

PAKISTAN

As Visualized by Iqbal & Jinnah

Selected And Compiled By

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PREFACE

Nineteenth century was the period of degeneration and pessimism for Muslim India. Weeping upon their past glory, they lost all hope of survival and regeneration (As explained in Altaf Hussain Hali's famous "Musaddas".)

Twentieth century dawned with new prospects for others, but the political horizon was still dark for Muslim India. At last Almighty God bestowed His mercy on Indian Muslims, and designated Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, and Jinnah, the man of integrity and statesman of great calibre, as their saviours.

Iqbal, through his dynamic poetry called upon Muslims to wake up and get-together under one banner:

مسلم خوابیدہ اٹھ! ہنگامہ آرا تو بھی ہو
وہ چمک اٹھا اتنی، گرم تقاضا تو بھی ہو
(بانگ درا)

Wake up! O Muslim in deep slumber, be attentive,
Lo, horizon is shining, you should also be active.

اندھیری شب ہے، جدا اپنے قافلے سے ہے تو
تو لے لے ہے مرا شعلہ نوا قدیرا!
(بل جبریل)

The night is dark and you have drifted away from thy caravan,
for you the flame of my melody will act as the guiding light.

With his dynamic poetic message to the Nation, Iqbal also gave an Idea of a free Muslim State in the Indian sub-continent, and further more, he also discovered a true leader for this historical liberation struggle of a unique type—and that was Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

At the end of twentieth century while we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of our independence, fortunately the names of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah as saviours of the Nation are on the lips of every-body in Pakistan, even without knowing the significance and true nature of their collaboration and part played in this renaissance and historic struggle. Let us briefly look at this historical event here.

During the first decade of twentieth century Iqbal and Jinnah both started taking interest in politics under the new-born influence of the Western Nationalism. However, Iqbal disassociated himself from this view point, soon after becoming aware of the demerits of this narrow-minded theory as well as its impracticability in the peculiar Indian environment. But Mr. Jinnah continued his political journey alongwith liberal Indian leaders such as: Dadabhoj Naoroji, K.G. Gokhale, Firoz Shah Mehta, C.R. Dass etc. He was known as ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity being originator of Lukhnow Pact between Congress and Muslim League in 1916. But this scenario could not live long. In 1920, Mr. M.K. Gandhi after defeating the liberal leaders at Calcutta and Nagpur sessions in 1920, became absolute leader of the Congress. During all this time, upto the Nehru Report (1928), Mr. Jinnah and Iqbal were quite indifferent, sometimes even antagonistic to each other. In 1929, when Mr. Jinnah put forward his fourteen points, the distance between them became lesser and they became to understand each other.

The first Round Table Conference was being held in London during the winter of 1930, and Mr. Jinnah was going there to participate. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was not invited in this R.T.C., the reason best known to Sir Fazli Hussain, then Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. However, Mr. Jinnah detected this lacuna, and proposed the name of Iqbal to preside over Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1930. Proposal was carried out by the League Council and Iqbal

accepted this honour. The All-India Muslim League annual session was held in December, 1930 at Allahabad, and Iqbal presented his famous historical address on 29th, December. (Some relevant parts of this address are given in Part One of this book.)

As was expected by Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Iqbal was invited to the second and third R.T.C; and he visited London in 1931 and 1932. Mr. Jinnah was already settled there. Here we can find Iqbal and Jinnah becoming very close associate. We have no record of their deliberations in London, but this thing is crystal clear that Iqbal was very much inspired by Mr. Jinnah's personality. Here we have only one evidence of this inspiration—a unique one, poetic evidence!

As we know that one of the famous Urdu collection of Iqbal's poems and ghazals *Bal-e-Jibril* was published in 1935, after the publication of *Javid Namah* in 1932. In a couplet of *Bal-e-Jibril* the portrait of Mr. Jinnah has been picturised by Iqbal after this inspiration. And this poetic truth has been confirmed by the Poet's letter to Mr. Jinnah dated June 21st, 1937. (see Part I, section 2).

The said Urdu couplet alongwith English version is as follows:

نگہ بلند، سخن دلنواز، جاں پُر سوز
بیکی ہے رخت سز میر کارواں کے لیے

Lofty ideas, eloquent speech and caring heart,
These are the virtues indispensable for a Nation's leader.

Keeping these facts in mind, we can easily follow the historical role played by Iqbal and Jinnah, the two great leaders of Muslim India during the first half of twentieth century and

can understand what they visualized about this independent Muslim State—Pakistan.

This Book has been compiled in two parts. First part relates to Allama Iqbal's contribution towards the idea of Muslim India within Indian-subcontinent (now called "South Asia"). Second part contains some selected speeches, statements, interviews and messages of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, which narrates the various aspects of the struggle for independence and making of Pakistan. This narrative starts from 1939, after re-organisation of the All India Muslim League and ends in 1948, few days before the demise of the Father of Nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

G.H.Z.

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Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, (Dec. 4, 1933) at P.U. Convocation.

PART ONE

An Ideal



(I)

Presidential Address Of Iqbal
Delivered at the Annual Session of
All-India Muslim League,
Allahabad, 29 December 1930

(Some Important Aspects)

Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make to-day. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decisions but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity--by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a

specific ethical ideal--has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast church organisation. The protest of Luther was directed against this church organisation, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation ; though, I think, he did not realise that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe, his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e. on lines which recognise

territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, Church and State, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Manichaeian thought. Her best thinkers are realising this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European States. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted States dominated by interests not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted States, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e. the need of a unity which, the Christian church organisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing it in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no church organisation, similar to that of Christianity in the Middle Ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands to-day in need of renewed power by

fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day : "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam.

I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as States, and finally who believes that *Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny*. Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history has Islam had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to-day. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure, but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the

way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

The Unity of An Indian Nation

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics, in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply

unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and cooperation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognise facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the east and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed.

Why have they failed ? Perhaps we suspect each other's intentions and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly stimulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow Communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour, and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognise the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger viewpoint of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created, is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a

measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international State. so also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

Muslim India Within India

Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go farther than the demands embodied in it.

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy State. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the State contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population--so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated State to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. This centralisation of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion the one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with 56 per cent, Muslim population supplies 54 per cent. of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army, and if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from the independent State of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to 62 per cent. of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly 6,000 combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier province and Baluchistan. From this you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim States along the North-West border is actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the

Government of India". I may frankly tell him that the Muslim demand is not actuated by the kind of motive he imputes to us; it is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India.

Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim States will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such States. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion, as applied to Islam. the truth is that Islam is not a Church. It is a State conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth, but as a spiritual being understood in terms of a social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism. The character of a Muslim State can be judged from what *the Times of India* pointed out sometime ago in a leader on the Indian Banking Inquiry Committee. "In ancient India," the paper points out, "the State framed laws regulating the rates of interest; but in Muslim times, although Islam clearly forbids the realisation of interest on money loaned, Indian Muslim States imposed no restrictions on such rates." I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

* * * * *

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates (of the Round Table Conference) fully realise the importance of a proper solution of what I call Indian international problem. They

are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propagandá word--communalism--expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are 70 millions and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation, but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and, in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e. territorial, lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the "people of the Book". There are no social barriers between Muslims and the "people of the book". A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows intermarriage with the "people of the Book". Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares : "O people of the Book! Come, let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God), that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the

world of Islam. To-day it is being gradually realised in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations, you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of people in India and outside India. But, I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd instinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not do much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in

what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, the principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil, I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise, leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

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Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since 70 millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite

purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganised condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. If to-day you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "*Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well guided*" (5 : 104).

(II)**Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah****By M. A. Jinnah****Foreword**

The letters which form the subject of this booklet were written to me by the sage, philosopher and national poet of Islam, the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, during the period May 1936 to November 1937, a few months before his death. This period synchronises with a very eventful period in the history of Muslim India—between the establishment of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in June 1936 and the great historic sessions at Lucknow in October 1937.

If the Central Parliamentary Board with its Provincial Branches marked the first great attempt on the part of the Muslim League to rally round the Muslim opinion to contest the approaching elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935, for Provincial Legislature on the League ticket, the Lucknow Session indicated the first stage in the reorganisation of the Muslim League on a popular basis and as the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. Both these high objects were attained in great part owing to the invaluable support that I obtained through the sincere efforts and patriotic and selfless activities of many friends like Sir Muhammad Iqbal, amongst others. The League gained from strength to strength in this short period. In each of the Provinces where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted we carried away about 60 to 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates. Hundreds of District and Primary Leagues were established in almost every Province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province.

The League gave a staggering blow to the so-called Muslim Mass Contact Movement which was started by the Congress to disrupt Muslim ranks and to overawe League into submission. The League emerged triumphant in most of the by-elections and shattered the intrigues and machinations of those who hoped to create the impression that the Muslim League Organisation had no support of the Muslim people.

Within eighteen months before the Lucknow Sessions, the League had succeeded in organising Muslims as one party with an advanced and progressive programme and had brought under its influence even those Provinces which for lack of time or preparation had not been sufficiently benefited by the activities of League Parliamentary Boards. The Lucknow Sessions furnished an unmistakable evidence of the popularity that League commanded among Muslims of all groups and ranks.

It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation.

With this brief historical background in mind, the letters can be read with great interest. It is, however, much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available. During the period under reference I worked alone unassisted by the benefit of a personal staff and so did not retain duplicate copies of the numerous letters that I had to dispose of. I made enquiries from the Trustees of Iqbal's estate at Lahore and was informed

that my letters are not traceable. Hence I had no alternative but to publish the letters without my replies as I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution," Passed on 23rd March, 1940.

M.A. Jinnah

Iqbal's letters to Jinnah

Strictly Confidential

Lahore
20th March, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address to the All-India National Convention and that you fully realise the policy underlying it in so far as Indian Muslims are concerned. I believe you are also aware that the new constitution has at least brought a unique opportunity to Indian Muslims for self-organisation in view of the future political developments both in India and Muslim Asia. While we are ready to co-operate with other Progressive Parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I therefore, suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim

leaders. To this convention you must re-state as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem. If you could hold this Convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslim Legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspirations of Indian Muslims. It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity. I am coming to Delhi in a few days' time and hope to have a talk with you on this important matter. I shall be staying in the Afghan Consulate. If you could spare a few moments, we should meet there. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

P.S. Please excuse me. I have got this letter written by a friend as my eye-sight is getting bad.

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Lahore
22nd April, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know whether my letter which I posted to you about two weeks ago ever reached you. I posted it to your address at New Delhi, and when I went to Delhi later, I discovered that you had already left Delhi. In that letter I proposed that we should hold immediately an All-India Muslim Convention, say at Delhi, and once more to re-state the policy of Indian Muslims both to the Government and to the Hindus.

As the situation is becoming grave and the Muslim feeling in the Punjab is rapidly becoming pro-Congress for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, I would request you to consider and decide the matter as early as possible. The session of the All-India Muslim League is postponed till August, and the situation demands an early re-statement of the Muslim policy. If the Convention is preceded by a tour of prominent Muslim leaders, the meeting of the Convention is sure to be a great success. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
(sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar- at- Law

* * * * *

Confidential

Lahore
28th May, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me in due course. I am glad to hear that you will bear in mind what I wrote to you about the changes in the constitution and programme of the League. I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution the higher posts go to the sons of upper classes; the smaller ones go to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters too our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more and more

acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Muslims. The question therefore is : how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question. If the League can give no such promises I am sure the Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g., N.-W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India, I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far

more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve these problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived? Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Anyhow I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious Juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties.

Yours sincerely
(sd.) Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. On the subject - matter of this letter I intended to write to you a long and open letter in the press. But on further consideration I felt that the present moment was not suitable for such a step.

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Private and Confidential

Lahore
June 21st, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military would become universal in no time. During the last few

months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of vilification of the Prophet (S.A.V) by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases, the vilifier has been murdered. There have also been cases of burning of the Koran in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e, the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministry can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims partly to please those on whom they depend, and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces, the Hindus have of course absolute majorities, and can ignore Muslims, altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to the Indian Muslims. Apart from this it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

The only thing that the communal award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to a people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body, i.e., the Mahasabha, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is

obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. Many British statesmen also realise this, and the Hindu-Muslim riots which are rapidly coming in the wake of this constitution are sure further to open their eyes to the real situation in the country. I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that it would take 25 years to come. Some Muslims in the Punjab are already suggesting the holding of a North-West Indian Muslim Conference, and the idea is rapidly spreading. I agree with you, however, that our community is not yet sufficiently organised and disciplined and perhaps the time for holding such a conference is not yet ripe. But I feel that it would be highly advisable for you to indicate in your address at least the line of action that the Muslims of North-West India would be finally driven to take.

To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India are?

Personally I think that the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal ought at present to ignore Muslim minority provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of both Muslim majority and minority provinces. It will therefore be better to hold the coming session of the League in the Punjab, and not in a Muslim minority province. The month of August is bad in Lahore. I think you should seriously consider the advisability of holding the coming session at Lahore in the middle of October when the weather is quite good in Lahore. The interest in the All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing

in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

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Lahore
11th August, 1937.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Events have made it abundantly clear that the League ought to concentrate all its activities on the North-West Indian Musalmans. The League office of Delhi informed Mr. Ghulam Rasool that the dates of the sessions of the Muslim League have not been fixed as yet.

This being so, I fear it will not be possible to hold the sessions in August and September. I, therefore, repeat my request that the League sessions may be held in Lahore in the middle or end of October. The enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab, and I have no doubt that the holding of the session in Lahore will be a turning point in the history of the League and an important step towards mass contact. Please drop a line in reply.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Muhammad Iqbal,
Bar-at-Law.

(III)

Jinnah Pays Tribute To Iqbal

A special session of the All India Muslim league was held on April, 17, 18, 1938, at Calcutta. Three days after this session, Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal breathed his last, and the sad news of his demise reached Calcutta. This was a terrible loss of the Muslim India at this critical moment. Mourning meetings were held all over the country. On the same day a public meeting was held at Calcutta, in which Mr. Jinnah paid homage to the departed soul and also sent his condolence message.

Since that time the "Iqbal days" are being celebrated all over the sub-continent in memory of the Poet-Philosopher of the East. On these occasions Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was also paying rich tributes to his devoted and faithful friend Iqbal. We are reproducing here some of his writings and speeches, which contains the gist of Iqbal's poetic philosophy, and also shows the keen interest of Mr. Jinnah in it.

(Editor)

**Speech at a public meeting to mourn
the death of Allama Iqbal, Calcutta,
April 21, 1938.**

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that the sorrowful news of the death of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal had plunged the world of Islam in gloom mourning. Sir Iqbal was undoubtedly one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity of all times. He took a prominent part in the politics of the country and in the intellectual and cultural reconstruction of the Islamic world.

His contribution to the literature and thought of the world will live for ever.

"To me he was a personal friend, philosopher and guide and as such the main source of my inspiration and spiritual support. While he was ailing in his bed it was he who as the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, stood single-handed as a rock in the darkest days in the Punjab by the side of the league banner, undaunted by the opposition of the whole world. When on account of his serious illness he was confined to bed, he resigned the post of the Presidentship of the Punjab League but was instead elected its Patron. He still continued to guide the work of the Punjab League from his bed and had somebody to reply to all letters concerning the League. It would have been a matter of great satisfaction for him to hear the news with great delight that the Bengal and Punjab Muslims were absolutely united on the common platform of the All India Muslim League. In that achievement the unseen contribution of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was the greatest. No greater blow has struck the Muslims at this juncture."

(The Star of India, April 22, 1938.)

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**Message of condolence on the death
of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Calcutta,
April 21, 1938.**

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued the following condolence message on the death of Allama Iqbal:

"I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a remarkable poet of world wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived. He was an ex-President of the All India Muslim League and a President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab till

very recent time when his unforeseen illness compelled him to resign. But he was the staunchest and the most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League.

"To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment and as a result just only three days ago he must have read of or been informed of the complete unity that was achieved in Calcutta of the Muslim leaders of the Punjab and today I can say with pride that the Muslims of the Punjab are wholeheartedly with the League and have come under the flag of the All India Muslim League, which must have been a matter of greatest satisfaction to him. In the achievement of this unity Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a most signal part. My sincerest and deepest sympathy go out to his family at this moment in their bereavement in losing him, and it is a terrible loss to India and the Muslims particularly at this juncture."

(Star of India, April 22, 1938).

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Presidential Address delivered extempore at the 26th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League Patna, December 26, 1938

"Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and composer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us."

(Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam Vol. II, Page 906)

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After the Passage of Lahore Resolution on 23rd March, 1940 Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited the grave of Allamah Muhammad Iqbal to offer Fateha, and there he said to his Secretary Matlub al Hassan Syed:

"Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive, he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."

(Hector Bolitho, Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan, London 1954)

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**Presidential speech in a meeting
held on Iqbal Day, Lahore, March 25, 1940.**

"If I live to see ideal of a Muslim State being achieved in India and I were then offered to make a choice between the works of Iqbal and the rulership of the Muslim State, I would prefer the former."

This view was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding over the second session of the "Iqbal Day" held in the University Hall, Lahore.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that in April 1936, he thought of transforming the Muslim League, which was then only an academical institution, into a parliament of the Muslims of India. From that time to the end of his life, he continued, Iqbal stood like a rock by him.

Iqbal, Mr. Jinnah said, was not only a great poet who had a permanent place in the history of the world's best literature, he was a dynamic personality who, during his life time, made the greatest contribution towards rousing and developing of Muslim national consciousness. He compared Iqbal with great literary figures of England like Milton and Shelley.

(The Civil & Military Gazette, March 26, 1940)

**Speech at "Iqbal Day" meeting
Lahore, March 3, 1941**

Iqbal was described by various speakers not only as one of the greatest poets of the world, but also a political prophet who first visualised the ideal of a separate Muslim State in India, at the celebrations in connection with the Iqbal Day held in the University Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the University Union.

Paying his tribute to the memory of the poet, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said, "the message of Iqbal had reached the farthest corners of the world. He was the greatest interpreter of Islam in modern times."

"I have had the privilege and opportunity," he added, "of being associated with him. I have never found a more true and more loyal colleague than him."

Mr. Jinnah exhorted Muslim youth to understand the spirit of Iqbal's message. This, he said, would show them their goal. "Iqbal is going to live for ever. The coming generations will look upon him as the greatest benefactor of Muslims."

(The Civil & Military Gazette, March 4, 1941.)

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**Message on Iqbal Day, Hyderabad (Dn),
August 9, 1941**

"Every great movement has a philosopher and Iqbal was the philosopher of the National Renaissance of Muslim India. He, in his works has left an exhaustive and most valuable legacy behind him, and a message not only for the Musalmans but for all other nations of the world.

Iqbal was a poet who inspired Muslims with the spirit and determination to restore to Islam its former glory, and although he is no more with us, his memory will grow younger

and younger with the progress and development of Muslim India.

His works should, therefore, be read and digested by every Musalman and we should all try to create solidarity and organise the Muslims throughout India, economically, educationally, socially and politically."

(M.A. Jinnah)

(Letter to Shahid Hossain Razzaki, included in "Discourses of Iqbal.")

**Message on Iqbal Day,
Lahore, March 20, 1943.**

The following message has been issued by Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the occasion of celebration of Iqbal Day;

"Dare and Live" is Iqbal's message. Optimism, industry, faith, self-confidence and courage are the principles on which Iqbal bases his philosophy and which he believes are the essential factors for the purification of human soul and for the elevation of human character. The obstacles and setbacks in life, according to him, make the life worth living. The sacrifices and losses, made and incurred in the service of a right cause and for noble principles elevates a nation and makes life more glorious and worth living.

"Iqbal never believed in failure. He believed in the superiority of mankind over all the rest that God created. In fact he was convinced that man is a collection of all that is best in God's universe. Only man does not know himself. Man has but, to utilise his great potentialities and to use them in the right direction for the realisation of that 'self' which finds itself so near to God; and Islam is the code which has prescribed easy ways and means for that realisation.

"Iqbal was not only a philosopher but also a practical politician. He was one of the first to conceive of the feasibility of

the division of India on national lines as the only solution of India's political problem. He was one of the most powerful though tacit precursors and heralds of the modern political evolution of Muslim India.

"Iqbal, therefore, rises above the average philosopher, as the essence of his teachings in a beautiful blend of thought and action. He combines in himself the idealism of a poet and the realism of a man who took practical view of things. In Iqbal this compromise is essentially Islamic. In fact it is nothing but Islam. His ideal therefore is life according to the teachings of Islam with a motto "Dare and Live."

"I wholeheartedly associate myself with the efforts of the Iqbal Day Committee in celebrating the Poet's Day on his birthday and I hope and pray that every one of us may be able to live up to the ideals Iqbal preached by his beautiful national poems and which have now embedded the doctrine of Pakistan into the heart and soul of Muslim India which is now burning very brightly, never to be extinguished."

(The Dawn, March 21, 1943.)

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**Message to the Frontier Muslim Students
Federation on Iqbal Day,
Karachi, June 20, 1943**

"It is a source of great encouragement to me that our people in your province have started to organise themselves. Strengthening yourself, really speaking, means strengthening borders of Pakistan, a thing which will enable us to achieve our goal and thus maintain our freedom, honour, prestige and glory of Islam for which we are now fighting," says Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the course of a message to the Frontier Muslim Student's Federation under whose auspices the Iqbal Day was celebrated."

(The Morning News, June 24, 1943.)

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**Message on "Iqbal Day," being celebrated
at Lahore, New Delhi, December 8, 1944.**

"To the cherished memory of our National Poet Iqbal, I pay my homage on this day, which is being celebrated in commemoration of that great poet, sage, philosopher and thinker, and I pray to God Almighty that his soul may rest in eternal peace. Amen!

Though he is not amongst us, his verse, immortal as it is, is always there to guide us and to inspire us. His poetry, besides being beautiful in form and sweet in language, presents to us a picture of the mind and heart of this great poet, and we find how deeply he was devoted to the teachings of Islam. He was a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), - a Muslim first and a Muslim last. He was the interpreter and voice of Islam.

"Iqbal was not merely a preacher and a philosopher. He stood for courage and action, perseverance and self-reliance, and above all faith in God and devotion to Islam. In his person were combined the idealism of the poet and the realism of the man who takes a practical view of things. Faith in God and unceasing and untiring action is the essence of his message. And in this he emerges truly Islamic. He had an unflinching faith in Islamic principles, and success in life meant to him the realisation of one's 'self', and to achieve this end the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam. His message to humanity is action and realisation of one's self.

"Although a great poet and philosopher he was no less a practical politician. With his firm conviction of and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic state in the North-West and North-East Zones which are historical homelands of Muslims.

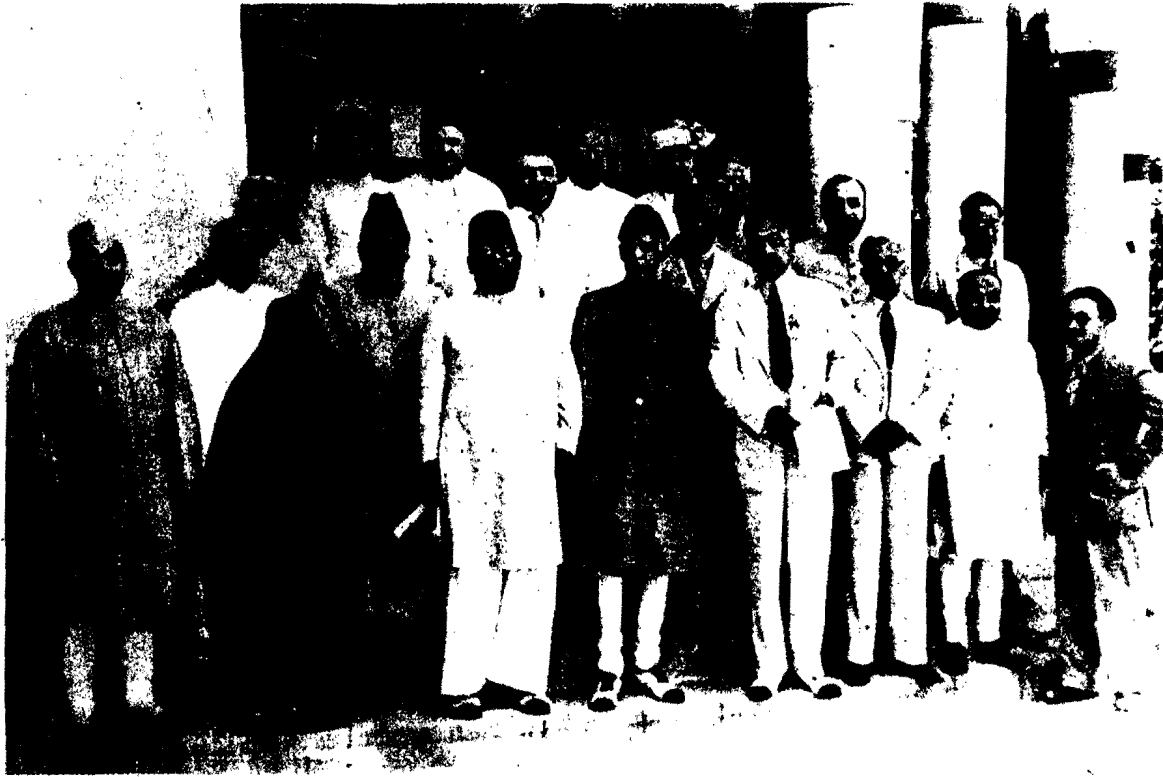
"I wholeheartedly associate myself with the celebration of this "Iqbal Day", and pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our National Poet so that we may be able to achieve and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign state of Pakistan when established.

(The Dawn, December 11, 1944.)

**Message on Iqbal Day,
New Delhi, March 30, 1946.**

"Iqbal voiced the ideals and aspirations of Muslim India. He made great contribution by his poems and prose to the political awakening and stirring up of the soul of Muslims of India. I wish the Iqbal Day every success."

(The Dawn, March 31, 1946.)



Quaid-e-Azam M.A Jinnah, with the members of the A.I. Muslim League Working Committee, March, 1940

PART TWO

The Ideal Realised

- A) Struggle for Independence
- B) Emergence of Pakistan



Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah addressing a meeting of the A. I. Muslim League Council in Delhi August 27, 1939

A

**A Historic Speech of Mr. Jinnah,
in the Imperial Council during the
budget session 1939-40
(Delhi, March 22, 1939)**

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban); Sir, I have taken the course of intervening in this debate early, because I want to clarify the position of the Muslim League Party, and I hope that you will give me permission if I depart, strictly speaking, from the amendment before the House. This is not the only amendment that the House will have to deal with. According to the Bill, we have before us, embodied in the Finance Bill, five items: the salt duty, the excise duty on sugar, the import duty on raw cotton, the inland postage rates, and income-tax and super-tax. Sir, I cannot possibly approve of the budget as it has been presented to us, because we have no lot or share in it. If I had any lot or share in the budgetary proposals, then I might have, or we might have, constructed the Budget on a different footing. But here we have the entire Budget presented to this House, and now, at present, we are only considering whether you can make amendments to the taxation proposed or for the reduction of taxation. Now, Sir, the position of the All-India Muslim League Party in this House is a very peculiar one. Fortunately or unfortunately, we hold the balance in the House. If we are supporting the Government, then I think the Finance Member can safely pilot this Bill to his satisfaction and he can carry this Bill without a comma of it being altered; and he naturally would plead before this House and plead before my Party that we should support it.

Sir, in the past we have been following the principle that if the Government brought in a measure which was really for the good of the people, then we would support it. If it was not in

the interests of the people we would oppose it. But, Sir, I see now that that policy must be altered. It really means this, that we are reduced to this position. When the Congress is right "support the Congress." When the Government is right, "support the Government," But when we are right, nobody supports us! Sir, we feel, therefore, and I want to ask the Government— What has been your policy? What has been your attitude? And what have been your actions so far as my Party is concerned? I am glad that the finance Member in his long speech said, "Remember Cawnpore, remember Benares, remember Budaun," but I can tell this House that there are many other places in this country where even the elementary rights of Muslims have been trampled upon,— and what have the Government done? I remember reading, Sir, not long ago, a speech made by Mr. Vallabhai Patel in which he said :

"There cannot be any basis for all these allegations, for all these complaints of ill-treatment, injustice, tyranny and persecution. The simple reason is that if there was any such thing, surely the Governor would have intervened."

And I think Mr. Bhulabhai Desai very recently made a speech and he relied upon the same argument, *viz.*, that "if, there was an iota of truth in this baseless allegations that we were making, surely the Governors would not have been sitting tight and would have immediately intervened." Therefore, because the Governors have not intervened, my Honourable friend is satisfied...

Mr. Lalchand Navabhai : On a point of order", Sir, I would like to know if this speech is germane to the amendment that is before the House?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim) If the Chair understood the Honourable member correctly, he was going to justify the action of his Party in dealing with this matter on the general political ground.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : That is right.

Instead of making several speeches, I want to lay down in one speech the policy and the attitude of our Party with regard to this Finance Bill. I am rather surprised that the Honourable member should have really interrupted me, because I think it might be admitted that I am one of those members who take the least amount of the time of this House. And I am not in the habit of speaking on every question whether I understand it or I do not understand it.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : I wanted to understand the legal aspect of the point.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : You have understood it now. I am glad the Honourable member has learnt to-day something.

