

## **Dictating Intellectual Climate of Muslim Nationalism in India: A Case Study of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali**

### **Abstract**

This research paper discusses that Chaudhary Rahmat Ali enjoys distinctive intellectual qualities, visionary approach and political insight as compared to his contemporary Muslim politicians in India. Further, it also focuses to pinpoint those facts; the creation of Pakistan was a contributive achievement resulted from the laborious and vigorous struggles of All India Muslim League. However, it recognizes that intellectual qualities, imaginative perfection and farsighted approach of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali created something special; out of nothing and proposed the name of Pakistan. This paper also encapsulates that Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was not a politician who used to seek a popular support but he was a zealous supporter and devoted Muslim who coined the word Pakistan with his creative imagination, committed individuality and devoted nationalism which inspired; the Muslim Political intelligentsia during the demand of a Muslim separate state in India. Thus, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's prophetic vision, conceptual abilities, imaginative conviction and poetic skills dominated the Muslims intellectual climate of India during the freedom struggle of Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Muslim intellectuals, political climate, Visionary approach, providence, farsightedness, Idea of Pakistan, Now or Never, Idea of the Continent of Dinia.

### **Introduction:**

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, a unique Muslim intellectual of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, born in District Hoshiarpur in 1897.<sup>1</sup> After getting his graduation from Islamia College Lahore, he travelled to England for higher education and joined Cambridge University. During his student life, he was an active supporter of a separate Muslim state in India.<sup>2</sup> He occupied a unique place, intellectual distinction and political insight amongst his contemporaries in Indian politics. Undoubtedly, he was not famous, to great extent, in the Muslim intellectual elite of India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was a vibrant activist and visionary youngster in the freedom struggle of India.<sup>3</sup> The idea of division of India had been floated from various politicians, writers, poets, journalists, religious leaders, aristocrats or even from Hindu orthodox politicians as well as from Englishmen. In fact, at that juncture, the Muslim political elite that was ardently advocating a separate Muslim state, however, deprived of the famous and the most acceptable name which was imagined by Chaudhary Rahmat Ali. His visionary approach, imaginative conviction yielded the Indian Muslim political elite to accept his name of 'Pakistan'. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali had a clear vision and courage to demonstrate his conceptual abilities about the Muslim demand of a separate state and proposed his creatively constructed the name of Pakistan.

### **Muslim Intelligentsia and providence of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali**

The Muslim leaders and intellectuals were anxious about the future of the Muslims in India and there were serious concerns as well as apprehensions about the possible future name of a Muslim state. At that juncture, they wanted to safeguard the Muslim interests, political freedom and constitutional rights. For this purpose, they planned and organized themselves politically in order to secure a separate homeland for the Muslims population in India. In these circumstances, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali demonstrated prudence, sagacity and committed zeal to put forward the name of Pakistan and presented this name in unique conviction that the Muslim intelligentsia accepted it. On the one hand, the intellectuals were setting roadmaps, redirecting the lines of Pakistan Movement as well as the political leaders were meditating on various suggestions, proposals, formulas, plans, schemes and ideas of the partition. On the other hand, the eventual outcome of the Muslim struggle necessitated that commonly agreed, favorably accepted and widely appreciated name of a separate Muslim state should be proposed, announced or coined.

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was that kind of prudent personality who exhibited missionary fervor for the Pakistan scheme since its inception in 1933. Although, Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), as a poet, visualized a separate Muslim state in his Allahabad Address in 1930 and later on Muhammad Ali Jinnah's (1876-1948) participation in round table conference, yet the name of Pakistan remained a confusing reality and unacceptable preposition. However, in these circumstances, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was inspired by Iqbal's vision for a separate Muslim state in India. Realizing the need of the time, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, to some extent, was disappointed by Iqbal's ideas and his approach in round table conferences that he pressed the issue of Muslim separate state. In 1933, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, apparently, sitting on the top floor of London bus, was deeply meditating and courageously inventing the name "PAKISTAN" as the 'P' choosing for his native province Punjab, and the 'A' for Afghanistan (represented North Western Frontier Province present Khyber Pakhtunkhawah, KPK). Similarly, he derived the word 'K' from Kashmir and 'S' for Sindh province while including 'TAN' which stood for Baluchistan.<sup>4</sup> Initially, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali sought a meeting with Muhammad Ali Jinnah in London while

pressing the name 'Pakistan' as an acceptable nomenclature. However, Jinnah rejected the Rahmat Ali's conception of the name and argued that Muslim majority province Bengal has been overlooked in the ChaudharyRahmat Ali's general scheme of the name of separate homeland. Ironically, with the passage of time, Jinnah accepted the name Pakistan and ChaudharyRahmat Ali's visionary approach as well as committed efforts proved his dedication to the Muslims separate state. This acceptance of the name of Pakistan by the Muslim intelligentsia transformed ChaudharyRahmat Ali as a sagacious, devoted and a man of conviction whose intellect proved and compelled the Muslim leadership to accept his proposal about the name of Pakistan.

The contributions of ChaudharyRahmat Ali gave moments of profound reflection and self-revelation that he was a man of sound caliber and competent abilities to provide something unique to the Muslim leadership. He, remarkably, also contributed in the growth of Muslims separatism; on the basis of which Pakistan was achieved. He taught the Muslims of India how to break the shackles of foreign rules and inculcated in them to unite, organize and then to demand what was envisaged by the Muslim leadership. ChaudharyRahmat Ali possessed a prophetic imagination whose far-seeing abilities were productive and fruitful regarding the past, the present and the future of the Indian Muslims. He possessed devoted excellence, sound common sense and responsive attitude which he unleashed through his pen and mind. He treated his work as a mission and gave it his heart, soul, time and energy.<sup>5</sup> In fact; he was neither a politician seeking popular support, nor a candidate angling for votes. Even more than being an arm-chair politician, he was a philosopher of political ideas, a creator of concepts, and a maker of plans.<sup>6</sup> As he compared to his contemporaries, Rahmat Ali always kept on to ponder vigorously, to meditate devotedly and to create the name of country perfectly which was a unique phenomenon by a young leader of Muslim intellectual elite of India. In this background, ChaudharyRahmat Ali's practical approach, pragmatic contributions and exhibitions of devotion to the history of the Idea of Pakistan were unique, and all those who helped to make his ideas known to their own circles in India, however, he remained a shining star of the Muslim struggle for a separate homeland in India.

As a thinker, he formulated and advocated certain principles which the All India Muslim League borrowed from him. He argued for the two-nation theory with conviction and skills. He made a clear-cut demand for a separate and independent Muslim state in South Asia and to make out a persuasive case for it. He coined the name 'Pakistan' for the country of his dreams and made utmost efforts to transform this dream into a reality. He not only coined the name for the country but also converted a large group of people to work practically for a separate Muslim homeland.<sup>7</sup> ChaudharyRahmat Ali also presented a detailed case for the development of Muslim nationalism in India and his writings convinced that the separate Muslim state was indispensable. His contributions changed the course of history and destinies of a considerable amount of people in South Asia. In fact, he was a thinker, not an organizer; a man of ideas, not of deeds; a mere student with a pen in his hand, not a politician with public resources at his command.<sup>8</sup> However, his services and ideas convinced the Muslim leadership in India to accept his proposals about the separate Muslim homeland.

