punjab. Eventually, when he came to know that Muslim League was going to contest elections in the Punjab, he sent Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana on his behalf to attend in the Bombay session of League and Daultana supported all the resolutions passed over there.<sup>235</sup> Contrary to the party lines and Fazl-i-Hussain's policy, which altogether refused to co-operate with Jinnah, Sikandar approached Jinnah through Ghazanfar Ali Khan. The Sikandar faction of

PNUP not only assured him their help in the provincial elections but also promised to organize PNUP under the banner of AIML against Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>236</sup>

On June 22, 1936, Sikandar met Narendra Nath in Lahore and reiterated that co-operation between different political parties of Punjab could only be achieved, if practices on Fazl-i-Hussain's communal policies were abandoned.<sup>237</sup> Sikandar was aware of the fact that Nath was ever ready to help anyone who opposed Fazl-i-Hussain and that party membership would increase by joining hands with Nath,<sup>238</sup> who had a good say in Hindu Urbanites.

On June 24, 1936 on behalf of Sikandar, Daultana met with Iqbal. He presented a formula which might weave Unionists Party and League into harmonious relationship. Seeing the light on the other side of the tunnel, Iqbal instantly contacted Jinnah and informed that Sikandar and Daultana would come to Bombay to see him and talk with him on certain matter of importance.<sup>239</sup> Iqbal on the basis of his negotiations with Daultana and Sikandar further wrote to Jinnah that Unionist's Muslim members were prepared to make the following declaration:

“That in all matters specific to Muslim community as an All India minority they will be bound by the decisions of the League and will never make any party with any non-Muslim group in the provincial assembly” Provided the League makes the following declaration: “That those returned to the provincial assembly on League ticket will cooperate with that party or group which has the largest number of the Muslims”.<sup>240</sup>

The letter of Iqbal to Jinnah indicate that he was hopeful that Sikandar Hayat and his camp followers would join Muslim League. But it was only his wishful thinking because neither Sikandar Hayat wanted to join the League nor he was sincere to form a political party in association with Nirandra Nath. But he was waiting for the death of Fazl-i-Hussain.<sup>241</sup> In fact by conducting these parleys, he was evaluating the strength of his political opponents. The dialogue process was going on when on July 01, 1936 Fazl-i-Hussain become seriously ill and died on July 09, 1936.<sup>242</sup> After him the mantle of leadership fell on Sikandar Hayat, who was himself very keen to assume the office of Punjab Premier.

After the death of Fazl-i-Hussain, Iqbal persuaded Sikandar to enter into a mutual covenant, but the latter was not ready to take the risk of abandoning the non-communal policy of his predecessor. Sikandar and his colleagues were well aware of "their strong strategic position in the province and confident of victory in the election, were in no mood for any compromises with any other political party".<sup>243</sup>

Iqbal resigned from the Presidentship of Parliamentary Board of League in August 1936, on account of his bad health. He did not make himself aloof from the PPML as he possessed the Presidency of Provincial League as well as membership of CPB.

In spite of the delaying tactics of Sikandar Hayat regarding any sort of agreement with League, Iqbal was still of the opinion that settlement with PNUP would yield good results. He was aware of the facts that despite of sincere efforts and intentions of the activists of PPML, they would not succeed in the election because of lack of influence in the political sphere.<sup>244</sup> Therefore, in his letter of August 23, 1936, Iqbal inquired from Jinnah.

"There is some talk of an understanding between the Punjab Parliamentary Board and the Unionist Party. I should like you to let me know what you think of such a compromise and to suggest conditions for the same. I read in the papers that you have brought about a compromise between the Bengal Proja Party and the Parliamentary Board. I should like to know the terms and the conditions. Since the Proja Party is non-communal like the Unionist, your compromise on Bengal may be helpful to you".<sup>245</sup>

Consequently, even with all sincere efforts, the AIML failed to secure the Unionists support and "this failure was also tragic because it ushered in an even bigger rift between League and Unionists, each faction mistrusting and working against the others".<sup>246</sup>

### **Secession of Ahrars**

After the refusal of PNUP and separation of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat from League, another misfortune for League was the secession of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam from the Parliamentary Board. The decision of solo flight of Ahrars, was an untimely decision and an irrational step, which resulted in the defeat of both the parties in the



election. Eventually, the Parliamentary Board of League met on July 28, 1936 and appointed a sub-committee comprising Iqbal, Mian Abdul Aziz, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Ch. Afzal Haq and Mazhar Ali Azhar to prepare a pledge for all League candidates; to plan propaganda for the various constituencies; and to lay down conditions for the nomination of candidates.<sup>247</sup> The differences between Ahrars and League began, when the sub-committee of League Parliamentary Board, besides some other restrictions<sup>248</sup> decided that each person seeking nomination should deposit Rs.50 and that each selected candidate should deposit Rs.500. It was also decided that each selected candidate should agree to pay for any propaganda, conducted on his behalf.<sup>249</sup>

Afzal Haq opposed this new condition and said, 'It has perplexed us. Ahrars represent the middle class and the amount demanded by the League parliamentary Board cannot be provided'.<sup>250</sup> It was stated by Ahrars that in their opinion an accepted candidate's donation should not be more than Rs.100 and that an applicant's deposit should be only Rs.50.<sup>251</sup>

A meeting of PPML was held on the August 23, 1936 in the Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall, Lahore, with Malik Barkat Ali in Chair. The draft pledge prepared by the sub-committee came up for consideration. A new clause was added which "bind successful candidate to fight for the restoration of the Shaheed Ganj Mosque, and also for legislation which would make it impossible for the authorities to inflict such sufferings on the Muslim community as had been the case in the Shaheed Ganj agitation".<sup>252</sup> At that meeting Ahrars again did their utmost to reduce the amount of subscriptions and deposits, but it was not approved.<sup>253</sup> After much pondering of about one month, Ahrars decided to depart from League Parliamentary Board on August 30, 1936.<sup>254</sup> In early September, they finally decided to discard the support of League, withdraw from League's Board and decided to contest election by forming its own Parliamentary Board.

Contrary to Ittehad-i-Millat, the decision of Ahrars separation from Parliamentary Board by making an excuse of amount of subscription depicts their political immaturity and their swing from one type of politics to another and that inconsistency was condemned by the press.<sup>255</sup> *Inqilab* commented that as Muslim

League could not provide money for contesting elections to Ahrars according to their own wishes, they parted their ways on this flimsy excuse.<sup>256</sup> According to Batalvi it was in the air that League Parliamentary Board had collected a huge amount for the election. Punjab would get Rs.1 million of its share which would be spent on meetings and propaganda and most of the amount would be spent on their own discretion.<sup>257</sup> In this context, Ahrars joined with Jinnah hoping to receive handsome subsidies for election campaign,<sup>258</sup> but when it dawned upon them that PPML had a meagre financial status and they had to defray their own expenses, they consequently severed their relations with the League.<sup>259</sup>

According to secret reports, the demands for such heavy subscriptions and deposits was pre-planned and the anti-Ahrar feeling had been growing in the Parliamentary Board for some considerable time and the original members of the League had been at pains to ensure that there should be no question of Ahrar domination.<sup>260</sup>

In that crucial period when even a single vote had a prime importance, League bore the segregation of Ahrars, who besides the glib of magical orators had also the support of the masses. If both joined hands, they might be able to play a decisive role in the Punjab Legislative Council and an organized Muslim organization could be formed against the Sikandar Hayat.<sup>261</sup>

### **Elections in Punjab and Results**

Unlike the Muslim League, Unionist Party contested the 1937 election quite contentedly in its traditional style. During election campaign, Sikandar. Hayat had totally depended upon the support of landlords and the party could not develop as Fazl-i-Hussain had envisaged it to be a party of the masses.<sup>262</sup>

Whilst the Muslim League and INC held mass rallies, which were addressed by political leaders – the PNUP adopted a low-key approach. They did not arrange public meetings because ‘the Unionists believe that the officials of the government are working for them in the districts and the villages’.<sup>263</sup> Secondly, very successfully they won the support of *Pirs*, who due to their heavy influence in the rural belt controlled the votes of their disciples. Before the elections, fourteen leading *Pirs* issued a *fatwa*,

in which they directed their followers to vote for PNUP.<sup>264</sup> Though a selection board for the selection of the candidates was appointed in late 1936, but it never published a list of official candidates. In most constituencies, it adopted the policy of allowing the local faction leaders to fight it out amongst themselves and the winner was declared as Unionist candidate.<sup>265</sup>

These elections were great challenge for League because it was the first time that AIML was going to participate in election on all India basis and under one parliamentary board. Contrary to Unionist party, who launched its campaign in low profile, League vigorously attacked Unionists and held it responsible for the deteriorating economic and political condition of Punjab. In a pamphlet titled 'An Appeal to the Punjabi Muslims' issued by Punjab provincial parliamentary board and signed by Iqbal and some other urbanites, Unionists were condemned for their fanning the rural urban differences in the Punjab. The services of Jinnah regarding Shaheed Ganj Mosque issue were eulogized and Punjabi Muslims were appealed to vote for League in the elections.<sup>266</sup>

In October 1936, Iqbal invited Jinnah to inaugurate the electoral campaign of League. On October 11, the League meeting was held outside Delhi Gate, Lahore. Iqbal had to preside the meeting but eventually he fell ill and could not attend the meeting. Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi, who was defected from Unionist Party and co-opted as Vice President of League, chaired the meeting.<sup>267</sup>

Jinnah in his speech declared an open war against the Unionist Party and said that they did not need such non-communal parties which comprised orthodox Hindus and Muslims.<sup>268</sup> Without taking the name of Sikandar Hayat, he further asserted, 'the leaders of your province who are on the high posts are just puppets in the hands of the government. They don't see anything except egoism'.<sup>269</sup> Indicating the importance of Muslim League as a national level party he said:

"Cast your votes only for the candidates who are contesting on the ticket of Muslim League, who will be responsible for their deeds before the central party in the assembly. Besides them there are many candidates who are just herd of sheep and are answerable to none for their deeds".<sup>270</sup>

Jinnah and Iqbal did their best to strengthen the League's position in the Punjab but they did not succeed to achieve it. Financial constraints were the biggest hurdle in their working. The Muslim League members never bothered to pay annual subscription; even though 'value payable parcels' were posted at considerable expenses. In the majority of cases, they were returned unpaid.<sup>271</sup> Various attempts of Iqbal to raise funds from the influential Muslims of Kot Fateh Khan, Sargodha and Montgomery were declined by them.<sup>272</sup> Due to shortage of party funds, it was made clear that expenditure on account of an election will be met by the candidates themselves.<sup>273</sup>

The policies adopted by the League Propaganda Committee had least affected the rural population. The majority of religious elites, including *Pirs* and *Sajjadahmashins* were campaigning for the Unionist candidates and they proclaimed *fatwas* for their disciples to cast their votes in favour of them. Another reason that weakened the propaganda of League was Urdu Language, which was not commonly used in the villages.<sup>274</sup>

Due to flaws and weakness of League campaign only eight candidates applied for ticket which comprised Malik Barkat Ali, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mian Abdul Majid, Sardar Karim Bakhsh Haidri, Mushtaq Ali Khan and Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash. Of them tickets were issued to seven candidates; however one of the candidates, Qazilbash, declined the League's nomination and joined the camp of Unionists.<sup>275</sup>

Reportedly, during the election campaign, Sikandar Hayat through his closed relative Aziz Ahmed Buksh, delivered a message to Ghulam Rasool, that if AIML would withdraw from the elections, then he would make two persons win the elections nominated by Iqbal; on the condition that Malik Barkat Ali should not be nominated. Iqbal immediately rejected the proposal and clarified that "our purpose is to create political awareness among the masses, and we cannot pack up the whole movement by begging for two seats of council".<sup>276</sup>

The Muslim League fought elections on a very short notice. Much time was wasted in parleys with Unionist over the issue of joint or single parliamentary board.

Scarcity of funds, lack of sophisticated electioneering machinery, weak organization, and weak propaganda all accounted for the defeat of PPML. In the house of 175, PNUP claimed the allegiance of ninety-nine members. Its greatest strength lay in the rural Muslim constituencies in which it won seventy-three out of seventy-five seats.<sup>277</sup> The break down of seats in assembly was:<sup>278</sup>

<b>Table No. I/VII</b>			
Unionist Party	76 Muslims	}	
	11 Hindus	}	
	01 Anglo Indian	}	90
	01 Christian	}	
	01 European	}	
Congress	11 Hindus	}	
	16 Sikhs	)	29
	02 Muslims	)	
Hindu Nationalist Party			10
Khalsa National Party			09
Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam			02
Muslim League			02
Ittehad-i-Millat			02
Labour	02 Sikhs	}	
	02 Hindus	}	04
Indian Christians			01
Independents	11 Hindus	}	
	08 Sikhs	}	26
	07 Muslims	}	
Grand Total:			175

After the Unionist Party, Congress was second largest party with twenty-nine seats in hand.<sup>279</sup> Muslim League managed to win only two seats; Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (1895-1963). The later immediately after the election, resigned from PPML and join PNUP.<sup>280</sup> Similarly Ittehad-i-Millat<sup>281</sup> and Majlis-i-Ahrar<sup>282</sup> also secure only two seats each.

The miserable progress of PPML in election, once again made Jinnah realize that without the co-option of political elites it was very difficult to establish and consolidate League in Punjab and other Muslim majority provinces. On the contrary, Iqbal advised Jinnah to ignore the Muslim minority provinces and concentrate on organization of Muslims of North-Western India. After the 1937 election, the League nevertheless began to play an increasingly important role in the Punjab politics. The League strategic position in Punjab was "from the special character of the communal ideology championed by Iqbal".<sup>283</sup>

After the achievement of heavy mandate in the 1937 election, the foremost problem before Sikandar was to produce equilibrium between various Unionists factions and to accommodate his allies in the assembly. Despite of Unionists majority in the House, i.e. 90 of 175, he forged a coalition between Unionists, Khalsa Nationalist Party and National Progressive Party (Hindu National Party Election Board). He gave representation to all groups in the cabinet<sup>284</sup> and thus was able to get support of 120 members of assembly and founded the strongest ministry in the history of province and elected himself the first premier of Punjab.<sup>285</sup>

Soon after the formation of ministry, Sikandar launched a new legislative programme of agrarian reforms. It primarily aimed at the elevation of party prestige and to please the landed classes. Using 'Agriculturalist' ideology to underscore the ministry's position he focused on the rural political loyalist.<sup>286</sup> In the formative years of his ministry, Sikandar was successful in the formulation of Registration of Money Lenders Act 1938, Registration of Mortgaged Land Act 1938, Punjab Land Alienation (Amendment) Act 1938, and Relief of Indebtedness Act 1940, which were welcomed by the landed elites and prestige of Government and ministry had increased.<sup>287</sup> To David, Unionists' effort to manipulate agriculturalist ideology developed in response to both internal factionalism and escalating anti-government agitation.<sup>288</sup>

## **SIKANDAR – JINNAH PACT**

In spite of heavy mandate in the assembly, vast agenda of reforms in the agriculture sector and being under official patronage, what were the circumstances, which compelled Sikandar Hayat to sign a treaty with Jinnah, to whom before election, he himself and the pioneer of the PNUP had taught not to interfere in the

Punjab politics. Leaving it aside that PNUP was a pro-government party or AIML claimed to represent the Muslims, in the following pages, an objective analysis of the events would be made to find out that under what circumstances the rivals of yesterday became friends.

### **Congress' Muslim Mass Contact Campaign**

Since its formation, INC not received due attention from the masses in Punjab and its activities were confined only to the drawing room meeting. Even during first quarter of twentieth century, the Punjabi masses, particularly the Hindus showed little emotion, and least participation in INC agitational politics. In the elections for Montford reformed councils, most of the Hindu seats were won by the Hindu Mahasabha.

In 1936-37 elections, the Congress leadership launched a vigorous campaign and strongly criticized the Communal Award in their speeches and statements.<sup>289</sup> Thus, it was able to improve its position and by securing twenty-nine seats in the Punjab Assembly it appeared as the second largest parliamentary group in the house. Congress also performed well in the other provinces. Of the total 1,585 seats its candidates succeeded on 716 seats.<sup>290</sup> However, it had not been able to win any significant amount of Muslim seats. In the 482 Muslim constituencies in British India, INC contested on only 58 and won only twenty-six.<sup>291</sup> On the contrary AIML, even with all politico-financial problems and local jealousies and rivalries was successful to obtain 109 seats in toto out of 482 Muslim seats.<sup>292</sup>

Victory of INC in the provincial elections of 1937 resulted in the change of tone of its leadership. Instead of welcoming the Muslim League's offer of cooperation in forming ministries, Nehru began to talk of direct liaison with the Muslim masses, by-passing the League.<sup>293</sup> On March 19, 1937, addressing the convention of the elected representatives of INC, Nehru admitted that in the past, the Muslim masses had been neglected by Hindus, but now he wanted to bring the Muslim masses to the fold of INC.<sup>294</sup> In this regard a circular was issued by Nehru himself to all the provincial Congress Committees to pay special attention to the enrollment of Muslim members and to open branch offices of INC in the far flung villages. He also advised them not to sign any agreement with the communal Muslim leaders.<sup>295</sup>

On July 01, 1937, the General Secretary of the Punjab Congress Committee announced that "with a view to carry the message of the Congress to every adult of this province it has been decided to constitute *Mohallah* or ward committees [of INC] in every town and city"<sup>296</sup>

In order to establish contact with the Muslims of Punjab, a sub-committee of twenty members was formed. The prominent members of this Committee were Ch. M. Hussain (MPA.), Mian Ifikhar-ud-Din (MPA.), Abdul Majid Attiqi and Munshi Ahmad Din.<sup>297</sup> That committee started working in Punjab in May 1937 and a huge amount of Rs.30, 000 was allocated for its propaganda campaign.<sup>298</sup> It was decided that the Muslim masses should be approached by workers to be recruited from the Muslims community and for this purpose Dr. Kanwar Muhammad Ashraf<sup>299</sup> was appointed.<sup>300</sup>

The *Tabligh* department of Majlis-i-Ahrar promptly decided to come forward and exhort the Muslims to join INC. On the eve of political conference of Majlis-i-Ahrar at Multan on 21-23 May, Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din declared that the Muslims were prepared to cooperate with all progressive political parties which were trying to eliminate the reactionary elements. He welcomed Congress propaganda among the Muslims.<sup>301</sup>

In short such thoughts were expressed by the professional and hired writers of INC in which Islamic culture and doctrines were deprecated and downgraded. The pro-Congress writers expounded that real and basic division was of exploits and the exploited. Therefore the exploited Muslims should join hands with the exploited Hindus and foreset the fact that they were anyway different.<sup>302</sup> In an article published in *Madina* (Bajnore) it was asserted that "the poor, the impecunious and slaves have no culture and religion. Their biggest religion is a piece of bread and their biggest culture is a torn shirt".<sup>303</sup>

To I.H.Qureshi, 'Muslim mass contact campaign' was imposing such ideas which attempted to subvert the Muslims faith and to convert them to Marxism,<sup>304</sup> and total disintegration of Muslim community. To carry these thinking to the Punjabi public who was not only illiterate and ignorant, but also simple minded, was like to revolutionize their thoughts and minds. which were to ruin the Muslim culture and



values in the next few years. Its one example came into lime light in 1937 that pro-Congress, All India *Kisan* Committee constituted many *Kisan* Committees in canal colonies and started a vigorous anti-government campaign against settlement operations, which alarmed the Unionist government.<sup>305</sup>

Dethroning of Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum (1864-1939) ministry in NWFP through a successful no-confidence motion, which was maneuvered by INC and Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik, further threatened the Unionist ministry in Punjab. Though, there was no instant danger to Sikandar ministry, but his ministry could have collapsed if Hindu or Muslim members of assembly had parted away in near future.

In nutshell, the congress socialist programme launched under the auspices of Nehru, collaboration of Ahrars with Congress in its anti-Unionist activities and anti-Islamic literature, was a cause of great concern for the rural based Sikandar Ministry and also the Muslim League. If we really notice it, the Congress' Muslim Mass contact campaign was nothing except a hypocrisy, deceit and fraud and which primarily aimed at folding the Muslims in their ranks to win the elections. To a contemporary writer, "four *anna* membership contact with Muslim masses-what do you mean by Muslim mass contact when the very touch of a Congressman makes his brother Hindu Congressman unclean".<sup>306</sup>

### **Iqbal's Efforts of League Consolidation**

Congress mass contact campaign, not only alarmed the Unionist ministry but it was also the sign of danger for the PPML leadership, led by Iqbal. Iqbal was not disappointed by the performance of PPML in the elections. He felt that on account of Nehru's mass contact campaign, Muslims might be entrapped, who are already steeped in political polarization and disintegration. Iqbal feared that with the Ahrars to light the fires, the Congress might blaze its way to Muslim hearts in the Punjab.<sup>307</sup> These concerns motivated Iqbal to write Jinnah, urging him for the initiation of the Muslim League mass contact movement to counter the campaign of INC. He asserted that an effective reply should be given to the All India National Convention by holding a All India Convention of Muslim members of provincial assemblies and prominent Muslim leaders at Delhi.<sup>308</sup> Iqbal clarified that

“...economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view, the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less than the economic problem.”<sup>309</sup>

Explaining the significance of All India Muslim Convention he said that it would further make it clear to Hindus that no political device could make the Indian Muslims lose sight of their cultural entity.<sup>310</sup> In his letter of April 22, 1937, Iqbal once again reiterated and insisted to hold an All India Muslim Convention in Delhi to give well defined guide line to Muslims as soon as possible. He expressed his fears that Punjabi Muslims were rapidly becoming pro-Congress.<sup>311</sup>

Iqbal was not only depending on Jinnah, but for the conversion of League into a mass party, to popularize it among the rural masses and to combat with Congress' mass contact campaign, he launched the League's mass contact campaign in the rural Punjab. Iqbal and his lieutenants; Barkat Ali, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and others were of the view that substantial steps should be taken to stop INC from the invasion of Punjab Muslim masses, which was an important nerve-centre of India.<sup>312</sup> On April 25, 1937 in a meeting of PPML, presided by Iqbal it was decided that district level and local branches of the League should be established and contact with Muslim masses should be enhanced. To act upon these suggestions, a committee under the leadership of Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi was setup which started touring Punjab from the second week of May. Within no time, with the help of young political workers the branch offices of League were established in rural Punjab.<sup>313</sup>

With the imperiousness of its power and exhilaration of the rule, the Congress had started its campaign all over India to ruin the Muslim values, the separate Muslim identity, and Muslim culture. As Iqbal had attached high hopes of Muslim revival with Jinnah, hence he suggested tersely some revolutionary steps in his letter to Jinnah, dated May 28, 1937, in which he pointed out to popularize the Muslim League on mass level, and later on to establish a separate Muslim state by partitioning India, where the principles of Islamic *Sharia* could be promulgated. He said:

“The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it”.<sup>314</sup>

After commenting on the staggering economy of Muslims, Iqbal held Hindu moneylenders and the imperialist rulers responsible for all this disorder. His remedy for the ills of Muslims was the introduction and application of Islamic *Shariah* in the liberated Muslim homeland. He concluded:

“After a long and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at last the right to subsistence is secured to every body. But the enforcement of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states.....To solve the problems it is necessary to reconstitute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived?”<sup>315</sup>

### **Sikandar – Jinnah Agreement and Its Impacts**

In context of Muslim's mass contact campaign of Congress and League, now we will examine and analyze the policies of Unionist Party. Sikandar Hayat, the premier of Punjab was worried about the campaign of INC. He was also aware about Iqbal's effort to consolidate and strengthen the League organization in the province. He had a close liaison with bureaucracy and secret agencies and understood that this new trend of politics could be harmful for his ministry as well as party. Though, Unionists commanded a large majority in the assembly but it lacked clearly defined cultural foundations for their power. They had inherited this position from the British continued commitment to the agricultural tribes, which provide the Unionists a platform for unifying local leaders to support them and it did not define a broad Punjabi community transcending local divisions.<sup>316</sup>

The Unionists found themselves on crossroads. Though, they co-opted Hindu and Sikh feudal since last ten years, yet the abolition of communal electorates, quotas and policies of government were their often repeated demands. In the event of any serious communal problem,<sup>317</sup> it was hardly possible to keep hold of the support of non-Muslim allies. If Hindu and Sikh members joined hands with the INC; PNUP would die at the spot. On the contrary, if Muslim representatives deserted them for joining INC or AIML; again it would prove disastrous for Sikandar ministry.

The PNUP seriously started thinking in terms of collaboration with AIML. The Unionist leaders offered co-operation to Jinnah, for all India problems, on the

basis that he would not disturb the power structure in Punjab. In a letter to Jinnah, Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana guaranteed him of the co-operation of PNUP for AIML , He writes:

“Despite our party commitments you may well regard all Unionist Muslim as Muslim Leaguers for purposes of your all India policy. The Punjab Muslims will unanimously support you in your brave fight against the INC onslaught on Muslim safeguards”.<sup>318</sup>

Jinnah, after his return to homeland in 1935 was busy in organizing and solidifying his position in Punjab. In these conditions, PNUP desired to co-operate with Muslim League was not less than a great blessing. He badly needed the support of the Punjab “the corner stone of Pakistan” as he called it later in a speech.<sup>319</sup>

On the contrary in late thirties, Iqbal’s preferences had changed altogether. Contrary to his previous viewpoint regarding an agreement between AIML and PUNP, prior to elections of 1936; now he was keen to consolidate and uplift League in the province on independent lines. Iqbal did not believe that Jinnah could profitably enter into a indenture with Sikandar, which would benefit the League in the Punjab. Iqbal wanted Jinnah to concentrate the League’s energy on North-West Indian Muslims and to his mind “the separate federation of Muslim provinces is the only course” by which they could “secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims”.<sup>320</sup>

In this context, Iqbal tried to convince Jinnah to focus on NorthWestern provinces for his campaign, as these provinces were to become a Muslim state in line with Iqbal’s vision. He advised Jinnah to hold the AIML’s annual session in Lahore and assured him that “the interest in the AIML is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims”.<sup>321</sup> He recapitulated that “Lahore session will be a turning point in the history of the League and an important step toward mass contact”.<sup>322</sup>

Contrary to Iqbal, Jinnah’s way of thinking was different. As a strategist, he was of the opinion, that with the co-operation of PNUP, he could not only contain the

onslaught of INC but also strengthened the League in Punjab. He concluded that League was in a formative phase in Punjab and could not afford an overt confrontation with a sound party like PNUP. In fact that was the reason due to which he deliberately did not expel those members of Unionist Party who despite of AIML membership rebelled against the party discipline. Even Iqbal was in favour of their expulsion from League ranks.<sup>323</sup>

Jinnah also disregarded the opinion of Iqbal to hold the meeting of AIML in Lahore. He summoned the annual session of League in Lucknow on October 15, 1937 and especially invited Sikandar Hayat to attend the session. Perhaps Jinnah assumed that in the case that session would be held in Lahore, the delegates of PPML., on the basis of their majority, might become hurdle in the expected settlement with PNUP. It has been reported that negotiations were already held between the two parties, to reach some understanding. Before coming to Lucknow, Jinnah had already been in touch with Sikandar Hayat who was perturbed to retain a certain amount of freedom from the Muslim League organization for dealing with the special problems in the Punjab in the field of administration, by preserving the PNUP intact, and to ensure minority co-operation.<sup>324</sup>

The annual session of AIML was held on October 15, at Lucknow. It was a successful show of AIML strength and power. Unlike the Bombay session (1936) which was attended by only 200 delegates; it was marked with the presence of 2,000 delegates from all over India. The presence of three Muslims premiers, Sir Sikandar Hayat<sup>325</sup> of Punjab; Maulvi A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq (1873-1962) of Bengal; and Sir M. Saadullah (1886-1950) of Assam, initiated a new phase of Muslim solidarity in the context of crucial situation in Indian politics.<sup>326</sup> Iqbal did not attend the session, because of ailment. However, he wrote a letter to him in which he advised Jinnah that Muslim League should adopt a strong line of action on the question of Palestine problem. He believed that contact with masses in this regard would not only popularize the League but might help the Palestine Arabs.<sup>327</sup>

During Lucknow session, Nawab M. Ismail Khan facilitated a meeting at his residence between Jinnah and Sikandar. After detailed negotiations, both leaders

agreed on a draft declaration, which later gain fame as 'Sikandar-Jinnah Pact'.<sup>328</sup> The four points of declaration were:-

- (a) That on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all members of the party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the AIML. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition of the Unionist Party.
- (b) That in future elections and by-elections for the Legislature after the adoption of this arrangement, the groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support candidates put up by their respective groups.
- (c) That the Muslim members of the Legislature, who are elected on or accept the League Ticket will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into a coalition or alliance with any other Party consistently with the fundamental principles of the policy and programme of the League. Such alliances may be evolved before or after the elections. The existing combination shall maintain its present name, the Unionist Party.
- (d) In view of the aforesaid arrangement, the Provincial League Parliamentary Board shall be reconstituted.<sup>329</sup>

After the successful parleys both Jinnah and Sikandar joined the AIML session, where they were warmly welcomed. Sikandar, in his speech, acknowledged Jinnah as his leader and stated that he would join the League.<sup>330</sup> According to Wolpert, Jinnah accepted Sikandar's terms, gladly 'stooping to embrace and conquer that Punjabi baron'.<sup>331</sup> The League was enormously strengthened by the accession of Punjab, Bengal and Assam's premiers, and Jinnah himself was suddenly raised to an eminence which he had never enjoyed before.<sup>332</sup>

The pact was a loosely word document, and could not be called a pact in the real sense.<sup>333</sup> Its status was not more than a 'memorandum of understanding' signed between two political leaders. It neither clarified the position of League nor of the Unionists. Every body adjudicated it according to its need and thinking. In fact, on the very return from Lucknow both parties issued such statements, which showed that they wanted to make their position strong at the cost of other party. Sikandar Hayat was happy that he had won the support of the AIML and Jinnah was pleased that the representative position of the Muslim League had become strong after the inclusion of Puniah premier.

Commenting on the structure of the clauses of the pact, Governor wrote to Viceroy, 'it is easier for Jinnah to twist the pact to suit his own convenience than the Unionist Party'.<sup>334</sup> The Governor told Sikandar that after the pact with the League, he would have to face an increasingly difficult situation in proclaiming the non-communal nature of his party and ministry; and that Sikandar could no longer pose to be a non-communal leader of the Punjab.<sup>335</sup> Indeed, after signing the pact, Sikandar tried to win favour with both non-Muslim Unionists and Muslim Leaguers, which made his role dubious for both groups.<sup>336</sup>

The non-Muslim coalition partners of Sikandar Ministry, for instance Chottu Ram, viewed that he made a complete surrender to Jinnah and PNUP would be absorbed by League.<sup>337</sup> Sikandar very tactfully controlled the situation. He had one policy for the League and the other for the Unionists. He assured his Hindu and Sikh colleagues that Jinnah was in his pocket, not the other way round.<sup>338</sup> He asserted that his agreement with Jinnah would have no effect on the prevailing composition of parties in the assembly, although Muslim Unionists, would also be advised to obtain Muslim League membership. But he also said that "in future elections candidates would stand on Muslim League tickets on the condition that they joined the Unionist support for the election".<sup>339</sup> It seems that shrewd Sikandar might have induced Chottu Ram because in a news statement later on, Chottu Ram, interpreted this pact, as a tool which meant to flourish Unionist Party in Punjab.<sup>340</sup>

In sum, Sikandar-Jinnah pact widened the political gulf between PPML and the Unionist ministry that result in a new phase of confrontation between the two groups.

### **Reaction of Iqbal and Punjab League**

Eventually, when Sikandar - Jinnah Pact was signed, and there came out contradictory statements in this regard; it was a bomb-shell for Leaguers of the Punjab and caused much resentment among the veteran Leaguers of province. They felt that Sikandar Hayat wanted to have two-pronged policy in this regard; it meant to use the Muslim League to contain the INC onslaught and at the same time they wanted to convert PPML in to its auxiliary body to promote their vested interests.<sup>341</sup> Iqbal, Barkat Ali, Ghulam Rasool Khan, Aashiq H. Batalvi, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and other

urban leaders of PPML considered the activities of PNUP and Sikandar Hayat disastrous for the working and growth of League in the province, and concluded that it primarily aimed at the hijack of Muslim League.

Backed by Iqbal, Barkat Ali, the solitary member of PPML in the assembly, showed his dissatisfaction with the Pact and had started trying to organize the League in the Punjab without any interference by the Punjab Ministry. He argued that under the Pact, the PNUP would be subject to the orders of the League and not vice versa.<sup>342</sup> In this context, on Oct. 22, 1937, on the advice of Iqbal, Ghulam Rasool, Secretary General of PPML send the membership forms of the League to Sir Sikandar Hayat, so that he could make the PNUP members to sign over them, but he forbade them from doing so.<sup>343</sup> Iqbal complained to Jinnah about the Unionists attitude. He asserted that by refusing to sign the League creed, they wanted to slacken the activities of the provincial League.<sup>344</sup> To Syed Nur Ahmad, the actual trouble was that Sir Sikandar was not accepting the existing provincial League as his political boss and was, therefore, not handing the forms over to the League office.<sup>345</sup>

On Oct. 31, 1937, Sikandar with his few colleagues came to meet Iqbal in which they held a discussed the mutual differences of PNUP and PPML. Sikandar told him that Jinnah agreed that PPML parliamentary board would work under the supervision of PNUP and that the Unionists should have majority in the board. He also wanted to change the provincial organization and wanted to take the fiscal record of League in their custody. Iqbal did not agree to it.<sup>346</sup> When Iqbal demanded full compliance with the Lucknow declaration, Sikandar asserted that in addition to the written pact between him and Jinnah, there was also a certain "verbal understanding", which gave him considerable flexibility of action.<sup>347</sup>

Iqbal was quite anxious at the fast deteriorating political situation. On the very next day i.e. Nov. 01, 1937 he wrote to Jinnah:

".....I further want to ask you whether you agreed to the Provincial Parliamentary Board being controlled by the Unionist Party. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to this and therefore he claims that the Unionists Party must have their majority in the Board. This as for I know does not appear in the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement".<sup>348</sup>



Un-expectant of hardly any co-operation from PPML, Sikandar was also busy in new alignment. In a letter to Jinnah, he highlighted the difficulties faced by him since the pact had been signed by him, and requested him to take measure to stop the campaign against him. Like a tactful politician, Sikandar gave him the impressions that he was doing useful work in the re-organization of the League. In order to satisfy the League and the Unionists, Sikandar demanded another statement from Jinnah that 'his party would continue to exist, but its members would sign the creed of League in due course'.<sup>349</sup> He also requested Jinnah to send instructions to PPML leadership to avoid any further steps which might further embarrass his ministry.<sup>350</sup>

There was no such evidences whether Jinnah warned the opponents of Sikandar Hayat or not. However the campaign against Sikandar was continued by Iqbal and Barkat Ali, not publicly but it remained confined to private and confidential letters to Jinnah. Iqbal was not satisfied with the situation and observed that the pact between Sikandar and Jinnah had given superior position to the PNUP and League, which slowly and gradually was loosing its importance. On Nov. 10, 1937, Iqbal informed Jinnah about Sikandar's demands and concluded that all this accounts to capturing of the League and then killing it.<sup>351</sup>

There is no record available, detailing Jinnah's answers to Iqbal's letters, but one point is noteworthy, that in this controversy between Sikandar, Iqbal and Barkat Ali, Jinnah did not endorse Iqbal's point of view about League's organizational structure. For Jinnah, technicalities of League organization were less important than the over all pattern of broad-based League support.<sup>352</sup> In a letter to Barkat Ali, he assured that. "If you people have a little patience these small matters of details will be adjusted fairly and justly and mainly in the interest of the cause for which we stand".<sup>353</sup> He also asked to show that letter to Iqbal, Ghulam Rasool and other friends in Punjab. It was interesting to note that while Jinnah chose to pursue a policy of patience and did not press Sikandar for the complete implementation of the Pact. Sikandar Hayat left no stone unturned to make the most of it in his own interest.<sup>354</sup> Indeed, with Jinnah's help, he was able to use the Muslim League to secure symbolic legitimacy of the sort he had long sought.<sup>355</sup>

On February 06, 1938, in a meeting of PPML, Iqbal on account of his deteriorating health, resigned from the post of President of PPML. He was replaced by Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot.<sup>356</sup> However on the insistence of Leaguers he accepted to work as a patron, though that was not specified in the League's constitution.<sup>357</sup> The other key posts were as under:-<sup>358</sup>

K.B. Malik Zaman Khan Mahdi		Dy. President
Malik Barkat Ali	}	Vice Presidents
Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din	}	
Ghulam Rasool Khan		Secretary
Mian Bashir Ahmed	}	Joint Secretaries
Aashiq Hussain Batalvi	}	
Sheikh Muhammad Hussain	}	
Mian Abdul Majid		Finance Secretary

Mamdot was a staunch Unionist and close and trusted colleague of Sikandar Hayat. Evidences are not available as to why Iqbal accepted him as his successor. It seems that Barkat Ali assured Iqbal that Nawab Mamdot would finance the League to boost up its position and also lessen the gulf between league and Unionists. And that due to his efforts, many Unionist parliamentarians would join Muslim League.<sup>359</sup>

PNUP strived from the start of 1936 that Muslim League should not hold its annual session in Punjab. Sikandar Hayat tried his best to keep Muslim League and national leadership out of Punjab. Contrary to that Iqbal was eager to hold the annual session of AIML in Punjab, because he considered it as a mean of spreading League popularity in the province.<sup>360</sup> Jinnah was also willing to the suggestion. On March 02, 1938, the PPML secretary Ghulam Rasool Khan, sent an invitation to Jinnah, to hold the annual session at Lahore.<sup>361</sup> Almost on the same day, the Provincial President of League, Nawab Mamdot, wrote to Jinnah that the decision to invite him to hold the annual session at Lahore was taken in his absence. He argued:

“It is my duty to inform you that in order to protect the League’s interest and that of Shaheed Ganj Mosque, the League session could not be held in Lahore”.<sup>362</sup>

On March 19, 1938, when Barkat Ali, Malik Zaman Mahdi, Batalvi and Ghulam Rasool Khan, restated the Punjab Muslim League invitation to Jinnah, he read them Mamdot’s letter.<sup>363</sup>

In March, 1938, PPML applied for its affiliation with its central body. They also submitted a list of ninety persons who would participate in the election of Muslim League Council. As the members of the PNUP had not so far signed the League membership forms, therefore no Muslim Unionist was included in that list.<sup>364</sup>

The League council in its meeting of 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1938 appointed a committee<sup>365</sup> under the president ship of Nawab M. Ismail Khan, to decide the applications of affiliation of Punjab and other provinces. This committee rejected the application for affiliation of PPML on the ground of incongruity between the constitutions of AIML and PPML.<sup>366</sup> To Batalvi, it was due to the intrigues of Sikandar Hayat and his companions who wanted to place themselves in the A.I.M.L. Council. For this purpose they approached Liaquat Ali Khan,<sup>367</sup> who also belonged to a landlord family of Karnal, and thus maneuvered successfully the decision in their favour.

This was a great set back for PPML. At this stage, Iqbal, disappointed with the attitude of PNUP, prepared a lengthy press statement in which he wanted to nullify Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, as it had damaged the interests of League in the province. Despite the lapse of four months, nothing has been done to implement or carry out the terms of agreement, therefore, it ceased to exist.<sup>368</sup> However, on Jinnah’s request he did not release his statement to the press<sup>369</sup> and for the time being, the issue subsided.

To tackle with matter of affiliation, Iqbal advised his colleagues to carry the matter to the special session of AIML, which was to be held on April 17-19, 1938 at Calcutta. Notwithstanding the opposition of Liaquat Ali Khan, Barkat Ali successfully pleaded his case for affiliation. So as to accommodate the Unionists, Jinnah issued a directive for re-constitution of PPML in which 50% representation

would be given to PPML and Muslim Unionists each. However, the same evening when Liaquat Ali Khan issued the list of membership of organization committee, only ten seats were given to PPML and remaining twenty-five were allotted to PNUP. Sikandar Hayat had been made head of the Committee.<sup>370</sup> The PPML delegates headed by Barkat Ali were much disappointed with the low representation in the organizing committee. Barkat Ali induced the annoyed members to continue to work in the committee.<sup>371</sup> Perhaps, by boycotting the committee; he could not pave the way for complete dominance of Unionists over the League affairs.

On the contrary, Sikandar and his group were quite delighted at this success. Indeed, with Jinnah's help, he was able to monopolize the League. Just after two days, after the League session, on April 21, 1938, Iqbal also expired. In this way the last obstacle of PNUP was also removed and their grip over Punjab became firm.

### **Critical Analysis of Pact**

The study of Punjab politics revealed that Jinnah always wanted Punjab's cooperation at any price. If we look back at the history, while undertaking the re-organization of AIML, Jinnah's first preference was Fazl-i-Hussain - the godfather of PNUP. Without support from Punjab there would have been no 'breakthrough' for Jinnah. Given the limited following of the Muslim League in the province all through the 1930's, it was a proof of his great statesmanship that he struck a deal with Sikandar Hayat in 1937; which proved to be the launch pad for the League's entry and then its subsequent conquest of Punjab.<sup>372</sup> According to some contemporary critics, for instance, Sajjad Zaheer, Pact between Jinnah and Sikandar was a "wrong move",<sup>373</sup> which worked entirely to the advantage of the Unionists. Apparently, Pact was "nothing less than the complete subordination of the Muslim League within the Punjab,"<sup>374</sup> but it was a part of his long term strategy. He had accepted 'bad coins' so as to bring others into the fold of League, and that he wanted to show to the British that most of the Muslim provinces were with him in the Muslim League, regardless of the nature and extent of their support for the Muslim League.<sup>375</sup>

Secondly, he did not think it right to fight at two fronts simultaneously. Hence, by accepting the co-operation of PNUP, as a lesser evil, he tried to contain the Congress' Muslim Mass contact campaign. Similarly, Sikandar shook hand with

AIML not out of deep conviction but merely as a matter of necessity to save his ministry from the Congress' tide of totalitarianism.<sup>376</sup> David had made a telling comment that, 'Jinnah first forged a Pact with the Unionist Party, and then broke with them only when he secured the direct support of rural magnets'.<sup>377</sup>

Perhaps Sikandar also felt it soon after signing the Pact, that Jinnah in order to backlash this agreement, might utilize it to break the influence of PNUP in the rural areas. Therefore in order to strengthen his position in the rural Punjab, Sikandar Hayat established a new political body named as 'Punjab Zamindara League'. He claimed that this party was meant for the protection of poor peasants proprietors and it had no political motives. However, covertly, it aimed at minimizing the influence of Muslim League in the rural areas.<sup>378</sup> Unionists intended to isolate local rural branches of the League from urban Muslim influence, so that they could not spread the "reformist ideas of Muslim solidarity into the countryside".<sup>379</sup>

In short term perspective, that Pact proved for them a 'knock of fortune', which stamped the Unionists hegemony over all the Punjab. But it proved for them a parasite in the long run that they were swept like straws in the great deluge before the Muslim League in 1946.

It was the doctrine of necessity, which forced the Unionist and the Muslim League to engage in this 'paper marriage'. Contrary to the situation of 1936 when the League was 'eager' to join hands with PNUP and the latter was least interested in so; in 1937 both were mentally ready to shake hands with each other. Just like steroids, which for the time being enhanced the physical strengths but in long run proved injurious to the overall health, similarly the alliance of League with Unionist Party instantly raised their political prestige but when the League directly maintained a liaison with rural masses and elites, Unionists had no option, except to take refuge in the laps of INC.

As far as the PPML and its urban leadership was concerned they began to express their reservations regarding Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, since its initiation. Iqbal in his series of letters to Jinnah tried to make him realize that AIML should concentrate on the Muslim majority provinces. As Iqbal, on account of his bad health was unable

to travel, therefore when he heard various interpretations of Jinnah-Sikandar Pact from the Unionist leaders, he anxiously sought explanations from Jinnah. However, Batalvi is not objective in saying that had Iqbal been alive, his differences would have assumed enormous proportion with Jinnah.

It was on the record that Iqbal and Barkat Ali had many times invited Jinnah's attention to the anti-League policies of Sikandar Hayat. They also realized Jinnah that the solutions of the Muslim problems laid only in the redistribution of sub-continent and establishment of separate Muslim state. Iqbal concluded that this was the right time to announce it. But what was Jinnah's reaction and response in this regard; history throws no light on it, because no documentary record was available of the replies of Jinnah to Iqbal. It seems that Jinnah advised patience to PPML friends and he also patiently waits the development of public sentiments, through the process of public debate and discussion. According to Javed Iqbal, "Jinnah tried to assure Iqbal that the political character of Muslim India as formulated by him, would be eventually presented from the platform of Muslim League, but that he should leave the suitable time frame for such a presentation to Jinnah".<sup>380</sup>

It depicts that the only converging point between Iqbal and Jinnah was the issue of time frame; otherwise both had complete consonance in their views. Neither Jinnah had some doctrinal incongruence with Iqbal, nor had Iqbal lost faith in the leadership and integrity of Jinnah. Little before his death, in January 1938, Nehru and Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din came to meet Iqbal. During the course of discussion Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din said; 'Doctor Sahib, why don't you become the leader of Muslims? Muslims pay you more respect than Jinnah. The results will be better if you talk to Congress, representing the Muslims'.<sup>381</sup> Iqbal spontaneously replied; "I want to tell you that Mr. Jinnah is the true leader of the Muslims, and I am his ordinary soldier".<sup>382</sup>

Similarly on another occasion, in one of his private discourse with Ghulam Rasool Mehr (1895-1941) and Abdul Majeed Salik (1894-1959), he said; "we cannot find any one better than Jinnah. Jinnah is capable of leading us".<sup>383</sup>

It is obvious that has there been any difference, it was not ideological, but was on time frame, because views of both of them were substantially in consonance with each other.<sup>384</sup> As a strategist and statesman, Jinnah had formed a roadmap, in which there was no trace of that milestone yet, about which Iqbal was emphatically insisting. In 1940, at the eve of historical session of AIML at Lahore, Jinnah expressed his ideas in the same manner and identical language, which was oftentimes used by Iqbal in his letters to him. In a dialogue with his private secretary M.H. Sayyed, he said; "Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted to do so".<sup>385</sup>

However history proved that Iqbal's strategy of patiently building the League at gross root level was correct because a sound structure can only be developed over the strong and durable foundation. The AIML had to pay the price of its agreement with the PNUP that it could not get the electoral support in the coming years in Punjab. Definitely, it was the charisma of the political struggle of Iqbal that the feudal of Unionists party put into oblivions all their arrogance and forced to agree over Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. Then they had to setup 'Zamindara League' to counter the growing influence and popularity of League. Lastly, they had to align them with INC to block the public spate of Muslim League. It was the political wisdom of Iqbal, which became the base of the Muslim League, that they relied on the masses instead of feudal elites and Unionist Party was routed out in the general elections of 1946.

## CONCLUSION

The second and third decades of twentieth century were ripe for some such political and social developments which later left indelible marks on the post 1940 Muslim politics, especially on the politics of Punjab. It was an era of socio-economic and political deprivation for the Punjabi Muslims as compared to other communities. Rise of *Shuddi* and *Sangathan* movements followed by Hindu-Muslim riots, influx of anti-Islamic literature and insolent attacks by the Christian missionaries had injured the religious feelings of Muslims. The untimely end of Khilafat movement by Gandhi not only shattered the Hindu-Muslim unity but also acted as a catalyst in widening the political gulf between League and Congress.

The period was also marked with the waxing and waning of many Muslims religio-political movements and organizations, for instance, Khaksar Tehrik, Majlis-i-Ahrar and Ittehad-i-Millat. Although these organizations activated the public with their agitative programme but sooner, they met their decline as they could not come up with any practicable and clear-cut political agenda.

Late twenties and entire thirties was the busiest period in the life of Iqbal. Besides his poetical and intellectual journey, he played a significant role in politics and guided the Muslims on practical and ideological fronts. Along with the reorganization of Muslim League in the Punjab, Iqbal persuaded Jinnah to demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims. In fact it was the miraculous impact of Iqbal's poetry, coupled with his philosophical reasoning and political acumen which goaded on the Muslims to firmly stick to the idea of establishment of Pakistan. Under the charismatic leadership of Jinnah, they vigorously struggled for a separate Muslim homeland and rejected the concept of composite Indian nationalism or '*Akhand Bharat*'. Thus the Muslim community of India embraced Iqbal's concept of Islam and spurned the agenda of pro-Congress and nationalist Muslim organizations.

Majlis-i-Ahrar played a notable role as an organization and sooner Ahrars touched the pinnacles of popularity with their agitative politics. In the early part of 1930, during the Kashmir movement they manipulated and infuriated the masses



against the British imperialist forces and inseminated hatred against the English in such Punjabi areas, which were supposed to breed only toadies and stooges for the British. According to K.K. Aziz, the Ahrars were particularly successful in creating restlessness among the rustic masses but failed to provide a constructive lead.<sup>1</sup> Lack of effective organization, frequent arrests of leadership, insufficient financial resources, lack of co-ordination and inconsistent political behaviour also acted as catalyst to the process of its fall. No doubt, internal fissures were present in the ranks of Ahrar, yet their anti-British posture kept them together. Ahrars took their war against British not just as something temporary or emotional but they supposed it quite natural because they thought, as Muslims, it was their inborn right to rebel against the Britishers.<sup>2</sup>

It is noteworthy that though the Ahrari orators in their fiery speeches claimed to flow streams of blood against the imperialist forces but in practical their militancy was confined to lip service and it never advocated forcefully the out throw of the British regime in India. Even during Kashmir agitation, the Ahrari *jathas* merely courted their arrests and did not confront with the British or Dogra army.

Iqbal did not feel any reluctance to support the moves of Ahrars, whenever he found them in the interest of the Muslim community. Whether it was anti-Ahmadiyya movement or Kashmir agitational movement against the Dogra atrocities, there was a complete consonance between Iqbal and Ahrars. Unlike the Ahrars and other pro-Congress nationalist *Ulamas*, Iqbal was a staunch supporter of formation of a consolidated Muslim state, which he considered inevitable for promotion of peace and harmony amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. When the question of 'nation and nationalism' came under discussion, Iqbal despite his illness disproved the position of Ahrars and their mentor Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani.

No doubt Khaksars and other such movements are the natural outcome of reactionary politics which engulfed the Punjab politics in the first quarter of twentieth century. Emergence of these semi-militant organizations was a spontaneous reaction of Muslims against the aggressive and biased Hindu campaigns; the *Shuddi* and *Sangathan*. Khaksars firmly stuck to a historical fact that Muslims ruled over this land for one thousand year even though they were a small community. They believed

that it was the prerogative of the Muslims to govern over India as their population has reached to billions and they had also contributed a lot for the security and integrity of India. Therefore using 'social service' as a stepping-stone, Khaksar Tehrik aimed at establishing the Muslim domination over entire India through militancy, which was a corner stone of its ideology. Allama Mashraqi believed that Muslim could become the stakeholders in power, if they turned themselves into a 'military might' following the principles of 'unity and militarism'. Nevertheless it was an ambitious, romantic, imaginative and impracticable programme, which was less realistic and more medieval and not in akin to the rapidly changing socio-political scenarios and analytical concepts of twentieth century. Mashriqi forgot that during the prevalence of democratic norms in society, the idea of dominance and militarism might stir the public sentiments but it could never lead to the actual goals.

Though the programme of Mashriqi was irrational and ambiguous but it produced religious fervor and vigour among the Muslim masses. The language and idealism of Mashriqi appealed to the Muslims and they stood up against landed elite and feudal. In fact, the seed of enmity against the English and fearlessness from Hindus, which Khaksar movement sowed in the hearts of people, grew into such a towering tree, whose fruits later on were used as a vehicle for mass revolution against pro-British parties and proved a vote bank for Muslim League in favour of separate homeland. Peter Hardy notes the Khaksar movement's success in generating fervor for direct action among lower middle class Muslims, hitherto politically inert, upon which the AIML was able to capitalize when it too aimed to become a mass movement under Jinnah's leadership during 1937-47.<sup>3</sup>

Though Iqbal and Mashriqi were happened to be in the same period and living in the same city, but they never met or exchanged views. Being contemporaries, both were influenced by the prevalent political atmosphere, but the course of action adopted by them was quite different. Unlike Mashriqi who believed in the Muslim hegemony over entire India, militarism and dictatorship, Iqbal believed in co-existence with Hindus and concluded that formation of a separate Muslim state was the only solution for procuring peace in Indian sub-continent. Though there were lot of dissimilarities regarding the religio-political thoughts of both, but at certain places, their views were in so much consonance that it seems that Mashriqi tried to build up

an organization which in the opinion of Annemarie Schimmel, was regarded, in a certain way, as a practical expression of Iqbal's dynamism.<sup>4</sup>

Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya effectively played its role in the religiously charged British Punjab during late 1920's and onward. Though being a pro-British party, its founder and leaders proclaimed themselves the 'defenders of Islam' in the British Punjab in particular and in India, in general, which aimed at counteracting against the onslaught of Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries. However, later the controversial claims of Mahdi, *Mujaddid*, Promised Messiah and prophet made Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his successors controversial and they faced severe opposition of orthodox Muslims.

Iqbal was the first Indian Muslim philosopher, who without involving himself in theological reasoning and polemics defended the idea of finality of Prophethood in Islam. He traced back the history of Ahmadism to its Magian origin and concluded that these were the pre-Islamic Magian ideas interwoven with occult Mysticism which gave birth to Ahmadism in India.<sup>5</sup> No doubt; it was the Iqbal's strong indictment of the Ahmadis, after his disassociation from All Indian Kashmir Committee, which determined the attitude of Muslim intelligentsia towards the Ahmadis.