Sir, I was saying that that is the position,— and now, what about Palestine? What about Waziristan? What about Jaipur? Where is the Paramount Power?

Bhai Parmanand (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Hyderabad also.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah : You define the attitude of your party when your turn comes: I am defining the attitude of my Party. What about Jaipur? Seventeen Muslims were shot down like dogs, and we have information, and we believe that information until it is proved to the contrary, that the fire was opened without any warning and without any justification. Where is the Paramount Power? What is the Paramount Power doing? I am not asking that you should intervene for the purpose of putting pressure upon the Indian states or to force them into undertaking "constitutional reforms," — but this is a fundamental and basic principle of maintaining civilised administration. Is this fair-play and justice done to the elementary rights of citizens? Sir, I can give instances after instances, but I do not want to waste the time of the House and, besides, this is not the occasion for it. Why do you expect us, I ask the Government, to draw the chestnuts out of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue to be subservient

on the specious pleas which you put forward before us? We have, therefore, so far as the Government are concerned, made up our mind that we will render no assistance to you so far as this Finance Bill is concerned. You may go on your own way. On the other hand, as regards the Congress Party, I do not want on this occasion to go into details, but I do maintain that the Congress Party is not only hostile to the Muslim League but they are inimical. Therefore, I say to them that co-operation between you and us is not possible. But they will say: "All right, we are the largest number here." Yes you may be the largest number; you may be more advanced; you may be stronger economically, and you may think that the counting of heads is the final judgment. But let me tell you — and I tell both of you — that you alone or this organization alone or both combined will never succeed in destroying our souls. You will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic Culture, and that spirit will live, is going to live and has lived. You may overpower us; you may oppress us; and you can do your worst. But we have come to the conclusion and we have now made a grim resolve that we shall go down, if we have to go down, fighting. Therefore, the position is this. I make this protest as a first step, — a solemn protest, a declaration on the floor of the House as to what our attitude is with regard to this Finance Bill. Our hearts are singed and burnt; our blood is boiling; we shall suffer and we shall go through fire. The attitude that we are going to take is this. We are not going to move any amendment. Do what you like with your Bill. We are not going to support any amendment moved by the Congress Party or any other Party. Possibly, the result of it would be that the Government will be defeated and the Congress will win, because, I know they have got a sufficient majority if we remain neutral as we are going to remain neutral. But I tell my Congress friends that your victory will not go beyond the little room called the lobby. If you have any sense of satisfaction in having won, you may have it. Your true victory and your real victory will be when you will stretch your hand across and remove the barrier between this Party and that

Party. Therefore, we have definitely decided not to vote for any of the amendments by whomsoever moved. We are not going to support the Government, because the British Government has failed even to secure us our elementary rights of citizenship, and those special powers which were assumed under the guise of the Governors and the Governor-General being the protectors and the trustees of minorities have proved to be fraud, worse than a fraud. I myself, therefore, do not wish to take any further part in this debate. But it is open to the members of my Party that they can freely express their opinion as to the merits of the amendments for the purpose of enlightening the Finance Member of the Government of India. As far as the Finance Bill is concerned it is his and of the Congress Party. You take the responsibility and do what you like with it.

Bhulabhai J. Desai: I also agree that it is not mere question of getting majority, because my Honourable friend or his colleagues have decided to refrain from voting...

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: That is exactly what we have done to-day.

*[The Legislative Assembly Debates, 1939,
Vol III, pp. 2554, 2560-63.]*

Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union,

Aligarh, March 6, 1940.

"That ever since the Minto-Morley reforms most people have assumed that Muslims were a minority and as such needed safeguards for the protection of their rights: but when we used this term we meant it in an entirely different sense. What we meant was that the Muslims were a political entity and that must be preserved at all costs. The separate electorate was only an indication of this inner feeling of the Mussalmans. It was in this spirit that the Lucknow Pact was signed, the basic principle

of which was that two separate distinct entities were entering into a mutual settlement. But unfortunately the Hindus understood one thing from this pact and we understood another. They thought that the Muslims were a mere minority who should be governed and ruled by the Hindu majority. The Muslims were constantly bamboozled into a false sense of security; and the term minority came to be regarded as historical, constitutional and legal. The Muslims were by no means like the minorities in European countries. When the present Constitution was being framed the Muslims insisted upon the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms on an equal footing in the N.W.F. Province; but the Hindus including the Congress opposed it tooth and nail. We were of the view that we must have real power at least in certain areas where we were in majority. On one occasion when this question was being discussed, the late Maulana Mohammed Ali, disgusted with the unreasonable opposition of the Congress, got excited and said, "I insist upon it as it is my corridor from Karachi to Calcutta." One thing is now obvious that we are by no means a minority but a solid and distinct Nation by ourselves with a destiny of our own.

I have declared on numerous occasions that we Mussalmans are a Nation but when in my letter to Mr. Gandhi recently I made this statement, he said that all his hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity had been dashed. The question is, what are the hopes of Mr. Gandhi and what does he mean by Hindu-Muslim unity? Mr. Gandhi's hope is to subjugate and vassalise the Muslims under a Hindu raj. I have resisted it with all the power at my command and, therefore, I am condemned as the worst Mussalman in this country! If this had not been done and Mr. Gandhi had been allowed to have his own way, there would have been greater disaster than there is today when we are frankly fighting for some clear and definite issues. Many people ask me why Hindu-Muslim settlement had not been reached. I would say that upon Mr. Gandhi's conditions no settlement is

possible. There can be no settlement except on equal terms and on a footing of perfect equality. I have got as much right to share in the governance of this country as any Hindu. We have never shown any attitude which may be regarded as inimical to Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Congress on coming into power in several provinces got intoxicated and began to dream of establishing absolute Hindu supremacy over the country. It is this attitude of the Congress caucus which is preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement, and holding up the progress of the country. The Congress High Command by their attitude are doing the greatest disservice to the Hindus themselves.

Two years ago at Simla I said that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. I was condemned everywhere in the Congress press. I was told that I was guilty of disservice to Islam because Islam believes in democracy. So far as I have understood Islam, it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims. We cannot accept a system of government in which the non-Muslims merely by numerical majority would rule and dominate us. The question was put to me, if I did not want democracy what then did I want — Fascism, Nazism or totalitarianism. I say, what have these votaries, these champions of democracy done? They have kept sixty millions of people as untouchables: they have set up a system which is nothing but a 'Grand Fascist Council' Their dictator is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. They set up dummy ministries which were not responsible to the legislatures or the electorate but to a caucus of Mr. Gandhi's choosing. Then, generally speaking, democracy has different patterns even in different countries of the West. Therefore, naturally I have reached the conclusion that in India where conditions are entirely different from those of the Western countries, the British party system of government and the so-called democracy are absolutely unsuitable.

What is the present position? You will remember that when Mr. Gandhi went to see the Viceroy on the outbreak of war, he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualized the possible destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of the Parliament; and he said, 'What was the use of Indian freedom if England and France were defeated?' He says so because he knows that he cannot have his freedom if Great Britain were to leave India. But by the time he reached Segaoon, he changed his mind and then came the demand for the declaration of the freedom of India and the summoning of a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise to frame the constitution of India with certain safeguards for the accepted and legitimate minorities. Having played hide-and-seek in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement, Mr. Gandhi jumped at this new idea of the Constituent Assembly, which he claims is the panacea of all the ills. Supposing the minorities were not satisfied, what would happen? They say that this would be referred to the highest tribunal. I ask, is it a question to be decided by a judicial tribunal? It is a question of social contract, of framing the constitution for millions of which could not be adjudicated upon by any judicial tribunal. Even granting that it was done, who will implement and enforce the verdict of the tribunal? It is nothing but a blind to cover their real intentions. Then there are other objections: historically and politically it is an absurd proposal. To ask a foreign power to call a Constituent Assembly and enforce the constitution framed by this Assembly and then to leave the country is the height of absurdity. A Constituent Assembly comes into being when a people have seized sovereign power. Later on Mr. Gandhi shifted ground and said that he would be satisfied with an equivalent of it. Who is to decide what this equivalent would be? Mr. Rajagopalachary says, 'Fresh elections should be held to the Provincial legislatures, and the members so elected should form the Constituent Assembly.' Mr. Patel goes one better and he says that the present members of the Provincial Assemblies should be allowed to constitute themselves as a Constituent Assembly. But Moonje

and Savarkar would not have it as they have no voice in the present Assemblies. Are these gentlemen serious about anything? So far as I have been able to understand, they only want to be a nuisance to the British Government and to blackmail it. It is not that they want the British Government to go but only to cajole and coerce it to give them something which would enable them to dominate the Muslims under British protection.

Now, What is the position of the Muslims League? In the first instance we find ourselves between the devil and the deep sea. The British are not in a hurry to hand over the Government either to the Hindus or to the Muslims. They are playing their own game. It is no use asking for declarations from the British Government and to go on crying 'give us freedom' give us freedom.' They will never give. There will always be some loophole in any declaration that the British Government may make. We, on the other hand, make a positive demand that this whole Act of 1935 should go lock stock and barrel; and the whole problem of the Constitution of India should be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the wretched Provincial Autonomy, and the developments that may take place hereafter. We have got certain explanations. The Viceroy says that his declaration does not exclude the re-examination of the whole policy and plan upon which the constitution is based. The whole thing is now open; but, in the meantime, the British Government is too busy persuading Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to descend from idealism to reality. So far as we are concerned, we are quite ready to make a realistic approach to the problem. But we have real apprehensions. What we fear is that the British Government may again open the door to Mr. Gandhi to pursue his plan subjugating and annihilating the Muslims and other minorities. I say with all the emphasis at my command that if the British Government attempts or might attempt to have a settlement with the Congress which is detrimental to the Mussalmans, we will not allow it to stand. We

are demanding of the British Government that no constitution and no interim settlement be made without the consent and approval of the Mussalmans. But if our fears materialise, all concerned should know that the Mussalmans will resist with every means in their power and reduce the settlement to nullity.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that it was no use depending upon anybody. We must depend upon ourselves. I am willing to be friendly with all but I depend upon my own inherent strength. Good work has been done so far by the Muslim League but we are only just on the fringe of it. You should know that a veritable war is going on even in India. I appeal to you to put your shoulders together, and work with the Muslim League. Stand firm as one solid block of steel; go on organizing our people, training them, disciplining them. They are with us. Do not worry about handicaps; organise the Muslims, bring them all together, train them, drill them and make of them the most wonderful political army that India has ever seen; and we will soon reach the goal of our freedom."

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**Presidential Address at the 27th Session
of the All-India Muslim League,
Lahore, March 22, 1940.**

[After giving some assessment of developments since 1938]

Building Up Self-reliance:

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly by experience of the past two and a half years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient

lesson of any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him.

Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Britishers to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thanks Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. The bluff was called off. So far so good.

I, therefore, appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Issue For The Future Constitution:

Now, what is our position with regard to the future constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declaration. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this land by asking them to make

declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration." The Congress said, "No, no; we want another kind of declaration. You must declare and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests." Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly— apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge subcontinent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and, if so, to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back.

Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the

British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Mussalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer: the Hindu majority would do it — and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Mr. Gandhi's "ahimsa"? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Mussalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders— each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. This is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organization! (Laughter) Babu Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago said, "Oh, what more do the Mussalmans want?" I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question he says: "If Britain would concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear." How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution will be framed not by the

Congress alone but by the representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religious and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantee can the minorities have?" So, according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says:

"To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous" — "but I think he is frivolous — I cannot be frivolous while I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother."

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote! (Laughter.)

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket." I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today."

Why has he lost the confidence of Muslims today? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj."

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight? I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly."

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which, the Muslims say, we cannot accept— which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Mussalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and, therefore, this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Mussalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent assembly"— mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes" — he is first-facing Assembly through Muslim votes— he is first facing us to come to that Assembly— and then says, "declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Koran and I have also studied something of that holy Book."

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hope, but even then he will agree with us! Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real, genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to settlement with the Mussalmans? (Voice of no, no.) Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu

Congress that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu, Congress has solid Hindu backing?" I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. I am right and I hope and believe even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Mussalmans of India. Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Mussalmans agree or they do not agree? Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Mussalmans? This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

Negotiations With The British

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined *do nove*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that, the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December:

"My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude — mark the words "does not exclude" — "examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based."

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future

constitution of India without our approval and consent, and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Mussalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Mussalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Mussalmans of India will resist. And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that "endeavours, earnest endeavours are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs." Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours (laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it, if there is any misapprehension, or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against

any Muslim country or any Muslim Power. Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

The Hindu-muslim, Situation:

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition.

The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India, we occupy large parts of this country, where the Mussalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Mussalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C.R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 14 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said. But before I read this letter it is plain from that that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu! (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither *possible nor practicable*. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

"You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlu. There is no finer Mohammedan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Koran? I can only hope that my reading of the Islamic law is incorrect."

I think his reading is quite correct. (Laughter)

"And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against British we cannot do so to rule

Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan *on democratic lines.*"

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so, viz, to rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

"What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Mussalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible."

"I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the onesided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to

the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing the constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the *London Times* commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said, indeed, to represent two entirely 'distinct' and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time, the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation. 'So, according to the *London Times*, the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions.' But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis-a-vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions.' Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities, which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statute. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the subcontinent from various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

Autonomous National States:

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states.' There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interest of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly

on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so build up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonets, but termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which much necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic

system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or nonviolently, blow for blow and if they could not, they must emigrate.

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even to-day, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideal and according to the genius of our people. Honestly demands and the vital interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying

and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide-awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by every body.

QAP-File - 1020/35-56 &

*"All Indian Muslim League, Lahore Session,
March 1940, Verbatim Report of the Presidential
Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam
Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Printed & Published by
S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India
Muslim League of Muslim League Press, Daryaganj,
Delhi, 1945, pp. 1-23.*

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**Concluding speech at the Annual Session
of the All-India Muslim League,
Lahore, March 25, 1940**

Mr. Jinnah, in his concluding remarks thanked the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements and for helping him to conduct the deliberations. He said that he was very perturbed when he heard of the firing on the Khaksars. His life had been shortened by 10 years when he heard of the tragic happening in Lahore. He was advised by some people not to hold the session in Lahore, but he had faith in the people of the Punjab and he decided not to postpone the session.

When he reached Lahore, he told reporters that the Lahore session of the Muslim League was going to be a landmark in the history of the Muslims of India. He had no doubt that but for this tragedy on the eve of the session, it would have proved a greater success. There would have been a magnificent procession, when they would have had an opportunity to demonstrate their enthusiasm. Their enemies had also attempted to mar the session but all their attempts had failed and the session had concluded most successfully.

He was happy that the deliberations of the session were conducted in a cool and calm atmosphere. It was an acid test for the Muslims. When our blood was boiling and when 30 Muslims were shot dead, it was very difficult to keep calm. But you have demonstrated to the world that the Muslims are capable of bearing sorrows. You have also shown to the world that you can conduct your business in a gathering of lakhs. It is the finest certificate that can be given to any nation. The prestige of the League was in the hands of the Muslims of the Punjab. I, therefore, congratulate the Punjab Muslims from the bottom of my heart. It gives me courage to serve you all the more.

A Landmark

Continuing — Mr. Jinnah said that the Lahore session had really proved to be a landmark in the history of Muslim India because they had defined their goal. He assured the gathering that they would fight for that goal. They had taken the decision in right earnest.

Finally, he appealed to the Muslims of the Punjab to organise the League in the province and carry its message from village to village and house to house. He exhorted workers, peasants, intelligentsia, landlords and capitalists to speak with one voice — that of Islam.

(The Civil & Military Gazette, March 26, 1940.)

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Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Muslim University Union, Aligarh, November 2, 1942.

"I find that the Muslim League now has so enormously grown and has become such a big organisation that its administration cannot be financed by one or two men. That is why I made this appeal which evoked response from all classes. You will be surprised to know that I received money orders even of two annas and four annas. The poorest people are sending their mite and are writing moving letters. If I were to disclose to you some of these letters you will know what spirit of sacrifice is burning in their hearts. They say they being poor cannot give money but they were ready to give their lives. Such small sums appealed to me more than the lakhs which a rich man can give. It shows that the Muslim League now represents not hundreds and thousands but millions of Muslims. I may remind you that at the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Pandit Nehru had the effrontery to say that the Muslim League was

playing into the hands of British imperialism and the Muslim masses were with the Congress. The Muslims have kept themselves completely aloof from the Congress have proved beyond doubt that they obeyed the mandate of the Muslim League. It is demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslim masses are not with the Congress and we might now dispense with the plebiscite even.

"I visit you every year and I have adopted the role of a reporter. Let me now run through the story of the last few years quickly. In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed. The Congress and the Muslim League both were opposed to it. The Muslims were particularly opposed to the federal part of the Act, but they were willing to work the provincial part of the scheme for what benefit it might yield, though it had many objectionable features. Congress, on the other hand, decided definitely to destroy the Act and wreck the constitution. But in spite of all this bombast about wrecking, what happened after the provincial elections? They took office in the various provinces as Mr. Gandhi had actually succeeded in having a "gentlemen's agreement" with the British government and took shelter under the slogan that Parliamentary mentality had come into existence. At that time Muslim India was dead as mutton. So far as the provincial part of the constitution was concerned, Muslim India was thrown at the mercy of the Hindu Congress. The Governors were standing by, the Viceroy was standing by, while every department of the social and political life of the Mussalmans was being crushed and every form of injustice, ill-treatment and persecution was being practised against them in Congress governed provinces. Muslim League was an anathema and every effort was made to crush it. Where was the Viceroy then and where were the Governors? They were guilty of the highest breach of faith; they were guilty of not discharging their constitutional obligations to protect the interests of the minorities. We had two and a half years of this night mare. Had

the federal part also been given effect to, it would have been a death-knell to Muslim India.

Now came the war, out of evil cometh good!

By September 1939 when the war broke out, the Muslim League had built up a sufficiently strong position, so much so that the Government of India and the British Government could not ignore it. For the first time in a crisis like the war, along with Mr. Gandhi, the President of the All-India Muslim League also was invited to meet the Viceroy. Do you remember any case before this when any recognised leader of Muslim India was invited along with the Congress leader? From that day Mr. Gandhi tried his best to get rid of the position that the President of the Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India had been given: an equal status with the Congress leaders. He adopted one pose after another. During his first interview with the Viceroy he broke down and shed tears in thinking of the destruction of the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and he said: "Of what use would India's freedom be if England were defeated!" and he advised India to give unconditional help to Great Britain. He then went to the meeting of the Congress Working Committee though, mind you, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said, "What can I do? the Working Committee has taken its decision and these are its demands -- immediate independence together with a declaration of the right of the people (mark the word people) to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise and as an earnest of it a national government should be immediately established at the centre to which the substance of power should be transferred forthwith." In the meantime while these demands were being passed the Viceroy declared that the Federal Scheme was suspended. As practical men we welcomed this announcement in so far as it went. But we asked for its total abandonment. We also made the demand that no constitution, interim or final, be imposed on us without our approval and consent. Ultimately the

British Government were forced to abandon the Federal Scheme. We found a considerable relief and finally in August 1940 His Majesty's Government by its declaration made it clear that no constitution will be imposed on India unless the major elements in the life of India agree to it and that the Mussalmans and other minorities will not be coerced to accept any constitution which they do not approve of.

The result was that Mr. Gandhi now started the game of coercion. In 1939 Mr. Gandhi and the Congress had already ordered the ministries to withdraw with a view to paralysing the constitution. He tried this and first the Madras Ministry resigned. He hoped against hope that the Viceroy will call him again, but instead the Viceroy immediately accepted the resignation and each Congress Ministry followed the same fate and the Congress-governed provinces were taken over under Section 93. Now, remember, what was the object of this method of coercion? Mr. Gandhi's sole aim is the revival of Hindu India and establishment of Hindu raj over the whole of Indian continent as the sole legal heirs and representatives of the British raj, and that the Muslims should go under and be brought under their yoke. The only aim of this coercion, if it had succeeded, would have been to let down the Mussalmans. Up to this time he maintained that there could be no mass civil disobedience, as the Muslim League were opposed to it, and that he did not want to embarrass the British Government. But he continued his process of coercion and discovered the slogan of 'freedom of speech' and under cover of liberty of speech he wanted to propagate his opposition to war efforts. He hit upon this plan and it was obviously meant to coerce and embarrass the Government and to corner them so that they should yield to their demand. After 14 months of his individual civil disobedience campaign when he found that it was about to peter out, Mr. Gandhi discovered and so did the Congress, that Mr. Gandhi was not authorised by the Congress resolution to pursue this course and so the movement was abandoned.

Then came Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March, 1942. Naturally enough the British Government were anxious in their own interests that if they could reconcile the two great parties of India it would be good as it will secure their co-operation in the war efforts. So they sent a draft declaration through Sir Stafford Cripps. Let me tell you what it meant. First of all it promised that at the end of hostilities the British Government will give India complete self-government such as is enjoyed by any dominion, or for the matter of that, by England. Not only that, but they made it clear that India would have the right to secede from the British Commonwealth if she so desired. The draft declaration also envisaged a constitution-making body composed of ten per cent of the representatives to be elected by Provincial Assemblies. According to this procedure Muslim India would not get even twenty-five per cent of the seats. This body will frame constitution for united India on democratic lines as the "Union." This was intended to placate the Congress. But the British Government also realised that if they stopped there, it would antagonise the Muslims who also counted as a force in the country and they had to consider how they were going to face Muslim India with regard to their Pakistan demand. For that purpose it was laid down in the draft declaration that after the constitution for the whole of India has been framed as the "Union," it would be laid before every provincial legislature to accede to it or not. The emergence of a constitution for one single Union of all India from such a body was a dead certainty. However, a consolation was offered to Muslim India to stand out of the Union. The procedure laid down was a loaded dice against us. In the two major Muslim provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims, though forming the majority of the population, are actually in a minority in the legislatures. The task set to us was that if we could secure 40 per cent of the votes in the legislature against the constitution setting up the Union, then we could have a plebiscite of the whole province. So you see that the constitution-making body where we would count for nothing was hurdle No.1. The Provincial Assembly which would

decide whether to accede or not to accede is hurdle No.2. If we successfully negotiated with both, then we would be presented with hurdle No.3, and the matter would be relegated to plebiscite. But whose plebiscite? Plebiscite of the whole province. The method proposed in the declaration was a mere eye-wash against us. There was no acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Mussalmans. We, therefore, found it impossible to accept it. But why did Mr. Gandhi reject the Cripps proposals? He thought that if Congress once accepted the principle of separation he would have to yield on the question of procedure which was manifestly unjust. It was because of this possibility of Pakistan materialising that Mr. Gandhi rejected the offer. Then in order to side-track the issue of Pakistan he hit upon the slogan "Quit India" without consulting any other party. For the last twenty years he had harped on the theory that there could be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, but though he talked a good deal about it he himself was biggest obstacle in the way of unity. He decided to launch mass civil disobedience and declared that consideration of the question of Hindu-Muslim unity should wait until the British had withdrawn from India. This slogan of "Quit India" would have also gone by the board if the British had surrendered to Mr. Gandhi's wishes. Appeasing the Congress means sacrificing the Mussalmans. I do not say that the British Government refused to submit to the Congress because they had any love for us. They did so just because it suited them also. There are occasions when two persons who have no love for each other cannot help going on the same lines. Apart from this they realised that if they let down Muslims the League is now strong enough to make as big a hell, if not bigger, as the Congress can. They were afraid of us. As a matter of fact, this campaign of Mr. Gandhi is the gambler's last throw. What did you expect the Muslim League to do about this movement? Did you expect the Muslim League, knowing all the machinations and manoeuvres of the Congress, to support them in their mass civil disobedience? It is not only a war against the British, but it is also a civil war inasmuch as it is a fight for the

Congress demands which are inimical to and destructive of Muslim rights. What would the British Government gain by appeasing the Congress.

It would have antagonised other elements and would have caused more trouble. If Muslims had joined the Congress movement in the name of freedom and independence, Mr. Gandhi would have represented to England and America and the world that he alone represented the whole of India and that his demand was also supported by Muslim India. A greater folly and a more serious blunder the Muslim could not have committed if they had fallen into this trap. The natural course should have been that if we had any belief in the *bona fides* and honesty of the British, ordinarily we would have joined them to crush the movement which was aimed against us equally. But I regret to say that we cannot trust the British either. They are playing their own game and, therefore, we only asked the Muslims to keep aloof from this movement. Let them fight it out. This is one of those cases where neutrality is the most effective policy on our part.

Now what has happened to that slogan of Quit India? What have the Hindu organisations been asking for since the 8th of August, and from whom? Instead of settling matters with their own countrymen, the hundred million Muslims, they have been sending appeals to England, America, and China and now Russia to take the initiative and help them. (Mr. Jinnah then asked the Congress and Hindu India,) "You had asked England to quit India. Why then do you ask them to take the initiative? What initiative do you expect these nations or their governments to take in the matter? Do you desire the United Nations to impose a constitution on India against the will and in spite of the opposition of hundred millions of Mussalmans?" If Hindu India has the least desire to come to a settlement with Muslim India, is this the kind of method which they should follow? On the other hand, what is the attitude of the British? They say that the Congress is a Hindu body and is only one party among others.

True! The Congress does not represent the majority of the people of India. True! But when I ask what about Muslim India of hundred millions and other millions of Indians who are not supporting the Congress party, there the British answer is a curious one. They take shelter under the plea that Congress cannot be ignored. But it is admitted that the Congress has made itself impossible, and yet even for purposes of defence and mobilisation of the resources of our country the rest are equally ignored.

I ask any honest man whether the proposal of Pakistan, which presupposes independence and freedom for Hindu India as well as Muslim India and under which three-fourths of India go to Hindu and only one-fourth to Muslims, is unfair? I say let us live as good neighbours and solemnly undertake that you will protect and safeguard our minorities in your zones and we will protect and guard your minorities in ours. Let all parties including the government agree to the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and abide by the verdict of the Muslim plebiscite and guarantee and pledge to give effect to the Pakistan scheme and then the question of the Provisional government may be easily adjusted. I have had the opportunity of meeting many Hindu leaders recently who were good enough to come and see me, and I have put it to them without any offence: When did the Hindus rule India last and what part of it? It is a historical fact that for nearly one thousand years the Hindus have not ruled any part of India worth mentioning. Our proposal concedes to them three-fourths of India and they can control the government of Hindu zones according to our proposal. I appeal to them not to be greedy, because it seems to me that the Hindus think that we have conceded and according to our proposal, they have got three-fourths in their pocket and, therefore, why not manoeuvre and grab the remaining one-fourth and establish Hindu raj over the entire sub-continent. I say take three-fourths and do not grudge my one-fourth. Let me live according to my history in the light of Islam, my tradition,

culture and language, and you do the same in your zones. Let us thus live in peace. But the objective of the Hindu leadership, unfortunately, is that they want us to surrender and consent to live as a minority in the whole of India under the domination of Hindu raj. We will never accept this position. When we propose Muslim plebiscite it is on the basis that Mussalmans of India are by any and every definition a nation. Nowhere in the world would 100 millions of people be regarded as a minority. Thus it is not a question of concession or compromise, protection or safeguards. It is a question of the inherent birthright of Mussalmans to self-determination as national group inhabiting this sub-continent to establish their own States in those zones where they are in a majority. We cannot compromise on this issue. It would be compromising our very existence. If you talk to me as a minority there can be no settlement. If we are a nation it is for the Muslims alone to decide their future. But we ask you to agree to give effect to the verdict of the plebiscite of Muslims. Meanwhile we have no objection to a Provisional Government being established to mobilise all the resources of India for her defence. We are more vitally concerned with the defence of India as our homes and hearths are here. Americans can go to America, Chinese to China, and British to England; but my home is here. Therefore I am more concerned in defending my home. However Muslim India cannot join the Provisional Government, as a mere minority but only on an equal footing. This answer to our proposals is kite-flying, machinations and appeals to this foreign country and that.

People ask: Supposing the British and the Congress make up their differences and the former yield and surrender to the Congress demand, what will happen to us? The answer is: If the British Government after all their solemn pledges attempt to sacrifice us, let us down and throw us at the mercy of the Congress raj, believe me, even united, they will not succeed if we are united and organised. Now we are able to stand up and make such a government impossible. Even the combined forces of

China and America cannot impose on us a constitution which will sacrifice Muslim India. But if such a mad blunder is committed by the United Nations, remember even a worm turns, and notwithstanding the foreign bayonets upholding the Congress raj, we shall make the administration of the country impossible; for it is far too grave an issue for us to submit to. It is a wicked move which involves the future destiny and prosperity of 100 million Muslims in this sub-continent. Faith, unity, and discipline I impressed on you as your motto last time. If you want to live and uphold all that is dear to you, the precious heritage of Islam, take your vow now and begin to work, and work and organise the Muslim League. That is your ultimate sanction and that is the ultimate weapon which you can forge. Further, there is a wonderful change in Muslim India. Team-work, selflessness, co-operation, help and service, if you cultivate these qualities no power on earth can suppress you."

*"Muslim India Speaks". Published by Mushtaq Hussian Khan,
Hony. Secy, Muslim University Union, Aligarh, pp.5-19*

& The Star of India, November 12, 1942.