The origin of the idea of Pakistan, therefore, had always been a lively theme for scholars, writers and philosophers. Some historians have traced back the beginning of Pakistan to the entry of Islam in the sub-continent. However, the partition of India has been explained as an inevitable result of the irreconcilable division between the Hindus and the Muslims; and that was the fear of Hindu Raj which inspired the demand for the division of India. In these circumstances, ChaudharyRahmat Ali competes with the Muslim intelligentsia and gave new ideas and directions to the freedom movement. His innovated skills, courageous personality and loving heart convinced the then Muslim political elite, think tanks and other freedom fighters who were the devoted Muslims with ardent Muslim Islamist ideology. In fact, he was a deep bigoted crank with maverick qualities, who also presented himself as a reactionary Muslim imperialist whenever time demanded such response.

K.K.Aziz pointed out, 'there is no direct evidence to show that ChaudharyRahmat Ali personally knew people like F.K. Khan Durrani, Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash, NawabZulfiqar Ali Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal.'<sup>9</sup> But he must have acquainted himself with their schemes and heard the public talking about them. ChaudharyRahmat Ali's first suggestion, according to him, was made in 1915 in the course of the inaugural address which he delivered before the *Bazmi-i-Shibli*,<sup>10</sup> a society that he had established in that year in Islamia College, Lahore. When, he was only 18 years old, he announced that the Northern territory of India was comprised of the Muslims and it would be kept for the Muslims. However, he also resolved that it would be formed a Muslim state in the Northern territory. He also argued that Northern Muslim state in India could only be possible when the Muslims would leave to be called as Indian. He wanted to shed Indianism as soon as possible for the interests of the Muslims as well as for the Islam. He was also of the view that Indian Muslims wanted to see the Muslims and the Hindus in separate state.<sup>11</sup> He elaborated these facts that before the arrival of the British in the Indian Sub-continent, some Northern parts of India, which is Pakistan today, was never included in India. As a result of this statement, ChaudharyRahmat Ali disconnected himself from vibrant society of Muslims and Hindu 'intellectuals'. He never supported imperialism as well as Federalism in India which was also advocated by the then Muslim political leader as well. Thus, he left them by saying; 'Friends! If my views are unacceptable to you, we had better part... You work for your Indian Revolution but I will work for my ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. At the end, we shall see who creates the most dynamic and creative revolution'.<sup>12</sup>

### Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's farsighted conviction about the Idea of Pakistan

Ch. Rahmat Ali was of the view that constitutional changes which were introduced in India from 1862 to 1920 mainly focused to dominate the Muslims as well as to subjugate them. He criticized the Muslim politicians who were just look at events like a cow who looks to a passing train and they were doing nothing to check any development against the Muslims.<sup>13</sup> Further, he wrote; whichever political party was in power in Britain, our denationalization constituted the core of British policy; whichever Caste Hindu Party was in control of the Indian National Congress, our de-Islamization remained the creed of Caste Hindu politics.... our 'Indianization' formed the content of the British-Bania Alliance.<sup>14</sup> He stated; "we Muslims are a Millat distinct from the Caste Hindu Jati...., our destiny lies in integration with other Muslims, and not with caste Hindus".<sup>15</sup> As far as the views about the Muslim separatism were concerned prior to Rahmat Ali, one suggestion common, among Muslims nationalist and intelligentsia, to several proposed solutions; was the separation of the north from the rest of India and the establishment of Muslim control therein.<sup>16</sup>

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali also stated that his slogan regarding revolution would be revolution, revolution and revolution. Beside this, he used to state; that God will help me to achieve the slogan. Further, the struggle for the uplift of Islam as well as for Ummah received a lot of criticism as well as opposition. However, he wrote in his book that he has been called by several Muslims as fanatic as well as an extremist. Some called him a man having pan Islamist visionary as well as an idealist who has done some subversive activities.<sup>17</sup> However, later on, his love proved as a true son of soil when the Muslim intelligentsia agreed to his suggested name about the proposed separate state.

During his education career in Law College Lahore, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was also known as a poet in Urdu. He was excessively outspoken against the British imperialism and his teacher advised him to avoid irrational poetry against the British.<sup>18</sup> F.K. Khan Durrani, whose college days coincided with those of Rahmat Ali, once mentioned that at that time the Muslim students often used to talk of a division of India and the creation of a Muslim state.<sup>19</sup> Rahmat Ali's ideas and his inaugural address might have appealed to the youthful imagination of his contemporaries and set them thinking on separatist lines.<sup>20</sup> Chaudhary Rahmat Ali wrote, 'it was in 1915 - one of the most fateful years in the history of Islam - that I gave my Political expression to it when founding the Bazm-i-Shibli'.<sup>21</sup> In this period of little information and fewer facts, the only clues to Rahmat Ali's thoughts are his retrospective comments on various proposals, put up between 1923 and 1930, for achieving Muslim control over parts of India. But it must be kept in mind that these observations were made much later, and might owe something to hindsight, though there is a thread of consistency running through them.<sup>22</sup>

Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada in his book *Evolution of Pakistan* mentioned events and statements of persons which may be taken as explaining the genesis of Pakistan, as prognostications of the partition of the subcontinent. I shall refer to only some proposals of them, which were also written by Chaudhary Rahmat Ali in his book namely; *Pakistan: the Fatherland of the Pak Nation*. These ideas of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali demonstrated his intellectual capabilities, visionary approach and concentrated efforts. Sardar Gul Khan (the President of the Islamic *Anjuman* of Dera Ismail Khan) a Pathan from the N.W.F.P during an inquiry on the question of further reforms in India, clearly indicated that the Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible and therefore, the geographical separation of the two communities was essential. There was a very strong demand for the partition of India comprising of Northern areas (Muslim majority) as well as Southern areas (Hindu majority) to be included in separate states having almost 23 Crores Hindu population and the Muslims comprising of almost 9 Crores in the Northern part of India.<sup>23</sup>

K.K. Aziz wrote when Sardar Muhammad Gul Khan's testimony had given before the North-West Frontier Inquiry Committee was released, it pleased Rahmat Ali to see that by making a demand for separation. However, the Sardar had 'repudiated all the Muslim politicians and organizations working for the common nationhood of the Muslims and the Hindus, asserted our distinct nationhood, and asked for a clear cut division of India between Hindus and Muslims'. In an obvious dig at the Muslim League, he deplored that, although this demand had been made one year before Maulana Hasrat Mohani's attempt to achieve some security for the Muslims, and seven years before Iqbal's Allahabad address.<sup>24</sup> Maulana Hasrat Mohani<sup>25</sup> (1875-1951) was a renowned poet and a revolutionary also feared that the Hindus would do all they could to crush the Muslims. Maulana was the first Indian to suggest the resolution for independence of India from the platform of the Congress. However, in the next year, Maulana mooted the idea of an Indian republic on the style of the United States of America, a bi-communal federal state with Muslim states united with the Hindu states. K.K Aziz pointed out: 'Hasrat Mohani's proposals of 1924, gave a qualified approval who had devoted his life to the cause of freedom and who by his service and sacrifice had raised the standard of our public life'. But he realized that his scheme was not for a partition, but for an Indian federation in which Maulana's 'states' would be nothing better than provinces. Without impugning Mohani's sincerity in hoping for a free Islam in a free federal India, he was convinced that such a federation 'could not but fetter Islam'.<sup>26</sup> It was in this perspective that Maulana Hasrat Mohani in 1931 once again underlined the depth of the Muslim fears of the Hindu Raj during a meeting of the Muslim Conference pointing out that the introduction of Dominion Status for India was detrimental to Muslim interests.<sup>27</sup>

The foremost among such Hindu politicians was Lala Lajpat Rai<sup>28</sup> (1865-1928) who presented solutions for the Hindu Muslim problems same year, in 1924. This was for a clean partition of India between the Hindus and the