Due to the principled stance of Iqbal, Ahmadis got shocked and confused, and unleashed a storm of allegations and criticism against him. Iqbal's and his family's relations with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad were traced and Ahmadis claimed that up to the recent past, he was not the opponent of this movement, but rather a sympathizer to some extent. Objective analysis reveals that if there existed any relation of Iqbal or his family with Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in the formative period of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, it was only personal which was due to his being a scholar and preacher of Islam, as he projected himself. Contemporary sources also recorded that Iqbal had no attachment with Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and he or his father never accepted allegiance to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.<sup>6</sup> Iqbal was a true lover of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and he had unwavering belief in the finality of Prophethood. In the early period of his life, like the other modern educated people, he did not know about the real content of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya and he was rather in a precarious situation about it. It was during his association with Ahmadis during the working of AIKC when he

had a first hand knowledge about Ahmadism, and he came to know about their beliefs and thoughts. Moreover, briefings of Ahrari leaders, for instance, Attullah Shah Bukhari's and Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri's coupled with his correspondence with Syed Sulaman Nadvi and Prof. Ilyas Burni further helped him in comprehending the religio-political agenda and motives of Ahmadis. Then from 1935-38 he launched a full pledge campaign for the refutation of Ahmadiyya creed.

In twenties and thirties, the most influential party, which dominated the politics of Punjab was Punjab National Unionist Party. The troika of Punjabi Muslim, Hindu and Sikh landlords, in the leadership of Fazl-i-Hussain had so maneuvered its policies that the all India national parties such as League and Congress could not secure a strong foothold in Punjab. Division among the ranks of Muslim League during 1927-30, further helps the Unionists to advance their creed and strengthened their hold in the province.

Iqbal started his practical political career as a member of Punjab Council in 1926. Though he sat on the treasury benches but he never preferred his personal interests to that of national ones. He criticized those policies of Unionists and British bureaucracy, which were against the public interests. That's the reason, he faced the severe opposition of Unionists Councilors when his name was under consideration for the president of Council and finally, the post went to Shahab-ud-Din.

As far as Jinnah and Iqbal's differences in the later phase of 1920's are concerned, they were not based upon personal grudges or ideological dissimilarities, rather they stemmed from equally noble but divergent views on serving the true interests of the Muslim community.<sup>7</sup> It was because of this divergent opinion, Fazl-i-Hussain, though remaining behind the scene, organized All Indian Muslim Conference, in order to incapacitate and diffuse the impact of Muslim League. Nehru Report proved a harbinger of unity between factions of AIML. It also dawned upon Jinnah that without the support of Muslim majority provinces, particularly the Punjab, no political party could claim to be the real representative of Muslims in the sub-continent. He reconciled his differences with the Punjab Muslim League and presented his famous 'fourteen points', which were more or less the replica of

proposals of AIMC, with some changes and additions. From 1929 onwards Jinnah and Iqbal took almost identical position on all matters.

In 1930 Iqbal presided the annual session of AIML at Allahabad and in his address he proposed the establishment of a separate state for Muslims of the sub-continent. Undoubtedly, the idea of the separate Muslim homeland was not new for the Indian Muslim and prior to Iqbal, different personalities expressed their views regarding this but Iqbal have the distinction that he was the first to put it up in a reasonably practical form and bring it for serious consideration before the biggest political organization of Muslims.<sup>8</sup>

Iqbal attended the third and second RTC, but he did not contribute much in its deliberations. In fact, he was disgusted with the attitude of some pro-British Muslim delegates and disassociated himself from the Muslim delegation.<sup>9</sup> He had shown least interest in the deliberations of third RTC because most of its debates were focused on Indian federation, about which Iqbal had no interest, as he was a staunch supporter of giving maximum provincial autonomy to the provinces,<sup>10</sup> and always advocated the right of separate electorates for Muslims. During his political career, Iqbal opposed the joint electorate at every occasion and favoured the separate electorate at every stage and termed it as the base of the demands of Indian Muslims. To him, it was not a method of representation, but a way to keep separate Muslim identity intact. In 1933, when Fazl-i-Hussain managed to enter into a communal pact with the Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab and ready to give up the separate electorates, Iqbal strongly opposed it. In fact Fazl-i-Hussain's real concern was not the development of Indian Muslim policy on all India bases but to strengthen the hold of Unionists in the Punjab.<sup>11</sup>

In mid thirties, when Fazl-i-Hussain refused to attend the AIML session at Bombay and to accept the discipline of League Parliamentary board, it was Iqbal who despite of his bad health supported Jinnah and adopted every possible method to reorganize the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. In fact, acceptance of Jinnah's proposals would have resulted in the weakness of Unionist Party which dominated the provincial politics by establishing an alliance with Hindu and Sikh feudals.<sup>12</sup>

After the demise of Fazi-i-Hussain, Jinnah managed to bring Sikandar Hayat, the then premier of Punjab into the fold of AIML, at the annual session of League at Lucknow in 1937. Both signed a memorandum of understanding which was later known as 'Jinnah – Sikandar Pact'. Iqbal did not want Jinnah to sign an agreement with Unionists. He wanted Jinnah to concentrate the League's energy on North-West Indian Muslims and to his mind, "a separate federation of Muslim provinces.... is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims".<sup>13</sup>

Iqbal and other veteran urban leaders of PPML considered the activities of Unionist Party and Sikandar Ministry detrimental for the growth of League in the province. This is an acknowledged fact that in spite of Iqbal's efforts, AIML could not hold his annual session in Lahore in 1938 because of the machinations of Sikandar Hayat and his lieutenants. Later on, they also maneuvered to sever Punjab Muslim League's affiliation from AIML.

Two years after the death of Iqbal, when Lahore resolution was passed during the annual meeting of AIML, Jinnah was spotted using the same language and tone which could be found in Iqbal's letters to Jinnah. History proved that Iqbal's strategy of patiently developing the League at grass-root level and his concept of an autonomous Muslim state was correct. League's agreement with Unionist Party yielded negative results for Muslim League as it could not achieve electoral success in the following years. During 1945-46, when League adopted the political acumen of Iqbal and relied on the masses instead of feudals, it emerged as the party of masses. Under the charismatic leadership of Jinnah, they vigorously struggled for a separate Muslim homeland and rejected the concept of composite Indian nationalism or '*Akhand Bharat*'. Thus the Muslim community of India embraced Iqbal's concept of Islam and spurned the agenda of pro-Congress and nationalist Muslim organizations. The Muslim masses, specifically of Muslim majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal also rejected the agenda of those pro-British and non-communal parties like Unionists, who did not conceive the departure of the British from Indian sub-continent and joined hands with INC to contain the growing influence of League.

# ENDNOTES & REFERENCES

## INTRODUCTION

1. *Dawn*, Dec. 11, 1944 in Waheed Ahmed (ed.), *The Nation's Voice* Vol. IV (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 2000), pp. 23-25; S.S. Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1962), p.121.
2. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), pp.11-12.
3. See for instance, Safdar Mahmood's, Irshad Ahmed Haqqani's, Khalid Ahmad's and Sharif-ul-Mujahid's articles in *The News*, Mar. 25, 2003; *The Jang*, June 14, 2003; *The Daily Time*, June 27, 2003; and *The Dawn*, Dec. 06, 2003 respectively.
4. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and The Partition of India* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), p.181.
5. Ian Talbot & Gurharpal Singh (eds.), *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of Sub-Continent* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999).
6. Yunus Samad, 'Reflections on Partition; Pakistani Perspective', in *ibid*, pp. 375-79.
7. For instance articles of Madan Jeet Singh and Tariq Ali published in *The News*, Jan. 17, 1999 and *The Dawn*, May 17, 2003 respectively.

## Chapter I

## BRITISH PUNJAB: 1849-1926

1. Khushwant Singh, *A History of Sikhs, 1469-1839* Vol. I (Bombay: 1963), p.3.
2. Bakhshish Singh Nijar, *Punjab Under the Sultans, 1000 – 1526* (Lahore: 1979), p.1.
3. The rivers namely, the Indus [Sindhu], the Vitash [Jhelum], the Akesines [Chenab], the Perushni [Ravi], the Vipas [Beas], the Sutdra [Sutlej] and the Sarwasti. For details see, M. Asif Khan, 'Sapta Sindhwa-Punjab Da ik Purana Naa', *Lehran* (Lahore) Oct. 1985, pp.10-11.
4. Bakhshish Singh Nijar, op.cit., p.1. Some times later the seventh river, Sarswati had dried up and people excluded the Indus from the count and renamed it as pentapotamia.
5. Ahmad Abdullah, *The Historical Background of Pakistan and its People* (Karachi: 1973), p.125; S.A. Qudus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992), p.12.
6. Hari Ram Gupta, *Later Mughals History of the Punjab* (Lahore: 1976), p.1.
7. Henry Steinback, *The Punjab* (Karachi: 1976), p.2.
8. David Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh* (Lahore: 1976), p.82.
9. Huge Kennedy Trevaskis, *Land of Five Rivers* (Oxford: 1926), p. XV.
10. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1985), p.13.
11. S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab from Remotest Antiquity to the Present Times* (Lahore: 1891), p.51.
12. Ibid., p.52.
13. K.U. Kureshy, *Geography of Pakistan* (Karachi: 1978), p.155.
14. R.C. Maujumdar, *Ancient India* (London: 1963), p.67. Unlike Raja Ambhi of Taxila who welcomed Alexander, Raja Pours of Jhelum did his utmost efforts to contain his onslaught. Though Alexander emerged as a conqueror, but due to intense resistance of local natives, the morale of his army was much lowered and they persuaded him to go back. Reportedly, Alexander himself received injuries and died of the wounds received in the war with Punjabis. Muhammad Azam Chaudry, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Main Punjab Ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996), p.16; also see, M.A. Rooman,



- 'Maharaja Porous', in Ahmad Saleem (ed.), *Punjab Revisited* (Lahore: Gautam Publishers, 1995), pp.121-32.
15. Ikram A. Malik, *A Book of Reading on the History of Punjab, 1799-1947* (Lahore: RSP, 1976), p.11.
  16. K.U. Kureshy, op.cit., p.156.
  17. *IAR*, part. I, 1936, p.27.
  18. N. Hassan, 'Medieval Punjab', in N.G. Barrier and H. Singh (eds), *The Punjab Past and Present: Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh* (Patiala: 1976), pp.74-84.
  19. For a comprehensive study on Sultanate period see, Awadh Bihari Pandey, *Early Medieval India* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1960).
  20. For details see, Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India from 647 A.D. to the Mughal Conquest* (Allahabad: 1928).
  21. For a comprehensive study on that particular period see, S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India* 4 Vols. (Bombay: Karnatak Printing Press, 1934).
  22. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p.3.
  23. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (ed.), *Shah Waliullah Kai Siasi Maktaubat* (Lahore: 1972), p.52.
  24. S.M. Latif, op.cit., p.211.
  25. Gulshan Lal Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State, 1799-1839* (Lahore: 1928), p.1.
  26. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p.14.
  27. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.187.
  28. Gulshan Lal Chopra, op.cit., p.15.
  29. Ibid.
  30. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., p.229.
  31. Emmet Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1836-1947* (Delhi: 1983), p.6.
  32. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p.14.
  33. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.90 [f.n.].
  34. The first stage of Sikh-Muslim conflict was set when Guru Arjun gave shelter to prince Khusro who had rebelled against his father Jahangir. The Guru was captured and he died in captivity as a result of undergoing torture with a hot iron plate. See Bhagat Lakhman Singh. *Sikh Martyrs* (Ludhiana: 1923), p.43.

Also see, I.H. Qureshi. *The Muslim Community of India and Pakistan* (Hague: 1962), p.119.

35. Sars Field Landen, *Betrayal of the Sikhs* (Lahore: 1946), p.11.
36. G.S. Chhabra, *Social and Economic History of Punjab, 1849-1901* (Jalendhar: 1960), pp.52-53.
37. For life, activities and teachings of Syed A. Shaheed see, Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi, *Seerat Syed Ahmad Shaheed* 2 vols. (Lucknow: Dar-ul-'Uloom Nadvat-ul-Ulama, 1939); Ghulam Rasool Mehr, *Jama'at-i-Mujahideen* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, n.d.).
38. N.M. Khilnani, *The British Power in the Punjab, 1839-1858* (Bombay: 1972), p.15.
39. G.S. Chabra, *The Advance History of the Punjab* Vol. II (Ludhiana: n.d.), p.294.
40. Council of Regency comprised eight leading Sardars of the Kingdom. It was an advisory body and was under the guidance and control of Henry Lawrance.
41. Prem Vati Ghai, *The Partition of the Punjab, 1849-1947* (Delhi: 1986), p.10.
42. G.B. Mallesan, *Decisive Battle of India* (New Delhi: 1969), p.346.
43. Mohinder Singh, 'Punjab's Contribution to India's Struggle for Independence', *Punjab Journal of Politics* 12:2 (July-Dec, 1988), pp.53-62.
44. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.172.
45. Yadev Kirpal Chandra, *British Policies Towards Sikhs, 1849-1857* (Patiala: 1966), p.163.
46. Karishma Kapur, *A History of the Development of Judiciary in the Punjab, 1884-1926* (Lahore: 1928), p.26.
47. Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Washington: 1963), p.217; Syed Razi Wasti, *The Political Triangle in India, 1858-1924* (Lahore: 1976), p.25.
48. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography* (Bombay: Longsman, Green & Co. Ltd., 1946), p.74.
49. S.M. Latif, op.cit., p.572.
50. Henry Lawrance and his younger brother John Lawrance being soldier statesman and experienced civil servant respectively, had intimate knowledge of Sikh character and inner dynamics of their political and economic affairs. For bibliographical account and achievements see, J.J. Mcleod Inness, *Sir*

*Henry Lawrance: The Pacificator* (Oxford: Clarandon Press, 1898); and Richard Bosworth, *Life of Sir John Lawrance* (London: 1872).

51. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.243.
52. Ibid., pp.189-90.
53. Prem Vati Ghai, op.cit., p.20.
54. Salah-ud-Din Malik, 'The Punjab and the Indian Mutiny', *PPP VIII: I* (April, 1974), p.161.
55. Sir Robert Sandeman (1835-1892) was a Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan. He opened direct negotiations and talk with the Bugti and Marri Tribes and the tribes were given cash allowances for protecting the various passes.
56. Khushwant Singh, op.cit., Vol. II, p.196.
57. M.S. Leigh, *Punjab and the War* (Lahore: 1922), p.5. In fact the religio-political antagonism between Sikhs and the Muslims, which was deep rooted since sixteenth century, was fully exploited by the British. In 1857, a prophecy was ripe among the followers of Guru Teg Bahadur that they would attack Delhi with the help of the Whitemen and completely avenge the old insult. To gratify their new allies and in order to please the Sikhs, Captain Hudson deliberately shot and killed two Mughal princes. Thereafter he ordered his soldiers to put their bodies for public display at the same place where the head of Guru Teg Bahadur was supposed to have been expose over a century and a half before. George H. Hudson, (ed.), *Twelve years of a Soldier's Life in India* (London: 1859), p.302.
58. M.S. Leigh, op.cit., pp.160-61.
59. The Act of 1858 transferred the government of India from the company to the Crown. A Secretary of State was appointed who took the place of the President of the Board of Control. This act also created a Council of India for the assistance of Secretary of State, consisted of fifteen members. The first Viceroy and Governor General Lord Canning (1858-1862) proclaimed the new government.
60. For the valuable services rendered by Sir John Lawrance in Punjab and India as a whole, the House of Common passed a vote of thanks to him, raised his salary from £ 7500 to £ 10,000 a year and awarded him Grand Cross of Balt. Salah-ud-Din Malik, op.cit., p.156 [f.n.].

61. J.M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Syed* (Lahore: 1953), p.13.
62. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947* (Delhi: 1988), p.11.
63. David Ross, *op.cit.*, p.82.
64. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, Tr. by H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta: 1949), p.135.
65. These five districts were Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan.
66. Colonel Harold Deane was the first Chief Commissioner of North-West Frontier Province. See D.N. Dilks, *Curzon in India* 2 Vols (London: 1969-70), pp.225-229.
67. *Census of India, 1921*, Vol. XV 'Punjab and Delhi', p.25. However including Punjab states the total area of Punjab was 136,905 sq. miles.
68. Government of India, *Progress of Education in India* (Calcutta: 1929), p.101.
69. *Census of India, 1921*, *ibid.*, p.172.
70. *Ibid.*, pp.87-90.
71. Ahmadis are the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian and they were declared non-Muslims by the Government of Pakistan in 1974. See, *Pakistan National Assembly Debates*, 'Verdict on Finality of Prophethood of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH)', Islamabad: 1974).
72. The districts were Lahore, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikupura, Gujrat, Shahpur, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock, Mianwali, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. See *Census of India, 1931* Vol. XVII. Punjab Part I, p.289.
73. *Ibid.*; The history of Muslim empire in India had deeply influenced the distribution of the Muslim Community in urban and rural areas. The Muslim populations in the eastern and central parts of the province were far more urbanized than those in the west, whereas, in most of the districts, particularly, the west of Lahore, the Muslim population was overwhelmingly rural. David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Lahore: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1988), p.8.
74. The districts were Hisar, Guregaon, Rohtak, Karnal, Simla and Kangra.
75. *Census of India, 1931*, pp.288-89.
76. B.K. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India* (Bombay: 1946), p.429.

77. Malcolm Darling, *Punjab Peasants in Prosperity and Debt* (Lahore: n.d.), p.82.
78. Muhammad Khurshid, 'The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics, 1923-36', unpublished Ph.D Dissertation (Bahawalpur: Islamia University, 1992), pp.2-4.
79. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.180.
80. Ram Sharan Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1965), pp.1-2.
81. Ibid., pp.263-4 & 272.
82. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p.14.
83. K.K. Aziz, *Religion, Land and Politics in Pakistan: A Case Study of Piri-Muridi* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2001), p.31.
84. Karishma Kapur, op.cit., p.26.
85. Ibid.
86. *Zaildar* was responsible for a circle of villages and helped the local headman in implementing the government policy and also represents their problems and interests to the administration. Subordinate to *Zaildar* but performing almost identical function is called *Sufaidposh*. These landed elites played a decisive role in the arena of local politics. The British rule in the Punjab was largely based on the active help of its landed aristocracy. At the time of annexation of Punjab in 1849, they supported the British. According to K.K. Aziz, 'they witnessed the Mughal decline with some uncertainty and apprehension. They were partly looking around for a new overlord with whom they could develop a mutually beneficial relationship, and partly hoping to dig themselves in more firmly with the help of the properties and riches they had garnered from their collaboration with the Mughals'. K.K. Aziz, op. cit., p.29.
87. N.G. Barrier, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill 1900* (Durham: 1966).
88. P.H.M. Van den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Tradition in Nineteenth Century India* (London: 1972).
89. During first quarter of twentieth century Punjab witnessed a series of revolutionary activities. The revolutionaries were of the view that the India could never get independence by begging or pleading; rather it could be achieved by adopting coercive measures. In first decade of twentieth century,

Ajit Singh who worked under an organization called Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan led this agitation. Later he joined Ghader party, which was formed to spread rebellion against British. In the second decade these revolutionaries were expressed in the form of Khilafat Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement or Gurdwara movement and by formation of reactionary parties such as Babbar Akali Jatha (1921), Akali Party (1920), Majlis-i-Ahrar (1929).

90. I.H. Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 14.
91. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: 1968), p. 83.
92. Partap Singh, *The Punjab Chief's Association* (Lahore: 1911), p. 41.
93. Feroz Khan Noon, *From Memory* (Lahore: 1966), p. 83.
94. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 73.
95. Sir M. Shafi, Nawab Bahram Khan, K.Y. Shah, Nawab Ibrahim, Malik Mubariz Khan, Nawab Mahdi Shah, Nawab Umer Hayat, Nawab Khuda Bukish, Nawab Fateh Ali, Bedi Khan Singh, Partap Singh, Sardar Dilgit Singh and Sardar S.S. Majithia. See for details, S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in Punjab, 1921-47* (Lahore: 1992), p. 59.
96. *Tribune*, June 07, 1884; Mar. 15, 1893.
97. Cited in Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
98. Ian Talbot, *Khizer Tiwana: the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of Punjab* (Surrey: 1996), p. 63 [f.n.].
99. For details see, Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, pp. 50-3.
100. Michael O'Dwyre, *India As I Knew It, 1885-1925* (London: Constable & Company Ltd., 1926), p. 171.
101. S.M. Latif, *op.cit.*, p. 581.
102. Lord Roberts who served as C-in-C of the British Indian army from 1885-1893 enunciated the theory of martial races. During this period the British were suspicious of the Russian advance towards India and Roberts wanted to create an efficient army to face the Russians in case of an invasion by the latter. According to him the most suitable persons for army were available in the north-west part of India, and he wanted that recruitment should be confined to that area only. He justified his theory on the ground that people in some region had become unfit to bear arms because of the softening and deteriorating effects of long years of peace and sense of security in those

regions. Lord Roberts, *Forty-one years in India* (London: 1897), p. 383. Cited in S.D. Pradhan, 'Punjab's Manpower Contribution to the Indian Army During the First World War', *PPP* XII: 1 (April 1978), p. 212.

103. I.H. Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
104. See for details, Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, *Punjab aur Beruni Hamlawar* (Lahore: 1990), pp. 135-40.
105. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
106. *PAR*, 1914-15, pp. 2-3; 1915-16, pp. 2-3; 1916-17, pp. 3-4; 1917-18, pp. 1-3. M.S. Leigh, *Punjab and the War* (Lahore: 1922), pp. 284-5. During the course of the war, India's soldiers fought in such widely separated theaters as France, Belgium, Gallipoli, Salonika, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Mesopotamia, Aden, Somaliland, the Cameroons, East Africa, North-West Persia, Kurdistan, South Persia, the Gulf of Oman, Transcaspia, North China and the North-West and North-East Frontiers of India. IOR L/P & S/10/504, p. 3.
107. Micheal O'Dwyre, *op.cit.*, p. 419.
108. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-3.
109. *PAR*, 1911-12, p. 92.
110. Quoted in Ninapuri, *Politics and Society in the Punjab* (New Delhi: 1985), p. 132.
111. *CMG*, Sep. 20, 1914.
112. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 52.
113. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, pp. 51-3.
114. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 26.
115. L.H. Griffin, *Chiefs of Punjab* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1940), p. 230.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
117. Ian Talbot, *op.cit.*, p. 52.
118. Amar Nath, *History of the War Services of Gujranwala District* (Lahore: CMG Press, 1920), p. 27.
119. *War Services of Shahpur District* (Lahore: CMG Press, n.d.), p. 82.
120. Prem Chaudry, *Punjab Politics: The Role of Sir Chottu Ram* (New Delhi: 1984), p. 154.
121. K.K. Aziz, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
122. *Ibid.* nn.27-8.

123. M.S. Leigh, *op.cit.*, p. 169.
124. Ali Imran, *op.cit.*, p. 106.
125. David Gilmartin, *op.cit.*, p. 69.
126. *PLCD*, Sep. 19, 1914, pp. 141, 146-48; Also see, *PAR*, 1914-15, pp. 2-3; 1915-16, pp. 2-3.
127. M.S. Leigh, *op.cit.*, pp. 284-5. Indians total net contribution towards the cost of the war under the Parliamentary resolutions of Sep. & Nov. 1914, amounts to £ 22.2 Million to the end of 1918-19 and £ 26.4 Million to the end of 1919-20. 10R L/P&S/10/504, p.38.
128. O'Dwyre to Chelmsford, May 23, 1919 in S.Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p. 31.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
130. The officially stated aims for canal colonies were: (i) to relieve the pressure of population upon the land in those districts of the province where the agricultural population had already reached or in fast approaching the limit, which the land available to agriculture can support. (ii) to colonize the area in question with well to do yeomen of the best class of agriculturists who would cultivate their own holdings with the aid of their families and unusual menials but as much as possible without the aid of tenants, and would constitute healthy agricultural communities of the best Punjab type. *Chenab Colony Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 29 in Imran Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 13.
131. M. Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
132. These include Sidnahi, Sohagpura, Chunian, Chenab, Jhelum, Lower Bari, Upper Chenab, Upper Jhelum and Nilibar. For details see, Imran Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-55.
133. Ian Talbot, *op.cit.*, p. 55.
134. J.M. Douie, *The Punjab, NWFP and Kashmir* (Cambridge: 1916), pp. 132-42.
135. *PAR*, 1925-27.
136. Imran Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 81 & 237.
137. F.C. Bourne, *Final Settlement Report of the Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony* (Lahore: 1935), p. 3 cited in Ian Talbot, *op.cit.*, p. 56.
138. For details see, Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 40.
139. Cited in Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 25.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 55 & 63 [f.n].



141. N. Charlesworth, *British Rule and the Indian Economy, 1800-1914* (London: 1982), p. 26.
142. Imran Ali, op.cit., pp. 237-38.
143. Arthur Brandreth was the first British officer who took a serious view of steady transfer of agricultural land from land holding tribes to the trading castes. For detail see, P.H.M. Ven den Dungen, op.cit., p. 11.
144. S.S. Thornburn, *Musalms and Money Lenders in the Punjab* (London: 1886), p. 85.
145. Malcolm Lyall Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in the Prosperity and Debt* (London: 1925), pp. 116-17.
146. N.G. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill', *PPP XII: I* (April 1978), p. 197.
147. H.K. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today* Vol. I (Lahore: 1931), p. 25.
148. N.G. Barrier, op.cit., pp. 220-21.
149. David Gilmartin, op.cit., p. 28.
150. Act no XIII of 1900 (as amended up to May 10, 1940) received the assent of the Governor General on the October 19, 1900 and came into force on June 8, 1901, vide Government of India notification No. 1243, June 8, 1901. For the land alienation debate among British officials and passage of the act see, P.H.M. Van den Dungen, op.cit., pp. 5-30; and N.G. Barrier, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill of 1900* (Durham: 1966).
151. The agricultural tribes included Arian, Gujars, Jats, Rajputs, Kamboh, Syeds, Sheikhs and Qureshis. This list was published in 1901. David Gilmartin, 'Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab', *Modern Asian Studies* (March 1979), p. 495 [f.n]. The expression 'agriculturist' means a person holding agricultural land who either in his own name or in the name of his ancestor in the main line, was recorded as the owner of the land as a hereditary tenant or as an occupancy tenant in any estate at the first regular settlement, or, if the first regular settlement was made in or since the year 1870, then at the first regular settlement or such previous settlement as the local government might order in writing determine. Abdul Haque, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1900* (Lahore: 1945), p. 47.
152. For further details see, N.G. Barrier, op.cit., p. 207.
153. N.G. Barrier. 'The Punjab Disturbances of 1907', *PPP* (Oct. 1974), p. 445.

154. N.G. Barrier, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill 1900*, p. 207.
155. The *Benami* Transaction was a method in which the moneylenders appointed agents in the village, who were member of that particular agricultural tribe. They asked their debtor to transfer the land in the name of agent. Thus officially it remained in the agriculturist list but factually it fell a prey to the moneylenders.
156. M. Zafarullah Khan, *The Agony of Pakistan* (London: 1973), p. 9.
157. Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: The Poet Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 78.
158. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-9.
159. *Panchayat* means 'Council of Five'. These institutions were not representative in character and governed by virtue of authority rather than mass participation.
160. Kamal Saddique (ed.), *Local Self Government in South Asia: A Comparative Study* (Dhaka: University Limited, 1992), p. 14.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
162. S.A. Quddus. *Local Self Government in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1981), p. 44.
163. Kamal Siddique (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 18.
164. Afzal Mahmood, 'Development of Local Government Laws in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent' *Local Government Problems and Prospects* [A collection of papers presented at the seminar by the Pakistan group for the study of local government] (Rawalpindi: Lansdowne Cantonment Trust, 1972), pp. 19-28.
165. H.K. Trevaskis, *Land of Five Rivers*, p. 93.
166. *Ibid.*
167. Kamal Siddique (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 19.
168. M. Aslam Khan Magsi, *Development of Local Self Government in the Punjab, 1919-1932* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), p. 5.
169. For details see, Amar Nath, *Development of Local Self Government in Punjab 1849-1900* (Lahore: 1929).
170. According to the census of 1881, the population of Punjab excluding Kashmir was 22,712,120 in which Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were 11,662,434, 9,232,295 and 1,716,114 respectively. Lepel Griffin, *Rulers of India, Ranjit Singh* (Oxford, London: 1892), p. 31.

171. N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908', *Journal of Asian Studies* (May 1968), p. 536.
172. Ch. Muhammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan* (New York: 1976), p. 11.
173. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.41.
174. Ibid.
175. Kamal Siddique (ed.), op.cit., p.20.
176. Huge Tinker, *The Foundation of Local Self Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London: 1954), p.134.
177. M. Aslam Khan Magsi, op.cit., p.30.
178. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.138.
179. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.42.
180. *PLCD*, 1921, Vol. IV, p.47.
181. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.45.
182. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.142.
183. Ibid., p.142; Also see, *PLCD*, 1921, Vol. II, p.66.
184. *PAR*, 1926-1933.
185. *PLCD*, 1921, Vol. IV, p.47.
186. Cited in, S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.46.
187. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.412.
188. Huge Tinker, op.cit., pp.134-35.
189. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.139.
190. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., pp.50-1.
191. Ibid.
192. Huge Tinker, op.cit., p.139.
193. The four acts passed during the ministership of Fazl-i-Hussain were, The Punjab Village Panchayat Act 1921, The Punjab Village Panchayat (Amendment) Act 1922, The Punjab District Boards (Amendment) Act 1922, and The Punjab Municipal (Amendment) Act 1923.
194. Muhammad Ali El-Shinnaway, 'Community Development and Local Self Government in the Developing Nations: A Study Based on the Experience of the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, India and Pakistan', unpublished Ph.D Dissertation (New York: New York University, 1964), p.140.
195. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., pp.667-68.
196. Ibid. n.227.

197. Between 1881-1931, the percentage increased in population in five cities was as follows: Amritser 74%, Lahore 188%, Multan 74%, Rawalpindi 125% and Sialkot 120%. For details see Emmett Davis, *op.cit.*, p.6.
198. M.R. Oberio, 'Education in the Rural Punjab', *The Northern Indian Observer*, Vol. III (May 1942), p.9; *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. XX, p.364.
199. S. Qalb-i-Abid., *op.cit.*, p.8.
200. H.K. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today* Vol. II (Lahore: 1931), p.138.
201. N. G. Barrier, 'Muslim Politics in Punjab 1870-90', *The Punjab Past and Present* VI : 9 (April 1971), pp.91-2.
202. M. Hassan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-28* (Delhi: 1979), pp.35-6.
203. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1964), p.2.
204. S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab, 1905-1929* (Delhi:1977), pp.33-34.
205. Quoted by Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.58.
206. *PAR*, 1920-21, p.135.
207. Cited in S. Qalb-i-Abid., *op.cit.*, p.36.
208. *Ibid.*, p.37.
209. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.131.
210. *Ibid.*, p.132.
211. Huge Tinker, *op.cit.*, p.264.
212. *PLCD*, Mar.24, 1925, p.823.
213. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p.40
214. S. Qalb-i-Abid, 'Mian Fazl-i-Hussain ki Pehli Wizarat aur Mussalmanon kay Huqooq ki Nighedasht', *JRSP* XIX: 4 (1982), p.95.
215. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in Punjab*, p.41.
216. *PLCD*, March 10, 1927, p.290.
217. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.71.
218. Khaswant Singh, *op.cit.*, pp.10-11.
219. *Rig-Veda* deals with the life of Aryan people who settled in the Indus Basin about five thousands years ago and developed civilizations of Harrapa and Moenjodaro. For details see, H.H. Wilson, *Rig-veda-Samhita* 6 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1978).

220. R.N. Dandekar (ed.), *The Mahabharata* 5 vols. (Poona: The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1971-76).
221. Syed Abdul Qudus, *Punjab: The Land of Beauty, Love and Mysticism* (Karachi: 1992), p.2.
222. Ikram A. Malik, *op.cit.*, p.1.
223. For details see, Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ashok Kumar Anand, *Budhism in India: 6<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. to 3<sup>rd</sup> Century A.D.* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1996).
224. He was born in 1469 at Talwandi on the Ravi and died in 1539.
225. Quoted by Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.27; for details see, Chajju Singh, *The Ten Gurus and Their Teachings* (Lahore: 1903); and Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs* 5 vols. (New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal Publishers, 1994).
226. Penderal Moon, *Strangers in India* (London: 1945), p.101.
227. Prior to the annexation some missionary organization were working in Punjab. For instance, The American Presbyterian Mission and its centres at Sabathu (1836), Jalendhar (1846) and Ambala (1848); The Roman Catholics at Lahore (1846); and The Church Missionary Society at Kot Garh (1840) and Simla (1840).
228. *PAR*, Vol. I, 1921-22, pp.354-67.
229. The success of Christian missionaries after the annexation of Punjab in converting natives to Christianity and the close ties between missionaries and the government, created in the minds of many Punjabi religious leaders a threat of the 'Christian fear'. This fear contributed to the religious revivalism throughout the Punjab both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Kenneth W. Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution', *Journal of Asian Studies* XXVIII: 1 (Nov. 1968), pp.42-3.
230. Charles T. Metcalfe (ed.), *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi* (Westminster: Orchibofrd Constable & Co., 1898), p.101.
231. Reportedly, after annexation, civilian officers such as Lawrance Brothers, Robert Montgomery, Donald Macloed, Edwards and others regarded their work as a trust from God, a sort of lay mission and sympathized with the

Christian missionary activity. Shymala Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab, 1838-1910* (New Delhi: 1987), p.1.

232. Andrew Gordon, *Our Indian Mission* (Philadelphia: 1988), p.422.
233. From 1880's to 1940's almost half million of the converts to Christianity were from the lower castes and only a handful of upper castes converts were mentioned. For details see, Mark Juergensmeyer, *Religious Rebels in the Punjab: The Social Vision of Untouchables* (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988).
234. G.S. Chabra, *The Advance History of the Punjab* (Ludhiana: 1891), p.381.
235. Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharam: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab* (Barkley & Los Angeles: 1976), p.144. Their increase was particularly evident in the British territory with Sialkot 10,662; Lahore 2,990; Chenab Colony 8,617; Gujranwala 2,681; Gurdaspur 4,198; Delhi 2,042; and Amritsar 1,492. Ninapuri, op.cit., p.8.
236. *Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1892.
237. S.P. Sharma, 'The Socio-Reform Organizations in U.P. and Punjab, and the Press, 1858-1910', *PPP XI* : I (April 1977), p.118.
238. K.W. Jones, op.cit., p.380.
239. *PAR*, 1885-86, Annexure No.65.
240. Ninapuri, op.cit., p.25,
241. S.P. Sharma, op.cit., pp.117-20.
242. *PAR*, 1885-86.
243. N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics', *Journal of Asian Studies* (May 1969), pp.528-29.
244. I.A. Malik, 'Role of Administration in the Punjab Riots, 1849-1900', *PJHC V*: 1 (Jan - June 1984), p. 35. The most important major and serious riots were recorded at Multan (1881), Ambala, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Delhi (1886), Rohtak (1881) and Isa Khel (1893).
245. G.R. Thrusby, *Hindu Muslim Relations in British India* (Liedon: 1975), p. 13.
246. K. W. Jones, 'Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution', *Journal of Asian Studies* (Nov 1968), p. 51.
247. Sarfaraz Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab, 1900-1925* (Islamabad: 1985), p. 8.
248. Ibid.
249. Ibid., p. 9.

250. Ikram Ali Malik, *Hindu Muslim Riots in the British Punjab, 1849-1900: An Analysis* (Lahore: Gosha-i-Adab, 1984), p. 10. The Policy of religious liberty and toleration of British government was theoretically excellent, but in practice the policy was nothing less than a positive evil since its allowed men of various creeds to play past and loose with religion. Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2001), p. 80.
251. Ikram A. Malik, *ibid.*, p. 1.
252. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
253. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
254. Babara W. Flynn, 'The Communalization of Politics: National Political Activity in India, 1926-30', unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (London: Duke University, 1974), p. 14.
255. *IQR*, part I, 1925, pp. 377-82.
256. *IQR*, part II, 1924, p. 483.
257. A.D. Muztar (ed.), *Khaksar Tehrik aur Azadi-'i-Hind-Dastawaizat* (Islamabad: 1985), p. 5.
258. Cited in I.H. Qureshi, *Ulama in Politics* (Karachi: 1972), p. 283.

کام شہمی کا کبھی بند نہ ہونے پائے  
 بھاگ سے وقت یہ قوموں کو ملا کرتے ہیں  
 ہندو تم میں ہے گر جذبہ ایمان باقی  
 روند جائے کوئی دنیا میں مسلمان باقی

259. *Zamindar*, April 24, 1927.
260. G. Moyser (ed.), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 135-62.
261. For an interesting study see, Edward D. Churchill, 'Muslim Societies of the Punjab, 1860-1890', *PPP* VII: 15 (April 1974), p. 77.
262. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1969), p. 195; Also see, *PAR*, 1882-83, pp. 283-84.
263. E.D. Churchill, *op.cit.*, p. 77. For an elaborative and in-depth study of the educational services of Anjuman-i-Islamia see, Ahmad Saeed, *Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar, 1873-1947* (Lahore: RSP, 1986).
264. S.R. Wasti, 'Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam: A Brief History', *JRSP*, III; 1-2 (Jan-April 1966), pp. 64-5.

265. S.M. Ikram, *op.cit.*, p. 207.
266. S.R. Wasti, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-73; For instance, it had 350 members in Amritser in 1888 and 900 members in Lahore in 1890. Edward D. Churchill, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
267. It was funded and patronized by rulers of various states such as Bhopal, Bahawalpur and Hoshiarpur. Noblemen of Lahore including Mian Naseer-ud-Din, Mian Allah Buksh, Nawab Fateh Ali Qazalbash, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Khan Bahadur Khuda Buksh, Faqeer Iftikhar-ud-Din and Sir M. Shahnawaz of Mamdot also patronize it. For further details see, S.R. Wasti, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-73.
268. It was launched in 1885 on monthly basis. However in 1926 it turned into weekly.
269. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890', *PPP* VI: 9 (April 1971), p. 86.
270. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p. 222.
271. *Ibid.*, p. 230; Also see, Abdullah Yousef Ali, *Tanzim: Its Scope and Objects* (Amritser: The Tanzim Committee, 1925).
272. *PPSAI*, 1927, para. 33.
273. *Ibid.*
274. *Ibid.*, 1923, para. 22.
275. Khuram Mahmood, 'Tablighi Jama'at in Pakistan, 1947-1977', unpublished M. Phil Dissertation (Islamabad: NIPS, 1999), p. 11.
276. *Ibid.*
277. Ab'ul Hassan Ali Nadvi, *Maulana Ilyas aur unki Dini Da'awat* (Karachi: Majlis Nashriyat-i-Islam, n.d.), p. 58.
278. Gurdarshan Singh, 'Origin and Development of Singh Sabha Movement: Constitutional Aspects', *PPP* VIII:1 (April 1973), p. 45.
279. Quoted in Maulvi M. Yaqub Khan, *Are the Sikhs a Separate Minority?* (Lahore: 1931), p. 7; Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism* (Lahore: 1946), pp. 38,346 & 356. Some argue that it is a misleading to consider Guru Nanak as the founder of the Sikh faith since his religious thought was only an articulate expression of the well-defined contemporary saint tradition of the Northern India. W.H. Mcleod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (Delhi: 1975), p. 5.



280. Khuswant Singh, op.cit., Vol II, pp. 136-50. Also see, Kehan Singh, *Ham Hindu Nahin Hain* (Amrister: n.d.).
281. Sarfraz Khawaja, op.cit., p. 10; Ninapuri, op.cit., p. 33.
282. Ninapuri, op.cit., p. 33.
283. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p. 76.
284. Ibid.; See also, *PAR*, 1911-12, p. 92; F.K. Noon, *From Memory* (Lahore: 1966), pp.83-4.
285. K.U. Puunaiah, *The Constitutional History of India* (Lahore: 1983), p. 110.
286. *PAR*, 1911-12,p. 92.
287. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, p.4.
288. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p. 75.
289. *CMG*, Sep. 26, 1909.
290. In the reserved subjects included Land Revenue, Forests, Commerce, Finance, Irrigation, Justice, Police and Prisons. In the transferred subjects included Education, Local Self-Government, Public Health, Agriculture, and Industries.
291. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p. 32.
292. The special constituencies included groups of Muslim Landlords, Sikh Landlords, Commerce & Industry and University Graduates.
293. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p. 33.
294. Ibid.
295. Cited in Ian Talbat, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 50.
296. S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p. 33.
297. S.N. Banerji, *A Nation in Making* (London: 1925), pp. 46-7.
298. Lord Allen Octavian Hume was a retired ICS and worked as secretary to the Government of India in the departments of Revenue, Agriculture & Commerce. He was deeply depressed and worried about the economic suffering of the Indian masses. He felt that there should be some legitimate outlet for their discontent along constitutional lines. He wrote a letter to the graduates of Calcutta University and appealed them to form an organization for the politico-social and economic uplift of the people. He remained the General Secretary of INC from 1885-1906. He was expired in 1912. For details see, William Wedderburn, *Allan Octavian Hume: Father of the Indian National Congress, 1829-1912* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913).
299. M. Hassan, op.cit., p. 32.

300. Duni Chand, *The Ulsters of India or The Analysis of the Punjab Problem* (Lahore: 1936), p. 2.
301. Muhammad Shan (ed.), *The Aligarh Movement: Basic Documents, 1864-1898* 3 Vol. (Merut: 1978), pp. 1042-43.
302. Ibid., p. 1044.
303. For details see, D.N. Dilks, op.cit., pp. 225-29.
304. Abdul Hammed, *Muslim Separatism in India*, p. 52.
305. I.H. Malik, op.cit., pp. 17-18.
306. Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1987), p. 40.
307. The eight Punjab Muslims member in Simla Deputation were Malik Umer Hayat Khan, Mian M. Shah Din, Abdul Majid Khan, Khawaja Yousaf Shah, Muhammaf Shafi, Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Khalifa Syed Muhammad Hussain and Hakim Ajmal Khan. See for details, M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings* (Lahore: RSP, 1969), p. 3. For details see, S.R. Wasti, *Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905-1910* (London: 1964), pp. 59-88.
308. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement* (Lahore: 1970), pp. 19-22.
309. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p. 97.
310. M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., p. 4.
311. For an academic discussion on disturbances of 1907 see, N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Disturbances of 1907: The Response of the British Government in India to Agrarian Unrest', *Modern Asian Studies* 1:4 1967, pp. 353-83.
312. In October 1917, the Viceroy appointed a Commission, presided over by Sir Sidney Rowlatt, a judge from United Kingdom and comprising Sir Basil Scott, Dewan Bahadur C.V. Kumar Swami, and Sir Verney Lovett. They framed the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, which was divided into five parts. Part I provided that with out any sort of appeal, people could be sent to the gallows or to the Andamans; Part II gave power to the executive to place persons, suspected of complicating an anarchical or revolutionary movement under restraint and restriction of their liberty in various ways; Part III empowered the executive authority to arrest and search without warrant; Part IV provided the powers of automatic continuance of the confinement or restriction of persons already confined or restricted under the Defence of India

Rule; and Part V provided more drastic powers to the executive and restricted the liberation of the people. S.C. Mittal. *op.cit.*, p. 114.

313. When the assembly passed the bill, not single elected Indian members voted for it.
314. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-24; M. Hassan, *op.cit.*, pp. 115-6. According to J.P Thompson, Chief Secretary of Punjab, a total of 291 persons were killed in which there were 186 Hindus, 39 Muslims, 22 Sikhs, and 44 unidentified. Finally official sources estimated that 379 persons; including 337 men, 41 boys and a baby 6 weeks old were killed and at least 1200 persons wounded. According to Indian assessment, the total number of killed persons was about 530, Madan Mohan Malaviya estimated at least 1,000 deaths. S.C. Mittal, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-29.
315. Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (London: 1972), p. 189.
316. For a British perspective on Punjab disturbances see, Government of India, *Report of the Disorder Inquiry Committee, 1919-20* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920). Also see, *Report on the Punjab Disturbances April 1919-Oct. 1919*, IOR L/P & S/20/F-205.
317. Moplas of Malabar, a mixed Muslim community of Arab local origin. They rose against the British government and Hindu landlords. To suppress them a military action and prolonged martial law was imposed. In that rising more than 7000 Moplas were killed.
318. On Feb. 04, 1922 infuriated volunteers of Khilafat and non-cooperation movement killed twenty-one policemen, which provided Gandhi a base for suspension of civil disobedience movement.

## Chapter II IQBAL: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

1. S.A. Vahid, 'Date of Iqbal's Birth', *Iqbal Review* (Oct. 1963), p. 27; Javed Iqbal, *Zind Rud* Vol. I (Lahore: 1985), p.49.
2. Iqbal Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim: An Introduction to the Life and Work of Muhammad Iqbal* (Calcutta: Longman, Green & Company Ltd., 1951), p.3.
3. After annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849, the Dogra ruler Maharaja Ghulab Singh bought Kashmir of Rs.7,500,000 by signing a treaty with British. It was the policy of suppression of Muslims that the grand father of Iqbal Sh. M. Rafique along with some other relatives migrated from Kashmir to Sialkot.
4. Atiya Begum, *Iqbal* (Lahore: A'ina-i-Adab, 1977), p. 8; see also, Nur-ud-Din Abu Said, *Islami Tasawaf aur Iqbal* (Karachi: 1959), pp.188-89.
5. Hafeez Malik & Lynda P. Malik, 'The Life of the Poet Philosopher', in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: The Poet Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: 1971), p.4; For details see, A'ejaz Ahmad, *Mazlum Iqbal* (Karachi: Sh. Shuakat Ali Printers, 1985), pp.22-25.
6. Sh. Atta Muhammad (1860-1940) was the elder brother of Iqbal. After completing his education he joined army. Later on the basis of training in the army technical school, he became overseer in the Mechanical Engineering service of the Army and served there till retirement. He played an important role in defraying the expenses of Iqbal's education. Although he changed his faith and adopted Ahmadiyyat but Iqbal had great respect for his brother. He left three sons, A'ejaz Ahmad, Imtiaz Ahmad and Mukhtar Ahmad. For further details see A'ejaz Ahmad, *ibid.*, pp.48-61.
7. Mir Hassan (1844-1929) was an Arabic and Persian Scholar. He taught Arabic and Persian for many years at Scotch Mission School and Government College, Lahore. He was a close friend of Iqbal's father. It has been reported that it was Mir Hassan who persuaded his father to let him continue his education. Iqbal also admitted his indebtedness and paid homage in following words:

نفس سے جس کے گھلے میری آرزو کی کلی  
بنایا جس نے مروت کا نکتہ داں مجھ کو

In 1923 when Iqbal was knighted as Sir, he did not accept it until the title 'Shams-ul-Ulama' was awarded to him. In fact it was Mir Hassan who encouraged Iqbal to compose poetry.

8. Maulana Abdul Salam, *Iqbal-i-Kamil* (Lahore: 1992), p.19.
9. K.A. Rashid. 'New Light on the Early Life of Iqbal', in Rahim B. Shaheen, *Momentos of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1976), p.73.
10. Sheik Abdul Qadir, *Iqbal: The Great Poet of Islam* (Lahore: 1975), p.18.
11. Thomas Arnold (1864-1930) was a great scholar of modern philosophy and Islam. He taught for ten years at Aligarh College and then he joined Government College, Lahore. Iqbal was greatly influenced by the personality of Arnold, due to his in-depth knowledge and command on the subject. He developed long life relations with him. Important writings of Thomas Arnold are *Preaching of Islam*, *Caliphate* and *Legacy of Islam*. On his death Iqbal wrote to Lady Arnold (dtd. July 16, 1930).

"Indeed his death is a great loss to British scholarship as well as to the world of Islam...To me this loss is personal, for it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge".

B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967), p.115.

12. Abdul Majeed Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1955), p.17. In fact Iqbal passed his M.A. in third division but he was awarded gold medal because he was the only successful amongst candidate who appeared for M.A. Philosophy.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
14. In years 1898, he attended the full course of lectures at the Lahore Law School and appeared in the preliminary examination in Law in Dec. 1898, but failed in the paper of jurisprudence. In June 1900 he applied to the Chief Court of the Punjab for permission to appear in the preliminary law exams in Dec. 1900 without attending the law lectures but his application was turned down. See record of correspondence in B.A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 36-40.
15. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Iqbal Eik Mutalia'h* (Lahore: 1987), pp. 23-4.
16. S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (London: 1959), p.7.
17. Abdullah Anwar Baig, *The Poet of the East* (Lahore: 1956), p.15.
18. Cited in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 17.

19. Muhammad Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1977), pp. 77-78.

20. Ibid., p.78.

کھول دے گا دشت و حشت عقدہ تقدیر کو  
توڑ کر پہنچوں گا میں پنجاب کی زنجیر کو

21. M.S. Saeed (ed.), *Studies in Iqbal Thought and Art* (Lahore: 1972), p.4.

22. Information supplied by the office of Under Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn quoted in Perveen Shaukat, *Political Philosophy of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1978), p.5.

23. Ibid.

24. S.A. Vahid, *Introduction to Iqbal* (Karachi, n. d.), p.7.

25. Besides Iqbal the other members of sub-committee were Sir Raymond West, K.C.S.I, Ibn-i-Ahmad, Major S.H. Bilgrami, S. Zahur Ahmad, M. Masud-ul-Hassan, M. Shakir Ali and Syed Ameer Ali. Syed Razi Wasti, 'Foundation of the London Branch of All India Muslim League', in S.R. Wasti (ed.), *Muslim Struggle For Freedom in British India* (Lahore: 1993), p.145. For Further details see, Muhammad Yusuf Abbassi, *London Muslim League (1908-28): A Historical Study* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1988), pp. 15-16 & 21.

26. *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 1908, para 2151; Also see Maulana Abdul Salam, op.cit., p.22.

27. Abdul Majeed Salik, op.cit., pp. 63-65.

28. S.A. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p.14; see also, Iqbal Singh, op.cit., p.60.

29. Faqeer Syed Waheed-ud-Din, *Rozgar-i-Faqeer* Vol. I (Karachi: Line Art Press, 1961), p.222.

30. M.S. Saeed (ed.), op.cit., p.5.

31. Iqbal to Krishan Parshad, Dec. 15, 1919 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *Kulyat Makatib-i-Iqbal* Vol. II (Delhi: Urdu Academy, 1993), p.158.

32. S.A. Vahid, *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1976), p.252.

33. Iqbal to Khan Muhammad Niaz-ud-Din Khan, Feb 11, 1920 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), op.cit., pp. 163-64.

34. For detail see, Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. II (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1983), p. 253.

35. Iqbal to Khan M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, Dec. 03, 1920 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 219.
36. *PPSAI*, 1917, para 651.
37. Perveen Shaukat, *op.cit.*, p.8.
38. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore: 1967), p.227.
39. Lini S. May, *Iqbal: His Life & Times* (Lahore: 1974), p. 169.
40. Abdul Majeed Salik, *op.cit.*, p.129.
41. Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab* (Lahore: 1980), p. 124.
42. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gufar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), pp. 14-16; *Zamindar*, July 20, 1926.
43. M. Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal Ka Siyasi Karnama* (Lahore: 1977), p. 143.
44. For details of his speeches in PLC see, L.A. Sherwani (ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp. 50-76
45. M. Hanif Shahid, *Mufakkar-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: 1982), p. 255; See also, *Zamindar*, Oct. 11, 1926.
46. For details see, S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947* Vol. II (Karachi: 1970), pp. 107-138.
47. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), pp. 11-12.
48. For details see, *Proceedings of Indian Round Table Conferences* (London: 1932), IOR V/26/261.
49. Iqbal to Agha Khan, 16 Nov., 1931 in B.A. Dar (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
50. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p. 492.
51. M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1992 reprint).
52. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 673.
53. Hafeez Malik, 'Muhammad Iqbal', *Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World* Vol. II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 220.
54. For details see, A'ejaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 100; See also, Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sarguzhist-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1992), pp. 17-8.
56. A'ejaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 101.
57. For details about crisis in marital life see, Javed Iqbal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 30-49.

58. Sir Sheikh Abdul Qadir (1874-1950) belonged to a noble family of Qasur and by profession a lawyer. Later he was elevated to the post of judge of High Court. In 1925 he was elected as President of PLC; Minister of Education in 1926; and Revenue member in 1927. He also served as member of Council of State from 1934-37. He remained editor of two literary journals *Makhzan* and *Observer*.
59. Mirza Khan Dagh (1831-1905) was a *ghazal* writer. His poetry was well read and distinguished by purity of its idioms and simplicity of its language and thought. He was a poetical preceptor of *Nizam* of Hyderabad.
60. Muhammad Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', op.cit., p.11; Iqbal is considered as greatest Urdu poet of twentieth century. By most critics to be the only equal of Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869). In fact, he was the first prominent Urdu poet who was a native of the Punjab, and his emergence marked a shift of Muslim Indian culture away from the Deccan and the United Provinces towards the north. V.G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy & Oxford University Press, 1999), p. XIII.
61. Emmett Davis, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1836-1947* (Delhi: 1983), p.6.
62. Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1977), p.1.
63. For details see, Muhammad Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal Aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Lahore: 1976).
64. Cited in Hafeez Malik & Linda P. Malik, 'The Life of Poet Philosopher', p. 22.
65. M. Iqbal, op.cit., pp. 21-2.

اے ہالہ! تو فِصیلِ کشورِ ہندوستان!  
چومتا ہے تیری پیشانی کو جھک کر آسمان  
امتحان دیدہ ظاہر میں کوہستان ہے تو  
پاسبانِ اپنا ہے تو، دیوارِ ہندوستان ہے تو

66. Ibid., p. 87.

رُفت ہے جس زمین کی بامِ ملک کا زینہ  
جنت کی زندگی ہے جس فضا میں جینا  
میرا وطن وہی ہے، میرا وطن وہی ہے



67. Sachchidananda Sinha, *Iqbal: The Poet and His Message* (Allahabad: 1947), pp. 41-5 in Perveen Shaukat, op.cit., p. 194.
68. Ibid., p. 83.

سارے جہاں سے اچھا ہے ہندوستان ہمارا  
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستان ہمارا  
مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں بیرکھنا  
ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا  
یونان و مصر و روم اب گئے جہاں سے  
اب تک مگر ہے باقی نام و نشان ہمارا

69. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 88.