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**Presidential Address delivered the thirtieth
Session of the All-India Muslim League,
Delhi, April 24, 1943**

[After giving the formal report on various developments in different provinces during the previous year in the internal affairs of the
All-India Muslim League...]

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the first instance, the Act of 1861 and the Act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation in the so-called Councils of the Governors and of the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made with elected representative being sent either to the

Imperial Council as it was then called or the local councils, or to other municipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was — I am not exaggerating — that it was not possible of any Mussalman to get elected. Then came the Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans, who had learnt by their experience from 1884 onwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale who was a great Hindu — and I was quite a young man at that time — one who had learnt at the feet of that great man, Dadabhoy Naoroji, naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring about an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Mussalmans. With his liberal and broadminded statesmanship,— and he was a tower of intellect,— this is what he said in 1907 :

"Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed.) Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regard to numbers and other things, would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting to-day."

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoy Naoroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But, remember, even at this period there were signs that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in may 1913:

"National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohammedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socioeconomic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder instead of helping the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions, mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life."

Then he goes on:

"The Nationalist Movement in India which, so far, is essentially a Hindu movement, stands:

I. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism; (2) Federal Internationalism; (3) Universal Federation.

II. Practically for (1) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation. (2) The promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world cultures, e.g., Christian and Islam, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the

helpful co-operation with them. (3) The continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a federal constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies. (4) The advancement of Universal Federation."

He stands for what? Hindu nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoy Naoroji, I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who remember it know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many other who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organizations — the Congress and the Muslim League — to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time, as it happened, the war was on and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on constitutional reform in this country. Our friends the British at that time — even to-day I don't think they have given up this game — did not want that these two organizations should meet in the same city, — leave alone under one roof. You know, Ladies and Gentlemen, that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry, as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police and with the support of the bureaucracy that the meeting of the Muslim League had been broken up; I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not far wrong. At the end of the next year, that is in December 1916,

the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

Enter Mr. Gandhi

It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi put his declaration in "*Young India*" on the 12th of May, 1920 — you will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B.C. Pal made his declaration seven years ago — and what does Mr. Gandhi say?

"It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion."

You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further:

"The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us to-day like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics."

Let me tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he had captured the Congress at Nagpur, he said in "*Young India*" on the 12th October 1921:

"I call myself a Sanatani (Orthodox) Hindu because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and rebirth." (Ultimately he himself became an Avatar).

"Secondly, I believe in the Varnasharma Dharma (the law of the caste System) in its Vedic forms.

"Thirdly, I believe in the protection of the cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form, "I do not '*disbelieve*' in idol worship.

In spite of these declarations which are so clear and unequivocal, the Hindu nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924:

"It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu."

"My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

Yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader he resented it— and yet he says, "every fibre of his being is Hindu" which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924.

1925 and after

From 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was "No." They never made any counter-proposals. You remember we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore, the communal settlement was brought about and two

committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of shame, shame) and the Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next? Then came the Nehru Report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohammad Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohammad Ali says:

"In the days of the rule of the British India Company the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki — Mulk Malaka Ka — Hukam Company Bahadur Ka* (the people belong to God, the country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki — Mulk British Ka—Hukam Mahasabha Bahadur Ka —* (the people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur)."

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the congressmen, says:

"Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim

community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors to India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of Shuddhi and Sanghatan which openly and clearly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Quranic teaching, namely, 'If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers.'

Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that he imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, how is it possible for any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fairplay, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 millions who are the biggest blot on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables at the mercy of the Sanatansits, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Mussalmans. After all,

we, Mussalmans are capable of giving and taking. Could there be any condition so offensive and absurd as this one laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than anybody else. It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. The thing naturally broke down. When the minorities committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said — and the real thing that was at back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a round-about way. He was addressing the Minorities Committee and Mr. MacDonald was presiding. He said:

"Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution of the communal tangle can be the crown of Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

What did Mr. MacDonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. MacDonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi:

"Be honest and face the facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves. Then if then communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here? At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up of an Indian constitution lies the problem

of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on..."

Gandhi Institutions

That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions:

1. "*The Gandhi Ashram*" (Monastery) at Sevagram, Wardha (to serve as the Vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress).

2. "*The Gandhi Seva Sangha*" (a small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "*Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha*" (to consolidate the Depressed Classes as an integral part of Hinduism and to prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "*Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha*" (to propagate Sanskritised Hindi as the state and national Language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "*Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha*" (to propagate the idea that all Indian languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari script and to displace Urdu script).

6. "*Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha*" (Village Welfare League, to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the villages).

7. "*Gandhi Khadi Prathisthan*" (to preach the cult of the spinning-wheel and Khadi or hand-woven cloth which is worshipped as a fetish).

8. "*Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha*" was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a state-controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the

Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "*Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha*" (Cow Cult Association).

Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult — the worship of the cow as a goddess. He has, therefore, made Gow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

10. Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother-Superior of all these associations. Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:

"Spheres of action of these associations are limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

This is how he addressed his Mother-Superior. Not only that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite parliamentary zones and appointing three parliamentary zone-dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, they have also gradually developed permanent deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance, the permanent Secretary of the All-India Congress Office is "Acharya" Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article, "The Gandhian Way." "Kaka" Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri, Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism — The Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the

Wardha Education Scheme. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khaddi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar, is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashrams in Bihar. The Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar, is in charge of the Hinduisng influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans, the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu raj. He is in charge of Gandhi Ashram in N.W. Frontier. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat, and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandhism, is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province and so on and so forth.

Gandhi, Hitler and Mussolini

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committed, said:

"Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; but they all have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the creation of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism,...nationalism, — democracy,...democracy!

I ask you: "Is this nationalism, is this democracy?" (Cries of No, No, from all corners) When we say "No," we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, "You have destroyed it. You talk of Nationalism and democracy". Either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genius of this country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular representative constitutional government.

Appeal to give up this pose

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence, but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of democracy you mean Hindu raj, to dominate over the Muslims, totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we learned democracy 1,300 years ago. It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu society as are the Arctic regions. You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty. We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram or one society

and nation will by this permanent majority destroy another nation or society in permanent minority and all that is dear to the minority.

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu nationalism; have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you God-speed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader, Redmond, met Carson, the Ulster leader, and told him. "Look here, can't we come to some settlement? Why do you want to separate from Ireland? Mind you, there is not one-millionth part of the differences between the peoples of Ulster and Ireland." What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you." My reply to Mr. Gandhi is, "I do not want to be ruled by you."

This is the position. I only appeal. If only my humble voice can reach the Hindu India, I appeal to them, "Give up this pose." You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself but for all Mussalmans. Give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's aim. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other — which we have not yet done — who may be the bitterest enemies to-day may become friends tomorrow. This is politics. If your leaders are on this path, as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is your responsibility, the responsibility of the Hindu public, to come forward and say "Stop this internecine war; declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement." That is now the problem. I ask you — I may be wrong — how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song — I am not holding any brief for the British Government. I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British are not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice a million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out? Why can't we do it in spite of them? Therefore, I say it is no use appealing to other nations of the world.

The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your Parliament and see that your Parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do, then we will be exactly where we are. It will be your representatives, it will be your cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

Nehru's Double Role

Now we come to the recent event. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad Session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to take up your time and repeat them. The Cripps' proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr.

Gandhi made, it is clear that he was not only opposed to the Pakistan Scheme but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use a stronger word— if you know Mr. Gandhi, mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin, that is, you will be damned in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress—I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and the Congress—so far as the public are concerned, it was said that the proposals were rejected on the ground, first of the veto and then of the defence portfolio. Well about the same time when this controversy was going on between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an article sent by wireless to America and which was published in the "New York Times" of July 19, 1942, says:

"Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of the defence portfolio? Or was it that the All-India Congress would not agree to any idea of Pakistan? To this country is given one version and to America another! Americans are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realise and fully realise that they are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

Civil Disobedience

Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience. Not for any political purpose but it was only for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want?— liberty of speech to preach and to advocate in every

possible way to prevent war efforts? I think even if it was our own government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful organisation in the country, with all its resources wanted to be let loose to preach against the war effort I would not tolerate it. It would put them in jail. But if it was a conscientious object or I could understand that.

How can you expect any government, much less a foreign government, to allow this to be carried on? Let us take commonsense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech or was it intended not only to prevent war effort but also to embarrass and coerce the British Government to concede their demand? In the meantime Mr. Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement because it would be suicidal. But mind you Mr. Gandhi said, he was never going to launch Civil Disobedience movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim League. He had been saying, for the last 22 years, that he lived for Hindu-Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life, and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League comes in or not, he revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no Swaraj, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity. It is all thrown to the wind suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it? "Quit India." Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said — and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct — they said: "In resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But the Mussalmans say: "We don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them

and they are taking the fullest advantage of the situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a United India then let us take it as divided India.

The Cockpit of a Feud

Now let me tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen— and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public, to carefully consider whether I am right or wrong. I will put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this subcontinent has been for nearly 100 years based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree and if by some means or other they enter into an agreement by their influence or pressure then it will be nothing but a cockpit of feud beneath the umbrella of a United India with the Englishman on the top. Therefore the Britisher, with his far-sighted vision, has followed a policy and taken us on this line of a united democratic India — I don't think they have given it up yet — the line of a United India and a democratic supremacy parliamentary system of government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on that line and are allowed to frame a constitution as a democratically united India we would never come to an agreement without their arbitration; it is the only way to prolong their lease of supremacy. When you have quarrelled and broken each other's heads then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. That is the reason why there being a strong diehard British school of thought, our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India today (— the great man Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India who are a *pucca* diehard brand) are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered that historically India was united under Akbar.

My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know that if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India, you can only do so, so far as the British India is concerned.

Indian States

Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we will have to get over another hurdle— the biggest hurdle— namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles— 1,2,3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only they have somehow or other made you miss the bus, but they have put you in the wrong bus. Now do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus— and the Britishers know it better than anybody else— that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. It may come in my life-time or not (cries heard from all corners: It will, it will) you will remember these words of mine. I say this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other. That is not permanent. Any enemy of today is a friend of tomorrow. That is life. That is history.

So I say this with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of the freedom of both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Our conscience is clear. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review and revise your policy. A lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress, and recently the appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong.

The Congress position has been this from the start up to August 8 — that the policy and demand for Pakistan is an untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi had

forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in a post-script. "The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole people. As you should be aware the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly."

Am I wrong?

This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a government as will be responsible to a duly elected assembly. I ask you; what is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Co-Governor-General or he might get a kick? The India Office will be abolished; the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This central constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present constitution completely and substituting another. If I am wrong, I shall stand corrected. Once the present central foundation structure is gone the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under the Governor? Are they to remain under the present constitution? Therefore you must overhaul, repeal the present constitution and undertake framing of an entirely new constitution for the whole of India including Indian states. We are asked; What is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed. The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's proposal, Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent; the framing of a new constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made to say nothing about who was to be authorised to frame such a

constitution. Therefore the position of the congress is exactly the same as ever. Only it is put in different words and in a different language but it means Hindu Raj on an *Akhand Hindustan* basis — a position which we can never accept.

Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day for both, for the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputations and carrying on correspondence? Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi to-day? I cannot believe for a single moment — strong as this Government may be in this country — you may say anything you like against this Government — I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me.

It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or the Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there is no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called No-Party Conference, I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya that I did not want to attend the conference. I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following — but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some experience — may be, they are our political opponents. But once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the political movement in the country — these gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question than the resolution they passed

and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part, he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past.

The hardest nut to crack

Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organisation. It is guilty of high treason. They are the enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truce with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India are not with the Congress, but are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the Premier say? What does the press in London say? The Sunday Chronicle in a leader says: "Prime Minister Churchill's message praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers, will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and, thank God, we have kept aloof, because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such references during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress as an outlaw, what do the British say to others? They say: "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that not only is nobody going to believe you, but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organisation — the

Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part, Either the people of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not — as the 100 million Mussalmans are certainly not — then what is the answer to the rest of India? They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organisation has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is this an honest attitude?

From this attitude can anyone believe that there is a real honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary, accused of not helping the war effort and we are very often threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, Ladies and Gentlemen, so far as the Muslim India is concerned, so far as we the Mussalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

If they have got any honest and capable agents they ought to be kept informed in London. I once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, disappointment— not to use any stronger language — at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. You cannot continue like this. Therefore, reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by a verdict of a plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League sessions in Lahore in 1940.

Attitude to the War

The Muslim League has been ready and is still ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government at the Centre in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has been so far completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once and I say it again on this occasion that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that—a fact is a fact—India is in the war. Being in the war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher or is it in the interest of the United Nations who are in it like America or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or the other, by one manoeuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other and keep the 100 million as they are to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of wood yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten and the British can go to London. And further I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or Mikado. That, to my mind, is inconceivable. It may happen that America may be reduced to a second-rate power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to the length that their country might be ruled by any other foreign power. What is my position? It is this, if this war is lost, there is no other power. Either Japan or Hitler will come to this country and we will come under the jackboot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to.

What about us? Who is more interested to defend this country and prosecute this war—it is not a sentimental thing—I say, nobody more than we. It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and destruction and devastation of our homes and

hearths in Muslim zones in the east and west which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more interested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-cooperating and it is more dishonest to say that we are not co-operating. The Muslim League says, "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for us? What will be the fruits of victory for us, when we have given our money, our blood and everything? If we are defeated, Japan or Germany will come. If we win we are just camp-followers and may get a *bakhsheesh* in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organised nation accept that position? That is the picture. Therefore either they have blundered and are blundering or really they do not want to part with power. They are taking the chance as a gambler does, saying to themselves: "If we win, we will keep them where they are. If we lose then after us the deluge!" *Après nous le deluge.*"

I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan. There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again, it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers." Here is the passage from his book*:

"Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We British would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safe-guards) with Teutons as the dominant race — or Slavs if you prefer — because we were a minority in Europe."

Then he says further;

* "The Indian Pageant".

"Even if this Super-Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw off the shackle. And if the superman showed signs of doubting their own decision, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution to the difficulty, we should reply as the Muslim League has that such freedom was a farce."

May I add here that Mr. Gandhi, the "superman" precisely wants *Akhand Hindustan* and Muslim India, cannot and will not, agree to this demand. What would the Englishman say? Will he then say: "Smaller nations cannot exist? We are in a small island: only 35 million people. They are Teuton brothers, the Germans are 80 million. "If a proposal was made that they should have one government would the English agree? What is the difference between an Englishman and a German? To begin with they are of the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurisprudence and culture are not very much different. Their architecture, art, music and civilisation are not different. But what would an Englishman say? What would Canada say, if tomorrow a proposal was made that Canada and United States should become one federated government and Canada to become one of the units? Then what about others — North America and South America and South America? America is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition was made? Therefore Major Yeats Brown says very rightly: "Put yourselves into Muslim slippers." Even if the government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom we should not submit to it just as long as we do not have the strength to throw off the shackles. The Muslim League would however consider such a freedom as a farce.

Hindu Conception of Freedom

This is what is required to be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule which is a farce. Well therefore there is no difficulty in understanding. First of all we have got to settle the basis. Do you want to really create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as people's government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is from our own government, the question as to the constitution and the form and system of a government does not arise. Let us take the resolution of France. The party that wanted to break the government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the case of Australia, that happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people and it is the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualise a constitution-making body being set up and based on a very low franchise. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult franchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries have not been functioning. But, thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a people's government.

Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of

the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power to-day. You go anywhere to the countryside. I have visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day! If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them. Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate. That is our goal. We are going to achieve it. The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourself and see that you frame a constitution which is to your heart's desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourself? The constitution and the government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

The Minorities

The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance and ask: "Where do we stand in the Pakistan that you visualise?" That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent and as I said before, any civilised government will do it and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned our own history, our Prophet (S.A.V) has given the clearest proof that non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously.

Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan is this. There is a new propaganda. We had many wicked propagandas

like the one of cutting the mother cow into two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument which I think is really very wicked, of all, the most wicked of all. The argument is this: Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the north-west and eastern zones as "Pak" and the others as "Na-Pak". I have heard this from several quarters — and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore resolution we had not used the word "Pakistan". Who gave us this word? (cries of Hindus). Let me tell you it is their fault. They started damning this resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. "Give the dog a bad name and then hang him". They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded then came the cry that "Pakistan" means alliance with other Muslim countries — Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey — and they will grind down Hindu India? That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some section of the Hindu press and also by the British press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? Now I say to my Hindu and British friends: We thank you for giving us one word.

What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not the Muslim League or the Quaid-e-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of North-West to be separated from the rest of India, coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea, and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter "P" for Punjab, "A" for Afghan, (as the N.W.F.P. is known even to-day as Afghan), "K" for Kashmir, "S" for Sind, and "Tan" for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus, whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time it is obvious that language of every civilised country invents new word — the word Pakistan has come to mean the Lahore Resolution. We

wanted a word and it was foisted on us and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for the Lahore Resolution.

Loose Federation

We are asked by some constitutional Pandits, why can't there be some sort of loose federation or confederation? People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point, because it is important:

There are people who talk of some sort of a loose federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of the authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the central authority, until in the end a strong central government will have been established by the units themselves and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a federal government is accepted. Taking for instance the United States and her history, the Dominions of Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa and Germany and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence, necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the central government.

These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to want of correct understanding as to what really federation means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the units in theory have the residuary powers or the centre. But once the units accept the basis of federal central government it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all-powerful central authority and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more powers to the centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links, more

or less like a country council or glorified municipalities or feudatory states under the central authority.

We are opposed to any scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal, which has for its basis any conception or idea of a central government — federal or confederal — for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the entire Muslim nation, economically, socially, educationally, culturally, and politically and to the establishment of the Hindu majority raj in this sub-continent.

Therefore, remove from your mind any idea of some form of such a loose federation. There is no such thing as loose federation. When there is a central government and provincial governments they will go on tightening, tightening, and tightening until you are pulverised with regard to your powers as units.

South Africa

Well, Gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal India legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black. It is a pity that it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the empire is asked to contribute to the war effort and Indians were considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men or even to pick them up when they have fallen on the battlefield to save their lives. But on the other hand, this badge of the horrible colour bar is the reward for one of the members of the Commonwealth who is contributing its share in blood which is acknowledged and praised duly.

I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India, when he was asked in the Parliament, should say that he had no statement to make. While the whole of India was condemning this bill, including even the Government of India, which is an

agent of the British Government, can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies?

The Indian States

There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things are not at all well in the Indian States. I shall name only some of the States: Kashmir, Gwalior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate and I appeal to those States, where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power, to set a better example. Similarly I shall advise those Muslim States where the Mussalmans are in the majority that they should treat the minority community fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances suitably. It is not the way we will deal with the problem of India that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority; you would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority, I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim power or Muslim majorities ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

Conclusion

There remains finally one thing. I say to the Mussalmans, we have gone through nearly seven years of various vicissitudes and we have reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt, that the 100 million Mussalmans are with us. When I say 100 million Mussalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us — leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, supermen or lunatics, an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phoenix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destruction in India in the 18th and the 19th centuries is a miracle. The people who had lost everything and who were placed by Providence between the two stones of a mill, not only came into their own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid,

militarily the most virile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India.

March Forward

Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation, so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, your Council of the All-India Muslim League, and undertake proper and systematic planning, I can only repeat once again, for educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime I will only conclude by saying: The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward."

"The all India Muslim League, Delhi Session, April 1943. Verbatim Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-e-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Printed and Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945, pp. 1-41 & The Morning News, May 8-12, 1943.

Speech at a meeting (in Camera) of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, April 24-26, 1943.

"About the future, there are two sets of suggestions: (1) to take direct action here and now to force Britain to accept the Muslim demands, and (2) to wait and watch. The extremists would wish the League forthwith to declare war on Britain, and one of them Mr. G. M. Syed even recommends that as a token of Muslim resentment, members of the Working Committee should in the first instance court imprisonment and at the same time Muslim Leaguers should be called upon to withdraw from War Committees. Then there are the Moderates who maintain that the League should rest satisfied over the formation of

Ministries in Bengal, Sind, Assam, and the Punjab. No one, however, takes a balanced and realistic view of the situation. The situation is this: the Congress is determined to defy the Muslims. But it has now paid the penalty. It has been crushed and it has ceased to claim that it also represents the Mussalmans. It may not act as we would wish, but at the same time it is no longer capable of substantially harming us. The wounds it has received will take some time to heal and so we are for the time being free from its terror. Besides it is not under the present circumstances in a position to give us anything. We want Pakistan and that commodity is available not in the Congress market but in the British market. In other words, the Congress danger has ceased to exist for the time being. Let us, therefore, not bother too much about it but maintain a watchful attitude. Then comes our second enemy, the Britisher. How do we stand in relation to him? Well, he is as useless for our purpose as the Congress and he is as callous and defiant as any enemy can be. His anxiety throughout has been to court the Congress, and he feels that his Imperialist interests demand that he should permanently keep the Mussalmans down. He is gravely suspicious of the Mussalmans. In the rise of the Muslim power, he sees the end of his own supremacy in the East. Therefore, beyond soft words, the Muslims can expect nothing from him. Nor can the Muslims associate any high hopes with the so-called Post-war New World Order. The end of this war is going to leave the Britisher so powerful that he will be able to defy the world opinion where it conflicts with his own Imperialistic designs. At the end of the war the Britisher will be more powerful than any of his Allies. And if he is really powerful and if he has successfully emerged at the expense of his Allies, why should he listen to the counsels of his weak Allies or even to the world? He has not been fighting this war to enable visionaries to advise him as to how he should liquidate his own power. Therefore, neither now nor henceforth is there any possibility of the British willingly conferring upon us the boon of Pakistan. On the contrary in the post-war period, there is every likelihood of a

British-Muslim conflict on a grand scale. There are various issues which may give rise to such a conflict, e.g. Palestine or Syria, or the withdrawal of the British from Iran, Egypt and Baghdad. Collectively these issues form but a part of the general world problem and when it comes to the point, the Muslims of various countries will have to sink or swim together. It is impossible for British Imperialism to yield to Muslim opinion in all these fields. On one issue or the other, there is bound to be an open clash. We must prepare ourselves to play our part in that major clash. Naturally, we shall require elaborate arrangements. None of the small mercies shown to us recently by the Provincial Governors in Sind or Bengal can lull us into a false sense of security. These favours have not been granted because the British love us. It is in order to expose us before the masses to whom we have been making extravagant promises that we have been saddled with this responsibility. The same trick was played with the Congress when they were given a long rope in the shape of Ministries to hang themselves. Had this not been done, there would have been no Hindu-Muslim bitterness such as now exists. If Congress had not accepted office, it would not have lost its former hold over the agrarian and labour population, or its former popularity with certain sections of the Muslims. The same trick is being played with the Muslims. The British have brought League Ministries into existence so that our promises to our people are put to the test, so that we feel and thereby stand self-condemned and so that there should arise local and internal complications within the League. I am genuinely afraid that the British will not allow the League to do anything substantial for the Muslim masses in order that the Muslim League shall stand discredited in the eyes of its own people. Therefore, let us not lay down our tools merely because seventeen or twenty of our men have been provided with seats in Provincial Cabinets. What are we to do? Are we to acquiesce or fight? As far as I am concerned, that we should fight is a foregone conclusion. All that remains is how and when. We cannot fight unless everything is placed on a perfect war footing.

By giving us Ministries, the enemy feels that he has sealed our doom. But let us seal his doom with the same instruments. Let us use this opportunity to consolidate our position in the Provinces. Let the Ministries function in such a manner that instead of discrediting themselves, they popularise the League among the masses from whom we are mainly to draw when we are on the war path. Collect funds. Consolidate the National Guards. Consider from what side we are going to launch our attack. Let us exploit these Ministeries so that when we attack, the very fact that we are giving up our seats in the Government in order to launch such an attack will add to our prestige. When should we attack? I think I should be ready with my plans by about next December. Meanwhile, our Provincial Ministries and Leagues will have completed the work of organisation in the Provinces and prepared themselves for the fight. Also we will have seen how the war goes during the summer. In December we meet in Sind. In April we meet in the Punjab. There we decide when to strike, where to strike and how to strike. Personally I think that unless unforeseen circumstances force us to act otherwise, we should begin our offensive immediately on the termination of the war. Then everybody will be in a state of exhaustion and unwilling to face a new ordeal. It is true that the Britisher will by then be stronger than anyone else. But that strength of his will be confined only to this that he shall stand no dictation from his Allies who would be comparatively weaker than him. But for that reason alone he dare not court fresh trouble on a large scale. All we have to do to wrest our ideal from his unwilling hands will be to create trouble on a large scale, and thus compel him to surrender. How did Afghanistan win her independence? She declared war when the World War had just ended. England was exhausted and her pleasure-loving people would allow no new wars to be fought. We should, if necessary and if matters can be delayed till then, copy Afghanistan. That, however, does not mean that we should stay our hands if provocation comes earlier. In that event, we ought to be in a position to strike even earlier. We have already killed the

Congress. Now it is the turn of the British. The war in my opinion may last another three years and we should use that period to put our house in order.

"In this connection, here are the few points which should be borne in mind---

(1) Now that we are in the Ministries, we should try to retain them as long as possible so that we are able to use them as an instrument for consolidating our position in the Provinces for the purposes of the impending fight.

(2) We should, if possible, avoid conflict with the British until the arrival of the psychological moment and until our preparations are completed.

(3) In order to popularise the League with the masses, we should pass some good legislation in the Provinces where Ministries are functioning. This will stand us in good stead in due time.

(4) Meanwhile discourage anything that will create dissensions in the Muslim Camp. For instance, discussion or determination of fundamental rights for citizens in Pakistan, or production of a cut and dried scheme for Pakistan must create controversies and differences of opinion and should, therefore, be avoided for the present.

(5) The fight being inevitable, we must make our preparations flawless."

(The Transfer of Power, p.919-921)

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**Presidential Address at the 31st Session
of the All-India Muslim League, Karachi,
December 24, 1943.**

Brother delegates of the All-Muslim League, ladies and gentlemen:

"I thank you for having once more honoured me and elected me as President of the All-India Muslim League this year. I can only say, as I have repeatedly said, that if there is any call from you for any opportunity to serve, with my heart and soul, Muslim India and the cause for which we stand, I shall neither falter nor hesitate to obey. You know that it is now more than seven years since we undertook the revival, the reorganisation, and the revitalisation of the All-India Muslim League. I think, without exaggeration, it is an undeniable fact that in these seven strenuous years and in the struggle we have gone through for the last seven years we have made remarkable progress which has been admitted by our admirers, and even by our opponents today.

You have shown not only to India, but to the whole world and fully established, that we are a nation and that we shall never rest content until we seize the territory that belongs to us and rule over it.

"The struggle is a long one and is a hard one. It requires of you all -- let me tell you and especially those who get impatient and who get into a frame of desperation or despair -- to realise that the struggle is a long one, is a hard one, and it calls upon everyone of you -- specially I now address the youth -- everyone of you for patience, hard work, steady progress for building up this great nation to which we belong. I caution that every step has got to be considered from various points of view before we take one step, and the next after one. Well, so far, I think you will admit, that we have met every manoeuvre, every machination, every scheme and design to break us, with success

every time. I do not want to give you the whole story; I shall just run through it. We have survived the opposition, which came first from the Government and the bureaucracy, when we undertook to reorganise our movement. Public memory is not always very strong and is very fleeting, and therefore, I think it will be better to repeat it here. That was the first opposition, and that was from the bureaucracy, and, for reasons of their own, that opposition was slackened.

"Then came the terrific onslaught from the Congress-mass-contacts, and challenges. When the Congress Ministries were formed the Muslim League was an anathema to them. The Muslim League was ordered to liquidate itself. The members of the Muslim League were told to abjure their allegiance to this body before the Congress could even touch them. Elections, bye-elections, then disruptions were created amongst the Muslims, one after another. Congress Mussalmans, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Ahrar, Azad Conference, Momins, Shias, Sunnis -- every effort was made to destroy the Muslim League, but every effort to cause disruption in the Muslim League rebounded upon them as a boomerang, as the Muslim nation knew where their true course to follow was, and yet even today we are not left in peace. But today their methods have changed a bit. Their methods are subtle, insidious and intended to ply underground and undermine the League.

League Now Shock-Proof

I think in the course of my speech I shall have to refer to this later on. But I think that I am not exaggerating when I say the Muslim League and Muslim India have now become shock-proof, slogan-proof and stunt-proof. In fact, it is a proof against every machination. I would most respectfully advise our opponents, be they Congress or Hindu leadership or the British, you cannot break us; you will never be able to break us now. The sooner they realise this, the better. Do not meddle with our affairs.

If you want to come to terms with us, we are always ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government or the Hindus on honourable terms and on no other terms.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have gone through, as I said, all these seven years of struggle, and the time has now come for us to examine our balance sheet and take stock. Today, there is not the slightest doubt that it is acknowledged the world over that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. We have got millions and millions of Mussalmans behind us; we have got our flag and our platform, and what is more, our definite goal of Pakistan. We have created a complete unity of ideal and thought. About that there can be no doubt whatsoever. We are completely united in our ideals and in our thoughts.

Unity of Action

Now has come the stage when it is absolutely essential that we must undertake further steps and start an organisational machinery, directive, efficient, and effective for action, and we must prepare ourselves. Just as we have established, after seven years, unity of ideals and unity of thought, so we must in the next period of our programme, establish complete unity of action. Now, before you take any action, you must be qualified for it. And what are the necessary requisites which would qualify you for an effective action?