Muslims in which Muslims would get the North-West Frontier Province, Western Punjab, Sind, Eastern Bengal, and other areas inhabited by 'compact Muslim communities' which Rahmat Ali took to mean 'at least Jammu and Kashmir and Malabar'. These views also conveyed to Rahmat Ali some indications 'a fundamental change in the attitude of an influential section of caste Hindus'. ChaudharyRahmat Ali was observing deeply to the intellectual paradigm shift in Hindu mentality about the proposal of partition. Thus, he minutely noticed that, at least the Hindus accepted an endorsed the Muslim views and belief of a separate nationhood and state in India. For the first time in history, some Hindus had come out openly to endorse the Muslim belief and 'to admit the impossibility of Muslim absorption by them and the inevitability of the recognition by them of Muslim nationhood'. More than that, 'they had come to agree to divide India into Hindu India and Muslim India and to recognize Muslim sovereignty in Muslim strongholds'. In spite of the exclusion of Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal from the areas allotted to the Muslims, Rahmat Ali believed that LajpatRai's scheme was a decisive step in the right direction'. And 'had it been followed by an immediate demand for a more appropriate division of India, the history of India and of the Millat during the past quarter of a century would have been written differently'. He could see why the Hindu politicians had not done this; their reasons were perfectly understandable. In fact, LalaLajpat had become a powerful supporter of the partition of Punjab; the Western Punjab with a large Muslim majority to be a Muslim governed province and the Eastern Punjab with a large non-Muslim Majority to be a Hindu area. Under his scheme, the Muslims would have four Muslim states: the Pathan Province; the Western Punjab; Sind and the Eastern Bengal.<sup>29</sup> As the political intelligentsia of that time was hardly came to accept the proposal of partition regarding Muslim majority province while ChaudharyRahmat Ali was quick enough to dictate, convince and to formulate a unique intellectual climate which helped him to construct name from these Muslim majority province. Thus, his mental faculties were transforming what was being thought into a bit imagined reality in the sub-continent.

K.K.Aziz wrote in detail and firmness that this proposal was a landmark in the evolution of the idea of Pakistan.<sup>30</sup> There is no vagueness or confusion about the suggestion. This was the first scheme of partition to appear of which we have full details and in some respects it goes beyond what anybody had suggested before or was to suggest in the future until we come to ChaudharyRahmat Ali'. A Hindu historian, Tara Chand observed: 'the partition of India was not a product of the fertile imagination of a Muslim undergraduate of the Cambridge University (ChaudharyRahmat Ali) nor even poet Iqbal's fantasy, but the brain child of a hypersensitive Hindu Stalwart' (LalaLajpatRai).<sup>31</sup>In spite of the incomprehensible Muslim silence, the Lala's proposal had serious repercussions in both camps. 'In our case, it reinforced our old belief in the distinct entity of our people and our lands, re-fixed our eyes on our homelands, and sharpened our urge for the division of India. In the case of Caste Hindus, it intensified their efforts to keep us confined in India, changed their old subtle appeals for 'Hindu-Muslim Union' to new, stern demands for 'Hindu-Muslim Unity', and turned their sophisticated talk of Hindu-Muslim co-operation into sharp threats of coercing us into 'Indian Unity'—a Unity which could only mean our funeral.' In consequence, 'the tide of Indianism began to flow faster after 1924 and, as time passed, it rose to fold level and swept all before it'. The Muslim leaders did nothing to check this current. In Rahmat Ali's apt imagery, the Muslim politicians just looked at it as a cow looks at a passing train.<sup>32</sup>LajpatRai was to be given some credit for suggesting a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problems in India, the Muslims have no objection, for the situation was developing in the right direction. Anyway, it may also be mentioned that within a year of publication of LajpatRai's scheme a palmist and astronomer, (C.L. Hamon under the name of Cheirol) also confirmed the emergence of a Muslim state in India in the future.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps forgetting that, contrary to his assumption of an urge for division, at this time the most of Muslim leaders, including Jinnah, were still looking in other directions to find a solution that would safeguard the Muslim community in all parts of India.<sup>34</sup>

### **AllamaIqbal and ChaudharyRahmat Ali**

With the passage of time, the most suitable and magnificent contribution was made by all times great philosopher of the East as well as the famous poet Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal. In fact, Pakistan's ideology received very clear expression in different writings of Iqbal. He argued that spiritual unity which Islam has presented possessed its own vitality and it has the power to unite the national society of the Muslims for the separate state. The religion of Islam unites the Muslims and has the power to absorb every political thought. Further, in his Allahabad's address to annual sessions of Muslims League in 1930, the first clarion in order to formulate an independent the Muslim state in India was presented.<sup>35</sup> It was Iqbal who spoke of the shape of this nation at Allahabad in 1930 when he told delegates to the Muslim League. Iqbal declared that the western democracy could be applied in the Indian environment; that the Muslim demand for a separate state was fully justified; and that the Muslim should be free to develop their culture in their own homeland. He argued that he wanted to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province Balochistan and Sind to amalgamate into a separate Muslim state. He made it clear that independent Muslim state in Indian sub-continent is a clear destiny of the Indian Muslims.

This proved to be a creative idea, which germinated during the early thirties to burst into vigorous life with the advent of the new reforms.<sup>36</sup> This proposal promised to the Indian Muslim security in their homeland where they could aspire to exist and live as a nation in the comity of the nations of the world and it came to be known as 'the Pakistan idea'.<sup>37</sup> A.S. Khurshid stated that it proved a bombshell for Hindus and British.<sup>38</sup> This conception was based on both geographical and ideological ingredients. However, inspite of the British and the Hindu opposition to Iqbal's concept about Muslim state, ChaudharyRahmat Ali further developed this concept, reshaped and redesigned.<sup>39</sup>

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali In his book, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* wrote Sir Muhammad Iqbal, was not only an immortal poet of Islamic world but his poetry worked as beacon light when Indian Muslims were undergoing from the darkest period of Indian History.<sup>40</sup> His ideas seemed visionary at that time, but within seven years they had been turned into a practical programme by the future Quaid-i-Azam with the new name as its slogan or banner. The ideology of Iqbal, the visions of Rahmat Ali about a separate the Muslim state in India in the form of Pakistan, and the desire of Muslims helped Jinnah to bind Muslims together as never before during the British period and lead to effect an act of political creation.<sup>41</sup> As several scholars who have tried to prove that Rahmat Ali's proposals amounted to no more than an exaggerated echo of Iqbal's 1930 suggestion, it is important to examine carefully what Rahmat Ali wrote about the Allahabad speech. At the outset, he noted that Iqbal was 'specifically supporting the Muslim politicians' demand for Indian Federation, comprising all the provinces of India, including our own'. He was also using the word 'state' not in the sense of a separate, sovereign state, but in that of 'a big province within and as part of the proposed Indian Federation'. Rahmat Ali compared the wording of the Nehru Report<sup>42</sup> of 1928 and Iqbal's reference to its rejection of his proposal, and discovered that while the Report had declined to accept the scheme of an amalgamated north-western area on the ground that this would produce an 'unwieldy province'. Iqbal, in his address, had paraphrased this objection by saying that it would create very unwieldy state.