سچ کہ دوں اے رہمن! اگر تو بُرا نہ مانے  
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ہو گئے پرانے  
اپنوں سے بیرکھنا تو نے بتوں سے سیکھا  
جنگ و جدل سکھایا داعض کو بھی خدا نے  
تنگ آکر میں نے آخر دیر و حرم کو چھوڑا  
داعض کا واعض چھوڑا، چھوڑے تیرے فسانے  
پتھر کی مورقوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے  
خاک وطن کا مجھ کو ہر ذرہ دیوتا ہے  
آ، غیریت کے پردے اک بار پھر اٹھا دیں  
پھچھڑوں کو پھر ملا دیں، نقش دوئی منا دیں  
سوئی پڑی ہوئی ہے مدت سے دل کی بستی  
آ، اک نیا سوال اس دیں میں بنا دیں  
دینا کے تیرتھوں سے ادنچا ہوا اپنا تیرتھ  
داناں آساں سے اس کا کلس ملا دیں  
ہر صبح اٹھ کے گائیں مستر وہ بیٹھے بیٹھے  
سارے بچاریوں کو سے پیت کی پلا دیں  
شکتی بھی شانچ بھی بھکتوں کے گیت میں ہے  
دھرتی کے ہاسیوں کی کمتی پریت میں ہے

70. Ibid., p. 71.

وطن کی فکر کرنا داں! مصیبت آنے والی ہے  
حیرتی بر باد یوں کے مشورے ہیں آسمانوں میں  
نہ سمجھو گے تو مٹ جاؤ گے اے ہندوستان والو!  
تمہاری داستاں تک بھی نہ ہوگی داستاںوں میں

71. Ibid., pp. 37-8 & 68-76.

72. Ahmad Hassan Dani, 'Allama Dr. M. Iqbal on Nation and Millat' in Ahmad Hassan Dani (ed.), *Founding Fathers of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1998), p. 195.

73. In reply to the Statement of Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Ehsan*, Mar. 03, 1938 in A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 229-246.

74. Perveen Shaukat, op.cit., p. 196.

75. B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, pp. 58-9.

76. Ibid., pp. 54-63.

77. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1992), p. 15.

78. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 15.

79. Most of these poems are in the second part of *Bang-i-Dara*. Also see, Abdul Majeed Salik, op.cit., p. 57.

80. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. I (Lahore: 1985), p. 127. The reason was because he found Persian better suited to the philosophical subjects that he wanted to write on, and partly in order to reach a wider audience, Persian being the literary *lingua franca* of a large part of Muslim world.

81. Sharif-ul-Mujahid, 'Iqbal and Muslim Nationalism', *Concept* XVI: 12 (Dec. 1996), p. 31.

82. M.H. Khatana, *Iqbal and the Foundation of Pakistani Nationalism* (Lahore: 1992), p. 96.

83. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 141.

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بہتی دکان نہیں ہے  
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب کم زرعیار ہوگا  
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے نخر سے آپ ہی خود اُٹھی کرے گی  
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا ناپائیدار ہوگا

84. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', ibid., p. 332.

جلال بادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو  
جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

85. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', op.cit., p. 159.

چین و عرب ہمارا، ہندوستان ہمارا  
مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا  
توحید کی امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے  
آساں نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا  
تینوں کے سائے میں ہم پل کر جواں ہوئے ہیں  
خنجر ہلال کا ہے قومی نشان ہمارا  
باطل سے دینے والے اے آساں نہیں ہم  
سو پار کر چکا ہے تو امتحاں ہمارا

86. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1996), p.146.

87. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

اس دور میں سے اور ہے جام اور ہے جم اور  
ساقی نے بنا کی روش لطف و تم اور  
مسلم نے بھی تعمیر کیا اپنا حرم اور  
تہذیب کے آزر نے تر شوائے صنم اور  
ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے  
جو پیراں اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کنٹن ہے  
یہ بت کہ تراشیدۂ تہذیب نومی ہے  
غارت گر کا شانہ دین نبویؐ ہے  
بازو تیرا توحید کی قوت سے قوی ہے  
اسلام تیرا دلیں ہے تو مصطفویؐ ہے  
نظارۂ دیرینہ زمانے کو دکھا دے  
اے مصطفویؐ خاک میں اس بت کو ملا دے  
ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی  
رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی  
ہے ترک وطن سنت محبوب الہی  
تہذیب کے ساتھ ساتھ

گفتار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے  
 ارشاد نبوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے  
 اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے  
 تفسیر ہے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے  
 خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے  
 کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے  
 اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بنتی ہے اس سے  
 قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کھتی ہے اس سے

88. S. A. Vahid (ed.), *Maqalat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1963), p. 222.

89. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 248.

اپنی ملت پر قیاس اقوام مغرب سے نہ کر  
 خاص ہے ترکیب میں قوم رسول ہاشمیؐ  
 ان کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار  
 قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری  
 دہن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں  
 اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی!

90. M. Iqbal, 'Asrar-wa-Ramooz', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1975), pp. 162-63.

91. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp. 163-70.

92. Ibid., pp. 199-208.

93. Ibid., pp. 267-76.

94. Ibid., p. 265.

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لئے  
 نسل کے ساحل سے لیکر تا بنجاک کا شاعر

95. M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., pp. 23-4.

96. S.R. Wasti, 'Dr. M. Iqbal-From Nationalism to Universalism', *Iqbal Review* XVIII: 1 (Jan. 1978), p. 34.

97. B.A. Dar (ed.), op.cit., pp. 58-9.

98. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), p. 287.

99. Ibid., pp. 287-88.

100. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections*, pp. 15-16.
101. For a detailed and comprehensive record of politics of Doabandi school of thought see, Zia-ul-Hassan Farooqi, *Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963).
102. M. Iqbal, 'Armaghan-i-Hijaz', op.cit., p. 691.

عجم ہنوز نداند رموز دین ورنہ  
 زویو بند حسین احمدائیں چه یو الہی است!  
 سرود بر سر منبر کہ ملت از وطن است  
 چه بے خبرز مقام محمدؐ عربی است  
 بمصطفیٰ برساں خویش را کہ دین ہمدوست  
 اگر بہ اوز سیدی تمام بولسی است!

103. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 230.
104. Ibid., p. 231.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., p. 242.
107. Ibid., pp. 232 & 242.
108. Ibid., p. 243.
109. Ibid., p. 245.

### Chapter III      IQBAL AND THE AHRARS

1. All India Khilafat Committee was formed on January 26, 1919 in a Muslim Conference held at Lucknow which was presided by Maulana Bari Farangi Mahal. Seth Haji Jan Muhammad Chautani was appointed as its first President. I.H. Qureshi, *Ulama in Politics* (Karachi: Ma'arif Ltd., 1972), pp. 261-62.
2. At the eve of first meeting of *Khilafat* Conference held on Nov. 23, 1919 at Delhi, *Ulamas* belonging to various schools of thought decided to form Jami'at Ulama-'i-Hind (JUH) to provide guidance to Muslims in religious and political affairs. Mufti Kifayatullah Dehlvi was made its permanent President, who held that post for twenty years. For details see, Perveen Rozina (ed.), *Jami'at Ulama-'i-Hind: Dastawaizat Markazi Ajlashai'am, 1919-45* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1980), p. 15.
3. On Feb. 04, 1922 the murder of twenty-one policemen by a mob of infuriated volunteers was the root cause of suspension of civil disobedience movement. Ghandi argued that people were not yet ready for a non-violent struggle and passive resistance, which required discipline, coupled with restraint and self-control.
4. Zia-ul-Hassan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 67-8.
5. Even during the *Khilafat* movement the policies of Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad converged, because their temperaments and characters were so different. I.H. Qureshi, op.cit., p.308.
6. Maulana Aziz-ur-Rehman Jama'i Ludhianvi, *Ra'is-ul-Ahrar Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi aur Hindustan ki Jang-i-Azadi* (Delhi: A'ala Press, 1961), p.120. [Henceforth referred as Jama'i].
7. Ibid., pp.120-21.
8. Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) was one of the most renowned *Ulama* of Indian Sub-continent. He received his education in Theology from Al-Azhar University, Cairo. Throughout twenties he guided and enlightened the Indian Muslims through his journals; *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Bilagh*. Politically he inclined towards the INC and actively participated in the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements launched by it and was imprisoned many time. He

was amongst those pro-Congress and nationalist *Ulama* who opposed the partition of India. He was an impressive speaker and prolific writer and his important works comprises *Qaul-i-Faisal*, *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, *India Wons Freedom*, and *Tazkirah*. For details of his life and philosophy see, Ian Henderson Douglas, *Abul Kalam Azad-An Intellectual and Religious Biography* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988); Shaurash Kashmiri, *Abul Kalam Azad* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 1994 reprint).

9. Ch. Afzal Haq, *Tarikh-i-Ahrar* (Multan: Maktaba Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, 1968), pp.81-83; Jama'i, op.cit., pp.122-23.
10. Jama'i, ibid., p.120.
11. Main Amir-ud-Din, *Yad-i-Ayam* (Lahore: Kutubkhana AHI, 1983), p.37.
12. I.H. Qureshi, op.cit., p.292.
13. Nazir Hussain Zaidi, *Zafar Ali Khan: Ahwal-wa-Athar* (Lahore: Majlis Tarraq'i Adab, 1986), p.156.
14. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., pp.67-8.
15. Ibid., p.68.
16. Ibid.
17. Shaurash Kashmiri, *Attaullah Shah Bukhari: Swanih-wa-Afkar* (Lahore: Maktaba Chattan, 1974), p.333.
18. Ashraf Atta, *Kuch Shikista Dastanain Kuch Parishan Tazkarai* (Lahore: Sindh Saghar Academy, 1996), p.48.
19. Ahrar's leaders signed Nehru Report on the condition, that if the principle of adult franchise was adopted, then they would ready to accept joint electorate for ten years. Jama'i, op.cit., pp.136 & 152; Mazhar Ali Azhar, *Judagana Intikhab Sai Pakistan Tak* (Lahore: Maktaba-'i-Ahrar, 1944), pp.69-70; and Ch. Afzal Haq, *Pakistan and Untouchability* (Lahore: Maktaba-'i-Urdu, 1941), p.113.
20. *Inqilab*, Aug. 31, 1928.
21. Ibid.
22. Muhammad Irfan to Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi, July 07, 1931 in Jama'i, op.cit., 127-28; Shorash Kashmiri, op.cit., p. 85.
23. Syed Tufail Ahmad Mangiouri, *Mussalmanaun ka Raushan Mustaqbil* (Delhi: Qasmi Kutubkhana, 1945), p. 439.
24. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., p. 70.

25. Syed Tufail A. Manglauri, op.cit., p. 439.
26. Before the formation of Majlis-i-Ahrar, ex-members of *Khilafat* Committee established another party on temporary basis, which was named as 'National Volunteer Corps'. Ashraf Atta, op.cit., p. 48.
27. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab, 1931-38* (Islamabad: NDC, Accession No. S-358), p. 5. [Henceforth referred as *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*].
28. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., p. 71; see also K.K. Aziz (ed.), *Public Life in India* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), p. 133; *Zamindar*, Jan. 03, 1929.
29. I.H. Qureshi, op.cit., p. 310.
30. Jama'i, op.cit., p. 144.
31. K.K. Aziz (ed.), op.cit., p. 133.
32. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. I (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsara, 1975), p. 88.
33. P.N. Chopra, *India's Struggle for Freedom: Role of Associated Movements* Vol. II (Delhi: Agam Prakashan, 1985), pp. 354 & 356.
34. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p. 95.
35. *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence, 1931*, para. 80. [Henceforth referred as *PPSAI*].
36. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., p. 91.
37. Jama'i, op.cit., pp. 146-47.
38. Ibid., p. 147.
39. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 5.
40. Government of Punjab, *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted Under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1954), p. 254. [Henceforth referred as *Munir Commission Report*].
41. *PPSAI, 1931*, para. 237; *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 5.
42. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., p.84.
43. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 5.
44. *PPSAI, 1931*, para. 689.
45. *Munir Commission Report*, p. 10.
46. *PPSAI, 1931*, para. 689.
47. Ch. Afzal Haq, op.cit., p. 27; Janbaz Mirza, *Hayat-i-Amir-i-Shariat* [Biography of Attaullah Shah Bukhari] (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsara, n.d.), p. 146.



48. Janbaz Mirza, *ibid.*, pp.146-47.
49. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. I, pp. 121-23.
50. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 778; For details see, Mazhar Ali Azhar, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-6.
51. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.6; *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 778.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari (1891-1961) was a renowned Muslim seminary and speaker of a high caliber. He actively participated in Khilafat, non-cooperation, civil dis-obedience, Kashmir and anti-Ahmadiyya movements. Through out his political career he was arrested and imprisoned many times. For details see, Syed Abu Mu'aviya Abuzar Bukhari, *Muqadmat Amir-i-Shariat* (Multan: n.d.).
54. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 853.
55. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.6.
56. Janbaz Mirza, *op.cit.*, p. 123.
57. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II (Lahore: 1977), pp. 51-2.
58. Samina Awan, 'Identity, Political Islam and Nationalism-Issues in the Making of Pakistan (A case study of Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam), unpublished paper, (Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Open University, n.d.), p.7.
59. *Dastoor-al-amal Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Hind* (Peshawar: 1939), p. 15.
60. Majlis-i-Ahrar was a base camp for anti-British elements, which despite of belonging to various religious sects join hands on one-point agenda i.e. the British opposition. Ch. Afzal Haq, Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianwi, Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din and Master Taj-ud-Din were *Hanifi* Sunnites; Sahibzada Faiz-ul-Hassan and Maulana Inayatullah Chisti were *Brelvis*; Maulana Daud Ghaznawi was *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar was a staunch Shiaite. Khan Ghazi Kabli & Shahid Kashmiri, *Hayat-i-Bukhari* (Lahore: Ahrar Foundation, 2003 reprint), p. 27.
61. Ch. Afzal Haq, *Tarikh-i-Ahrar*, p.12.
62. *Dastoor-al-'amal Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Hind*, pp. 5-7.
63. Cited in Muhammad Arshad, 'Muslim Politics and Political Movements in the Punjab, 1932-42, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (Bahawalpur: Islamia University, 2001), p. 85.

64. Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianwi, Attaullah Shah Bukhari and Sheikh Hassam-ud-Din, were known as 'Loud-speakers of Majlis-i-Ahrar'. Khan Ghazi Kabli & Shahid Kashmiri, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
65. Javed Haider Syed, 'The Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Pakistan Resolution', in Kaniz Yusuf Fatima (ed.), *Pakistan Resolution Re-visited* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1990), p. 418.
66. Khan Ghazi Kabli & Shahid Kahsmiri, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
67. Ch. Afzal Haq, *op.cit.*, p. 122.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
69. Fortnightly report on the political condition in the Punjab for the Second half of December 1931, IOR L/P & J/12/33.
70. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 30; Janbaz Mirza, *op.cit.*, p. 55. Mian Qamar-ud-Din was appointed as President, Ch, Afzal Haq as vice president and Maulana Abdul Karim as General Secretary. K.K. Aziz (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 144.
71. Janbaz Mirza, *ibid.*
72. Prior to 1935, the members of Majlis-i-Ahrar used to hold a club and an axe in their hands as an emblem. Later on, in 1935, because of the efforts of Ahraris, Muslims were permitted to carry swords and thus an axe was replaced with sword.
73. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 40; Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. IV (Lahore: 1979), p. 64.
74. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 639.
75. In Punjab numerous rival organizations took a practical shape in June 1939; with their member marching about in military formations were Akali Sena, Rashtriya Ekta Dal, Agni Dal, Shakti Dal , Gainti Dal, Bajrang Dal. Although actual clashes between these organizations did not take place, however it was a fact that they served to heighten the communal tension and government was planning to restrict their activities. L.V. Deane, *Note on Khaksar Movement*, April 12, 1940. [NDC].
76. *PPSAI*, Sep. 06, 1941.
77. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 276.
78. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 778.

79. *Khutba-i-Istaqbaliah* by Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Ahrar-i-Islam Conference, July 11, 1931 (Islamabad: NIHCR), p.7 [Acc. No. 4775].
80. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. I, p. 82.
81. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.1; see also *Dastoor-al-amal Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam Hind*, p.3.
82. Ch. Afzal Haq, *Pakistan and Untouchability*, p. 131.
83. The two Muslim organizations, the Ahrars and the JUH, suffered greatly from government repression, because politically they followed the same line as INC. J.L. Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 393.
84. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998), p. 40; Shaurash Kashmir, *Attaullah Shah Bukhari*, p. 85.
85. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p. 289.
86. Shaurash Kashmiri, op.cit., pp. 29-30.
87. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separation in India: A Brief Survey, 1858-1947* (Lahore: 1971), p. 230.
88. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p. 289.
89. Cited in S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), p. 193.
90. Javed Haider Syed, op.cit., p. 400.
91. *PPSAI*, 1937, para. 257.
92. *PPSAI*, 1939, para. 151.
93. *PPSAI*, 1937, para. 630.
94. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977), p. 333.
95. *PPSAI*, 1937, para. 771.
96. S. Qalbi-i-Abid, op.cit., p. 202.
97. Shaurash Kashmiri, op.cit., p.100.
98. Ibid., p.101.
99. Tahir Amin, 'Kashmir', *Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World* Vol. II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.401.
100. Ibid.
101. For details see, R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969).

102. For details of conquest of Ranjit Singh of Jammu and Kashmir see M.L. Kapur, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State: The Making of the State* (Jammu : Kashmir History Publication, 1980), pp.13-32.
103. Chiragh Hassan Hasrat, *Kashmir* (Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1948), p. 120.
104. As a result of treaty between Ghulab Singh and British authorities, the whole state of Kashmir along with population was sold to him against cash payment of two and a half million rupees. In this manner Dogra *Raj* was established over entire Kashmir and the Muslim population faced their tyranny for more than a century. For details see, M. Yousaf Saraf, *Kashmir Fight for Freedom* Vol. I (Lahore: Feroz Sons Limited, 1977), pp.187-228.
105. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. I, pp. 172-73.
106. Abdullah Malik, *Punjab Ki Siasi Tehrikain* (Lahore: Kausar Publishers, 1973), pp. 158-59.
107. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p.173.
108. Mir Abdul Aziz, *Kashmir Ki Tehrik-i-Azadi* (Lahore : Pakistan Publication, n.d.), p.1; for details see, Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmancaun Ki Jiddau Jauhd-i-Azadi, 1829-1947* (Muzaffarabad : Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1992), pp. 25-36.
109. Sh. M. Abdullah (1905-1982) was the first Kashmiri Muslim who obtained M.Sc from Aligarh University. He started his career as a school teacher. Soon he actively engaged himself in the political activities and provoked the Kashmiris to resist against the Dogra rule. He was conferred with the title of Lion in 1931, by his co-religionist, for his active participation in the agitation against dogras. He was the founder President of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Due to his inclination towards Ahmadis and pro-Congress attitude he also faced a severe critic and opposition of cross-section of Kashmiri masses. For a insight of his socio-political activities see his autobiography, *Atish-i-Chinar* (Lahore: Chaudary Academy, 1985).
110. M. Sarwar Abbasi, op. cit., pp. 63-5.
111. *Munir Commission Report*, p.11.
112. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., p.57.
113. Ibid., p.58; Daust M. Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. VI (Rabwa : 1964), p. 431.
114. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., pp. 67-8.

115. *PPSAI*, 1931, para 728. According to Spencer, the Hindu Head Constable had prevented a Muslim policeman from reciting the Quran, declaring it to be non-sense. Levan Spencer, *The Ahmadiya Movement: Past and Present* (Amritser : Guru Nanak Dev University, 1976), p.81; It was recorded in the annual register, that Labhu Ram profaned the Holy Quran by throwing it on the floor. *IAR*, Vol. II, 1931, p.10.
116. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., pp.84-5.
117. M. Yusuf Saraf, op.cit., pp.373-75.
118. Ibid., pp.377-80; Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., pp.88-9.
119. According the 1911 census there were 177549 Kashmiri Muslims residing in the Punjab. Cited in Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2001), p.352.
120. Abdul Wahid Mo'eni, *Naqsh-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Aa'ina-i-Adab, 1949), p.146.

ہندوستان میں آئے ہیں کشمیر چھوڑ کر  
 بلبل نے آشیانہ بنایا چین سے دور  
 کشمیر کا چین جو مجھے دل پذیر ہے  
 اس بارغ جانفزا کا یہ بلبل اسیر ہے  
 میراث میں ہم کوئی آدم کی جائیداد  
 جو وطن ہمارا وہ جنت نظیر ہے۔

121. Abdul Wahid Mo'eni, *Baqiat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1978), p.27; For details see, M. Abdullah Qureshi, 'Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalmanan', *Iqbal* (April 1956), pp.30-52.
122. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *Iqbal aur Tehrik-i-Azadi Kashmir* (Srinagar: Kashmiri Writers Conference, 1997), pp.191-93.
123. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi (ed.), *Khutut-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Maktaba Khayaban-i-Adab), pp. 106-09.
124. M. Abdullah Qureshi, *Hayat-i-Iqbal ki Gumshadah Kurian* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal), p. 155.
125. Ibid., p. 163.
126. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gufstar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), pp. 174-5.
127. Daust M. Shahid, op.cit., p. 462.

128. Ibid.
129. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 830; *Inqilab*, July 31, 1931.
130. M. Zafarullah Khan, *Ahmadiyyat: The Renaissance of Islam* (London: Tabshir Publications, 1978), p. 261.
131. Abdus Salam Kurshid, *Sarguzisht-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996), pp. 272-73.
132. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 830.
133. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p. 129.
134. *Inqilab*, Aug. 16, 1931.
135. Sabir Afaqi, *Iqbal aur Kashmir* (Lahore: 1977), pp. 81-2.
136. Sh. M. Abdullah, *op.cit.*, p. 101.
137. *RNPP*, July 18, 1931, p. 699.
138. *Milap* (Lahore), July 21, 1931, *RNPP*, p. 664.
139. M. Zafarullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 261.
140. *Tribune*, Aug. 08, 1931.
141. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 214-15.
142. *Inqilab*, Aug. 16, 1931.
143. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p. 132.
144. M. Zafarullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 261.
145. *Inqilab*, July 29, 1931.
146. *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1931.
147. Ravinder Jeet Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Company, 1966), p. 156; Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, p. 498.
148. Ravinder Jeet Kaur, *ibid.*, p. 157.
149. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, pp. 490-92.
150. *Ibid.*
151. Report of Proceeding at a Deputation to Sir Findlater Stewart, Under Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Muslim Community of India, Nov. 09, 1931. L/PO/6/74 cited in *Al-Ma'arif* (April 1993), p. 11.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
154. These sessions were held at Simla July 25, 1931; Sialkot Sep. 12-13, 1931; Lahore Oct. 13, 1931; Lahore Oct. 24, 1931; Lahore Nov. 10, 1931; Delhi Nov. 22, 1931; Lahore Feb. 13, 1932; Delhi Mar. 2-4, 1932; Lahore May 09,

- 1932; Lahore July 05, 1932; Lahore Feb. 01, 1933; Lahore May 07, 1933; Lahore Sep. 03, 1933; Simla Sep. 16, 1933; Lahore March 25, 1934; and Lahore Match 28, 1934. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, p. 476.
155. Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmir Musalmanaun ki Siasi Jiddau Jauhd, 1931-39 Muntakhib Dustavauzat* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1985), p. 17.
  156. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Raul* Vol. III (Lahore: 1984), p. 325.
  157. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, pp. 469-70.
  158. Ayesha Jalal, *op.cit.*, p. 357.
  159. Jama'i, *op.cit.*, pp. 158-59.
  160. I.H. Qureshi, *op.cit.*, p. 319.
  161. For discussion regarding pro-British stance of Ahmadis see, *infra*, pp. 247-50.
  162. Shaurash Kashmiri, *op.cit.*, p. 166.
  163. For details see, M. Abdullah Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 166; Jama'i, *op.cit.*, p. 158.
  164. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 886.
  165. *Inqilab*, Aug. 18, 1931.
  166. *Ibid.*
  167. P.N. Chopra, *op.cit.*, p. 360.
  168. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 908.
  169. *Ibid.*
  170. *Ibid.*, 1931, para. 954.
  171. Afzal Haq, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-8.
  172. Telegram from F & P dept., Government of India to Secretary of State for India, Oct. 08, 1931, IOR L/P & J/7/165; Also see, *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 954.
  173. *Inqilab*, Sep. 05, 1931.
  174. Afzal Haq, *op.cit.*, p. 101.
  175. Fortnightly Report on the Political Condition in Punjab for the second half of Sep. 1931, IOR L/P & J/12/33. Also see *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1026.
  176. Sh. M. Abdullah, *op.cit.*, pp. 139-40.
  177. M. Sarwar Abbasi, *op.cit.*, p. 133.
  178. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 10.
  179. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1059.
  180. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 11.
  181. *Ibid.*
  182. *Ibid.*

183. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1073.
184. *Ibid.*
185. *Ibid.*; *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, pp. 11-12.
186. *PPSAI*, 1931, paras. 1072 & 1073.
187. *Inqilab*, Oct. 14, 1931.
188. Sh. M. Abdullah, *op.cit.*, p.142.
189. Note by Lahore City Magistrate, Nathu Ram on conversation with Mazhar Ali Azhar, Oct. 06, 1931, IOR L/P & J/7/931.
190. Ashraf Atta, *op.cit.*, p.133.
191. *Ibid.*, p.139; *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.12.
192. Ashraf Atta, *op.cit.*, p.140.
193. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.12.
194. *Ibid.*
195. Afzal Haq, *op.cit.*, pp.27 & 116; Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglauri, *op.cit.*, p.547. According to the figures issued by the Ahrar Offices, Since Oct. 02, 1931 to June 09, 1932, approximately 34,000 people were arrested. For details see Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. I, p.276.
196. Khan Ghazi Kabli & Shahid Kashmiri, *op.cit.*, p.56.
197. Ch. Ghulam Nabi, *Tehrik-i-Kashmir Sai Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nubuwwat Tak* (Lahore: 1998 reprint), p.34.
198. *Ibid*, p.35.
199. Ch. Afzal Haq, *op.cit.*, p.113.
200. Metcalf to C.C. Garbett, Chief Sec. Punjab, Sep. 15, 1931, IOR L/P&J/7/165.
201. Fortnightly Report on the Political condition of Punjab for the first half of Nov. 1931, IOR L/P&J/12/33.
202. *Ibid.*
203. *Ibid.*
204. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.12.
205. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1220-a.
206. *Ibid*, 1931, para.1147.
207. *Ibid*, 1931, para.1164.
208. The Glancy Commission comprised Mr. B.J. Glancy (political dept. of India) President, Mr. G.A. Ishahi (Muslim representative from Kashmir), Mr. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz (Hindu representative from Kashmir), Mr. Ghulam Abbas



Khan (Muslim representative from Jammu), and Mr. Lok Nath Sharma (Hindu representative from Jammu).

209. Ikram A. Malik, *A Book of Reading on the History of Punjab* (Lahore: 1976), p.558,
210. Ch. Afzal Haq, op. cit., p.126.
211. Telegram from F & P dept., Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India, Oct. 28, 1931, IOR L/P&J/7/165.
212. *PPSAI*, 1931, para 1262.
213. Hari Singh to Mufti Kifayatullah, Dec. 02, 1931 in Syed Abu Mu'avia Abuzar Bukhari (comp.), *Ahrar aur Sarkar Ki Khat-wa-Kitabat-bah-Silsilah Tehrik-i-Kashmir* (Multan: Maktaba Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, 1968), p.7 [Henceforth referred as *Ahrar aur Sarkar*].
214. Fortnightly Report on the Political Condition in the Punjab for the Second half of Dec. 1931, IOR L/P & J/12/33.
215. *Ahrar Aur Sarkar*, pp.5-10.
216. P.M. to Mufti Kifayatullh, Dec. 06, 1931, *ibid.*, p.10.
217. Mufti Kifayatullah to P.M., Dec, 07, 1931, *ibid.*, p.11.
218. P.M. to Mufti Kifayatullah, Dec, 11, 1931, *ibid.*, p.11-12.
219. Mufti Kifayatullah to P.M., Dec, 12, 1931, *ibid.*, p.12-13.
220. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
221. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1268.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Ibid.*
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ahrar aur Sarkar*, pp.14-15.
226. Mufti Kifayatullah to P.M., Dec, 23, 1931, *ibid.*, p.17-18.
227. P.M. to Mufti Kifayatullah, Dec, 25, 1931, *ibid.*, p.19-20.
228. *Ibid.*, pp.24-26.
229. Government was hopeful that "the visit of Mufti Kifayatullah and Ahmad Said from Delhi to consult with Ahrar leaders in and out of jail, regarding a settlement, might result in a cessation of *jathabandi*". Fortnightly Report on the political condition in Punjab for the second half of Nov., 1931, IOR L/P&J/12/33.
230. Mufti Kifayatullah to P.M., Jan. 06, 1932 in *Ahrar aur Sarkar* pp.25-27.

231. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.45.
232. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.15.
233. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.67.
234. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.118.
235. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.200.
236. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.366.
237. Fortnightly Report on the political condition in the Punjab for the first half of April 1932, IOR L/P&J/12/44.
238. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.16.
239. Afzal Haq, *Tarikh-i-Ahrar*, pp.123-24. "The Ahrars plan is to send women emissaries into the Kashmir state. Their idea is that if these women are arrested stories of their molestation by the state officials will be circulated to arouse agitation, while if they are ignored, they will be able to do useful propaganda in the village [side]". Fortnightly Report on the political condition in the Punjab for the first half of April 1932, IOR L/P&J/12/44.
240. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., p.169; For details of Glancy Commission Report see, Mirza Shafique Hussain, op.cit., pp.85-176.
241. Quoted by Ayesha Jalal, op.cit., p.363.
242. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., p.169.
243. M. Zafarullah Khan, op. cit., p.263.
244. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.17.
245. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.45.
246. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.313
247. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.18.
248. Ibid., p.20.
249. For details see, *PPSAI*, 1932, para.1292.
250. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.21; Also see, *PPSAI*, 1933, para.91.
251. *Munir Commission Report*, p.10.
252. Gilmartin David, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Lahore: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1988), p.98.
253. M. Rafique Afzal, op. cit., pp. 173-74.
254. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.558.
255. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar*, Vol. I p.182.

256. For details see, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, p.58; Khawaja Nazir Ahmad, *Jesus in Heaven on Earth* (London : Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, 1998); and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Jesus in India: Jesus' Escape from Death on the Cross and Journey to India* (London : 1978).
257. Daust M. Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. VI, pp.405-10.
258. *Al-Fazl*, July 27, 1929.
259. Sahibzada Tariq Mahmood, *Qadianiat Ka Siasi Ja'iza* (Multan: AMTKN, n.d.), p.691.
260. *Ibid.*, p.691; Ashraf Atta, *op. cit.*, pp.130-31.
261. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, p.471.
262. Mirza Shafique Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.260.
263. Qudratullah Shahab, *Shahabnama* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2000), pp.361-70.
264. Sh. M. Abdullah, *op. cit.*, p.144.
265. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.
266. Cited in Abdul Hameed Sajid, *Khat-i-Nubuwwat aur 'Aqida-'i-Iqbal* (Multan: Hafiz Printing Press, 1997), pp.30-31.
267. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sarguzhist-i-Iqbal*, pp.338-39.
268. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p.509.
269. *Ibid.*, p.586.
270. *CMG*, May 04, 1936.
271. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, p.607; *Inqilab*, May 06, 1933.
272. *Ibid.*, p.609.
273. M.Zafarullah Khan, *op. cit.*, p.266.
274. *Munir Commission Report*, pp. 260-61.
275. Daust M. Shahid, *op.cit.*, p.610; Also see, *Inqilab*, May 18, 1933.
276. M. Rafiq Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), p.32.
277. *Inqilab*, June 08, 1933.
278. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973), pp.197-98.
279. M. Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal Ka Siasi Karnama* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp. 420-21; Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi, *op.cit.*, pp. 219-221; *Inqilab*, June 23, 1933.

280. That Ahmadi Pleader was Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan (1893-1985).
281. A. R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 200.
282. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p. 586.
283. Cited in A'ejaz Ahmad, *Mazloom Iqbal* (Karachi: Sh. Shaukat Ali Printers, 1985), p. 202.
284. Ibid.
285. Ibid.
286. See for instance, Naeem Asi, *Iqbal aur Qadiani* (Sialkot: Muslim Academy, 1974); Shaurash Kashmiri, *Iqbal aur Qadianiat* (Lahore: Matbau'at-i-Chatan, 1974).
287. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 191-201.
288. Fortnightly report on the political condition in the Punjab for the first half of July 1933, IOR L/P & J/12/55.
289. M. Rafique Afzal, op. cit., p. 32.
290. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 654; *Tribune*, May 07, 1933.
291. Confidential Report dtd. July 31, 1933, IOR 19381 Photo Eur 209 [NDC].
292. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 605.
293. Bailey to Garbett, July 11, 1933, IOR 19381 Photo Eur 209.
294. A commission was setup under the president ship of Mr. B.J. Glancy (1882-1953) on Nov. 12, 1931. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., p. 132. Salik revealed in his work that commission was mainly established by the Iqbal's involvement. According to him, Nawab of Bhopal Hameedullah Khan was great admirer of Iqbal, and he had tremendous influence over Maharaja Kashmir. Iqbal persuaded Maharaja Hari Singh through Nawab of Bhopal to setup a commission to fulfill due demands of the Muslims. Abdul Majid Malik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1955), p. 173.
295. Garbett to Iqbal, July 11, 1933, IOR 19381 Photo Eur 209. This restriction stayed till the last days of Iqbal. Iqbal intended to stay in Kashmir for a few months in July 1937, but state authorities did not allow him. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 611.
296. Iqbal to Garbett, July 13, 1933, IOR 19381 Photo Eur 209.
297. For details see Abdus Salam Khurshid, op.cit., p. 341.
298. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 202-03.

299. Ibid., p. 203; Infact, Ahmadis sought to exploit Iqbal's fame as a tool to create such conditions in the Arab countries which might prove conducive for the missionary activities of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya. Such a plan resulted in their urging Iqbal time and again to become the President of Kashmir Committee. According to Raja M. Akbar Khan, 'capitalizing on Iqbal's membership, Ahmadis got published a magazine in Arabic language and distributed it in Egypt, Syria, Damascus, etc giving the impression that Iqbal accepted *Khalifa* of Qadian as his *Imam* and leader'. For details see, document No. 15, Mirza Shafique Hussain, op.cit., p. 366.
300. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 1279.
301. Ibid.
302. Ibid.
303. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., pp. 156-7.
304. For details see, ibid., pp. 124-30.
305. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, op.cit., p. 227.
306. *Inqilab*, June 08, 1933.
307. Abdus Salam Khurshid, op.cit., p. 341.
308. Attaullah Sheikh, *Iqbalnama* Vol. I (Lahore: 1944), p. 397.
309. Abdus Salam Khurshid, op.cit., pp. 341-42.
310. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 126.
311. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 227.
312. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 154.
313. Ibid.
314. See for example Memorandum from the Resident in Kashmir, Sep. 28, 1931, IOR R/1/1/2155(2); also see Notes of Foreign and Political department, Oct. 03, 1931, p.2, IOR R/1/1/2155(2).
315. Sahibzada Tariq Mahmood, op.cit., p. 693.
316. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., pp. 180-81.
317. Ayesha Jalal, op.cit., p. 362.
318. Sh. M. Abdullah, op.cit., p. 143.
319. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 328.
320. Iqbal to Na'aim-ul-Haq, Jan. 13, 1934; Jan. 22, 1934; Jan. 28, 1934; Feb. 09, 1934 in B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967), pp. 20-23.

321. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *op.cit.*, p. 227.
322. Iqbal to Salman Nadwi, Sep. 17, 1933 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *Kulyat Makateeb-i-Iqbal* Vol. III (Delhi: Urdu Academy, 1993), p. 395.
323. Iqbal to Majid Daryaabadi, Sep. 24, 1933, *ibid.*, p. 397.
324. When the claim of prophecy was first made, only the *Ulama* of Ludhiana issued a *fatwa* declaring Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, a *Kafir*, the rest of the Ulama thought it best to ignore the matter. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. 1, p. 375.
325. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998), p. 42 [f.n.].
326. *Munir Commission Report*, p.12.
327. *Ibid.*
328. *PPSAI*, 1932, para. 1133.
329. I.H. Malik, 'The Ahrar-Unionist Conflict and the Punjab Politics During the Thirties', *PJHC* V: 1 (Jan-June 1984), p. 49.
330. *The Ahmadiyya Sect: Notes on the origin, Development and History of the Movement* (Islamabad: NDC), p. 15. [Henceforth referred as *The Ahmadiyya Sect*].
331. *Ibid.*
332. Janbaz Mirza, *Musailmah Kazzab Sai Dajjal-i-Qadian Tak* (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsarraah, 1993), p. 127.
333. *PPSAI*, 1933, paras. 211 & 225.
334. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.15.
335. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 226.
336. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 253.
337. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.15.
338. *Ibid.*
339. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 986.
340. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 1307.
341. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.34.
342. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 1327.
343. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.34
344. Daust M. Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. VII, p.442 [f.n.]. Branch of Mailis-i-Airar was established at Qadian in 1934. There under the guidance of

Maulana Inayatullah Chisti; Maulana M. Hayat, Hafiz Muhammad Khan, Maulana Lal Hussain Akhtar, Maulana Abdul Karim Mubahilah, Hafiz A. Karim Caimbalpuri, Maulvi Qutub-ud-Din, Mian Rahmatullah and several other preachers were working for the refutation of Qadianiat. Khan Ghazi Kabli & Shahid Kashmiri, op.cit., pp.75-6.

345. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 80.
346. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.35
347. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar*, Vol. II, pp.81 & 192-6.
348. Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p.88.
349. Shaurash Kashmiri, *Tehrik-i-Khatm-i-Nubuwwat* (Lahore: Maktaba Chatan, 1994 reprint), p.80.
350. A.D. Dard to Buttler, Nov. 09, 1934, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
351. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.35
352. Note on Ahrar-Ahmadi Dispute, p.I, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
353. IOR L/P&J/7/751.
354. R.A. Butler to P.J. Hanoon, May 20, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
355. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 854.
356. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.35
357. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 853.
358. Janbaz Mirza, *Musailmah Kazzab*, p.177.
359. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.35
360. Ibid.
361. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 854.
362. See for example, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's statement who alleged that "government is promoting Qadianiat to execute her political agenda and want to enforce Qadiani beliefs over Muslims as an official religion". Quoted in Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p.87.
363. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 854
364. Ibid.
365. Ibid.
366. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, pp.16-17.
367. M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p.268.
368. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, pp.15-16.
369. Ibid.

370. Shaurash Kashmiri, *Attaullah Shah Bukhari: Swaneh-wa-Afkar*, p.261.
371. *Ibid.*, 262.
372. Chief Sec., Government of Punjab to the Secretary of State for India, Nov. 01, 1934, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
373. *Ibid.*
374. M. Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdith-i-Ne'amat* (Dhaka: 1971), pp.253-54.
375. Note on Ahrar-Ahmadi Dispute, p.1, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
376. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 868.
377. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 884
378. *Ibid.*
379. R.A. Butler to P.J. Hanoon, May 20, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
380. *Ibid.*
381. *PPSAI*, 1934, para. 939
382. Fortnightly report on the political condition in the Punjab for the second half of Nov., 1934, IOR L/P&J/12/66.
383. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.36
384. *Ibid.*, p.35. Later on appeal to the session Judge Khosla, his sentence was reduced to simple imprisonment till the raising of the court. See Judgment of Justice J.D. Khosla, Session Judge, Gurdaspur, June 06, 1935, pp.1-10, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
385. For details see, *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, pp.37-8.
386. *PPSAI*, 1934, paras. 954, 975 & 983.
387. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 125.
388. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 131.
389. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p.36.
390. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 72.
391. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 514.
392. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 72.
393. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 365.
394. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.17.
395. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 459.
396. For details see, *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, pp.20-1.
397. Spencer Lavan, *op.cit.*, p.95.
398. *Ibid.*, p.97.



399. See, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Jihad and the British Government* (Lahore: 1900). Written to prove the illegality of *Jihad* against the British government. Appendix IX contains a list of works by himself arguing for prohibition of *Jihad* and supporting the British Government.
400. A'ejaz Ahmad, op.cit., p.205.
401. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.141.
402. Ibid.
403. Garbett to Metcalfe, Sep.02, 1931, IOR L/P&J/7/165.
404. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., p.333.
405. Ibid., p.334.
406. Ibid., p.333.
407. Ibid., pp.186 & 333.
408. P.N. Chopra, *India's Struggle for Freedom*, p.360.
409. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., p.333.
410. Abdullah Malik, op.cit., p.209; Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., pp.179-83; Afzal Haq, *Tarikh-i-Ahrar*, pp.8-9.
411. This is quite a wrong blame over Fazl-i-Hussain of being an Ahmadi, though he was surely pro-Ahmadi. It has been reported that when he died, Ahmadis did not participated in the funeral prayers and set aside with Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. *Naqeeb Phulwari*, July 25, 1936 in M. Ilyas Burni, *Qadianiat Ka Ilmi Mahasbah* (Multan: AMTKN, 2000 reprint), pp.622-23.
412. M. Zafarullah Khan, op. cit., p.10.
413. Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement* (USA: net edition, 2000), p.22. www.Muslim.org.
414. M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p.237.
415. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p.592.
416. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: 1976), pp.310-11.
417. Ibid., p.317.
418. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography* (Bombay: 1946), p.314.
419. Ibid.
420. *Zamindar*, Aug. 28, 1934.
421. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p.61.

422. Fazl-i-Hussain believed that the opposition would die soon after the announcement of appointment of Zafarullah as member of Viceroy's Executive Council. See, Fazl-i-Hussain to Zafarullah, Sep.24, 1934 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., pp.379-80.
423. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p.79; Also see *Zamindar*, Oct. 24, 1934.
424. Ibid., p.88.
425. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.154.
426. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Sir Mian Fazl-i-Hussain Ka Kirdar Tarikh Kai Aa'inai Main* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1997), p.22.
427. Quoted by ibid., p.23.
428. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., p.140.
429. A brief account of Shaheed Ganj Gurdwara, Information officer, Government of Punjab, p.1, IOR L/P&J/7/931.
430. The *Seh Hakimian-i-Lahore* (1765-1799) had brutally plundered Lahore and in the history of Punjab they are known as tri-rulers of Lahore. They divided the Lahore in three parts and ruled their own part.
431. *Akali Patrika*, July 04, 1935, *Note on Punjab Press* (Lahore Museum Library).
432. IOR L/P&J/7/886.
433. A Brief Account of Shaheed Ganj Gurdwara, op. cit., p.2.
434. For a detailed history of claims and suits made by various petitioners see, Judgment of the Lords of Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, May 20, 1940, pp. 1-11, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
435. *Tribune*, July 04, 1935, *Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab* (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1935), p.290.
436. Ganda Singh, *History of the Gurdwara Shaheed Ganj Lahore: From its origin to November 1935* (Lahore: 1935), pp.50-4.
437. Janbaz Mirza, *Tehrik-i-Masjid Shaheed Ganj : Siasi, Mazhabi aur Tarikhi Puss-i-Manzar* (Lahore: 1988), p.18,
438. Ganda Singh, op.cit., p.66.
439. *IAR*, part I, 1936, p.328.
440. *PPSAI, 1935, para.435.*
441. Ibid.
442. Ibid.
443. Ibid.

444. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p.16.
445. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.435.
446. *Ibid.*
447. *Ibid.*, See also *Zamindar*, July 04, 1935.
448. Mazhar Ali Azhar, *Aik Khaufnak Sazish: Tehrik-i-Shaheed Ganj Kai Mukhtalif Daur* (Amritser: Ahrar Book Depot, 1936), p.62.
449. *Inqilab*, July 09, 1935.
450. *CMG*, July 06, 1935.
451. Telegram Chief Secretary, Government of Punjab to Secretary of State for India, July 10, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
452. *Ibid.*
453. *Ibid.*
454. *Ibid.*
455. *Ibid.*
456. *Ibid.*
457. *Ibid.*
458. *Ibid.*
459. *Ibid.*
460. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.450.
461. *PLCD*, Vol. XXVII, 1935, p.528.
462. Telegram Home Dept., Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India, July 9, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
463. *PLCD*, Vol. XXVII, 1935, p.654.
464. Emerson to Linlithgow, May 08, 1937, IOR L/P&J/5/238.
465. For details see, *Inqilab*, July 01-24, 1935.
466. Reuter Telegram, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
467. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, pp.45-6.
468. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.155.
469. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p.216.
470. Janbaz Mirza, *Tarikh-i-Masjid Shaheed Ganj*, p.29. In this connection a meeting was held between the two at Dalhausi in June, 1935.
471. According to Sajjad Zaheer, Fazl-i-Hussain and the other Unionists considered Ahrars as their serious rivals. He believed that it was at the instigation of Fazl-i-Hussain that Shaheed Ganj agitation was launched. As he wanted to

- bring the Ahrars in the fore front to spearhead the movement. Sajjad Zaheer, *Light on League: Unionist Conflict* (Bombay: 1944), p.16.
472. *Inqilab*, July 11, 1935; Also see Janbaz Mirza, op. cit., p.230.
473. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.480.
474. P.N. Chopra, op. cit., p.367.
475. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp. 201-02; Also see, *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.410.
476. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 433.
477. Janbaz Mirza, op. cit., p.236.
478. *Al-Fazl*, Oct. 19, 1935.
479. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 543.
480. Note on Ahrar-Ahmadi Dispute, p.3, IOR L/P&J/7/751.
481. Ibid., p.4.
482. *LAR*, part-I, 1936, pp. 331-32.
483. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1956) was one of those Muslim politicians, who through his writings, speeches and way of politics challenged the imperialist designs of the British government. In his long political career he was arrested, imprisoned and interned by the government several times. In the formative phase of his political career he was inclined toward the policies of INC, like other nationalist *Ulamas*, and supported the Nehru Report. After 1932 he separated himself from INC and decided to serve AIML. Besides that he was also associated with Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam and actively participated in Kashmir agitation and anti-Ahmadiyya Movements. However due to his differences with Ahrars on the issue of participation in Shaheed Ganj agitation, he seceded from Ahrars and organized Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat (1935), which at later stages merged with the AIML. From 1937-onward he worked with M.A. Jinnah for the freedom of Muslims of sub-continent. He was also an impressive poet and his compilations comprised *Chamnistan*, *Nigaristan* and *Biharistan*. For further details see, Shaurash Kashmiri, *Zafar Ali Khan* (Lahore: Matbu'at-i-Chatan, 1957); Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Hayat, Khidmat wa-Athar* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1993); Rubab Haider, 'Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: A Political Biography', unpublished M. Phil dissertation (Islamabad: QAU, 2003).
484. *CMG*. Julv 16, 1935.

485. *IAR*, part I, 1936, p.332.
486. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.462.
487. Home Dept., Government of India to Secretary of State for India, July 15, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
488. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.462.
489. Press Communique, Director Information Bureau, Punjab July 17, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
490. *Ibid.*
491. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.462.
492. *Ibid.*
493. Chief Secretary Punjab to Secretary of State for India, July 22, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
494. *Ibid.*
495. Summary of discussion between Punjab Governor and Muslim Deputation, July 21, 1935, p.1. IOR L/P&J/7/886.
496. *Ibid.*
497. *Ibid.*
498. *Ibid.*
499. *Ibid.*
500. Azim Hussain, *op. cit.*, p.288.
501. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.517.
502. Resolution passed at the Meeting of Council of PPML, July 25, 1935, IOR L/P&J/7/886.
503. IOR L/P&J/7/886.
504. *Madina*, July 25, 1935.
505. *Janbaz Mirza, op. cit.*, p.263.
506. M. Aslam Malik, *Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi: A Political Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.118.
507. *IAR*, part I, 1936, p.334.
508. IOR L/P&J/7/913.
509. *Ibid.*
510. *Ibid.*
511. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.654.

512. The Muslims were represented by Shaukat Ali, Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, Khalid Latif Gauba, Syed Murtaza, Sheikh M. Sadiq, and Khawaja Ahmad Sadiq. The Sikh representative comprised Master Tara Singh, Giani Gurumukh Singh, Sardar Dalip Singh and Sardar Kartar Singh.
513. The participants of Conference were Maulana Shaukat Ali, Haji Rahim Bukhsh, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Mian Abdul Aziz, Shahnawaz Mamdot, Inayatullah Mashriqi, Syed Hamid Raza, Makhdoom Sadr-ud-Din Gillani, Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din and Prof. Abdul Qadir. *CMG*, Nov. 10, 1935.
514. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp.101-02.
515. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.696: Also see *IAR*, 1935, p.32.
516. Syed Akhtar Hussain & M. Tahir Faruqi, *Seerat-i-Amir-i-Millat (Alipur Sayyadan: 1975)*, pp. 469-71.
517. *IAR*, part I, 1936, p.334.
518. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.65.
519. Undoubtedly, Punjab's religious elites (*Pirs & Sajjadahnashins*) distributed amulets among those Punjabi Muslims who fought against Turkey and Germany in First World War, so that they should fight wearing them around their neck and be blessed. There were signatures of thirty-six *pirs* and *sajjadahnashins* and Pir Syed Jam'at Ali Shah was one of them. Cited in M. Sanaullah Akhtar, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Inqilabi Jiddau Jauhd* (Rawalpindi: 2003), p.52.
520. *Ehsan*, Sep. 23, 1935.
521. *Ibid*, Jan. 16, 1936.
522. Gilmartin David, *Empire and Islam*, pp.104-05.
523. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.149.
524. Azim Hussain, *op. cit.*, p.287.
525. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.323.
526. Khalid Latif Gauba (1899-1981) was elder son of Hari Kishan Lal, ex-minister of Punjab. By birth he was a Hindu and his previous name was Kanhaiya Lal Gauba, but converted to Islam in 1933. In 1934 he was elected as member of PLC in a bye-election from East Central Punjab on Ahrars ticket. Second time he managed to reach in the Punjab legislature by winning from Lahore. For his life and times see, K.L. Gauba, *Friends and Foes: An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Indian Book Company, 1974).

527. *Inqilab*, Jan 22, 1936.
528. *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1936.
529. Cited in Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-47*, p.184.
530. *Tribune*, Feb. 14, 1936.
531. *PPSAI*, 1936, paras. 101 & 120.
532. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.112, *CMG*, Feb.22, 1936.
533. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.135.
534. *CMG*, Feb.22, 1936; Also see, Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *The Nation's Voice-Towards Consolidation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1992), pp. 13-4.
535. *Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1936.
536. *PPSAI*, 1936, para. 148.
537. *Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1936.
538. *CMG*, Feb. 25, 1936.
539. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p.184.
540. *CMG*, Mar. 08, 1936.
541. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p. 340; Also see, *PPSAI*, 1936, para. 158.
542. *Ibid.*
543. Emerson to Linlithgow, Oct. 21, 1937, IOR L/P & J/5/238.
544. The Shahid Ganj Dispute, IOR L/P & J/7/886.
545. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p. 399.
546. *CMG*, Dec. 18, 1938.
547. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 60.
548. *Ibid.*
549. Nazir Niazi, *Iqbal Kai Huzaur* (Karachi: 1971), pp. 121-22.
550. Aashiq Hussain Batalwi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Dau Saal* (Lahore: 2000), pp. 562-63.
551. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p. 401.
552. *PPSAI*, 1937, para. 829.
553. The Shaheed Ganj Dispute, IOR L/P & J/7/886.
554. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 59.
555. *CMG*, Jan. 01, 1938.
556. *Ibid.*, Jan. 08, 1938.
557. S. Qalbi-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p. 202.

558. M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings*, p. 45.
559. Ibid.
560. R. Coupland, *The Constitutional Problem in India Part-II* (Madras: 1944), p. 48.
561. Governor General to Secretary of State for India, March 07, 1938, IOR L/P & J/7/886.
562. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 150.
563. Ibid.
564. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 162.
565. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, p. 65.
566. Ibid., pp. 65-6.
567. Quoted by M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., pp. 45-6.
568. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 175.
569. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 203.
570. Janbaz Mirza, *Tehrik-i-Masjid Shahid Ganj*, pp. 348-49; *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, pp. 71-2.
571. Ibid., p. 72.
572. Ibid.
573. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *The Foundations of Pakistan Vol. II* (Karachi: 1970), pp. 294-96.
574. *The Ahrar Movement in the Punjab*, pp. 72-3.
575. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 274.
576. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 439.
577. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, p. 44.
578. Shaurash Kashmiri, op.cit., p. 29.
579. Ibid., p. 80.
580. K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1976), p. 161.
581. I.H. Malik, 'The Ahrar-Unionist Conflict and the Punjab Politics During the Thirties', p. 48.
582. K.K. Aziz, op.cit., p. 160.
583. *Tribune*, May 22, 1937.
584. *PPSAI*, 1946, para. 670.
585. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1989). p. 62.



586. Shaurash Kashmiri, op.cit., p. 104.
587. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p. 62.
588. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, p. 58.
589. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gufar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 40-41.
590. Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani (1879-1957) was one of those nationalist and pro-Congress *Ulama* who vehemently opposed the partition of India. He completed his education from *Dar-ul-Alaam* Deoband (1892-99) and then joined it as a teacher. He served as its principal from 1926-57. He was a critic of British imperialism. In this regard he joined hands with Maulana Mahmood-ul-Hassan and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi in 'Silk Letter Movement' (1915-16). He was arrested in 1916 and interned at Malta by the British (1917-20). In early twenties he returned to India and actively participated in Khilafat and non-cooperation movements and once again faced imprisonment (1921-23).
591. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 245.

## Chapter IV IQBAL AND THE KHAKSARS

1. For details see, Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglauri, *Mussalmanau Ka Roashan Mustaqbil* (Delhi: Qasmi Kutub Khana, 1945), pp. 432, 439 & 441.
2. Wilferd Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1969), p. 268.
3. Quoted in Sarfaraz H. Ansari, 'Political Thoughts of Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi', unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Islamabad: N.I.P.S., 1996), p. 277.
4. M. Naeem Qureshi, 'The Ulama of British India and the Hijrat of 1920', *Modern Asian Studies* 13:1 (1979), pp. 57-8; Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1920* (London: 1921), 9. 53. Also see, 'The Hijrat Movement of 1920 and the NWFP', Note by AIG, CID Peshawar. *Record of Special Branch of Police, NWFP*, 12/8/1 Vol. VIII, 1921-26, NDC Acc. No. 956.
5. Cited in Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd* Vol. III (Rawalpindi: Madani Publications, 1988), p. 90.
6. Sanaullah Akhtar, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Inqilabi Jiddau Jauhd* (Rawalpindi: 2003), pp. 76-7.
7. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, op.cit., p. iii.
8. Agha Bashir, *The Khaksar Movement: Past and Present, An Appraisal and Appreciation* (Lahore: n.d.), pp. 13-15.
9. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal* (Amritsar: 1935), p. 115.
10. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 572.
11. Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), p. 45.
12. *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 1932, para. 576. [Henceforth referred as *PPSAI*].
13. Ibid.
14. Syed Sulaman Nadvi, 'Tazkirah ka Mahakma', *Al-Ma'araf* (July 1924), pp. 85-91.
15. Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd* Vol. I (Rawalpindi: Madani Publications, 1986), pp. 268-9.
16. *PPSAI*, 1932, para. 576; M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 76 [f.n.].
17. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat* (Amritsar: 1931), pp. 48-56.
18. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 77.

