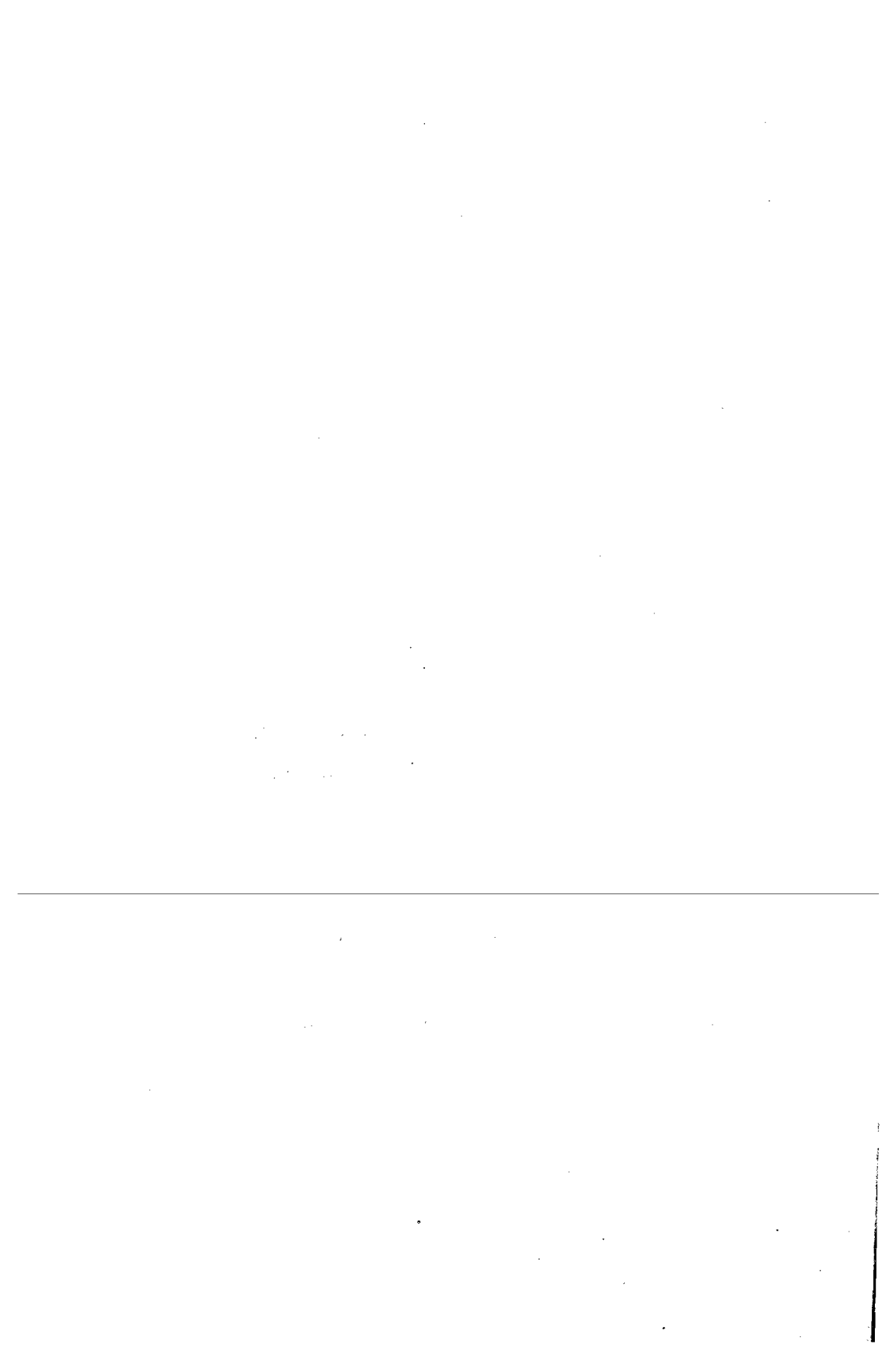


The Celestial Link

Safia Rahim Farooq

This paper “highlights a singularly important icon the **tree**”, which persistently permeated in the visual arts of the Sub-continent (Indo-Pakistan)”. The geo-strategic position of India, subjected it to successive invasions that gave birth to the fascinating cultures of its past, to which it is somewhat linked even to this day. To a certain degree, this has been significant in shaping its visual arts, the roots of which can be traced back in time, to an existing sequel in the contemporary art of Pakistan.