Constructive Work

First, you must undertake, in real earnest, a constructive programme for the uplift of our people, educationally, socially, economically and politically. It is now for you, the delegates of the All-India Muslim League, who are here from all parts of India, to apply your minds seriously to these questions. I know we have not got an air-force; I know we have not got tanks; I know we have not got any army; I know we have not got any navy. You will get all that. You may not require it

even. There may be no need for it, provided you have the will and determination and unfaltering faith and unity, and faith in your cause. You will achieve your goal, provided you organise yourselves thoroughly and efficiently.

Therefore, I urge upon you at this session that it is most essential to take the next step to set up an organisational machinery.

It is for you to consider this in the Subjects Committee. I can only put my views before you. But I suggest that now the work of the Muslim League organisation has grown beyond the physical capacity of any single man. If you were to know what I have to attend to all alone, you would be astonished. All over India, today this thing happening in Patna, tomorrow that thing happening in Bengal; the day after that tomorrow this thing happening in N.W.F.P; the day after that this thing happening in Madras. All sorts of questions arise from day to day and from week to week. Now it is not possible for one single man to do justice to all this.

And remember the position of Muslim India, if I can explain by analogy, is this. When a man is sick and almost dying, he has not got energy either to complain or to ask for anything. He is practically unconscious of what is happening around him, and he does not care what is going to happen to him, the world, or anybody else. He is in a semi-unconscious state or almost on the point of death. That sick man on the death-bed has not the energy to say anything and cannot do anything. He has not got the energy even to complain.

That was the condition of Muslim India seven years ago; but today, the sick man has recovered from his death-bed. He has acquired consciousness. He is not only convalescent, but he is in a position to move about. Now he has got so many grievances, so many suggestions and proposals to make, so many disputes, and so many quarrels to settle. It is a good sign, provided it is kept within limits. It is a very good sign of a

healthy man. I get some suggestions which are splended ones, and thoughtful ones, and very good too. I get complaints and petty quarrels, which I do not like. But anyhow it is a healthy sign. In one word, let me put it to you this way. I am thankful to God that Muslim India is awake; I am thankful that Muslim India has regained consciousness. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking interest in things around it, not only in India, but throughout the world. I am thankful that Muslim India is taking an intelligent interest in everything that is going on now.

I am asked why the League should not establish a complete machinery and bureau to set up national industries for Muslim India all over India and especially in Pakistan. Why should we not undertake planning? Why should we not undertake the establishment of big and heavy industries in Pakistan? Why should the Muslim League not undertake the planning of a national system of Muslim education? I am only giving just a few instances -- I have got a number of them to go on mentioning till midnight but I shall not do that

Committee of Action

All these proposals, suggestions and demands are pouring in. As I say, this is a very good sign. Now, we are also self-conscious. We are also alive to the stage that we have reached. My humble advice to the delegates of the All-India Muslim League is this. At any rate we may not be able to achieve or realise all these demands at once. Nor can we immediately put into operation all the various suggestions and proposals. But the stage has come when it is absolutely essential that you must have a Committee of Action, a Committee consisting of not less than five and not more than seven. It should be the function of this Committee to undertake not only to organise, further organise, co-ordinate and unify as an All-India policy, but also examine the various demands and proposals and suggestions that come from time to time.

In other words, we want a Committee with a Secretariat. I, therefore, ask you, brother delegates, to consider this question most seriously.

It is true we are not flushed with money. In a way, my expectations have not been realised. I made an appeal for funds. I think the Muslims could have done it. But still it has not happened. I made an appeal for funds of at least Rs.10,00,000. That was more than a year and nine months, or very nearly two years, ago. Anyhow I have received some support. I have been getting some encouragement. Up to the present moment I have realised about Rs.5,50,000. Well, this money is not collected for the purpose of investment. This money is not collected for the purpose of multiplying it. But this money is collected for the purpose of helping the Muslim League organisation and its development. I am sure we shall get more funds. Of that I am confident. But we need not wait till we get more. Let us at least do something out of what we have got. We are in a position now to set up an efficient secretariat and this Committee of Action.

Next, you know the Parliamentary activities are growing. We are, as you know, fighting bye-elections sometimes. We had bye-elections in the North-West Frontier Province. We had a bye-election only recently in Shikarpur. Now, with regard to your Parliamentary activities, it is absolutely essential and necessary that there should be a supreme body. For that purpose, again, my respectful suggestion is that you should have an All-India Parliamentary Board consisting of three persons. I tell you why. A number of candidates apply for the ticket of the All-India Muslim League. Some of them are rejected -- may be rightly, may be wrongly. When disputes arise, there is no machinery of a standing character, that can be approached at once and can be appealed to, to intervene and do justice.

"You know that in the local affairs there are certain prejudices. You know that very often familiarity breeds contempt and distrust. This is so not only in India but

everywhere else. You know there are local intrigues and cliques. At present our machinery is not efficient, and, therefore, it cannot work efficiently. At present the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League is the authority for the purpose of giving the Muslim League ticket to the candidates for various elections -- not only the elections to the Assembly or the Upper House such as in Bengal where there are two Houses but with regard to Municipalities, District Boards and Local Boards. In some of the provinces the Working Committees have appointed Parliamentary Boards."

Court of Appeal

But, ladies and gentlemen, as you know, even in an ordinary litigation the litigants are not satisfied unless they can go to the Privy Council. There is always the subordinate judge or the District Judge, and there is the High Court and there is the Privy Council. Well, people get more satisfied when they go to the High Court, because it is a detached body, away from local surroundings and local atmosphere. People are still more satisfied, even the losing party is more satisfied, when they get a decision from the Privy Council, because it is a detached body. Similarly, it is necessary that we must have a final court of appeal as a detached body of three persons who would be appointed by the All-India authority of the Muslim League.

Therefore, these two bodies are absolutely essential, and we must not lose any time in creating and appointing these two bodies.

No doubt there are many other questions, which will require our consideration-- educational planning, economic planning, social planning. These are very big questions, but once you have set up a Committee of five or seven, believe me it will be the beginning of examination of all these various questions, and there will then be an efficient machinery which will be able to direct, guide, and control all these various suggestions, and, if possible, put them into practice. That stage has come. These are

my concrete suggestions to you for further strengthening, further organising, further consolidating, and further creating more strength, more power and more vigour in the organisation of the All-India Muslim League.

The Food Problem

The next question that I would like to place before you is this. It is the food problem. Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I called a meeting of the five Premiers from the dominant Muslim League Ministries and dominant Muslim provinces. I invited them to meet me in Delhi about the 15th or 16th November. They were all good enough to come, except the Premier of Assam, Sir Saadullah. But then he wrote expressing his inability and deputed Mr. Abdul Matin Chowadhry, his colleague and Minister in the Assam Government. Amongst other things that I had to consult them about, this food problem was discussed with them at great length. Let me tell you there was entire agreement among all these five provinces. It is absolutely untrue, as it is misrepresented in a certain section of the press, that they were divided.

"It is further absolutely untrue that Lord Wavell took the wind out of our sails by summoning them over my head while they were in Delhi. It is after full discussion and after agreement that we ourselves asked Lord Wavell to meet the Premiers and discuss the food problem. He was good enough to give an immediate appointment and time the very next day. It is in consequence of that arrangement that the Muslim League Premiers had an interview with Lord Wavell. It is utterly false to say that there was any difference of opinion. It is utterly false to say that Lord Wavell upset my machinations. There were no machinations at all. Ours was a plain honest, straightforward position. It was this that so far as the food trouble in India was concerned, knowing as we did the conditions and the constitution of the Government of India, we were ready and willing, for very good reasons and obvious reasons, and, above

all, in the name of humanity, to do everything in our power to avert this scourge of famine and the shadow of death, and prevent recurrence of it anywhere in this country.

Cultivators' Interest

Actuated by this motive, the whole situation was discussed. It is not at all true that these provinces or anyone of them represented by the Muslim Premiers are not alive fully to their sense of responsibility or are actuated by any vested interests. The real issue was, ladies and gentlemen, not have we did not recognise the efficacy of control; and that we did not recognise the efficacy of procurement; not that we did not recognise the efficacy of rationing; not that we did not recognise that under the present system of government and conditions under which we are living, there must be uniform policy; but the real issue — and that real issue is not clear — was: Are the agriculturists and the producers of foodgrains to be bled to fatten the industrialists? Is there going to be one rule of justice for one class or one interest, and another rule of justice and fairplay for another class and another interest?

"What we urged and what we still urge is that if you want to control foodgrains, you must equally, in all earnestness and sincerity, control the prices of all other essential articles and essential ingredients which are necessary for the existence of the very man, the agriculturist, whom you want to control.

'Let me put it to you this way: Today I am a producer; I am an agriculturist. You say to me: look here, before the war or even some time after the war, you got only Re.1 for a seer or whatever of food? I am going to give you Rs.3 for the same measure. Well, what are you giving me? When I got that Re. 1 before the war or even for some time after the war, that Re. 1 had the purchasing power not of Rs. 3 of today but of Rs.5 of today. What is the good of giving me 5 notes of one rupee each, and, when I go to buy my necessaries of life, these five rupees of mine are not equal to the old one rupee but only to 12 annas?

"Therefore, you don't count in terms of currency or number of notes, but you go in terms of the value of your currency paper, and the purchasing power in the bazaar for the necessaries of life. That is the real issue. That is the issue which the Government of India have got to tackle. Unless they come out with a clear-cut and honest policy of giving a fair deal to all interests, it is no use oppressing only the agriculturist and the producer, and giving undue advantages to other interests at the cost of farmers. (cries of no, no, never).

The Political Situation

"Ladies and gentlemen, the next question that I wish to deal with is the political situation in the country. So far as the political situation in the country is concerned, addressing the Council of the All-India Muslim League last November, I said that there was no change and nothing new had happened. The position today before you briefly is this. The British Government are playing. More or less it is clear, and it has been repeatedly made clear. They say one thing at one time and another thing at another time. But the result is that they tell Mussalmans that 'we are not against Pakistan, but it is the Hindus who are against it.' They tell the Hindus, 'we are not against Akhand Hindustan, but it is the Mussalmans who are against it.' They are, it seems, only in favour of one thing - to see how their own Raj should continue. But so far as the Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I put it to you again, ladies and gentlemen, if my voice can go beyond this *pandal* to those also who are really honest and sincere well-wishers of the people of India---can we, Muslim India, accept Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj over this entire sub-continent? (Cries of no, no, never.)

"Is it possible to expect us, unless we are unconscious--and we were unconscious before the war, but now we are fully conscious-- to expect Muslim India to agree to Akhand Hindustan and Hindu Raj in this sub-continent? (Cries of 'it is not possible') But that is the proposal, and they have not yet

given up their dreams. On the other hand, there is the talk of independence. I ask, whose independence? I warn you, and I have repeatedly warned you, they mean the independence of Hindu India and the slavery of Muslim India. Now what do we say? We say "Pakistan."

"Ladies and gentlemen, I ask any intelligent man if he would only apply his mind for one second, can you achieve Pakistan without the independence of India? (cries of no' it is impossible.) When we say Pakistan, we mean, not our independence only, but the independence of Hindus also.

"If the Hindu, owing to obsession, dream or cursedness still puts obstructions in the way of the freedom of both and insists upon the freedom of one and the slavery of the other, then I ask you, who is the man, who is the party, except the Hindus who are responsible for the holding up of the progress of this country? Well, that has been obvious for a long time. But for the pronouncements of Lord Wavell, the present Viceroy, there would have been nothing new. Lord Wavell made a speech recently at the Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting, Calcutta, as is the custom and tradition of every Viceroy to make important announcements at the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, a foreign corporation. He, in his speech, has said what was more or less already clear, although the previous Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, indulged in subtleties and embellishments.

Viceroy's Plain Language

"Mr. Amery preached to the world as to the attitude and the policy of the British Government regarding the Indian constitutional problem with great finesse. Recently Mr. Amery made it clear through somebody that the principles of the Atlantic Charter were made applicable to India eighteen months before the Atlantic Ocean produced the Atlantic Charter. But what was, as I said full of subtleties, embellishments and finesse, which these two great statesmen practised, the solid-like

Viceroy, Lord Wavell, has spoken in plain language, so that even a man in the street can understand. I think those of you who have read that speech know where you stand and how you stand. In that respect Lord Wavell has made a great contribution to the political problem of India. What does he say? Of course his mental bag, he probably found it necessary to jettison in the Mediterranean before he crossed the Suez Canal, and he is no more embarrassed by his bag.

"What does he say now? He says 'I do not believe that political differences can be solved by administrative actions or by talking about them at present.' I am quite sure they cannot be solved by talking. I am quite sure they cannot be solved by administrative actions either. There is nothing new about that. The Viceroy then says that he still believes that he can solve all immediate economic problems. He also believes that he can materially tackle the post-war reconstruction and the food problems. So, having put the political issue in the cold storage for all practical purposes, or at any rate indefinitely, although he does not say that it is put in cold storage till after the war, he proceeds to say: 'I am concentrating on the job we have to do.' What is the job or work that he has to do? The winning of the war is number one.

"Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing that he, the representative of the Crown, speaking with responsibility and in all seriousness, thinks that he can win this war, while he is totally indifferent to the political situation in India. What is happening in this world? Is the British Government not concerned with the winning of the war? What happened when the Lebanon question came? What happened when the Syrian question came? Were all these political adjustments made from merely the humanitarian point of view or from the political point of view? What happened when differences took place in Algiers between the French? What is happening in other parts of the world?

Ladies and gentlemen, it is really astonishing, it is sheer blindness to say 'my job is only to win the war.' To win the war and how? With all humility, I say to the British Government: 'You have got to get the whole-hearted, and enthusiastic support of some party in this country if not of all.'

"The next thing Viceroy is going to do is the organisation of the economic home front. How is he going to do that? He tells you how he is going to do it. He says that amongst the jobs that he has to do is the economic home front and preparations for peace by using all resources which India has in determination, energy and intelligence. May I know, how he is going to get all the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence, when every party is kept at arm's length, discontented and dissatisfied? But this is how he is going to accomplish it. He says: 'For this purpose (winning the war, the economic home front, the post-war reconstruction, and the mobilising of the resources of India in determination, energy and intelligence), I would welcome co-operation from any one or any body.' I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this really not a flagrant abuse of the English word, 'co-operation'? What co-operation? Does it not, in plain language, mean that without giving any part, and real share in the authority of the Government, we are asked to do the work of camp-followers, menials and subservients? Can you expect any self-respecting organisation to accept the position? (Cries of 'no').

Amazing Complacency

"Even if we were so foolish as to fall in with this fantastic suggestion, can any intelligent man believe that we can ever succeed in putting real enthusiasm into the people and secure their whole-hearted and genuine support and co-operation? Can we succeed in making them war-minded, when we are invited to assist the Viceroy as camp-followers, as menials or as subservients? It is amazing this complacency with which these pronouncements are made. Does it not really mean, in plain

language. that the British Government are pursuing a definite policy, and they do not want the co-operation of any party — it does not matter which party it is. Congress has decided to non-co-operate. Congress has decided to resort to mass civil disobedience if their demands are not conceded. Congress has been outlawed. What has the rest of India done that you should talk to them in this language, which nobody can tolerate or even understand?

Divide and Quit

"We have, time and again, made it clear, we have offered our hand of co-operation for the job of work that Lord Wavell wants to do, provided our hand is accepted as that of a confident friend with a share, real share in the authority of the Government, and with a definite promise that we shall get our share in the fruits of victory when we win it. That has been rejected. They speak of organisations — the Congress, Hindu organisation which represents, no doubt, the solid body of Hindu opinion, and the Muslim League which represents the solid body of Muslim opinion. They have outlawed the one. Well, I suppose they would like to out law the Muslim league also. We are quite ready for it.

"Why do you, dishonestly and falsely, bracket these organisations together and treat them on the same basis and beat them with the same stick? That is my complaint. It is not honest. I am of the opinion that this policy that is pursued by the British Government — after all, Lord Wavell is only acting according (what shall I say?) to the instrument of instructions of the British policy which has already been decided — this British policy is going to prove disastrous. You know Mr. Charchill, some time ago, said that he was not called or summoned to be the first Minister of the King to preside over liquidation of the British Empire.

"Now I can tell him this, that voluntary liquidation is more honourable than a compulsory one.

"It will redound to the honour of the British nation, and it will be recognised by us as an act of friendship which has got its value and assets in the future. But compulsory liquidation will have none of those advantages, and the British Empire will have to be liquidated one day, whether you like it or not. I will only trouble you with one quotation, as it is rather interesting. This is what John Bright said in 1858. John Bright was making his speech when the India Bill was introduced in the Parliament on the occasion of the assumption of sovereignty over India by the British Queen. In that speech he said:

'How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer it. May be, 50 or 100 or 500 years. Does any man with the smallest glimmering of commonsense believe that so great a country with its 20 different nations and 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and eduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in the attempt if ever we make it, and we are bound to look into the future with reference to that point. The Madras presidency, for instance, having its own government, would, in 50 years, become one compact State, and every part of the Presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more, there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many compact States; and if, at any future period, the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding those vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great empire.'

"This is what John Bright said in 1858. After 85 years we are now impressing upon the successors to those great British statesmen that the only way, the only honest way, for

great Britain is to **divide and quit**. Unity can only be realised on the basis of division of property and possession between the respective two nations, the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The other minorities will be the acid test. It will be the sacred, solemn duty of Pakistan and Hindustan to safeguard, to protect, to give a fair and just deal to the minorities who would be under the two zones.

Answer to Communists

"Well, now we come to the Congress and Hindu leadership, Gentlemen, I see no change except a parrot-like cry. I find that the cleverest party that is carrying on propaganda are the Communists. They have got so many flags, and I think they consider that there is safety in number. They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. Well, when a man has got too many flags I get suspicious. They shout that they want a Congress-League settlement. Who says no? But the question is, on what basis? It is no use repeating this parrot-like cry that we want a Congress-League settlement. On what basis?

Mr. Gandhi in his letter which he wrote to Lord Linlithgow on January 19, 1943, as a part of the correspondence between him and ex-Viceroy, says:

'If I could be convinced of my error or worse I should need to consult nobody, so far as my own action is concerned, to make a full and open confession and make ample amends. But I have not any conviction of error. I wonder if you saw my letter to the Secretary to the Government of India of September 23, 1942. I adhere to what I have said in it and in my letter to you of August 14, 1942.'

"Well now this was in January 1943. Am I wrong, am I doing injustice if I say that the clear meaning of this letter is that, when Mr. Gandhi wrote it, he stood every inch by the

August 1942 resolution and the policy, and the demand made in that resolution? I do not want to worry you unnecessarily. But those of you who have read that resolution must come to this conclusion — there is no other conclusion — Mr. Gandhi and the Congress not only did not consult the Muslim League, not only ignored the Muslim League, but it was a definite, determined and deliberate attempt to by-pass the Muslim League and to force the hands of the British Government to surrender to their demands, which would mean death to the Muslim demands. Mr. Gandhi says in his letter of January 1943, in effect says, 'I stick to my guns.'

To Vikramaditya Age

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, if Mr. Gandhi sticks to his guns, and if he is holding a pistol at us - not at the British only but at us - and wants to by-pass us, and there is no change in his policy, may I ask any man with commonsense. What is the basis on which any negotiations can proceed and can fructify into any reasonable settlement? Has there been any change since January 1943? Is there any indication or sign of it? Millions of Congressmen are outside the jail. On the contrary, they have been contemplating the form of Government that could be based on the ancient culture and the political system which prevailed in the days of that great Hindu historic period of Vikramaditya. I ask any sensible man, and fair-minded man, how is it possible for us to accept that position?

"A few isolated Hindus leaders have shown some sort of sympathy with our point of view. But when they talk, they talk in a language of subtlety. In fact, to begin with, they are afraid to use the word 'Pakistan'. They prefer to use the phraseology of 'self determination.' When they are talking of self-determination, they talk about it with their tongue, in their cheek, and wind up by saying: Well, we are willing to go as far as possible. In the same breath when responsible Hindu leaders speak in this dubious language, they turn against us, and we are

told that we are non-co-operating with the Congress, if we don't agree with them. I ask you; Is there any iota of truth in that? It is the other way. It is the Congress which is responsible and which forced us to defend our rights and ourselves.

"To start with, it is the Congress that would not touch the League with a pair of tongs. It is the Congress to whom the League was an anathema. They corrupted Mussalmans, by way of offering Ministries, to give up the League; they picked up any Muslim who was willing to abuse the League, and demanded that the Muslim League should be liquidated. That is the Congress.

"So far as we are concerned, it is not a question of non-co-operation. It is a question of defence against the Congress having taken up the attitude, since 1937, to dominate the Mussalmans and to establish, by hook or by crook, Hindu Raj and Hindu Government. We are defending ourselves against that monstrosity, those machinations, and those designs. It is not a question of non-co-operation at all. Then again we are told politely, but again most untruthfully, that our demands are impossible demands. We are not told what is impossible demand that we are making. But we are told this that Hindus will begin to prefer to make the best of things as they stand at present rather than agree to what they honestly deem to be our unreasonable demands.

'Signs Not Wanting'

"So rather than agree to what they consider our unreasonable demands, the Hindus will, and are ready to, accept the British Raj. We are not told what is our unreasonable demand, which makes them so desperate, except that we refuse to accept or agree to the establishment of Hindu Raj. Then we are told that signs are indeed not wanting, from which we may infer that this process has already begun, the process that the Hindus are ready and willing to accept the British Raj.

"Lastly, we are told that our indifference to the goal of independence — we are indifferent to the goal of independence — mark these words — would lead the Muslim youth to rebel against the League. Now, is this not subtle? Is this not untruthful? Is this not suggesting that we are indifferent to the goal of independence? Is it not slighting the Muslim youth to say that the elder politicians of their's are indifferent to the goal of independence? Let me tell you from this platform that this is a vicious, sinister, wicked propaganda to incite the Muslim youth against the League. There is no truth whatsoever in the suggestion that we are reconciled to the British Raj. On the contrary, we are told by this authority that signs are, indeed, not wanting that the Hindus are willing to accept British Raj rather than come to a settlement with us."

(Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Who was the Hindu leader that said all this?)

The Hindu leader that has said all this is Mr. Rajgopalacharia. You will find it in his pamphlet entitled, "*The Way Out.*"

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the position so far as the Hindu opinion is concerned. Now all I can say to you is this. We cannot depend upon any one, and we do not depend upon any one. It is only by our own inherent strength, by our work, by our service, by our sacrifices, that we shall achieve this goal of ours — Pakistan. Hindus cannot give you Pakistan. The utmost that the Hindu can do is not to obstruct you, so that he may get his freedom and you may get your freedom. That is the utmost that he can do — withdraw his obstruction with a reasonable chance of his getting his freedom and our getting our freedom. The British Government can give it, because they are in possession. Whether they make up their mind to give or whether they do not make up their mind to give, or whether they go on camouflaging, evading, putting forward plausible excuses — I am confident that with all their diplomacy, with all their great

genius in bamboozling-people, in befooling people, we are now shock-proof even against the diplomacy of the British Government. They cannot and will not be able to, prevent us from seizing Pakistan.

We have made a beginning. It is a small beginning. It is not for the sake of getting jobs for our people as Ministers that we are approving those Ministries being formed and functioning where Mussalmans are in the majority.

"We have taken the first step. These Ministries are there, because of the Muslim League behind them. It is Muslim League, through its agents, that has seized such power — limited power - as there is. This is only a part, which will make a contribution to the whole of our organisational fields. If our Ministers utilise properly such powers as they possess, limited as they are, they can, if they are so minded, galvanise, consolidate, unify, and make the Muslim League a living force in those provinces. At the same time they can immediately undertake measures of an ameliorative character and a constructive programme, not with a view to do injustice to the minorities, but for ameliorative purposes of their provinces. Socially, educationally, economically, they can, within these limited powers, render great service to their respective provinces if they are so minded. Well, we are trying the experiment. Let us see what emerges from this laboratory.

Starving Bengal

"Now, I wish to say this - and I think I shall be echoing the feelings and sentiments of every person who is present here and even outside — that our deepest, most heartfelt and sincerest sympathies go out to the people of Bengal in their suffering from this terrible famine that has overtaken them. Let us pray that this scourge will disappear, and let us pray that it will not recur not only in Bengal but in any other part of India.

"In conclusion, I say to you, everyone - man, woman and child, young and old — stand unflinchingly, without faltering. In Pakistan lies our deliverance, our defence and our destiny."

["All India Muslim League, Karachi Session, December, 1943, Verbatim Report of the Presidential Address (Delivered Extempore) by Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Printed & Published by S. Shamsul Hassan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League at Muslim League Printing Press, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1945. pp. 1-22 & The Dawn, January 12, 1944.]

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**Speech at a Lunch given by
Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor,
Muslim University, Aligarh,
March 8, 1944.**

Responding to the toast, Mr. Jinnah who looked very happy in the midst of the members of the Muslim University referred to the rousing reception they had given him at the station which had almost crushed and suffocated him. Proceeding, he remarked that it was a fact that there were two parties - Congress and the British Government - when they started their organisational activities. But, thank God, through the efforts of their workers, including the Vice-Chancellor they had made every Mussalman conscious of his position and the seven years' struggle of the Muslim League had raised the Mussalmans to the position of a nation whose voice was heard not only in India, but all over the world. Pakistan, the Quaid-e-

Azam remarked, was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of Hindus. It had always been there; only they were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never been blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities.

Tracing the history of the beginning of Islam in India, he proved that Pakistan started the moment the first non-Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam he was outcast not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically. As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to merge his identity and individuality in any alien society. Throughout the ages Hindus had remained Hindus and Muslims had remained Muslims, and they had not merged their entities - that was the basis for Pakistan. In a gathering of high European and American officials he was asked as to who was the author of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's reply was 'Every Mussalman.'

Now the question is how to get Pakistan? Raising his eye-brows and speaking in grim tones, Mr. Jinnah said, "not by asking, not by begging, not even by mere prayers but by working with trust in God. *Inshallah!* Pakistan is now in your hands."

(The Dawn, March 10, 1944.)

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**Speech at a meeting of the Aligarh
Muslim University Union, Aligarh,
March 9, 1944.**

"Mr. Jinnah said that he had as usual come to give them a resume of the happenings since his last visit. Giving a rapid survey of the developments since April 1936 when the Mussalmans really started their present struggle, he said that during the first three years there were no tangible results to

show. Some people treated us with indifference, some laughed at us, and some actively opposed us, but we kept on struggling against all odds and handicaps. But now, he could say without exaggeration that they had reached a stage through patience, perseverance, determination and sustained effort on which they could congratulate themselves. In all greater movements a good deal of spade-work had to be done. You cannot remould and remake millions of people in a day, a week, a month, or even a year.

Our Claim

"We claim that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. This claim imposed on them a sacred obligation to make the Muslims of India as great a nation in the future as they were in the past.

"What was our condition seven years ago? Hundred million souls were for all practical purposes dead. In fact, Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow were preparing to perform the funeral of the Muslims of India, but, thank God, we are saved. We now have a platform and a goal of our own. I said some time ago in this very Hall that we had already forged our own Charter of Pakistan, and we did not need any other Charter. We do not want any lessons in geography or in history. The Muslim League has secured for the Muslims a status not only in this country but even abroad. Five years ago did any body talk about us or did anybody care to know who we were and what we wanted? But a great change had come about during the last few years. There is now not a day when every newspaper, friendly or unfriendly, does not talk about the Muslim League; if they were not friendly to us they abused us; and people do not abuse anybody, if he is nobody. "Flattering references are often made to me", Mr. Jinnah remarked, "that the key to the situation lies in my hands, and that I can resolve the deadlock. Indeed, our friends went so far as to offer me the crown of the Premier of this great United India".

"It is all very complimentary, but we stand by our convictions, and neither flattery nor coercion can divert us from our determined purpose. The League today occupies a powerful position in the life of this country. You must now concentrate more attention on social, educational and economic uplift of our great nation."

"Now that we have attained unity of thought and purpose we must take the next step forward. At Karachi we took certain important decisions, but you must have patience. You cannot have tangible results all at once. It will require all the patience, energy, discipline and solid work that we can put forth."

Committee of Action

We now have a Committee of Action whose function it would be to further and better organise the Muslim League, all over India. The Muslim League in recent years had grown so enormously that it is now beyond the capacity of any single man to control this vast organisation. The Committee's business is to tone up and galvanise the Muslim League Organisation in every district and every city. It will harmonise, coordinate, and concentrate the work of all your branches, so that you may be better able to undertake any programme that may be placed before you. It is easy to frame a programme but we must have the men and the machinery to carry out the decisions that we take.

Secondly, we have a Parliamentary Board. Bye-elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures are often taking place. Therefore, elections may come any moment. They have to be controlled and regulated properly. You cannot be ready at the last moment. From now on we must prepare and equip ourselves to fight the elections in an efficient and organised manner.

The third thing is the Planning Committee, whose personnel I have not yet been able to announce. People have

very vague ideas about it, but it is difficult to find suitable and qualified men for this Committee. It is no use having merely politicians or lawyers on this Committee. We cannot, however wait too long. It will be too late. What we want from the Planning Committee is that it should make us ready before the occasion arises to make the fullest use of the potentialities of Pakistan areas.