19. Khaksar is a compound Persian word made up of *Khak* and *Sar*. *Khak* means 'dust' and *Sar* means 'is like', i.e. to say that one who is Khaksar, must be as humble as dust. In other words, Khaksar movement may be called as 'Movement of the humble'.
20. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp. 121-22.
21. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1989), p. 64; A.D. Muztar (ed.), *Khaksar Tehrik aur Azadi-i-Hind-Dastavaizat* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1985), p. 1.
22. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, pp. 68-72.
23. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 78; I.H. Malik, op.cit., p. 64.
24. *PPSAI*, 1932, para. 576.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. *Al-Islah*, May 21, 1937; March 15, 1935.
28. Ibid., March 15, 1935.
29. Ibid., April 05, 1935, p.6; M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 115.
30. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Khaksar Movement: What it Stands for', *Light* (Lahore) Dec. 24, 1936.
31. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p. 23.
32. Ibid., p. 16.
33. Addendum to the Note on the Khaksar Movement, 1943-45, Feb. 15, 1945, p. 7.
34. Note on Khaksar Movement by L.V. Deane, April 12, 1940, p. 16.
35. For detail see, Muhammad Aslam Malik, *Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi: A Political Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 53.
36. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 122.
37. Sher Zaman, *Sir Syed, Jinnah, Mashriqi* (Rawalpindi: Madani Publications, 1992), p. 99.
38. *Al-Islah*, April 05, 1935.
39. The daily programme included a two hours daily exercise, thirty minutes drill, fifteen minutes for night prayers in congregation and seventy-five minutes for social service. For details see, Syed Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p. 54.
40. Agha Bashir, op.cit., pp. 13-15; Also see, Sher Zaman, op.cit., p. 118.
41. Cited in Sher Zaman, op.cit., p. 119.

42. Syed Shabbir Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 180.
43. Cited in Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent* (Liedon: E.J. Brill, 1980), p. 240.
44. H. Kraemer, 'Islam in India Today', *Moslem World XXI*: 2 (1931), p. 169.
45. *Al-Islah*, Jan. 21, 1938, p.4.
46. *PPSAI*, 1935, para. 692.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Al-Islah*, Nov. 01, 1935, p. 12.
49. *Ibid.*, Sep. 04, 1936.
50. *Ibid.*, Jan. 01, 1938, p. 9.
51. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1074.
52. Cited in M. Sanaullah Akhtar, *op.cit.*, p. 118.
53. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1074.
54. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Khitab-i-Misr* (Amritser: 1926), pp. 26-7.
55. *Al-Islah*, Sep. 04, 1936, pp. 1-3. In May 1937 it was claimed that *Bait-ul-Mal* contained Rs.9 Million, *Al-Islah*, May 14, 1937. p. 15.
56. *Ibid.*, March 05, 1937, p. 12.
57. *Ibid.*, Feb. 05, 1935, p. 3.
58. *Ibid.*, Dec. 01, 1939, p. 6.
59. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp. 12-3; *Isharat*, p. 62; Note on Khaksar Movement by P.L. Orde, Nov. 10, 1933, pp. 2-3; Also see, Addendum to the Note on the Khaksar Movement by L.V. Deane, March 25, 1941, pp. 10-11.
60. Heralal Seth, *The Khaksar Movement Under Search Light and the Life Story of its Leader Allama Mashriqi* (Lahore: Hero Publications, 1943), p. 38.
61. Quoted in Y.B. Mathur, *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1980), p. 221; see also, Note on Khaksar Movement by P.L. Orde, Nov. 10, 1933, p.3.
62. Note on Khaksar Movement, *ibid.*, p. 3.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Al-Islah*, July 16, 1937; A.D. Muztar (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 24; S. Shabbir Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 40.
65. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1074.

66. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 24; Permission was given on the grounds that recruitment of Khaksar volunteers would be confined within the defunct areas of Peshawar Municipal Corporation and it should not exceed from 250 heads; No band of Khaksars would be constituted of more than fifteen persons; Khaksars were not allowed to raise slogans and there would be no parade in large *bazars*; The drill in uniform and social service was allowed from 8-10 p.m. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 80.
67. Syed Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p. 40.
68. Note on Khaksar Movement by J.C. Lobb, Dec. 19, 1935, p. 5; Branches were setup in Delhi, Malerkotla, Bahawalpur, Bijnaur, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Lucknow, Kanpur, United Provinces, NWFP, entire Sindh including urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad. For further details see, Y.B. Mathur, op.cit., p. 223.
69. I.H. Malik, 'Regionalism or Personality Cult? Allama Mashriqi and the Tehrik-i-Khaksar in pre-1947 Punjab', in Ian Talbot & Gurharpal Singh (eds.), *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of Sub-Continent* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 45.
70. *Al-Islah*, July 30, 1937. In fact he had given a series of warnings to NWFP government for removing the restrictions. For details see, *Record of the Special Branch of Police, NWFP*, 12/5/6 Vol. XVII (1937-39), NDC Acc. No. 404.
71. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 94.
72. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 24.
73. Safdar Salimi, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Sola Salah Jiddau Jauhd* (Lahore: Azad Hindustan Kitab Ghar, n.d.), pp. 42-4.
74. *Madah-i-Sahaba* means extolling the companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), particularly the first four rightly guided Caliphs. Sunnites believe that all companions of Prophet are worthy of praise and exaltation. *Tabarra* literally means condemnation. Basically it is a belief of Shiaites that first three caliphs and all other companions who opposed Hazrat Ali are liable to condemnation.
75. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p. 62; A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 28.
76. M. Aslam Malik, *ibid.*, p. 63.
77. *Al-Islah*, Oct. 27, 1939.

78. Ibid., Oct. 13, 1939; M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 250.
79. Note on Khaksar Movement by L.V. Deane, April 12, 1940, p. 20. For background and an extensive discussion on the subject see, M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp. 60-65; For Khaksar's point of view see for instance, Safdar Salimi, op.cit., pp. 127-28; and Sanaullah Akhtar, ibid., pp. 214-48. Also see, *The Shia Sunni Controversy in Lucknow, 1939-42*, IOR L/P & J/7/2587.
80. According to Khaksar sources fifty volunteers were martyred. For details see, M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., pp. 288-301. For an indepth analysis of Khaksar's show down with Punjab government see, M. Aslam Malik, 'Khaksar: Police Tasadam Kai Hawalai Sai', *Majallah Tarikh-wa-Thaqafat-i-Pakistan* (Oct. 1998-Mar. 1999), pp. 5-16.
81. Safdar Salimi, op.cit., p. 71; S. Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., pp. 78-80 & 101-02.
82. Safdar Salimi, ibid., p. 82.
83. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 143.
84. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, backing the government, continued to project views of those bodies, which were opposed to the Khaksar Movement.
85. *Al-Islah*, Nov. 04, 1938 in M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 144.
86. Safdar Salimi, op.cit., p. 82.
87. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 26.
88. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., pp. 144-45.
89. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp. 39-40.
90. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p. 108.
91. *PPSAI*, 1932, para. 253.
92. Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd* Vol. I, pp. 155-56.
93. Note on Khaksar Movement by P.L. Orde, Nov. 10, 1933, p. 2.
94. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, pp. 51-2.
95. Heralal, op.cit., pp. 68-9.
96. Y.B. Mathur, op.cit., p. 245.
97. Mashriqi announced that within three months of his announcement he could provide 30,000 well-trained soldiers for internal security and defence of India; 10,000 for maintaining law and order situation; and 10,000 for help of British in Turkey. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 66.
98. M. Aslam Malik, 'Khaksar: Police Tasadam Kai Hawalai Sai', p. 6.
99. M. Yamin Khan. *Nama-i-A'amal* Vol. II (Karachi: 1969), p. 865.

100. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, *op.cit.*, p. 186.
101. Home Dept., File No. 74/2/40 cited in Shan Muhammad, *Khaksar Movement in India* (Delhi: 1973), *op.cit.*, p. 62.
102. IOR L/P & J/8/678, pp. 4-5 & 63.
103. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp. 105-6; Muhammad Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1947-58* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1998), p. 46.
104. S. Shabbir Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 96.
105. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
106. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1074.
107. *Inqilab*, January 14, 1938.
108. Heralal, *op.cit.*, pp. 103-08.
109. H.N. Brailsford, *Subject India* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1943), p. 163.
110. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: Macmillan, 1955), p. 128.
111. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 91 [f.n.].
112. For instance see, *Al-Islah*, July 7 & 14, 1935; Jan. 10, 1936.
113. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Berlin: 1925).
114. *Al-Islah*, May 31, 1935; Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Maqalat Vol. I* (Lahore: n.d.), pp. 227-87.
115. *PPSAI*, 1931, para. 1073; 1932, para. 253.
116. M. Aslam Malik, *Allama Inayatullah Mashriqi: A Political Biography*, p. 75; Also see, Syed Shabbir Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 122.
117. M. Aslam Malik, *ibid.*, p. 76.
118. Shan Muhammad, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8.
119. Linlithgow to Leopold Amery, April 23, 1939 in I.H. Malik, 'Regionalism or Personality Cult?', p. 63.
120. *Al-Islah*, June 30, 1939.
121. *Ibid.*
122. M. Aslam Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
123. Quoted by *Ibid.*, p. 92.

124. More than 108,000 letters and forty thousand money-orders were censored by the British government. Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Govt. of India to Chief Secretary, March 07, 1941, IOR L/P & J/8/680.
125. Syed Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., pp. 42-3. According to Aslam Malik, Mashriqi had a fling with that German lady and they exchanged love letters. Study of such letters shows intimacy between Mashriqi and Birth Prokaver. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp. 53-5.
126. Heralal, op.cit., p. 18.
127. Cited in I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography*, p. 66.
128. Ibid., pp. 134-35 [f.n.].
129. Heralal, op.cit., pp.14-21.
130. I.H. Malik, 'Regionalism or Personality Cult?', p. 85.
131. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 157.
132. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab* (Lahore: 1952), pp. 255-56; *Wasiyat Namah* (Lahore: 1965), p. 3; Also see, Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd* Vol. III, p. 22.
133. Ibid.
134. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p. 255.
135. Ibid., p. 256.
136. S. Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius*, p. 25.
137. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, op.cit., p. 18.
138. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p. 3.
139. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p. 255; Mashriqi's father was not satisfied with Islamic content of education at Muslim educational institutions. In his view, such institutions did not properly cater to the needs of Muslims religious education, there, was nominal and was likely to erode rather than develop one's Islamic predispositions. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, op.cit., p. 49.
140. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p. 3.
141. Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja (ed.), *Ktubat-wa-Maqalat: Allama Inayatullah Al-Mashriqi* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, n.d.), p 22.
142. *PPSAI*, 1908, para.2151; Maulana Abdus Salam, *Iqbal-i-Kalim* (Lahore:1992), p.22.
143. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.3.



144. S. Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p.11. Mashriqi won Foundation scholarship in 1908; Bachelor scholarship in 1909; and Syed Mahmood Scholarship in 1911. He is believed to be the first man of any nationality to obtain honours in four different triposes. M. Aslam Malik, ibid., p.23.
145. Heralal, op.cit., p.15.
146. Muhammad Azmatullah Bhatti, *Al-Mashriqi* Vol. I (Gujrat: 1993), p.55.
147. When Allama Mashriqi tried to impose educational reforms in the capacity of Under Secretary of Education, he was removed from that post and made Headmaster of Government High School, Peshawar. Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja, op.cit., p.4.
148. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.6.
149. In 1928, the Aligarh Muslim University decided to appoint an OSD equal to pro vice-Chancellor. Mashriqi maneuvered to get this appointment but he was unsuccessful in this attempt as his chief rival candidate was Ross Masud. *The Hindustan Times*, May 19, 1928 in M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.7.
150. Note on Khaksar Movement by P.L. Orde, Nov. 10, 1933, p.1.
151. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.8.
152. For speeches of Iqbal delivered in PLC, see, A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), pp.56-90.
153. For his presidential address delivered at the eve of annual session of AIML, Dec. 29, 1930 see, L.A. Sherwani (ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp.3-29.
154. Sher Zaman, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.170-71.
155. Sher Zaman, *Sir Syed, Jinnah, Mashriqi*, p.39.
156. These letters were with Ch. Nafees Ahmed Bajwa the son of late M. Hussain, which came into light through Late Hussain's grandson Saqif Nafees in early 1990's. See, Saqif Nafees, 'Ghair Matbu'ah Makateeb-i-Iqbal banam Ch. Muhammad Hussain', *Tehzeeqnama* 3-4 (1994-95), Dept. of Urdu, Government College, Lahore, pp.251-66.
157. Ch. Muhammad Hussain (1894-1950) was one of the closest companions and friends of Iqbal. Though he was a native of Sialkot, but he permanently resided in Lahore from where he did his Bachelors and then Masters in Arabic from Islamia College in 1918 and 1920 respectively. In 1925 he joined Punjab Civil Secretariat as an article writer and was promoted to Superintendent in the

- Punjab Press, Lahore branch in 1936. Government awarded him with the title of *Khan Sahib* and *Khan Bahadur* for his services. M. Hussain was one of those four persons, who were appointed as guardians of Iqbal's children. After Iqbal's death all his works were published under supervision of M. Hussain. For further details see, Saqib Nafees, 'Ch. Muhammad Hussain aur Allama Iqbal : Rawabit aur Makateeb, *Tehqeeqnama I* (1991-92), pp.11-20.
158. Master Muhammad Hussain had long lasted relations with Iqbal. On the other hand he seems to have influenced from Allama Mashriqi. He published his review of Mashriqi's work *Tazkirah* in *Zamindar* and he was also in touch with him through correspondence. It may be that he was aware of the Mashriqi's sentiments regarding *Tazkirah*, that's why he kept Iqbal's letter secret, for there was criticism in them over Mashriqi.
159. Quoted by M. Aslam Malik, *op.cit.*, p.147[f.n.].
160. Farhatullah Baber, 'Iqbal Aur Mashriqi', *Aausaf*, Aug. 24, 2001.
161. *Al-Islah*, April 29, 1938.
162. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I (Amritser: 1924), p.66.
163. *Ibid.*, pp.73-4.
164. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *ibid.*, pp.7-8.
165. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, *op.cit.*, p.161.
166. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *op.cit.*, p.53.
167. *Ibid.*, p.91,
168. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Ifitahiah', *ibid.*, pp.91-2.
169. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *ibid.*, p.93.
170. *Tazkirah* was published in 1924. Mashriqi planned to write this book in ten volumes. He claimed to have completed manuscripts of first six volumes. However he had not published any other volume in his lifetime. Mashriqi explained that the first volume to be self-contained one, embodying essential ideas of all other volumes. In 1964, soon after his death, a second volume of *Tazkirah* was published. It has been reported that the remaining volumes of *Tazkirah* are lying with his son Hameed-ud-Din Mashriqi at Lahore.
171. Besides other dignitaries, Mashriqi sent his book *Tazkirah* to Shah Ibn-i-Saud of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Shah Faisal of Iraq and ruler of Egypt. M. Sanaullah Akhtar, *op.cit.*, p.41.

172. F.D. Murid [An Aligarh University Professor] to Mashriqi, July 14, 1928 in M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.8.
173. Nicholson to Mashriqi, Nov.09, 1924, ibid., p.7.
174. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.40.
175. Iqbal to Muhammad Hussain, Aug. 25, 1924 in *Tehqeeqnamah* 3-4 (1994-95), p.259.
176. M. Azmatullah Bhatti, op.cit., pp.300-01.
177. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hareem-i-Ghaib* (Lahore: 1952), p.303; Also see, Ibid., p.59.
178. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Aug. 15, 1924, op.cit., p.258.
179. *Al-Islah*, Sep.10, 1976 in M. Azmatullah Bhatti, op.cit., p.193.
180. Iqbal to Nadvi, Sep. 05, 1924 in Tahir Taunsavi, *Iqbal aur Syed SULaman Nadvi* (Lahore: Maktaba Aliya, 1977), pp.74-6.
181. See for instance, Iqbal to Nadvi, July 19, 1935; Aug 01, 1935 in Sheikh Attaullah (ed.), *Iqbalnama* Vol. I (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, n.d.), pp.189-94.
182. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.91.
183. Iqbal to Nadvi, Sep.05, 1924 in Tahir Taunsvi, op. cit., pp.74-6.
184. Mashriqi himself declared that he was not a claimant of Prophethood, *Mujaddid* or leadership nor he upheld that he could show miracles, intuitions and such sort of super-natural phenomenons. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p.59.
185. Zahoor Ahmad Awan, *Allama Iqbal – Allama Mashriqi* (Peshawar: Idara Ilm-wa-fan, 2000), p.12.
186. Perhaps Muhammad Hussain was aware of the intensity of enmity and hatred of Mashriqi against Iqbal. He must have restricted those letters to come to light, with his good intention to save worsening the situation. Ibid., p.18.
187. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Aug.05, 1924, op.cit., p.256.
188. Ibid.
189. Ibid.
190. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Oct. 10, 1924, ibid., pp.264-65.
191. Zahoor Ahmad Awan, op.cit., p.60.
192. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*(Lahore: 1964), p.101.
193. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Oct. 10, 1924, op.cit., pp.264-65.
194. Iqbal to M. Hussain. Aug. 05. 1924. ibid.. p.256.

195. Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja, *Iqbal aur Mashriqi: Tabsarah Bar Tazkirah* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 1996), p.163.
196. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Aug.30, 1924, op.cit., p.261.
197. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', op.cit., pp.73-4.
198. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Aug. 30, 1924.
199. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Oct. 10, 1924.
200. *Al-Islah*, April 29, 1938.
201. *Rubaiyat-i-Atta* is the collection of his poetical works. He also wrote *Qasoids* in praise of the Ottomon Empire (1844-1918). Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *DahulBab*, p.255.
202. Ibid., p.246.
203. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Kharita* (Amritser: 1924), p.48.
204. Ibid.
205. Abdul Majid Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1983), p.15.
206. Riaz Hussain, *The Politics of Iqbal* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1977), p.2. It was the AHI's anniversary of 1889 that Iqbal made his national debut as a poet and recited his famous poem *Nala-i-Yatim*. Abdul Majeed Salik, ibid., p.18.
207. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973), p.15.
208. Abdul Majeed Salik, op.cit., p.57.
209. Abdul Shakoor Ahsan, *An Appreciation of Iqbal's Thought and Art* (Lahore: RSP, 1985), p.6. For a higher commentary on Iqbal's Persian poetry see, Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Persian Literature Vol. III* (New York: The Persian Heritage Foundation, 1988), p.422.
210. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Kharita*, pp. 3-50.
211. Reported by Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja, op.cit., p.109.
212. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., p.3.
213. Ibid., p.8.
214. Ibid.,p.5.
215. Ibid., pp.4-5 & 10-11.
216. Ibid., p.49.
217. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Aug.15, 1924, op.cit., p.258.
218. Ibid.

219. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Oct. 10, 1924, *ibid.*, p.265.
220. *Ibid.*
221. *Ibid.*
222. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, p.8.
223. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1984), pp.522-23.
224. Abdul Shakoor Ahsan, *op.cit.*, p.157.
225. Syed Abdullah, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan aur Unkai Namwar Rufaqa Ke Urdu Nathar Ka Fanni-wa-Fikri Ja'iza* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1998), pp.79-80.
226. Amongst earlier exponents of Art for the Sake of Art school of thought were Bodelaire (d.1867), Gautier (d.1872), Falaubaire (d.1880), belonged to France; Walter Peter (d. 1894), Oscar Wilde (d.1900) belonged to England; Pushkin (d.1837) belonged to Russia; Edgar Allan Poe (d.1894) belonged to America; and Schlegel (d.1845), Heine (d.1856) belonged to Germany. Cited in Abdul Shakoor Ahsan, *op. cit.*, p.58.
227. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1992), p.148.
228. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp.144-45.
229. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim, *op. cit.*, p.591.

عشق و مستی کا جنازہ ہے تخیل ان کا  
 ان کے اندیشہ تاریک میں قوموں کے مزار  
 چشم آدم سے چھپاتے ہیں مقامات بلند  
 کرتے ہیں روح کو خوابیدہ، بدن کو بیدار  
 ہند کے شاعر و صورت گر و افسانہ نویس  
 آہ، بیچاروں کے اعصاب پر عورت ہے سوار

230. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *op.cit.*, p.189.

کہ گئے ہیں شاعری جزو ذیست از پنجہری  
 ہاں شانہ کے محفل ملت کو پیغام سروش

231. M. Iqbal, 'Javednama', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1975), p.632.

شعرا مقصودا اگر آدم گری است  
 شاعری ہم وارث پنجہری است

232. M. Iqbal, 'Zubur-i-Ajam', *ibid.*, pp.575-87.
233. M. Iqbal, 'Asrar-wa-Ramooz', *ibid.*, pp.34-39.
234. Muhammad Rafique Afzal (ed.), *Guftaar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: RSP, 1969), pp.16-7.
235. Cited in S.M. Minhaj-ud-Din, *Afqar wa Tasawarat-i-Iqbal* (Multan: Karwan-i-Adab, 1992), p.34.
236. M. Iqbal, 'Zubur-i-Ajam', *op.cit.*, p.519.

شنیدام سخن شاعر و فقیہ و حکیم  
اگر چه نخل بلند است برگ در ندہا  
تجلی کہ رود پیر در می نازدا  
ہزار شب دہد تا بیک سحر ندہد

237. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kaleem', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p.591.
238. Iqbal to Salman Nadvi, Oct. 10, 1919 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *Kulyat Makateeb-i-Iqbal Vol. II* (Delhi: Urdu Academy, 1993), p.137.
239. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.147.
240. *Ibid.*
241. *Ibid.*, p.145.
242. *Ibid.*, p.145-46.
243. *Ibid.*, p.146-47.
244. *Ibid.*, p.147.
245. Iqbal to M. Hussain, Oct. 10, 1924, *op.cit.*, pp.264-65.
246. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Kharita*, pp.40-1.
247. *Ibid.*, p.41.
248. *Ibid.*, p.42.
249. Sh. Abdul Qadir, *The Great Poet of Islam* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1987), pp.75-6.
250. Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.423.
251. Sh. Abdul Qadir, *op.cit.*, p.76.
252. Jabir Ali Syed, 'Iqbal aur Al-Hilal', *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Dec. 10, 2002.
253. Cited in Abdul Salam Khurshid, *Surghuzhist-i-Iqbal*, pp.107-08.
254. Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja, *op.cit.*, pp.179-81.
255. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Arghaman-i-Hakeem* (Lahore: 1953), pp.269-70.
256. *Ibid.*

257. Of 5,000 verses of Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab* contains 1275, *Armaghan-i-Hakeem* contains 1382; and *Hareem-i-Ghaib* contains 1824.
258. Such sort of intuition dawned upon Iqbal in 1910, when he was living in the house, adjacent to Anarkali. It has been reported that one night a bearded old fellow appeared and asked Iqbal to prepare five hundred men. When he mentioned this to his father, he interpreted it as an advice to compose a book of five hundred couplets to awaken the Muslims in the true sense of the term. According to A'ejaz Ahmad, it was on the basis of that intuition that Iqbal composed *Mathnawi Asrar-i-Khudi*. Faqir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, *Rauzgar-i-Faqir* Vol. I (Karachi: 1966), pp.15-17; However according to Javed Iqbal that book was *Mathnawi Pas Che Baid Karad*. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. II, p.259.
259. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., pp.42-58.
260. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Arghaman-i-Hakeem*, p.234.
261. Ibid., p.192.
262. Ibid., p.74.
263. Ibid., p.271.
264. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p.28.
265. Ibid., p.244.
266. Ibid., pp.25-8.
267. Ibid., pp.169-70; see also for same kind of allegations, Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Harem-ul-Ghaib*, pp.175-79.

اقبال کی وہ عشق و مئے و زن کی زندگی  
تھے جانتے ہی اس کے ان انکار کے بغیر  
اقبال نے تو کہ ہی دیا تھا سرور میں  
مومن وہ ہے جوڑتا ہے تلوار کے بغیر

268. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p.244.
269. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Armaghan-i-Hakeem*, p.271.
270. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, pp.193-94.
271. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah* Vol. I (Lahore: Rahmani Printing Press, 1960), p.36.
272. Ibid.

273. For details analysis of Mashriqi's allegations, see *Dahul Bab*, pp.5, 30, 112,136, 175-78 & 169-70; *Armaghan-i-Hakeem*, pp.69, 147, 175-78; and *Hareem-ul-Ghaib*, pp.18, 22, 71, 114, 175-79, , 209-10, & 244-46.
274. Javed Iqbal (ed.), op.cit., p.147.
275. Riffat Hassan, 'The Concept of Pakistan and Iqbal's Philosophy', *Iqbal Congress Papers Vol. II* (Lahore: Punjab University, 1977), p.283.
276. Ghulam Jilani Khan, *Iqbal Key Askari Afkar* (Islamabad: Doost Publications, 1999), p.37. In these circumstances it is absolutely wrong to say that Iqbal negates or refutes the doctrine of *Jihad*.
277. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Armaghan-i-Hakeem*, p.80.
278. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p.24.
279. In one of his letter to Muhammad Din Fauq, dated, March 06, 1917 Iqbal writes: 'I do not intend to express my command on language through poetry.... Nor I claim myself to be a poet at any time. In fact this craftsmanship in poetry is so strenuous that none can be at home in it in one life. My intention in writing poetry is only that I want to communicate to Muslims, what I have in my own mind'. S.M.H. Burni, *Kulyat Makateeb-i-Iqbal Vol. I*, pp.576-77. He also express in his poetry about such sentiments. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp.340 & 343.

خوش آگئی ہے جہاں کو قلندری میری

وگر نہ شعر میرا کیا ہے، شاعری کیا ہے!

اور

میری نوائے پریشاں کو شاعری نہ سمجھ

280. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., p.28.
281. Majnum Gurakhpuri, *Iqbal: Ijmal-i-Tabsara* (Gorakhpur: 1950), pp.5-7.
282. S.M. Minhaj-ud-Din, op.cit., p.32; Khan Muhammad Ashraf, *Dars-i-Iqbal Bajawab Allama Inayatullah Al-Mashriqi* (Rawalpindi: CMG Press, 1957), pp.142-44.
283. S. Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi, *Nuqoosh-i-Iqbal* Tr. From Arabic Maulvi Shams Tabraiz (Karachi: Majlis Nashriyat-i-Islam, 1973), p.40.
284. According to Shorash Kashmiri, 'Iqbal was poet of positive knowledge in Islamic thought in India,.... He raised a voice against the British subjugation of the united India. A protest is imminent in his poetry against foreign rule



and there is an incentive for a collective struggle against such domination. Urdu poetry received new inspiration from his sublime thoughts'. Shorash Kashmiri, *Traitors to Islam* (Lahore: Chatan Printing Press, 1972), p.1.

285. *Abulabb*, literally the father of flame. The title given by the Quran to one of the uncles (step brother of his father Abdullah) of Holy Prophet (PBUH) who opposed his mission with full force on the basis of racial pride and colour distinction.
286. Fateh Muhammad Malik, 'Islam as a Social and Political Ideal: The Role of Muhammad Iqbal in Muslim Reawakening, *PJHC* X: 2 (1989), in Nadeem Shafique Malik (ed.), *Political Sagacity of Iqbal* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1998), p. 1.
287. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p. 244.
288. Lini S. May, *Iqbal: His Life and Times* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1974), p. 154.
289. Although he dissolved the Khaksar Tehrik prior to the partition of sub-continent. In post-1947 period, he tried to organize his party by names of Khaksar Muslim League and Islam League but did not succeed in catching the attention of the masses. Y.B. Mathur, *Muslims in Changing India* (Delhi: Trimurti Publications, 1972), p. 232.
290. Ruptures in matrimonial relations, domestic feuds, unsettled familial life disturbed him very much. He married five times and three of those ended in separation. For details see, M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp. 12-17.
291. Mashriqi was discharged from service on Oct. 11, 1932 on account of being patient of Neurasthenia (weakness of nerves) and was retired on Oct. 16, 1932. M. Sanauallah Akhtar, op.cit., p. 77.
292. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 21; Syed Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny* (Islamabad: El-Mashraqi Foundation, 1993), p. 68.
293. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *ibid.*, p. 91; Also see Mashriqi's address at Lahore Camp in, Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja (ed.), *Khutbat-wa-Maqalat Allama Inayatullah Al-Mashriqi*, pp. 99-100.
294. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *ibid.*, p. 234.
295. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Forward to Islamic Jurisprudence* (Rawalpindi: n.d.), p. 10.

296. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Islamic Jurisprudence', *Concept* 2:1 (Jan. 1982), p. 21; 'Muqadimah', *Tazkirah* Vol. 1, pp. 75-76; *Tazkirah* Vol. II (Lahore: 1964), pp. 294-98.
297. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah*. [Title page].
298. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran* (Lahore: 1963), p. 6.
299. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
300. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 87.
301. M. Saeed Sheikh (ed.), *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Research, 1986), pp. 131-42. [Henceforth referred as *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*].
302. See for instance, Tahir Taunsavi, *Iqbal aur Syed SULaman Nadvi* (Lahore: Maktaba Aliya, 1977).
303. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 137.
304. Fazl-ur-Rahman, *Islam* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), p. 50.
305. Taqi Uthmani, *Hujjiat-i-Hadith* (Karachi: Idara Islamiyat, 1991), p. 130.
306. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 & 33-53; for an extensive survey and analysis of western debate over the authenticity of Ahadith and early exegesis see, Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of the Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000).
307. Syed Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 38.
308. *Ibid.*
309. Saeed Ahmad Rafique, *Iqbal Ka Nazaria-i-Ikhtlaq* (Lahore: 1968), p.126.
310. Ghulam Ahmad Perviaz, *Iqbal aur Quran* (Karachi: n.d.), p. 127; For details also see, Mirza Muhammad Munawar, 'Iqbal aur Shewa-i-Taqlid', in Saleem Akhtar (ed.), *Allama Iqbal-Hayat, Fikr-wa-Fan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2003), pp. 367-72.
311. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p. 622.

یہاں مرض کا سبب ہے غلامی و تقلید

وہاں مرض کا سبب ہے نظام جمہوری

312. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p, 558.
313. Inayatullah Kahn Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp. 60-61.
314. *Ibid.* p. 61; Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp. 147-48.

315. Syed Shabbir Hussain (ed.), op.cit., p. 231.  
 316. M. Iqbal, 'Armaghan-i-Hijaz', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi*, p. 956.

زمن بر صوتی و مآ سلاے  
 کہ پیغام خدا گفتند مارا  
 ولے تادیل شاں درحیرت اندافت  
 خدا و جبرئیل د مصطفےٰ را!

317. S. Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius*, pp. 28-9.  
 318. Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd*, Vol. I, p. 311.  
 319. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 130.  
 320. Perveen Shuakat, *Political Philosophy of Iqbal* (Lahore: Publisher United Ltd., 1978), p. 152.  
 321. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 121.  
 322. Ibid., p. 117.  
 323. Ibid., p. 124. For detailed discussion on *Ijtehad* by Iqbal see chapter VI of the cited book, pp. 116-143. For an elaborate discussion on Iqbal's concept of *Ijtehad* see, M. Khalid Masud, *Iqbal's Reconstruction of Ijtehad* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp. 81-178.  
 324. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p. 233; To Mashriqi, 'It is thus the duty of progressive Islamic *faqih* to extend its domain of molding the morals and action of Muslims in such a way that the whole sprit of the law contained in Quran is maintained', Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Islamic Jurisprudence', op.cit., p. 33.  
 325. Mashriqi holds *qias*, *ijma*, and *fatwa* by no means helpful to the explanation and interpretation of Quran. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi. 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 47.  
 326. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, pp. 42-3.  
 327. Iqbal to M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, Nov. 04, 1917; Iqbal to Raghīb Ahsan, July 06, 1930 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 129 & 477.  
 328. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 5.  
 329. S.A. Vahid (ed.), op.cit., pp. 53-4; For a detailed and in-depth interpretation of subject see for instance, Fateh M. Malik, *Iqbal Faramaushi* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2002), pp. 152-68.

330. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 134. Also see speech delivered by SULaman Nadvi at the eve of annual session of JUH, Perveen Rauzina (ed.), *Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind-Dastavaizat* Vol. II (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1981), p. 526.
331. A.R. Tariq (ed.), ibid., pp. 133-34; For viewpoint of Iqbal regarding separation of Church and State see, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, pp. 122-24.
332. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 218; However for useful commentaries on these Islamic concepts see, Syed Wali Raza Nasr, *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996).
333. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, ibid., p. 206. In fact, *Ibadit*, instead of being 'the ceremonial prayers' or merely 'lip service', according to Mashriqi is a 'practical obedience to the commands of Master, *Ma'abud*'. In his opinion, 'Man is commanded to be always ready for action, always prepared to do and not merely say'. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p. 46.
334. S. Shabbir, *Al-Mashriqi-The Disowned Genius*, p. 180.
335. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., pp. 110-11 & 261-70; For similar views also see, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp. 91 & 93-6. However for a detailed and elaborate exposition of Mashriqi's views about philosophy of Islamic prayers, particularly *salat* see, Khawaja Abdul Hameed Nasir, *Al-Salat aur us Key Tagazey* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 1994).
336. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, pp. 70-71.
337. Ibid., p. 72.
338. Ibid.
339. Ibid., p. 72; Also see, Fateh M. Malik, *Iqbal Faramaushi*, p. 85.
340. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, pp. 70-75.
341. In a letter to his nephew, Iqbal advised him to be regular and punctual in the performance of ceremonial or ritual prayers. Iqbal to A'ejaz Ahmad, June 08, 1922 in A'ejaz Ahmad, *Mazloom Iqbal* (Karachi: 1985), pp. 118-19.
342. Fateh M. Malik, op.cit., p.85.
343. Ibid.
344. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tazkirah* Vol. II, p.168.
345. *Al-Quran*, 29:55.
346. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., p. 168.

347. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *Tazkirah* Vo. I, p.48. For a comparison of Quranic teaching and Greek philosophy and the implications of Greek philosophy on Islam see, pp.49-61 & 82-86.
348. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp.23-4.
349. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p.3; For a comprehensive view point of Iqbal regarding concept of knowledge and religious experience, see, pp.1-29.
350. Ibid.
351. Atiyya Sayed, *Iqbal: Muslim Fikr Ka Irtaqa* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1994), p.152.
352. S. Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi : The Disowned Genius*, p.37.
353. Ibid.; Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja, *Iqbal aur Mashriqi : Tabsara bar Tazkirah*, p.62; Allah Buksh Yusufi, *Sarhad aur Jiddau Jauhd-i-Azadi* (Lahore: 1968), p.219.
354. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Khitab-i-Misr*, p.21.
355. S. Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p.37; Sher Zaman, *Sir Syed, Jinnah, Mashriqi*, pp.137-38.
356. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., pp.40-1; Note on Khaksar Movement by P.L. Orde, Nov. 10, 1933, p.1.
357. Javed Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, Vanguard, 2003), p.228.
358. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p.126.
359. Mashriqi to Kamal Attaturk, Oct. 16, 1925 in S. Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p.34.
360. For an elaborative view of Iqbal about *Khilafat* as an institution see, S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp.56-75.
361. Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal Ka Siasi Karnama* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p.638.
362. Lini S. May, op. cit., p.141.
363. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp.72-3.
364. M.A. Joher to Mashriqi, Dec. 03, 1920 in M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.19.
365. Syed Shabbir Hussain, op.cit., p.17.
366. Iqbal to M. K. Gandhi, November 29, 1920 in L.A. Sherwani (ed.), op.cit., pp.245-46.
367. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, p.209.

368. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp.219 & 269; Also see, M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp.24-5.
369. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah*, p.403.
370. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, p.284.
371. Ibid., pp.219 & 269; M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp.24-5.
372. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *ibid.*, p.237.
373. *Al-Islah*, Oct. 18, 1946 in A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p.58.
374. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp.398-400.
375. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *ibid.*, pp.255-66.
376. M. Iqbal, 'Piyam-i-Mashriq', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi*, pp.385-87.
377. *Zamindar*, June 23, 1923. In the beginning Mashriqi was also suspected by certain of his followers as a Bolshevik. *PPSAI*, 1932, para.576.
378. Iqbal to Editor *Zamindar*, June 1923 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), op.cit., Vol. II, pp.339-40. According to Moulana Abu Salam Nadvi, "Communism is an interesting aspect of Iqbal's poetry. In *Bal-i-Jibril* and other works he has written on this doctrine with so much enthusiasm and fervor that he can easily be declared a socialist, but in spite of this he differs strongly from some of the fundamentals of this movement". Abu Salam Nadvi, *Iqbal-i-Kamil* (Azamgarh: 1965), p.359.
379. Fateh Muhammad Malik, *Iqbal Ka Fikri Nizam aur Pakistan Ka Tasawar* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2003), p.40.
380. Iqbal to Editor *Zamindar*, op.cit., pp.340-42.
381. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud*, Vol. III, p.660.
382. Shahid Hussain (ed.), *Discourses of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1979), pp.58-61.
383. Iqbal to Jinnah, May 28, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1990 reprint), pp. 16-17.
384. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p. 84.
385. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.
386. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 11.
387. Sher Zaman, *Khaksar Tehrik Ki Jiddau Jauhd* Vol. I, pp. 516-18; A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p. 70.
388. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, p. 284; *Dahul Bab*, p. 40.
389. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp. 245-46.

390. Ibid., p. 272; Also see, Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah*, p. 52.

391. Perveen Shaukat, op.cit., p. 257.

392. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p. 261.

ہے وہی سازگرن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام  
جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری  
دیواستبداد جمہوری قبا میں پائے کوب  
تو سمجھتا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نلیم پری

393. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', ibid., p. 611.

اس راز کو اک مرد فرنگی نے کیا فاش  
ہر چند کے دانا اسے کھولا نہیں کرتے  
جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں  
بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تو لا نہیں کرتے

394. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections*, p. 139.

395. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 142.

396. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Men's Destiny*, p. 58.

397. Ibid., p. 51; Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 27.

398. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tazkirah* Vol. II, pp. 68-9.

399. Perveen Shaukat, op.cit., p. 269.

400. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 142.

401. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', op.cit., p. 533.

فساد قلب و نظر ہے فرنگ کی تہذیب  
کہ دروح اس کی مدنیت کی روہ سکی نہ عقیف!  
رہے نہ دروح میں پاکیزگی تو ہے تاہید  
ضمیر پاک و خیال بلند و ذوق لطیف!

402. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p. 117.

403. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 117.

404. Ibid., p. 122.

405. Javed Iqbal (ed.), op.cit., p. 141.

406. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 117.

407. 'Mulla' is a term, which because of their reactionary attitude, is used in a

*Taliban* regime in Afghanistan, the term '*Mulla*' is connoted as a respectable title and used by the head of government and ministers very proudly.

408. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p. 16; Sher Zaman, op.cit., pp. 239-40.
409. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi wrote a series of tracts captioned as *Maulvi ka Ghalat Mazhab* (1936-38) and *Siahkar Leader* (1945).
410. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp. 81-2.
411. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p. 30.
412. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 128.
413. Tahir Taunsavi, op.cit.
414. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 487.

آہ! اس راز سے واقف ہے نہ ملا نہ فقیر  
وحدت افکار کی بے وحدت کردار ہے خام  
قوم کیا چیز ہے قوموں کی امامت کیا ہے  
اس کو کیا سمجھیں یہ پیارے دورِ رکعت کے امام

415. M. Iqbal, 'Javed Nama', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi*, p. 664.

دینِ کافر فکر و تدبیر جہاد  
دینِ ملا فی سبیل اللہ فساد

416. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p. 371.

وہ مذہب مردانِ خود آگاہِ خداست  
یہ مذہب ملاذِ جمادات و نباتات

417. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p. 88.

418. Ibid., pp. 41-2.

419. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Dahul Bab*, pp. 175-78.

یہی ملا تھا سایہ میں درختوں کے وہ پھیلائی  
حماست دین کی صدیوں تک مسلمان شاہ و مرد در تھا  
یہی ملا جو اس کا دین پہ کچھ لکھتے پہ دل آیا  
لکھے وہ معرکے جس پر جہانِ دل ٹھہار تھا  
اسی ملا کی برکت تھی کہ بعد عذر برسوں تک  
مسلمان! اک پچاسوں ہندوں پر بھاری اکثر تھا  
اسی مسجد سے سینوں میں ہوا وہ حفظ قرآن کا  
کہ صدیوں تک ہر اک بچہ بہادر تھا دلاور تھا



420. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p. 155.  
 421. *Ibid.*, p. 95.  
 422. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp. 501-02.

صوفی کی طریقت میں فقط مستی احوال  
 من کی شریعت میں فقط مستی گفتار  
 دودر مجاہد نظر آتا نہیں مجھ کو  
 ہو جسکے رگ و پمیں فقط مستی کردار

423. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 149.  
 424. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, pp. 119-20.  
 425. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 129; Also see, Abu Laith Siddeeqe (ed.), *Malfuzat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1977), pp. 138-39.  
 426. For Iqbal's view on origin of Sufism see, M. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1964), pp. 76-86 & 147-48.  
 427. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 129.  
 428. M. Sharif Baqa, *Iqbal aur Tassawaf* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), pp. 39-92; Also see, Abul Laith Siddeeqe, *Iqbal aur Maslak Tassawaf* (Lahore: 1977); and Muhammad Irfan, *Iqbal aur Tassawaf* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1984).  
 429. *Vakil*, Jan. 15, 1916 in Syed Abid Ali Abid, *Sh'ar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1933), p. 197.  
 430. Abdul Majeed Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1983), pp.251-52.  
 431. Javed Iqbal (ed.), *Stray Reflections*, pp.151-52.  
 432. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.265-66 [f.n.].  
 433. Cited in S. Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius*, p.72.  
 434. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah.*, pp. 173-75 & 362; *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp.153-54, 157-58 & 221-71; J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation 1880-1960* (Leidon: 1961), p.100.  
 435. In Arabic language 'Nehr' literally means river. According to Mashriqi, 'Connotation of 'Nehr' just as a rivulet, quite turn the image of paradise upside down, and an intellectual dishonesty. Due to it people think that paradise is a place of merry making, where pious ones relax and would be enioving with houris. All these imaginations are just rubbish. Paradise means

a great many tracts of lush green spread over thousand of miles, flowing with huge rivers, which in other words as 'rule on the world'. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, pp.153-54 & 157-58.

436. Ghulam Jilani Burq, 'Allama Mashriqi', *Nuqoosh* 2 (Oct. 1956), p.1207.
437. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.265-66 [f.n.].
438. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *ibid*, p.104; Ghulam Jilani Burq, *op.cit.*, p.1207.
439. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, *op.cit.*, p.145.
440. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, , p.159.
441. Ghulam Jilani Burq, *op.cit.*, p.1207; For Mashriqi's point of view regarding difference between 'Jannat' and 'Al-Jannat' see, Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Muqaddimah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.115-16; and *Hadith-ul-Quran*, p.159.
442. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Tafseer-ul-Quran* Vol. I (Lahore: n.d.), p.33.
443. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.98.
444. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p.98.
445. *Ibid*.
446. *Ibid*; Lini S. May, *op.cit.*, p.193.
447. Syed Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p.17.
448. *Ibid*.
449. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p.100.
450. *Ibid.*, p.100,
451. *Ibid*.
452. *Ibid.*, p.102.
453. *Al-Quran*, 9:111.
454. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tazkirah* Vol. II, p.7 [f.n.]; 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.73-4.
455. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.36 [f.n.].
456. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Hadith-ul-Quran*, p.231.
457. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, pp.38-9.
458. Addendum to the Note on the Khaksar Movement by L.V. Deane, March 25, 1941, p.11.
459. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, pp.12-3.
460. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tikmalah*, p.6.
461. S. Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius*, p.282,

462. For pro-British attitude of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his successors, see *infra*, pp. 247-50.
463. Military exercises, in his opinion, enabled a person to become healthy and thus ultimately led to the conquest of world. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.44.
464. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Maqalat* Vol. I, pp.143-44.
465. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.13.
466. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Aksariat Ya Khaun* (Lahore: 1939).
467. On the basis of his calculations Mashriqi stated that during past two hundred years Muslims fought more or less seventy three battles for the defence of India and three crore seventy two lac Muslims scarified their lives. In context of over all population of India, this comes to 125 Muslims as against one non-Muslim. On this basis none except the Muslims had the right to rule over India.
468. S. Shabbir Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.109. In fact *Askariat* or militarization of India, was thus listed as constitutional duty of every Indian, with the emphasis that "shedding of blood for the defence of motherland has always been the criterion for holding of power in all history". Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *The Constitution of Free India* (Lahore: 1946), p.27.
469. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.73-4.
470. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, pp.15-16 & 20; Sher Zaman, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp.193-94.
471. Iqbal to Nicholson, Jan. 24, 1921 in S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p.99.
472. *Ibid.*, p.100.
473. *Ibid.*
474. Rais Ahmad Ja'affery, *Iqbal aur Siasat-i-Milli* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981), pp.69-70; Abdul Majeed Salik, *op.cit.*, p.256.
475. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p.397.

شہادت ہے مطلوب و مقصود مومن  
 نہ مال نہ قیمت نہ کشور کشائی

476. Abdul Majeed Salik, *op.cit.*, p.253.

477. Rais Ahmad Ja'affery, *op.cit.*, pp.69-70.
478. Cited in M. Hanif Shahid, *Mufakar-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1982), p. 715.
479. Syed Abdul A'ala Mududi, *Tehrik-i-Azadi aur Mussalman* (Lahore: 1970), p.121 [f.n.].
480. M. Nazir Kakakhel, 'Jihad and the Projection and Spread of Islam', *Hamdard Islamicus* VII: 4, pp.37-54.
481. *Ibid.*
482. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.49.
483. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi (ed.), *Khutut-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Maktaba Khayaban-i-Adab, 1976), p.83.
484. B.A. Dar (Ed.), *Anwar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp.27-31.
485. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.85.
486. *Al-Islah*, Sep. 1937, pp.5-7. For details see, Mashriqi's address at Lahore Camp on March 14, 1937 in Ghulam Qadeer Khawaja (ed.), *Khutbat-wa-Maqalat Allama Inayatullah Al-Mashriqi*, pp.81-100.
487. Letter of Mashriqi from Velore Jail, dtd. April 29, 1941 in Sher Zaman, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.112.
488. *Al-Islah*, May 21, 1937, p.12.
489. Perveen Shaukat, *op.cit.*, p.349.
490. *Ibid.*
491. Shibli Naumani, *Al-Farauq* (Lahore: n.d.), pp.252-55.
492. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Maqalat* Vol. II, p.34.
493. M. Judd Harmon, *Political Thought from Plato to the Present* (New York: McGrawhill Book Company, 1964), p.441.
494. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, P.35, Ali Faraj & Hameed-ud-Din Ahmad (eds.), *Maulvi Ka Ghalat Mazhab* (Lahore: Tazkirah Publications, 1979), p.223.
495. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, p.64.
496. Iqbal to M. Abdul Jamil Banglauri, Aug. 04, 1924 in S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.75.
497. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p.15.
498. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tazkirah* Vol. II, p.57 [f.n.].
499. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.36.

500. Mashriqi to Ahmad Saeed, March 19, 1935 in Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Maqalat* Vol. I, p.197.
501. Ibid.
502. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.82.
503. Ibid.
504. Ibn-i-Khuldon recounts formally twenty-four traditions bearing upon the belief in Mahdi. None of them is from *Bukhari* and *Muslim* – the authentic most compilations of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) traditions. For religio-political background of Imam Mahdi see P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London & New York: 1951), pp.439-49. Also see, 'Al-Madhi', *Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. V (London: Luzac & Company, 1960), pp.1230-38.
505. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, p.22.
506. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.131.
507. Abul Laith Siddeeqe (ed.), *Mulfuzat-i-Iqbal*, pp.72, 76 & 142-44.
508. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Isharat*, p.26.
509. Ibid.
510. Sher Zaman, op.cit., Vol. III, p.79.
511. S.A. Vahid (ed.), op.cit., pp.44-5.
512. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Maqalat* Vol. I, p.22.
513. Zahid Chaudry, *Pakistan Ki Siasi Tarikh* Vol. V (Lahore: 1991), p.96.
514. During the heydays of Khilafat movement Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar tried to involve students of Islamia College, Lahore in the civil disobedience campaign. He also tried to win the co-operation of Iqbal in this regard. Instead of supporting the activities of Joher, Iqbal advised him to open a technical institute with one crore contribution collected during the movement. Cited in Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud*, Vol. II, p.422; Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, op.cit., pp.22-3.
515. M. Iqbal, *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp.209 & 548; Also see, S.M. Minhaj-ud-Din, *Afkar wa Tassawarat-i-Iqbal*, p.93.
516. Ibid., p.94.
517. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., p.12.
518. For critical and analytical views on Iqbal and the contemporary educational system see, S.A.A. Nadvi, *Nuqaush-i-Iqbal*, Tr. From Arabic by Shams Tabraiz (Karachi: 1973), pp.85-96.

519. See for example, Syed SULaman Nadvi 'Tazkirah Ka Mahakmah', *Al-Ma'arif* (July 1924), pp.85-91; Sanaullah Amratsari, *Khaksar Tehrik aur us ka Bani* (Amritsar: n.d.), pp. 21-27, 38; S. Abul A'ala Mududi, *Mashriqi Fitna* (Lahore: n.d.).
520. See, *Al-Islah*, Feb. 08, 1935, p.11; April 05, 1935, pp.5-6; and Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'Deebachah', *Tazkirah* Vol. I, pp.60-1.
521. *Ehsan*, May 03 & 05, 1935.
522. *Al-Islah*, Jan. 20, 1939, p.5; May 12, 1939, p.7; Also see, M. Aslam Malik, *op.cit.*, p.59.
523. *PPSAI*, 1935, para.694.
524. Janbaz Mirza, *Ab-i-Rafta* (Lahore: 1960), p.32.
525. Perveen Rauzina (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.650. A number of such *fatwas* of infidelity were recorded by the special branch of police. See for details, *Record of the Special Branch of Police, NWFP, 12/5/5* Vol. I (1936-39), NDC Acc. No. 413.
526. Javed Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity*, p.304.
527. *Zamindar*, Oct.15, 1925.
528. For details see, Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. III (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsara, 1977), pp.136-40.
529. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p.352.

کوئی تقدیر کی منطقی سمجھ سکتا نہیں درندہ  
نہ تھے شرکانِ عثمانی سے کم شرکانِ تیموری

530. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Armaghan-i-Hakeem*, pp.214-16.
531. *Ibid.*, p.214.
532. *Ibid.*
533. Khan M. Ashraf, *op.cit.*, p.26; M. Iqbal, 'Armaghan-i-Hijaz', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p.687.

خیر نہیں کیا نام ہے اس کا، خدا فرمیں کہ خود فریبی  
عمل سے فارغ ہوا مسلمان بنا کے تقدیر کا بہانہ

534. Fateh M. Malik, *Iqbal Faramoshi*, p.177.

535. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', op.cit., p.478.

اسی تراں میں ہے اب ترک جہاں کی تعلیم  
جس نے مؤمن کو بنایا مہ و پرویں کا امیر  
'تن بہ تقدیر ہے آج ان کے عمل کا انداز  
تھی نہاں جن کے ارادوں میں خدا کی تقدیر  
تھا جو نا خوب ، بندرتج وہی 'خوب' ہوا  
کہ غلامی میں بدل جاتا ہے قوموں کا ضمیر

536. S. Shabbir Hussain (ed.), *Man's Destiny*, p.128.

537. According to Iqbal, the practical materialism of the opportunist Umayyad rulers of Damascus needed a peg on which to hang their misdeeds at Karbala, and to secure the fruits of Amir Mu'awiyah's revolt against the possibilities of a popular rebellion. Ma'bad is reported to have said to Hassan of Basra that the Ummayyads killed Muslims and attributed their acts to the decrees of God. 'These enemies of God', replied Hassan, 'are liars'. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1996), p.99.

538. Ibid.

539. Annemarie Schimmel, op. cit., pp.239-40.

540. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, op.cit., p.22.

541. Lini S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought After 1857* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1970), p.304.

542. Ibid., p.243.

543. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara', op.cit., p.220.

544. Sarfaraz H. Ansari, op.cit., pp.23-4.

545. Farzana Sheikh, *Community and Consensus in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.202.

546. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Qaul-i-Faisal*, p.134.

547. *Al-Quran*, 1: 83.

548. A.D. Muztar (ed.), op.cit., p.16.

549. Iqbal to Nicholson, Jan. 24, 1921 in S.A. Vahid (ed.), op. cit., pp.100-01.

550. Ibid.

551. Iqbal to M. Hussain. Aug. 30, 1924 in *Tehzeebanama*. (1994-95). n.261.

552. Iqbal to Nicholson, Jan 24, 1921, op.cit.
553. I.H. Malik, '*Regionalism or Personality Cult?*', p.44.
554. M. Aslam Malik, op.cit., pp.216-17.
555. Ibid., p.216.
556. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. IV, pp.45-6.
557. Cited in M. Sanaullah Akhtar, op.cit., pp. xii-xiii.
558. Addendum to the Note on the Khaksar Movement by L.V. Deane, March 25, 1941, p.9.