Despite the fact that much has come to light from the amazing excavations of the Indus Valley Civilization, yet there is no consensus among scholars regarding the religion of its people, partly because no large statues of deities were unearthed, and partly because their script has not been deciphered. Wheeler writes, “The inscription [on the numerous seals] begins from the right but in the second line it begins from the left i.e. the sequence is boustrophedon.... The number



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- 1- Meeting of the All India Muslim League working committee held on March 17, 1932 Muslim League paper (Hereafter MLP), Vol.122.
- 2- For details see Abdul Raszzaq Shahid, The all India Muslim League. (1930-1937), unpublished Mphil thesis department of History, Quaid-I-Azam University Islamabad 1996 pp. 72-89.

- 3- Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., Foundations of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League documents. (1906-1947, vol. II, 1924-1947, Karachi, 1970, p.206.
- 4- Ibid., pp-206-207.
- 5- Ibid., pp. 223-224
- 6- Rasheed Ahmad Khan, 'Palestinian problem and Muslims of south Asia 'Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, vol., xxix, No.3, 1992, pp.32.33.
- 7- Pirzada, Op. cit. Vol. II, pp.225-226.
- 8- Ibid., p. 223.
- 9- Council Meeting, 1st and 2nd April 1934, MLP. Vol., 219.
- 10- A.M. Zaidi, Evolution of Muslim Political thought, 1926-1936, vol., iv, Delhi, n.d., P-199.
- 11- MLP., vol.222.
- 12- Rasheed Ahmad Khan, Op.cit., p-34.
- 13- Pirzada, OP. cit-, vol, ii, p.272.
- 14- Ibid., p.278.
- 15- Ibid., pp. 277,278.

the Islamic world would look upon British as the enemy of Islam and would be forced to adopt all necessary measures according to the dictates of their faith¹⁴.

The AIML also appealed to the rulers of the Muslim countries to continue to use their powerful influence to save the Holy places in Palestine from the sacrilege of Non-Muslim domination. The League offered its complete co-operation to a supreme Muslim council under the leadership of the grand Mufti of Palestine. The recommendations of the royal Palestine commissions were rejected¹⁵.

- 1- Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877 – 1938)
- 2- Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah. (1875-1952)
- 3- Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. (1873-1956)
- 4- Maulana Shoukat Ali (1873-1938)
- 5- Maulana Daood Ghaznavi (1895-1963)
- 6- Shamsul Ulema Maulana Najmul Hassan

Earlier in September 1937, a conference on Palestine was held at Calcutta. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah sent a message to the conference affirming full support to the brave struggle carried on by the Arabs of Palestine for the independence and freedom of their country¹². In his presidential address at the luck now session held on October 1937, Jinnah discussed the Palestine question at length as it had moved the Musalmans all over the India most deeply. He condemned the British policy because it was betrayal of the Arabs, from its very inception. He was of the view that the royal commission's recommendations were also a part of British policy for the partition of Palestine. He requested the League of Nations not to approve of Royal commissions scheme. He warned that the British would be digging their own grave if they failed to honor their original proclamation, promises and intentions which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large before the first world war. He also said that the Muslims of the sub-continent would stand solid and would help the Arabs in every way they could in the brave and just struggle that they were carrying on against all odds¹³.

The same session passed a resolution which stated that if the British Government failed to alter its pro-Jewish policy in Palestine the Musalmans of India in consonance with the rest of

India that the Balfour Declaration be immediately withdrawn as it is opposed to the fundamental rights of the people entrusted to their control⁷."

In the same session Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, in his presidential address demanded an immediate enquiry of what had happened in Palestine, involving of several Arabs and injury to many more⁸. The Council of the AIML in its meeting held on 1st and 2nd April 1934 under the presidency of M.A Jinnah assured the Arabs of Palestine its heart felt support and criticized the Jews to buy lands and settle down in Palestine⁹. The AIML viewed with great concern the economic, social and political position of the Arabs in Palestine, in its meeting held on August 12-13, 1934 at Simlial¹⁰.