Here we must look to the example of the Hindu community. They were always prepared in advance to utilise any opportunity that may come their way. For instance, what have we done in commerce? Commerce does not merely mean that business of a shopkeeper or the exporter or importer. It means heavy industries and the scientific means of trade and industry. If you look at the list of Joint Stock Companies, you will find that the Mussalman is nowhere. When this war broke out the Hindus were ready and prepared to utilise all the opportunities of expanding trade and commerce that the war created; the Mussalmans being unprepared were again left behind. It was no use complaining when we lost the chances due to our own negligence. We have merely been producing B.A.'s and M.A.'s, who look for a Government job carrying a salary of Rs. 50 or Rs. 60. Temperamentally the Mussalman spends more than he earns. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs.

I say to you and to all our leaders that we must now take immediate steps to train our youth in a manner that they may be diverted to other useful channels, where they have better prospects; but the channels will also have to be created. All Hindu commercial concerns are closed to Muslims; no Hindu firm would employ any Muslim. Therefore, you must have your own commerce and your own industry in which you will be able to give employment not only to thousands of workers and labourers, but also to the educated youth, who will have infinitely better prospects and will be in a position to do better work in these lines than Government service.

Planning Committee

It is not that we have become entirely bankrupt as yet, but we have sadly neglected the commercial aspect of our national life, and we must make immediate efforts to remove the deficiency. The Planning Committee will make a scientific study and survey of Pakistan areas to find out what natural and mineral wealth the Pakistan areas contain and what is the scope for various industries in these areas. Many resources are already there, but we want really qualified men, technicians, scientists and commercial experts, who can help to build up the economic and industrial life of Pakistan zones. I have been searching for such men for the last two months, and, God willing, I may be able to announce the personnel of the Committee in the near future.

Political situation

Now with regard to the political situation the position is that the Congress stands as it stands and as it stood. The same is the case with the Mahasabha and the British Government, and the deadlock or the stalemate or whatever you may like to call it continues. What can we do or what are we expected to do? An important recent event in this connection is the Viceroy's speech before the Central Legislature. Why did the Viceroy bring in the slogan of geographical unity of India in his speech?

"The address of His Excellency the Viceroy was provocative and thoughtless of the Muslim position, as he was anxious to throw a bait to the Congress and to Mr. Gandhi to secure their good behaviour during his period. No doubt, Lord Wavell like his predecessor has started fishing in the Congress waters. Lord Linlithgow hopelessly failed, but the soldier Viceroy thinks that he would succeed where his predecessor had failed in landing a big fish or a number of small ones sufficient for the purpose; but I read signs that many Hindu leaders and Hindu Press have been through his soothing reference to geographical unity. His conception of unity from the point of

view of defence and internal and external economic problems can only be interpreted as clear indication how best to maintain and continue the British occupation and its imperialistic strangle-hold over India. Of course, he has disregarded the demands of the Muslim India — nay, he has gone out of his way to placate the Pundits of Akhand Hindustan, and has shown ingratitude, and has taken undue advantage of the present policy of the Muslim League of non-embarrassment. This has created deep resentment throughout Muslim India."

Dangerous Game

Mr. Jinnah continuing remarked: "The futile bait to the Congress would lead India nowhere, and it is my firm opinion it is dangerous game to play, and might lead to very serious consequences. The surest way to win the war which the Viceroy considers his first job is to concede the Pakistan demand which means freedom both for Hindus and Muslims and thus prove their sincerity and *bona fides* that they want to transfer real self-government to the people of this vast subcontinent, instead of throwing feelers to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to guarantee their good behaviour and agree to the political issue being indefinitely shelved or put in cold storage. Division of India is inevitable. Blending two nations—Hindus and Mussalmans—is an impossibility, and Pakistan is a certainty. It is futile and unwise now to obstruct or delay its establishment."

In the course of his speech Lord Wavell had also remarked that he had no wish that Congress should appear in sackcloth and ashes, and there were other expressions in his speech here and there which indicated a gesture to placate the Congress. The Viceroy thinks that Mr. Gandhi may find in these expressions the germs of an honourable settlement and gentlemen's agreement.

All this is meant for Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, but let me tell Lord Wavell that he is living, shall I say, in a paradise of his own. He should know that this game has been played out.

The Muslim League is now strong enough and will see that no machination succeeds. If there is again any Gentlemen's Agreement it will not last for even a fortnight.

Another Share

Another party which has become very active of late is the Communist party. Their propaganda is insidious, and I warn you not to fall into their clutches. Their propaganda is a snare and a trap. What is it that you want? All this talk of socialism, communism, national-socialism and every other *ism* is out of place. Do you think you can do anything just now? How and when can you decide as to what form of government you are going to have in Pakistan. We are told by one party or another that we must have a democratic or a socialistic or a "nationalistic" form of government in Pakistan. These questions are raised to hoodwink you. At present you should just stand by Pakistan. It means that first of all you have to take possession of a territory. Pakistan cannot exist in the air. When you have once taken possession of your homelands the question will then arise as to what form of government you are going to establish. Therefore, do not allow your mind to be diverted by these extraneous ideas.

Let us concentrate all our attention on the question of taking possession of our homelands. The most important party on account of their power and authority at present are the British, and unless they undergo real change the settlement of the Indian problem will be delayed.

Coming of Age

I find a change coming over the British politicians during the last six months. Many Englishmen and Hindus have shown signs of realising that the only effective solution of the problem is to divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan. The British conception of geographical unity of India is that British occupation and hold over India should continue indefinitely. The

Hindu idea of Akhand Hindustan or united India is that there should be Hindu Imperialistic rule, not even democratic rule, because there is no democracy in Hindu society. It is really a misfortune. I honestly believe that ours is the most honest, the most feasible, and the best solution of the Indian problem, namely, to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan. The truth is dawning more and more clearly on the minds of Hindus. It is a genuine swing round. As we go further, I am confident that they will realise that Pakistan is really more beneficial to the Hindus than to us.

Cornering John Bull

As for the British, they never give anything except under stress. It is very difficult to corner John Bull. If India had an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans there would have been no difficulty in cornering John Bull. But the trouble is that if I go to grapple with John Bull the Hindus come to his rescue, and when the Hindus go to corner him to force their demands which are detrimental to us we cannot join them. If the Hindu demand is accepted it means freedom for the Hindus but enslavement for the Mussalmans. If my demand is accepted it means freedom for both.

Unfortunately the Hindus have been obsessed with the idea of establishing united Central Government over the whole of India which they should know is an impossibility. This obsession is now slowly going and let us hope that it will be knocked out of their mind altogether.

Muslim Ministries

In the five Muslim majority provinces we now have Muslim League Ministries which are a kind of laboratory for us. The general elections were held as far back as 1936. Many of the members of the legislatures were not originally elected on the Muslim League ticket, but as the Muslim League grew in strength the Muslim members of these legislatures gradually

came into the fold of the League, and these Muslim League Ministries are now dependent on the support of the Muslim League parties in the Legislatures. They are under the control of the Muslim League organisation. Whatever might have happened in the past, the Muslim Ministers are now realising that they should work for the good of the Mussalmans and the good of the provinces. We have no intention to do any injustice to the minorities in the Muslim majority provinces, but we also want to see that no injustice is done to Mussalmans.

Even with the limited amount of power that the existing constitution confers the Ministries can do a great deal. They can do it inside the legislature and also outside by giving legitimate help honestly and fairly to the Muslim League in improving the conditions of Mussalmans if they do so earnestly and efficiently.

The foundations for Pakistan will be laid if the Mussalmans in Pakistan areas are properly organised. The verdict will lie in their hands to say whether there will be union or no union. The destiny of not only 70 million Muslims in Pakistan, but also 30 million elsewhere lies in your hands.

A number of Americans have asked me about the representative character of the Muslim League. I told them what better proof do you want than that, while the constitution remains suspended in Hindu majority provinces, the Muslim League Ministries are working in the Muslim majority provinces. The constitution was working without any serious defect or hitch. The Hindu majorities are already settling down, and will settle down still further, to work in peace and co-operation with the Muslims in Pakistan areas.

Tyranny in Gwalior

Turning to the situation in India States, Mr. Jinnah said that after Kashmir of late the Mussalmans had been subjected to ill-treatment and tyranny in Gwalior. They were watching the situation with great anxiety. The Maharaja and his

administration cannot alone be held responsible for the injustice perpetrated on the Mussalmans, but the Paramount Power also shares the responsibility. If there was any serious trouble in Gwalior it is only with the help of the Paramount Power that the Gwalior administration can perpetuate this tyranny.

It is, therefore, the duty of the Paramount Power to see that the Gwalior administration gives fair and just treatment to the Mussalmans. I have great sympathy for the men working in Gwalior. They have no designs, and I am convinced they only want fair and just treatment for the Mussalmans like any subject in Gwalior.

Jewish Problem

We are faced with another serious issue at the moment, namely, the Jewish problem in Palestine. If President Roosevelt, under the pressure of the powerful World Jewry, commits the blunder of forcing the British Government to do injustice to the Arabs in Palestine it will set the whole Muslim World ablaze from one end to another. Grave wrongs had already been done to the Arabs. If the Jewish immigration is allowed to continue I have no doubt that not only the Muslim League will revolt, but the whole Muslim world will revolt. In this connection Mr. Jinnah recalled that, upon the outbreak of the present war, one of the demands that he had put forward was about the safeguarding of the interests of the Arabs in Palestine. The then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on behalf of His Majesty's Government had given a solemn assurance to the Muslim community that the British Government would hold on to the White Paper and the pledge given to the Arabs.

If there is now any departure from the declared policy it would be the last straw on the camel's back. I still hope that the U.S.A. will revise their attitude towards Palestine.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah quoted a chapter from a book on Arabia before Islam by a German writer, Joseph Hell. The

Arabs, he said, suffered from two serious defects. Firstly, they lacked the consciousness of national unity. They were conscious only of tribes and families. Secondly, they lacked a sense of subordination. These stricture applied to the Mussalmans in India also. The Holy Prophet (S.A.V) made a great and powerful nation out of a primitive people. We have great traditions of culture and civilisation behind us, and we have the making of a great nation in us. We can, and Insha Allah we will, make our nation great, and when we have done it Pakistan will be at our feet.

*[The Dawn, March 11, 1944 &
QAP-File-1020/pp. 97-106.]*

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**Address to the members of the
League Planning Committee,
New Delhi, November 5, 1944.**

I thank the Chairman and members of the planning committee for the kind invitation which has been extended to me to attend this mornings sitting.

The Chairman has informed me that some of the members would like to put me some questions. So you can now proceed fairly and frankly to cross-examine me and ask me whatever question you like. I am here at your service.

Speaking on behalf of the Muslim League I should like first of all to explain to you how this committee came to be appointed.

I have had occasion to visit quite a number of places in recent years and wherever I have been, I have found that the Mussalmans are almost at the bottom in the economic life of India. Even in Bombay where about forty years back- I remember the time myself—the Mussalmans held a very big position in the economic life of the city, they have gradually been

ousted. In those days if people wanted funds for any good object in any part of India they made a bee-line for Bombay, because they thought that Bombay Muslims were all millionaires. In those days the three communities that held the reins in Bombay's economic life were Muslims, Parsees and Britishers. In the development that has taken place during the last forty years, the biggest sufferer has been the Mussalman. Europeans have been able to hold their own because of certain facilities they enjoy. The Parsees have also suffered but not to the same extent as the Mussalmans. Many cases may be cited to illustrate my remarks but I need not go into details.

Economic Sphere

The Muslim League is mainly a political body but we cannot separate different departments and keep things like education, social welfare etc. outside our scope. So we had to take up the question of organising the Mussalmans in the economic sphere. I think we can safely claim that we have organised the Mussalmans fairly well politically. There is a great deal to be done yet. but in the field of politics the Muslim League organisation can stand on its own legs and is capable of carrying on its work. In the department of economic life, however we were at the zero point. It is a matter which has been occupying our attention for some time and wherever I went I suggested to the Mussalmans who came to see me, that they should establish a Muslim chamber of commerce at the earliest possible opportunity.

As a result now in almost all important provinces we have got a Muslim Chamber of Commerce and I am very glad that they have decided to combine in a federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. The Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce has got an office in Delhi and a secretary. The various Chambers of Commerce are affiliated to it. I understand that the federation is going to hold its meeting here towards the end of November or the beginning of December. You will thus

see, gentlemen, that we have got the Muslim businessmen on one platform where they can meet and exchange their views as to what is going on and as to what they should do. I can say from my personal knowledge that if today Birla, Purshotam Das, Padampat or any other business magnate says that he has carefully considered a certain scheme whether an industrial venture or any other enterprise and he wants to put it through, he will get the capital required without the slightest difficulty. He has only to say "I have examined this thing and in order to start it I want a capital of two crores", and the money is immediately forthcoming. He has not got to go begging. He has only to get into touch with some fellow-magnates and tell them how much they should put in. One man gives ten lakhs, another contributes twenty lakhs, and so from these people the major part of the capital is furnished. Naturally they have also to get some money from the public, and a company is thus floated. In nine out of ten companies you find the same directors and more or less the same body of persons. It is impossible for you to compete with them individually or singly. Hence this Federation of chambers of commerce. We have suffered in the past and unless we wake up we shall suffer more.

While endeavouring to bring into existence the Muslim Chambers of Commerce we also felt it necessary to appoint a committee of experts to draw up a plan of economic development on a wide and comprehensive basis. The resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League authorising me to appoint the committee is, I confess, not artistically drafted. I must, however, request you to remember that the resolution was drawn up by laymen under very heavy pressure of work. As you may be aware the Muslim League session lasted barely for three days. We meet for two days and on the third day it is difficult to hold people together, and there are so many things that we have to discuss. We have to work therefore under very great pressure and have to sit up till two or three o'clock in the morning. It was under these circumstances that the resolution was drafted by a

body of laymen and all that I claim for it is that it gives you the substance and an indication of the purport we had in view.

Industrial Consciousness

It is for you now to go into the whole matter carefully. Speaking as a layman, I feel that one of the results of your deliberations will be in the direction of awakening the Commercial and Industrial consciousness of the Muslims. Your resolutions and proceedings, when you meet, will go to the press and will help in rousing the attention of the Mussalmans. I venture to say that the committee that has been formed is composed of men who would do credit to any people or any country in the world. Every one of you holds a distinguished position in his own walk of life and I am very glad to have been able to get such a committee together. It took me some months to hunt you out. Experts among the Mussalmans are not many and some of them are in Government service. Among the Mussalmans there are hardly any large concerns controlling really solid and big industry, and in most walks of life the Mussalmans are no where near the fore-front. I therefore consider myself fortunate in having been able to bring you together. The first object, as I have just indicated is to focus the attention of the Mussalmans on matters vitally affecting their economic life. The next thing is that there are many people who are now wide awake and are willing and anxious to strike somewhere. But we hear varying reports about possibilities and potentialities. I am talking particularly of the Pakistan areas. There is not enough literature on the subject and whatever there is has not been put before the public with any authority. There are some people who say that the Pakistan areas are more or less devoid of mineral resources and that economically we shall not be able to exist. Thus the Hindu press keeps on telling us that the Muslims would be the biggest sufferers by the establishment of Pakistan. They would even go further and would like to persuade us that the Pakistan State would be bankrupt. That is one view. On the other hand, there are people

who tell us that it is all nonsense and that we have very large deposit of petroleum, coal, iron ore and other minerals in the Pakistan areas. I do not accept one view or the other. All that I can say as a layman is that in my opinion Pakistan will not be bankrupt: it will be a powerful state - though it may not be as rich as Hindustan. It is, however, a matter which should be carefully gone into by a committee of this type. After examining various aspects of the question you will arrive at your own conclusions which will be authoritative. You will indicate the possible lines of development. You will indicate the potentialities of Pakistan areas, and not merely of the Pakistan, but of the Hindustan areas as well, where thirty million of our co-religionists reside. A report with your seal on it will be something in the nature of a guide. Thirdly, in whatever problems you tackle there is one point which I must request you to keep in mind - and it is this.

No Capitalism

It is not our purpose to make the rich richer and to accelerate the process of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of few individuals. We should aim at levelling up the general standard of living amongst the masses and I hope your committee will pay due attention to this very important question. Our ideal should not be capitalistic but Islamic, and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be kept constantly in mind.

Of course, the Muslim League is a political organisation. It does not control the resources of the Government. If we were in charge of Government funds, the Muslim League would be the Muslim Government and then would be in a position to implement your report wholly or in part. The Muslim League can, however, do this. Wherever we have a Muslim League Ministry in power we shall try that your recommendations should be put through wherever possible. Your report will also help in knocking on the head the determined efforts which the

present Government of India are making in the direction of the centralising things. They are moving in that direction which means that they are going to reduce the provinces to the position of mere Municipalities. That is the danger we have to guard against.

(The Dawn, November 7, 1944.)

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**Speech at a public meeting regarding
Palestine situation,
Bombay, November 8, 1945.**

"We, Mussalmans of India, are one with the Arab world and the Arabs all over the world on this issue. It is not a question of national home for Jews in Palestine. It is a question of Jews re-conquering Palestine, which they had lost 2,000 years ago, with the help of British bayonets and American money.

I have no enmity against Jews. I know they were treated very badly in some parts of civilised Europe. But why should Palestine be dumped with such a large number of Jews? Why should the Arabs be given a threat which will wipe them out of Palestine? If the Jews want to re-conquer Palestine, let them face the Arabs without British or American help."

British Pledge to Arabs

Mr. Jinnah then traced the history of Palestine from the outbreak of the First Great War in 1914 and said that the history of Palestine had been dark since the inception of the British mandate. The British Government, he said, had given a solemn pledge to the Arabs in Palestine that they would be given complete sovereignty and independence in Palestine and with that pledge the British utilised the blood and services of the Arabs of Palestine for the First Great War. Colonel Lawrence of Arabia, who had recruited the services of the Arabs of Palestine

on the strength of the British pledge, did not show his face to the Arabs when the British Government started wobbling and established a mandate in Palestine contrary to their pledge. The mandate meant occupation and exploitation.

"A Mussalman is always true to his word and when the other party breaks his word of honour, it is impossible to tolerate the situation. The British are experts in giving promises and creating many obstacles in the way of carrying out those promises. While on one hand they gave a promise to the Arabs of complete sovereignty and independence in Palestine, they promised to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration a homeland in Palestine but not inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Arabs. Jews were thus allowed to enter into Palestine and Arabs were squeezed out.

White Paper Promise

"The Arabs in Palestine revolted and there was much bloodshed," continued Mr. Jinnah, "when Jews were given an unrestricted immigration into Palestine. But when England found herself in the midst of distress in the great war of 1939-1945, the British Government published a White Paper in which the Arabs were promised that not over seventy five thousand Jews were to be given entrance into Palestine upto 1945. The result is that today Jews form one-third of the population of Palestine."

Mr. Jinnah then explained how Muslims in India had tried to help the Arabs in Palestine from the beginning of the trouble in Palestine. "On behalf of the Mussalmans of India," said Mr. Jinnah "I made a representation to Lord Linlithgow, the late Viceroy of India, regarding the treatment given to Arabs in Palestine. The Viceroy in his reply gave an assurance to the Mussalmans of India that every consideration would continue to be given by the British Government to legitimate Arab claims. The Viceroy had given me this assurance on behalf of the National Government of the United Kingdom of which Mr. Attle

and his colleagues were members and were a party to this promise."

Mr. Jinnah at this stage read out the letter which Lord Linlithgow had written to him in reply and said that he had observed that confidence which the Viceroy had entrusted to him and did not pass on that letter to the Mufti of Palestine. According to the White Paper, immigration of Jews into Palestine was to cease by March 1945 and Lord Linlithgow's letter had pointed out how Arabs were satisfied with measures taken to implement the policy laid down in the White Paper and assured Mr. Jinnah that Arabs in Palestine were helping the British war effort and there was a great improvement in the situation.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the efforts made by President Truman to put pressure on the British Government to allow 1,000,000 Jews into Palestine.

Mr. Jinnah said "Here comes the President of a great country thinking entirely of Jewry and the interest of Jews. President Truman had the effrontery to put pressure on the British Government to allow 1,000,000 Jews into Palestine, while he has agreed after a long period of vacillations to allow only 100 Indians to migrate in United States of America."

When a section of the audience shouted "shame, shame", Mr. Jinnah turned round and exclaimed "It is not shame, it is criminal. There is no justice, no principle for fairplay. It is monstrous and criminal."

Why does not President Truman take 1,000,000 Jews into the United States, asked Mr. Jinnah. "Why not send these Jews to Canada or Australia, if they want to treat them with charity and generosity? The reason is that the Jews do not want a national home in Palestine. What they want is to reconquer Palestine which they lost 2,000 years ago, with the help of British bayonets and American money."

Mr. Jinnah then declared that, if the British Government tried to violate the solemn pledges given to the Arabs in Palestine and allowed the entry of Jews into Palestine, as suggested by President Truman, there will be no peace in the Middle East and the whole Arab World would revolt. The consequences would be disastrous, he declared. The Muslims of India would not remain as mere spectators. They would help the Arabs in Palestine by all possible means. (A.P.I.)

The Dawn, November 10, 1945.

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Address to the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar, November 25, 1945.

Speaking for 70 minutes, Mr. Jinnah first thanked the Principal and students for their "cordial welcome which breathed of love and affection." "There can be no better encouragement to a man," he said, "than to have this tribute from you."

Frontier From 1936 To 1945

Mr. Jinnah then gave a brief resume of the events from 1936 when he visited the Frontier Province upto date. In 1936 when I visited this province, Muslims were dead—educationally, socially, economically and politically. The Muslim League then did not exist. The Muslims all over India were drifting in no-man's land and were used by every squatter. The careerists and opportunists among the Muslim people went into the bureaucratic and the Congress camps. As far as Muslims were concerned, they were like a football to be kicked about.

Today out of the crowd of 100 million souls, we have created and consolidated a nation throbbing and pulsating with life from one end of India to another.

Mr. Jinnah briefly narrated the evolutionary stages through which the League passed and finally adopted Pakistan as its political creed.

The League stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in numerical majority to rule there under Islamic law.

Mr. Jinnah ridiculed the decriers of Pakistan and asserted that every one of their arguments had been completely met and fully exploded.

The voice of Muslims were ringing throughout the world. Did any body care for you seven years back?" he asked.

Planning in Pakistan

Mr. Jinnah then dwelt on the various educational, economic and planning sub-committees set up by the League to find material for the reconstruction of Muslim education, Muslim industry and commerce on proper, sound and essentially Islamic basis.

Mr. Jinnah made a special mention of the reorganisation of the Muslim youth all over India under the auspices of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation.

Caution of Great Danger

Turning to the political situation, Mr. Jinnah made mention of the "grave danger" to the future of Muslims as it existed in 1939. "I shudder to think of it now," Mr. Jinnah added. "There was a deal concluded between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow to implement the federal part of the Government of India Act-1935. But Providence helped and, in September, 1939, war broke out.

League Development

"We were just sufficiently strong not to be ignored completely. That was the first time in the history of

contemporary India that the Viceroy invited Mr. Gandhi and myself because I represented a certain force.

Mr. Jinnah recalled how in 1936 when Pandit Nehru thundered that there were only two parties in India, namely, the British Government and the Congress, he (Mr. Jinnah) like a lamb bleated that there was also a third party!(Laughter.)

Mr. Jinnah then narrated the various events from 1939 leading to the Simla Conference all resulting in the accession of strength and prestige to the Muslim League. In this connection he made special reference to the August declaration which vouchsafed that political progress depended on the mutual understanding between the various interests in the country.

Cripps offer, according to Mr. Jinnah, contained a germ of Pakistan as it implicitly, though not explicitly, recognised the possibility of coming into existence of more than one Dominion in India.

Mr. Jinnah said: We are still on the defensive and are vigilantly watching that outside elements may not come to a settlement between themselves over our heads. They say, Jinnah has a veto for constitutional advance. I wish I had it.

Congress Tactics At Simla

Coming to the Simla Conference, Mr. Jinnah made a devastating criticism of the Congress and said that it was completely unmasked. Mr. Jinnah said that throwing its creed of Purna Swaraj—complete independence—to winds, Congress left no stone unturned to walk into Viceroy's Executive Council. Their leaders began to talk of portfolios. Mr. Nehru was marked for the portfolio of Foreign Affairs while Maulana Azad was to be incharge of Home portfolio.

The Congress first wanted to crush and humiliate the League and then attempted to discredit it. The second line of action on the part of Congress leaders was to provoke Lord

Wavell against Mr. Jinnah so that he should by-pass the League and thus enable the Congress leaders to take charge of Ministerial jobs in the Centre:(Shame, shame.)

"They failed ignominiously "said Mr. Jinnah.

"We are still in the arena of peaceful and honourable negotiations. Mr. Jinnah characterised Congress efforts at "conciliation"with the League as part of their programme to defraud and cheat and entrap him. "They failed every time to cheat me,"he declared.

"Now," said Mr. Jinnah, "I am to the Congress King Charles head and am on their list as criminal number one." (Shame, shame.)

"I shall face my trial if it ever comes. But believe me, I shall never fail to do my duty towards my people."

Mr. Jinnah recalled how the Congress leaders, as a part of their strategy to befool Muslims, used to make "sporting offers" of making him the first Premier of the National Government.

Warning Note to Congress

Mr. Jinnah warned the Congress to give up their "nefarious methods " to cheat and intimidate the League. He declared that no power on earth could crush the League.

Appeal to Congress

He said, "There is only one way; that is of peaceful negotiations. Let us meet as equal representatives of two nations and decide upon the future of the great people of India, concede us Pakistan with grace or we shall take it."

What is Pakistan?

Defining Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said. "We want to get rid of the British but we don't want the change of masters. Let 3/4th of India belong to Hindus where they can rule as they

wish and let Muslims have 1/4th of India where they are in majority. Let us both be free. What is terrible about it?"

Mr. Jinnah said that Messrs. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and others should give up their ugly dream of ruling over whole of India which has been finally ended. "I have dashed it to the ground," he said.

Barring a few *quislings*, Mr. Jinnah said, all Muslims stood for Pakistan.

Vote For League, For Pakistan

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah made a fervent appeal for giving their verdict in favour of Pakistan by returning League candidates to the Frontier Assembly. "Now you must not fail your nation and we shall have Pakistan, *Inshaallah*."

(*The Dawn*, December 4, 1945.)

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Speech at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the All-Bengal Muslim Students League, Calcutta, February 26, 1946.

Addressing a mammoth meeting organised by the All-Bengal Muslim Students League in Calcutta, Mr. M. A. Jinnah made a reference to the forthcoming visit to India of the special mission of three British Cabinet Ministers.

"If they come with an open mind and want to seek an honourable solution, I think we shall be able to make them understand the justice of our position," said Mr. Jinnah. "On the other hand, if they have already made up their mind, as the Hindu Press is trying to make out by asserting that a single constituent assembly and a new so-called Provisional Government are to be set up then there will be no room left for us to talk to them or to do any thing with them.

The Hindu Press is carrying on a propoganda that the British Government should go ahead with the plan for a single constitution-making body, whether all parties agree or do not agree. Some of them name us and some do not, in order to appear impartial."

"But I put it bluntly," continued Mr. Jinnah "that these machinations are going to fail miserably. The British Government is not going to ignore the Muslim League. I therefore say to these Hindu leaders, "Come to your senses. These tactics and attempts to please the British will not help you."

Mr. Jinnah said that it were such Hindu leaders who were obstructing the freedom of the country. They would stand condemned before the bar of history and they would have to make amends for it.

No sane man really wanted them to settle down and work the 1935 constitution, continued Mr. Jinnah. They were fighting for Pakistan. Hindus were saying that Assam was gone from the Pakistan plans, Sind was tottering and in the North-West Frontier Province the League had its reverse, therefore, where was Pakistan?

Fighting For Higher Cause

To such persons, he would say that Pakistan had behind it the 100 million Muslims of India, which was the greatest strength of Pakistan.

Under the 1935 Constitution provinces where Muslims are in a majority, they were in a minority in the legislatures. Even if they secured 100 per cent success, they could not form Ministries without entering into a coalition. The rules of the game had been framed by others in the shape of the 1935 Act, in which the dice were heavily loaded against the Musalmans. Their aim therefore was not the formation of Ministries. They were fighting the elections for a higher purpose and that was to

do away with the inequitable 1935 Act and to establish Pakistan, where they would be sovereign.

Unity Among Muslims

Mr. Jinnah said that the "V" for victory sign was the emblem of victory used by Mr. Churchill during the war. Raising his own index finger Mr. Jinnah continued: "This is my sign. It means Mussalmans be one and unite. No power on earth will then be able to deprive you of your birthright—Pakistan. The Muslims of India want their national sovereign State, where we can live according to our own ideals and according to what Islam has taught us. There is only one condition necessary to achieve it and that is unity among Muslims."

Support League Nominees

Referring to the forthcoming elections in Bengal, Mr. Jinnah asked those who had not obtained Muslim League tickets not to be disappointed, but to do their work from outside the Assembly. They should support the candidates set up by the League, even if they were lamp-posts. People came and told him that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause. He told them, he said, that he did not want their lives, but their votes and their work.