## Chapter V IQBAL AND THE AHMADIS

1. A.A. Nadvi, *Qadianism: A Critical Study* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1991), p.6.
2. There is a contradiction on the issue of his date of birth. According to his own writings it was either 1939 or 1940. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Kitab-al-Barriyah* (Qadian: 1932), p.135; According to his son and biographer, his date of birth was 1836 or 1837. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Sirat-al-Mahdi* Vol. II (Qadian: 1927), p.150; However in the third volume of his book he claimed that the exact date of birth was Feb. 13, 1835 and in the same volume he also wrote it 1831. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Sirat-al-Mahdi* Vol. III (Qadian: 1939), pp.74-76. Munir Commission report also recorded it Feb 13, 1835. Government of Punjab *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted Under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1954), p.9. [Henceforth referred as *Munir Commission Report*].
3. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, op.cit., p.134.
4. M. Yaqub Khan, *Quest for God* (Lahore: Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, 1949), p.17; See also Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *ibid.*, p.135.
5. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.1-4; Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiya Movement: Past and Present* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev Univeristy, 1976), p.11.
6. Murray T. Titus, *Indian Islam* (New Delhi: 1970), p.217; see also Spencer Lavan, *ibid.*, p.12
7. James Robson, 'The Ahmadis', in A.J. Arberry (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp.349-62.
8. A.A. Nadvi, op. cit., p.10.
9. H.A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918), p.15.
10. W.R.W. Gardner, 'The Ahmadiya Movement', *The Moslem World* X: 1 (Jan. 1919), p.60.
11. Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p.12.
12. Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement* (Net Edition: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, 2002), p.6. [www.muslim.org](http://www.muslim.org).
13. *Ibid.*, pp.4-7.

14. H.A. Walter, op.cit., p.14.
15. The complete title of work is *Al-Barahin al-Ahmadiyya 'ala haqqiyyat-i-Kitab Allah al-Quran wal-nubuwwat-il-Muhammadiyya* i.e. The Ahmadiyyas proof for the truth of the book of God - the Quran, and the Prophet Hood of Muhammad. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad promised to bring fifty volumes of this book. By 1894 he could publish only four volumes. The fifth volume was published after laps of twenty-three years in 1908.
16. Cited in Spencer Lavan, op. cit., p.14.
17. For instance see, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Surma-'i-Chashm-i-Arya* (Qadian: n.d.). This is second of his polemics on religious beliefs of Arya-Samajists and records of his debates with Aryas.
18. G.R. Thursby, *Hindu Muslim Relations in British India* (Leiden: 1975), p.13.
19. A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p.26.
20. Mahmood A. Ghazi, *Qadiani Problem and Position of Lahori Group* (Islamabad: Islamabad Book Foundation, 1991), p.15; H.A. Walter, op.cit., pp.15-16.
21. Maulana Muhammad Hussain devoted six issues of his journal *Isha'at-i-Sunnah* for a detailed review of *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*. See for instance, *Isha'at-i-Sunnah* 6:6 (June-Aug. 1884), pp.169-70. [www.muslim.org/rev-bra.htm](http://www.muslim.org/rev-bra.htm).
22. Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's: A Case Study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), p.21.
23. Cited in ibid., p.22.
24. Ibid.
25. Ikram Ali Malik, 'Role of Administration in the Punjab Riots, 1849-1900', *PJHC* V: 1 (Jan.-June 1984), p.35.
26. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.22.
27. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.41.
28. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Arya Dharam* (Qadian: Maktaba Zia-ul-Islam, 1895), pp.31-34 & 75-6.
29. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Chasma-'i-Ma'arifat* (Qadian: Anwar-i-Ahmadiyya Machine Press, 1908), p.106.
30. M. Matin Khalid (ed.) *Subaut Hazir Hain* (Multan: AMTKN, 1999), p.799.

31. A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p.25; see also, Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, *Punjab aur Birauni Hamlahawar* (Lahore: Maktaba Fikr-wa-Danish, 1990), p.139.
32. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Hqiaqat-al-Wahi* (Qadian: 1907), p.193. It has been reported that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sent twenty thousand letters to dignitaries and noblemen of various parts of world, in which he informed them about his appointment as *Mujaddid*. Khalid Shabbir, *Tarikh-i-Mahasba-'i-Qadianiat* (Multan: Karwan-i-Adab, 1987), p.64.
33. Syed Abul A'la Maududi, the *Amir* of Jama'at-i-Islami Pakistan, third statement in the court of enquiry. For details see, Syed Abul A'la Maududi, *The Qadiani Problem* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1979), p.105. [Henceforth referred as S.A.A. Maududi].
34. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.15.
35. Sufi Abdul Qadeer (ed.), *The Family of the Founder of Ahmadiyya Movement* (Qadian: Book Depot Talif-wa-lsha'at, 1934), p.21; Also see the arguments of Ahmadiyya Council Sheikh Bashir Ahmad before the Boundary Commission in Mian Muhammad Sa'adullah (ed.), *The Partition of Punjab Vol. II* (Lahore: National Documentation Centre, 1983), p.248.
36. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.17.
37. The disciples and followers of Ghulam Ahmad are called by three names; *Mirzais*, from the title of their master. However it is not liked by them to called so; *Qadianis*, from the name of the centre of origin of movement; and *Ahmadis*, which was also the official designation of followers of Ghulam Ahmad. H.D. Griswold, 'The Ahmadiya Movement', *The Moslem World* II: 3 (July 1912), p.373. However the use of word, *Ahmadi*, exclusively in respect of the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was resented by non-*Ahmadis* for the reason that all Muslims are *Ahmadis*, being the followers of Holy Prophet (PBUH), who's other name is Ahmad. *Munir Commission Report*, op.cit., p.9. For a detailed discussion see, Justice M. Rafique Tarar, 'Qadiani ya Ahmadi', weekly *Al-A'atasam* (Feb. 07, 1997), pp.18-20; and Syed Mahmood Mian, 'Ahmadi ya Qadiani', monthly *Anwar-i-Madina* (Feb. 1997), pp.3-5.
38. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.14, 31 & 89.
39. H.A. Walter, op.cit., p.16.
40. *Light* XXXCII: 10 (March 1958), p.6 cited in Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.17.

41. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tauzih-i-Mariam* (Qadian: 1933), p.3; *Fatih Islam* (Amritser: 1308 A.H.), p.7; and *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya* Vol. V (Lahore: Sindh Printers, 1978 reprint), p.85; see also S.A.A. Maududi, op.cit., 107; and [www.muslim.org/claims/intro.htm](http://www.muslim.org/claims/intro.htm).
42. Qasim Ali Ahmad, *Tabligh-i-Rasalat* Vol. X (Qadian: Farooq Press, 1927), p.23; Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Chasma-'i-Ma'arifat* (Qadian: Anwar-i-Ahmadiyya Session Press, 1908), p.324; and *Tuhfa-un-Nadwa* (Qadian: 1902), p.8.
43. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Kalimah-tul-Fasl*, p.167 cited in S.A.A. Maududi, op.cit., p.108.
44. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Haqiqat-i-Nubuwwat* (Qadian: 1927), p.30. For details see vol. III of the same book, particularly pp.175-6. Also quoted by *Al-Fazl*, Jan. 04, 1923.
45. S.A.A. Maududi, op.cit., pp.42 & 109. Ghulam Ahmad claimed that the persons who would not follow him and did not take oath of allegiance and opposed him were disobedient of God and Prophet and would be sent to hell. Qasim Ali Ahmad, *Tabligh-i-Risalat* Vol. IX (Batala: Khawaja Press, 1925), p.27.
46. W.R.W. Gardner, op.cit., p.60.
47. Mahmood A. Ghazi, op.cit., p.26.
48. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Haqiqat-al-Nubuwwat* Vol. II, p.147.
49. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *A'ejaz-i-Ahmadi* (Qadian: Maktaba Zia-ul-Islam, 1902), pp.76 & 83; and *Anjam-i-Atham* (Qadian: Maktaba Zia-ul-Islam, 1902), pp.241-2 & 251-2.
50. The word '*Mubahillah*' derives from Arabic root which means 'to curse'. *Mubahillah* or debate has its own theological rules which include the convocation of a curse of God on the liar. This practice is usually permitted to Muslims in debating with non-Muslims.
51. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.20 [f.n.].
52. *Ibid.*, p.22.
53. See for details, Spencer Lavan, 'Polemics and Conflicts in Ahmadiyya History', *The Moslem World* LXII: 4 (Oct. 1972), pp.284-93.
54. Maulana Muhammad Ali, op.cit., p.20.

55. *The Ahmadiyya Sect: Notes on the Origin, Development and History of the Movement* (Islamabad: NDC), p.3. [Henceforth referred as *The Ahmadiyya Sect*].
56. *Review of Religions* (Nov. 1904), p.410 cited in H.D. Griswold, op.cit., p.374.
57. S.A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p.13. He left five sons, two from his first wife; Mirza Sultan Ahmad and Mirza Fazal Ahmad. Three from his second wife; Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, Mirza Bashir Ahmad and Mirza Sharif Ahmad.
58. After the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad there have been appointed four caliphs besides Noor Mohammad (1908-1914). These include Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood (1914-1965), Mirza Nasir Ahmad (1965-1982), Mirza Tahir Ahmad (1982-2003), and Mirza Masroor Ahmad (2003-todate).
59. H.A. Walter, 'The Ahmadiyya Movement Today', *The Moslem World* VI: 1 (Jan.1916), p.66; Also see Sahibzada Bashir Ahmad, *Seerat-al-Mahdi* Vol. III (Qadian: n.d.), p.37.
60. For details of split see, M. Zaffarullah Khan, *Ahmadiyyat: The Renaissance of Islam* (London: Tabshir Publications, 1978), pp.190-236; Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, pp.46-59; Mahmood A. Ghazi, op.cit., pp.67-102; For views of Qadian based Ahmadiyya group see, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *A'ina-i-Sadaqat* (Qadian: 1921), p.35.
61. For details of election of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood as second caliph of Ghulam Ahmad see H.A. Walter, op.cit., pp.68-9.
62. Maulana Muhammad Ali Lahori (1874-1951) was one of those companions of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who were attached with Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya since its inception. After doing his Master from Government College, Lahore, he joined Islamia College, Lahore in the capacity of Lecturer in Mathematics. During his stay in Lahore he got an opportunity to go through the books of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, which made a profound impact on his thinking. In 1897, he took *Ba'yat* on the hand of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. On the persuasion of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad he started editing *Review of Religion*, so that his programme should be proceeded further. In 1914, when Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood was appointed as the second caliph, then Maulana Mohammad Ali and his camp followers segregated themselves from the parent body due to difference of interpretations of the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The seceded group made Lahore the centre of their activities. They laid the

foundation of Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam and launched two journals *Light* and *Paigham-i-Suleh* to disseminate their point of view. The Lahore group claimed that they accepted Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a *Mujaddid* and reformer. They asserted that he never claimed Prophethood and these falsities were attributed to him by his son Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood. They expounded that the terms revelation and Prophethood used by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad were in a metaphorical sense of mysticism. However, orthodox *Ulamas* hold that they are also out of the pale of Islam.

63. Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Promised Messiah* (London: 1966), p.194.
64. Sufi Abdul Qadeer (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.52.
65. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tabligh-i-Risalat* Vol. X, p.123 quoted by Mahmood A. Ghazi, *op.cit.*, pp.36-7.
66. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tariaq-ul-Qulaub* (Qadian: Zia-ul-Islam Press, 1900), p.15; see also Qasim Ali Ahmad, *Tabligh-i-Risalat* Vol. IV (Qadian: Farooq Press, n.d.), p.65.
67. Sufi Abdul Qadeer (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.6.
68. Robert Caste, Commissioner Lahore to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Sep. 20, 1858. IOR L/P&J/7/751.
69. W.K. Fraser Tytler, P.S. to Viceroy to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, May 15, 1934. IR L/P&J/7/751.
70. Malik Ghulam Farid, Additional Nazir Ameer-i-'Ammah to Deputy Commissioner Gurdaspur District, June 28, 1943. IOR L/P&J/7/751.
71. Mahmood A. Ghazi, *op.cit.*, p.47.
72. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.5.
73. Lt. Governor Punjab to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, Dec. 19, 1918. IOR L/P&J/7/751.
74. Address presented to Lord Willingdon in March 1934 by deputation of Ahmadiyya Community, Sufi Abdul Qadeer (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.51.
75. Captain Sujan Singh, Asstt. Technical Recruiting Officer, Jalandhar Cantt to Nazir Ameer-i-'Ammah, Qadian, Nov. 10, 1942 in Mian Muhammad Sa'adullah (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.444-45.
76. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.5.
77. *Al-Fazl*, Nov.12, 1914.
78. For details see Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, pp.71-3.

79. Daust Muhammad Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. V (Rabwa: n.d.), p.249.
80. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.133. For detailed views of Ahmadis about Turkish Khilafat see, *Record of Special Branch of Police, NWFP, 12/6/1* Vol. X (1924-27). NDC. [Acc. No. 374].
81. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p.5.
82. *Al-Fazl*, June 04, 1920.
83. Mahmood A. Ghazi, op.cit., p.48.
84. J.D. Shams, *Qiam-i-Pakistan aur Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya* (Rabwa: 1949), p.17.
85. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.367.
86. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.71.
87. *Al-Fazl*, Aug 01, 1935.
88. *Al-Fazl*, April 04, 1938.
89. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.74.
90. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, pp. 5-6.
91. *Al-Fazal*, July 29, 1917.
92. Malik Salah-ud-Din, *Ashab-i-Ahmad* Vol. XI (Rabwa: 1962), pp. 73-5; Also see, Jagtar Singh Rakkar, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1985), p. 295.
93. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tariq-ul-Qulab*, pp. 27-8.
94. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, pp. 5-6.
95. Ibid.
96. Cited in M. Ilyas Burney, *Qadiani Movement* (Durban: Makki Publications, 1955), p. 49; H.A. Walter, 'The Ahmadiyya Movement Today', *The Moslem World* VI: 1 (Jan. 1916), p. 70.
97. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, 'Ashtihar Government ki Tawajah Kai La'iq', *Sirat-i-Massih-i-Mau'aud*, pp. 43-4 cited in Mahmood A. Ghazi, op.cit., p. 48.
98. Sufi Abdul Qadeer (ed.), op.cit., p. 51.
99. *Al-Fazl*, Jan. 29, 1935.
100. In fact Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood came very strongly in support of presentation of 'Muslim case' before the statutory commission. For detail see, M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p. 239.
101. *The Ahmadiyya Sect*, p. 12.
102. Ibid. p. 7.

103. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, 'Ashtihar Government ki Tawajah Key Laiq', *Shahadat-ul-Quran*, p. 84 cited in A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p. 77.
104. Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *Iqbal aur Tehrik-i-Azadi Kashmir* (Srinagar: Kashmiri Writers Conference, 1997), pp. 191-93.
105. Abdus Salam Khursheed, *Sarguzhist-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996), 338-39.
106. Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal Ka Siasi Karnamah* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp. 420-21.
107. M. Sarwar Abbasi, *Kashmir Musalmanaun Ki Jiddau Jauhd-i-Azadi; 1892-1947* (Muzaffarabad: Institute Kashmir Studies, 1992), pp. 219-21; A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973), pp. 199-201.
108. M. Rafique Afzal, *Ghuftar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), pp. 173-77.
109. Latif Ahmad Sherwani (ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp. 280-81.
110. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 91-8.
111. Ibid., pp. 95-6.
112. Ibid., p. 96.
113. Spinoza (1632-1677) was a Dutch philosopher who was a staunch supporter of *Wahdat-al-Wajud*. When he expressed his skepticism about Judaism, he was expelled from parent body. For details see, *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* Vol. VII (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 530-41.
114. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 112.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., p. 113.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid., p. 115.
119. Ibid., pp. 92-3 & 106.
120. Bahauallah (1817-1892) whose actual name was Mirza Hussain Ali had established Bahaism in 1862 and declared himself prophet. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1964), pp. 142-43.
121. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 93.



122. Ibid., p. 98.
123. Ibid., p. 101.
124. Ibid., p. 102.
125. Ibid.
126. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsara, 1977), pp. 175-76.
127. Iqbal to Sh. Azeemullah, Nov. 22, 1935.
128. M. Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Lahore: Kutubkhana AHI, 1976), p. 131.
129. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1984), p. 559; Hanif Shahid, *Mufakar-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1982), p. 420.
130. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p. 329.
131. M. Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, pp. 131-33.
132. Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p. 95.
133. 'Islam and Ahmadism-Reply to Questions raised by Pandit J.L. Nehru' in A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 109-39.
134. Ibid., p. 110.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Ibid.
138. B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1978), p. 162.
139. *Al-Fazl*, May 31, 1936.
140. Ibid., June 11, 1936.
141. Ibid., Aug. 06, 1935.
142. Ibid., June 02, 1936.
143. Ibid., Nov. 21, 1934; See also, Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p. 90.
144. Shorash Kahsmir, *Iqbal aur Qadianiat* (Lahore: Matbau'at-i-Chatan, 1974), pp. 61-2.
145. For details see, *Band-i-Matram*, April 22, 1932.
146. Cited in A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p. 106.
147. Ibid., p. 107.
148. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Haqiqat-al-Wahi* (Qadian: 1907), pp. 163-64 & 179-82.

149. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 107.
150. Cited in Mahmood A. Ghazi, *op.cit.*, p. 11; S.A.A. Maududi, *op.cit.*, p. 44.
151. When Ahmadis were enumerated separately, their total strength was 1138; though Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to have 30,000 followers. *Census of India*, Vol. XV, Punjab and Delhi, 1921, p. 176.
152. For details see, Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Silsilah-i-Ahmadiyya* (Qadian: 1939), pp. 84-5; Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Anwar-i-Khilafat* (Qadian: Maktaba Zia-ul-Islam, 1916), pp. 93-4; *Review of Religions* 14: 3-4 (Mar-April 1915), pp. 169-70.
153. For a detailed study of Ahmadis nature of relationship with Muslim Community see, M. Ilyas Burney, *Qadianiat ka Ilmi Mahasbah* (Multan: 2000), pp. 592-98.
154. For a comprehensive and descriptive account regarding finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), derived from Quran, *Hadith* and *Ijma* see, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, *Khatm-i-Nubuwwat* (Karachi: Idara Ma'arif, 1998).
155. Mahmood A. Ghazi, *op.cit.*, p. 12; To strengthen their viewpoint the following verse of Quran was often quoted by orthodox Muslims. 'Muhammad is not the father of any of your males, but he is the messenger of Allah and last of the Prophets', *Al-Quran*, 33:41.
156. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya* Vol. V (Qadian: 1905), p. 184; and *Haqiqat-al-Wahi* (Qadian: 1907), p. 387.
157. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam* (Rabwa: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Mission, 1959), p. 7.
158. M. Zafrullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-1; see also for details, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World* Vol. I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 56 & 65.
159. Cited in Spencer Lavan, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
160. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *op.cit.*, p. 56; For Statement of Mirza Bashir-ud-Din see, *Al-Fazl*, July 15, 1924.
161. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tajalliat-i-Ilahiah* quoted in M. Zafarullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 50.
162. *Ibid.*

163. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Invitation* (Rabwa: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Mission, 1968), p. 16.
164. Ibid.
165. M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p. 56.
166. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, op.cit., pp. 16-7.
167. Manzoor Elahi (ed.), *Mal'uzat-i-Ahmadiyya* Vol.V, p. 290 in S.A.A. Maududi, op.cit., p. 3; also see, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Haqiqat-al-Nubuwat*, p. 228.
168. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Ahmadiyyat or The True Islam*, p. 9; Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p. 19.
169. M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p. 58.
170. Ibid., p. 59.
171. Iqbal to Abdul Jamil Banglari, Aug. 04, 1924 in Muzaffar Hussain Burney (ed.), *Kulyat-i-Maktateeb-i-Iqbal* Vol. III (Delhi: Urdu Academy, 1993), p. 75.
172. Muhammad Iqbal, 'Israr-wa-Ramauz', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1975), p. 102.

لانی یحییٰ زاحسان خدا است  
 پردہ ناموس دین مصطفیٰ است  
 قوم را سرمایہ ملت ازو  
 حفظ سر وحدت ملت ازو

173. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 92.
174. M. Hussain Arshi, 'Allama Iqbal ki Sauhbat Main', Dr. Adulaith Siddeeqe (ed.), *Mal'uzat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 66.
175. M. Saeed Sheikh (ed.), *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Research, 1986), p. 100. [Henceforth referred as *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*].
176. B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p. 46.
177. Ibid.
178. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 100.
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid.
181. Ibid., pp. 100-101.
182. Ibid., p. 101.

183. Cited in Muhammad Munawar, *Iqbal: The Poet Philosopher of Islam* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1985), p. 130.

184. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 101.

185. M Iqbal, op.cit., p. 102.

پس خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کر  
بر رسول ما رسالت ختم کر  
روفق از ما محفل ایام را  
اورسل را ختم دما اقوام را

186. B.A. Dar, op.cit., pp. 46-7; A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 101.

187. B.A. Dar, ibid., pp. 46-7.

188. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought*, p. 101.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid.

191. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 103.

192. B.A. Dar, op.cit., pp. 47-9.

193. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 103.

194. Ibid.

195. For a detailed study of revelations received by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad see his work, *Hamamat-al-Bushra* 2 Vols. (Qadian: 1311 A.H.).

196. Dr. Saeedullah, 'Iqbal Kai Han Aik Sham' in Abulaith Siddeeque (ed.), *Malfuzat-i-Iqbal*, op.cit., p. 144.

197. M. Iqbal, 'Zab-i-Kaleem', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1973), p. 497.

ہے زمرہ فقط وحدت انکار سے ملت  
وحدت ہونے جس سے وہ الہام بھی الحاد

198. Ibid., p.516.

ہو بندہ آزاد اگر صاحب الہام  
ہے اسکی تگہ فکر و عمل کے لئے مہینز  
حکوم کے الہام سے اللہ بجائے  
غارت گرا اقوام ہے وہ صورت چنگیز

199. Ibid., p.518.

وہ نبوت ہے مسلمانوں کے لئے برگِ حشیش  
جس نبوت میں نہیں قوت و شوکت کا پیغام

200. Ibid., p.512.

قتلِ طت بیضا ہے امامت اس کی  
جو مسلمانوں کو سلاطین کا پرستار کرے

201. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.124.

202. Ibid., p.125.

203. The concept of Magian culture includes cultures associated with Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Chaldean and Sabeian religions.

204. A.R. Tariq, op.cit., p.92.

205. *Buruz* literally means the coming into existence of another person in the place of some one else.

206. Literally merging of one entity into another in such a way that it became exactly the same as the original is called *Hulul*. Islamic Scholars have refuted this doctrine, however the Christians believed in it. For details see, *Urdu Daira Ma'arif Islam* Vol. VIII (Lahore: Punjab University, 1973), pp.552-53.

207. *Zill* literally means shadow.

208. A.R. Tariq, op.cit., p.93.

209. Ibid., p.118.

210. Ibid.

211. Dr. Gian Chand, *Ibtada'i Kalam-i-Iqbal* (Hyderabad: Urdu Research Centre, 1988), p.159; A. Vahid Mo'eni (ed.), *Baqiat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Aa'ina-i-Adab, 1978), p.129.

212. Iqbal has a special interest in the issue of *Buruz*. He believed that a comprehensive and scholarly research on the topic could prove helpful in falsification and rejection of this irrational doctrine. In this regard he advised Prof. M. Ilyas Burney to write a book. See Sh. Attaullah (ed.), *Iqbalnama* Vol. I (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, n.d.), pp.419-20.

213. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.118.

214. Ibid., p.119.

215. Ibid., p.93.

216. Ibid.
217. Ibid., p.122.
218. Mohey-ud-Din Ibn-i-Arabi (1165-1230) was a staunch supporter and contributor of *Wahdat-al-Wajud*. He wrote more than 150 books on various Islamic issues.
219. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.119; See also M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., p.57.
220. A.R. Tariq (ed.), ibid.
221. Ibid.
222. Ibid.
223. Ibid., p.120.
224. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Invitation*, p.20.
225. Ibid.
226. For a detailed interpretation of Ahmadiyya's concept of *Jihad* from their point of view see, M. Zafarullah Khan, op.cit., pp.124-30.
227. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Jihad and British Government* (Lahore: 1900), p.5.
228. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tohfa-i-Gaularwiah*, p.30.
229. Ibid., p.31.
230. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Arba'een* Vol. IV, p.15 quoted in S.A.A. Nadvi, op.cit., p.56.
231. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Tabligh-i-Risalat* Vol. VII (Qadian: Farooq Press, 1922), p.10.
232. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Arba'een* Vol. IV, p.28.
233. *Al-Fazl*, May 02, 1919.
234. Cited in Spencer Lavan, op.cit., p.67.
235. M. Ilyas Burney, *Qadiani Movement*, pp.36-8.
236. *Al-Fazl*, Oct.27, 1914.
237. *Al-Fazl*, Dec.03, 1918.
238. Ibid., May 02, 1919.
239. Freeland Abbott, *Islam and Pakistan* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p.153.
240. M. Ilyas Burney, op.cit., p.34.
241. M. Hussain Arshi, '*Allama Iqbal ki Sauhbat Main*', in Abulaith Sideeque (ed.), op.cit., pp.64-6.
242. Sved Nazir Niazi, *Jabal Kai Huzaur* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1971), pp.5-7.

243. Rais Ahmad Ja'afry, *Iqbal aur Siasat-i-Milli* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981), pp.69-70.
244. Ibid., p.70.
245. M. Iqbal, 'Bal-i-Jibril, op.cit., p.397.

شہادت ہے مطلوب و مقصود مؤمن  
 نہ مالی نیست نہ کشور کشائی

246. Cited in M. Hanif Shahid, *Mufakar-i-Pakistan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1982), p. 713.
247. Iqbal to Dr. Nicholson, Jan.24, 1921 in S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1964), p.99.
248. M. Iqbal, 'Javed Nama', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Farsi*, p.788.

صحبتش با عصر حاضر در گرفت  
 حرف دین راہ از دو پیغمبر گرفت  
 آل ز آریاں بودو این ہندی نژاد  
 آل ز حج بیگانہ و ای از جہاد  
 تا جہاد و حج نمازدار و اجہات  
 رفت جاں از پیکر صوم و صلوة  
 روح چون رفت از صلوات داز صیام  
 فرد ناہموار و ملت بے نظام

249. M. Hanif Shahid, op.cit., p.715.
250. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, pp.490-91.
251. M. Taqi Uthmani, *What is Christianity* (Karachi: Dar-ul-Asha'at, 1995), p.34.
252. Maulana Allah Wasayah (ed.), *Aa 'ina-'i-Qadianiat* (Multan: AMTKN, 2002), pp.122-194.
253. Based on the research of Ahmadi writers, for instance, Maulvi Sher Ali, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, Qazi M. Yusuf, Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Shams, Muhammad Asadullah Kashmiri and Khawaja Nazir Ahmad who largely depended and

quoted the Hindu, Buddhist, Jews and Christian sources in this regard. For details see, Daust M. Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. VI, pp.371-82. Also see, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *The Ahmadiyya Movement* (Rabwa: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Mission, 1962), pp.55-7; and Khawaja Nazir Ahmad, *Jesus in Heaven on Earth* (London: Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, 1998).

254. According to the Ahmadiyya interpretation, Yus Asaf means Jesus, the gatherer of the lost sheep, i.e. the lost ten tribes of Israelites. Mirza Bashir-ur-Din Mahmood, *op.cit.*, p.58; Also see H.D. Griswold, 'The Ahmadiya Movement', *The Moslem World* II : 3 (July 1912), p.376.
255. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Invitation*, p.10.
256. *Ibid.*
257. *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.
258. H.D. Griswold, *op.cit.*, p.375.
259. H.A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918).
260. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.123.
261. *Ibid.*, p.127.
262. *Ibid.*
263. *Ibid.*, pp.93-4.
264. *Ibid.*, p.93.
265. Ibn-i-Khuldun recounts formally twenty-four traditions bearing upon the belief in Mahdi. None of them is from *Bukhari* and *Muslim* – the authentic most compilations of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) traditions. For religio-political background of Imam Mahdi see, P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London & New York: 1951), pp.439-49; and *Encyclopedia of Islam* Vol. V (London: Luzac & Company, 1960), pp.1230-38.
266. Iqbal to Zia-ud-Din Burni, Aug. 31, 1916 in B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, p.144; Also see, Iqbal to Ch. M. Ahsan, April 07, 1932 in Muzaffar H. Burni (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.275-76.
267. Abulaith Siddeeqe, (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.72, 76 & 142-4. For a further explanation of this thesis of Iqbal see, Allama Tamana Immadi Mujeebi Phulwari, *Intizar-i-Mahdi-wa-Massih-Fan-i-Rajjal ki Roshni Main* (Karachi: Al-Rahman Publishing Trust, 1994).
268. Iqbal to Zia-ud-Din Burni, Aug. 31, 1916.



269. M. Iqbal, 'Zarb-i-Kalim', *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu*, p.506.

دنیا کو ہے اس مہدی برحق کی ضرورت  
ہو جس کی نگاہ زلزلہ عالم افکار

270. Iqbal to Ch. M. Ahsan, April 07, 1932 in Muzaffar Hussain Burni (ed.),  
op.cit., Vol. III, pp.275-77.

271. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.100.

272. Ibid.

273. S. Muzaffar H. Burni, op.cit., pp. 275-77.

274. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.128.

275. M. Iqbal, 'Armaghan-i-Hijaz', op.cit., p.656.

ابن مریم مر گیا یا زندہ جاوید ہے؟  
ہیں صفات ذات حق، حق سے جدا یا عین ذات؟  
آنے والے سے مسیح نامہری مقصود ہے  
یا مجتہد جس میں ہوں فرزند مریم کے صفات؟  
ہیں کلام اللہ کے الفاظ حادث یا قدیم  
امت مرحومہ کی ہے کس عقیدے میں نجات  
کیا مسلمان کے لئے کافی نہیں اس دور میں  
یہ الہیات کے تراشے ہوئے لات و منات؟

276. Daust M. Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. II (Rabwa: n.d.), p.289.

277. Abdul Majid Sheikh had asserted in his work that Iqbal and his family was  
under the spell of Ahmadism from its very inception and that they owed  
allegiance to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad at the early stages. Sh. Abdul Majid, *Iqbal  
aur Ahmadiyyat* (Lahore: Art Press, 1991), pp.18-19 & 31-32.

278. Maulana Rafiq Dilawari, *Ra'ies-i-Qadian* (Multan: AMTKN, 2001 reprint),  
pp.371-79.

279. Ibid., p.49.

280. M. Ilyas Burni, op.cit., p.60.

281. Shahid Aziz, *Sir Muhammad Iqbal and the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement*  
([http://aaiil.org/text/articles/others/sirmuhammadiqballahoreahmadiyamovemen  
t.html](http://aaiil.org/text/articles/others/sirmuhammadiqballahoreahmadiyamovemen<br/>t.html)), p.1.

282. A'ejaz Ahmad, *Mazloom Iqbal* (Karachi: Sh. Shaukat Ali Printers, 1985), pp.185-86.
283. Zafarullah Baig, 'Allama Iqbal aur Tehrik-i-Ahmadiyyat', *Ma'arif-i-Islami* 1: 2 (July-Dec. 2002), p.96.
284. Abdul Wahid Mo'eni (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.129.

اسے کہ بعد از تو نبوت شد ہر مفہوم شرک  
بزم را روشن ز نور شمع عرفان کردہ

285. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p.571.
286. A'ejaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp.195-96.
287. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p.575.
288. L.A. Sherwani (ed.), *Speeching, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp. 118-37.
289. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi, *Tasaneef-i-Iqbal Ka Tehqeeqi-wa-Tauze'ehi Mutaliah* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1982), p.449.
290. A'ejaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.190,
291. M. Abdullah Chughtai, *Riwayat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), pp.21 & 48; Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p.570.
292. Iqbal to editor *Paisa Akhbar*, Sep.10, 1910 in Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi (ed.), *Ma'asrin Iqbal Ki Nazar Main* (Lahore: Majlis Taraqi-'i-Adab, 1977), p.212.
293. Sheikh Abdul Majid, *Fikr-i-Iqbal aur Tehrik-i-Ahmadiyyat* (Lahore: Art Press, 1996), p.434.
294. *Al-Fazl*, April 11, 1916.
295. *Ibid*, Oct. 09, 1915; Also see, Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, 572.
296. Iqbal to Editor *Paigham-i-Suleh*, Nov.13, 1915 in Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi (ed.), *Khutut-i-Iqbal* (Lahore Maktaba Khayaban-i-Adab, 1976), pp.125-26.
297. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p.557.
298. Sir Ross Masud (1889-1937) was the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He was one of closest friends of Iqbal. For details see, M. Abdullah Qureshi, *op.cit.*, pp.280-93.
299. Iqbal to Ross Masud, June 10, 1937. However Ross Masud declined to accept the responsibility due to which Iqbal did not change his will.
300. Sheikh Abdul Majid, *Iqbal aur Ahmadiyyat* (Lahore: Art Press, 1991).

301. A'ejaz Ahmad, op.cit., pp.201-03.
302. Ibid.
303. Faqir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, *Rozgar Faqir* Vol. I (Karachi Line Art Press, 1950), pp.69, 94-5 & 128-9.
304. Syed Salman Nadvi (1884-1953) was a renowned scholar of Islamic history and was founder of *Dar-ul-Musanafeen*, Azamgarh and editor of monthly *Ma'araf*. His important works include *Seerat-ul-Nabi*, *Khutbat-i-Madrass*, *Arz-i-Quran* and *Seerat-i-Aysha*. Iqbal and Nadvi had close association with each other and both exchanged more than seventy letters. Tahir Taunsavi, *Iqbal aur Syed Salman Nadvi* (Lahore: Maktaba Aliya, 1977).
305. Prof. Salah-ud-Din Muhammad Ilyas Burni (d.1959), belonged to a literary family of Bulandshehr, United Provinces. He wrote several tracts and books to refute the doctrines of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Most important of his works is *Qadiani Mazhab ka Ilmi Jaiza* (1936) that received much appreciation and still consulted as a reference book.
306. See for instance, Iqbal to Nadvi, Sep. 05, 1924; July 19, 1935; Aug. 01, 1935; Iqbal to Prof. Ilyas Burni, Aug. 23, 1912; and Aug. 07, 1936 in Sh. Attaullah (ed.), op.cit., pp. 137-40 & 198-200.
307. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.590.
308. A'ejaz Ahmad, op.cit., p.202.
309. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., pp.598-99.
310. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography* (Bombay: 1946), p.318.
311. Zafarullah Baig, op.cit., p.98.
312. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., pp.573-75 & 584.
313. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp.101-02.
314. Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, p.43.
315. For details see, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol. XII (Oxford: 1908), pp.390-91
316. Freeland Abbott, op.cit., p.148.
317. Spencer Lavan, 'Polemics and Conflict in Ahmadiya History', p.299.
318. S.A.A. Maududi, op.cit., pp.48 & 53.
319. Cited in Matin Khalid (ed.), op.cit., p.22.
320. W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1969), p.341.
321. Freeland Abbott, op.cit., p.160.
322. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, *Ahmadiyah: The True Islam*, pp.10-11.

323. In one of his works he came out that root cause of all controversy was religion and not politics. He writes: "True union can happen only if Muhammadans accept the *Vedas* and Hindus accept Muhammad as Prophet..... If Arya Samajists are prepared to accept our Holy Prophet, as a true Prophet of God and give up denying and insulting him, I will be the first man to sign an agreement to the effect that we, members of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya, shall always continue to believe in *Vedas* and, to speak of Rishis in most respectful terms". Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Paigham-i-Sulah* (Qadian: 1908), p.198.
324. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 123-4.
325. B.A. Dar, *Anwar-i-Iqbal*, pp.47-9.

## Chapter VI IQBAL AND THE UNIONISTS

1. Craig Baxter (ed.), *From Martial Law to Martial Law, 1919-1958* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p.18.
2. Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's : A Case Study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1977), p.121.
3. In rural areas elections were held on Nov. 30, Dec.2, 4 and 6 and in urban areas on Dec. 01, 1920. Ibid., p.142.
4. *Indian Franchise Committee Report* Vol. I (London: 1932), p.64 cited in Ian Talbot, *Khizar Tiwana: The Punjab Unionists Party and the Partition of India* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), p.50.
5. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), p.33.
6. Muhammad Khurshid, 'The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics, 1923-36', unpublished Ph.D dissertation (Bahawalpur : Islamia University, 1992), pp.90-91.
7. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Dau Saal* (Lahore: Sangemcel Publications, 2000), p. 160. Lal Chand was a pro-rural activist whose efforts resulted in the demarcation of separate constituencies for rural and urban population. Fazl-i-Hussain opposed this scheme then. Now, he took Lal Chand as his colleague. This showed a shift in his mental and political tilt.
8. The formation of such groups within the legislatures was a common practice even in British parliament where groups of legislatures tended to push together measures and issues, which suited specific objectives. Raghuvendra Tanwar, 'Origin of the Punjab National Unionist Party: Feudal Elite and Legislative Politics', *JPHS* XLVI: II (April 1996), p.160.
9. The first elections for PLC under Mont-Ford reforms were held in November-Dec. 1920. Fazl-i-Hussain contested the elections from one of the four Landlord constituencies. At that time he had resigned both from INC and AIML. He managed to win election against Mian Bashir Ahmad, the Son-in-Law of Mian M. Shafi, in his personal capacity. He was one of the most experienced members of the PLC. The Governor Malcolm Hailey appointed him as a Minister of Education and Local Self Government (1921-26). He

took revolutionary steps and introduced many reforms in the spheres of education and LSG.

10. It has been reported that Fazl-i-Hussain and Chottu Ram, were given the task by Edward Maclagan (1919-24), the then Governor of Punjab to unite the rural representatives. Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947* (Delhi: 1988), p.82.
11. Fazl-i-Hussain introduced many reforms in rural areas such as compulsory primary education, inclusion of elected electorate in local bodies and steps for betterment and improvement of *Panchayats*. He adopted certain measures for the uplift of rural masses and to bring them at par with urban areas.
12. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain : A Political Biography* (Bombay: 1946), p.152.
13. He had the support of all Muslim families of note such as Tiwanas, Noons, Hayats, Maliks, Mamdoots, Daultanas, Gardezes and Gitanis.
14. Ch. Chottu Ram (1882-1944) was one of the principal spokesmen of Haryana Jats and worked as Secretary of Jat Association, Rohtak. From 1916-24, he remained as editor of the *Jat Gazette*. He was the co-founder of PNUP and remained its leader in PLC from 1926-1935. In 1937 he was appointed as minister under provincial autonomy and he hold this post till his death. For details see, Madan Gopal, *Sir Chottu Ram : A Political Biography* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1977).
15. David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam : Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: 1988), p.27.
16. I.H. Malik, 'The Punjab Politics and the Assendancy of the Unionist Party, 1925-36', *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* VI: 2 (July-Dec. 1980), p.117.
17. It operated as the major ideological convergence, which provided rationale and cohesion to the Unionist Party, all through the twenty-four years of its existence. I.H. Malik, 'Identity Formation, and Muslim Party Politics in the Punjab 1897-1936', *Modern Asian Studies* 29:2 (1995), p.313.
18. Prem Chaudhry, 'The Zamindar Ideology of the Unionist Party: Ideology and Propoganda Tactics of the Unionists in South-East Punjab', *Punjab Past and Present* XVI: II (Oct. 1982), p.317.
19. M.Azam Chaudry, *Tehrik-i-Pakistan Main Punjab ka Kirdar* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996), p.44.

20. Azim Hussain, op.cit., pp.150-51.
21. *Punjab Unionist Party Rules and Regulations* (Lahore: 1936), pp.18-19; *Punjab Unionist Party Kai Qawa'id-wa-Zawabit* (Lahore: 1936), pp.34-35. [Mehr Collection No.80].
22. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.131.
23. For a detailed study on this subject see, Mushir-ul-Hassan, 'Communalism in the Provinces: A Case Study of Bengal and the Punjab, 1922-26', in Mushir-ul-Hassan (ed.), *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India, 1916-1928* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1979).
24. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.152.
25. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.382.
26. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.166.
27. *Akash Bani*, June 24, 1923 in S. Qalb-i-Abid., op.cit., p.78.
28. See issues of *Tribune* of the month of January 1922.
29. *Kesari*, 5 & 13 May, 1923; 11 June, 1923 in S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.78.
30. *Milap*, 2 July, 1924, *NPP*, pp.233-34.
31. For instance see *Zamindar*, June 10-17, 1923.
32. M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali: His Life and Writings* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), p.14.
33. *Ibid.*, p.11.
34. Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) was a prominent member of Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha. He actively participated in the agitational and revolutionary politics of India and during one such agitation i.e. against the exclusion of Indians from Simon Commission he died because of police violence. He also remained as member of Central Legislature in 1923 and 1926. He was a good writer and his two worth mentioning writings are *Young India* (1965) and *A History of Arya Samaj* (1976). For details of his life and thoughts see, Purshottam Nagar, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and his Ideas* (New Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1977).
35. *CMG*, Aug. 23, 1923.
36. Raja Narendra Nath (1864-1945) belonged to an influential family of Lahore. In a very young age he qualified competitive examination and appointed as Assistant Commissioner of Gurdaspur in 1887. In 1895 he became D.C. of

After his retirement he actively participated in the politics and remained member of PLC from 1921-27. He was a recognized leader of Hindu Mahasabha. In 1927, he presided over the session of All India Hindu Mahasabha. He remained the President of its provincial branch for number of years. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza (comp.), *South Asian Politics, 1931-42* (Lahore: Centre for South Asian Studies, 1982), p.138.

37. In a censure motion against Fazl-i-Hussain, Narendra Nath alleged:-
- a) That the Panchayat Act, 1921 does not safeguard the interests of minorities such as Sikhs, Hindus and Christians.
  - b) That communal representation has been extended to affect existing incumbents of offices and adversely affecter them, e.g., Dr. Shiv Lal has been replaced by Dr. M. Bashir.
  - c) That communal representation has been introduced in admission to government and Medical College.
  - d) That the communal principle has been extended to municipalities.
- Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.184.
38. *Ibid.*, p.190.
39. Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab, 1799-1947* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1970), p.427.
40. Madan Gopal, *op.cit.*, p.60.
41. Appeal against Lal Chand's election was filed by his opponent Matu Ram. The election petition was successful and Lal Chand was disqualified for five years. For details see, *Ibid.*, pp.61-2.
42. *Ibid.*; see also, Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.156.
43. Fazl-i-Hussain accepted the subject post due to leave of Mr. Habibullah – a member of Viceroy's Executive Council, on the condition that he would resume his office when he returned to Punjab. To fill the post, two rival groups of PNUP, Noon-Tawana and Shahab-ud-Din were at loggerheads with each other. However, the Governor of Punjab Hailey offered the ministership to Abdul Qadir who accepted it. When Fazl-i-Hussain returned to Lahore, Abdul Qadir was out of the ministry and his efforts to regain the Presidentship of PLC failed.
44. David Page, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control, 1920-1932* (Karachi: 1987), p.91.



45. The presidential election for PLC was held on Jan. 16, 1925. Sh. Abdul Qadir secured 41 votes and his opponent Gokul Chand got 32 votes. *PLCD*, Vol.I, January 16, 1925, p.3.
46. David Page, *op.cit.*, p.91,
47. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.162.
48. PNUP lost their majority in the Council because of Malcolm Hailey's strategy; this gave a decisive edge to the government block. Moreover, Fazl-i-Hussain's efforts, to carve an independent political niche for himself with the help of PNUP, were sooner wrapped up by the Governor. Zahid Chaudry, *Pakistan ki Siasi Tarikh Vol V* (Lahore: Idara Mutali'a Tarikh, 1991), p.133.
49. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.162.
50. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: Resarch Society of Pakistan, 1977), p.31.
51. Lajpat Rai Nair, *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan: The Soldier Statesman of the Punjab* (Lahore: Institute of Current Affairs, 1943), p.39.
52. Hailey to Irvin, May 12, 1928, Montmorency to Irvin, Oct.5 1930 in S. Qalb-i-Abid., *op.cit.*, p.187.
53. For details see, Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.28-34, 37, 135-36, 178-79 & 188.
54. On April 01, 1930 Fazl-i-Hussain took over charge as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for the department of Education, Health and Lands. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.191.
55. *Ibid.*, p.305.
56. Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon (1893-1970) was an influential member of Noon clan and actively participated in the Punjab politics. He remained the member of PLC from 1920-26. He was twice appointed as a minister in Punjab government; 1927-30 and 1931-36. During mid 1930's his younger brother married with the daughter of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain. This brought him more closer to the political magnets of Punjab. In 1936 as a result of a political settlement between Sikandar and Fazl-i-Hussain, he was appointed as Indian Higher Commissioner in London where he remained till 1941. Thus for the time being he had no active role in Punjab politics. In 1946, he joined AIML. After the formation of Pakistan he served as member of Punjab Legislative Assembly and constituent Assembly of Pakistan from 1947-50. In the

following years he also worked as Foreign Minister, Chief Minister and Prime Minister of Pakistan. See, F.K. Noon, *From Memory* (Lahore: 1969).

57. Azim Husain, *op.cit.*, p.163.
58. In the words of Prem Chaudry, "among backward classes were included all agriculturists, nearly all the Muslims and in general all backward classes, whether urban or rural, irrespective of their religion or caste", Prem Chaudry, *op.cit.*, p.320.
59. Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal ka Siyasi Karnama* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977), p.515.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Craig Baxter (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.53.
62. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p.188.
63. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p.54.
64. Prem Chaudry, 'Social Basis of Chaudri Sir Chottu Ram's Policies', *Punjab Past and Present X : I* (April 1976), p.164.
65. David Gilmartin, *op.cit.*, pp.116-17.
66. Of Urban Muslim representatives there were three independents; Dr. M. Iqbal, Sh. M. Sadiq and Sh. Din Muhammad and two were Khilafatist; Mian Feroz-ud-Din and Dr. M. Alam.
67. Abdul Hamid, 'Iqbal as Member of Punjab Legislative Council', in Muhammad Munawar (ed.), *Iqbal Centenary Papers Vol. I* (Lahore: Dept. of Iqbal Studies, Punjab University, 1982), pp.179-80.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Mian Abdul Aziz (1871-1969) was most important politician of the Baghbanpura Mian family, in pre-partition Arain Politics. He was a prominent lawyer of Hoshiarpur who shifted to Lahore in 1919. He remained member of PLC from 1923-26.
70. Lini S. May, *Iqbal: His Life and Times* (Lahore: 1974), p.169.
71. S.M.H. Burni (ed.), *Kulyat Makateeb-i-Iqbal Vol. III* (Delhi: Urdu Academy, 1993), p.463.
72. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gufar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), pp.14-16; *Zamindar*, July 20, 1926.
73. *Ibid.*, p.14.

74. For details see, M. Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal aur Punjab Council* (Lahore: Maktaba Zareen, 1977), pp.28, 33 & 36-7.
75. *Zamindar*, Oct. 03, 1926.
76. M. Hanif Shahid, op.cit., p.19.
77. Ibid., pp.73-4.
78. Ibid., p.62; For details of election campaign see, pp.49-59.
79. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1984), p.299.
80. CID reports records the number of audience in Iqbal's procession ranging between 3,000 and 8,000. *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 1926, para.261.
81. The important clauses of manifesto are:
- i) National interest is always to be preferred to personal interests and winning governmental commendation.
  - ii) Safeguarding all religious rights of the Muslims.
  - iii) The aim of independence of India is to be held as a high priority and no opposition of Khilafat Committee inside or outside the Council, if it sticks to it agenda of the independence of India.
  - iv) Continue the efforts for communal electorate for Muslims.
- Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.300.
82. M. Hanif Shahid, op. cit., p.55.
83. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.303.
84. Ibid., p.304.
85. *PLCD*, Vol. X-A, Jan. 03, 1927, pp.3-4.
86. M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., pp.16-7.
87. Ibid.
88. *PLCD*, X : 1, 1927, pp.83-5.
89. The Unionist Party's founding charter had not excluded urban members, although it included a pledge to uphold the Land Alienation Act, 1900 as a protection for the 'backward classes', see, Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p.64 [f.n.]
90. According to Ian Talbot, Iqbal and other urbanite Muslim members of PLC (1927-30) shared Fazl-i-Hussain views that Muslim interests could be better served through the Unionist Party, than by adopting a purely Muslim political platform. Ibid., p.60.
91. Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdith-i-Ne'amat* (Dhaka: 1971), p.231.

92. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.175.
93. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sarguzhist-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1996), p.179.
94. Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., pp.262-63.
95. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.319.
96. Quoted by Abdus Salam Khurshid, op.cit., p.172.
97. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.551.
98. Riaz Ahmad & Kishwar Sultana, 'Iqbal as a Legislature: 1926-30', *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 3: II (Autumn 1997), p.29.
99. Muhammad Munawar (ed.), op.cit., p.181.
100. Riaz Ahmad and Kishwar Sultana, op.cit., p.32.
101. *PLCD*, X : 4, Mar. 07, 1927, p.151.
102. *Ibid.*, X : 3, Mar. 05, 1927., p.73.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. *PLCD*, XI : 3, Mar. 04, 1928, p.109.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*, p.110.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. For details of argumentation between Iqbal and Revenue member Mian Fazl-i-Hussain see, *Ibid.*, p.112.
116. *Ibid.*, p.111.
117. *Ibid.*, p.112.
118. *Ibid.*, p.113.
119. *PLCD*, XII: 10, Mar. 04, 1929, p.607.
120. *Ibid.*, p.608.
121. *Ibid.*

122. Fazal-i-Hussain (Revenue Member): Living duties would be more appropriate! Iqbal : These would be living duties, because it is the living who would have to pay them. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. Budget deficit in the year 1930-31 was 2.7 M. *PLCD*, XV : 6, Mar. 07, 1930, p.336.
125. *Ibid.*, pp.336-37.
126. *Ibid.*, p.337.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *PLCD*, X : 7, Mar.10, 1927, p.287.
129. *Ibid.*
130. These observations were based on the facts and figures given in Report on the progress of education in the Punjab for the year 1925-26. *PLCD*, op. cit., p.287.
131. *Ibid.*, p.288.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *PLCD*, XII : 10, Mar. 04, 1929, p.607; see also, Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.161.
134. The resolution was moved by Sardar Ujjal Singh and read: "This Council recommends to the Government that in future all posts under Government in all departments should be filled by open competition as far as possible; and where this cannot be done and selection has to be made, the most highly qualified candidate should be selected without regard to caste, creed or colour". A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), p.65.
135. *PLCD*, X : 17, July 19, 1927, pp.880-90.
136. *Ibid.*
137. *Ibid.*, p.889.
138. *Ibid.*, p.890.
139. *Ibid.*, p.889.
140. Haq Nawaz, *Iqbal Aauvan-i-Assembly Main* (Lahore: 1988), p.31.
141. *PLCD*, X : 1, July 22, 1927, p.1033.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*, pp.1189-90.

145. *PLCD*, X : 16, July 18, 1927, p.825.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *PLCD*, XI : 2, Feb. 22, 1928, pp.57-8.
148. *Ibid.*, p.57.
149. Riaz Ahmad & Kishwar Sultana, *op.cit.*, p.31.
150. Communal violence was wide spread in the Punjab in 1920's. During 1922-27, 4740 riots were recorded in the province. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.178.
151. Craig Baxter (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.64.
152. Abdul Rahim, Abdul Mateen, M. Ali Jauher, Syed Ali Imam, Raja of Mahmoodabad, M.A. Ansari, Nawab Ismail Khan, Mian Shah Nawaz, Syed A. Aziz, Sardar M. Nawaz Khan, Mufti Kifayatullah Delhvi, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, L.K. Haider, Maulvi Syed Murtaza, Abdullah Al-Mamoon Soharwardy, Syed M. Zubair, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sir M. Shafi, and Imam Jamia Mosque Delhi were among those who attended the meeting. According to David Page, out of these twenty-nine Muslims who attended the conference, sixteen were members of Central Assembly and two were members of Council of the State. David Page, *Prelude to Partition*, p.146; Muhammad Khurshid, 'Quaid-i-Azam and the Punjab Muslim Leadership: A comparative study of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Fazl-i-Hussain's Political Strategies, 1924-1936', *PJHC* XIX: 2 (1998), p.7.
153. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p.200.
154. The response of the Muslims of other provinces like United Provinces, Madras was not in favour of Delhi Proposals. Bengal and Bihar also represented similar sentiments. Davide Page, *op. cit.*, p.148.
155. Hafeez Malik, 'The Man of Thought and the Man of Action', in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: The Poet Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p.87.
156. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Second Phase of His Freedom Struggle, 1924-34* (Islamabad: NIPS, QAU, 1994), p.89.
157. Irvin to Birkenhead, Mar.24, 1927, Halifax Papers, Series No.3 IOR.
158. Barbara Wilmot Flynn, 'The Communalization of Politics: National Political Activity in India 1926-30', unpublished Ph.D Dissertation (London: Duke University, 1974), p.83.
159. Muhammad Khurshid. *op.cit.* p.8.

160. *IAR*, Vol. I, 1927, p.35.
161. M. Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.8; Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p.88; Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p.203.
162. A.M. Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India* Vol. III (Delhi: 1975), pp.635-6; Also see, Shan Muhammad, *The Indian Muslim: A Documentary Record of Muslim Struggle for Independence, 1900-1947* Vol. V (Lahore: Islami Book Centre, n.d.), pp.229-30; *Zamindar*, May 4 & 5, 1927.
163. Rafique Afzal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, pp.26-8; see also, *Zamindar*, May 2-5, 1927; and *Times of India*, May 03, 1927.
164. Rahim Bukhsh Shaheen, *Auraq-i-Gumgushta* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1979), p.101.
165. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p.302.
166. Hailey to Mudiman, June 13, 1927, Haily Papers, Vol.10-B IOR.
167. The Simon Commission was appointed according to the Section 84-A of the Government of India Act, 1919 which provided that within ten years after its passage the Secretary of State with the concurrence of both the houses of parliament shall submit for the approval of his majesty the names of persons to act as a commission. Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League: Its History, Activities and Achievements* (Lahore: 1979), p.180.
168. The Simon Commission comprised seven British parliamentarians', Sir John Simon, Harry Lawson Webster, Donald Sterling Palmer, Edurard C. Goerge Cadogan, Stephon Walsh, Goerge Richard Lane Fox and Clement Richard Atlee. On Dec. 07, 1927 Walsh resigned on account of illness and Vernon Hartshorn was appointed in his place. *Ibid.*, Except Sir John Simon, all the rest members were unknown, mainly, parliamentary back benchers. Barbara Wilmot Flynn, *op.cit.*, p.115.
169. M.H. Sayed, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Karachi: 1986), p.125.
170. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Jinnah Irvin Correspondence* (London: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), p.7.
171. *Ibid.*
172. Irvin to Birkenhead, Mar. 15, 1928 IOR.
173. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam's Role in South Asian Political Crisis, 1921-24* (Rawalpindi: Alvi Publications, 1989), p.95.