The AIML expressed its sympathy with the Palestine Arabs in their troubles and congratulated them on the sacrifices which they were offering for the freedom of their country and protection of their rights. The AIML also criticized the pro-Jewish policy of the British Government. It was decided by the Council of the AIML that Muslims of India should observe 19th of June 1936 as Palestine Day by observing complete suspension of all business and by holding meetings everywhere expressing their sympathy with the Arabs. Further the Council appointed a committee to consider ways and means of carrying this agitation in the country and take other necessary step in this regard. Prominent pan Islamists were included as members of the said committee. They were¹¹.

Indian troops should not be sent to any Muslim land. A demand was also made to boycott the British goods; and concern was expressed at Jewish immigration into Palestine. A strong protest was made against the terrorization of the Palestinian Arabs and the gross injustice against them. Through these resolutions the European powers were also warned against carving out zones of influence in the region; support and sympathy for the Palestinian's struggle for self determination was expressed and an assurance of all help by the Muslims of India was given. The resolution also contained an appeal to all the Muslims of the world to save Palestine. The British Government's anti-Arab policy in the Middle East was also condemned⁶.

In early 1930, the situation in Palestine had become quite grave owing to the British policy of allowing more and more Jews to enter the territory. The Arab resentment and anger had taken the shape of resistance which the British sought to repress with force. This aroused strong indignation among the Muslims of India. Their sentiments were reflected in the resolution passed at the 23rd annual session of the AIML held at Delhi in 1933. The resolution said:

"This session of the All-India Muslim league places on record its emphatic protest against the policy of the British Government in trying to make Palestine the National home of the Jews, and request H.E the Viceroy to represent to His Majesty's Government the feeling of the Muslim of

he found no words to express the contempt and indignation for this foul crime and requested the gathering to join him in praying for eternal peace in heaven for the soul of the departed king and for the welfare and prosperity of his successor and the neighboring Muslim country of Afghanistan⁴.

Similarly, Hafiz Hidayat Hussain (1881-1935) also referred to the murder of Nadir Shah in his presidential address. Expressing his grief, he said that their hearts went out to the afghans and the royal family in their affliction and prayed that Almighty Allah might bestow peace and prosperity on the country of their brave and noble neighbors. The resolution passed at the said session, the copy of which was endorsed to the Afghan Consul-general in India, recorded the AIML'S deep sense of Sorrow and horror' at the dastardly' assassination of Nadir Shah. Declaring his death to be a great loss to the Muslim world, the resolution conveyed AIML's heart-felt sympathy and condolence to the bereaved royal family and the Afghanistan⁵.

So far as the Palestinian question was concerned, the AIML began to take note of the serious situation in Palestine from the time the territory was seized by the British from the Turks in 1918. Until 1947, almost at every Muslim League session, at council and working committee and elsewhere, AIML leaders spoke on Palestine, held discussions, and passed numerous resolutions on the issue. In these resolutions Britain was asked to redress the grievances of the Palestinians. These resolutions protested against the threat of British use of force in Palestine and demanded that

was glad to observe that the relations between the British Government and Afghanistan happily continued to be cordial and expressed the conviction that Afghanistan had now definitely yet its course for political, economic and educational progress. He also paid rich tributes to King Nadir Shah declaring him an eminent statesman, soldier and 'Saviour of Afghanistan' and said that Afghanistan was making progress entirely due to his self-sacrificing zeal³.

The efficient rule of Nadir Shah abruptly ended due to his murder at the hands of one of his personal enemies in November 1933. Commenting on it Haji Rashid Ahmad (1883-1952) Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 23rd session of the AIML, called by the hidayat Group at Delhi on November 25.26. 1933, in the course of his speech, pointed out, with the feelings of horror and sorrow, to the 'most brutal' in human and dastardly Murder' of King Nadir Shah and declared that he was one of the most enlightened and progressive Muslim leader of Asia./ Alluding to Nadir Shah's Keen interest in welfare of the Indian Muslims, Haji Rashid Ahmad made mention of the late king's announcement to subscribe Rs. Three thousand, six hundred annually to the Aligarh' Muslim University and said that similarly the spread of education in Afghanistan was Nadir Shah's chief concern.