Bengal Important Spot

Mr. Jinnah said that Bengal was one of the most important spots of the Pakistan scheme. He deplored the educational and other backwardness of the Muslims and said: "It is not enough that you should be proud of your glorious past, you should surpass that glorious past and then be proud of it. We have to build our nation and make it strong, economically and politically. We have to educate our young and old, so that they may understand everything correctly and take that part in the building of their nation that they are entitled to."

(The Dawn, February 27, 1946.)

**Speech at the Convention of Muslim League Members
of the Central and Provincial Legislatures,
Delhi, April 7, 1946.**

"Members of the Central Legislature and of the various Provincial Legislatures who have gathered together in this Convention, I offer you my cordial thanks and welcome you in this Convention."

"You know that in the battle of elections that was raging for months all over India, by the grace of God and with your sweating labour we have won a victory for which there is no parallel in this world. Ladies and Gentlemen, we had to fight against heavy odds, powerful organizations and all the manoeuvres and machinations of our enemies. But I am glad to say that we have routed our opponents in every battlefield. To-day this historic record stands, that we have captured something like 90 per cent of the Muslim seats, and you have gathered here to-day as the chosen legislative representatives of various constituencies all over India. This Convention is one the like of which has never taken place in the history of India.

It is a heavy and sacred responsibility that we bear as elected and chosen representatives of our people. This Convention is going to lay down once for all, in unequivocal terms as to what we stand for, and I have no doubt that we are of one opinion only, and that we stand for Pakistan, and we shall not falter or hesitate to fight for it, to die for it if necessary—and achieve it we must, or else we perish.

Procedure Explained

Now you will have the opportunity of exchanging your view among yourselves. We have tried to lay down a practical programme; and the programme is that after my address to you, you form yourselves into a Subjects Committee — and each province will select a limited number because we cannot have a large body. After this Subjects Committee is formulated, any

resolution or resolutions will be placed before the full House. You cannot discuss a resolution when there is a large body, and the practical way of dealing with it is that each province should elect its quota of 10 per cent; to that will be added the members of the Central Legislature, and that will be a very small number. That will form your Subjects Committee. There we shall have to carefully examine and review the entire situation that is facing us especially with reference to the solution of the constitutional problem of Pakistan, and in view of the fact that the Cabinet Mission is now here and they have come to discuss matters with us.

"Now, I think you have been reading various statements and speeches that are made every day especially in the course of the last three weeks, I have tried to understand what the Congress position is, and I put it before you as I see it.

Congress Position

"The Congress position, according to the latest pronouncements of the leading spokesmen of the Congress during the course of this week, is this: In answer to the Muslim demand of Pakistan, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says: 'The Congress can accommodate the Muslim League to the extent of reorganizing the provinces and giving the fullest autonomy possible to those areas in which the Muslims are predominantly in the majority.' He goes on to say: 'This would be subject to there being a strong Centre, which would be necessary for the defence of India as a whole.' 'The Congress', he adds, 'would never agree to the idea of there being two nations, nor will it recognize nationality based upon religion.'

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on April 4, that the way to deal with the present situation was to see Indian independence clearly recognized and leave Indians to compose their differences and find a way out without interference. 'It is always difficult to consider these differences in relation to the presence of a third party which controls the situation. When

once it is clearly and definitely realised that India is going to function as an independent entity and that the people of India of various groups and communities must come to terms or unfortunately fight before they come to terms, then reality comes into the picture.' He further goes on to say that he envisages, as the first stage after the recognition of independence, the creation of a constitution-making body with sovereign authority. In another recent speech, he was good enough to offer a 'diluted Pakistan' under the suzerainty of a strong Central Congress Government.

"If you reduce this Congress formula, it comes to this: that the British Government must first grant independence and hand over the machinery of the Government—both civil and military—to the Congress by way of setting up a national Government of their conception and stand aside. When they are fully saddled in that power and authority, they will proceed to form a constitution-making body with sovereign authority, which will finally decide the fate of 400 million people inhabiting this vast subcontinent. Then, according, to Pandit Nehru, the various communities and groups must submit to the decision or fight, and then reality comes into picture.

Fascist Grand Council

But we have already got the reality in front of us, and it is foolish to shut our eyes and imagine that the Congress Interim Government or a decree, the writ and the fiat of the so-called constitution-making body of his conception, will command allegiance, respect and obedience. If such a proposal be given effect to and a Government of his dream is set up, it will not hold for 48 hours. It is inconceivable that this Fascist Grand Council should be vested with full powers immediately to decree the fate and destiny of 100 million people—the existing machinery in their hands to be used against 100 millions Musalmans and other minorities of millions and other interests involved. It

seems that Congress does not realize how fantastic this proposal and scheme is, whatever you may call it.

On the other hand, the Muslim League proceeds on the basis of reality. I have explained in great detail the fundamental and vital differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. There never has been, for all these centuries, either social or political unity between these two major nations. The Indian unity that we talk of up to to-day is held by the British Government, and they have—by their ultimate sanction of the police and army—maintained peace and law and order in this country.

The Congress claim is founded on a nationality which does not exist, except in the eyes of those who merely dream. Our formula is based on the territory of this Subcontinent being carved into two sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan.

Principle Of Pakistan

"Next, the acceptance of the fundamental principle of Pakistan is a *sine qua non* of the consideration of the question of Muslim League co-operation in an Interim Central Government—and further a clear and unequivocal undertaking must be given to implement it without delay. Then alone we can get to the next step.

"It follows that the idea of a single constitution-making body has then no place, and we shall not accept it, for it means our consent to proceed on the basis of a united India, which is impossible, and we cannot give our consent to such a course. Apart from many other objections, one is quite clear: that a single constitution-making body will only register the decree of the Congress, and it is a foregone conclusion that Muslims will be in a hopeless minority there.

"On the other hand, according to our formula, there would be two sovereign constitution-making bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan, and it is the Pakistan

constitution-making body which will be in a position to deal with defence or such other matters as may require adjustment, by virtue of contiguity, which will naturally arise. But all this can only be done by means of treaties and agreements between Pakistan and Hindustan.

"We cannot accept any proposal which would be, in any way, derogatory to the full sovereignty of Pakistan.

"Our formula gives the Hindus three-fourths of this Subcontinent, with a population of nearly 250 millions. Hindustan will be a State bigger than any other State in the world, both in area and population, except China, and we shall have only one-fourth, and in this way we can both live according to our ideals, culture and the social construction of the two major nations. Whereas, if the Congress demand is accepted, it is clear as daylight that we shall be thrown under the yoke not only of Hindu Raj but this present Congress Junta will still have the temerity to harp that they alone represent India, and that they are the sole successors to step in and establish the Congress Raj in place of the British Raj—a position which is impossible and intolerable.

Muslim India will never agree to its realization, and will be bound, and will have no other course open but to resist it by every means possible.

Bluff Than Reality

The British are threatened that if they don't surrender to the Congress demand there will be bloodshed, for which preparations are going on: that they will paralyse British trade, and they further threaten that the same will be the result if they favour Pakistan.

If, unfortunately, the British are stampeded by the threat of bloodshed, which is more a bluff than a reality, this time Muslim India is not going to remain passive or neutral. It is going to play its part and face all dangers. Mr. Nehru is greatly

mistaken that there might be trouble, as he says, but not very much. He is still living in the atmosphere of 'Anand Bhawan'.

Equally, if the British fall a prey and are prepared to sell the Muslims for trade facilities, which are so profusely offered by the Congress leaders to them—and Mr. Gandhi has gone one better, as he has strongly expressed the view that they will be ready and willing to give 'preferences' to British goods. But they forget that the consumer has got a say in the matter, too, and not merely the Hindu capitalist patrons of the Congress, and that the largest consumers of British goods are Muslims. I hope that the commercial tendencies of Britain will not stampede into such alluring promises and attractive preferential trade offers. In fact, the Congress is always in the habit of giving terms, but they only not mean to keep them, and they over-rule any commitment that may be made according to the circumstances that may suit the Congress.

If Muslims Are Betrayed

"But apart from that: are the British going to sell the 100 million Muslims and millions of other minorities for the sake of illusory hopes and promises of their having a flourishing trade, commerce and markets in India? It will be the greatest tragedy indeed in the history of Great Britain to go to that length—and what is more, it will never be realized.

"Gentlemen, I have had, as you know, long talks with the Secretary of State for India unofficially, and thereafter officially with the Cabinet Mission as a whole. I am not in a position to tell you anything except that it was a free and frank and most cordial exchange of views on various matters relating to the solution of India's constitutional problem that is facing us. But so far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise on the fundamentals of Pakistan and its sovereignty.

"We cannot agree to a single constitution-making body, because it will mean our signing our death-warrant and we

cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless the Pakistan scheme is accepted as a *sine qua non*.

"If any interim arrangement or constitution is forced upon us, we have no other course open to us but to resist it in every way possible. I am sure I say this on behalf of all of you, that we are prepared to sacrifice any thing and every thing, but we shall not submit to any scheme of government prepared without our consent. And if the British go to that length, they will be guilty of the grossest breach of faith and the solemn assurances that they gave us when they wanted our blood and money in the midst of war by their declaration of August 1940. It will be the last straw on the camel's back, and we shall bear it with courage and determination and resist it by all means if they betray us. God is with us because our course is righteous and our demand is just to both Hindus and Muslims inhabiting this great Subcontinent, so we have nothing to fear. Let us march forward with complete unity amongst ourselves, as disciplined soldiers of Pakistan.

"Gentlemen, I am sure that you are full of joy and happiness at the great victory that we have achieved in the elections. You have shown to the world that we are a united nation, and that we mean business. Now the only thing I can say is this: I do not think there is any power or any authority that can prevent us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan. There is only one condition—unity, and I am confident that we shall march on from victory to victory until we have Pakistan.

(*The Dawn*, April 8, 1946.)

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**Speech at the conclusion of the
Muslim Legislators Convention,
Delhi, April 10, 1946.**

"What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy, not for a theocratic state. Religion is there and religion is dear to us. All the worldly goods are nothing to us when we talk of religion; but there are other things which are very vital; our social life, our economic life, and without political power, how can you defend your faith and your economic life?

"After deliberations, we have made a resolve—we have made a solemn declaration in this august and historic convention that while we hope for the best we are prepared for the worst. In a clear, emphatic and definite declaration, we have expressed our determination to face all dangers. For us there is no other course.

"I too belong to a 'minority province.' Muslims in these provinces are the pioneers and first soldiers of Pakistan. But now no question of minority or majority is left—on the issue of Pakistan it is now unanimity, except a few who are still not with us.

"I do not want to hurt their feelings, for, after all, what is the issue? And they do not count, but they might at least keep quiet now. Quite obviously they cannot, they have to do what they are doing; it is a case of the 'masters' voice.

"They do not count, and I say on this platform without fear of contradiction, that Muslim India is one and Pakistan is our demand.

"As I said, I also belong to a minority province, but let seventy millions of our brethren establish their 'raj.' But it is not only that. If there is any safeguard known in the world for minority provinces the most effective safeguard is the

establishment of Pakistan. The present Constitution has safeguards also, but are paper safeguards any good?

"What will you do if after Akhand Hindustan is established they want to change the Constitution? Who will prevent them? Five years or ten years, and then if they say they will do away with separate electorates—what then? They will get stronger and stronger and you will get weaker and weaker, and all safeguards will be blotted out one by one.

No Quarrels

"We are not going to start with quarrels. We shall have enough to do and they will have enough to do, but if they begin it and our minorities are ill-treated, Pakistan cannot remain a passive spectator. If Britain in Gladstone's time could intervene in Armenia in the name of protection of minorities, why should it not be right for us to do so in the case of our minorities in Hindustan—if they are oppressed?

"There are those who say to us what is the good of your talking of Pakistan when you cannot form Ministries even in your majority provinces? I say to them this is the very reason why we want to get rid of the existing Act of 1935 and establish Pakistan. Look at the spirit in which they are forming Ministries in the Muslim minority provinces and hindering us from forming Ministries in our majority provinces.

"We have taken this oath now—Ministries are nothing, merely a play-pen under the nurse.

"We Muslims have got everything—brains, intelligence, capacity and courage—virtues that nations must possess. But two things are lacking and I want you to concentrate your attention on these. One thing is that foreign domination from without and Hindu domination here, particularly on our economic life has caused a certain degeneration in these virtues in us.

Done Wonders

"We have lost the fullness of our noble character. And what is character? — Highest sense of honour and the highest sense of integrity—conviction—incorruptibility, readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation.

"And yet, we have done wonders. In five years our renaissance has been a miracle of achievement. I begin to think it has been a dream. How rapidly the nation is developing that character again in its pristine nobility! Our men, our women, our children—they think, talk and act differently now.

No nation achieves anything unless its women go side by side with men—even to the battlefield."

(*After a long pause*). "Is Britain going to decide the destiny of hundred million Muslims? No, nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic convention full of hope, courage and faith. *Insha Allah*, we shall win."

The Dawn, April 11, 1946.

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Speech at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, New Delhi, June 5, 1946.

Momentous Decisions

Mr. Jinnah, began his address by saying that the Council had been summoned 'on an occasion which is a very serious one indeed.' "You have got to decide momentous issues now facing you," he said.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the negotiations in Delhi, the progress and the final breakdown of the Tripartite Conference at Simla, the publication of the British Cabinet Mission's scheme

and the correspondence that took place between the three parties and his comment on the Mission's proposals.

You have got all the material before you and the decisions you have to take on Wednesday or on Thursday are going to be of far-reaching importance and consequence.

No doubt, the Working Committee could have followed the normal procedure on the analogy of a Cabinet. It could have, if it had chosen to do so, come to a decision and formulated a resolution of its own after the two days' discussions it had had and it could have presented its decision to the Council for confirmation. But the Working Committee thought that this was an exceptional position of grave importance and, therefore, that was not the course for it to adopt.

Committee's View

If we had taken any decision and placed it before you and if you disapproved of it, there would have been no other course open to us except to resign and we thought that we should not create such a situation when the Council is meeting and when there is no urgency and no necessity for such a course.

Members of the Working Committee have discussed the pros and cons for hours and we thought we should not anticipate your verdict or your decision, and, therefore, we have adopted this course that the Council, having regard to the gravity of the situation, should take the responsibility for whatever decision you arrive at.

I want, therefore, every member to feel that he is free and he is not tied down or fettered by any step that we have taken which prevents him in any way for expressing his opinion or taking his final decision, whatever it may be. It is now up to you as the Parliament of the Muslim Nation to take your decision.

Demand For Pakistan

Let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full, complete and sovereign Pakistan. And I repel with all the emphasis that I can command the arguments and the reasons and the way in which the Mission has mutilated the facts for no other purpose except to please and appease the Congress. (Cries of 'shame, shame'.)

In fact the foundation and the basis of Pakistan are there in their own scheme. (Hear, hear.)

"Greatest Blunder"

That was one of the greatest blunders that they have made, and the result has been this. The Congress Press and the Hindus, when they heard these phrases and had this sugar-coated pill (laughter) that Pakistan was rejected, there was jubilation and, naturally, amongst the Muslims there was the strongest condemnation and resentment. But it was a sugar-coated pill and there was so little sugar that within a short time the Congress Press felt it was a pill minus sugar. (Laughter)

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to his recent remarks at a Muslim reception at Simla and the interpretation put on those remarks. These grave issues, he said, were not to be decided by a word here, or a phrase there, or by mere sentiment or slogans.

It had been reported that he said, "We cannot keep quarrelling all the time." The obtuse mentality of a section of the Press at once jumped to the conclusion, 'Mr. Jinnah has come to his senses.'

I am glad I have come to my senses, but I wish they will also come to their senses. (Laughter) Surely it requires two parties for a quarrel but in this case there are three and even four parties, leaving smaller minorities.

Muslim Suffering

When I say we cannot keep quarrelling all the time, am I not addressing every one of them, including ourselves? I know and I repeat this, that the Musalmans have suffered, and suffered to an extent that I shudder to think of.

Six years ago the position of the Musalmans was such that they would have been wiped off. In every walk of life the Musalmans have suffered and are suffering now. I want to say, put an end to this suffering and for us there is no other goal except the establishment of Pakistan. May be, obstacles will be put in our way but nothing is going to make us flinch or falter to any way or budge by a hair's breadth from doing everything in our power to reach our goal and establish Pakistan.

"We'll Take Pakistan"

I repeat from this platform that delay is not good either for the British Government or the Hindus. If they love freedom, if they love the independence of India, if they want to be free, then the sooner they realise the better that the quickest way is to agree to Pakistan. Either you agree or we shall have it in spite of you.

What methods they would adopt and what instruments they would use would depend upon the time and circumstances.

Food Situation

Madras and Mysore are in a serious position. We offer our hand of co-operation to every department of the Government, whatever this Government may be. In response to the call of humanity, we must see that not a single man dies for want of food. So far as this matter is concerned, there is only one decision, and that is, do your best whatever you are to fight starvation.

South Africa

Indians there are treated like 'pariahs.' I know that General Smuts would say that India had sixty million untouchables. I admit that untouchability is a disgrace, but is that any reason for saying that two blacks make one white. Because India is cursed with this terrible blot, did it lie in the mouth of the Head of any civilised government to say: "Therefore, I shall also have a black spot on my government, on my country and my nation; and although it does not exist, I will creat one now."

South Africa's 'Crime'

There were no two opinions among any honest persons either in this country or outside that the Ghetto Bill was a blot on civilisation; that it was a crime against those who helped the building up of South Africa and were legitimately there. Our fullest sympathies go to our people who are struggling.

Dealing with Palestine, he condemned the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the admission of a lakh of Jews into Palestine.

'Can you come to any other conclusion than this, that this is thoroughly dishonest and that they have disregarded every canon of fairness and justice?

He called upon the Arabs to fight this recommendation and to see that not one more Jew landed in Palestine. Muslim India must come to the assistance of the Arabs.

Mr. Jinnah condemned the Dutch imperialist hold on Indonesia and said that so far Britian had not played an honourable part in this.

Britan's Broken Promises

About Libya he said that the British had given solemn promises that never again would the Muslims there suffer Italian rule and now the British had gone back on that promise.

Discussing the recent events in Kashmir he uttered this solemn warning to the Maharaja. 'Please see that you do not hurt one single innocent Muslim otherwise you will compel all Muslims to jump into this ray—and that will be very serious indeed.'

Mr. Jinnah made a reference to riots in provinces where the Congress was in power and reiterated that there was only one remedy, and that was the establishment of Pakistan. When Pakistan was established, Hindus would think differently. At present, unfortunately, the Hindu had a wind in his head that wherever a Congress Ministry was established a Hindu raj was established.

There is no remedy for a disease of the kind. Where a man is under a delusion, the only place for him is a lunatic asylum. With this delusion, the Hindu is arrogant, tyrannical and oppressive. But I think all this will sober down. If it does not, then we shall have to do something to make it sober down.

These instances show that they are driving one more nail into their own coffin. The more they do this, the more will they regret. (A.P.I. & Dawn's Special Correspondent)

(The Dawn, June 6, 1946.)

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**Speech at the Secret Session of the
All India Muslim League Council,
New Delhi, June 6, 1946.**

"I advised you to reject the Cripps proposal, I advised you to reject the last Simla Conference formula. But I cannot advise you to reject the British Cabinet Mission's proposal. I advise you to accept it." With these words, Mr. M. A. Jinnah wound up the long-drawn debate on the Cabinet Mission's proposal in the secret session of the Council of the All-India

Muslim League held at New Delhi on the next day, the 6th June 1946.

Mr. Jinnah added: "The Lahore resolution did not mean that when Muslims put forward their demand, it must be accepted at once. It is a big struggle and a continued struggle. The first struggle was to get the representative character of the League accepted. That fight they had started and they had won. Acceptance of the Mission's proposal was not the end of their struggle for Pakistan. They should continue their struggle till Pakistan was achieved."

Mr. Jinnah said that they could create a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly if anything was done against their wishes. They would continue to fight in the Constituent Assembly for their objective. They would also fight for the right of the Units or Groups to rejoin the Group from which they seceded.

As regards groupings, Mr. Jinnah is reported to have expressed satisfaction and said: The Groups should have power on all subjects except defence, communications and foreign affairs. But so far as defence was concerned, it would remain in the hands of the British till the new constitution was enforced. So they need not worry about it now. They would fight in the Constituent Assembly to restrict "Communications" to what was absolutely necessary for defence only.

(The Indian Annual Register, 1946, Vol, I/p.182.)

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**Speech at the meeting of the
All-India Muslim League Council,
Bombay, July 27, 1946.**

"I feel the time has come for the Muslim League—and I have been saying so—that our motto should be discipline, unity and trust in the power of our own nation. If there is not sufficient power, creat that power. If we do that the Mission and

the British Government may be rescued, released and freed from being cowed by the threats of the Congress that they would launch a struggle and start non-cooperation. Let us also say that we will also do that.

"All efforts of the Muslim League at fairplay, justice, even supplication and prayers have had no response of any kind from the Congress. The Cabinet Mission have played into the hands of the Congress. It has played a game of its own.

"I tell you the Congress has done the greatest harm to the peoples of India in which the caste Hindus are in an overwhelming majority by its pretty fogging, higgling attitude during the recent constitutional negotiations. The Congress is full of spite towards the Muslims.

"The Congress has now taken India back forty years by enabling a completely bureaucratic and autocratic government to be set up at Delhi.

The Congress thinks that it is going to walk into the Interim Government and bypass the Muslim League. It is welcome to go there. We are not frightened by that and we know how to deal with that. They are talking through their hats when they talk of turning the Constituent Assembly into a sovereign body — the Constituent Assembly that is being summoned by the Viceroy appointed by the British Government. It is going to be turned into a sovereign body by the bravado and the childish statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru?

Grave Issues

"The Council had been summoned to consider certain issues of grave importance. You have to finally decide what course of action the Muslim League should adopt with regard to the Constituent Assembly as embodied in the Statements of May 16 and 25 of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

"The Congress had accepted the long-term proposals with their own reservation and interpretation, notwithstanding the authoritative Statement that was made by the Cabinet Mission on May 25.

Quoting extracts from the Congress President's letter of June 25 to the Cabinet Mission and the Congress Working Committee's resolution of June 26, Mr. Jinnah said the Congress acceptance was conditional.

"Any man of commonsense can come to one conclusion only, leave alone these great politicians. It is surprising that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy should consider this decision as acceptance. Throughout these negotiations the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy were under terror and threats of the Congress.

Mission Eats Its Word

"The second thing the Council of the Muslim League has to consider was what steps should be taken by the Muslim League in view of the attitude adopted by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in regard to the Interim Government. They have gone back on their plighted word* and abandoned what was announced as their final proposals embodied in their Statement of June 16.

"The Congress really never accepted the long-term plan. Its conditional acceptance was communicated to the Cabinet Mission by the Congress President on June 25 and was subsequently ratified by the A.I.C.C. at its meeting in Bombay on July 7.

***The Plighted Words**

"In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an interim government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16."

"The Cabinet Mission like a drowning man ready to catch hold of a straw treated this conditional acceptance of the Congress as genuine acceptance. Not only did they try to propagate this view in this country, but during the debate in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords both Lord Pethick Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps created the impression that the Congress had accepted the long-term proposal.

Congress Attitude

"The impression is not based on facts. The Congress Working Committee's resolution was bad enough, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the elected President, having taken charge of his office, at a Press conference in Bombay on July 10, made the policy and attitude of the Congress towards the long-term proposal clear. In that interview Pandit Jawaharlal made it quite clear that the Congress was committed to nothing and they were not bound by either paragraph 15 or paragraph 19 of the State Paper.

Not A Sovereign Body

"The Constituent Assembly is not a sovereign body. Either we accept it or not accept it. Once we accept it then the only honourable course open to my party is to treat the Constituent Assembly really what it is. What is the use of imagining things and dreaming.

Pandit Nehru had stated that the Congress was not bound by paragraph 19 of the State Paper which regulates grouping and which also regulates the functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the scheme, from the Muslim League point of view, is grouping B and C and it is that part of the scheme which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress which asserts that provinces in Groups B and C are free to opt out from the very beginning and not, as is provided, until the group constitution and provincial

constitutions are framed and elections are held under the new provincial constitutions.

Brute Majority

"Because the Congress had had a brute majority in the whole constituent assembly it was hoping to take any decision it liked with its majority, ignoring, nullifying and repudiating every term of the scheme and act in a manner which would not be competent of the constituent assembly and which would be '*ultra vires*' of the functions of that body.

"The Congress position in a nutshell was: 'We are committed to nothing and we are going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve our objective and according to our sweet will we will do what we like on the basis of the interpretation which we have already announced to the world.' This has created a new situation necessitating the summoning of the League Council.

Debate In Lords

Mr. Jinnah referred to the Secretary of State's speech in the Lord's debate when he declared that the Indian parties could not go outside the terms of what had been agreed to as that would not be fair to other parties and said:

"Beyond this pious expression there is no effective check or remedy provided in the event of the Congress, which happens to have a brute majority in the Constituent Assembly, taking any decision which is '*ultra vires*' and incompetent of that Assembly.

"The Mission knew it. It was made clear to them that the Congress acceptance was with reservation and with their own interpretation on some of the fundamentals of the scheme. Both Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself had made this clear in our statements. The British Government was in possession of these details before the debate took place.

"And yet Lord Pethick-Lawrence had contented himself with the pious expression of hope. Does this show any sense of responsibility or understanding on the part of the Cabinet Mission who spent here three-and-a-half months.

Nehru Sticks To His Guns

"Further, Pandit Nehru, at a mass meeting at Delhi on July 23, said that if they cannot mend the Constituent Assembly they would end it. When some papers attributed the Pandit's statements to his emotional and sentimental feelings, Pandit Jawaharlal asserted, repeated and reaffirmed that he had said it deliberately and with a full sense of his responsibility. He made it clear that the Congress would pursue that line and, if necessary, kill the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. Jinnah characterised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the Lords that he had faith and hope in the Indian people doing the right thing as 'most unconvincing optimism' in view of the Congress stand.

"I feel we have exhausted all reasons. It is no use looking to any other source for help or assistance. There is no tribunal to which we can go. The only tribunal is the Muslim Nation.

"It is no consolation to me that Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps have acknowledged that we made very substantial and vital concessions whereas the Congress has not budged an inch. I wish I could honestly pay a tribute to their courage and statesmanship which they so sadly lacked in handling these negotiations. Nor have I seen any sign of the slightest gesture of goodwill or conciliation or any indication of co-operation on the part of the Congress.

Congress Stood Like A Mule

"I am confident the Muslims of India are not going to be perturbed, nor are we going to suffer from any sense of frustration. I can tell you this without fear of contradiction that

of the three parties, the Muslim League acted throughout the negotiations as an honourable organisation.

"We negotiated on high principles. We made concession after concession, not because we were overawed. We did so purely because of our extreme anxiety for an amicable and peaceful settlement which will lead not only the Muslims and the Hindus but also other communities inhabiting this subcontinent to the achievement of freedom. But the Congress stood there like a mule. It has no other consideration except the one, namely, how to down the Muslim League. (Shame)

Clean League Hands

"We worked with clean hands. The Muslim League is the only party that has emerged from these negotiations with honour and clean hands. The Mission went back on their words with regard to the Interim Government. The Mission today is cowed down and paralysed. The Congress has resorted to methods that even an ordinary individual will be ashamed of.

"Have you (Congress) not got the decency and have you not got any sense of honour and courage to say that you cannot accept the proposals because it is opposed to your fundamental principles and your objectives?

Demanding a categorical reply from the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah asserted that on the night of June 24 the Congress Working Committee had rejected both the long-term and short-term proposals

"Early in the morning of June 25, the indefatigable Sir Stafford Cripps went and worked up Mr. Gandhi in the Bhangi Colony. It seems he did not cut much ice. He came back and Lord Pethick-Lawrence was put on the scent of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, the strong man of the Congress.

A Device Concocted

"He waylaid Mr. Patel on the road and took him to his house and there they concocted a device. The Congress was persuaded to accept the long-term proposal even with their own interpretations and reservations and the Mission assured the Congress that it would abandon the Interim Government Scheme of June 16. It is again like a drowning man catching at a straw. They wanted, somehow or other, to say that their mission was not a complete failure.

"This is exactly what happened. Now I ask the Viceroy to issue a statement giving a categorical explanation on this point. This is a grave charge against the honour, integrity and character of the members of Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

Pakistan—The Only Solution

"All these prove clearly, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the only solution of India's problem is Pakistan. So long as the Congress and Mr. Gandhi maintain that they represent the whole of India and so long as the Congress waste their money to no purpose but to create disruption among the Muslims and encourage men who have no sense of honour and morality by bribery, corruption and jobbery, so long as they deny true facts and the absolute truth that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organization of the Muslims and so long as they continue in this vicious circle there can and will be no compromise or settlement of freedom.

"It was a 'bogus claim' of the Congress that it represented the whole of India. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly out of 79 seats for Muslims, the Congress had secured only three. The candidate from the United Provinces stood from three Muslim constituencies in the provincial elections and he was kicked out everywhere.

"Mr. Gandhi now speaks as a universal adviser. He says that the Congress represents the whole of India and that the

Congress is the trustee for the people of India. It is an alarming status he wants. We have enough experience of one trustee that has been here for 150 years. We do not want the Congress to become our trustee. We have now grown up. (Laughter). The only trustee of the Muslims is the Muslim nation.