Rahmat Ali argued that, Iqbal had throughout his address, spoken of India as one country, of the Indians as one nation, and of the Muslims as one of the communities of that nation. Thirdly, his suggestion for the amalgamation of four Muslim provinces on the north-west was 'limited in nature and restricted in range' in comparison to other suggestions made by the Hindus and the Muslims prior to 1930. Finally, his demand for an Indian federation, if conceded, would 'complicate our problems and aggravate our perils'. He based this objection on the political nature of federalism. 'In constitutional Law, federalism springs from the conception of the common nationality of a people. It is founded and built upon the voluntary and permanent renunciation of their distinct nationhood by all partners in favour of a common nationhood, which invariably means the nationhood of the major partner in a federation. This being the linchpin of federalism, it is obvious that the Federal Constitution asked for involved our renunciation of Pak nationhood and our acceptance of Indian nationhood. In other words, it made our absorption by the Caste Hindus a certainty and its acceptance by us an act of self-immolation'. But Rahmat Ali did not believe that these defects of Iqbal's plan had rendered it completely useless. It had made 'a profound contribution' to the Muslim cause. It had 're-inspired our people to think in terms of the consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future, and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of India'. Yet, the plan came to nothing. Muslim politicians also opposed it and Iqbal himself repudiated it. 'No wonder therefore, that Iqbal participated in framing the official Federal Constitution for India, in which not only were our people treated as a minority community of the Indian nation, but also each of the provinces he had wished to see amalgamated was treated as a mere administrative district of the country of India.<sup>43</sup> Iqbal's call for a loose the Muslim federation highlighted an otherwise uninteresting session.<sup>44</sup> It must be emphasized that neither he ever visualized nor preached the type and geographical size of Pakistan, which ultimately emerged on the political map of the world. He also advocated the operative means, which came to be adopted for achieving it.<sup>45</sup>

Iqbal's address was manifestation of versatility, flexibility, and progressive thoughts. The Hindu should not fear that the creation of Muslim states would mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states. This was a highly revealing statement that had escaped the notice of many writers. 'It not merely indicated how liberal Iqbal was in his conception of Islam...but also that he was in the favour of Muslims in India continuing the liberal and tolerant traditions that India Islam had nurtured so assiduously in contrast to its Arabian counterpart.'" However, it may also be mentioned that Iqbal was thinking only of North-West India and not of Bengal. Furthermore, he also argued that Ambala Division should be excluded as well as Non-Muslims majority provinces in North-Western territory in his proposed Muslims state in India.<sup>46</sup> Anyhow, all these facts indicated clearly that Iqbal's share in shaping the destiny of the Muslims was tremendous.<sup>47</sup>

If we made a comparison of Iqbal's thesis with Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's scheme we can easily reach the following conclusions. Firstly, there were two basic differences between Iqbal's scheme and that of Rahmat Ali. Unlike Iqbal's scheme, the Provinces, which constituted Rahmat Ali's Pakistan, were to have a separate Federation of their own. Secondly, Rahmat Ali also published a map showing territorial division of India, which demonstrated three independent Muslim nations having based on a triple alliance. The North-Western territory was given the name of Pakistan and the North-Eastern territory was given the name of Bang-i-Islam consisting of Assam and Bengal as well as the Southern territory was given the name of Usmanistan comprising of the state of Hyderabad.<sup>48</sup> However, it is correct that Rahmat Ali's scheme was more clear-cut and free from all ambiguities while Iqbal's Allahabad address did conceive of a 'Muslim India within India' or in other words a sort of confederative arrangement with the rest of Indian states.<sup>49</sup> On Iqbal's 1930 Allahabad speech, Rahmat Ali viewed that it 'made profound contribution to our cause... it re-inspired our people to think in terms of consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future, and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of 'India'. In 1933, Ch. Rahmat Ali wrote his famous Pakistan Declaration titled 'Now or Never'.<sup>50</sup> In this declaration, he clearly pointed out that this demand was basically different from the suggestion put forward by Allama Iqbal in his presidential address in 1930, during League's session. When, he opined to amalgamate of these Provinces into a single state based on a unit of the All Indian Federation, that he proposed that separate federation should be comprised of those provinces. K.K Aziz

argued that during the period, 1937-1938, Iqbal was, for the first time, impressing upon Jinnah that the Muslim League must demand the creation of an independent Muslim state in the north-west in other words, he was endorsing Rahmat Ali's scheme. This shows that Chaudhary Rahmat Ali not only designed the name of Pakistan but also justified to present the most popular proposal and demand of the Muslim intellectual elite regarding the future destiny of Indian Muslim.<sup>51</sup>

M. Anwar a former Advocate General of Pakistan and a member of Rahmat Ali's movement, was quoted as saying, 'Allama Iqbal communicated to Chaudhary Rahmat Ali and expressed his desire for the association with the Pakistan National Movement. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali replied very warmly, accepted the idea of Allama Iqbal by welcoming him as the president of the Pakistan National Movement. However, Allama Iqbal could accept the presidentship unfortunately he died in 21 April, 1938.<sup>52</sup> On the demise of Iqbal, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali sent a condolence message to his family in these words: In fact, Iqbal's death had led to many losses for Rahmat Ali as well as for Indian Muslims; apostolic poet, Pakistan's national hero, great friend and inspirational personality had gone forever. However, his services and message for the Pakistanis would be alive forever in our hearts.<sup>53</sup> K.K Aziz, mentioned that soon after Iqbal's death a meeting was held in London for his memory. In this meeting, the renowned scholars participated from all over the world. Rahmat Ali was one of the eminent speakers who highly attributed and praised Allama Iqbal.<sup>54</sup> One can observe that intimacy and mutual admiration between Rahmat Ali and Allama Iqbal were unique. Both of them were admirers of each other as far as their intellect, insight and devotion for the Muslims were concerned.<sup>55</sup>

### Round Table Conferences: (RTC Sessions)

The future of India was under discussion in London during the Round Table Conferences in between 1930, 1931 and 1932. These RTC sessions agreed upon a united India. Waheed-uz-Zaman wrote: none of the Muslim delegates in any session of the Round Table Conference had even vaguely hinted at separation from the majority community. The unity of India was taken for granted. An All-India federation was not only accepted but also considered to be the only solution of the Indian problem. Even, Allama Iqbal in his famous address to the Muslim League Session in 1930 of Allahabad had not gone beyond some plan of federation.<sup>56</sup> The Round Table Conference (RTC) where Muslim delegates joined with the Hindu in helping the British to hammer out a federal arrangement for India; in which all Indians would be integrated as one people and one nation and the *Indianization* of the Muslims would be completed with tragic finality. Rahmat Ali was witnessing this spectacle with 'Poignant anxiety'. He met the Muslim delegates and tried to warn them of the outcome of the policy they were pursuing.<sup>57</sup> He had to warn the Muslim delegates and commented: 'I knew that their actions had obliterated the twelve centuries of our history, destroyed the very foundations of our heritage, and crippled all hopes of the fulfillment of our mission. I begged them to realize their responsibility before Allah and His Rasool (PBUH), and to withdraw their demand for the Indian Federation, withhold their participation in framing the Indian Federal Constitution and ask for a separate federation of our North-Western homelands'. 'He failed to convince them and to divert them from their perilous course 'There was no realization, no response'.<sup>58</sup>

Like all other men, who were disappointed, Rahmat Ali was one of them who then turned to hope. 'I hoped against hope that at least some prominent Muslim, not connected with the delegates, would still disown them, denounce their inclusion in the Indian Federation, and declare for our distinct nationhood in our homelands.' Once again his hopes were dupes and his fears were not liars. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali is of the view that; 'the time passed by, the Second RTC ended, and none came forward. Yet every day saw the federal fetters grow stronger and the possibility of our escape from them grow fainter. It was incredible to me that there was such a noble task and yet no one to do it! No patrician or politician to attempt it',<sup>59</sup> he expressed; the feeling gripped me that, on the failure of them all, 'Allah had assigned that fateful task to me... inspired by the sense of a divine mission...'<sup>60</sup>

The Agha Khan's<sup>61</sup> references to the London discussions are brief and on the whole unrevealing: he took the Conference as one of several episodes in so eventful a career and did not give it much importance in his autobiography. The other delegates would have recalled the Conference more fully, but to the misfortune of Muslim India they, in common with other Muslim leaders, suffered from an inability to leave behind them any account of their life. Nor has this gap been so far filled by the discovery, publication or use of their private papers or letters. In fact, the Muslim politicians in India used to ignore the Rahmat Ali's ideas regarding Pakistan because they considered his ideas as a student fancy who had only a worth of second thought.