Haji Rashid Ahmad also pointed to the visit of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) to Afghanistan, who was invited by Nadir Shah, along with two other prominent Indian educationalists, to advise him on educational matters. He concluded by saying that

AIML held on march 17, 1932¹. According to the telegram the AIML was requested to impress upon the Viceroy to send a Muslim from India as Agent general to South Africa as two Hindus had already been sent as Agent General. They desired that Agent general must be a Muslim this time. According to the aspirations of the South African Muslims the working committee of the AIML in its meeting resolved that the Government of India be requested to appoint a Muslim as Agent General to South Africa Though some members of the AIML like Syed Riza Ali (1880- 1949) and Sir Ali Imam (1869- 1932) had advised their community to remain aloof from involving themselves in the affairs of the Muslim countries, the policy of the AIML regarding the Muslim world continued².

Another important issue which attract the attention of the AIML was Afghanistan. While Afghanistan was making progress under the leadership of Nadir Shah (1880-1933) during the early thirties, the condition of Muslim politics in British India became deplorable: The AIML had become inactive and lastly divided into two factions, namely Hidayat group and Aziz group². Any how, even in such an atmosphere of disappointment and frustration, both the groups of the AIML did not forget to express their concern for Afghanistan at their separately held meetings.

At the session conducted by the Aziz group at Howrah on October 21,1933, Main Abdul Aziz (d-1946) in the course of his presidential address, referred to the reports for sustained development in Afghanistan and said that these reports were sure to be received with great satisfaction by the Indian Muslim. He

***Pan-Islamic Trends in the All-India
Muslim Leagues's politics (1930-1937)
with special reference to South Africa
Afghanistan and Palastine***

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In 1906, the All-India Muslim league (AIML) was founded with the main purpose to project and advance the political rights and interests of the Indian Muslim. However, the AIML was not only interested in solving the problems of the Indian Muslims, it was equally interested in the problems of the Muslim community living in other areas of the world especially the Muslim world.

During 1930-37, there were some problems for the Muslims living in South Africa, Afghanistan and Palestine. They equally attracted AIML'S attention the resolution of sympathy were passed in defense of the Muslim rights. Not only this, some Muslim Associations had direct contact with the AIML. Whenever they faced any problem, they write to the president or secretary of the AIML. Similar contact was established by Hamidia Islamic Society of Johannesburg of which telegram came under consideration in the meeting of the working committee of the

- 19- MLP., 197.
 20- MLP., vol., 111
 21- Pirzada, op.cit., vol., II, p. 188.
 22- MLP., vol., 111.
 23- Ibid.
 24- The following tables show the elections results regarding Muslim seats.

Province	Total Muslim Seats	Won by AIML
U.P	64	29
Assam	34	09
Bengal	117	39
Bihar	39	-
Bombay	29	20
C.P	14	-
Madras	28	10
N.W.F.P	36	-
Orissa	04	-
Punjab	84	02
Sind	33	-
Total	482	109

Source: Uma Kaura, Muslims and Indian Nationalism the Emergence of demand for India's partition,(1928-1940) Lahore, n.d.,pp.108-109.

- 12- Muhammad Saleem Ahmad. op-cit.. P.215. Before 1913, the total strength of the council being distributed among the various provinces was as under.

Sr.No	Name	Seats
1	U.P	8
2	Punjab	7
3	Madras	2
4	Burma	1
5	Indian States	1
6	Bombay and Sind	4
7	N.W.F.P and Baluchisan	1
8	Upper Bengal, Behar and Orissa	7
9	Eastern Bengal and Assam	7
10	Central India, Berar and Ajmer	2
	Total	40

- 13- Syed Shamsul Hassan. op.cit, p.331.
- 14- Dr Abdus Salam Khurshid. Sir Gueseshat-i-Iqbal. Lahore. 1977. pp 232-233.
- 15- Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, The first phase of Quadi-l-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Leadership in the Muslim League: A political study 1906-1919. Islamia University Bahawalpur. .n.d, pp. 9-10.
- 16- Pirzada, op.cit., vol.II,p-188.
- 17- MLP., Vol., 122
- 18- MLP., vol.III,122.

vol. II. 1924 – 1947, Karachi. 1970, pp. 171-172, 176.
See also The Indian Annual Register, 1930, vol. II.
New Delhi 1990, p.345.

6- Pirzada, op.cit., PP.175, 188.