174. Lal Bahadur, op.cit., p.181.
175. *Inqilab*, Nov. 17, 1927.
176. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., p.50.
177. Ibid., p.51.
178. Barbara Wilmot Flynn, op.cit., p.119.
179. *Inqilab*, Nov. 15, 1927; Official records reveal that the viceroy advised Hailey to use his ministers to secure the Punjab's support to the I.S.C. Similarly, the Punjab Government himself worked on members of local influential members, to cooperate with ISC. Viceroy to Governor, Oct. 20, 1927; Haily to Irvin, Nov. 07, 1927 in S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.149.
180. Zafar Ali Khan and few other politicians of Punjab, later organized a body named, "The National Volunteer Corps" to promote the boycott of Simon Commission. Ashraf Atta, *Kuch Shikistah Dastanain Kuch Pareshaan Tazkaray* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1966), p.48. Zafar Ali Khan called upon the masses to present a united front in matter of boycott, and proved to England that India was no longer prepared to submit to the arrogant treatment with the British Parliament proposed to meet out to it. *Zamindar*, Jan.15, 1928.
181. M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali*, pp. 19-20; An overwhelming majority of Unionists, including Zulfiqar Ali Khan, F.K. Noon, Gul Muhammad Khan, Ghulam Rasool Khan, Syed Mohsin Shah, Sh. Din Muhammad and Bashir Ahmad attended this session and made speeches in favour of resolution. *Inqilab*, Nov. 15, 1927.
182. Ibid., p. 52.
183. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 53-6.
184. Ibid.
185. M. Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p. 170.
186. M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., pp. 53-55.
187. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents* Vol. II (Karachi: 1969), p. 107.
188. Ibid., pp. 110-11.
189. Barbara Wilmot Flynn, op.cit., p. 124.
190. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), op. cit., p.108; *IAR*, part II, 1927, p.538.
191. M. Rafique Afzal. op.cit., pp. 57-60.



192. The number of delegates is, Bombay 05; Bengal 40; Madras 01; United Provinces 10; Delhi 02; Central Provinces 01; NWFP 03; Punjab 06; Assam 04; Bihar & Orissa 11; and Indian States 03. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 97.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
194. “..... and dealt with the problem of unity, stating that the League would help draft a constitution for India based on the principles of separation of Sindh from Bombay and reforms in NWFP and Balochistan. If these two points were granted then Muslims would agree to joint electorate, as long as 1/3<sup>rd</sup> seats in Central Legislature was reserved for them”. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 118.
195. *IAR*, part II, 1927, pp. 447-48; *Freedom Movement Archives*, File No. 146, pp.62-3. [Henceforth referred as *FMA*].
196. *FMA*, *ibid.*, p. 62.
197. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 97.
198. The Lahore session was attended by 352 delegates, of which 300 belonged to Punjab; 21 United Provinces; 12 NWFP; 06 Bombay; 06 Delhi; 04 Calcutta; 03 Sindh. *IAR*, part II, 1927, p. 452.
199. *Times of India*, Jan. 02, 1928.
200. Syed Qalb-i-Abid, ‘The Punjab and the Simon Commission’, *PJHC* (July-Dec. 1989), pp. 48-9.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
202. *Ibid.*
203. *Inqilab*, Nov. 07, 1928.
204. *Ibid.*, Nov. 08, 1928.
205. Iqbal went to Delhi to let his kidney examined by Hakim Abdul Wahab Ansari known as Hakim *Nabina* [blind].
206. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p. 201.
207. *Ibid.*
208. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 159-60.
209. For the summary of memorandum presented by Shafi League see, M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 181-2.
210. Kishwar Sultana, ‘Dr. Muhammad Iqbal: A Study of his Political Career, 1927-38’, unpublished M. Phil Dissertation (Islamabad, NIPS, 1993), pp. 147-57.
211. S. Qalb-i-Abid. *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, p. 120.

212. Son-in-Law of Sir Muhammad Shafi.
213. *The Times*, Sep. 20, 1927 in S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p. 147.
214. *CMG*, Nov. 19, 1927; Also see David Page, *Prelude to Partition* (Delhi: 1983), p. 197.
215. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Main Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1977), p. 41.
216. Hailey to Fazl-i-Hussain, Nov. 24 & Dec. 07, 1927; Fazl-i-Hussain to Hailey, Dec. 06, 1927 in *Ibid.*, pp. 46-9.
217. *Ibid.*
218. Carig Baxter (ed.), op.cit., pp. 78-9; *CMG*, 13 & 17 May, 1928; *PLCD*, May 11, 1928, p. 1192.
219. *Report of the Punjab Reforms Committee* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, n.d.). [Mehr Collection No. 50].
220. "I am entirely in favour, as you will perhaps have inferred from my speeches of inducing the malcontents to produce their own proposals, for in the first place I believe them [Indian] to be quite incapable of surmounting the constitutional and constructive difficulties involved; and in the second, if these were over come. I believe that a unity which can only survive in an atmosphere of generalization would disappear at once". Berkinhead to Irwin, Jan. 05, 1928 in Barbara Wilmot Flynn, op.cit., p. 148.
221. Besides Moti Lal Nehru who was president of the Committee, the other nine members were Sir Ali Imam, Shoaib Qureshi (Muslim representatives), M.R. Jayakar, M.S. Aney (Mahasabha), Sardar Mangal Singh (Sikh League), G.R. Pardhan (non-Brahamans), Tej Bahadur Sapru (Liberals), N.M. Joshi (Labour), Subhas Chandra Bose (Youth), *Report of All Parties Conference*, 1928, p. 23.
222. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p. 319.
223. The government believed that APC was a fiasco and that it planned to do the impossible when it decided to draft a constitution in five weeks. Leslie Wilson to Irwin, May 22, 1928 in Barbara Wilmot Flynn, op.cit., p. 171.
224. Moti Lal Nehru was the primary author of report aided by Sapru.
225. *Report of All Parties Conference*, 1928, pp. 17-108.
226. *Times of India*, Aug. 27, 1928 in Riaz Ahmad, op.cit., p. 106.
- ???. M Riaz on cit. n. 107.

228. M. Hassan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-28* (Delhi: 1979), p. 293.
229. *Ibid.*, pp. 286 & 292-93; Also see, David Page, *op.cit.*, pp. 185-87.
230. Quoted by M. Khurshid, 'Quaid-i-Azam and the Punjab Muslim Leadership', p. 15; For details see, F.K. Noon, *Dominion Status and Autonomous Provinces* (Lahore: 1928).
231. M. Rafique Afzal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 69-72.
232. *Siasat*, Sep. 30, 1928.
233. *Bombay Chronicle*, Oct. 27, 1928 in Barbara Wilmont Flynn, *op.cit.*, p. 236.
234. M. Riaz, *op.cit.*, p. 108.
235. *IQR*, part II, 1928, pp. 397-98; S.S. Pirzada, *op.cit.*, pp. 145-48.
236. Craig Baxter (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 70.
237. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 168.
238. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 89.
239. Quoted in S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p. 140.
240. I.H. Qureshi, *Struggle For Pakistan*, p. 55.
241. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 132.
242. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
243. Barbara Wilmot Flynn, *op.cit.*, p. 149.
244. See for instance, Khaliq-u-Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: 1961), p. 98; M.H. Sayed, *M.A. Jinnah-A Political Study* (Lahore: 1962), p. 190; Ch. M. Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan* (New York: 1967), pp. 22-3; and Abdul Majid Khan, *The Communalism in India: Its origin and Growth* (Lahore: 1944), p. 61.
245. M. Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p. 15.
246. K.K. Aziz (ed.), *The All India Muslim Conference* (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd., 1972), pp. 14-15.
247. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. II (Lahore: 1984), p. 324.
248. The office bearers of AIMC, 1928 were Sir Agha Khan President; Nawab M. Ismail Khan and Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola Secretaries; Khawaja Ghulam Sibtain Finance Secretary. K.K. Aziz (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 24.
249. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp. 212-13.
250. According to Batalvi, the Conference was held on January 01, 1929, *Ibid.*, p. 220. Sultan Sir Muhammad Shah Agha Khan (1875-1957) was the head of

Ismaili sect who had many followers in East Africa, Central Asia & India. Agha Khan remained member of the Viceroy's Council for the years 1902-04. He led the Muslim deputation, which called on Lord Minto at Simla in Oct., 1906. He remained the President of AIML from 1906-1913. He also headed the Muslim delegates to RTC held in 1930-31.

251. Agha Khan, *Presidential Address at Muslim Conference, Delhi, Dec. 1928* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, n.d.). [Mehr Collection No. 442.]
252. *Ibid.*, p. 51; Also see *IQR*, part II, 1928, p. 410.
253. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55; Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 197; and Hafeez Malik (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 90.
254. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-3; Javed Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy & Vanguard, 2003), p. 260.
255. In total, thirty-two members of PLC attended the AIMC. For details see, K.K. Aziz (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 28-9.
256. Aasiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 215.
257. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.
258. A.H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 215.
259. Hafeez Malik (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 90.
260. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 260. This compromise was made possible when Jinnah went to the house of Sir. M. Shafi and made him agree to show his differences and came back in the fold of one unified and potential AIML. *Times of India*, Mar. 05, 1929 in Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 109.
261. *IQR*, part I, 1929, p. 362.
262. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p. 331.
263. Quoted in Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p. 328.
264. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 114.
265. *IQR*, part I, 1929, p. 369.
266. *Times of India*, April 01, 1929 in Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 6.
267. *IQR*, part I, 1929, pp. 369-70; Zarina Slamat, *op.cit.*, pp. 331-32.
268. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 114.
269. Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 87-91.
270. Besides demanding one-third representation of Muslims in Central Legislature and ministries, he also demanded complete and equal provincial autonomy; Freedom of association, preaching, education and performance of religious

ceremonies; Due share in government and semi-government institutions; No change in the boundaries of provinces which would affect Muslim majority in Bengal and Punjab. M. Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p. 121. According to Ayesha Jalal, his [Jinnah] fourteen points were simply a recitation of the demands raised at the Punjabi dominated AIMC in Dec. 1928. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 9.

271. M.H. Sayed, *M.A. Jinnah-A Political Study* (Karachi: 1980), pp. 137-40.
272. Javed Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity*, p. 263.
273. Ibid., p. 268.
274. M. Khurshid, 'Quaid-i-Azam and the Punjab Muslim Leadership', p. 18.
275. *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. II, May 1930, pp. 9-14.
276. Ibid.
277. Ibid.
278. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p. 345.
279. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 24.
280. Ibid., p. 16.
281. Qalb-i-Abid, 'The Punjab and the Simon Commission', p. 51.
282. Ibid., p. 52.
283. *Times of India*, April 24, 1930.
284. *Resolutions of the AIMC, Executive Board and the Working Committee, Jan. 1931-Mar. 1932* (Lahore: 1932), pp. 29-30. [Mehr Collection No. 454 & 471].
285. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 265.
286. Ibid., p. 266.
287. Ibid.
288. Ayud Sabir, *Iqbal Dushman: Aik Muta'aliah* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1993), p. 105.
289. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NICHR, 1989), p. 127.
290. Ahmad Saeed, *Iqbal wa Quaid-i-Azam* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1989), p. 25.
291. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.266.
292. Ibid., p.267.
293. Shan Muhammad, *The Indian Muslims* Vol. II, p.viii.

294. Iqbal to Jinnah, June 21, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1990), p.20.
295. M. Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p.525.
296. Ikram Ali Malik, op.cit., p.425.
297. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.5.
298. Mian Hussain Bukhsh started his career at the age of twenty-two as *Naib Munseram* and by dint of hard work he managed to reach the post of EAC and then District Judge. In 1904 he retired as senior district Judge. Ibid., pp.4-5.
299. In fact, his mother died (1885) at the early age of thirty-two, when he was only eight. It left a deep impression on his mind and turned his thought inward even at this early age. Ibid., p.5. According to Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar "repeated transfers and rotten relationship with the step-mother pushed him to boarding schools for education". Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain ka Kirdar: Tarikh key A'tena Main* (Lahore: RSP, 1997), pp.149-50.
300. Azim Hussain, p.7.
301. Ibid., P.7; Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, op.cit., p.150.
302. Iqbal and Fazl-i-Hussain, both, were favourite pupils of Thomas Arnold. Ibid., p.9.
303. Syed Nur Ahmad, *Mian Fazl-i-Hussain : A Review of His Life and Work* (Lahore: 1930), p.5; Azim Hussain, his son, also recorded that he took very little part in the corporate life of hostel. He has few chosen associates and few books. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.7.
304. Abdul Majeed Salik, *Zikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1955), p.17.
305. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.367. At Sialkot besides legal practice, Fazl-i-Hussain used to contribute to the *Observer* and the *Makhzan*, but his activities in political and educational fields greatly increased in Lahore. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.425.
306. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.18.
307. Ibid., p.12.
308. Ibid., p.9.
309. Ibid., pp.23 & 27; Also see, Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, op.cit., p.151.
310. Azim Hussain, pp.23-4.
311. Abdul Majeed Salik, op.cit., p.23.
312. Azim Hussain. op.cit.. p.58.

313. Ibid., p.57; So far as the educational works of AHI were concerned, the organization took over the responsibility of holding the annual sessions of Punjab Educational Conference from 1911 onwards. Iqbal worked as Secretary of this unit till 1913. Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference, 1886-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.45.
314. Azim Hussain, pp.57-8; M. Khurshid, 'The Role of Unionist Party in the Punjab Politics 1923-36', p.113.
315. Azim Hussain, p.58.
316. Ibid., p.59.
317. For details of Iqbal's interaction with AHI see, M. Hanif Shahid, *Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Lahore: Kutubkhana AHI, 1976), pp.49-68.
318. Ikram A. Malik, op.cit., p.425; Syed Nur Ahmad, op.cit., p.8.
319. M. Iqbal, 'Bang-i-Dara, *Kulyat-i-Iqbal Urdu* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1973), pp.155-57.
320. Azim Hussain, op.cit., pp.42 & 46.
321. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.2.
322. M. Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p.138.
323. *Zamindar*, Oct. 14, 1926.
324. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, op.cit., p.154.
325. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.78.
326. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and The Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1970), p.215.
327. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.96.
328. Ibid., p.53.
329. Zarina Salamat, op.cit., p.42.
330. Hindu writers look at Fazl-i-Hussain with suspicions and according to Diwan Chand Sharma, Fazl-i-Hussain had some hand in the framing of Lucknow Pact, but he wanted to use it as an instrument for growing his own backward community [Muslims] a chance in the political field of India. Dewan Chand Sharma, 'The Truth About Mian Fazl-i-Hussain', *The Modern Review* LXI : 6 (June 1937), p.641.
331. Abdul Majeed Salik, op.cit., p.102.
332. Cited in Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.79.

333. In fact, of thirty-three eminent Hindu voters of the constituency, only three agreed to support him. The other refused that they could not go against the religious institution to which they belonged. However Fazl-i-Hussain won the election against his rival Harnam Singh by filing a valid election petition against his nomination, on the basis that he was the citizen of Kapurthala State, not of British India. *Ibid.*, p.81; see also, Madan Gopal, *op.cit.*, p.46.
334. Syed Nur Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.15.
335. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.83; For detail of his speeches in PLC see Azim Hussain (ed.), *Mian Fazl-i-Hussain : Glimpses of Life and Works, 1898-1936* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1993), pp.137-210.
336. Syed Nur Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp.12-13; A. Moin Zaidi (ed.), *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India Vol. II* (Delhi: 1976), p.64.
337. Syed Nur Ahmad, p.31.
338. Ikram Ali Malik, *op.cit.*, p.430.
339. J.S. Rakkar, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1985), p.289.
340. *Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1917; Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography*, p.87.
341. Diwan Chand Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.641.
342. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.88.
343. *Ibid.*, p.89.
344. Ikram A. Malik, *op.cit.*, p.432.
345. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.91.
346. Syed Nur Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.31, Also see, J.S. Rakkar, *op.cit.*, p.293.
347. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp.114-15.
348. *Ibid.*, pp.118-20.
349. *Ibid.*, p.111.
350. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *op.cit.*, p.155.
351. To Iqbal, Mont-Ford reforms were 'a trap to ensnare helpless victims of colonial tyranny' and dubbed the councils as 'millionaire clubs'. Abdul Hamid, 'Iqbal as Member of Punjab Legislative Council', in M. Munawar, *op.cit.*, pp.179-80.
352. *Tribune*, Nov. 22, 1918; Also see, J.S. Rakkar, *op.cit.*, p.321.
353. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp.91-92.



354. S.M. Ikram, *op.cit.*, p.214-15.
355. For instance, on Feb. 25, 1912 a meeting of AHI was held in Habibia Hall Lahore. Fazi-i-Hussain was voted to chair. It was resolved to send a deputation headed by Iqbal, to Japan, to propagate Islam and in order to defray the expenses it was suggested that Iqbal should write a poem and 10,000 copies of his poem would be sold at eight *annas* a copy at coming ceremony of AHI to realize Rs.5000. *PPSAI*, 1912, para.543. On Nov. 30, 1912, a meeting of Lahore Muslim was held on Mochi Gate, Lahore to collect subscriptions in aid of the Turkish Relief Fund, headed by Chaudry Shahab-ud-Din. Iqbal read his poem '*Jawab-i-Shikwa*', which was received with great enthusiasm. The total amount subscribed by the sale of his poem in the form of booklet was Rs.4301. *PPSAI*, 1912, para.2627.
356. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.104.
357. *Ibid.*, p.103.
358. *PPSAI*, 1919, para.3000.
359. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p.86; Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp.122-23; *Tribune*, Sep.01, 1920.
360. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *op.cit.*, p.156; Muhammad Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.85.
361. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p.92.
362. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.107; Also see, Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. II, p.253.
363. Azim Hussain, *Ibid.*
364. Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), p.245.
365. Quoted by J.S. Rakkar, *op.cit.*, p.331.
366. *Ibid.*
367. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p.54.
368. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p.122.
369. Ashok Chanda, *Indian Administration* (Lahore: Goerge Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), pp.34-5.
370. David Page, *op.cit.*, pp.30-31.
371. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: 1990), p.85.
372. Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p.132.
373. Ayesha Jalal and Anil Seal, 'Alternative to Partition : Muslim Politics Between the wars', *Modern Asian Studies* 15:3 (1981), pp.424-25.

374. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.124.
375. I.H. Malik, *op.cit.*, p.3. In fact Fazl-i-Hussain deduced that "independence would not come by passing resolutions, holding conferences and propaganda, it would come by improvement of economic conditions, amelioration of backward classes and areas, advancement of education, development of local self government, and organization of the masses". Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.374.
376. Raghuvendra Tanwar, 'Origin of the Punjab National Unionist Party: Feudal Elites and Legislative Politics', *JPHS LXIV : Part-II* (April 1996), p.158.
377. To some historians the change in the thinking of Fazl-i-Hussain was due to the harassment he suffered during the martial law period. See for example, F.K. Noon, *My Memory* (Lahore: 1966), p.98.
378. Mohinder Singh, 'Punjab's contribution to India's struggle for Independence', *Punjab Journal of Politics* 12:2 (July-Dec. 1988), p.54.
379. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.318.
380. *Ibid.*, pp.318-19.
381. Iqbal to Agha Khan, Nov.16, 1931 in B.A.Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967), p.89.
382. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.69-70.
383. *Ibid.*
384. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p.306.
385. For details of Iqbal speeches in PLC see *PLCD*, 1926-30. V/9/3430-3439 [NDC].
386. Iqbal to Fazl-i-Hussain, Jan. 31, 1934 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp.344-45.
387. Gilmartin David, *op.cit.*, p.112.
388. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.369.
389. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.333.
390. Fazl-i-Hussain to Zafarullah Khan, Sep.24, 1934 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp.379-80.
391. Fazl-i-Hussain to Zafarullah Khan, June 26, 1933; July 03, 1933 in *ibid.*, pp.310-11 & 316-17.
392. Ghulam Hussain Zulfikar, *op.cit.*, p.26.

393. Azim Hussain (ed.), *Mian Fazl-i-Hussain: Glimpses of Life and Works*, pp.326-27.
394. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p.207.
395. Ibid.
396. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gufstar-i-Iqbal*, pp.179-9.
397. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p.514.
398. Ghulam Hussain Zulfikar, op.cit., p.149.
399. Azim Hussain, *Mian Fazl-i-Hussain – A Political Biography*, p.381.
400. Iqbal to Jinnah, May 28, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., pp.16-20.

## Chapter VII IQBAL AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

1. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: 1973), p.7.
2. Ibid., p.28.
3. Ibid., p.11.
4. Ibid., p.12.
5. Ibid., p.14.
6. Ibid., p.12.
7. Ibid., p.27.
8. Ibid., p.31-2.
9. For details of these schemes see, M. Rafique Afzal, 'Origin of the Idea of a Separate Muslim State', *JRSP* (1966), pp.177-82; K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan* 2 Vols. (Lahore: 1987), pp.22-36, 40-1, 112-14, 156 & 167-8; Y.B. Mathur, *Growth of Muslim Politics in India* (Lahore: 1980), pp.293-329; and Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal ka Siasi Karnama* (Lahore: 1977), pp.860-913.
10. S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1970), p.169.
11. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1984), p.387.
12. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p.3.
13. Ibid., p.31.
14. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 12, 2003.
15. Ibid.
16. *Tribune*, Jan. 1 & 3, 1931.
17. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Sarghuzhist-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: 1996), p.258.
18. *Band-i-Matram* (Lahore), Dec. 31, 1930 in *RNPP*, Jan. 3-June 27, 1931, pp.13-14.
19. *Partap*, Jan. 18, 1931, Ibid., p.64.
20. *Inqilab*, Jan.03, 1931.
21. *Indian Daily Mail*, Dec. 31, 1930.
22. *Leader* (Allahabad), Jan. 04, 1931.
23. J.L. Nehru, *Discovery of India* (New York : 1946), p.353.
24. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.389.

25. Edward Thompson (1876-1946) was a professor of Bengali Language at Oxford University. He was intellectually steeped in Indian History. He had close relationships with Gandhi, Rabinder Nath Tagore, Raj Gopal Achariah, Sardar Patel and J.L. Nehru. He was a staunch supporter of INC and oftentimes opposed the policies of AIML.
26. Edward Thompson, *Enlist India for Freedom* (London: Victor Collanz Ltd., 1940), p.58.
27. Iqbal to Jinnah, May 28, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1990), p.18.
28. Iqbal to Jinnah, June 21, 1937, *Ibid.*, pp.22-3.
29. K.K. Aziz, *Making of Pakistan* (London: 1970), p.81.
30. Verinder Grover (ed.), *Muhammad Iqbal : Poet Thinker of Modern Muslim India* Vol. 25 (New Delhi : Deep & Deep Publications, 1995), pp.666-67.
31. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India* Vol. III (New Delhi: 1972), p.253.
32. *Jang*, Mar. 23, 24 & 25, 2003; Also see, Safdar Mahmood, *Iqbal, Jinnah aur Pakistan* (Lahore: Khazina Ilm-wa-Adab, 2004), pp.52-69.
33. Cited in B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967), pp.117-18.
34. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Dec. 17, 2003.
35. Iqbal to Editor *Times*, Oct. 12, 1931 in B.A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.118-20.
36. Iqbal to Edward Thompson, Mar. 04, 1934; Iqbal to Raghbir Ahsan, May 06, 1934.
37. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 30, 2003.
38. Ch. Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak-Nation* (Lahore: 1978), pp.228-29.
39. Frank Moraes, *Witness to an Era* (Bombay: Vikas Publishing House, 1973), pp.79-80.
40. Rashida Malik, *Iqbal: The Spiritual Father of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2003), pp.82-3.
41. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Feb. 12, 17, 23 & 27, 2003.
42. Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Founding Fathers of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1998), p.210.

43. K.B. Sayed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.103-05.
44. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: 1978), pp.143-45.
45. I.H. Qureshi, *The Struggle For Pakistan* (Karachi: 1979), pp.117-19.
46. S.M. Ikram, op.cit., p.169.
47. Freeland Abbott, *Islam and Pakistan* (New York: 1968), pp.163-4.
48. Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: 1976), p.41.
49. L.R. Gordon Polonskaya, 'Ideology of Muslim Nationalism', in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: Poet Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: 1971), p.132.
50. M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., pp.6-7.
51. *IQR*, Vol. II, 1929, p.300.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1930, p.107.
53. The idea of holding the RTCs in London occurred to the intellectual brain of Jinnah who proposed it to Ramsay Macdonald, the British Premier. Riaz Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah ; Second Phase of His Freedom Struggle, 1924-34* (Islamabad: NIPS, 1994), p.190.
54. Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: RSP, 1969), p.106.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Montmorency to Irwin, April 16, 1930, Halifax Collection in Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920's: A Case Study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), p.338. Fazl-i-Hussain accordingly used all his influence and power of persuasion in the selection of the Muslim delegation consisting of members in accord with the policy of AIMC. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography* (Bombay: 1946), p.250.
57. S.M. Ikram, op.cit., p.235.
58. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p.333.
59. Zahid Chaudry, *Pakistan Ki Siasi Tarikh* Vol. V (Lahore: Idara Muta'al-'i-Tarikh, 1991), p . According to Batalvi, "What personal agendas of Jinnah seemed odd to Fazl-i-Hussain that he demanded his exclusion : with the exception that Jinnah agreed to the proposal of Joint electorate in 1928, on the condition that seats for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal should be reserved in proportion to their numerical strength". Aashiq H. Batalvi, *Iqbal kay Akhri Dau Saal* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2000), p.249.
60. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India* (Lahore: 1971), p.214.

61. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.250. Fazl-i-Hussain did not approve the presence of Jinnah in RTCs. He had some reservations that Jinnah was the only Muslim leader well known, who did not attend APMC in 1929 and was identified for his all-India federalist nationalist stance in Indian politics.
62. Fazl-i-Hussain to Hailey, May 20, 1930, Hailey to Fazl-i-Hussain, May 24, 1930 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: RSP, 1976), pp.75-81; Also see, Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., p.258.
63. Sir Ch. Zafarullah Khan (1893-1985) was an admirer and preacher of Ahmadism. He was born in Sialkot and after doing graduation from Government College, Lahore; he went to Europe for higher studies and got degree in Law from London. He practiced law in Sialkot and Lahore from 1914-35. He remained the member of PLC from 1926-35, and Viceroy's Executive Council. He was a key Unionist and actively participated in RTCs at London.
64. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan (1893-1947) was one of the leading Unionists, who managed to elect as member of PLC in 1925 from Muradabad. Like Zafarullah he was also a confident ally of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. During 1930-32 he attended the RTC's as Muslim delegate. He was also a delegate to the Joint Select Committee on the Indian Constitutional reforms in 1933. Same year he presided the AIMC. He also served as member of Public Service Commission in 1940 and High Commissioner for India in South Africa in 1941. For details see, Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza (comp.), *South Asian Politics, 1931-42* (Lahore: Centre for South Asian Studies, 1982), pp.140-41.
65. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.252.
66. Totally nine committees were formed, Federal Structure Committee, Provincial Constitution Committee, Minorities Committee, North-West Frontier Province Committee, Burma Committee, Defence Committee, Franchise Committee, Services Committee, and Sindh Committee. The Reports finalized by the sub-committees was to submit at the eve of final session held on Jan. 19, 1931. *IAR*, part.II, 1930, pp.292-318.
67. According to Coupland, this general agreement had been reached only because of the absence of INC. Reginald Coupland, *India: A Restatement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), p.330.
68. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., p.109.

69. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.17-18.
70. For the text of Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1931 see, *IAR*, Vol. 1, 1931, pp. 82-83; V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Bombay: 1957), p. 46.
71. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 438; Hamza Farooqi, *Safarnama Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1998), pp. 13-14.
72. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1964), p. 198.
73. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 294-306.
74. Most of the private discourses and discussions between Muslim delegates and Gandhi took place in the suite of Sir Agha Khan at Ritz Hotel, London. Agha Khan, *Memoirs* (London: 1953), p. 228.
75. Iqbal to Mukhtar Ahmad [Brother of A'ejaz Ahmad], Oct. 22, 1931 in A'ejaz Ahmed, *Mazloom Iqbal* (Karachi: Sh. Shaukat Ali Printers, 1985), p. 362.
76. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-37; At the second RTC government was keen to secure the cooperation of INC, and the viceroy proposed to nominate Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sir Ali Imam who were staunch supporters of Nehru Report. Fazl-i-Hussain protested, and inspite of Irwin's commitments to Gandhi, it was agreed not to nominate the above mentioned persons. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
77. S.A. Vahid (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 198.
78. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-37.
79. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 37; S.A. Vahid (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 199.
80. Hafeez Malik, 'The Man of Thought and the Man of Action', in Hafeez Malik (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 92; B.A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 8.
81. Sultan Sir Muhammad Shah Agha Khan (1875-1957) was the head of Ismaili Sect. He had a number of followers in East Africa, Central Asia and Indo-Pak sub-continent. He remained member of the Viceroy's Council for the years 1902-4. He led the Muslim delegation, which met with Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on 01 Oct., 1906. He officiated as permanent President of AIML till 1913. He also headed the Indian Muslim delegation to the RTCs (1930-32). He led another Indian delegation to League of Nations in early thirties and presided one of its session in September 1937. In recognition of his services during the European war he was granted rank and status of first class chief with salute of eleven guns. Sarfaraz H. Mirza, *op.cit.*, p. 129.



82. Iqbal to Agha Khan, Nov. 16, 1931 in B.A. Dar (ed.), op.cit., pp. 8-9; See also, M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., pp. 255-61.
83. Iqbal to Abdullah Haroon, Jan. 16, 1932 in S.A. Vahid (ed.), op. cit., pp. 9-10.
84. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 473.
85. *PPSAI*, 1932, para. 802.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid; See also the resolutions passed by AIMC, March 21-22, 1932 in Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 482.
88. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., pp. 51-4.
89. Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), p. 259.
90. Ibid., p. 260.
91. Ibid., pp. 260-61; *CMG*, Aug. 4 & 5, 1932.
92. Craig Baxter (ed.), *From Martial Law to Martial Law: Politics in the Punjab, 1919-1958* (Lahore: 1985), pp. 104-05.
93. The details of Muslim representation in Muslim majority and minority provinces vis-à-vis their population is as under:

Provinces	Muslim Population	Representation
Bengal	55%	48%
Sindh	71%	57%
NWFP	92%	72%
Assam	34%	31%
United Provinces	15%	29%
Bihar & Orrisa	11%	24%
Bombay	09%	17%
Madras	08%	13%
Central Provinces	05%	14%

94. A.R. Tariq (ed.), op.cit., p. 183.
95. Ibid.
96. *CMG*, Aug. 23, 1932.
97. Dr. Bhemrao Ramji Ambedkar (1893-1982) was a well known leader of untouchables (*Acchuts*) in India. He was a highly qualified person who received his degrees of Law and Doctorate from Columbia University, Bonn

University and London University. He remained member of Bombay Legislative Council from 1926-33. He attended the RTCs held at London as a delegate. He worked zealously for the betterment of 'Acchuts' in India and formed 'Indian Labor Party' and 'Schedule Caste Federation'. He also earned fame as author and his major works comprised *Pakistan or Division of India; Caste in India; Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India; and Annihilation of Caste and Federalism in India.*

98. Cited in Abdus Salam Khurshid, op.cit., p. 317.
99. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p. 279.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid., p. 280.
102. Ibid.; See also, Fazl-i-Hussain to Shahab-ud-Din, April 05, 1933 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., pp. 259-60.
103. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain Ka Kirdar: Tarikh Key A'ienai Main* (Lahore: RSP, 1997), pp. 165-6.
104. Fazl-i-Hussain to Iqbal, April 29, 1933 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., p. 265.
105. Fazl-i-Hussain to Iqbal, May 01, 1933 in ibid., pp. 266-67.
106. Latif A. Sherwani (ed.), op.cit., p. 282; Also see, *CMG*, July 15, 1935.
107. Ibid.
108. Telegram of Iqbal to Sir Samuel Hoare [India Office, London], May 03, 1933, IOR L/PO/6/50.
109. Ibid.
110. Fazl-i-Hussain to Zafarullah, May 08, 1933 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), op.cit., pp. 283-84.
111. Agha Khan to Fazl-i-Hussain, May 10, 1933 in Ibid., pp. 285-86.
112. Ibid.
113. The Agha Khan and Shafa'at Ahmad Khan tried their level best to attract the attention of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain to the fate of hopeless minorities in the Muslim minority provinces, but to no avail. Fazl-i-Hussain could only counter charge and ridicule, 'Experience is a great thing but it plays hell with illusions'. Fazl-i-Hussain to Shafa'at, June 24, 1933 in ibid., p. 307.
114. Fazl-i-Hussain to Zafarullah, June 05, 1933 in ibid., p. 296.
115. Azim Hussain, op.cit., p. 283.

116. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 439; Also see, M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 405.
117. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 439.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
119. Sardar Bahadar Ujjai Singh (b. 1895) was one of the effective leaders of Sikh community. He represented the Sikhs delegation in 1920, which went to England to press the claims of the Sikh community before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He was the honorary secretary of Punjab Reforms Committee that co-operated with the Simon Commission. In 1930-31, he attended the RTCs at London and in 1932 presided over the Punjab Sikh Political Conference. For further details see, Sarfaraz H. Mirza, *op.cit.*, p. 142.
120. Master Tara Singh (1885-1967), primarily belonged to Hindu religion. In 1902 he converted to Sikhism, when he was doing his graduation from Khalsa College, Amritser. By profession he was a teacher and served in education department for several years. He was the founding father of *Akali Dal* and elected its president in 1930. He was amongst the top rank leadership of Gurdwara Reform Movement. He was a strong opponent of partition of Punjab and India, opposed the formation of Pakistan and launched a campaign for an autonomous and sovereign Punjab. To some critics, he was the person who was responsible for large-scale massacre of Muslims of East Punjab. G.G. Singh, *Biography of Master Tara Singh* (New Delhi: National Archives of India, n.d.).
121. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 280.
122. *PPSAI*, 1933, para. 439.
123. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 280.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
126. Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *op.cit.*, p. 97.
127. David Page, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control, 1920-32* (Karachi: 1987), 229.
128. Fazl-i-Hussain to Agha Khan, June 26, 1933 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 308.
129. For a record of Iqbal speeches in PLC (1926-30), see L.A. Sherwani (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 50-76.
130. Ghulam H. Zulfiqar, *op.cit.*, n. 175.

131. Iqbal to Fazl-i-Hussain, Jan. 31, 1934 in Waheed Ahmed (ed.), pp. 344-45.
132. Dr. Riaz Ahmad concluded that exclusion of Jinnah from third RTC (1932) was not because of the reason presented by many researchers, that as he was not thought to represent any considerable school of opinion in India; but in fact it was due to the hostile attitude of the Lord Willingdon towards Jinnah, who led the anti-Willingdon demonstrations in 1918, during his governorship of Bombay. Thus, it was intense dislike of Jinnah that he [Willingdon] did not include his name in the list of Muslim delegates for last RTC. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 10 & 163.
133. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 488.
134. M. Rafique Afzal, *Gustar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 162-65.
135. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 492.
136. On the provisions of India Act of 1935 and their political implications on Punjab see, Reginald Coupland, *The Constitutional Problems in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 133-6 (Part-I) & 41-55 (Part-II).
137. The Muslim leaders from Punjab who participated in the founding session of AIML at Dacca comprise Sir M. Shafi, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Abdul Aziz (Editor *Observer*), Khawaja Yusuf Shah and Sh. Ghulam Sadiq. A. Moin Zaidi, *Evolution of Muslim Political Thought in India, 1857-1916* Vol. I (Delhi: 1975), pp.89-90. For an insight to the events which led to the formation of AIML see, K.K. Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A Study in Nationalism* (London: 1967), pp.17-29; I.H. Qureshi, *The Struggle For Pakistan* (Karachi: 1974), pp.17-31; and Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: 1988), pp.1-17.
138. Azim Hussain. *op.cit.*, p.96. J.S. Rakkar, quoting Pir Taj-ud-Din claimed that said organization was founded on March 30, 1906 at a public meeting in Lahore chaired by Maulvi Fazal-ud-Din. Its main objectives were to develop a political instinct among the Indian Muslim's; inculcation of spirit of loyalty to British government; safeguarding the interests of Muslim community; and to enable Muslims to grasp accurately their political situation and to revive them with calm. J.S. Rakkar, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1985), pp.72-3. Sh. Umer Baksh was appointed as President; Mian Fazl-i-Hussain as General Secretary; Sh. Ahmad Hassan as Joint Secretary; and Hassam-ud-Din as treasurer. *CMG*. 01 July. 1906.

139. Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932) was prominent figure of *Arian* family of Baghbanpura, Lahore. Professionally he was a lawyer and he contributed a lot for the educational betterments of Indian Muslims as a member education of Viceroy's Executive Council. It was due to his efforts that Aligarh Muslim University Bill was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. He was considered one of those politicians who were dubbed as 'loyalist' and in favour of co-operation with British Indian authorities for the political advancement of Indians. For analytical study of his life and works see, Asif Ali Rizvi, 'Mian M. Shafi : An Analytical Study of his Activities and Achievements 1869-1932', *South Asian Studies* 10:1 (Jan.1993), pp.87-104.
140. In fact, Fazl-i-Hussain's League was confined to Lahore, was inactive and very few people knew anything about it. For details see, Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter : A Political Autobiography* (Lahore: 1971), p.19; Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.96; Also see, M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali : His Life and Writings* (Lahore : RSP, 1969), p.7.
141. Jahanara Shahnawaz, p.19.
142. Muhammad Shafi had an upper hand, because he managed to open seventeen branches of his League in different cities within a year. Secondly, he secured the support of his old friends of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Azim Hussain, op.cit., p.97.
143. Malik Barkat Ali (1885-1946) was an activist of Punjab Muslim League since its inception in 1907. He served as Assistant Professor in F.C. College and Islamia College from 1905-08. He also held executive posts like Extra Assistant Commissioner and Magistrate from 1908-14. He also worked as Editor *Observer* (Lahore) from 1914-18. In the formative period of his political thinking, he was progressive in his ideas and was a close associate of Fazl-i-Hussain. In 1931, he organized Punjab Provincial Nationalist Muslim Party, but after two years he rejoined Punjab Muslim League and was elected its Vice President in 1936. In entire thirties he worked with Iqbal to contain the onslaught of Unionists and worked for consolidation of League in Punjab, He was the solitary Muslim League's member in Punjab Assembly in 1937. For details see, M. Rafique Afzal, op.cit., pp. 1-40.

144. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, pp.97-8; The growing rift between its ranks was manifested by its defeats in 1912 provincial elections. For details, Zarina Salamat, *op.cit.*, p.38.
145. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p.4.
146. M. Shafi and his other conservative friends like Maulvi Rafi-ud-Din, Abdul Aziz and Syed Ali Raza opposed the co-operation between AIML and INC, on the grounds that it would sacrifice the Muslim majority in provinces of Punjab and Bengal. He wanted to stress the separate Muslim entity and refused to give up his thinkings, which according to him was very blood of the Muslim nation. Jahanara Shahnawaz, *op.cit.*, pp.47-8. Eventually, under the joint auspices of Shafi League, Muslim Defence Association of Allahabad, The Indian Muslim Association of Calcutta and the Southern India Islamic Defence League of Madras, a conference was held on Dec. 30, 1917 to organize an All India Muslim association for safeguarding the Muslim's interest. They also showed their discontent and attacked the Joint Scheme of Reforms (Lucknow Pact 1916). J.S. Rakkar, *op.cit.*, pp.269-70.
147. S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan : All India Muslim League Documents* (Karachi: 1969), p.391; Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.101.
148. Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Readings on the History of Punjab* (Lahore: RSP, 1976), p.426.
149. Total 130 delegates attended the session, of them only thirty-two came from outside the Punjab. *JAR*, Vol. II, 1924, p.657.
150. However in that very session Jinnah was once again re-elected as President for a further term of three years and continued to dominate the League policies till 1927 and stressed upon the necessity of harmony between Hindus and Muslims. For details see, Sharif-ul-Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah: A Study in Interpretation* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1981), p.384.
151. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p.19.
152. Riaz Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p.161.
153. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p.100.
154. Stanely Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.118.

155. G. Allana, *Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah : The Story of a Nation* (Lahore: 1967), p.210.
156. Sikandar Hayat, 'Leadership Roles in Muslim India : A Study of Traditional Political Leadership', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* XII : 3 (Spring 1989), p.65.
157. Jinnah had gone to England to attend the first RTC with no intention to setting there. If it had been so, he would not have contested elections for Indian Legislature in Oct. 1930. Secondly, he did not purchase a house in London immediately after his arrival in London but in last quarter of 1931. These factors provided an ample proof that initially Jinnah had no plans to prolong his stay in London or settle there. The conclusion of first RTC with out any substantial result and predicting the British government intention to convene a second RTC, Jinnah decided to stay there, as he visualized that now the Indian constitutional fight would be conducted in London. Riaz Ahmad, op.cit., p.161.
158. For details see, Riaz Ahmad, op.cit., pp.159-83.
159. Javed Iqbal., op.cit., p.534.
160. At that time AIML was divided into two factions; Hidayat Group and Aziz Group. For details of conflict between them and proceedings of the meeting see, S.S. Pirzada (ed.), op. cit., Vol. II, pp.194-228.
161. Khalique-uz-Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: 1961), p.139.
162. M.H. Sayid, *Muhammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Karachi: 1970), p.161; Riaz Ahmad, op.cit., p.170.
163. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), p.185.
164. Ibid.
165. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain* (Lahore: RSP, 1977), p.2.
166. Sharif-ul-Mujahid commented, 'In the interest of a united Muslim party and a united Muslim policy he even went out of his way to plead with Fazl-i-Hussain', Sharif-ul-Mujahid, op.cit., p.26.
167. Jinnah to Fazl-i-Hussain, Jan.05, 1936 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp.477-78.
168. Fazl-i-Hussain to Jinnah. Feb.23, 1936. ibid., p.499.

169. Fazl-i-Hussain to Agha Khan, June 22, 1936, *ibid.*, pp.596-97.
170. Stanely Wolpert, *op.cit.*, p.140.
171. According to this resolution moved by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan on April 11, 1936, AIML authorized Jinnah to constitute a parliamentary board in order to gather the Muslim community and to secure for Muslim their effective share in the provincial governments using a common platform. For details of resolutions moved and adopted in the session see, *FMA*, File No. 168, pp.83-7.
172. Quoted by S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p.186; Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp.274-75.
173. Stanely Wolpert, *op.cit.*, p.140.
174. S. Qalb-i-Abid., *op.cit.*, p.186.
175. *Inqilab*, May 1 & 2, 1936; Also see, Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp.290-91.
176. *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*, p.291; Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *op.cit.*, p.106.
178. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *ibid.*, p.291.
179. According to Khizr Hayat Tiwana, 'Fazl-i-Hussain main object was that the Muslims should derive maximum advantage of the local circumstances in various provinces and also stand on a common political platform as an all India community.....both objectives could be adequately secured'. Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, 'The 1937 Elections and Sikandar Jinnah Pact', *Punjab Past and Present X*: part II (Oct. 1976), p.364; Also see, Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.307.
180. Azim Hussain, *ibid.*, pp.307-08; Imran Ali, *Punjab Politics in the Decade before Independence* (Lahore: South Asian Institute, 1975), p.8.
181. *Inqilab*, May 01, 1936.
182. When Jinnah came out he told the press, 'Gentlemen, we have agreed on two points. First, that in the opinion of each of us the path taken by himself is the correct one for him. Second, after the result of the election are declared we will meet and exchange views'. I. A. Malik, *op.cit.*, p.475.
183. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.276.
184. "Jinnah is letting himself go.....against Agha Khan, and against me, and against the Conference. This is unfortunate. He has been like that all his life.... hence could not get on with any body in the Congress, or the League, or the Conference, or the Round Table. Never could form a party. In Bombay



had no influence, and even now is not recognized as a leader. I am afraid; I will not now go out of my way to be nice to him". Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p.201.

185. Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokeman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.21.
186. Gilmartin David, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: 1988), p.114.
187. Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana (d. 1940), was brother-in-Law of Shahab-ud-Din. He was a Rajput of Mailsi. He was one the close associate of Sardar Sikandar Hayat. In 1920, 1926, 1930 and 1937 he contested elections and elected as member of Punjab Legislature. He played an active role in the Unionist party and work as its Parliamentary Secretary.
188. Sikandar Hayat to Fazl-i-Hussain, May 01, 1936 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp. 526-31.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 528.
190. S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, p. 188.
191. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp. 259-60.
192. A.R. Tariq (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 97.
193. M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali*, p. 34.
194. Barkat Ali to Fazl-i-Hussain, April 04, 1936 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 508-11.
195. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 292; Ghulam Hussain Zulfikar, *op.cit.*, p. 133.
196. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 96.
197. *Ibid.*
198. *Ibid.*
199. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp. 292-93.
200. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 576; Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II (Lahore: Maktaba Tabsara, 1977), pp. 372-73; Maulana Aziz-ur-Rahman Jam'ai, *Rais-ul-Ahrar Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Ludhianvi Aur Hindustan Ki Jang-i-Azadi* (Delhi: A'ala Press, 1961), p. 193. Habib-ur-Rahman urged him that you must strive to make the Muslim League, the party of the masses. You could not get rid from the toadies, until you make it a party with roots in the masses. At present the English are exploiting the situation in their favour, they exclude the toadies or align them with themselves, as the condition demands.

201. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 296; On Aug. 22, 1936 this item was included in the draft affidavit of candidates that they would campaign for the causing of proving Ahmadis as a separate entity from Muslims. Iqbal neither expressed his amazement at it nor registered his objection against it.
202. Janbaz Mirza, *op.cit.*, p. 374.
203. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 96; *CMG*, May 09, 1936.
204. *PPSAI*, 1936, para. 326; Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p. 567.
205. Of fifty-six members, their proportion was Bengal 08; Punjab 11; Sindh 04; NWFP 04; Madras 04; Central Provinces 02; Delhi 01; Assam 02; and Bombay 06. For further details see, C.H. Phillips and Wainright (eds.), *The Partition of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent* (Karachi: 1977), p.247.
206. *Inqilab*, May 23, 1936.
207. To Fazl-i-Hussain, Muslim League Parliamentary Board, consisted of disappointed Congress Muslims, members of JUH, whose hopes of entering public life through joint electorates were lost. It also included unsuccessful Muslim leaders who during the Mont-ford reforms had tried their luck and for some reasons or other failed to make their marks on the political life of their provinces. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 308.
208. *Inqilab*, June 7 & 8, 1936.
209. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp.327-28.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
211. *PPSAI*, 1936, para. 276; Also see. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 305.
212. Javed Iqbal, *op.cit.*, p.567.
213. Shamim H. Qadri, *Creation of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1983), pp.91-2. In fact Dr. M. Alam had already filed a petition regarding the Shaheed Ganj Dispute. Later on, this issue served as a pivotal point for his election campaign and he won the elections.
214. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 305.
215. *CMG*, July 16, 1935.
216. *Tribune*, June 21, 1936.
217. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Shahab-ud-Din, Mir Maqbool Ahmad, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sir Agha Khan were those Unionist who compelled Fazl-i-Hussain to lead them.

218. 'Mian Sahib knew very well that the claim of fidelity of their over-vociferous colleagues was just a delusion – outright false'. Zafarullah Khan, *Tehdith-i-Ne'emat* (Dhaka: 1971), p. 233. According to Batalvi, 'Fazl-i-Hussain knew very well that a strong faction of his party, led by Sikandar was covertly opposing him. In spite of that he turned to unite the scattered fragment of his party'. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 276.
219. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), p. 61.
220. Fazl-i-Hussain was aware of the rivalry of the co-Unionists which he discussed with others. For details see his correspondence, Fazl-i-Hussain to Shahab-ud-Din, June 14, 1935; Fazl-i-Hussain to Muzaffar Khan, Sep. 21, 1935, in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, pp. 406-7 & 462.
221. Due to bad health he was under treatment of Dr. Col. Harper Nelson, Principal, King Edward Medical College, Lahore. Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Diary and Notes of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p. 113. In fact "... organizations led by charismatic or traditional leadership when faced with the problem of succession try to settle the issue according to very informal and traditional methods, which could be personal request or bargain etc. The procedure, rules and regulations of succession unlike these of a legal organization are not necessarily always unanimously, agreed upon or penned down in a written constitution. The problem may even led to a complex situation which may become further complicated due to the presence of divergent ethic, racial or interest groups professing no common ideology". Tanveer Anjum, 'Decline of the Unionist Party: An Analysis of the internal Factors', *PJHC* XVIII: 2 (July-Dec. 1997), p. 68.
222. Nawab Muzaffar Khan (1879-1951) was the first cousin and brother-in-law of Sikandar Hayat. From 1912-34, he served in the capacities of Election Commissioner, Member of British mission in Kabul, Reforms Commissioner of NWFP and Punjab. After his retirement he was appointed as Revenue member of Executive Council of Punjab Governor. In 1937, he was elected as member of PLC from Attock. He resigned from membership in 1943 to facilitate election of Shaukat Hayat Khan, who had been nominated to the provincial cabinet following his father death.

223. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 312.
224. The conciliatory role of Daultana and Shahab-ud-Din resulted in a rapprochement between the two parties. I.H. Malik, 'The Punjab Politics and the Ascendancy of the Unionist Party, 1924-1936', *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* VI: 2 (July-Dec. 1980), p. 116.
225. Yusuf Abbasi, 'The Tussle for Punjab Leadership', *Punjab Past and Present* IX: part II (Oct. 1975), p. 404.
226. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 318.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
229. The chief organizers of his party were Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana, Sardar Habibullah, Maulvi Ghulam Mauhiy-ud-Din, Nawab Shahnawaz Mamdoot, Maqbool Ahmad and Mian Amir-ud-Din.
230. M. Ahmad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 510.
231. Ayesha Jalal, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
232. Fazl-i-Hussain to Sikandar, May 06, 1936 in Waheed Ahmad (ed.), *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, p. 534.
233. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 308.
234. Fazl-i-Hussain to Sikandar, May 06, 1936.
235. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 277.
236. The offer was extended to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan in his meeting with Nawab Muzaffar Ali Qazalbash at Lahore. Cited in Javed Haider Syed, 'Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: A Political Biography' unpublished M. Phil Dissertation (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1985), pp. 118-20.
237. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p. 309.
238. Shamim H. Qadri, *op.cit.*, p. 85.
239. Iqbal to Jinnah, June 25, 1936 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 11.
240. *Ibid.*
241. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p.310.
242. Azim Hussain, *op.cit.*, p.354.
243. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1989), p.48.
244. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *op.cit.*, p.408.
245. Iqbal to Jinnah, Aug. 23, 1936 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.12.

246. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p.48.
247. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.503.
248. The other pledges were to abide by the decisions of Central Parliamentary Board in the matter of nomination; to follow the programme adopted by the Board; and stood for no other party the board did not nominate them. Ibid.
249. Ibid.
250. Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* Vol. II, pp. 423-24.
251. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.503.
252. Ibid.
253. *Ibid.*
254. Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., pp.425-27; *Tribune* Sep.01, 1936.
255. Y.B. Mathur, *Muslims and Changing India* (Delhi: 1972), p.110.
256. *Inqilab*, Sep. 05, 1936.
257. Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., pp.320-21.
258. Hafeez Malik, op.cit., p.96.
259. Ibid. In fact JUH which also flourished on the same political and religious agendas as those of Ahrars, also decided to co-operate with AIML in 1936-37 elections. Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani promised to exploit all the means of Deoband to launch a propaganda campaign for the League, if Muslim League was willing to bear the expenses in this connection. Perveen Rozina (ed.), *Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind-Dastavaizat Markazi Ijlasha'i A'am*, 1919-45 Vol. I (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1980), p.25.
260. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.503.
261. *Al-Jamiya* (Delhi), May 13, 1936 in Janbaz Mirza, op.cit., p.359.
262. The PNUP owed its eventual success in the 1937 provincial elections once again to the local influence of its candidates, not to gross roots organization. Ian Talbot, op.cit., p.62.
263. Cited in Ibid., p.68.
264. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: 1968), p.104 [f.n.]. The *Pirs* from the older established shrines were tied into the rural hierarchy through the large landholdings attached to their shrines and intermarriages with their Rajput disciples. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p.68.
265. Gilmartin David, op.cit., p.144.
266. I.H. Malik. op.cit., pp.155-58.

267. Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., p.337.
268. Ibid., p.635.
269. Ibid., p.633.
270. Ibid., p.642.
271. Stanely Wolpert, op.cit., p.142.
272. I.A. Malik, op.cit., pp.492-93.
273. *PPSAI*, 1936, para.503.
274. Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement*, p.87.
275. Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., p.345.
276. M. Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p.539-40.
277. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, pp.68-9.
278. *PPSAI*, 1937, para.85.
279. Only two Muslim candidates won their seats on INC tickets. These were Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din from Qasur and Ch. M. Hussain from Ludhiana. Ibid.
280. Craig Gaxter (ed.), op.cit., p.183 [f.n.].
281. Khalid Latif Gauba and Dr. M. Alam won on the tickets of Ittehad-i-Millat from Lahore and Rawalpindi respectively. *PPSAI*, 1937, para.85.
282. The two successful candidates of Majlas-i-Ahrar were Khawaja Ghulam Hussain and Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, ibid.
283. Gilmartin David, op.cit., p.165.
284. The party wise representation in the cabinet was, PNUP; Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana M/O Public Works, Mian Abdul Hayi M/O Education, Sir Chutto Ram M/O Development. National Progressive Party; Sir Manohar Lal as Member Finance. Khalsa Nationalist Party; Sir Sunder Singh Majithia as Member Revenue. David Gilmartin, op.cit., p.147. Malik Barkat Ali characterized it as "the worst possible Ministry that could ever have been formed". M. Rafique Afzal, *Malik Barkat Ali*, p.37.
285. Sikandar Hayat was essentially the product of a class nurtured by traditions of loyalty, and, throughout his active political career, remained a moderate, entertaining no pretensions of trying to bring about any radical change. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p. 1.
286. Prem Chaudry, 'The Zamindar Ideology of the Unionist Party : Ideology and Propaganda Tactics of the Unionists in South-East Punjab', *Punjab Past and Present* XVI : part II (Oct. 1982), pp.317-36.