The writers condemned the action of the Muslim delegates in accepting the All-India Federation and demanded recognition of the Muslim community as a distinct nation and 'the creation of a Federation of Pakistan as separate from the Federation of India'.<sup>62</sup> Ram Gopal wrote that, these students saying that while Sir Iqbal proposed the amalgamation of these [Muslim] provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these provinces should have a separate federation, of their own.<sup>63</sup> Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada, who made a study of the development of the idea of Pakistan, recorded in passing that Rahmat Ali 'approached the Muslim delegates and discussed with them the political and constitutional situation from the Muslim point of view'.<sup>64</sup>

The Muslim witnesses described the Pakistan scheme in August 1933, to the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee as follows:

A. Yusuf Ali: 'As far as I know it is only a student scheme; no responsible people have put it forward.'

ChaudharyZafrullah Khan<sup>65</sup>: 'So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable'.

KhalifaShuja-ud-Din 'Perhaps it, will be enough to say that no such scheme had been considered by any representative gentleman or association so far'.

I.H. Qureshi wrote, that Rahmat Ali 'tried to canvass the members of the Muslim delegation, who dismissed his ideas as the fantasy of the mind of a student'.<sup>66</sup> This time, however, it could not be so cavalierly ignored.<sup>67</sup> H.V.Hodson in his book, *The Great Divide* wrote that delegates of the Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference, asked about a scheme under the name of Pakistan' when giving evidence to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, dismissed it as 'only a student's scheme' and 'chimerical and impracticable'. But Rahmat Ali and his friends were not silenced.<sup>68</sup> Rahmat Ali did not declare that the Muslim delegates rebuffed their suggestions because they were fantastic or because they came from a student. It seems probable from Qureshi's words that he was confusing the delegates' reaction to Rahmat Ali's proposal with the opinions which were expressed by the Muslim members of and the Muslim witnesses before the later Joint Select Committee, which considered the final shape of the Indian reforms. It was here that Muslim leaders told the Committee that the scheme for a Pakistan had no support in Muslim India and was merely the dream of some students.<sup>69</sup> Rahmat Ali was in despair at seeing the Muslim delegates advancing deeper into what he considered a political quagmire of inestimable dangers, and at finding them taking no notice of his warning. He realized that Muslims were to be pulled back from the brink of a disaster to which their leaders had brought them. Later on, ChaudharyRahmat Ali took his own initiatives, mobilized his resources and exercised his views about the destiny of Indian Muslims and contradicted with the then Muslim political leadership. With the passage of time, the ideas, views and scheme of ChaudharyRahmat Ali was endorsed by other Muslims technocrats.<sup>70</sup>

### **Now or Never**

In this context, ChaudharyRahmat Ali wrote in his famous book, '*Pakistan: the fatherland of the Pak Nation*', 'Allah had assigned that fateful task to me; that He commanded me to do it; that He wanted me to challenge the mighty, to oppose the Indian Federation, to propose the Islamic Federation... Once that feeling came, it possessed me; it governed my life; it directed my activities.'<sup>71</sup> Further, he wrote, 'I reviewed the situation most solemnly and came to the conclusion that it was *Now or Never*; that any further silence would be fatal. For that, would mean our general acquiescence in the policies of our 'delegates' more than that. It would mean our approval both of their renunciation of our nationhood in our homelands and of their demand for and acceptance of the Indian Federation. In that realization I decided to take immediate action to save our honour and existence and to ensure the ultimate security and destiny of our nation in Pakistan and of our *Millat* in *Dinia* and its Dependencies'.<sup>72</sup> The hour of action had arrived, and Rahmat Ali fired the first shot of the campaign by issuing a declaration with the dramatic title of "*Now or Never*" which might have been taken from a sentence in Leo Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation*, which was published in 1882: "Let *Now or Never* be our watchword..."<sup>73</sup>

### **Rahmat Ali's Idea of Continent of Dinia**

In fact, ChaudharyRahmat Ali wanted freedom for the five Muslim 'Indian' homelands in North West India, namely Punjab, Afghania, Kashmir, Sindh and Balochistan from British colonial rule, followed by their re-integration with the three Muslim Asian 'homelands of Afghanistan, Iran and Tukharistan. Besides, he also formulated demands for Muslim states in the Continent of Dinia (India's true name), namely Usmanistan in Hyderabad Deccan and Maplistan in South India to avoid massive population transfers (read 'ethnic cleansing' and brutal rapes and killings in the name of religion). He advocated that Bangladesh should be a separate Muslim state called Bangistan. These Muslim states would then form a Pak Commonwealth of Nations. He even called for the Sikhs to have their own separate country called Sikhia in 1942: i.e, the Continent of Dinia should be a continent of different nations and faiths, not a single country dominated by Hinduism and Indianism which had already dominated all the countries of South Asia and defeated the efforts of their peoples to improve their lot. (see oppressive caste system—ancient apartheid, sheer scale of poverty of the masses, etc)<sup>74</sup>.

Actually, he opposed those Muslim leaders (Muslim intelligentsia) who advocated a Federation with India and argued that Muslims should federate with Muslims of neighboring Muslim States. A Federation with the Hindus would subjugate the Muslims and reduce them to the position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the British and their allies, notwithstanding that the Muslim population in the region accounted for more than one-tenth of the entire Muslim world, and the homelands constituted a vast area. However, he was equally critical of Hindu and British aims and designs. For him, the destiny of Indian Islam lay in a deliverance from both. The British should leave India and the Hindus should leave the Muslim territories. In this way, alone could the Muslims achieve real freedom? Otherwise, the Muslim minority in India would always be in peril. Once his plans were realized, he wanted 'Pakistan' to live in peace and friendship with India. His disapproval of Hinduism and Hindus can hardly be called hatred or contempt. He looked at them as enemies in so far as they barred the way to the freedom of his own people. After lifting of this threat and the creation of Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan (and other states) the two countries could exist in amity. As long as, the Hindus wanted to rule over the Muslims or even a small part of them, he believed it to be his duty to oppose them in the strongest possible language.<sup>75</sup> In this fight on behalf of the Indian

Muslims, Rahmat Ali's logic and sense of the practical were superior to the Muslim League's ideas. The League often used the word 'homeland' to describe what it called Pakistan. All Indian Muslims should form one nation. Moreover, Pakistan was being demanded on their behalf which would be their homeland. This was far from the truth. Pakistan could never have been the homeland of all Muslims. After observing this argument, he was of the opinion; the League leadership was misleading the nation. On the other hand, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali claimed a free homeland for the people of the five provinces of his 'Pakistan' and this made better sense. He also believed that the real homeland of the Muslims was in the north-west of India (according to his Pakistan).<sup>76</sup>

The primitive causes and sources of all his plans, ideas and demands was Islam. It was his love with religion that sowed the seed of an idea in his mind, goaded him forward to give it a name and expression, took him to the apparent extremes of demanding tiny Muslim sovereignties all over the sub-continent. He condemned Jinnah for accepting a smaller Pakistan and finally disillusioned him with the state of things, he found in the Pakistan that had been achieved. However, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was not a fanatic. He was commanded with full devotion, zealous commitment, and dictating intellectual climate of Muslim nationalism in India to spy the weaknesses of Indian Muslim character and the defects of Indian Muslim political leadership.<sup>77</sup>