Harijans Betrayed

"Gandhi is the self-appointed trustee of the Harijans. Does he honestly believe that the Harijans have confidence in him? The Harijans are a blot on any civilised community. Sixty millions of them who have been tied down by social and economic tyranny for centuries have been living in a miserable condition. What has Mr. Gandhi done to them since he assumed charge of the welfare of the Harijans? The Scheduled Castes are now offering satyagraha and going to jail. People do not and will not take to this extreme measure unless there is strong feeling and strong grievance. The Mission have betrayed the Harijans in order to appease the goddess of the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to explain in detail the negotiations regarding to setting up of an interim government and said:

"It is entirely untrue that I submitted any list on behalf of the Muslim League. On the contrary, I definitely said that I was not prepared to submit any list until I knew that there was an agreed settlement and if there was no agreed settlement, the Viceroy was bound to go ahead with one major party that accepted it and that I will submit my list at that stage.

"The Viceroy had no business to put my name when I had clearly made it known to him, in spite of his trying to persuade me, that I will not accept any office so long as I am the President of the Muslim League.

Cripps' Jugglery Of Words

"Immediately the Congress gave its reply, we gave our reply. Now we are told that clause 8 means something which it does not mean. Here I must say that Sir Stafford Cripps, when he was questioned in the House of Commons, found it very difficult to wriggle out of it and he resorted to jugglery of words and misleading the House.

"I am sorry to say that Cripps debased his legal talents and put his dishonest interpretation on this clause. He overpowered the venerable and idealistic Secretary of State.

"Too much prominence had been given to the interview I had with the Mission on June 25. The Viceroy received the Congress reply at about 11 or 12 noon that day. It had not been stated anywhere that we were time-barred in accepting the proposal. It was not stated that the offer had been withdrawn. Of course, they would have been entitled to withdraw the offer, had both the parties not accepted the offer.

"A fantastic and dishonest construction was put on the clause by that "ingenuous juggler of words, Cripps" to evade the formation of the Interim Government. It was only Mr. Alexander who intervened in the interview and said that the Mission had not arrived at any decision and that they wanted to know my views.

Mr. Jinnah criticised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement that he (Mr. Jinnah) could not have 'monopoly of Muslim nomination.' "I am not a trader," Mr. Jinnah said. "I am not asking for concessions for oil nor am I higgling and haggling like a *Banya*. Is it not absurd for the Secretary of State for India to come out with this phraseology that Mr. Jinnah cannot claim monopoly. Are the Muslims a commodity?"

Mr. Jinnah maintained that right from the beginning he had objected to the inclusion of 'Quisling Muslims' in the Interim Government. The Viceroy himself had, in his letter to

the Congress President on June 22, stated that he would not have any non-League Muslim. If he (Mr. Jinnah) had that monopoly then, he asked, did he lose it after two days. The reason was that the Congress did not accept it.

"I think the Congress had acted throughout in a petty manner and their objective was to discredit and humiliate the Muslim League. If the Congress was really a national body representing the whole of India then why should it bestow its attention only on the Muslims and not on other communities?"

Pledge Broken Within 10 Days

Amplifying his remarks on the part played by the Cabinet Mission, Mr. Jinnah said: "The British Government have undoubtedly gone back on their words. They have played into the hands of the Congress. They have tried to propitiate the goddess of the Congress and postpone the formation of the Interim Government. They have accepted what is no acceptance at all on the part of the Congress of the long-term proposal.

Can they conscientiously say from the way in which they conducted the negotiations here that they are entitled to expect from Muslim India faith in the Cabinet Mission or the British Government that has endorsed this statement.

When representatives of H.M.G. go back on their own words within ten days and dishonour themselves and the Government they represent and the nation to whom they belong what confidence can we have in these people? (A.P.I.)

(The Dawn, July 28, 1946.)

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**Speech at the meeting of the
All-India Muslim League Council,
Bombay, July 28, 1946.**

Discussion on what attitude the Muslim League should adopt in view of "new situation that has been created" was continued at the resumed session of the All-India Muslim League Council.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan from Bengal warned the Council against rushing into taking any precipitate action. He urged the Council to empower the League President Mr. Jinnah to adopt such steps as he thought were necessary.

Mr. Jinnah, intervening, said that he wanted the Council to take the responsibility for any future action.

Mr. Jinnah said that while he appreciated the high esteem and confidence placed in him, he would like the Council to decide the future course of action.

"Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's suggestion shifts your responsibility on to my shoulders. I want you to take your own decision after ascertaining all the facts, which I have placed before you," he said.

Betrayal of Muslim Nation

"It is true the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy have betrayed the Muslim nation. We accepted their proposals as a whole both long-term and short-term. But since they have scrapped the interim proposals, you have to decide what we should now do, for the proposals are inter-dependent and inseparable."

"Of the three parties to the proposals, the Delegation and the Viceroy have scrapped the interim proposals. The Congress, one of the two major parties, has accepted it conditionally, which is no acceptance at all. What security is there for the League to go into the Constituent Assembly when

the other major party has not accepted it and the third party scraps a vital part of the proposals and say; "We have faith, hope and confidence in the Indians doing the right thing?"

"I am not prepared to accept responsibility for any decision as to the future, unless you force it down my throat. It is your bounden duty to decide what we should now do, for you are the Parliament of the Muslim nation. The President and the Working Committee will carry out any policy laid down by you."

The Dawn, July 29, 1946.

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**Speech at the conclusion of the meeting
of the All-India Muslim League Council,
Bombay, July 29, 1946.**

"What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything, except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods.

"Throughout the fateful negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and non-co-operation. Today, we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it.

"The decision to reject the proposals and to launch direct action had not been taken in haste, but it was taken with full sense of the responsibility and all deliberations that was humanly possible.

"We mean it and release every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation.

Flagrant Breach of Faith

"The Congress had accepted their proposals conditionally, and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy had committed a flagrant breach of faith. Any honest or self-respecting man could see clearly that the only party which came out honourably from the negotiations was the Muslim League. When the League accepted their proposals they did it deliberately and with full responsibility, and they accepted the statement of May 16, the statement of May 25 and the original formula for the Interim Government.

"I think that if there is any man who has got any self-respect or honesty or any sense of fairness and justice to himself, he would say that the Muslim League was moved by higher and greater considerations than any other party in India.

"The League, throughout the negotiations, was moved by a sense of fairplay and sacrificed the full sovereign state of Pakistan at the alter of the Congress for securing the independence of the whole of India. They voluntarily delegated three subjects to the Union, and by doing so did not commit a mistake. It was the highest order of statesmanship that the League displayed by making concession.

League Anxiety For Peace

"I do not think that any responsible man will disagree with me that we were moved by a desire not to allow the situation to develop into bloodshed and civil war. This situation should be avoided if possible. In our anxiety to try to come to a peaceful settlement with the other major party, we made this sacrifice of giving three subjects to the Centre and accepted a limited Pakistan. We offered this unequivocal sacrifice at the alter of the Congress.

"But this has been treated with defiance and contempt. Then, are we alone to be guided by reason, justice, honesty and

fairplay, when on the other hand there are perfidious dealings by the Congress?

"There was no sign or the slightest gesture of compromise from them. But honour, honesty, statesmanship, justice and fairplay always win in the long run, and I might say that today Muslim India—if there is still any doubt left—is stirred as never before and has never felt so bitterly as today, because these two parties (Congress and the British) showed lack of statesmanship. But now we realise that this has been for Muslim India the greatest blessing in disguise.

No Room For Compromise

"We have learnt a bitter lesson—the bitterest I think so far. Now there is no room left for compromise. Let us march on."

Mr. Jinnah then referred to Lord Pethick-Lawrence's statement in the House of Lords that he could not agree to Mr. Jinnah having a monopoly over Muslim nominations.

"What made the Secretary of State in the responsible position that he holds, use such a stupid phrase? Has he got the monopoly of every Briton? On what authority does he speak on behalf of the British people having only 60 per cent of the people behind his Government? We cannot agree to a Quisling Muslim being nominated by the Congress to the Executive Council.

"What did the British Government do with their own Quislings like John Amery and Lord Haw-Haw? Hanged them. Many other Englishmen who betrayed their country and became traitors have been hanged for treason. It is impossible for me to agree to a Quisling being nominated.

Intellectual Paralysis

"The Cabinet Mission had been 'intellectually paralysed' and their report to the Parliament was not even honest to themselves and was devoid not only of political ethics, but every manner of principle and morality."

The League President, raised his voice and concluded his speech by quoting Firdousi, the Persian poet, "If you seek peace, we do not want war, but if you want war, we will accept it unhesitatingly," and the quotation was drowned in vociferous shouting of League slogans and cheers.

گرت روی صلح است سازیم کار
 دیگر نه نیچم من از کارزار (فروسی)

[Immediately after Mr. Jinnah had finished, one after another top-ranking Muslim League leaders ascended the platform and announced the renunciation of their titles.]

(The Dawn, July 30, 1946.)

Speech at an Id gathering in Bombay, August 29, 1946.

An appeal to all Muslims in this country and particularly to those who are not with the Muslim League—Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khaksars, Ahrars and 'Nationalist' Muslims—to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam was made by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing an Id gathering.

Mr. Jinnah asked every Musalman of India to realise the grave situation that had arisen and close their ranks and file and stand united from one end of the country to the other.

He asked them to prepare and organise themselves, because, he said:

"Our opponents think we are not sufficiently strong to face the situation. We must make them realise their folly that they have misjudged the Musalmans of India.

"I have no doubt that if the Musalmans of India stand united and strong all diabolical conspiracies of our opponents will fail. Our cause is righteous and God is with us. The hundred million Musalmans of India cannot be crushed. If we stand strong and united under one flag, we shall achieve our sacred goal of Pakistan, whatever trials and tribulations we may have to undergo and without Pakistan, Muslim India will perish.

The Broken Pledge

Mr. Jinnah reviewed the political developments in the country since the British Cabinet Mission came to India last April and said:

"Today is a happy day for the Musalmans of India and it is a day of happiness and rejoicings for us. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a dark cloud is overshadowing us."

"Muslim India is stunned and shocked for the moment by the gross and wicked betrayal by the British Government who had made a solemn pledge in its declaration of August 1940, that no transfer of power would take place unless there was an agreement of major parties and other major elements of national life of this country. That declaration laid down clearly that not only a new constitution would not be framed except by an agreement between Hindus and Muslims, even the machinery to draft a new constitution would not be brought into being unless there was an agreement of major elements of national life of this country."

"Today that solemn declaration has been torn to pieces by the British Government. It is, no doubt, a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India. But I am confident that nothing is going to shake us or frighten us. We shall march on and face all the obstacles and march through fire, trials and tribulations. In our onward march there will be setbacks and sufferings: but we will not flinch or falter.

Mr. Jinnah then referred to the broadcast of the Viceroy on August 24, announcing the formation of the Interim Government at the Centre and said that it impressed some people when they heard it on the radio, but it came in cold print and was examined, what did it mean? The Viceroy's broadcast was, no doubt, cleverly worded.

Double Betrayal

The Viceroy has committed a double betrayal in going back on his solemn word and in ignoring and bypassing the Muslim League. I do not know whether the British Government or the Labour Party are really in possession of true facts. But I suspect that there is a move to black out facts from the British public and Press.

The Viceroy's action today is nothing but a wicked breach of the declaration of August 1940, made by the British Government to which the Labour Party was committed. Today, the Congress is happy in having achieved its heart's desire and in having manoeuvred to get the Viceroy by-pass the Muslim League.

But I am also equally happy. If the British Government is happy to have tickled the vanity of the Congress, let it strike a bargain with the Congress. We are prepared for it.

The Negotiations

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the negotiations carried on by him on behalf of the Muslim League with the British Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and said:

"The Council of the All-India Muslim League on June 6 accepted the proposals although not fully satisfied with them. We accepted the proposals, both short-term and long-term, for the sake of an amicable settlement and on the promise given by the Viceroy on June 3. But immediately, the Viceroy committed a breach of faith in making certain modifications in the original

proposals and announced the plan for the immediate formation of an Interim Government at the centre."

"The Congress rejected the short-term plan but it accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and that was only a sham acceptance."

"Despite this, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy went back on their promise and they did not go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government."

"There seems to be a mystery behind all this, but it is a conspiracy pre-arranged with the Congress. I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India in that position, with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League, the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with the Congress and finally by-passed the Muslim League."

The Eastern Times, August 30, 1946.

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**Speech at a Meeting held under
the auspices of the Muslim League Branch
in Great Britain,
London, December 13, 1946.**

(Mr. Jinnah spoke slowly and haltingly at first. His opening sentences were difficult to hear, as the microphone was not working properly.)

"I am glad that the British people have awakened a bit. It is the tradition of the British nation that they only wake up when there is something dangerous," said Mr. Jinnah.

"The Cabinet Mission came to India in March and tried to understand the situation there and after lots of conversations and discussions they put forward what is known as a long-term

and a short-term scheme. The Congress did not accept the Long-Term proposals in fact. They 'accepted' on their own terms with reservations and with their own interpretation of one of the most fundamental and basic points—known as the grouping clause. To our disappointment the Cabinet Mission took an attitude which, to say the least, was most amazing. What did they do? They accepted what I would have characterised as non-acceptable and they passed out to the world and actually misled the British Parliament that the Congress had accepted the Long-term Scheme.

"They said in effect our original proposal is 5-5-2 but now we must make it 5-5-3 or five Muslims, five Hindus, one Sikh, one Christian and one Parsi. This was intended really to placate the Congress. The cause is difficult for an average Englishman to understand unless he has been in India for a long time. The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy evidently thought that if they had one Parsi, then it might appease the Congress because there was every likelihood that the Parsis would support them. When that was suggested the Congress turned it down again. Then we were told that the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy would announce their own proposals. These were made known on June 16 and were known as the Short-Term Scheme. We were also told that this was final and that it was up to the Congress to accept or not and to the Muslim League to do the same.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, you will be surprised to hear that the Congress did not accept.

"When the names were announced the Congress said: 'We do not accept the nominees you have chosen. We want this substituted and that substituted.'

"The Congress also said: 'We do not accept that there should be any safeguard for Musalmans.' With regard to any major communal issue, an assurance was given—and it applied to both and not only to Muslims—that if there was any major

communal issue upon which there was disagreement and if the majority of Muslim or Hindu members were opposed to it then it should not be forced.

"They also said: 'We cannot accept it on various grounds. We are not going to accept the Short-Term Scheme which you have announced to the world as final, and they rejected it on June 25. On the same day we accepted.

"Then there was another amazing fact. You have not yet been able to understand exactly what was the influence which made the Cabinet Delegation not only to scrap it on grounds, which, in my judgment, and I think it is the judgment of many impartial men, it was nothing but a perversion of the true meaning of the construction of paragraph eight.

"They said: 'Now we shall begin afresh.' When we complained that this was most unjust and unfair and added: In that case postpone the 'Long-Term Plan.' the Cabinet Mission said 'No—preparations had gone too far ahead and they must proceed.' That was an interpretation revolting and repugnant to commonsense. On that construction the Congress had accepted the Long-Term and rejected the Short-Term Plan.

"Their attitude was 'We must scrap the thing and begin afresh.' But I want you to understand that the Congress did not even accept the Long-Term Plan and yet it was passed off as their acceptance. It is very difficult for me in my language to speak about it to you this evening. It was a betrayal of the Muslim League and Musalmans—betrayal. Then what did we find. It was postponed for a month. Preparations for the Constituent Assembly, however, were to go ahead. Naturally we protested. We issued statements but do not know whether they reached you here or not, but we made our decisions clearly.

A Voice in Wilderness

"About the end of July a proposal was sent for the Interim Government—a fresh one. I do not want to worry you

about the details of it, but it was a fundamentally and entirely different one. It was a landslide as far as the Muslim League was concerned—a going down, a descent and such that we were unable to accept.

"In the meantime, we were making it clear that the Congress had not accepted the Long-Term Scheme but ours was a voice in the wilderness.

"On July 18, your Parliament met and on the floor of the House of Commons a version was given to you which is half true and misleading. It concealed the true state of affairs, but nothing happened.

"We had to consider this very serious position with which we were faced. We called a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and met on July 29. In the meantime, pronouncements of Congress leaders were made known and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the worst of the lot. They said: 'We are going to the sovereign Constituent Assembly. We will decide what we think proper.' As to the scope of the proposed union, it was confined only to three matters. "They were Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it clear that it was the Constituent Assembly to take any decision they liked. We have no alternative except to withdraw our assent that we had given on June 6. But we said that later on we were willing to consider a change in the formula of the Indian Government and our assent to the proposals embodied in the statement of June 16, which were the final proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy.

"We came to the conclusion that there was no room for reason, intelligence or fairplay."

Throwing wide his arms in a characteristic gesture of despair, Mr. Jinnah said:

"I am sorry to say that your delegation has throughout, at every critical stage, really worked under the fear of incurring

the displeasure of the Congress. Why?" He answered his own question by adding: "Because the Congress at every critical stage, now and then, had the fundamental policy that they would resort to mass civil disobedience at any moment they thought necessary. We have made concessions. We have given up a lot for these reasons.

"And believe me I am telling the truth—we think an amicable and peaceful settlement is far better even if we have to sacrifice something substantial for it."

This statement was greeted with loud applause.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "we thought that we would make our sacrifice on the altar by achieving the freedom of all of us. Let me tell you the Congress has been adamant. It has not budged an inch. (Cries of shame). Unfortunately for our country and our people they are going headlong on a mad career." (There was an interruption when someone shouted "hear, hear.")

"The Congress are responsible for obstructing the freedom of the people of India," Mr. Jinnah said, "What is it we want? What are our utmost demands? The answer is Pakistan." (There were shouts of "Zindabad" from the audience.)

Mr. Jinnah went on to explain what he meant by Pakistan. "What is Pakistan?" he said. "What is so terrible about it? How is it going to harm Hindus or prejudice them."

What Pakistan Means

"In the north-west and north-east zones of India which are our homeland and where we are in a majority of 70 percent against Caste-Hindus, we want a separate state of our own. There we can live according to our own notions of life. The differences between Hindus and Muslims are so fundamental that there is nothing that matters in life upon which we agree.

"It is well known to any student of history that our heroes, our culture, our language, our music, our architecture,

our jurisprudence, our social life are absolutely different and distinct. We are told that India has been one for a long time. I tell you that the so-called one India is British-made. It was made by the sword. It can only be held by the sword as it has been held...Do not be misled by anyone saying that India is one and why, therefore, should it not continue to be one. What we want I tell you is Pakistan. Pakistan presupposes that Hindustan should also be a free state.

What Hindus Gain

"What would Hindus lose? Look at the map. They would have three-quarters of India. They would have the best parts. They would have a population of nearly 200,000,000. Pakistan is certainly not the best part of India. We should have a population of 100,000,000—all Muslims. What is the objection to these proposals of ours? We should be free. Let me say these are big states. How many states are there in this world with a population of 100,000,000? You see it is not a small thing. Let us live as good neighbours with the Hindus just as America lives in a friendly way with Canada and many of the states in North and South Americas.

"Unfortunately Europe has not shown this spirit, but nevertheless it is not a big proposition to suggest that the whole of Europe should be one and that there should be one Government? I know many idealists who desire it. But they also desire that the whole world should be one and that there should be one Government.

It is a noble ideal, but such ideals are not achieved easily. Then, I say, what is the objection to Pakistan? The only objection is that Hindus want the whole. If the whole is agreed to them then we are reduced to nothing but a minority.

"Therefore, the problem is—is Britain going to stand with its bayonets and hand over authority to the Hindu

majority? If that happens, you will have lost every cent of honour, integrity and fairplay."

Democracy—Muslims' Blood

"Democracy is alien to the Hindu society. I do not want to show any disrespect for any other society, but the Hindu society is caste-ridden and caste-bound. The untouchables have no place socially, economically or any way at all.

"Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans, who look upon complete equality of manhood. I give you an example. Very often when I go to a mosque, my chauffeur stands side by side with me. Musalmans believe in fraternity, equality and liberty.

"How can a minority put a stop to a majority? It is bunkum. We are not putting a stop to a majority. But we are entitled to establish our government.

"Sooner the British Government and the people of Great Britain realise the truth and actual conditions in India, the better will it be not for your nation, but for the Hindus and the Muslims. It is, therefore, for the British Government not to evade the truth, but to face the problem boldly and frankly. If you go on like this there might be a terrible disaster difficult to control.

"Review the whole position. There is no other way unless you want to triumph at the cost of thousands of lives. There is no other way but to divide India. Give Muslims their homeland and give Hindus Hindustan."

Cabinet Mission

"We are within the orbit of constant discussions and negotiations. There was no room for argument. Every time someone in the Congress said: 'No, something else had to be done immediately.' In those circumstances they thought there was no course for us to take but to resort to poser politics. For the first time since 1906 the Council of the League decided on a

different policy. The Viceroy took no notice of anything we said. I do not know who was responsible for this."

League By-passed

"The next step was that the Muslim League was ignored and by-passed and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned to form the Interim Government.

"We were still ignored and by-passed and a government was formed. In his broadcast the Viceroy said: 'I understand there is a complaint of the time and manner in which I have formed the Government.' It was not only a complaint; it was a dangerous course for him to have taken. He issued an appeal when he told us; 'There are five seats for you, if you like to come in.' You can imagine what feeling there was in the Muslim League at the time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned to form this Interim Government. It was given out in big head-lines all over India—I may tell you that nine-tenths of the Press is the Hindu Congress—in a manner which was bound to excite anyone. But on July 27, we had decided to change our policy and to resort to Direct Action—a big change of policy and we decided to tell our people of this on August 16.

"At the moment this was announced there was a meeting at the Viceroy's Lodge. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was summoned and it was astonishing that nothing happened anywhere but in Calcutta.

"In the Press and broadcasts were issued statements explaining that the only purpose of the Muslim League was a change of policy, but there was bloodshed at Calcutta and in another part of India before August 16.

The Muslim League has only 26 per cent of the population in Calcutta. That would not have been the ideal place to select, if we wanted to cause bloodshed. Why did it happen? The Committee will give their verdict, but I must tell you this much. A few days after August 16, many meetings were held by

the Muslim League in Calcutta and Bengal leaders nipped this thing in the bud.

"We came here to discuss the situation. When Pandit Nehru came here the Congress future in India was already decided and he came only because he had been asked by the Viceroy.

"While this is the case the British can say and do say that there can be no room for discussion or negotiation while one part has already decided on its course for the future, what is the position about the British Statement? The Cabinet Mission were the authors of the proposals and should keep to their words."

Confused Position

"Here they say that the Congress may refer the whole matter to the Federal Court as early as possible. As I see it, the coming of Pandit Nehru and the Muslim League from India has meant nothing. The Congress are going on as nothing has happened. Once again, the people are being confused. It is being said that no action should be taken as we are still at the stage of negotiation and that anything we say will spoil a compromise.

"The Congress is going ahead and treating the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body. What do the British now want the League to do? What can we possibly do? Do not be misled. It is only when this is decided that anything can be done—it is also clear that we are in a position where there is nothing we can do."(Reuter)

(The Dawn, December 15, 1946.)

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**Speech from the Egyptian State
Broadcasting Service,
Cairo, December 19, 1946.**

We are fighting to achieve Pakistan. You ask me of course what is Pakistan and why we are determined to establish Pakistan. India is a big continent and it never had one government in all its history. It is a country composed of many nations, and it can never be united or its peoples be one nation. In their declarations the British are willing to convey Government powers to the peoples of India. Muslims are thereupon galvanised as to what will happen to them. The Muslims are one hundred million people there. We mean by Pakistan the North West and the Eastern regions of India, our homes where we lived for centuries. We are seventy million in these two regions, with thirty million of non Muslims. We want those two regions to be separate where possible, and to establish a Muslim Government dominating their territories. We want to live as a free and independent people our own life and to preserve all that Islam stands for. This means one fourth of the country, and the three fourths will go to the Hindus where they will live also as a free and independent people their own life according to their philosophy, culture and social order based on Hindustani rites.

Muslims and Hindus are the two major nation in India. They are totally different and distinct in the essentials which affect everything that matters in life. Not only are we different and distinct but we are sometimes antagonistic. We, the Muslims, have our history, culture, language, legislations and jurisprudence, music, architecture, calender, social and educational life, which totally differ from that of the Hindus.

One India, or a united India, means the establishment of a large India where the Hindus will—with the majority of three to one—dominate and rule the Mussalman nation. This will mean as time passes to strangle the very existence of Muslims in

India. We, as a nation, will be doomed to perish. It is therefore a matter of life and death to one hundred million Muslims who strive to preserve their lives, to have an independent and separate state in these two regions where there is a solid majority of Muslims.

The philosophy of Hindus, their culture and social life are wholly based on caste system. One is born in one's caste and die in one's cast. They are the most exclusive people, and no one from a lower caste can be admitted in a higher caste or be treated, socially and economically on equal footing. Muslims are considered by the high Hindustani castes as *Malich*. There are sixty million of the untouchables who, though they profess to be Hindus, are inadmissible in high caste society of Hindus. They are treated economically and socially as serfs. Democracy is foreign to Hindu society. Those untouchables are caste-ridden, and cannot enter or be admitted in other caste. It is even worse in the case of Moslems, for they are considered from the point of view of history, culture and economy as pole descendants. As the Muslims believe and act according to the essential principles of equality of mankind, of fraternity and liberty, for they are basically a democratic nation, there is no common ground on which the Muslims and the Hindus can meet in everything that matters in life. They are totally two different nations. There is no hope therefore, even at a distant future, that they will be homogeneous or united.

We have lived there for thousands of years, and the so-called one India is only a means of British domination and British rule that preaches the maintaining of peace and social order. It is unthinkable that these two nations, which are totally different in everything, can participate in one government administration where the Hindus have three votes against one of the Muslims.

The popular democratic conception of government is to sanction the will of the people behind it. Such a government as

may be composed of Hindus and Muslims will be artificial and unnatural, and can never gain the respect and confidence of the people or be obeyed or honoured. If decisions will be taken as regards legislation and administration by poll-box, this will be disastrous, for they will not stand the shock of test or trial, and will in no time divide acre and acre the opinion of the two nations put artificially together in one government dominating the whole sub-continent of India. The only solution is therefore to separate Muslim India from Hindustani India, and to establish an independent government for each, so that they can live as good neighbours.

The only straight way to solve this question of India is therefore to establish Pakistan and Hindustan. Our scheme means liberty to both the Hindus and the Muslims, a scheme which puts a speedy end to the British domination of India, while Hindu ambitions and dreams in One India means, as far as we are concerned, to transfer the bondage from British imperialistic domination to Hindu imperialistic domination, a position which Muslims cannot and will not accept. In other words, the Hindus want the whole and all instead of two thirds of India. Two thirds of India will be a powerful country for they mean two hundred million people with a majority from 85% to 90% of Hindus with a territory and a population which no sovereign country, except perhaps China, enjoys. This while Muslim India will have one fourth of the population with a Muslim majority of 70%. Our scheme is therefore more just and fair to both whereas the Hindu scheme means death to one hundred million Muslims politically, socially, economically and in everything that matters in life and all that Islam stands for."

(QAP-F-785/pp.200-202)

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**Speech at a reception given by the
Memon Chamber of Commerce,
Bombay, March 27, 1947.**

Referring to the remarks made by the President of the Chamber Mr. Jinnah said that in the days to come there is not going to be a crisis in Pakistan.

I can tell you that this is very remote. In your Government you will be making the greatest contribution to what is known as social justice or in what I might call a Socialistic Government. Social justice is one of the fundamentals of Islam. That is the duty of any state and it must show to the world that it believes in economic and social justice."

Mr. Jinnah added: "There is such a lot of false propaganda and an enormous amount of misunderstanding is created particularly by the other communities especially the Hindus. They have been so much poisoned that they look upon us as if we have an inimical design.

It is absolutely untrue to say that we have any such design.

Pakistan will have to be achieved not only for Muslims, Pakistan means freedom for all, not for one community. Pakistan means freedom for both. I assure you that I have respect for the great Hindu community and all that it stands for. They have their faiths, their philosophy, their great culture. So have the Muslims, but the two are different".

Mr. Jinnah continued: "I am fighting for Pakistan which means I am fighting for the freedom of India. I am fighting for Pakistan because it is the only practical solution for solving the problem. And the other ideal, of a united India and a rule based on the Parliamentary system of Government, it is a vain dream and an impossibility. India is neither a country nor a nation but is a score of nations.

"Let me tell you who brought this idea into our head. It is the British. What does it matter to Britain if India is divided or not divided. Why should the British bother? Why are they encouraging hopes against hopes and offer a few passages for the leadership of the country. Britain is going, it has to go away. But why should they go about talking of a united India? Because they know it better than Indians do. Therein lies their (British) salvation. Because so long as it is insisted that India is one, they know that there will be nothing but destruction and bloodshed. This has been the idea of Britain and while leaving the country the British are inspiring the armed camp".

"I appeal to the Musalmans and Hindus and others to examine the position. Do not be carried away by dreams. Let us be practical, let us agree to divide. We live in Pakistan and you will in Hindustan. We will be neighbours. We want no outsiders. We want to live in a friendly way, friends in trade and commerce and as two brothers. And that is Pakistan.

Muslims Stand United

"Now it is quite clear that so much money has been spent to disrupt the Musalmans and to divide the Musalmans. It is now ten years that we have stood the trial and all the tests. Today the Musalmans stand as a united sovereign nation, fully prepared to make any sacrifices for Pakistan. And we shall establish it. There is no other way. Pakistan is coming nearer and nearer.