7- Following were the members of this committee, Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, Abdul Mateen Chaudhary, Sir Muhammad Yaqoob, Haji Rashid Ahmad, Hilal Ahmad Zubairi, Mr. Asif Ali, Hussain Imam, Masood Ahmad and Mirza Muhammad Saeed.

8- This committee was consisted of the following: Syed Hussain Imam, Maulvi sir Muhammad Yaqoob, Abdul Mateen Chaudhary and Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan, the Secretary of the AIML was convener of the committee. Pirzada. Op. Cit., Vol. II, P.260.

9- The committee was comprised on the following: Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, syed Muhammad Ashraf, Masudul Hasan, syed Muhammad Hussain, Hussain Imam, Maulana Shauqat Ali, Maulvi syed Murtaza and Main Ghiasuddin Muslim league papers (here after MLP vol).222. Naional archives, Islamabad.

10- See Abdul Razzaq Shahid, The All-India Muslim League, 1930-1937, unpublished, M-phil thesis Department of History, Quaid-I-Azam University , Islamabad, 1996. Apendix-7,p.159.

11- MLP., vol.208.

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- 1- Muhammad Ali, Green Book, pp.19-20 Quoted in Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, The all-India Muslim League, from the late 19th century to 1919, Bahawalpur, 1988,p.207.
- 2- Rules and Regulations of the All India Muslim League, Aligarh, 1909, p.3.
- 3- Ibid I. II, p.7.
- 4- Ibid I. II, pp 14-15 See also Syed Shamsul Hasan, plain Mr. Jinnah, Karachi, 1976, p.304. The total membership of four hundred was distribute among the various provinces as under:

Provinces	Total Members	Percent
U.P., (Agra-45, Oudh-25)	70	17.50
Punjab	70	17.50
Upper Bengal Including Behar and Orissa	70	17.50
Esatern Bengal and Assam	70	17.50
Bombay (Bombay -30, Sind-10)	40	10.00
N.W.F.P.,- 10, Baluchistan-5	15	03.75
Madras	25	06.25
Central India, Berar and Ajmer	15	03.75
Burma	10	02.50
Native States	15	03.75
Total	400	100.00

- 5- Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada. The Foundations of Pakistan: The All- India Muslim League Documents, 1906-1947.

more seats in the council to influence the decision of the AIML. The functions of the council were in practice taken by a very small minority. Only ten members formed a quorum at all meetings of the council and even this quorum was not necessary for adjourned meetings. The central office of the AIML was located at Aligarh (1906-1909), Lucknow (1910-1926) and Delhi (1926-47) and since the members of the council attending its meetings were required to pay their own fares and subsistence usually those residing in Delhi or the neighboring provinces like U.P. took part in the celebrations of the council and thus dominated the policies of the AIML.

From 1906 to 1937 the council of the AIML. Its working committee subjects committee, affiliation committee and any other committee constituted for any purpose is sufficient to show the dominant role of the leadership from Muslim minority areas in the affairs of the AIML. The list of the office bearers of the AIML and the places of its annual sessions reveals this fact that the leadership of the league did not give due share and importance to the Muslim majority areas. Iqbal's Allahabad scheme received a poor response from the AIML, it was another evidence that leadership of the AIML was not much interested in the affairs of the Muslim majority provinces. That is why the election results of 1937 proved that the AIML was not a sole representative body of the Indian Muslims as it captured 109 Muslim seats out of 482 seats allotted to Indian Muslim²⁴.

bearers formed the quorum of the meeting. Almost all the important matters and issues were discussed in the meetings of the working committee. However the resolution passed by the working committee were subjects to the approval of the council of the AIML¹⁸. Membership of the AIML was also approved by the council¹⁹. No doubt the highest decision making authority was the general meeting, the rule were amended or cancelled at the annual meetings of the AIML with 2/3 majority present at the meeting²⁰. Quorum of the previous day meeting was considered for the second day meeting as it happened in case of Allahabad session held in December 1930. The quorum of 75 necessary for the annual session was reduced to 50 in 1931²¹. In 1937 the quorum was raised to 10022. Prior to 1937 every Muslim could attend the meeting with one rupee entrance fee. In accordance with the constitution and rules of the All India Muslim League 1937, the delegates of all affiliated leagues and members of the council of AIML were entitled to attend, take part, and vote as the annual or special sessions of the AIML on payment of a fee Rs.2/each²³.