The criticism of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali on Jinnah and the Muslim League has been misconstrued universally in Pakistan. The role of an enemy of the nation has been thrust upon him without any solid evidence to support the charge. It is forgotten that his attacks on the League policy were based on principles. Being an Indian Muslim in whose name, the League was speaking, negotiating and bargaining, he had every right to criticize the party when he differed from its statements and decisions. He was not a rival intriguing to take Jinnah's place. There was no personal animus or ambition in his condemnation. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was convinced that the League was following a wrong path and misleading the Muslims. He feared that wrong decisions would lead to the creation of a Pakistan which would be unable to save more than half of the Indian Muslim population. By speaking out in protest and warning others, he was doing his duty and following his conscience. In order to brand this difference of opinion, as treachery is to attribute the creation of Pakistan to a fascist party and a dictatorial leader.<sup>78</sup>

Rajendra Prasad pointed out that Rahmat Ali "claims that the Muslim League has been partly converted to his views. He knows that in course of time the other parts of his scheme already published and yet to be published will also be not accepted by the League and thus Indians must be prepared to look forward for the day when the name India will have disappeared and, the Millat being established all over, the continent will have acquired the name of Dinia".<sup>79</sup> In this way the idea of Pakistan came to be propagated in the Punjab (and to some extent outside, too, for Muslim newspapers of Lahore had a wide reading public throughout India) at least two years before the Muslim League adopted it as its goal. This evidence certified and acknowledged the Rahmat Ali's influence and defined his role in the independence movement. Further, it showed his astute common sense that was timely responded the prevailing climate of India.<sup>80</sup> In fact, the Muslim League owed much to Rahmat Ali's ideas and plans, in spite of its conspicuous failure to acknowledge the debt. The two separate Muslim states envisaged in the Lahore Resolution followed his scheme whereby Pakistan and Bangistan were to be separate countries. Later, when it was implicitly assumed by the League Leaders (and explicitly declared in April 1946) that the two states would in fact be one, they might have been thinking of his projected alliance between Pakistan, Bangistan and Usmanistan which were based on his idea of continent of Dinia. The major point of difference between the League plan and Rahmat Ali's scheme was the inclusion of a free Hyderabad Deccan in the latter.<sup>81</sup> In virtue of its declared policy of non-interference in the affairs of the native states, the Muslim League could not possibly mention or claim Hyderabad in the Lahore Resolution (in fact, it did not mention even Kashmir where, unlike Hyderabad, a great majority of the population was Muslim). But it could not ignore the fact of general Muslim anxiety about the future of Hyderabad, and there were occasions when its leadership expressed opinions, which brought them, much closer to Rahmat Ali's ideal than they would have cared to admit.<sup>82</sup>

There are few examples of small countries existing in the world, but they are not surrounded by hostile states on the look-out for bringing them to a swift end. Similarly, his larger scheme of converting India into a continent of Dinia was too idealistic to be realizable within any foreseeable future. His non-Muslim detractors (non-Muslim intelligentsia) might call it a slogan, or whatever else pleases them; but the fact remains that, for Muslims, there can be no ideal higher than the protection of their faith and the integration and honour of their Millat. The Muslim League campaign for Pakistan was also rooted in the same instinct. The second of his principles related to the nature of minorities as demonstrated in the larger historical perspective. He realized that minorities were always a source of danger. They could only be dealt with in two ways: they could be liquidated, so that the state should be free of all fear of treachery; or, and particularly if they were of sizeable proportions, they could be made free and allowed to go their own way. He saw it as a historical truth to which the experience of so many countries, nations and races was a witness.<sup>83</sup>

It was Rahmat Ali's intellect that he chose to build up his movement on the foundations of these broad principles vindicated by history rather than on minor arguments sanctioned by expediency. By doing this, he raised the level of debate to historical verities and left the world of politicians and Muslim intelligentsia behind him. His role in the development of the idea of Pakistan was essentially that of a thinker who learnt many lessons from the past. He realized that he was living amidst events that were soon bound to give a new shape to the things to come. He saw far into the future, and did what he could to ensure that it should be in keeping with the better traditions of



the past and no man could have done more. His achievements were no less remarkable on the narrower plane of concrete schemes and exact suggestions. He was the first to think of a sovereign status for the Muslims of India, to prepare a well-defined plan for this, to organize a movement for advancing the cause, and to mount a proper campaign for preaching to the unconverted. That he did this alone speaks volumes for his resolution, enterprise, industry and devotion. In one particular respect, Rahmat Ali's name is unique in the history of the world. He was the only man to have given a name to a country many years before that country came into existence. There are examples, though not many, of countries being called after a great man. But Pakistan stands alone as a country, which owes its name to the imagination of one man. The outstanding quality of Rahmat Ali's character was sincerity with his cause and ideas. Except Jinnah, few people in the history of the Muslim nationalist movement equal to his record of single-mindedness and devotion. It was above all his honesty of purpose that effected a transformation in the Muslim students around him in England and later in the youth of Northern India who had never seen him.<sup>84</sup> Even an observer like Halide Edib, who looked with marked disapproval on every manifestation of separatism among Indian Muslims, was impressed with Rahmat Ali's deep faith in his cause and his personal integrity. Further, she wrote, 'the dominant passion of Mr. Rahmat Ali's life seems to be the Muslim destiny in India. He can speak of it with the kind of eloquence, which reminds one of a lawyer pleading a case, but he can also speak of it with simplicity and feeling'.<sup>85</sup>

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was a striking amalgam of idealism and pragmatism. But his predominant motivation seems to have been emotional idealism. That's why; he reacted sharply-bitterly to the All-India Muslim League's pragmatic acceptance of the final British plan for India, of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947, and dubbed it as 'the greatest betrayal, by Mr. M.A. Jinnah. The Quaid, in his usual manganite, seemed to take no exception to or even notice of it. The impact of his personality was immediate on his contemporaries (Muslims & Non-Muslim intelligentsia). What one saw, wrote Anwar, "he was a man with big sparkling eyes and faith writ large on his face. He spoke with fervor and zeal such as only a man possessed it capable of".<sup>86</sup> He "had only one passion in his life and that was 'Pakistan'." <sup>87</sup> With such personal moral resources to back up his movement, success was bound to bless his efforts. It was an added advantage that his ideals suited the temper of the time. Muslims were then in search of a permanent solution that would lift the curse of insecurity from their political and social existence and give them hope of an honorable and free life. The Pakistan plan answered their requirements in every way; and once they grasped the idea, nothing could stop them from pursuing it to the ultimate end.<sup>88</sup> In fact, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was not against the creation of Pakistan but he wanted a bigger Pakistan. He did not join the Congress to oppose the Muslim League. He did not side with the pro-British Punjab Unionists even he did not support those Muslim parties, which were against the partition of India. From his point of view, his loyalty to Pakistan was greater than Jinnah's: although Jinnah accepted a truncated Pakistan; he criticized Jinnah for having done so. This does not make him an enemy of the League or a traitor to Pakistan.<sup>89</sup>

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali remained the focus of attention only during the first phase of his activities, where he suggested the establishment of an independent Muslim State in North-West of India and gave it the name of 'Pakistan'. As public opinion grew in support of a separate state or states and a number of schemes came before the public eye, the name of Rahmat Ali receded into the background, and after the Lahore Resolution was passed and the battle for Pakistan had begun, Rahmat Ali's name went into oblivion. His ideas on the *Pakasia* commonwealth, and carving out of small states within Hindu India and his seven commandments did not receive any notice worth the name. This was because the battle for 'Pakistan' was fought by the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam on the basis of the right of self-determination and Rahmat Ali had nothing to do with the League.<sup>90</sup>