287. Craik to Linlithgow, July 8, 1938; Craik to Braboune, Aug. 24, 1938 in David Gilmartin, op.cit., p.151.
288. Ibid., p.149.
289. CMG, Aug. 05, 1936.
290. C.H. Phillips and Wainright (eds.), *The Partition of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent* (Karachi: 1977) p.253.
291. CMG, Feb.04, 1937.
292. C.H. Phillips & Wainright (eds.), op.cit., p.253.
293. Cited in S. Qalb-i-Abid, op.cit., p.191.
294. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood*, Vol. III, p.604.
295. Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., pp.376-79.
296. *Tribune*, July 02, 1937.
297. Ibid.
298. CMG, May 19, 1937.
299. Dr. Muhammad Ashraf was a Professor of history at Muslim University, Aligarh. He was well known communist leader of INC. He was appointed as in-charge of Muslim Mass contact campaign of Congress. His office was opened at the Central office of All India Congress Committee at Allahabad.
300. Syed Abul A'ala Mududi, *Tehrik-i-Azadi Hind aur Mussalman* (Lahore:1964), p.213. According to Ayesha Jalal, 'through the political kidnapping of Muslims, Congress was perpetuating the vicious principle that the approach to a particular religious unit must be through it co-religionist'. Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asia Since 1850* (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 2001), p.377.
301. PPSAI, 1937, para.314.
302. Cited in I.H. Qureshi, *Ulama in Politics* (Karachi: Ma'arif Ltd, 1972), pp.334-35.
303. *Madina* (Bijnore), Dec. 13, 1937 in S.A.A. Mududi, op.cit., p.235.
304. I.H. Qureshi, op.cit., p.335.
305. David Gilmartin, op.cit., p.149.
306. Afzal Haq, *Pakistan and Untouchability* (Lahore: Maktaba Urdu, 1941), p.122.
307. Ayesha Jalal, op.cit., p.382.
308. Iqbal to Jinnah. Mar.20, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., p.13.

309. Ibid., p.14.
310. Ibid.
311. Iqbal to Jinnah, April 22, 1937, *ibid.*, pp.15-6.
312. *CMG*, May 03, 1937.
313. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p.102; Also see, B.A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.109.
314. Iqbal to Jinnah, May 28, 1937, *ibid.*, pp.16-20.
315. Ibid.
316. David Gilmartin, *op.cit.*, p.164.
317. For details see, S. Qalb-i-Abid, *op.cit.*, pp.194-5.
318. Daultana to Jinnah, May 08, 1937 in David Gilmartin, *op.cit.*, pp.168-9.
319. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* Vol. I (Lahore:1968), p.494.
320. Iqbal to Jinnah, June 21, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp.23-4.
321. Ibid.
322. Iqbal to Jinnah, Aug. 11, 1937, *ibid.*, p.25.
323. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, p.469.
324. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, *op.cit.*, p.170.
325. Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942) belonged to Khattar family of Attock, which had a deep-rooted tradition of British loyalty, and fortunes had been made in the services of British. During the eve of annexation of Punjab in 1849 by the British, Karam Khan, the head of the clan, developed cordial relations with John Nicholson (1821-57) and James Abbott (1807-1896) and served the strategic interests of their British masters. In 1857, M. Hayat Khan (d. 1901), father of Sikandar Hayat offered yeomen service to the British and joined Abbott for the suppression of tribal Afghans in North-West Frontiers districts. In recognition of his services, Hayat Khan was appointed as *Thanedar* in Peshawar and later he was elevated to the post of Assistant Commissioner. In pursuance of footsteps of his ancestors, Sikandar Hayat proved himself as the most reliable leader of Unionist Party, from the British perspective. In 1929, he was appointed as member of Executive Council of Governor. In early thirties, he became the first Indian to officiate as Governor of the Punjab. He also served as Deputy Governor of Reserve Bank of India. In 1937 he was elected as the first premier of Punjab and he hold this post until his death. For details see. I.H. Malik, *op.cit.*, pp.7-12; H.D. Craik &



W.L. Coarin, *The Punjab Chiefs* Vol. II (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1993), pp.276-77; Also see, Private file of Sir Sikandar Hayat, 1939-41, IOR L/11/1427 [NDC Acc. No. 63].

326. Craig Baxter (ed.), op.cit., p.423.
327. Iqbal to Jinnah, Oct. 07, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., p.26.
328. For details about documentation of Pact and development during parleys between Sikandar and Jinnah see, Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., pp. 470-73.
329. *QAP*, File No. 1049, pp.1-3.
330. Hafeez Malik, op.cit., p.101.
331. Stanely Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: 1993), p.151.
332. Penderal Moon, *Divide and Quit* (London: 1964), p.17.
333. Jinnah made the point clear that its legal status was not same as a pact made between two parties in a confrontation. Craig Baxter (ed.), op.cit., p. 147.
334. Glancy to Linlithgow, April 17, 1943 in S. Qalb-i-Abid., op.cit., p. 197.
335. Ibid.
336. I.H. Malik, op.cit., p. 77.
337. *LAR*, Vol. II, 1937, p. 13.
338. Stanely Wolpert, op.cit., p. 156.
339. Quoted by, Aashiq H. Batalvi, op.cit., p. 484.
340. *Inqilab*, Oct. 20, 1937.
341. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rud* Vol. III, p. 626.
342. M. Rafique Afzal, op. cit., p. 42.
343. Cited in Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 626.
344. Iqbal to Jinnah, Oct. 30, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., pp. 28-9.
345. Craig Baxter (ed.), op.cit., p. 426.
346. Javed Iqbal, op.cit., p. 627.
347. When matter was referred to Jinnah, he strongly 'denied the existence of any oral understanding beyond the terms of Jinnah – Sikandar Pact'. *Tribune*, Feb. 08, 1938 in I.H. Malik, op.cit., p. 81.
348. Iqbal to Jinnah, Nov. 01, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), op.cit., pp. 29-30.
349. Sikandar to Jinnah, Nov. 03, 1937 in M. Masood, *Eyewitness to History* (Karachi: 1968), pp. 12-7.
350. In fact Sikandar received some broad assurances from Jinnah that, as long as the main principle was accepted and given effect to and a correct

constitutional position was established, Jinnah would naturally not want to create difficulties or embarrassment for his ministry. Craig Baxter (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 422.

351. Iqbal to Jinnah, Nov. 10, 1937 in M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 31-2.
352. Gilmartin David, *op.cit.*, p. 178.
353. Jinnah to Barkat Ali, Nov. 20, 1937 in G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents* (Lahore: 1977), pp. 167-8.
354. Sikandar Hayat, 'Leadership Roles in Muslim India...', p. 68.
355. Gilmartin David, *op.cit.*, p. 180. Discussing the situation in Punjab, Barkat Ali in a letter to Jinnah wrote, 'The League is at a perfect standstill in the Punjab. The only propaganda i.e. being done is for the Unionist party, the League is not even mentioned, but the prestige of the League is being exploited for Unionist ends'. *QAP*, File No. 160, p. 217.
356. Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdoot (1883-1942) was a influential landlord of Ferozpur district. After the initiation of Mont-ford reforms he was elected as member of PLC in 1921.
357. *PPSAI*, 1938, para. 160.
358. *Ibid.*
359. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp. 582-83.
360. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
361. *Ibid.*, pp. 494-96; See also, B. A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 110-11.
362. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 105.
363. *Ibid.*
364. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p. 46.
365. The committee comprised Liaquat Ali Khan, K.B. Sh. M. Abdullah, Col. Abdul Rahman, and Hussain M. Malik. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
366. Firstly, the Punjab League's rules contravened the AIML constitution and it was pointed out that article 33 of Punjab League's constitution which permitted the alliance with other parties was not in consonance with the policies of central body. Secondly, objections were raised on the membership clauses of PPML constitution which, envisaged membership at provincial level in spite of primary level that was dubbed as a violation of rules of central body.

367. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951) was the son of Nawab of Karnal. His family had an influential role in politics of United Provinces. He was thrice elected as member of Central Legislature in 1926, 1930 and 1937. In the interim Government of India he served as Finance Minister. After the inception of Pakistan he was given the portfolio of first premier of Pakistan. For a detailed account of his life and services see, Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat Khan: Leader and Statesman* (Karachi: Oriental Academy, 1970).
368. B.A. Dar (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 105-114.
369. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, *op.cit.*, p. 229.
370. Hafeez Malik, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
371. M. Rafique Afzal, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
372. I.H. Malik, *Islam, Nationalism and the West: Issues of Identity in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 55.
373. Sajjad Zaheer, *Light on Unionist League Conflict* (Bombay: 1944), p. 19.
374. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 73.
375. I.H. Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan*, p. 139.
376. M.A.H Isphani, *Quaid-i-Azam: As I Knew Him* (Karachi: Elite Publishers, 1977), p. 47.
377. Gilmartin David, *op.cit.*, p. 188.
378. Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 71. Local Unionist supporters were instructed to form Muslim League branches only after local Zamindar League branches had been successfully launched. See for instance, Afzal Ali to M.A. Khan Qasuri, Oct. 27, 1937 in Gilmartin David, *op.cit.*, p. 176.
379. Gilmartin David, p. 177.
380. Javed Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity*, p. 317.
381. Aashiq H. Batalvi, *op.cit.*, pp. 531-32.
382. *Ibid.*
383. Syed Nazir Niazi, *Iqbal Kai Huzoor* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1981), p. 394.
384. M.H. Sayid, *op.cit.*, p. 231.
385. M.A. Jinnah (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 6.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 'A'

حکومت کشمیر سے مجلس احرار اسلام ہند کے مطالبات

18 اگست 1931ء

- (1) مجلس احرار کشمیر ایچی ٹیشن کو ہندو مسلم مسئلہ تصور نہیں کرتی اور کشمیر کے مظلوم عوام کی مدد کے لئے دیگر غیر مسلم جماعتوں کو اتحاد عمل کی دعوت دیتی ہے۔
- (2) مجلس احرار کشمیر میں ہڑبائی ٹیس رلیجہ ہری سنگھ کو ہٹا کر مسلم راج ہرگز قائم نہ کرنا چاہتی۔
- (3) مجلس احرار ریاستی معاملات میں برطانوی مداخلت کو دعوت دینے کے لئے تیار نہیں بلکہ اہل کشمیر کی موجودہ مصیبتوں کا ذمہ دار حکومت برطانیہ کو سمجھتی ہے۔
- (4) مجلس احرار کشمیر میں حالات بہتر بنانے کے لئے پرامن اور جائز ذرائع استعمال کرے گی۔

دستخط: مولانا حبیب الرحمن

چوہدری افضل حق

مظہر علی اظہر

داؤد غزنوی

## APPENDIX 'B'

### LIST OF MEMBERS OF ALL INDIA KASHMIR COMMITTEE (1931-33)

1. Mr. Muhammad Ismail Haji Ahmad (Calcutta)
2. Ahmad Abdus Sattar (Calcutta)
3. H.S. Soherwardy (Calcutta)
4. Maulana Abu Zafar Wajih-ud-Din (Calcutta)
5. Mr. Muhammad Ali Allah Buksh (Bombay)
6. Mr. A.R. Dinstinker (Bombay)
7. Maulana Abu Yusuf Isfahani (Bombay)
8. Qazi Kabir-ud-Din (Bombay)
9. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan (Allahabad)
10. Mian Syed Ja'affar Shah (Shahabad)
11. Syed Kashfi Shah Nizami (Rangoon)
12. Maulana Hasrat Mauhani (Kanpur)
13. Syed Abdul Hafeez (Dhaka)
14. Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad M.L.A. (Abbottabad)
15. Maulana Muhammad Shafi Daudi M.L.A. (Patna)
16. Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan M.L.A. (Karnal)
17. Chaudri Abdul Mateen (Sylhet, Assam)
18. Musheer Hussain Qidwai (Lucknow)
19. Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (Anbala)
20. Maulana Syed Habib Shah, Editor, *Siasat* (Lahore)
21. Maulvi Noor-ul-Haq, Proprietor, *Muslim Out Look* (Lahore)
22. Syed Mohsin Shah Advocate (Lahore)
23. Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mehr, Editor, *Inqilab* (Lahore)
24. Sir Muhammad Iqbal (Lahore)
25. Maulana Muhammad Yaqoob, Editor, *Light* (Lahore)
26. K.B. Sh. Rahim Bukhsh (Lahore)
27. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan M.L.A. (Lahore)
28. Maulana Abdul Majeed Salik (Lahore)
29. Muhammad Rafique Advocate (Lahore)
30. Malik Barkat Ali M.L.A. (Lahore)
31. Haji Shams-ud-Din (Lahore)
32. Mian Feroz-ud-Din (Lahore)
33. Mian Nizam-ud-Din (Lahore)
34. Mian Fazal Karim (Lahore)
35. Dr. Abdul Haq (Lahore)
36. Prof. Syed Abdul Qadir (Lahore)
37. Maulana Alam-ud-Din Salik (Lahore)
38. Ghulam Mustafa Advocate (Lahore)
39. Sh. Niaz Ali Advocate (Lahore)
40. Ch. Muhammad Zafarullah Khan M.L.A. (Lahore)
41. Pir Akbar Ali Advocate (Ferozpur)
42. Ch. Muhammad Sharif (Montgomery)
43. Khawaja Muhammad Shafi (Delhi)
44. Maulana Mazhar-ud-Din, Editor, *Al-Aman* (Delhi)



45. Khawaja Hassan Nizami (Delhi)
46. Haji Seth Abdullah Haroon M.L.A. (Karachi)
47. Maulana Syed Muhammad Ismail Ghaznavi (Amritser)
48. Sh. Muhammad Sadiq M.L.A. (Amritser)
49. Maulana Aqeel-ur-Rahman Nadvi (Saharanpur)
50. Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Shams (Qadian)
51. Maulana Abdul Rahim Dard (Qadian)
52. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad (Qadian)
53. Dr. Mirza Yaqoob Baig (Lahore)
54. Ghulam Mustafa Advocate (Gujranwala)
55. M. Hissam-ud-Din (Amritser)
56. Maulana Karam Ali (Lucknow)
57. Maulana Syed Meerak Shah Deobandi (Karnal)
58. Sh. Sadiq Hassan M.L.A. (Amritser)
59. Sh. Fazl-i-Haq M.L.A. (Bhera)
60. Maulana Ismat Ullah (Sialkot)
61. Maulana Abdul Hameed
62. Syed Zakir Ali Shah (Lucknow)
63. Ch. Asadullah Khan (Lahore)
64. Shah Mas'aud Ahmad M.L.A.
65. Syed Zain-ul-Abideen Waliullah Shah (Qadian)
66. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (Delhi)

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**Source:** Daust Muhammad Shahid, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyyat* Vol. VI (Rabwa: n.d.), pp.59-60.

## APPENDIX 'C'

### NOTE ON CONVERSATION BETWEEN NATHU RAM, CITY

#### MAGISTRATE LAHORE AND MAZHAR ALI AT SIALKOT, OCT. 06, 1931.

Mazhar Ali arrived here this afternoon and came straight to me. He had a long discussion and I give below a brief account of what he told me.

He says that the conduct of Kashmir state throughout these dealings has been deceptive. On the one hand they allowed Mazhar Ali and his party to go to Kashmir and on the other hand they have been engaging agents to work up propaganda against the Majlis-i-Ahrar. They have been trying to conspire with the A.I.K.C. and have been sending their agents to persuade them to come to Kashmir so as to divide the Kashmir Muslim public into two parties and to bring about a conflict between them and thus to ruin the real issue. He says he has got strong evidence to prove that Kanwar Hira Singh (belonging to the ruling family of the state) went to Simla and tried to persuade with the help of some Govt. officers, members of the A.I.K.C. to go to Kashmir. He says that the attitude of the Prime Minister has not been straight with them throughout their stay in Kashmir. He held out certain promises without actually meaning to fulfill them and thus tried to bring them to disrepute among the public. He believes Raja Daya Kishan Kaul is responsible for all this policy of the Darbar and he further states that Raja Sahib has now come to Lahore to approach the members of A.I.K.C. and to induce them to go to Kashmir and to start propaganda against the Majlis-i-Ahrar and to capture the movement. He says he exposed Raja Sahib to the members of A.I.K.C. also and there are very few chances of his proceeding by this trick. He tell me that he invited S. Mohsin Shah and Rahim Bux to Sialkot yesterday and acquainted them with all his activities. He states that by this time they have been able to send about 1500 men into the state territory and have made the state authorities to feel their weakness and their incapacity to deal with this situation. He says that they have got no transport arrangement for any place to confine the persons arrested nor even adequate arrangements to feed them. Realizing this difficulty, Mazhar Ali says, the state authorities have changed their attitude and now are anxious for a compromise. He says yesterday he received the following telegram from the Prime Minister, "you can come as our guest and see things for yourself. If anything is to be placed before His Highness it will be arranged".

In addition to this the Governor of Jammu also went down to Sialkot and conversed with him and his party for a long time and tried to induce them to cease sending *jathas* to the state and come to terms. He states he has sent the following reply to the Prime Minister for which reply is awaited. It might have reached Sialkot during his absence. "Will the state be prepared to allow us to see people and His Highness freely and independently and can we see places other than Srinagar, and shall the state cease to issue undesirable communiqués?" He says that even now he suspects the intentions of the state authorities. On the one hand they are negotiating to bring about a compromise and on the other hand they have invited M. Zafar Ali of *Zamindar* to go to Srinagar. He says he fully understands this trick and now cannot be deceived. He has sent warning to Governor of Jammu to disallow Zafar Ali to proceed

to Srinagar failing which he would refuse to negotiate with the state authorities. He says he is sure that the state authorities will do their best to please him and his party while disallowing Zafar Ali to proceed to Srinagar.

Mazhar Ali was told that he would waste his times and energies unnecessarily by sending *Jathas* to the state territory when there were prospects of getting the legitimate grievances redressed by peaceful means. The other side of picture was also represented to him and he was told that this difficulty of accommodating prisoners and feeding them or transporting them from one place to another was only a temporary one and that it will be quite easy for the state authorities to put all such prisoners without formal trial under special law in the temporary jails which could be made by a few fences of barbed wires. He after some discussions agreed that he would persuade his party to cease sending fresh *jathas* from tomorrow. He has promised that soon after he has reached Sialkot he will see the replies received from the state authorities and after discussing with his comrades he will ring me up between 10 and 11 p.m., before announcing the decision of his party or pressing any resolution.

Nathu Ram  
City Magistrate, Lahore.

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Source: IOR L/P&J/7/931, Microfilm Acc. No. 3078, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'D'

### KASHMIR STATE (Protection against disorders) ORDINANCE No. X of 1931

(An ordinance to prevent assemblies of men proceeding from British India into the territory of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and promoting disorders therein).

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it expedient to prevent assemblies of men from proceeding from British India into the territory of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and promoting disorders therein. Now therefore in exercise of the power conferred by section 72 of the Govt. of India Act, the Governor General is pleased to make and promulgate the following ordinance:

#### 1. Short Title and Extent

- (i) This ordinance may be called the Kashmir State (protection against disorders) Ordinance, 1931.
- (ii) It extends to the whole of the Punjab.

#### 2. Power to Require Certain Assemblies to Disperse

- (i) Where the District Magistrate is of opinion that five or more persons are assembled within his district for the purpose of proceeding together into the territory of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and that their entry into or presence in such territory is likely or will tend to cause interference with the administration of such territory or danger to human life or safety, or a disturbance of the public tranquility, or a riot or an affray within such territory, he may, by order in writing stating the material facts of the case, direct such persons to disperse.
- (ii) A copy of such order shall be stuck up at the place where such persons are for the time being assembled, and its contents shall be proclaimed to them, with beat of drum.
- (iii) After the order has been so promulgated, any five or more persons of the person assembled who remain assembled or who re-assemble, whether at or near the place of promulgation or at any distance from it, shall be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of section 141 of the Indian Penal Code.

#### 3. Power to Prevent Formation of Certain Assemblies

- (i) Where the District Magistrate has reason to believe that there is a movement in his district for the promotion of assemblies of persons for the purpose of proceeding from British India into the territory of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, and that the entry of such assemblies into such territory or their presence therein is likely or

well tend to cause interference with the administration of such territory, or danger to human life or safety, or a disturbance of the public tranquility or a riot or an affray within such territory, he may by order in writing, direct persons generally to abstain from assembling for such purpose in any area specified in the order.

- (ii) Such orders shall be notified by proclamation, published throughout the specified area in such manner as the District Magistrate may think fit, and a copy of such order shall be forwarded to the local government.
- (iii) If, after such order has been made, any five or more persons assemble within the specified area, any magistrate or police officer not below the rank of sub-inspector may require such persons to state and explain their purpose in assembling, and if they fail to give a satisfactory explanation may require them to disperse.
- (iv) Any five or more of the persons so required to disperse who remain assembled or re-assembled at or near the place where they were required to disperse or at any distance from it, shall be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of section 141 of the Indian Penal Code.
- (iv) No order sub-section (1) shall remain in force for more than two months from the making thereof, unless the local government, by notification in the local official Gazette, otherwise directs

Sd./-

Willington,  
Viceroy & Governor General  
New Delhi,  
The 14<sup>th</sup> November 1931.

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**Source:** Government of India, *The Gazette of India (Extraordinary)*. New Delhi: Legislative Department, Nov. 04, 1931, IOR L/P & J/ 7/ 165 Microfilm Acc. No. 4521, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'E'

### TRANSLATION OF A POSTER ISSUED BY DR. M. IOBAL PRESIDENT OF AIKC AND MR. BARKAT ALI AND MOHSIN SHAH, SECRETARIES

#### A Sincere Appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir

Ye dumb Musalmans of Kashmir, your misfortune is again taking an unlimited turn. It is only two year since you had started a national fight for your primary human rights, and in that struggle the way you displayed your bravery and non-violence was such, that no Indian community can present such an example, with the result that your sun rising bravery had [?] nation bowed down all the powers of oppression under your feet, so much so that the Kashmir government was obliged to admit that you were really oppressed.

You had hardly time to rest, before fresh mischief which made your two large parties to face each other (up in arms against one another) .All this mischief is due to your sectarian troubles and internal feuds. Your enemies benefited by this golden opportunity, in order to make you weaken thus allowed you to fight among yourselves. When this dissension aroused the bounds of limit, they (Govt.) began to crush you one after the other, and once again created *Qiamat* (Day of Resurrection) in Kashmir. Oh you self-respecting Kashmiri Muslims the result of these feuds is now before you, so much so that *lathies* were showered at your innocent children, old men and women. Military demonstrations were being held to scare you and military and police were posted to frighten you. Bullets were fired upon to disperse the crowds, your respected leaders were arrested disgracefully in whole-sale dis-regarding their position and they are turned out of this paradise to lonely places on the place of an imaginary story that a breach of the peace was imminent. They play of fire and blood was played before your very eyes. Your senses which are struck with carelessness keep your still at grips with each other. Think very calmly in the very depths of your hearts and then say as to how far your present attitude is earnest in affecting communal peace. Difference of opinions is not a bad thing; even the great Prophet has called it a blessing of God. In very country there are hot (extremists) and soft (moderate) parties, and as far as their aims are concerned they with their combined efforts build nations. When the interests and moderations of extremists and moderates work together the national ship corner out of the whirlpool and anchors safely at a harbour of mutual object. This happens at every place, hence it happenings in Kashmir was also natural. If you had a difference of opinion with one section it did not mean that you should entangle yourself in it and start *khanajangi* [internal feuds] amongst your lines. It was your duty to workout the programme of the party you had your sympathy with, and keeping aloof from the other party to work for the national good. But alas! through the heat of prejudice you could not control your feelings, which gave your enemies an opportunity to interfere in your affairs. This slight weakness of yours has now becomes your misfortune.

“Oh you simple Musalmans of Kashmir throw away the bandages of carelessness from your eyes, check up your differences and show it to your enemies that there is no difference between Abdullah and Mir Waiz”.

“Oh you high spirited young Kahsmiris this is a time for your trial, you are marching through experiment, if you commit a blunder at this stage, all that you have gained so far will be lost. You must show and prove to all those who are over-joyed at your party feuds, that you are organized and united under one banner, no sectarian parties exists, and in order to attain your legitimate right every one will sacrifice his very life, and what ever you have already attained under no circumstances will you let it go. Make up your minds with determination and march forward and show your evil wishers that a community which could sacrifice its children and cares not for infliction of untold for oppression and still cannot care a jot for their threats. But it is essential that before doing so, discard the bounds of dis-unity, sectarian feuds, and obey the call of one leader and toil for one object, your prestige and respect lies in this advice alone. Be one, time has not come as yet, when you should have many political associations who would work different programme but for the attainment of the same goal, end their different voices would be considered as one. If you abide by this advice you will not only prove a true son of Kashmir but in reality you will become the saviour of Asia”.

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Source: IOR Photo Eur 209, Microfilm Acc. No. 4551, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

APPENDIX 'F'

Correspondence between Jammu and Kashmir State Officials, Punjab  
Government authorities and Sir M. Iqbal regarding the involvement of later in  
Kashmir affairs as President, A.I.K.C. and restrictions imposed on his entry in  
State of Kashmir.

His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir  
Prime Minister's Office

Immediate

P.B. 342-C/D.O.

Srinagar,  
10 July, 1933.

My Dear Bailey,

I send you a translation of a poster issued by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, President of the Kashmir Committee, and Malik Barkat Ali and Mohsin Shah, secretaries, headed 'A sincere appeal to the Muslims of Kashmir' together with one spare copy.

The poster contains under the guise of an appeal to the Muhammadans of Kashmir to sink their differences, considerable vilification of the Highness Government which I do not feel that either the Government of India or the Punjab Government would countenance.

His Highness Government will therefore be very grateful if you will bring the poster to the attention of the authorities concerned with the request that such action as may be possible may be taken to prevent this sort of propaganda against the state in British India.

Yours Sincerely,  
Sd/-  
E.J.D. Colvin

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Urgent Secret

D.O. No. F.6-C/32

The Resident  
Kashmir  
Srinagar, 11 July 1933

My Dear Glancy,

Please refer to my express letter No. F.6-C/32 dated the 04 July 1933, regarding the Kashmir Committee. I enclosed a copy of a demi official letter from Colvin No. P.B. 342-C, dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1933, with enclosure, regarding a poster



issued by Sir M. Iqbal, President of A.I.K.C, and Messrs. B. Ali and Mohsin Shah, secretaries, headed 'A sincere Appeal to the Muhammadans of Kashmir'.

I hope the Government of India would be good enough to take such action as may be possible to prevent this sort of propaganda against the state in British India.

Sd./-

F.B. Bailey

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D.O. No. 15267-7-S-B  
Punjab Civil Secretariat, Simla E  
11 July, 1933.

My Dear Sir Muhammad,

The Governor in Council is not sure whether you are now President of All India Kashmir Conference; and has no reason to suppose that in case you contemplate visiting Kashmir. But he received a communication from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir asking that the Punjab Government convey to you as President of the Conference the information that it is the wish of the Kashmir Government that no member of the "Conference" should visit Kashmir at present without the previous permission of His Highness' Government and that any attempt on the part of "Conference or any of its member" to negotiate or to interfere on behalf of the Local Muslims would only tend to aggravate the situation which fortunately is now well in hand.

Yours Sincerely,  
Sd./-  
C.C. Garbett.

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Office of the All India Kashmir Committee  
10, Temple Road, Lahore

Dated: 13 July, 1933

My Dear Mr. Garbett,

Thank you so much for your D.O. which I received yesterday. The information received from private sources as well as the news published in the Punjab press show that all conditions in Kashmir are anything but satisfactory. A movement for 'Hijrat' is already a foot and a civil disobedience campaign is also contemplated. This is sufficiently alarming and may possible disturb the unanimity of the Muslims of the rest of India.

I would request to assure the Excellency the Governor that the Kashmir Committee's only anxiety is to see normal conditions prevailing in Kashmir. At present neither I nor any other member of the Committee is contemplating a visit to Kashmir. If however the situation deteriorated to the extent of disturbing the Muslims outside Kashmir I cannot anticipate the action which the Kashmir Committee may decide to take. Meanwhile the Committee hopes that, if possible, Government may be pleased to impress upon the Kashmir Government the desirability of immediately remedying the real grievances of the Muslims.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-  
Muhammad Iqbal

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Confidential

No.P.B. 520-C/D.O.

His Highness Government of Jammu & Kashmir  
Prime Minister's Office

Srinagar  
Aug 07, 1933

My Dear Bailey,

Please refer to your demi-official letter No.F-6-C/32, dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, 1933. His Highness' Government is very grateful for the letter which Garbatte wrote to Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

The last sentence of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's letter shows the attitude which all these outside bodies still maintain, namely that inspite of the progress which has been made in fulfilling the recommendations of the Glancy Commission, the Kashmir Muhammadans still have "real grievances" and that the Kashmir Government are not taking steps to remedy them. It would be very helpful of the Punjab Government could see their way to informing Sir Muhammad Iqbal that they do not agree with his view of the situation.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-  
E.J.D. Colvin

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Source: IOR 19381 Photo Eur 209, Microfilm Acc. No. 4551, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'G'

Order served to Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood, head of Jama'at-i-Ahmadiyya under section 3(1)(d) of the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1932 to abstain from calling outsiders in Qadian, Oct. 17, 1934.

Whereas Punjab Government is satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that you Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmood Ahmad of Qadian in the district of Gurdaspur have been summoning persons to Qadian to be present at the conference convened by the *Shoba Tabligh* of the Majlas-i-Ahrar-i-Islam at or near Qadian to be held on or about the 21<sup>st</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1934, inclusive and whereas your action in so doing is prejudicial to the public peace or safety the Punjab Government now directs you under section 3 (1)(d) of the Punjab Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1932.

- (1) To cancel and revoke any summons send by your or under your authority to any person to attend at Qadian on the dates aforesaid,
- (2) To abstain until after the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1934 from summoning any person or persons to Qadian.
- (3) To abstain until after the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1934 from promoting or convening any meeting in Qadian
- (4) To abstain until the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1934 from making arrangements for the reception at Qadian of any person called by you and from providing them with food and shelter

Given under my hand this 17<sup>th</sup> day of Oct. 1934.

Sd/-

C.C. Garbett  
Chief Sec. to Govt. of Punjab

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Source: IOR L/P & J/7/751, Microfilm Acc. No. 3060, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'H'

### SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN GOVERNOR, MUSLIM AND SIKH DEPUTATIONS ON 6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> JULY, 1935 AT LAHORE

#### ENCLAIR TELEGRAM

From Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab to Secretary of State for India.

Dated: Lahore, 10<sup>th</sup> July, 1935.

Punjab Government has issued following further communiqué in order to remove any misunderstandings that may exist. The Punjab Government consider it desirable to give a brief account of the discussions that took place between them and Muslim and Sikh deputations on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of July, and the efforts that were made to bring about a peaceful solution in the Shahidganj Gurdwara dispute. While these discussions were taking place, it was obviously necessary in the interests of a settlement to regard them as confidential, but this necessity no longer exists, and the Punjab Government believe that inaccurate accounts are already current. It must be understood that the following account is necessarily a summary only of discussions which lasted for some hours, but it is an accurate description of the main facts. The Punjab Government was represented by His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable member for Finance. There were also present the Chief Secretary, Commissioner, Lahore Division, Inspector General of Police, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, and the Legal Remembrancer to Government Punjab.

2. The Punjab Government first met a deputation of Muslim gentlemen on Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup> July, at 11 a.m. The discussions lasted for about 2-1/2 hours. These gentlemen expressed fully and strongly the views of their community both from the legal and general standpoints. They referred to the history of the Mosque and laid particular stress on Muslim Law of *Waqf*. While they agreed that this [?] not part of the civil law of the country, they represented that it was in relation to the doctrine of *Waqf* that the Muslims regarded the matter, and that the principle which especially affected their views was that a building, which had once been made *Waqf*, remained *Waqf* for ever. They said that Muslim lawyers were exploring among themselves whether any further legal remedy in regard to the Mosque existed under the ordinary civil law. They explained the strong feeling that existed about this question in their community, and the strong wish held by them that the building should be returned to the Muslims. They said that, if this was not possible, the least that would satisfy them was that it should be left as it was, and that it should not be used for purpose which would offend the feelings of Muslims. They asked that Government should do all that was possible to secure a solution that would satisfy their community. His Excellency explained to them that the Punjab Government had carefully examined the legal aspect of the case and were bound by the decisions of the civil courts. These had been consistently in favour of the Sikhs and, in particular, the Gurdwara Tribunal had rejected the claim made by the Anjuman-i-Islamia in connection with the Mosque. It was clearly not possible for the Executive Government to go behind these decisions.

They had also considered action under the criminal law, but had reached the conclusion that this also was not possible. This being so, the only means of solution appeared to be an agreement between the parties honourable to both. He assured the deputation that Government would do their utmost to bring the Sikhs to a reasonable frame of mind, and with this object in view, proposed to explore with the Muslims all possible solutions, it being recognized, of course, that the solution must be acceptable to both parties. Various suggestions were then made and discussed, some being dismissed as unacceptable to Muslims, some being regarded as definitely acceptable, and as regards others, acceptability or otherwise depended on general Muslim opinion, which had not been ascertained. After discussion of all suggestions out forward, the view of the Muslims remained the same, viz, that the least which would satisfy their community was that the Mosque should be left as it was and not used for any purpose which would offend Muslim feelings. The Muslims were assured that all possible solutions would be fully explored with the Sikhs, that, in particular, it would be impressed upon them with the greatest emphasis that, whatever their civil rights might be, their moral responsibility was extremely great and that no effort should be spared to persuade them to take a reasonable view of the matter and to deflect them from a course which must have grave consequences. His Excellency explained that the reports he had received showed that feeling was very strong also on the other side, and that he thought that one of the greatest difficulties in the way of solution by consent was the feeling on both sides. He asked the deputation to do every thing possible to improve the atmosphere. They readily agreed to do this and promised their hearty co-operation.

3. The Punjab Government met a deputation of Sikh gentlemen the same afternoon at 2.30 p.m. and the discussion lasted for nearly 3 hours. They said that there could be no talk of any compromise or settlement so long as Muslim agitation continued. They explained at length the history of the building and the legal position. They said that the decisions had been consistently in favour of the Sikhs, who now had the right to do what they liked with the building. It was represented that, for various reasons it was bound up with the history of the Sikhs and had a special place in their religion. The Sikhs were fully determined that the Mosque should not go back to the Muslims. They hold that so long as the building was in existence Muslim agitation would be continued. They said that if any concession was made on this occasion pressure would be brought to bear upon them to give further concessions and the case of other buildings might be raised. This was a position they could not contemplate. It was pointed out to them that Government recognized the force of the decisions of the civil courts and realized that they were not prepared to give up their rights which those decisions had given them, but the question was now one of demolition. The building had been in their possession for 170 years and their rights had not been affected by its existence. Demolition would, in the present state of feeling, give great offence to another community: would produce a grave situation in Lahore itself; would probably have reactions in the province generally; would embitter relations between the communities and have effects which it would be difficult to remove. They would accept a very grave responsibility if they did something which might easily plunge the province into disorder. They should remember that they would find it difficult to satisfy public opinion as regards their action. It was surely possible to find a solution which would in no way prejudice their civil rights and yet be acceptable to the other side. The matter was one of the utmost gravity and they should do nothing which would put them in the wrong. Every effort

was made to persuade them not to take precipitate action. Various suggestions were put forward with a view to finding a solution, but they were not accepted. The farthest the Sikhs would go was to say that there was no intention to demolish at present, and there was a suggestion that if agitation by Muslims ceased their attitude might change. It might then be possible for them, while making it perfectly clear that they retained the right to do what they liked with the building, to let it be known to the Muslims that the latter could rely on their good sense. They made it clear however that they would give no assurance at present to this effect and that, if any statement was published that an assurance of this kind had been given, they would deny it. Attempts were made to get at least an understanding that demolition would not be carried out until after an agreed period so that there might be time to explore all possibilities. They said that they could not give even an assurance of this kind, but they gave Government to understand that a final decision for or against demolition would not be reached until a meeting of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which was to be held in Lahore on the 8<sup>th</sup> July. Government asked the deputation to arrange that, if there was likely to be a decision by the S.G.P.C. in favour of demolition, they should meet the Punjab Government as that all possibilities of a settlement might be once more thoroughly explored. The Sikhs were unable to give a definite assurance on the point, but the suggestion was not rejected finally. The necessity was impressed upon the Sikhs of their doing all that was possible to keep the atmosphere calm in Lahore by stopping bands of Sikhs there and by sending away some who had already arrived. His Excellency told the deputation that the Muslims had been asked to work towards the same and had promised co-operation.

4. The Punjab Government again saw the Muslim deputation at 12 noon on the 7<sup>th</sup> July. The attitude of the Sikhs was fully explained to the deputations and it was made clear that it did not hold out much hope of a settlement. The reports of a meeting held by the Sikhs the previous night also showed that Sikh feeling was running very high. At the same time hope should not be abandoned and the Punjab Government would continue their efforts. All possible solutions were again discussed, much the same ground being covered as on the previous session. It was again pointed out that the one chance of a settlement was to get a calm atmosphere in Lahore. There had been no demonstrations by Muslims the previous day, nor were there any on the 7<sup>th</sup>. In this connection Government acknowledge the successful efforts made by the Muslim leaders. It was explained to the Muslims that Government had been given to understand by the Sikh deputation that no final decision one way or the other would be reached until a meeting of the S.G.P.C. had been held in Lahore on the 8<sup>th</sup>, and that Government were endeavoring to secure that before a final decision was reached there should be further discussions with the Sikh leaders.

5. In connection with the discussion with the Muslims the Punjab Government have been a report that the deputation put forward proposals that the Mosque be demolished, but that the Muslims should be allowed to remove the material for the purpose of building a Mosque elsewhere. It is only fair to the members of the deputation to let it be known that this suggestion was not put forward by them. It was mentioned as a possibility to be explored in the last resort if no other solution could be reached and the Punjab Government said that, in that case, they would be prepared to give Government land for the purpose. It was perfectly clear however that such a solution would be possible only if it were acceptable to the

Muslim community generally. The deputation made it clear that there could be no question of its acceptance if the Muslim were not allowed themselves to do the demolition and even in that case the solution did not appear to be one likely to commend itself to the Muslims generally. It was recognized at the most as a solution which it might be worth while to explore. Subsequent to the meeting with the Muslims on the 7<sup>th</sup>, the Punjab Government, through the Deputy Commissioner, tried to secure that before a final decision was reached by the S.G.P.C. on the 8<sup>th</sup>, there should be further discussion between them and the Punjab Government. As explained in previous communiqués the Sikhs did not wait for this meeting of the S.G.P.C., but commenced demolition.

6. The Punjab Government have seen it stated that they gave an assurance to the Muslim deputation that the Mosque would not be demolished. It is clear that in the circumstances of the case they were not in a position to give any assurance of this kind and no such assurance was, in fact, given. They did assure the deputation that so long as a way to a solution lay open they would make every possible effort to reach one. This assurance was carried out. The way was closed by the Sikhs who preferred to take ir retrievable action rather than carry on discussion for an honourable settlement.

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Source: IOR L/P& J/7/886, Microfilm Acc. No. 3063, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'I'

### CONFERENCE OF NON-OFFICAL MEMBERS OF PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT COUNCIL CHAMBER, JULY 17, 1935

In response to the invitation of the Punjab Government the following non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly attended a conference at the council Chamber on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July:-

1. The Honourable K.B. Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din
2. K.B. Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana
3. Pir Akbar Ali
4. K.B. Nawab Fazl Ali
5. K.B. Malik Mohammad Amin
6. K.B. Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi
7. Makhdumzada Sayyed Muhammad Raza Shah Gilani
8. Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq
9. Khan Sahib Chaudhri Riasat Ali
10. K.B. Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani
11. Khawaja Muhammad Yousaf
12. Malik Muhammad Din
13. Nawab Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdoot
14. Sardar Arjan Singh
15. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Buta Singh
16. Sardar Sahib Sardar Ram Singh
17. Sardar Sampuran Singh
18. Sardar Sahib Sardar Ujjal Singh
19. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sheo Narain Singh
20. Sardar Bahadur Captain Janmeja Singh
21. Rai Bahadur Chaudri Chottu Ram
22. Mr. Labh Singh
23. Rai Sahib Lala Labh Chand
24. Dewan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath
25. Mr. Nandak Chand Pandit
26. Rai Bahadur Lala Mukand Lal Puri
27. Sardar Jawahir Singh Dhillon
28. Chaudri Afzal Haq
29. Maulvi Mazhar Ali Azhar
30. Sardar Mohinder Singh
31. Sardar Bishen Singh
32. Rai Sahib Chaudri Kesar Singh

His Excellency the Governor presided and the Ministers and members of Government were present. The Chief Secretary and the Legal Remembrancer to Government Punjab also attended.



After H.E. the Governor had addressed the meeting, a discussion followed which by general consent was confined to the question of restoring harmony and good-will in the province. The conference is to meet again on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and in the meantime individual members will explore among themselves and with other members of the public means of attaining the end in view. All the members present made an appeal to the public which is given below and which has the strongest support of the Governor in Council and the Ministers:

“We, members of the Punjab Legislative Council, representatives of all communities and parties in the Council appeal to our brethren throughout the province to assist in restoring between the communities the good relations which have been affected by the Shaheed Ganj affair. We consider that the present interests of the province and its future welfare imperatively demand that the tension which now exists between the two communities should be removed with as little delay as possible. We regard this issue as of paramount importance and we consider that it transcends all considerations of community and party and all individual interests. We are most anxious to promote a spirit of good will and cordiality which is necessary in order to explore avenues of reconciliation between the two communities. We will ourselves individually and collectively do every thing which is within our power to help towards this end and we appeal to every one in the province to create an atmosphere in which the efforts of those who are striving for peace may be successful. We consider it essential that the atmosphere should not be disturbed by ill-considered or precipitate action on the part of any community and we ask all to abstain from acts which may prejudice the maintenance of peace. We believe that the press of the province can be of the greatest assistance in promoting the conditions necessary for reconciliation both by abstaining from the publication of reports or articles that are likely to inflame communal feeling, and also by bringing home to every section of the public and profound necessity in the interests of the people restoring harmony and good will”.

No.1435  
Lahore,  
17 July, 1935.

Fazl-i-Ilahi,  
Director, Information Bureau  
Punjab.

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**Source:** IOR L/P&J/7/886, Microfilm Acc. No.3063, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'J'

### RESOLUTION PASSED AT MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF PPML HELD

ON JULY 25, 1935

1. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is of the opinion that the tragedy enacted at Lahore in connection with the Shaheed Ganj Mosque could have been avoided if the authorities:

- (a) had, in time, prevented the provocative entry of armed Sikh *Jathas* from out-stations into the town of Lahore which commenced towards the end of June 1935, and continued right through;
- (b) had, in time, taken action under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code as to protect the said mosque from the projected sacrilege; and
- (c) had, as suggested by the Muslim Leaguers who waited in deputation on His Excellency the Governor, taken the said mosque under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904.

2. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League strongly condemns the conduct of these Sikhs who perpetrated the sacrilege of demolishing a Muslim Mosque and the tomb of a Muslim saint situated in the precincts of the said mosque, with full knowledge of the fact that the demolition was bound to injure deeply the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim community.

This meeting considers it all the more deplorable that this sacrilege was carried out in spite of the clear pledges given by the Sikh leaders both to the Muslims and the Punjab Government, to the effect that no demolition shall take place until after the matter had been discussed by the Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee with a view to some settlement with Muslim leaders.

3. That this meeting of the council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League records its deepest regret at the fact that the authorities did not stop the demolition of the mosque which was carried out in the presence of the Military and the Police that had been stationed there, in spite of the authorities being fully aware that the demolition of the mosque was a highly dangerous and provocative act which was bound to injure deeply the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims.

This meeting is of the opinion that the demolition of this mosque with the tomb inside it would never have been carried out had not the Military and the Police been posted on the spot.

4. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League records its considered opinion that the firing against peaceful and unarmed Muslim crowds was unjustified, excessive and inhuman.

5. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League deeply mourns the loss of life and other casualties caused by firing and otherwise, and offers its heartfelt sympathy to the relatives of the innocent Muslims who have been killed and injured in unfortunate incident.

This meeting is strongly of the opinion that the Government should give adequate compensation to the dependents of the innocent persons who have been killed as well as to those who have been incapacitated partly or wholly from earning their living on account of the injuries that they sustained in connection with the Shaheed Ganj Mosque affair.

6. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is of the opinion that as, on account of the unprecedented censorship of the Muslim Press and the effective ban on free expression of opinion in the Province, the truth cannot for sometime be known and as a very grave wrong has been done to the Muslim community and many innocent lives have been lost, it is imperative that a Royal Commission be sent out to enquire into the circumstances connected with the tragedy and recommend suitable action against those official who are responsible for it.

7. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is deliberately of the opinion that the deportation of peaceful Muslim citizens who had used all their influence in helping the authorities to maintain the public peace is an unconstitutional act and should not have been resorted to.

8. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League places on record its satisfaction at the peaceful conduct of the Muslims of Lahore and at the fact that in spite of grave provocation they have shown considerable self restraint in avoiding inter-communal trouble.

9. That this meeting of the Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League considers it imperative that a Muslim *Auqaf* Act in accordance with the dictates of the *Shariat* be passed without any loss of time, and calls upon the Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Council to take necessary steps in that direction.

10. That this meeting of the council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League urges upon the Government the claim that in the interest of the peace of the province it is essential to allow Muslims to keep and carry swords in all districts of the Punjab.

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Source: IOR L/P & J/7/886, Microfilm Acc. No. 3063, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'K'

### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE MUSLIM PRESS

#### LAHORE ON JULY 31, 1935 AT THE OFFICE THE SIYASAT LAHORE

1. This meeting of the Muslim press of Lahore assembled to deliberate over the incident connected with the Shaheed Ganj Mosque dispute resolves that firing on the unarmed and peaceful demonstrators was wholly uncalled for, that shots were deliberately directed at vital parts, and that men were shot were not at all concerned in the demonstrations, also men who were eaged in removing the dead and the wounded, and is of the opinion that a public inquiry should be instituted to unpleased the public mind. The Muslim press is further of opinion that a rule should be made that British soldiery, which seem to take delight in shooting and to regard it as a jolly man hunt, shall never again be used to quell civil disturbances.

2. Statement by Muslim journalists of Lahore adopt at a meeting of the Muslim press July 31, 1936.

In the name of humanity we raise the voice of protest against the repeated firing at Lahore in connection with the Shaheed Ganj Mosque dispute. In the first place, the firing was absolutely uncalled for, the mob being unarmed, non-violent and actually seated on the ground. There was not the slightest apprehension of any breach of the peace. The same mob, before the arrival of the military, had moved about freely in the city for two days and not a single case of molestation of non-Muslims was reported. As a matter of fact, it was no more than a demonstration against the demolition of the mosque and to resort to firing on the mere ground that the crowd would not disperse showed scant regard on the part of the Government for human life. Dispersal, which was the sole purpose of firing, could have been easily effected by other humane methods.

Secondly, the firing was not only unjustified, the manner in which it was carried out should be revolting to all notions of humane government. According to all accounts from respectable source, it seemed as if the British soldiers on the job took delighted in shooting for the mere fun of it. People actually squatting on the ground were fired on. Those who came forward to remove the dead and the wounded were also shot down. What is far more revolting, people were first invited to pick up the dead and then shot down. Stray individuals having nothing to do with the agitation were spotted, aimed at and shot. An old man about a hundred years of age, the keeper of a shrine, in spite of his protests that he had no other place to go to, was shot down on the spot. A medical man incharge of a dispensary set up for the aid of the wounded with the permission of the Government was beaten very severely.

We consider it our duty to God and to bring these facts to the knowledge of civilized humanity. Strong censorship throughout India has strangulated the voice of the press and hence in the name of the humanity, we the Muslim Pressmen of Lahore,

appeal to the conscience of the world at large and the British people in particular in whose name the administration in this country is carried on. Only the other day, a Muslim crowd was fired on at Karachi, resulting in heavy loss of life, with so little reason that the Government itself is too afraid to face public inquiry. The Lahore firing coming on the top of this has set Muslim thinking whether all this is taking place in pursuance of a definite policy of the Government to crush and demoralize the *Musalmans* of India as a community. These events following one on top of the other have caused deep resentment among the *Musalmans* and though calm, mosque which could not be demolished during the last 170 years, not even during Sikh rule, was pulled down under the protection of British arms, why the Government shirked the [?] of attaching the mosque in dispute in the interest of the tranquility or, again, why a dispute to which the Sikhs were a party was allowed to be handled by a Sikh District Magistrate and a Sikh City Magistrate, why firing was resorted to an unarmed crowd and why firing was carried but in such an inhuman manner are matters that call for an immediate and independent inquiry.

(Signed).

- (i) Mr. Murtaza Ahmad Khan Sahib Maikash (*Daily Ihsan*)
- (ii) M. Abdul Majid Salik Sahib (*Daily Inqilab*)
- (iii) Raja Ghulam Haider Khan Sahib (*Daily Zamindar*)
- (iv) Syed Inayat Shah Sahib (*Daily Siyasat*)
- (v) Allama Inayat Ullah Mashriqi Sahib (*Weekly Al-Islah*)
- (vi) Qazi Fateh Muhammad Sahib (*Weekly Ar-Rai*)
- (vii) M. Abdul Majid Sahib (*Weekly Paisa Akhbar*)
- (viii) M. Fazal Karim Sahib Durrani (*Weekly Truth*)
- (ix) M. Ghulam Nabi Sahib Ansari (*Nayyar-i-Islam*)
- (x) S. Dilawar Shah Sahib (*Weekly Sunrise*)
- (xi) Malik Khuda Baksh Sahib (*Weekly Daur-i-Jadid*)
- (xii) Malik Sadiq Sahib (*Weekly Shia*)
- (xiii) M. Sardar Ali Sahib Ahsan (*Daily Eastern Times*)
- (xiv) M. Muhammad Yakoob Khan Sahib (*Weekly Light*)

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**Source:** IOR L/P & J/7/886, Microfilm Acc.No.3063, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'L'

### LIST OF PERSONS INTERNED DURING SHAHEED GANJ AGITATION

Sr. No.	Name of Internee	Place of Internment	Allowance sanctioned Rs. Per Mensem	Date from which sanctioned is accorded
1.	Feroz-ud-Din Ahmed, s/o Nur Din, Mochi Gate, Lahore	Montgomery	75	15-7-1935
2.	Sayad Habib S/o Saidullah Shah, <i>Siyasat</i> , Lahore	Do.	120	Ditto.
3.	M. Zafar Ali Khan S/O M. Siraj ud Din Ahmed, <i>Zamindar</i> , Lahore	Karamabqad, Wazirabad, Gujranwala	120	Ditto
4.	Malik Lal Khan S/O Mast Ali Khan, originally of Gujrat and now of Gujranwala	Mirjan, Gujrat District	75	Ditto
5.	Lal Din Kaiser S/O Chiragh Din, Lahore	Rohtak	50	11-9-1935
6.	M. Khuda Bakhsh Azhar S/O Ilahi Baksh of Amritser, and now of Rawalpindi	Hansi, Hissar	33	17-9-1935
7.	Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani of Rawalpindi	Hissar	40	12-9-1935
8.	Sayyed Zain-ul-Abdin Shah S/O Piara Shah, Multan	Sirsa	100	11-9-1935
9.	M. Sher Nawab, Kasur, Lahore	Bhiwani (Hissar)	60	10-9-1935
10.	Sufi Inayat Muhammad S/O Miran Bakhsh, of Pesrur and Rawalpindi	Jhajjar, Rohtak, Pasrur. Sialkot	35	16-9-1935
11.	Ghulam Muhammad alias Aziz Hindi S/O Madho, Amritser	Zafarwal, Sialkot	30	12-9-1935
12.	Sayyed Sarwar Shah Gilani, originally of Shahpur district, now of Lahore	Sargodha, Shahpur District	30	11-9-1935
13.	M. Akhtar Ali S/O M. Zafar Ali of <i>Zamindar</i> , Lahore	Kaithal, Karnal	100	10-9-1935
14.	Abu Said Anwar S/O Fazal Karim, Amritser	Karnal	40	11-9-1935
15.	M. Muhammad Ishaq Mansehrvi S/O Muhammad Gul, Rawalpindi	Raipur, Ambala	80	12-9-1935
16.	Mir Muhammad Din, Lahore	Raipur, Ambala	35	11-9-1935

17.	Ghulam Nabi Ansari S/O Fazal Karim, Chak Issa, Jhelum	Naraingarh, Ambala	50	15-9-1935
18.	Muhammad Shah of Sialkot	Sialkot	30	17-7-1935

**Note:** Malik Lal Khan, Malik Lal Din Kaiser and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan declined to accept the allowance sanctioned to them. Zafar Ali Khan and Malik Lal Khan did not inform the Government of the reason of their refusal. However Malik Lal Din Kaiser, refused the allowance sanctioned on the grounds that it was inadequate.

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**Source:** *PLCD*, 30 March, 1936, pp. 963-964, IOR L/P & J/886. Microfilm Acc. No.3063, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'M'

### LETTER BY F.H. PUCKLE CHIEF SECRETARY OF PUNJAB TO ALL DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS IN THE PUBJAB ON THE LATEST SITUATION OF SHAHEED GANJ MOVEMENT

PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT,  
No. C.6 (6)-21-S.B

Dated Simla-E, the 11<sup>th</sup> September, 1935

**Subject: - Shaheed Ganj Agitation**

Dear Sir,

I am desired to enclose, for your information, an appreciation of the Shaheed Ganj agitation prepared in the light of the decisions which were recently arrived at by the Muslim conference which met in Rawalpindi on the 31st August and 1<sup>st</sup> September 1935. You will notice that this conference definitely adopted civil disobedience as a means of regaining possession of the site of the Shaheed Ganj Mosque. That this decision is definite has lately been made clear by a statement issued to the press by the Secretary, Muslim Shaheed Ganj Conference, in which he announces that the adoption of civil disobedience is postponed is incorrect. The conference unanimously accepted civil disobedience as the method of achieving their object and only left the announcement of the date of commencement in the hands of the Dictator. The announcement is apparently to be made on Shaheed Ganj Day on the 20th September 1935. In pursuance of this resolution, decisions were taken to raise volunteers, to organize centres throughout the province, to carry on propaganda everywhere and to make the demonstrations on the 20th September a resounding success. This programme is intended to produce scene measure of organization among Muslims, without which no civil disobedience movement is likely to achieve any measures of success. Muslims opinion is by no means unanimous about the desirability of civil disobedience, but there is no doubt that the resolutions of the Rawalpindi Conference were not intended as a mere threat, those who are at the back of this movement will spare no efforts to translate there words into action. They hope to rouse popular feeling on a religious issue and in particular to enlist the support of the religious leaders.