CONCLUSION

The AIML from 1906 to 1937 was an organization run and dominated by the political elites from Muslim minority areas. The composition of its council hardly evoked enthusiasm especially from the Muslims of the majority provinces. The composition of the council was based not representation of Muslim population, but on arbitrary allotment of seats giving much larger representation to Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority. The leaders from Muslim minority provinces always tried to capture more and

fear of Punjabi dominance in the Pandal who were not ready to give up separate electorates¹⁴. It is clear mentioned that Dr.Saifuddin Kitchlew who had tendered his resignation called meeting of the AIML Council and consequently alter the decisions asdesired by the leaders of the league who were in favour of joint electorates.

In fact, among the office-bearers of the AIML its secretary always held an important position to influence the decisions of the organization. The creed of the AIML 'self government suitable to India' was adopted due to the efforts and interests of Syed Wazir Hussain. He took delegation to England regarding Cawnpur Mosque without prior approval of the council the sanction was accorded later¹⁵. It was the influence of Maulvi Muhammad Yaqoob, secretary AIML, that when Main Abdul Aziz, president AIML, removed him from secretary ship of the AIML as reaction the council adopted a resolution of removal of Main Abdul Aziz as president and confidence in Secretary. In 1937, Liaquat Ali Khan refused to affiliate the Punjab provincial Muslim League without knowing the report of affiliation committee appointed in this regard.

In 1931 working committee of the AIML was established consisting of 23 members¹⁶. The members of the working committee were nominated from amongst the members of the council by the president of the AIML the Majority of the members of working committee belonged to the area where the headquarters of the AIML was located. The president of the AIML and secretary AIML were also ex-officio members and office-bearers of the working committee¹⁷. Only five members excluding the office

Province	1913	1919	1931	1937
Delhi	02	04	10	15
U.P	25	50	50	70
Punjab	25	50	50	90
Bombay	14	28	20	30
Sind	-	-	10	25
Madras	09	18	18	20
N.W.F.P	05	10	10	20
Baluchistan	02	04	04	05
Bengal	30	60	60	100
Behar	15	30	30	30
Orissa	-	-	-	10
Assam	06	12	12	25
C.P and Berar	04	08	10	20
Central India and Ajmer	02	14	06	05
Burma	07	14	10	-
Indian states and others	04	08	10	-
Total	150	300	310	465

The council had power to alter its previous decision. In was decided in the council meeting held on 20 November 1926 to hold next annual session in Lahore, under the presidency of Sir Muhammad Shafi. Dr Saifuddin kitchlew (1884-1963) had resigned from the secretary ship of the AIML. However he held the meeting of the AIML at Delhi where it was decided to hold next annual session of the AIML in Calcutta Muhammad Yaqoob was elected as president of the Culcutta session. Dr Muhammad Iqbal and Malik Feroz Khan Noon (1893-1963) held the view that the place of meeting was changed from Lahore to Calcutta due to the

charge. During the years (1908-1937), Seven secretaries served the league. They were Syed Husan Bilgrami, Muhammad Aziz Mirza (1864 – 1912), Syed Wazir Hassan, (1874-1947), Syed Zahoor Ahmad (d.1942) Dr. Saifudding Kitchlew, (1884-1963), Mulvi Sir Muhammad Yaqoob (1879-1942) and Nawab Zada Liaquat Ali Khan 10. (1895 – 1951)¹⁰.

The most important body in the organization of the AIML was its central committee which was formed about the same time as was the first executive of the AIML in March 1908. This central committee was subsequently renamed as council in 1910. The members of the council were elected from among the members of the AIML and their number was apportioned from each province in accordance with the ratio fixed for total membership¹¹. The allocation of seats was keenly contested by the representatives of various provinces. In the Council U.P. was given seven seats out of 40. After the general distribution of the quota, one seat of the council remained unallotted. Yakoob from Madras and Main Muhammad Shafi of the Punjab suggested that this one seat be given to the N.W.F.P. which had been given only one seat to share with Baluchistan. But Syed Zahoor Ahmad and Waqar-ul-Malik, (1841-1917) both from U.P. opposed the suggestion as a result this extra seat was also given to the U.P.¹². Before 1910 the quorum was fixed five but this was changed to ten members in 1913.

The following table shows the strength of the AIML council from 1913 to 1937¹³.