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was a human being, an individual person, a historical figure and a seminal thinker. The man and the hero combined in one body and mind. The virtues and achievements of both were of heroic proportions. In his person he was an image of grace and a man of attractive embankment. He emitted charm with the careless ease of a glow worm. With a heart brimful with affection, he gave and received much love. He saw others as if they were made in his image; until the treachery of his friends and the meanness of his country taught him to be careful of humanity. He combined a harmless and wholesome character with an alertly nimble intelligence, a nerve of iron and a strong conscience. Born with the qualities of a gentleman, his manners had a silken elegance and his talk the charm of civilized embroidery and the depth of wisdom. In nutshell, I would like to quote from the book written by Jamil Wasti that, Rahmat Ali tried to set right the time for the Muslims in India but when the nation shouted "Victory!" he was far away, as a "Forgotten Hero".<sup>91</sup> However, all these assumptions of the Muslim leadership went wrong and time proved that Chaudhary Rahmat Ali's vision, intellectual capabilities and sound common sense was accurately responding to the situation.

## **Conclusion**

Chaudhary Rahmat Ali was not a politician who used to seek a popular support but he was a zealous supporter and devoted Muslim who coined the word 'Pakistan' with his creative imagination, committed individuality and devoted nationalism which inspired; the Muslim Political intelligentsia during the demand of a Muslim separate state in India. He was young and visionary individual among his contemporaries who used to put forward his views, ideas and suggestions when Indian political delegates held discussions for the future fate of Indian sub-continent. The Muslim leaders and intellectuals were anxious about the future of the Muslims in India

and there were serious concerns as well as apprehensions about the possible future name of a Muslim state. At that time, it was he who not only envisaged the name of Pakistan just, however but also, persistently reiterated that the formation of a separate Muslim state for the Indian sub-continent was *Now or Never*. He also suggested the name Pakistan which was used to think as a fantasy by most of the Indian political leadership including Muslim League leaders as well. However, ChaudharyRahmat Ali relentlessly argued, consistently propagated and courageously made it to believe for everyone in India that 'Pakistan' was not only a word but it was an ultimate reality which was indispensable to exist on the political map of the world. On the one hand, intellectuals were setting roadmaps, redirecting the lines of Pakistan Movement as well as political leaders were meditating on various; suggestions, proposals, formulas, plans, schemes as well as ideas of the partition. On the other hand, the eventual outcome of the Muslim struggle necessitated that commonly agreed, favorably accepted and widely appreciated name of a separate Muslim state should be proposed, announced or coined.

ChaudharyRahmat Ali was that kind of prudent personality who exhibited missionary fervor for the Pakistan scheme since its inception in 1933. Although, Sir Allama Muhammad Iqbal, as a poet, who visualized a separate Muslim state in his Allahabad Address in 1930 and later on Muhammad Ali Jinnah's participation in round table conference, the name of Pakistan remained a confusing reality and unacceptable preposition. However, in these circumstances, ChaudharyRahmat Ali was inspired by Iqbal's vision for a separate Muslim state in India. Realizing the need of the time, ChaudharyRahmat Ali, to some extent, was disappointed by Iqbal's ideas and his approach in round table conferences that he neither pressed the issue of Muslim separate state nor prudently and thought provokingly pondered on the name of this visualized country after the partition of India. As the political intelligentsia of that time was hardly came to accept the proposal of partition regarding Muslim majority province while ChaudharyRahmat Ali was quick enough to dictate, convince and to formulate a unique intellectual climate which helped him to construct name from these Muslim majority province. Thus, his mental faculties were transforming what was being thought into a bit imagined reality in the sub-continent. ChaudharyRahmat Ali took his own initiatives, mobilized his resources and exercised his views about the destiny of Indian Muslims and contradicted with the then Muslim political leadership. With the passage of time, the ideas, views and scheme of ChaudharyRahmat Ali was endorsed by other Muslims technocrats. Ch. Rahmat Ali envisaged, expressed it, became a relentless seeker of un-imaginable reality and made it realized to everyone that he justified not only suggesting the name Pakistan but also contributed significantly to believe everyone in India that Pakistan is *Now or Never*. He was the person who gave the right directions to the Freedom Struggle of the India which passed through the evolutionary process but never deviated from the idea of Pakistan presented by Ch. Rahmat Ali.

ChaudharyRahmat Ali was a great benefactor of the Muslims of India. His ideas and thoughts aroused hope among the Muslims of India. His scheme of a separate Muslim State created anguish among the Hindus and British who vehemently negated his ideas. He not only coined the name of Pakistan but also launched an effective movement for the accomplishment of Pakistan. His ideas gained wide range popularity among the Muslim and non-Muslim political intelligentsia. It was ChaudharyRahmat Ali who declared the 'Lahore Resolution' as 'Pakistan Resolution', which was finally accepted by the Jinnah and all the Muslims of India. He put forward the scheme in a concrete, tangible form at the principle political platform of Muslim India, gave the proposal, the prestige of his illustrious name, and worked for its success. Not only did he put forward the scheme and encourage all who worked for it, but also in the course of his stay in England, during informal conversation with the people he met, explained and argued for it. However, all these expectations of the political leadership went wrong and time proved that ChaudharyRahmat Ali's idea, skills and sound common sense was accurately responding and dictating intellectual climate of Muslim nationalism in India.

## Notes & References:

\* Dr. Maqbool Ahmad Awan, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

1. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, a prominent Muslim nationalist, creator of the word 'Pakistan' vigorously contributed in Pakistan Movement for separate homeland in South Asia. He belongs to Punjabi *Gujjar* family which is the branch of *Gorsi* tribe in Haryana, District Hoshiarpur of the Punjab province of India. Mostly historians and writers wrote that ChaudharyRahmat Ali was born at *Mohar* whereas, K.K. Aziz disagreed with this evidence and pointed out that his place of birth was *Balachauron* 16<sup>th</sup> November 1897. For more detail, see K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1987), 1.
2. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
3. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
4. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1947), iv-v.
5. K.K. Aziz., 372.
6. *Ibid.*, 475.
7. K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol. II, (Lahore: vanguard books, 1987), 372.
8. K.K. Aziz, *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, Vol.I, (Islamabad: NICHHR, 1978), xxiv.
9. Sir Muhammad Iqbal commonly known as AllamaIqbal was a famous poet, renowned philosopher, great thinker, astute politician as well as a barrister, literary figure and eminent scholar in the British India. He was highly regarded the one who stimulated the Pakistan Movement. Quoted by K..K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 48-49. . For further detailed study, see Shamloo, *Speeches and statements of Iqbal.*