2. As far as the Shaheed Ganj affair is concerned, the Muslim-community may be divided into three classes. There is a considerable body of moderate men, gradually prone to look to Government as the Chief protector of their community, who, though they are genuinely distressed by the demolition of the Mosque and are not convinced that Government could not have done more to protect it, still do not wish their community to be drawn into a conflict with Government. There are the Muslim masses who are in a resentful and puzzled mood, a state of mind which provides very suitable ground in which seeds of trouble may be sown. Thirdly, there is a group of agitators, who are quite determined that the agitation shall not be allowed to drop. Their motives are various, some of them which to sell their papers; others have



political careers which they hope to improve by appearing as the champions of Islam; others are men the breath of whose life is agitation of some form or other, and perhaps one or two are genuine religious fanatics. Whether civil disobedience is started or not, this third group has made it clear that they will not permit the agitation to die down; it is not indeed in their interests to do so. They will continue through the press and through public meetings to keep interest alive and they will do their best to spread the agitation into rural areas where the people are at present more or less uninterested. This band of men constitutes a serious menace to the peace not only of the Punjab but also the North-West Frontier Province. They have already succeeded in infecting the tribes on the border of the Hazara District. The recent raids and gatherings of *lashkars* there were largely due to propaganda emanating from the Punjab, and the openly professed object of the raids has been the killing of non-Muslims and the destruction of their property and religious buildings. Government have decided that the time has come to curtail their activities.

3. Government intend therefore within the next few days to intern about a dozen of those persons in various places in the province. Orders have been issued to the Superintendents of Police of the districts concerned and your Superintendent of Police will have informed you whether any resident of your district is among those who will be interned, and also whether the place of internment selected for any of them lies within your district.

4. You may make this action to indicate that Government intends to use all the forces at their command to combat this threat of civil disobedience. In the interests of the peace of the province as well as in the best interest of the Muslim community. It is out of the question to allow the situation to develop into but may be something very dangerous indeed, without taking steps to stop it in its early stages. For the present government do not intend to take action against Pir Jamaat Ali Shah, who has been appointed Dictator or *Amir-i-Shariat*. They prefer in the first instance to attempt to detach him from the movement or to isolate him by taking his chief lieutenants rather than to place him under restriction. However, if he insists on following up his declared intention and brings himself within the mischief of the law, Government will have to consider taking action against him. The measures which government are adopting may create excitement with accompanying disorderly demonstrations; you will of course be prepared for that. In addition to interning prominent agitators, Government proposes to enforce the Press Act rigorously and to proceed against persons who make inflammatory speeches. I am to ask you to watch your local press carefully and report direct to government, with a copy to your commissioner, articles which seem to you to offend against the Press law; you should also report direct to government, with a copy to the Commissioner, specialties on which in your opinion action should be taken. I am also to ask you to look out for and to report at once any touring by agitators in villages and any attempts which may come to your notice to enlist the support of *Pirs* and *Sajjada Nashins* of your district in this agitation and any signs that they are contemplating taking an active part.

5. As you are aware, the 20th of September has been fixed as 'Shaheed Ganj Day' and it is on this day that the date for civil disobedience is to be announced. Government does not desire that demonstrations on the 20th September should be interfered with unless they seem likely to cause a breach of the peace either in the form of serious anti-Government demonstrations or in the form of communal

disturbances. In the matter of licensing processions you should adhere to the practice which normally obtains in your district. If meetings are held, arrangements should be made to report speeches. Generally, subject of course to your primary duty of preventing a breach of the peace, your policy on the 20th September should be to avoid a clash with Muslim demonstrators.

6. A particular grievance of the Muslim community is the fact that in six districts of the Punjab swords are still subject to the restrictions of the Arms Act. The Hindu community has of course the same complaint, though they have not been so vocal about it. In the other 23 districts swords are exempted from the restrictions imposed by Sections 13 and 15 of the Arms Act. The position is anomalous, because in these six districts *kirpans* are exempted from any restriction, and in effect that means that a Sikh may carry a sword, while a Muslim or a Hindu may not. Experience in the rest of the province has shown that the removal of the restrictions on swords has in fact had no untoward effect. The use of swords for the purpose of committing violent crime has not increased to any perceptible degree since restrictions on the possession and carrying of swords were removed. Government have decided to remove the restrictions in the remaining six districts, and, with the sanction of the Government of India, a notification to this effect will issue shortly; Their reasons for this action are twofold. In the first place, Government feels that Muslims have a genuine grievance in this respect; and, while it is their intention to deal firmly with unlawful movements, it is equally their policy to remove genuine grievances where they exist. Second, they feel that the anomalies of the present situation of the opportunity of civil disobedience on an issue unfavourable to Government, and they consider it desirable to remove it from the field of controversy, before issue is joined on other matters. Incidentally, the present decisions of Government will have the effect of solving, for the future, the question which is at present uncertain, whether a Sikh is permitted to carry more than one *kirpan*.

7. Government desire that district officers should discuss freely with responsible Muslims the events that have led to the present situation; the mischievous activities of agitators which have made necessary action against them; the duty and determination of Government to employ all its forces against a movement which, if unchecked, must bring disaster to the province; and the dangers to the Muslim community as a whole with which this movement is fraught. Government has some reason to suppose that agitation has obscured and confessed, the facts connected with the Shaheed Ganj. They have noticed a tendency for Muslims to assume that Government handed over to the Sikhs a building to which they had no right. The fact is, of course, that the Sikhs have been in undisturbed possession for 170 years, that their rights have been recognized by the civil courts, and that the Gurdwara Tribunal declared that the place had long ceased to be sacred. The memorandum attached to my letter of the 3rd of August, 1935 gives the relevant facts, and it is most important that no efforts should be spared to prevent their perversion. It is equally desirable that Muslims should face squarely the issues raised by the demand that the site should be restored to them. They are free to pursue in the courts any legal remedy which they may have; but so far as Government are aware, there is little, if any, hope of their success in this direction. Another course available to them is to persuade the Sikhs to hand the site over; but there does not appear to be the slightest prospect that Sikhs will agree to this. In fact, their attitude has hardened as Muslim agitation has become more unreasonable. Any

other course must bring Muslims into conflict with Government, with the decisions of the civil courts and with the rights of another community. The more this is brought home to reasonable Muslims, the better. Again, too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that this agitation is most strongly opposed to the real interests of the Muslims community. In a little more than a year, the new constitution will come into effect. Under it, Muslims have much to gain; but, if they engage in a fight with Government and other communities, they will seriously jeopardize the advantages, which they would otherwise possess. These and other arguments which will suggest themselves to district officers should be freely used. In particular, opportunity should be taken of reassuring the religious leaders that Government have made no departure from the accepted policy in religious matters, and that they have no intention of doing so. Islam has not been, and is not in danger, and the attempts of interested agitators to show the contrary are purely mischievous. It is their activities which constitute the danger to the community; and, quite apart from the paramount duty of Government to maintain law and order, they would be acting contrary to the interests of Muslims themselves if they failed. to take every measure to deal with civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-  
F.H. PUCKLE

To

All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

No. c.c.(6)21-S,8., Dated Simla-E., The 11th September, 1935.

Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab

Deputy Inspectors General of Police and Superintendents of Police, for information.

F.H. PUCKLE

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Source: IOR L/P & J/7/931, Microfilm Acc. No.3078, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'N'

### NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF VARIOUS SUB-COMMITTEES CONNECTED WITH THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW ORGANISATION, ANJUMAN-I-TAHAFIZ-I-MASJID SHAHEED GANJ

#### **I. Committee of *Ulamas* and Pleaders**

1. Shaikh Azimullah, Advocate
2. Malik Barkat Ali, Advocate
3. Sayed Muhammad Hassan
4. Sayed Mohsin Shah, Advocate
5. Ghulam Murshid
6. Dr. Muhammad Alam
7. Muhammad Aslam (Convener)

#### **II. Committee to collect material regarding the property of the Mosque**

1. Muhammad Habib
2. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
3. Qazi Ihsan Ahmad
4. Haji Habibullah
5. Muhammad Ali Ja'afri (Convener)

#### **III. Committee to negotiate with Sikh Leaders**

1. Dr. Muhammad Kitchlew
2. Dr. Muhammad Alam
3. Malik Lal Khan
4. Syed Habib
5. Ch. Afzal Haq
6. Mazhar Ali Azhar
7. Zafar Ali Khan (Convener)

#### **IV. Committee to interview the Deputy Commissioner and other high official**

1. Kh. Ghulam Mustafa Naik
2. Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Advocate
3. Akhtar Ali Khan
4. Syed Mohsin Shah
5. Farrukh Hussain, Advocate
6. Murtaza Ahmad Maikash

**V. Propaganda Committee**

1. Akhtar Ali Khan
2. Muhammad Din Mir
3. Maulana Ayaz
4. Sheikh Kanwar Din
5. Daud Ghaznavi
6. Khalifa Shifa-ud-Din
7. Abdul Hanan
8. Hassan Jafri

**VI. Committee to Collect Funds**

1. Nawab Muhammad Shahnawaz of Mamdoot (President)
2. Nawab Nisar Ali Khan (Vice-President)
3. Zafar Ali Khan (Secretary)
4. Syed Habib (Joint Secretary)
5. K.S. Amir-ud-Din (Financial Secretary)

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**Source:** *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 1935, para. 435.

## APPENDIX 'O'

### MEMBERS OF WORKING COMMITTEE AND PARLIAMENTARY BOARD OF MAJLIS-I-ITTEHAD-I-MILLAT

It was formed by a group of mainly Punjabi leaders of the second and third rank on July 30, 1935 at a meeting held in the office of the *Zamindar* in Lahore. The principal objective was to agitate for the Shaheed Ganj issue. There are two different versions of the founder office bearers. According to one, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was elected president and Sayyid Habib (of the *Siasat* newspaper) general secretary, but as Zafar Ali Khan did not like Habib the later was soon, replaced by Malik Lal Khan, with the result that Syed Habib left the party and in fact became one of its major critics. According to the second, the presidentship went to Malik Muhammad Din (Chairman, Lahore Municipality), Vice Presidentship to Malik Lal Din Qaisar and Muhammad Daud Ghuznawi was appointed as General Secretary.

#### Members of Working Committee

1. Chaudhri Ghulam Haider Khan
2. Akhtar Ali Khan
3. Azhar Amritsari
4. Mian Feroz-ud-Din
5. Yasubul Hasan
6. Abu Saeed Anwar
7. Shorash Kashmiri
8. Abdul Qadir Qasuri
9. Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam
10. Malik Lal Khan

#### Members of Parliamentary Board.

1. Shaikh Sadiq Hasan (Amritsar)
2. Zafar Ali Khan (Lahore)
3. Abdul Qadir (Qasur)
4. Dr. Muhammad Alam (Lahore)
5. Maulvi Muhammad Ishaq (Mansehra)
6. Sayyid Zain-ul-Abidin (Multan)
7. Chaudhri Ghulam Hassan
8. Dr. Muhammad Nawaz
9. Malik Ali Bahadur (Hafizabad)
10. Malik Lal Khan (Gujranwala)
11. Malik Lal Din Qaisar (Lahore)
12. Mian Firoz-ud-Din Ahmad (Lahore)
13. Zahir-ud-Dun (Ambala)
14. Sayyid Azmat Ali Warsi (Karnal)
15. Sayyid Diwan Ali Shah (Lyallpur)

16. Ghulam Muhayy-ud-Din Ahmad
17. Raja Abdur Rahman (Rawalpindi)
18. Sheikh Abdur Rahman (Taran Taran)
19. Professor Malik Inayatullah
20. Khan Muhammad Nawaz (Ferozepur)
21. Pirzada Abdul Hamid (Jullundher)
22. Malik Nasrullah Khan Aziz (Lahore)
23. Comrade Yaqub-ul-Hassan

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**Source:** K.K. Aziz (ed.), *Public Life in Muslim India, 1850-1947* (Lahore: 1992), pp. 147-48.

## APPENDIX 'P'

### SOME RARE LETTERS OF ALLAM M. IQBAL TO MASTER M. HUSSAIN

These letters were with Ch. Nafees Ahmad Bajwa Son of Ch. M. Hussain, which came into light through late Hussain's grandson Saqif Nafees in early 1990's. The total number of these letters is twenty seven. Here those letters are reproduced which are specifically related to Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi and his thoughts.

لاہور ۱۵ اگست ۲۰۲۳ء

ڈیر ماسٹر صاحب السلام علیکم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے الحمد للہ آپ اچھے ہیں کئی دن ہوئے، میں نے ایک خط آپ کو لکھا تھا جس میں نواب صاحب کی کتاب کے متعلق ذکر تھا جو اب زیر تصنیف ہے۔ معلوم نہیں وہ خط آپ تک پہنچایا نہیں پرائیوٹ خط تھا۔

تذکرہ کے چند صفحات میں نے دیکھے ہیں اور وہ بھی غالباً ابتدا کی تھے اس سے زیادہ میں دیکھ نہیں سکا، ممکن ہے آپ کی رائے صحیح ہو۔ یہاں لاہور میں ایک آدھ آدمی سے یہ سنا گیا ہے کہ کتاب گورنمنٹ کے خرچ پر شائع ہو رہی ہے کیونکہ اس میں بہترین مسلمان یورپ والوں کو ثابت کیا گیا ہے واللہ اعلم یہ بات کہاں تک درست ہے۔ جمہوریت کے زمانے کے یہ ضروری نتائج جو آپ دیکھ رہے ہیں ادب، فلسفہ وغیرہ سب کچھ اس کی نذر ہو جاتا ہے اور ہر آدمی اپنے آپ کو ہر کام کا اہل تصور کر لیتا ہے نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ تمام مطالب عالیہ ”ولنگز“ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ قرآن میں اس نکتے کو مد نظر رکھ کر صحیح معنوں میں ایک Aristocracy قائم کی ہے ”اگر مکم عند اللہ اتقا کم“ تقویٰ میں تمام تو توں کا کمال داخل ہے۔ اسلامی اریستوکریسی خون اور رنگ پر مبنی نہیں بلکہ تقویٰ اور پاکیزگی پر ہے۔ یہی اریستوکریسی مطالب عالیہ کی اہل ہے باقی خدا کے فضل سے خیریت ہے امید ہے آپ کا مزاج بخیر ہوگا۔ کتاب سلائی جاری ہے۔ مبارک علی سب کا یہاں خرید کرنا چاہتا ہے۔ کل اس بات کا بھی فیصلہ ہو جائے گا۔ نواب صاحب کی خدمت میں آداب۔ والسلام

محمد اقبال

لاہور ۱۵ اگست ۲۰۲۳ء

ڈیر ماسٹر صاحب السلام علیکم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے کتاب کی فروخت کا معاملہ ابھی تک طے نہیں ہوا، دو چار روز تک ادھر ادھر ہو جائے گا۔ ابھی اس کی سلائی بھی ختم نہیں ہوئی شاید آج پانچ سو کتاب تیار ہو گئی ہوں گی۔ ایک کتاب نمونے کے طور پر آئی تھی جو میں نے سردار جوگندر سنگھ صاحب کو دے دی تھی معلوم نہیں وہ شملہ واپس گئے یا اپنے علاقے میں ہیں۔ کہ گئے تھے کہ بدھ کو پھر آؤنگا اور تم سے نواب صاحب کی زمین مرید کے کے متعلق







بار بار اپیل کرتا ہے اور نظام عالم کی تواریخ کی تسخیر پر مومن کو آمادہ کرتا ہے مگر اس سے یہ نتیجہ نکالنا کہ کتاب سراسر جرتعلیل و جغرافیہ وغیرہ کی تلقین ہے کسی طرح بھی صحیح نہیں ہے۔ اس عمل اور فعلی کوشش کا مقصد حکومت و سلطنت کا حصول نہیں (یہ ضمنی نتیجہ ہے۔ یورپ نے اسی کو مقصد اصلی تصور کر لیا ہے) بلکہ انکشاف حقائق ہے یا یہاں انسان ایک کا دوح الی ربک کد حافلہ تھیہ پس ہر شد یدہ سعی کا نتیجہ مومن کے نزدیک نظام عالم کی حقیقت اصلی کا انکشاف ہے جس جو قرآن مذہبی اصطلاح میں 'تقالی الہی' سے تعبیر کرتا ہے۔ یعنی یہ انکشاف کہ نظام الہی کی بنا روحانیت پر ہے، مضمون اجتہاد میں میں نے اس پر مفصل لکھا ہے۔ والسلام

محمد اقبال

لاہور ۱۰ اکتوبر ۱۹۳۳ء

ڈیر ماٹر صاحب السلام علیکم

آپ کا خط ابھی ملا ہے کل آپ کو ایک کارڈ لکھ چکا ہوں مجھے آپ کے استدلال سے اتفاق نہیں بلکہ مجھے اس میں بھی شک ہے کہ ان کی تصانیف کسی خارجی اثر کا نتیجہ ہیں۔ آج ہی صبح مجھے کسی نے کہا کہ مصنف نے تمام اچھی باتیں اسرار و رموز سے لے کر نثر میں لکھ دیں ہیں اور تمام بری باتیں اپنی طرف سے اضافہ کر دی ہیں۔ عجمی شاعری پر مجھ سے پہلے مولانا حالی حملہ کر چکے ہیں البتہ میں نے حملہ کیا اس میں گہرائی زیادہ ہے اور یہ حملہ تصوف کے بعض سکولوں شاعری پر خالص طور پر کیا گیا تھا اس میں بھی انہوں نے میری ہی تقلید کی ہے مگر چونکہ لٹریچر کے نفسیاتی احساس ادا جس کے اثرات سے وہ پورے طور پر آگاہ نہیں اس واسطے وہ اغلاط میں مبتلا ہو گئے اور لٹریچر کا کلیدیہ فضول سمجھنے لگے۔ یہاں تک کہ حضرت حسان پر بھی اعتراض کرنے سے نہ چو کہ میری رائے میں اپنے خیالات کے متعلق خود ان کا ذہن صاف نہیں ہے اور اس کی بھی یہی وجہ ہے کہ یہ خیالات مستعار ہیں بہر حال آپ اپنے خیالات میں پورے طور پر آزاد ہیں آپ چاہیں تو ان کا اظہار کریں، مجھے آپ سے اس بارے میں اتفاق نہیں ہے۔

میں خود علم نبوت کو شعر پر ترجیح دیتا ہوں اور شعر کو محض اس کا خادم جانتا ہوں ان کے نزدیک یہ خدمت کے بھی قابل نہیں اور یہی بات غلط ہے۔ نفسیات انسانی کی رو سے بھی اور انسانی تجربے کی رو سے بھی میری رائے میں اگر وہ اپنے طرز بیان میں متناظر رہتے تو شاید کوئی شخص ان پر اعتراض نہ کرتا لیکن ان کا محتاط نہ رہنا بھی اسی وجہ سے ہے کہ ان کا ذہن پورے طور پر اپنے خیالات کے اندرون و بیرون کے متعلق صاف نہیں ہے۔ تکالیف شرعیہ کے متعلق جو کچھ انہوں نے لکھا ہے وہ اسی عدم غور کا نتیجہ ہے، بہر حال میں نے اپنی رائے مختصر اظہار کر دی ہے۔ آپ اپنے خیالات کے اظہار میں پورے طور پر آزاد ہیں۔

آج اخبار 'سیاست' میں ترکی اخبار وقت کے حوالے سے لکھا ہے کہ غازی انور پاشا زندہ ہیں اور بولشویکوں کے خلاف گرجستان میں مصروف جہاد ہیں۔ یہ اخبار شاید ۲۲ صفر ۱۳۴۳ء کا ہے اس کے علاوہ سردار محمود طرزی کے ہمراہ ایک ترک سردار تھے انہوں نے بھی انور پاشا کے زندہ ہونے کی تصدیق کی ہے یہ بھی اخبار میں شائع ہو گیا ہے۔ معلوم نہیں انور کی زندگی و موت کا معمہ کب کھلے گا۔ باقی خدا کے فضل و کرم سے خیریت ہے۔

نواب صاحب کی خدمت میں آداب عرض ہو۔ یہ خط تلف کر دیجئے گا۔

مخلص، محمد اقبال



## APPENDIX 'R'

### FOURTEEN POINTS OF ALLAMA INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIOI

1. We Khaksars stand, by eliminating all sectarian feelings and religious bigotry through our virtuous and beneficent deeds (but keeping religion in tact), for the creation of an egalitarian, tolerant and dominant order which will ensure proper treatment and well-being of all communities and the basis of which will be virtue, piety, struggle and supreme justice.
2. The practical Islam of early days alone is true Islam. Khaksar does not accept anything other than the practice and conduct of the Holy Prophet as Islam.
3. The path currently adopted by the *Maulvi* is wrong. Khaksar is determined to eradicate this false religion from the face of the earth and enforce in its stead the true Islam of the Prophet (PBUH).
4. The community of *maulvis* did not exist in early Islam. Therefore, Khaksar wants in their place to give birth to the community of imams who would rule the nation in accordance with *Shariah*. (The expression "*Maulana*" should be expunged from the Islamic dictionary because it means "Our Lord." In its place should be used *Sheikh-al-fazil* or other epithets.)
5. Khaksar does not touch doctrines of any religious school of thought and considers this convictional freedom as every Muslim's right, but he stands for unity of action among all sects.
6. Khaksar considers it the religious right of every Muslim to act, in the light of the Holy Prophet's own conduct, upon every prevalent or out-of-practice portion of the Quran and *Hadith* and is ready to make any sacrifice to free them from Government strangle hold.
7. Khaksar stands for respect of religious and social sentiments of every community (Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Jews, Scheduled Caste etc.), the stability of their specific cultures and traditions and exhibition of general tolerance, and considers this behaviour as the secret of a thousand years long Islamic rule over India.
8. Khaksar considers it the primary responsibility of his organization to ensure restoration of each community's legitimate civic rights and the protection of their internal and external interests. To create general good will, the Khaksar is prepared to accept every community as friendly partner and invites them to adopt the same attitude.

9. Khaksar has as his objective authority over the entire world and attainment of collective and political supremacy of his nation through piety and virtuous deeds.

10. Khaksar stands for only one *Bait-al-Mal* in India, which has already been established by *Idara-i-Aliyya*. He is opposed to the creation of all separate *Bait-al-Mals* whatever sacrifice he may have to make for this. This purpose of this *Bait-al-Mal* is, for the coming years, only to collect money, not to spend anything out of it.

11. Khaksar believes that he can attain supremacy in the world through his good conduct and fair dealings with every other community, not by any other means. These moral magnanimities are mentioned almost in every religious book.

12. Khaksar considers it his duty to develop the trade of every other Khaksar so as to improve the economic condition of the nation. He believes that his destination would remain out of reach without this.

13. From now on, *Muawin* Khaksar would be defined as one who sends direct to *Idara-i-Aliyya's* *Bait-al-Mal* at least six paise a month or one rupee a year and acts upon any general order issued by *Idara-i-Aliyya*, whatever the amount of sacrifice. Khaksar believes that anybody doing less than this cannot take the movement to its destination and his being a *Muawin* would not be of any use.

14. We Khaksars (*Pakbaz*, *Janbaz*, and *Ghair Janbaz*) are deadly enemy of traitorous leaders harming the nation or using it for their own benefit, public looters, paid agents of the enemy, anti-nation editors and newspapers, mal-propagandists, disrupters in league with the enemy, mischief-mongers and propagators of hatred between different Indian communities or various sects, associations or groups of Muslims to whatever community they belong, and stand for taking extreme revenge from them even though we have to make utmost sacrifices.

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**Source:** Syed Shabbir Hussain, *Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1991), pp. 76-78.

## APPENDIX 'S'

### MASHRIQI'S NOTE FROM CENTRAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT NOTE BOOK

It is noticeable that out of these candidates no Mussalman has been suggested by the local Government to be good enough to fill a vacancy. Such a position if accepted by the Government of India, would evidently be the cause of discontent among the Mussalmans. It goes without saying that there are men of very high qualifications at present existing among the Moslems, who would fill almost any of these posts with credit. We have recently had the case of Mr. Afzal Hussain of Cambridge who gained rare honours and was recommended by the Secretary of State for an appointment. Mr. Qazi of the Punjab who is a wrangler and was a Government state scholar is another example. Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan of North-West Frontier Province is a man of high qualification and is an exceedingly successful inspector. Dr. Iqbal of Lahore is another highly qualified man, who has already acted for sometime in the Indian Educational Service. There is a man named Mr. S.S. Alam of Cambridge on the waiting list who possesses high qualifications. I would be inclined to say that consideration would be given to this aspect of the question as well.

For further remarks please see statement put up. The qualifications of each man are considered there in details. Educational Commissioner may be requested to advice.

Inayatullah Khan  
Feb. 19, 1918.

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Source: Sher Zaman Collection, Rawalpindi.

## APPENDIX 'T'

### EXTRACT FROM IQBAL'S ALIGARH LECTURE (1911) AND IQBAL'S EXPLANATORY NOTE (1935) REGARDING AHMADIS

#### The Muslim Community – A Sociological Study

It has been my painful experience that the Muslim student ignorance of the social, ethical and political ideas that have dominated the mind of his community, is spiritually dead; and that if the present state of affairs is permitted to continue for another twenty years the Muslim spirit which is now kept alive by a few representatives of the old Muslim Culture, will entirely disappear from the life of our community.

To me the ideal of character, foreshadowed by Alamgir is essentially the Muslim type of character and it must be the object of all our education to develop that type. If it is our to secure a continuous life of the community we must produce a type of character which at all costs holds fast to its own and while it readily assimilates all that is good in other types, it carefully excludes from its life all that is hostile to its cherished traditions and institutions. A careful observation of the Muslim community in India reveals the point on which the various lines of moral experience of the community are now tending to converge. In the Punjab the essentially Muslim type of character has found a powerful expression in the so-called Qadiani sect.

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Source: L.A. Sherwani (ed.), *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1995), pp. 118-37.

#### An Explanatory Note on the Aligarh Lecture

This lecture was delivered at Aligarh in 1911. This remark about the Qadianis in this lecture must be revised in the light of the revelation of the spirit of the movement since 1911. The Qadianis still appear to be Muslims in externals. Indeed they are very particular in the matter of externals but the spirit of the movement as revealed often is wholly inimical to Islam. Outwardly they look Muslims and anxious to look so; but inwardly their whole mentality is Magian. It is probable that eventually the movement will end in Bahaism from which it originally appears to have received inspiration.

Muhammad Iqbal  
October 21, 1935.

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Source: Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi, *Tasaneef-i-Iqbal ka Tehqieeqi-wa-Tauzi'ee Mutali'ah* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1982), p.449.



## APPENDIX 'U'

### IQBAL'S LETTER TO PANDIT JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU DATED JUNE 21, 1936

My Dear Pandit Jawahar Lal,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. At the time I wrote in reply to your articles I believed that you had no idea of the political attitude of the Ahmadis. Indeed the main reason why I wrote a reply was to show, especially to you, how Muslim loyalty had originated and how eventually it had found a revelational basis in Ahmadism. After the publication of my paper I discovered, to my great surprise, that even the educated Muslim had no idea of the historical causes which had shaped the teachings of Ahmadism. Moreover your Muslim advisers in the Punjab and elsewhere felt perturbed over your articles as they thought you were in sympathy with the Ahmadiyya movement. This was mainly due to the fact that the Ahmadis were jubilant over your articles. The Ahmadis Press was mainly responsible for this misunderstanding about you. However I am glad to know that my impression was erroneous. I myself have little interest in theology but had to dabble in it a bit in order to meet the Ahmadis on their own ground. I assure you that my paper was written with the best of intentions for Islam and India. I have no doubt in my mind that the Ahmadis are traitors both to Islam and to India.

I was extremely sorry to miss the opportunity of meeting you in Lahore. I was very ill in those days and could not leave my room. For the last two years I have been living a life practically of retirement on account of continued illness. Do let me know when you come to the Punjab next. Do you receive my letter regarding your proposed union for Civil Liberty? As you do not acknowledge it in your letter I fear it never reached you.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/-  
Mohammad Iqbal.

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Source: B.A. Dar (ed.), *Letters of Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1978), p. 162.

## APPENDIX 'V'

### RESOLUTION MOVED BY M. IQBAL AT THE EVE OF KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, HELD AT LAHORE, UNDER THE PRESIDESHIP OF MIAN FAZL-I-HUSSAIN, NOV. 30, 1919

“The Muhammadans of Lahore in this mass meeting assembled to give expression to their feelings of anxiety and distress created by the failure of the peace conference of Paris to arrive at any satisfactory decision with regard to the *Khalifatul-Muslimin* and the Ottoman empire and beg to remind Mr. Lloyd George of those solemn pledges which he gave to the entire Muslim world in January 1918 with regard to the Turkish question. They also draw the attention of the peace conference to those principles which President Wilson laid down in his manifesto, on the basis of which this world-wide war has been brought to an end, and more earnestly pray that the peace treaty with Muhammadan states be concluded on the same principles on which the Allied powers have concluded peace with their Christian enemy kingdoms, and, that no part of the Ottoman Empire should either directly or indirectly be brought under the control of any other power”.

In moving the resolution Dr. Iqbal said that the principle of 'self-determination' first originated with the Muhammadans and asked the audience to be self-reliant and to trust in God and to fear none, but God. He said a nation was made strong only when it had been melted in the furnace of difficulties and asked the Muslims to bear their misfortunes bravely, as nothing was ever achieved without sacrifice. Government had led them to understand that they were fighting for right and truth and in order that bigger nations might not swallow up the smaller ones. They now desired Government to carry out its promises.

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Source: *Punjab Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 1919, para. 3000.

## APPENDIX 'W'

### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY JOINT MEETING OF PPML AND A.I.M.C

#### Resolution # 01

While fully prepared to consider scheme whereby just and legitimate rights of all communities are adequately protected, this meeting having considered, proposed formula for joint electorate, recently published, is definitely of opinion that it is utterly unacceptable to Punjab Muslims as under it *inter alia* Muslims of Eastern districts are statutorily debarred from even standing as candidates on behalf of constituencies in these areas, while Muslims of Central districts will not get their proper representation and cannot have effective voice in shaping provincial policy. This arrangement under which representative of various communities is inevitably concentrated in particular part of province is opposed to democracy. In circumstances Punjab Muslim cannot agree to modification of Communal award calculated to deprive them of separate electorate.

#### Resolution # 02

This meeting strongly resents attempts made behind back of community and its political organization to negotiate and conclude any agreement having effect of reopening matters already settled such attempts bound to create dissension in community.

#### Resolution # 03

This meeting declares no Muslim delegate joint select committee has any mandate to commit Muslims to settlement at variance with communal award in matter of separate electorates.

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Source: Telegram of M. Iqbal to Sir Samuel Hoare, India Office London, May 03, 1933. IOR L/PO/6/50 Microfilm Acc. No.2609, National Documentation Centre, Islamabad.

## APPENDIX 'X'

### PRESS STATEMENT OF IOBAL REGARDING SIKANDAR - JINNAH PACT, FEB., 1938.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of October, 1937, the Hon'able Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan as the leader of the Unionist Party in the Punjab made the following statement in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow.

That on his return to the Punjab he will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all Muslim members of the party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All-India Muslim League.... The Muslim members of the Legislature who accept the League ticket will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into a coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles of the policy and programme of the League.

This is the material portion of the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar agreement. The rest does not concern us for my present purpose. When this statement appeared in the Press, I was really overjoyed as I felt that the breach in the ranks of the *Musalman*s occasioned by the existence of an independent Unionist Party would be repaired and the Muslim community would be able to pull its weight. I accordingly directed Mr. Ghulam Rasul to send to Sir Sikandar about ninety membership forms of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League so that the latter might get them signed by the Muslim members of the Unionist Party. This was done about the third week of October 1937. No reply was received and consequently a reminder was issued. The reminder also remained unacknowledged. So far, not a single membership form has been received back from Sir Sikandar.

I am informed by Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., that this matter was discussed in the meeting of the Council of the A.I.M.L held at Delhi on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1938. There it was stated by a responsible member of the Unionist Party that the signatures of the Muslim members of that Party had been obtained on a form in which the person signing expresses his willingness to become a member of the Muslim League subject to the terms of the Jinnah - Sikandar "understanding". It must be here stated to clarify the position that Sir Sikandar claims an oral understanding between himself and Mr. Jinnah besides the written agreement, the material portion of which has been quoted above. This matter was brought to the notice of Mr. M.A. Jinnah during the course of the discussion in the Council meeting, and Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., informs me that Mr. M.A. Jinnah straightaway denied the existence of any oral understanding beyond the terms of the Jinnah - Sikandar agreement. This agreement was variously interpreted and created a great deal of confusion in the lay mind as to the attitude of the Unionist Party towards the Muslim League. About four months have passed and the Muslim public should be apprised of the exact position. Notwithstanding the

pledge given at Lucknow, nothing has been done to implement or carry out the terms of the Lucknow agreement. I am, therefore, issuing this statement so that the public may know that the Muslim League and the Unionist Party stand apart, and the amalgamation of the Muslim Members of the Unionist Party with the Muslim League, which, it was hoped, would follow in the wake of the Jinnah Sikandar agreement, has not so far taken any shape.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that the doors of the Muslim League are open to every Muslim who signs the League Creed, and I am glad to say that some members of the Provincial Legislature have already signed the League Creed.

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Source: B.A. Dar (ed), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1967), pp. 112-14.

## APPENDIX 'Y'

### LETTER FROM SIKANDAR HAYAT TO M.A. JINNAH

1, Zafar Ali Road,  
Lahore  
Nov. 03, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As I anticipated, my worries and difficulties began immediately after my return from Lucknow. I, however, did not consider it necessary to worry you in turn while you were still on tour in Bengal and Bihar. Now that you have returned to Bombay, I venture to apprise you of the position here as a result of the agreement arrived at Lucknow. You will remember I informed you that our opponents will do their best to distort and misinterpret the agreement with a view to embarrass us and, in particular, to make Chaudhri Sir Chottu Ram's position difficult and even untenable. Unfortunately, my fears have turned out to be only too true. Not only the Hindu and the Sikh press has concentrated its attention and criticism on the agreement in order to undermine the position of the Unionist Party, but unfortunately some of our Muslim friends, much to my surprise and sorrow, have contributed towards making the situation more difficult instead of making it easier for Sir Chottu Ram and the Unionists as they should have done. One cannot too highly praise Sir Chottu Ram for his public-spirited and sportsman like action in coming out with a statement which would have done credit to any Muslim for the way in which he justified the co-ordination of Muslim forces under the League flag. I was, therefore, not a little pained and surprised when I read Malik Barkat Ali's counter-statement, which was in my opinion wholly unnecessary and uncalled for. If anything, it has assisted in adding to the confusion which the Hindu and Sikh press has been at pains to create in order to torpedo the present Government. You will, I am sure, be equally surprised when I tell you that this statement appeared after Malik Barkat Ali had given me an undertaking that he would not issue any statement whatsoever. The position has now become extremely delicate and from my point of view almost untenable; and it is, therefore, necessary that I should issue an authoritative statement in order to counter the malicious propaganda set on foot by our opponents and the Hindu-Sikh press which has gained strength as a result of Malik Barkat Ali's statement. I am now challenged in the press and from the platform almost everyday to deny the mischievous and malicious falsehoods which are being published in the press. Moreover, a large section of the Muslims is also showing anxiety regarding the safety of the Government, which is dependent for its existence on the cohesion and solidarity of the Unionist Party. Their apprehension, with which I entirely agree, is that if any thing happens to dislodge the Unionists from their present position, it would be almost impossible to form another government, in which the Muslims can retain their rightful supremacy. In order to allay such misgivings and to dispel misleading notions entertained by a large section of the Muslims as also to give a crushing reply to our opponents, it is essential that an authoritative statement from me should be published immediately in order to avoid further misgiving and consequent trouble. You may, however, be sure that I will say nothing in the statement which might in any way react adversely on the solidarity of the Muslims which has been recently achieved as a result of your selfless and untiring efforts in the cause of Muslims in India. I will send you a copy of my statement for your perusal in due course.

I should be grateful if you would very kindly write to Sir Muhammad Iqbal and, if you consider it necessary, to Malik Barkat Ali also and impress upon them the necessity of avoiding anything which might evoke criticism from the Muslim Unionists or give a handle to our opponents to shake the solidarity and cohesion of the Unionist combination or give cause for any legitimate grievance to non-Muslim allies of the Unionist Party. You must have seen in the papers that the Hindu Mahasabha has invited Hindus and Sikhs of all schools of thought to meet in Lahore on the 7th of November in order, according to them, to show; a united front to the Muslims in answer to the Lucknow agreement. This is the main item of business for their meeting on the 7th. Their activities do not, however, worry me so long as I am sure of the loyalty and unalloyed support of the Muslims themselves. You will remember that I requested you at Lucknow to help me in securing an effective voice to the Unionist members of the League in the Parliamentary Board and also in the provincial organization. You very kindly accepted my recommendation by nominating my nominees to the Central Parliamentary Board. Under the existing constitution, I understand, the members of the Central Board constitute the Provincial Board together with such other members as may be co-opted by them, I hope you would kindly inform Sir Muhammad Iqbal that one of the conditions on which I agreed to advise the Muslim Unionists to join the League was that we should have a controlling voice in the Provincial League organizations. Another thing which you might mention in your letter to Sir Muhammad Iqbal is that the present Unionist Party will continue and function as at present and that the only change, contemplated by us was that the Muslim Unionist members will become members of the Muslim League and Malik Barkat Ali will join the Unionist Party.

You will be glad to learn that enrolment of League members is going apace and we hope to be able to set up district Leagues throughout the province in a short space of time. I have instructed all the Muslim Unionist members to start enrolling Muslims in their *ilaqas* and I am receiving very promising and satisfactory reports from various parts of the province. On the whole, the development, at Lucknow which brought about the solidarity of the Muslims throughout India has been welcomed by the Muslim masses, and if only a few interested members of the intelligentsia would have the decency and the honesty to place the interest of their community and the province before their own, our position not only in the Punjab but throughout the country would become much more secure vis-a-vis the Congress and the other hostile forces.

I hope you had a successful tour in Bengal and Bihar and are none the worse for your strenuous and exacting activities in the interests of your community and your country. As regards the special session of the League at Lahore, the general consensus of opinion is in favour of holding it sometime towards the end of March or the beginning of April because among other reasons, it would give us time to spread a network of district and mufassil organization by then. I trust this would meet with your approval. Formal invitation will be sent in due course after the mailer has been considered in a formal meeting.

With kindest regards and all good wishes.

Yours Sincerely,  
Sd/-  
(Sikandar Hayat)

## GLOSSARY

<i>acchuts</i>	untouchables; term used for Hindu outcaste
<i>ahinsa</i>	non-violence
<i>ahrar</i>	plural of <i>hur</i> ; literally means free born people
<i>ahl-i-hadith</i>	Muslim sect who does not believe in the authority exercised by existing Muslim's theological schools of thought
<i>ahmadis</i>	followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who believe that doors of Divine revelation and Prophethood have not been closed
<i>ajam</i>	a term used for all non-Arabs
<i>akali</i>	worshiper of the eternal one, particularly strict devotee of the Sikh faith. In modern usage a member of extreme Sikh nationalist party
<i>akhand bharat</i>	united or indivisible India; a slogan raised by militant Hindu organizations in opposition to the Muslims demand of a separate homeland
<i>allama</i>	a learned man
<i>amir</i>	leader; president; head
<i>amir-i-millat</i>	leader of Muslim community
<i>amir-ul-mau'meneen</i>	leader of the faithful
<i>anjuman</i>	an association
<i>anna</i>	one quarter of a rupee
<i>arain</i>	agricultural group in the Punjab, converted to Islam in the late middle ages
<i>ashram</i>	Hindu hermitage
<i>auqaf</i>	see <i>waqf</i>
<i>avatar</i>	reformer
<i>bagh</i>	garden
<i>bait-ul-mal</i>	public treasury
<i>bania</i>	Hindu traders
<i>bani Israel</i>	children of Israel
<i>baradari</i>	brotherhood or extended family; often used to denote body of caste or kinsmen
<i>barani</i>	an area where cultivation largely depends on rainfall



<i>bay'ah</i>	pledge or agreement at the time of initiation into a <i>sufi</i> order
<i>bazar</i>	market
<i>benami</i>	transfer of right through private and unauthorized agreement
<i>brelvis</i>	an off-shoot of Hanifites who follow the interpretation of Islamic doctrines as envisaged by Ahmad Raza Khan Brelvi (1856-1921)
<i>bukhari</i>	most authentic book on <i>Hadith</i> literature
<i>bulahb</i>	father of the flame; title given to the step uncle of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who was an antagonist of missionary endeavours of Islam
<i>buzur</i>	incarnation
<i>dajjal</i>	anti-Christ; the evil spirit who will appear before the end of the world to stir up anarchy and then will be killed by Mahdi or Christ
<i>dal</i>	organization; association
<i>darbar</i>	royal court
<i>dar-ul-alaum</i>	an Islamic institute for higher studies
<i>dar-ul-aman</i>	abode of peace; an area where Muslims are in power and freely act upon the principles of Islam
<i>dar-ul-harb</i>	abode of war; an area where Muslims are not in power and none of the Muslim law is obeyed
<i>dar-ul-musanafeen</i>	abode of writers
<i>deebachah</i>	preface
<i>deobandis</i>	an off-shoot of Hanifites who follow the interpretations of Islamic doctrines explained by scholars of <i>dar-ul-alaum</i> deoband
<i>dewan</i>	council
<i>dharamshala</i>	Hindu community centre; charitable institution
<i>diwan</i>	minister
<i>doab</i>	land tract between two rivers
<i>dogra</i>	inhabitants of Duggar tract in the Himalayas foot-hills; now mostly found in Jammu territory of Kashmir
<i>eid</i>	feast; the two major Muslim festivals, <i>Eid-ul-Fitr</i> at the end of month of fasting and <i>Eid-ul-Azha</i> after the pilgrimage

<i>faqar</i>	indigence; poverty
<i>farangi</i>	a term used for western, particularly British when a tone of hostility, hatred and contempt is implied
<i>farsi</i>	persian
<i>fasiq</i>	transgressor
<i>fatwa</i>	legal opinion or decree pronounced by a <i>mufti</i> (a Muslim lawyer trained in <i>Shari'a</i> law) which is an exposition or interpretation of any question raised by an individual or organization
<i>fiqah</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
<i>garanth</i>	holy book of Sikhs
<i>ghair-muqallid</i>	non-followers; usually attributed to <i>Ahl-i-Hadith</i> sect of Muslims
<i>ghazal</i>	lyrical poem of ideally 5-12 couplets with mono-rhyme
<i>giani</i>	title of respect given to learned of Sikh religion
<i>gujjar</i>	a large grazer caste of the Punjab, predominantly Muslims
<i>gurdwara</i>	sikh temple
<i>guru</i>	spiritual guide of Sikhs
<i>hadith</i>	statement, practice and approved actions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) based on the authority of chain of reliable transmitters
<i>hajj</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca; obligatory for every Muslims, provided he has the means to do so, once in the life
<i>hanafi</i>	followers of legal school of Imam Abu Hanifa (699-767)
<i>haram</i>	forbidden; sinful
<i>hijrat</i>	migration; particularly the migration of thousands of Muslims to Afghanistan during the <i>Khilafat</i> movement
<i>hindutva</i>	literally Hinduness; term popularizes since 1920's during the campaigns of <i>Shuddi</i> and <i>Sangathan</i> in which it was asserted that Hinduism was India's true nations faith
<i>hukumat-i-Illahiya</i>	divine rule
<i>hulul</i>	transmigration
<i>ibadit</i>	worship
<i>idara</i>	institution

<i>idara-i-aliyya</i>	highest functionary institution of Khaksar Tehrik
<i>iftitahiah</i>	foreword
<i>ijma</i>	consensus of Islamic scholars in certain time about the lawfulness of a certain issue
<i>ijtihad</i>	the action of using independent reasoning in a legal or theological matter and not to cling to the solutions codified by the existing Islamic legal school of thoughts
<i>ikhtiar-i-natiq</i>	dictatorial authority
<i>ilaqas</i>	circle; area
<i>imam</i>	one who leads; head of a mosque who leads Muslim congregational prayers; In <i>shia</i> theology, the leader of the community who is a descendant of Hazrat Ali and Fatima
<i>ishq</i>	dynamic love, according to Iqbal the moving principle of the world
<i>jagir</i>	land grant in lieu of military and political services
<i>jagirdar</i>	holder of a <i>jagir</i>
<i>jama'at</i>	group of people; a party
<i>jamia</i>	university
<i>janbaz</i>	who gives up his life; the elite corpse in Khaksar Tehrik
<i>jannat</i>	paradise
<i>jathas</i>	company; party; organization or band of people proceeding somewhere for the purpose of political domination
<i>jathabandi</i>	the process of forming <i>jathas</i>
<i>jihad</i>	striving effort; striving in the way of God – if necessary war in his cause
<i>jizya</i>	capitation tax paid by the non-Muslim who are in turn protected by the Muslims
<i>kabith</i>	unclean; dirty and evil
<i>kacha</i>	underwear
<i>kafir</i>	non-believer; infidel
<i>kammis</i>	a lower strata of society doing menial jobs
<i>kangha</i>	comb
<i>kara</i>	bracelet
<i>kas</i>	a Sikh turban

<i>khaki</i>	brownish
<i>khalifa</i>	caliph
<i>khalifa-tul-Muslimin</i>	temporal and spiritual leader of Muslims
<i>khalsa</i>	pure; used by Sikhs to denote their community
<i>khanajangi</i>	internal feuds
<i>khateeb</i>	public speaker, usually title given to the <i>imam</i> of a mosque
<i>khilat</i>	robe of honour
<i>khilafat</i>	caliphate; institutionalized spiritual and temporal authority over the Muslim Community; a movement launched in 1920's for the protection of holy places of Muslims
<i>khudi</i>	ego; selfhood; in Iqbal's philosophy, the individual's essence which has to be strengthened to its utmost limits
<i>khutba</i>	sermon
<i>kirpan</i>	Sikh dagger and religious emblem
<i>kisan</i>	landless peasant or cultivator
<i>kotwal</i>	chief of the town police
<i>lagan</i>	land revenue
<i>lambardar</i>	headmen of a village
<i>langar</i>	free public kitchen attached to <i>sufi</i> shrines
<i>lashkar</i>	army
<i>lathi</i>	wooden stick
<i>ma'abud</i>	Allah almighty
<i>madah</i>	extollment; praise song in honour of companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>madrassa</i>	a traditional Islamic school often associated with a mosque
<i>mahal</i>	palace
<i>mahasabha</i>	great assembly; a political party based on militant Hinduism
<i>mahdi</i>	rightly guided; a religious leader who according to popular belief, will appear near the last days of this world and kill the <i>dajjal</i> and establish a Muslim rule over the entire world
<i>majlis</i>	meeting
<i>maktib</i>	Muslim primary school
<i>manazra</i>	dialectical dialogue between scholars of different faiths to prove the superiority and truth of their religion

<i>mansabdar</i>	an official who hold government post
<i>mard-i-ma'umin</i>	the true believer
<i>marhatta</i>	hindu warrior caste of western India
<i>massiah</i>	healer
<i>mau'aud</i>	promised
<i>maulana</i>	my lord; my master; title of Muslim scholar who has passed the course of <i>Dars-i-Nizami</i> from any recognized Muslim seminary
<i>maulvi</i>	see <i>maulana</i>
<i>maumin</i>	a true believer
<i>millat</i>	community
<i>mohallah</i>	an inner locality of a town
<i>mohtashib</i>	ombudsman
<i>morcha</i>	ditch; entrenchment; used in a sense of a defensive political position
<i>mu'avin</i>	helper; the reserve unit of the Khaksar Tehrik
<i>mubahillah</i>	to curse; in theological rules it meant the convocation of a curse of God on the liar. Usually permitted to Muslims in debating with non-Muslims
<i>mujaddid</i>	renovator; supposed to appear at the beginning of every century in Islam
<i>mujawir</i>	attendant of mosque or shrine
<i>mulla</i>	see <i>maulvi</i>
<i>mullaism</i>	institutionalized clergy
<i>muqaddimah</i>	prolegomena
<i>murid</i>	disciple; follower
<i>murtadd</i>	apostate
<i>muslim</i>	one of the six authentic books on <i>Ahadith</i>
<i>mutawalli</i>	keeper of a <i>khanqah</i> or mosque
<i>naib</i>	deputy; assistant
<i>naib munseram</i>	assistant revenue officer
<i>nazim-i-a'ala</i>	chief executive or administrator
<i>neeliposh</i>	volunteers of Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat wearing cloths of blue colour
<i>nehr</i>	rivulet

<i>nizam</i>	system; system administrator of princely states
<i>pakbaz</i>	who gives up every thing, second important group of volunteers of Tehrik-i-Khaksar
<i>panchayats</i>	a village council comprising five elderly men of that particular area, for deciding mutual conflicts and cases at local level
<i>pandit</i>	a Hindu title; applied to those who are a member of Brahaman community and perform religious duties
<i>pir</i>	muslim religious guide; but in some backward areas of Sindh and Punjab a class of hereditary <i>pirs</i> , who exploit the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses and thus strengthen their religio-political influence in the area
<i>puranas</i>	hindus sacred text
<i>pardah</i>	veil; the concept of seclusion of women
<i>qanats</i>	tent-wall
<i>qasaid</i>	plural of <i>qasida</i> ; long poem with mono-rhyme, usually written in praise of Kings
<i>qaum</i>	nation
<i>qazi</i>	muslim judge
<i>qiamat</i>	day of resurrection
<i>qias</i>	personal opinion, which Islamic scholars derived from the Quran and <i>Sunnah</i> , pertaining to a socio-cultural or religious issue
<i>raj</i>	sovereignty; in particular British power in India
<i>ramayan</i>	hindu epic of ancient India
<i>ramazan</i>	ninth month of Muslims yearly calendar during which all major and sane members of community fast between early morning and sunset
<i>rubaiyat</i>	plural of <i>rubai</i> ; Quatrain usually comprises of two couplets
<i>sabha</i>	an association
<i>sajjadahnashin</i>	successors to a shrine of <i>pir</i> or <i>sufi</i>
<i>salam</i>	muslim greeting
<i>salar</i>	commander
<i>salat</i>	Islamic ritual prayers to be performed five times a day in congregation at mosque

<i>samaj</i>	a society
<i>sangathan</i>	organization; campaign launched for consolidation and organization of Hindus
<i>sardar</i>	leader of a tribe
<i>sarkar</i>	government
<i>sawaraj</i>	self-government
<i>sawars</i>	cavalry
<i>sena</i>	army
<i>serais</i>	temporary abodes along roadsides
<i>shaheed</i>	martyr
<i>shariah</i>	a clear path; Islamic fundamental law based on Quran and <i>Sunnah</i>
<i>shariat</i>	see <i>shariah</i>
<i>sheikh-al-fazil</i>	a person having honours in Persian, Arabic and Islamic law
<i>sheikh-al-hadith</i>	an Islamic scholar who has an authority regarding the traditions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)
<i>shia</i>	a Muslim sect who does not believe in the succession of first three caliphs of Islam and advocated that being the cousin and son-in-law of Prophet, Hazrat Ali should have been Muhammad's (PBUH) first caliph
<i>shirk</i>	associating some one with God
<i>shirk-fin-nubuwat</i>	associating some one with Prophet i.e. a belief that process of arrival of prophets has not ceased
<i>shoba</i>	department
<i>shuddi</i>	purification; Hindu campaign aiming at the re-conversion of people recently converted to Islam and Christianity
<i>shura</i>	consultative body
<i>sipahis</i>	soldiers
<i>sufaidposh</i>	person belonging to middle class; subordinate to <i>zaildar</i> but performing almost same function
<i>sufi</i>	Muslim mystic
<i>sunnah</i>	the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), according to which the Muslims should act

<i>sunni</i>	Muslim sect believing in succession of four rightly guided caliphs of Islam
<i>surkhposh</i>	volunteers of Ahrar-i-Islam wearing dresses of red colour
<i>tabarra</i>	condemnation; to declare oneself free from; according to shiaites a concept of non-acceptance of succession of first three caliphs
<i>tabligh</i>	missionary work; to preach; movement launched in 1920 which aimed at spreading Islam by preaching among recently converted groups and among untouchables
<i>tafaseer</i>	plural of <i>tafseer</i> ; exegesis; commentary particularly of Quran
<i>talwar</i>	sword
<i>tanzim</i>	organization; campaign launched by Muslims in 1920's to organize Muslims
<i>taqdeer</i>	pre-destination; concept that God has fixed an appropriate share for every creature
<i>taqleed</i>	unquestioned or blind imitation
<i>taqwa</i>	fear of God
<i>tauheed</i>	oneness of God
<i>taulug</i>	district boards
<i>tauluqadars</i>	administrators of a district board or <i>jagirs</i>
<i>tayyib</i>	pure; clean and good
<i>tehrlik</i>	movement
<i>tehsil</i>	sub-district
<i>tehsildar</i>	in-charge of a revenue sub-district
<i>Ulama</i>	plural of <i>alim</i> ; Muslim religious scholar; also see <i>maulana</i>
<i>Ulama-i-haq</i>	the righteous religious scholar
<i>ummah</i>	trans-national Muslim community
<i>unani</i>	greek
<i>urs</i>	celebration of a <i>sufi</i> 's or saint's death anniversary
<i>vedas</i>	hindus sacred texts
<i>wahy</i>	prophetic inspiration
<i>wahdat-al-wajaud</i>	unity of being; in theological terminology this existential unity is experienced by the mystics who remained in a stage where they believe that everything is He