10. In 1915, ChaudharyRahmat Ali founded *Bazm-i-Shibli* at Islamia College Lahore, at his inaugural speech he stated: 'The north of India belongs to Muslim population and we will keep it Muslim area as well as try to make it a Muslim State. We can achieve when we and North concluded to be Indian till the accomplishment to the task. We, the Muslims should determine for his rights and separation of the Hindus and Muslims...Friends! If my views are unacceptable to you, we had better part...You work for your Indian Revolution but I will work for my ISLAMIC Revolution. At the end, we shall see who creates the most dynamic and creative revolution. For more details, see ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of Pak Nation*, 213-214. Also quoted by K.K. Aziz, 48-49.
11. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 214.
12. *Ibid.*, 214.
13. *Ibid.*, 214-215. Also see, I.H. Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, 117-118.
14. The dangers confusion of Indianism created by the British-Bannia Alliance and finally, that since 1933 it has started a new and nobler chapter in its history. This was a chapter of national regeneration and fraternal re-construction the opening Alliance. For detail, see ElieKedourie, *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1974), 247. Also see ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 212.
15. *Ibid.*, 213.
16. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 74.
17. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 207.
18. IqbalAsad, *Daily Imroz (Lahore: 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1963)*.
19. Abdus Salam Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan* (Karachi: 1977), 55.
20. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 74.
21. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 213-214.
22. K.K. Aziz, *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, xv.
23. S.Q. Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 96. Also see, Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims*, 179.
24. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 75. Also see, A.S. Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 49-50, For more detail see, S.S. Pirzada, 95-96. Also see, ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 215-216.
25. MaulanaHasratMohani (1875-1951) was a famous poet of the Urdu language and contributed for Indian Independence Movement. His real name was Syed Fazl-ul-Hassan. He participated in the freedom movement during the British Raj. Maulana was put in prison many years by the British Government. He was the first Indian who demanded 'Complete Independence' (Azadi-e-Kaamil) in 1921. Also quoted by S.Q.Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 95-96.
26. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 215-217. Also see Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 215-216.
27. S.Q. Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 100. Also see, A.S. Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 50-51.
28. LalaLajpatRai, (1865-1928) was an Indian politician and Punjabi author who was widely known as the leader of the Indian Independence Movement. He was also popularly remembered as Punjab*Kesari*. He lived in the United States, but he returned to India in 1919 and in the following year led the special session of the Congress who launched the non-cooperation movement. He was imprisoned from 1921 to 1923, elected to the legislative assembly on his release and actively participated in Indian politics. See Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 217-218.
29. S.Q. Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 104-105. Also see, A.S. Khurshid, 51-52.
30. K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol. I, 143-147.
31. *Ibid.*, 143-147.
32. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 217-218.
33. S.Q. Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 105.
34. K.K. Aziz, *Complete Works of Rahmat Ali*, xvii.
35. Allama Muhammad Iqbal delivered his presidential address on 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1930, according to some scholars; Iqbal wanted a large Muslim province by amalgamating Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan into a big North-Western province within India. Further they also pointed out that Iqbal never pleaded for any kind of state or division. Some of them have opined that Iqbal proposed the Muslim majority provinces within the Indian Federation and not demanded complete independence outside the Indian federation. Quoted by Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, *Wavell and the Dying Days of the Raj: Britain's Penultimate Viceroy in India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 26. Also see, H.V. Hodson, *The Great Divide* (London: Oxford, 1985), 80. For further detailed study, see Shamloo, *Speeches and statements of Iqbal*, 7-13. Also see K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 351-362. K.K. Aziz, *Making of Pakistan* (London: 1970), 81. Tara Chand., Vol-III, 253. For more details, see SafdarMahmood, *Iqbal, Jinnah aur Pakistan* (Lahore: Khazina-ilm-wa-Adab, 2004), 52-69.
36. Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India*, 1740-1947, Part III (London: Oxford, 1965), 363.
37. A. Aziz, *Discovery of Pakistan* (Lahore, 1957), 326.
38. A.S.Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 77. For more detail see 98-103.
39. K.B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960,103-104.
40. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 218.
41. Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India*, 363.
42. The Nehru Report which was a memorandum outline of a proposed new dominion status constitution for India present by Motilal Nehru on 28-30 August, 1928. It was prepared by a committee of the All Parties Conference and chaired by Motilal Nehru with his son

- Jawaharlal Nehru who was the secretary of the Conference. For detail see, Nehru, *Discovery of India* (Newyork: 1946), 353. Also see K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 77-78.
43. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 218-221.
  44. LawrenceZiring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (Karachi: 1997), 31.
  45. Verinder Grover & Ranjana Arora, ed., *Pakistan Fifty years of Independence*, Period-I (New Delhi: 1997), 69.
  46. S.Q. Abid, *Jinnah Second World War and the Pakistan Movement*, 99.
  47. LalBahadur, *Struggle for Pakistan* (New Delhi: 1988), 208.
  48. K.B. Sayeed, *Pakistan the Formative Phase*, 106.
  49. A.S. Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 84-103.
  50. ChaudharyRahmat Ali who coined the name of Pakistan on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1933 issued the historic declaration entitled 'Now or Never' (Are We to Live or Perish forever?) In this declaration, he appealed on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of PAKISTAN, who live in the five Northern Units of India – Punjab, N.W.F.P, Kashmir, Sindh and Balochistan. He demanded the recognition of their separate national status, as distinct from the rest of India, by the grant of separate Federal Constitution on social, religious, political and historical grounds. For details see, G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition* (Lahore: 1977), 115-122. Also see ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 218-221. For detail regarding *Now or Never* see <http://www.mediamonitors.net/nowornever.html>
  51. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 361.
  52. Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan* (Lahore: 1963), 142.
  53. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 361.
  54. *Ibid.*, 362.
  55. K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, Vol-II, 340-341.
  56. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan* (Lahore: 1964), 148.
  57. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 78-79.
  58. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 222-223.
  59. *Ibid.*
  60. *Ibid.*
  61. Sir Agha Khan (1877-1957) real name was Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, was the 48th Imam of the NizariIsmaili community of Shia Sect. He was one of the founding father and the first president of the All-India Muslim League. He was member of the Indian Legislative Council from 1902-1904. He suggested separate electorate for Muslim in a meeting with Viceroy Lord Rippon. He remained President of Muslim League from 1906-1912. He tried to create fair relations between Hindus and Muslims. He rendered relentless services in Pakistan Movement on the platform of All India Muslim League. See K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 78-80.
  62. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 225.
  63. Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History, 1855-1947*, 269-70.
  64. Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada, *Evolution of Pakistan*, 132.
  65. ChaudharyZafarullah Khan (1893-1985) was a prominent Pakistani jurist and diplomat who rendered his services in U.N. General Assembly. In 1926 he was elected as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and in 1931 he presided at the Delhi meeting of the All-India Muslim League and he advocated the cause of the Indian Muslims through his presidential address. He participated in the Round Table Conferences which were held in 1930, 1931 and 1932. See Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Lahore: 1947), 207. Also see, ShaukatUllah Ansari, *Pakistan: The Problem of India*, 3-8. For more detail see, A.S Khurshid, 88-89.
  66. I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, 610-1947: A Brief Historical Analysis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Karachi, 1977), 341.
  67. Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History* (Karachi: 1997), 31.
  68. H.V. Hodson, 81-82. Also see, Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Lahore: 1989), 63.
  69. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 80.
  70. *Ibid.*
  71. ChaudharyRahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation*, 223.
  72. *Ibid.*, 223-224.
  73. L.S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought After 1857* (Lahore: 1970), 422.
  74. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 362.
  75. *Ibid.*, 363.
  76. Halide Edib, *Inside India*, 352.
  77. K.K. Aziz., 469.
  78. *Ibid.*; 470.
  79. Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, 187.

80. A.S Khurshid, *Chaudhary Rahmat Ali katasawur-I-Pakistan, Kohistan*, 14 August 1963. For further details see Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Tasawar-e-Pakistan say Karar Dade Pakistan Tak*, (Pakistan study center Punjab University Lahore, 1983). 160-174
81. A.S. Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 124.
82. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 480-481.
83. Ibid., 450.
84. Ibid., 483.
85. Halide Edib, *Inside India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 352.
86. M. Anwar, *The Forgotten Hero-III*, *The Pakistan Times*, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1964.
87. Ibid.
88. K.K. Aziz, *Rahmat Ali: A Biography*, 484.
89. Ibid., 450.
90. A.S. Khurshid, *History of the Idea of Pakistan*, 124.