"Therefore, let us now call for a truce and let us agree on Pakistan. It is better to divide and be flourishing than to be united and slave and destroy everything. There is no other alternative. United India will only result in destruction. Why should there be destruction.

"The answer is very simple. United India can only mean the rule of one nation over another. United India means three votes for Hindus and one vote for Muslims. Therefore, one

nation with a brute majority cannot rule and inflict its own ideals on another nation."

Muslims Are A Nation

Mr. Jinnah characterised as absurd the oft-repeated assertion that the Muslims are a minority. He referred to the percentage of Muslim majority in the Frontier and asked them to consider if such a majority could be called in any sense a minority community.

"I ask you if a Union is forced can it result in anything else but clash. That is why I say that a divided India will be able to create stable and secure Governments for both Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan and Pakistan.

"I am sure that these two great nations with the great Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan and Pakistan will live in a most friendly way and will show to the world that India is for Indians and not for anybody else".

Mr. Jinnah said that he had been considering various plans for the welfare and prosperity of Muslims—in respect of education, economics and social welfare.

Addressing the business community among the Musalmans, Mr. Jinnah said there was no other way for their progress, but to organise themselves economically. He recalled the glorious past in commerce and trade and other fields. He urged them to emulate the pioneering efforts of Tata and start industrial and educational institutions for the benefit of Muslims, their social, educational and economic and political uplift.

"We have got to organise our own nation. Other communities may take offence. They may say it is communalism. The communities in India have existed for centuries and they will live also for centuries.

"Pakistan is going to be a state in which all people will get their due share in all the amenities of life. Hence solve your problems now.

"Pakistan is a state where there is no question of caste or creed. Why should I grudge any community working for its own social educational and economic uplift? There is no use saying that it is communalism. Sooner you come down to reality the sooner you will solve the problems".

Exchange of Population

Mr. Jinnah referred to the exchange of population now being talked of in the country. He mentioned Mr. Gandhi's reply to questioners at Noakhali and Tipperah two weeks ago. "Answering two questions Mr. Gandhi said that he was agreeable to exchange of population. When I suggested this it was considered a crime and there was a howl".

Mr. Jinnah referred to his talks with Mr. Gandhi in September 1944 and the correspondence exchanged between them. "It was Mr. Gandhi", Mr. Jinnah said, "who first raised the point. I have been after due deliberation saying that exchange of population is necessary and it has to be done.

"It can be done. It cannot be done by a private organisation. What is the position today? What is going on today are only mere symptoms. It has been asked in the Sind Assembly why two Hindu officers wanted to be transferred to a Hindu majority province. Today there is a very strong feeling on both sides—Hindus and Muslims—Muslims trying to go to Pakistan areas and Hindus trying to go to Hindustan areas. "That shows the uncordial relation today. If they want to live in Pakitan we will help them.

"We assure the Hindus that in Pakistan the minorities will be treated justly, fairly and generously. The whole history of Islam has shown that. The whole teaching of Islam is in that direction.

"Remember that those Governments which are not based on popular trust cannot prosper. Democracy is in the blood of the Musalmans and we have stood for equality, fraternity, and liberty and there is no chance of one man acting on his whims.

"You may rest assured that you will be safer under our system of Government than you will be under a Government which is based on one man rule. If it is good it is Islam and if it is bad it is not Islam. Islam is Justice."

Mr. Jinnah concluded by exhorting them to remember the seriousness of the situation. He said: "We are face to face with a serious situation. If we fail, remember the consequences—I cannot describe it—will be catastrophic".

(The Dawn, March 28, 1947.)

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Statement on the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, New Delhi, April 30, 1947.

Denouncing the demand for a partition of the Punjab and Bengal as "a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness" Mr. M.A.Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, in a statement said: "I do hope that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error".

Mr. Jinnah reiterated his demand for the creation of a Moslem National State consisting of the six provinces.¹ "The transfer of power to Pakistan and Hindustan Governments", Mr. Jinnah said, "must mean a division of the defence forces. This is a clear cut road and the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem."

Mr. Jinnah said. "Exchange of population will have to take place and the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out the exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible."

"I find from Press reports that the Congress has now started emphasising that, in the event of Pakistan and Hindustan being established, the Punjab will be partitioned, while the Hindu Mahasabha has started a vigorous propaganda that Bengal should be partitioned.

Principle Of Partition

"I would like to point out that there is a great deal of confusion created on purpose. The question of the division of India, as proposed by the Muslim League, is based on the fundamental fact that there are two nations, Hindus and Muslims, and the underlying principle is that we want a national home and a national State in our homelands, which are predominantly Muslim and comprise of the single units of the Punjab, the Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam.

"This will give the Hindus their national home and their national state of Hindustan, which means three fourths of British India.

"Now the question of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab is raised, not with a bona fide object, but as a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness, as they feel that India is going to be divided—firstly, to create more difficulties for the British Government and the Viceroy, and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan.

"This clamour is not based on any sound principle except that the Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal wish to cut

up these Provinces and cut up their own people into two in these Provinces.

Hindu Homelands

The Hindus have their homelands, as I said, consisting of six vast Provinces.

"Merely because a portion of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces have taken up this attitude, the British Government should not countenance it, because the result will be logically that all other Provinces will have to be cut up in a similar way, which will be dangerous as to embark on this line will lead to the breaking up of the various Provinces, and create a far more dangerous situation in the future than at present. If such a process were to be adopted, it would strike at the root of the administrative, economic and political life of the Provinces, which have for nearly a century been developed and built up on that basis and have grown and are functioning under the present Constitution as autonomous Provinces.

Beware of the Trap

"It is a mistake to compare the basic principle of the demand for Pakistan and the demand for the cutting up of the Provinces throughout India into fragmentation. I hope that neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error.

"It is obvious that if the Hindu minorities in Pakistan wish to emigrate and go to their homelands of Hindustan they will be at liberty to do so, and vice versa. Those Muslims who wish to emigrate from Hindustan can do so and go to Pakistan; and sooner or later an exchange of population will have to take place and the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently the respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out the exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible.

"The Congress propaganda is intended to disrupt and put obstacles, obstructions and difficulties in the way of an amicable solution. It is quite obvious that they have put up the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal and the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Congress Press is inciting the Sikhs and misleading them.

"The Sikhs do not stand to gain by the partition of the Punjab, but will be split into two halves: More than half of their population will have to remain in Pakistan, even if a partition of the Punjab takes place according to their conception, whereas in Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League, they will play, as one solid minority a very big part. We have always been very willing to meet them in every reasonable way. Besides, the White Paper of Feb. 20 lays down that power will be transferred to the authority or authorities in a manner that will be smooth and will create the least amount of difficulty and trouble.

Clear-Cut Road

"If power is to be transferred to various Governments, it can only be done successfully to the Pakistan group and the Hindustan group, which will establish stable, secure Governments and will be able to run these Governments peacefully and successfully.

"The transfer of power to the Pakistan and Hindustan Governments must mean a division of the Defences as a *sine qua non* of such a transfer, and the Defence Forces should be completely divided and, in my opinion, can be divided before June 1948. The States of Pakistan and Hindustan should be made absolutely free, independent and sovereign. This is a clear-cut road, and the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem."

((A.P.I.) 'The Dawn, May 1, 1947.)

B**Presidential Address to the
Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,
Karachi, August 11, 1947**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

"I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me—the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer—by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

"Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment,

but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this—remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislature body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government^t is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

Bribery And Corruption

"The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering—I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse—is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

"Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black marketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of food-stuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

"The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil—the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I will find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

"I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of everyone of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether, it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people,

and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

"I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community—because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmans, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on—will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this.

Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God; we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no

distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

"Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

"Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair-play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words, partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

"I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

"I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

'On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.'

(The Pakistan Times, August 12, 1947.)

**Address to Civil, Naval, Military
and Air Force officers of the
Pakistan Government,
Karachi, October 11, 1947.**

"The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find freeplay.

"I had no illusion about the hard work that awaited us and the difficulties that had to be overcome. I was, however, fortified by the knowledge that I could count upon the unstinted support of all Muslims and also the minorities whose co-operation we could win over by fair—nay, generous—treatment.

"Unfortunately, the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenceless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life are today pauprs with no means of livelihood. A good many of them have already found asylum in Pakistan but many more are still stuck

up in East Punjab awaiting evacuation. That they are still on the other side of the border is not due to the fact that we have been unmindful of their sad plight. The evacuation of these unfortunate persons has been our first concern and everything that is humanly possible is being done to alleviate their suffering. As you are aware, the Prime Minister has shifted his headquarters to Lahore and we have set up an Emergency Committee of the Cabinet to deal with the situation as it develops from day to day.

"The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State, I referred to earlier, manifold. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our new-born State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies?

"This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. Our masses are today disorganized and disheartened by the cataclysm that has befallen them.

"Their morale is exceedingly low and we shall have to do something to put them out of the slough of despondency and galvanize them into activity. All this throws additional responsibility on Government servants to whom our people are looking for guidance.

"I know that during the past few weeks, anxiety about the safety of your kith and kin in East Punjab, Delhi and other disturbed areas of India has been weighing on the minds of most of you. Lots of you and your staff have suffered bereavements in the recent holocaust and have lost valuable property. My heart

goes out in sympathy to those who have suffered bereavements and I pray to Almighty God that He may give them fortitude to bear their losses with courage.

"But are all these sacrifices, that we have been called upon to make, to be in vain? Are we going to sit down and mope over our losses? If we do so, we shall be behaving just as our enemies want us to behave. We shall be playing their game and will soon be suppliants for their mercy. The fitting response to the machinations of our enemies would be a grim determination to get down to the task of building our State on strong and firm foundations, a State which should be fit for our children to live in. This requires work, work and more work. I fully realize that a majority of you have worked under a terrible strain during the war years and might need relaxation. But you should remember that for us the war has not ended. It has only just begun and if we are to fight it to victory, we shall have to put in super-human efforts. This is not the time to think in terms of personal advancement and jockeying for positions. It is the time for constructive efforts, selfless work and steadfast devotion to duty.

"This being the need of the day, I was pained to learn that a good many of our staff are not pulling their weight. They seem to be thinking that now that Pakistan has been achieved they can sit back and do nothing. Some of them have been demoralized by the happenings in East Punjab and Delhi, and in others, the general lawlessness prevailing in some parts of the country, has bred a spirit of indiscipline. These tendencies, if not checked immediately, will prove more deadly than our external enemies and will spell ruin for us. It is the duty of all of you who have gathered here today to see that this cancer is removed as speedily as possible. You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.

"God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.

"Another question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away. I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bonafides and give us their whole-hearted co-operation as citizens of Pakistan when the crises suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, as subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. But for a few sporadic incidents here and there, nothing has happened to mar the peace of Sind, but despite the prevalence of peaceful conditions here the exodus of Hindus continues. Some have given way to panic and others have been leaving Pakistan in the hope that it will be paralysed economically and socially. A lot of migrants are already realizing the folly of their rash act in leaving the country of their birth or domicile but some interested parties persist in encouraging migration which is fraught with grievous consequences for the migrants and also does harm to our State in the process.

"It is true that there was some trouble in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but it was not the outcome of any premeditated plan. Some excitable elements in society were carried away by tales of woe brought by refugees from East Punjab; and sought solace in revenge which was definitely against our policy and contrary to our expressed instructions to our people that there should be no retaliation. Whatever has happened cannot be justified.

"I am, however, glad to say that this trouble was short-lived and the situation was soon brought under control.

"In West Punjab, things were rather different. It was nearer the scene of carnage and so could not escape the contagion. Regrettable incidents have, no doubt, taken place there but the arm of the law is again asserting itself and things are returning to normal.

"When I turn my eyes to the sister Dominion of India, I find that the Muslim minority there has suffered grievous wrongs. Not content with having uprooted Muslims from East Punjab, certain sections in India seem to be determined to drive Muslims from the entire Dominion by making life impossible for them. These helpless victims of organized forces feel that they have been let down by us. It is a thousand pities that things have come to such a pass.

"The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If that is still the policy of the Government of India—and I am sure it is—they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted in, would mean ruin for both the States.

"My advice to my Muslim brethern in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership which should give them the correct lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the Governmental plane; it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements.

"As regards the Government of Pakistan, I again reiterate with all the emphasis at my command that we shall pursue our settled policy in this respect and we shall continue to protect the life and property of minorities in Pakistan and shall give them a fair deal. We do not want them to be forced to leave Pakistan and that so long as they remain faithful and loyal to the State they shall be entitled to the same treatment as any other citizen.

"It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us."

((A.P.I.) *The Civil & Military Gazette, October 12-14, 1947.*)

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Speech at a Rally at the University Stadium, Lahore, October 30, 1947

"We have achieved our cherished goal of freedom and have established Pakistan as an independent, sovereign State, fifth largest in the world. That freedom can never be attained by a nation without suffering and sacrifice, has been amply borne out by the recent tragic happenings in this sub-continent. We are in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and untold sufferings; we have been through dark days of apprehension and anguish; but I can say with confidence that with courage and self-reliance and by the grace of God we shall emerge triumphant!

"Some people might think that the acceptance of the June 3 plan was a mistake on the part of the Muslim League. I would like to tell them that the consequences of any other alternative would have been too disastrous to imagine. On our side we proceeded to implement this plan with a clean

conscience and honest intentions. Time and history will prove that. On the other hand, history will also record its verdict on those whose treachery and machinations let loose forces of disorder and disruption in this sub-continent causing death of lakhs, enormous destruction of property and bringing about suffering and misery to many millions by uprooting them from their hearths and homes and all that was dear to them. The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history. We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.

"Do not for a moment imagine that your enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and see whether you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State.

"Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of the "*Mujahids*". You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory.

"All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without. Your immediate task is the

rehabilitation of millions of our distressed and unfortunate brethern who are either already with us or who have still to join us in Pakistan, bereft of all they possessed or had in this world. The least we now can do for them is to receive them as our own brethern. No decent or sane person should consider that they are unwelcome burden thrust on us. Save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that they are Muslims.

"Alongwith this, keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.

"I would also impress upon every member of this State, particularly our youth, to show the right spirit of devotion, courage and fortitude, to give a lead to the others and to set a nobler and higher example for those who may follow us and the coming generations.

"Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment which is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint, because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundations of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect.

"Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay. Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic countries, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hand of help and friendliness.

"In the end, I once again appeal to the good sense of every subject and citizen of our State not to take law and order into his own hands but so to behave and act as to be a pillar of strength to put an end to the miseries and hardships of our unfortunate brethren seeking shelter with us, and battling against grave danger and menace which is facing us."

(The Civil & Military Gazette, October 31, 1947.)

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Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Karachi, December 14-15, 1947.

A meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held at Karachi in camera. The Quaid-i-Azam presided. Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council for about an hour in English, and his speech was later translated into Urdu by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Mr. Jinnah began by welcoming the members, and reviewed the events that led to the partition of India. Referring to the developments that had taken place since the session of the League Council of June 8, Mr. Jinnah said: "We are meeting today to discuss what is going to be the future structure of the All-India Muslim League. As you know, the Muslim League has achieved and established Pakistan in a way and in a manner which has no parallel. The Muslims were a crowd, they were demoralized, and they had to suffer economically. We have achieved Pakistan, not for the League, not for any of our colleagues, but for the masses. Muslim India would have been finished if Pakistan had not been achieved. We have established

Pakistan where there are at least 60 millions of Muslims, with a mighty territory and complete sovereignty. Credit for this must go to the Minority Provinces. We both agreed (the Congress and the League) regarding the treatment of the minorities. I never thought that the Hindus would resort not only to killing and destroying life and property, but to organized group barbarities. It was intended to give a blow to Pakistan. There was pre-planned."

The Quaid-i-Azam deplored the human madness that had overwhelmed people and brought misery to many homes.

While condemning the disturbances in both the Dominions, the Quaid-i-Azam reminded the Muslims that it was against Islam to indulge in such crimes. He expressed the hope that the minorities in both the Dominions would be assured adequate protection, and as the Governor-General of Pakistan, he would do his duty.

The Quaid-i-Azam recalled the charges that were being levelled against Pakistan and its leaders about the betrayal of the Muslim masses in the Indian Union. He said, he was full of feelings for the Muslim masses in the Indian Union who were, unfortunately, facing bad days. He advised the Indian Muslims to organize themselves so as to become powerful enough to safeguard their political rights. A well-organized minority should be powerful enough to protect its own rights—political, cultural, economic and social. On his part, he assured them of his full realization that the achievement of Pakistan was the outcome of the labour and toil of the Muslims in India as well as of those who were now enjoying its fruits. Pakistan would help them in every possible way.

A member interrupted and asked the Quaid-i-Azam if he would once again, be prepared to take over the leadership of the Muslims of India in the present hour of trial. The Quaid-i-Azam replied that he was quite willing to do so if the Council gave its verdict in favour of such a proposal. He recalled his

statement at the time of the achievement of Pakistan, the cherished goal of the Muslim nation, he wanted to lead a retired life. But if called upon, he was quite ready to leave Pakistan and share the difficulties of the Muslims in the Indian Union and to lead them....

Mr. Jinnah addressed the Council again and said: "Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals. It was not going to be an ecclesiastical State. In Islam there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even UNO, has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim State.

"There must be a Muslim League in Hindustan. If you are thinking of anything else, you are finished. If you want to wind up the League you can do so; but I think it would be a great mistake. I know there is an attempt. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others are trying to break the identity of Muslims in India. Do not allow it. Do not do it."

(The Daily Gazette, December 16, 1947.)

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**Address to Bar Association, Karachi, on the
occasion of the Holy Prophet's birthday,
Karachi, January 25, 1948.**

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, speaking at a reception given to him on the Holy Prophet's birthday by the Bar Association, Karachi, said that he could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of *Shariat*. The Quaid-i-Azam said "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1,300 years ago."

The Governor-General of Pakistan said that he would like to tell those who are misled—"some are misled by

propaganda"—that not only the Muslims but also non-Muslims have nothing to fear.

"Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said: "Let us make it (the future constitution of Pakistan). We shall make it and we will show it to the world.

March in One Formation

Of provincialism, the Governor-General of Pakistan said that it was a disease and a curse. He added: "I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the State so that we may make it the most glorious and sovereign State in the world.

Tributes to the Prophet

The Quaid-i-Azam, speaking on this great and historic occasion, said: "I thank you for welcoming me. I have known this Bar Association for a considerable time. Today we have met here in a small body to pay tributes to the great man for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.

Great Law-Giver

"The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great Sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

"Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates

his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all. One God and the equality of manhood is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to; from as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. "Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy."

((A.P.I.) *The Civil & Military Gazette, January 27, 1948.*)

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Broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, March 28, 1948.

"During the past nine days that I have spent in your Province, I have been studying your local conditions and some of the problems that confront East Bengal. Tonight, on the eve of my departure, I want to place before you some of my impressions. Before I do this, however, let me first cordially thank you for the great warmth and affection with which you have received me everywhere in your midst during my stay here.

"From the administrative point of view, East Bengal perhaps more than any other province of Pakistan, has had to face the most difficult problems as a result of Partition. Before August 15, it existed merely as an hinterland to Calcutta, to whose prosperity it greatly contributed but which it did not share. On August 15, Dacca was merely a mofussil town, having none of the complex facilities and amenities which are essential for the capital of a modern Government. Further, owing to Partition, the Province's transport system had been thrown completely out of gear and the administrative machinery

seriously disorganized at a time when the country was threatened with a serious food shortage. The new Province of East Bengal thus came into being in the most unfavourable circumstances which might easily have proved fatal to a less determined and less tenacious people. That the administration not only survived but even emerged stronger from such setbacks as the Chittagong cyclone, is a striking tribute both to the sterling character of the people as well as to the unremitting zeal of the Government of the Province. The position now is that the initial difficulties have to great extent been overcome and, though there is no ground for complacency, there are at least reasons for quiet confidence in the future. Though now undeveloped, East Bengal possesses vast potentialities of raw materials and hydro-electric power. In Chittagong you have the makings of a first-class port which in time should rank among the finest ports in the world. Given peaceful conditions and the fullest co-operation from all sections of the people, we shall make this Province the most prosperous in Pakistan.

"It is a matter for congratulation that despite the massacre and persecution of Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately following Partition, peaceful conditions have throughout prevailed in this Province, and I have seen the minority community going about its normal day-to-day avocation in perfect security. Some migration of Hindus to the Indian Dominion there unfortunately has been, though the estimates mentioned in the Indian Press are ridiculous; I am satisfied, at any rate, that whatever movement there has been, has not in any way been due to their treatment here, which under the circumstances has been exemplary, but rather to psychological reasons and external pressure. Indian leaders and a section of the Indian Press have indulged freely in war-mongering talks against Pakistan. There has been persistently insidious propaganda by parties like the Hindu Mahasabha in favour of an exchange of population; and disturbances in the Indian Dominion, in which Muslims have been persecuted, have

not unnaturally given rise to fears in the mind of the minority community lest unpleasant repercussions should occur in East Bengal, even though such apprehensions have no foundation for they have been belied by actual facts. Over and above all these factors, the recent declaration by the Indian Dominion on Pakistan as a foreign country for customs and other purposes has involved the Hindu Business community in serious economic difficulties and brought pressure to bear on many Hindu businessmen to remove their business to the Indian Dominion. I find that the provincial Government have repeatedly given assurances and have at all times taken whatever steps were possible for the protection and well-being of the minority community and have done their best to dissuade them from leaving their ancestral homes in East Bengal for an unknown fate in the Indian Union.

"I would like now to offer a word of advice to the people of this Province. I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of a certain section of the people to regard their newly-won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it imposes, but as licence. It is true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Not only that, but no Government worthy of the name can for a moment tolerate such gangsterism and mob rule from reckless and irresponsible people, but must deal with it firmly by all the means at its disposal. I am thinking particularly of the language controversy which has caused quite unnecessary excitement and trouble in certain quarters in this Province and if not checked it might lead

to serious consequences. What should be the official language of this Province is for your representatives to decide.

"But this language controversy is really only one aspect of a bigger problem—that of provincialism. I am sure you must realize that in a newly formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival. Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc, first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting. I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, are suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the 'just claims' of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidious propaganda aimed at setting brother Muslim against brother Muslim? That is why I want you to be on your guard against this poison of provincialism that our enemies wish to inject into our State. There are great tasks to be accomplished and great dangers to be overcome: overcome them we certainly shall but we shall do so much quicker if our solidarity remains unimpaired and if our determination to march forward as a single united nation remains unshaken. This is the only way in which we can raise Pakistan rapidly and surely to its proper, worthy place in the comity of nations.

"Here I would like to address a word to the women of Eastern Pakistan. In the great task of building the nation and

maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play, as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitutes its backbone, not merely in their own homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.

"Finally, I would address a special word to Government servants, both Central and Provincial—that great body of pioneers, many of whom have been working under very difficult conditions in this Province. Yours is a great responsibility. You must ensure that this Province is given, not merely the ordinary routine services that you are bound to perform, but rather the very last ounce of selfless endeavour that you are capable of producing for your State. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity. You must continue to face the future, handle your jobs with the same courage, confidence and determination as you have so far displayed. Above all, do not allow yourselves to be made the pawns of mischievous propagandists and self-seeking agitators who are out to exploit both you and the difficulties with which a new State is inevitably faced. The Government of Pakistan and the Provincial Government have been anxiously devising ways and means whereby your housing and other difficulties, inescapable in a period of such rapid transition, may be relieved and I trust that these difficulties will soon disappear. You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion. Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and build up a glorious and mighty State. *Pakistan Zindabad*"

(*The Pakistan Times, March 29, 1948.*)

**Speech in reply to the address presented
by the Students of Islamia College,
Peshawar, April 12, 1948.**

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"I am indeed very happy to be present here today and to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students of this great *Dar-ul-Ulum*, who are the future builders of Pakistan.

"On this occasion the thought that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the achievement of Pakistan received from the student community, particularly of this Province. I cannot help feeling that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was given through the referendum held last year, was helped considerably by the contribution made by the students. I take particular pride in the fact that the people of this Province have never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Paksitan.

"Now that we have achieved our national goal, you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be; namely one of the greatest States in the world. The first thing you should do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now, in contrast with those which were facing us when we were struggling for our independence. During our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government and which we wanted to replace by a Government of our own. In doing so we had to sacrifice many things including the academic careers of our younger generation. May I say that you played your part magnificently. Now that you have achieved your goal that is, a

Government of your own, and a country which belongs to you and in which you can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change. The duties required of you now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive. Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. Remember that your Government is like your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Government can flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.

"I am not making any particular reference to you but now that I have had the opportunity of talking to you I must warn you not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words. Do not take them to heart or repeat them parrot-like. Take advantage of your period of training that this institution offers you, by equipping yourself to become leaders of the future generation. There is a common fault with the students against which I must warn you. The students believe that no one can tell them anything which they do not already know. That mentality is harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief. But if you want to learn by your own experience, and not by the experience of your elders, let me tell you that as you become older, you will be more ready to learn from your costly experience and the knocks that you shall have received during your life-time, which will harm you more than anybody else.

"I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. You must learn to distinguish between your love for your Province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.

"You have referred to the question of a Khyber university. Let me tell you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to have a great centre of culture and learning in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can spread throughout the Middle East and Central Asia. I, therefore, fully sympathize with your aspirations in this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it, perhaps you will get your university sooner than you can imagine.

"Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

"Remember, you must have patience. Rome was not built in a day. Time factor, therefore, is essential. You must trust in your Government and I assure you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require

special attention. Give them full chance and opportunity. The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God, Who determines the destinies of peoples and nations.

"I thank you once more for the honour that you have done me today. I wish you every happiness and success.
Pakistan Zindabad"

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"There is one thing which I am sorry to say I missed to refer in my written speech. My young friends you must now fully realize the vital change, the fundamental change that has taken place. You are not now merely to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely, you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance industry and technical education.

"You must be reading newspapers and knowing how Pakistan is moving fast in creating various institutions of the kind I have mentioned. Many of you do not know how fast it is going, but it is going very fast and as we go on, these institutions will multiply. Those are the avenues, those are the channels where you can do well to yourselves and also serve the nation better than as clerks. I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of our young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

"You do not know what is waiting for you. I give one instance to illustrate. I know one young man who took a Government job as usual after he had completed his university career. He was a B. Com. and had some training in the commercial system. He was very happy to get a job in a Government department on Rs. 150 p.m. He was quite happy

because an average B.A. does not get more than a tongawala or a taxiwala. He was very happy. He would not have received more than few hundreds even after 25 years service. But suddenly somebody picked him up and got him in his bank and straightaway he was given Rs. 500 p.m. Now today, that is, four years after, let me tell you, that he is drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m.—Rs.1,500 he would have never received till the time he died. Now, therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels.

"One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me. This you may call the Government's management or the State visit of mine. I want this impression to be removed. I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like, provided they maintain discipline, whereas the public gets so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me. But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous. Therefore, I wish that everyone will impress upon the people especially my young friends to line up if they want to see me. You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and you should see me.

"Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me today." (A.P.I.)

(The Pakistan Times, April 13, 1948.)

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Address to the Officers of the Staff College, Quetta, June 14, 1948.

"I thank you, gentlemen, for the honour you have done me and Miss Fatima Jinnah by inviting us to meet you all. You, alongwith other Forces of Pakistan, are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. The Defence

Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan Services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.

"I have no doubt in my mind, from what I have seen and from what I have gathered, that the spirit of the Army is splendid, the morale is very high, and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter what the race or community to which he belongs, is working as a true Pakistani.

"If you all continue in that spirit and work as comrades, as true Pakistanis, selflessly, Pakistan has nothing to fear.

"One thing more. I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the Oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is the true spirit and the heart.

"But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:

"I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan (mark the words Constitution and the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan) and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me..."

"As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like you to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion.

"I want you to remember and if you have time enough you should study the Government of India Act, as adapted for use in Pakistan, who is the Governor-General and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the Executive Head. This is the legal position.

"Finally, gentlemen, let me thank you for the honour that you have done me by inviting me. I will be glad to meet the officers informally, as suggested by the General Officer Commanding in his speech, and such a meeting can be arranged at a time convenient to us both. I have every desire to keep in close contact when I have little more time from the various problems that are facing us in Pakistan, which is for the moment in a state of national emergency, and when things settle down—and I hope it will be very soon—then I shall find more time to establish greater and greater contact with the Defence Forces."

(*A.P.I.*) *'The Civil & Military Gazette June 15, 1948.*)

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**Speech on the occasion of the opening
ceremony of State Bank of Pakistan,
Karachi, July 1, 1948.**

"Mr. Governor; Directors of the State Bank, Ladies and Gentlemen!

"The opening of the State Bank of Pakistan symbolizes the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere and I am very glad to be here today to perform the opening ceremony. It was not considered feasible to start a bank of our own simultaneously with the coming into being of Pakistan in August last year. A good deal of preparatory work must precede the inauguration of an institution responsible for such technical and delicate work as note issue and banking. To allow for this

preparation, it was provided, under the Pakistan Monetary System and Reserve Bank Order, 1947, that the Reserve Bank of India should continue to be the currency and banking authority in Pakistan till the 30th September, 1948. Later on it was felt that it would be in the best interests of our State if the Reserve Bank of India were relieved of its functions in Pakistan as early as possible. The date of transfer of these functions to a Pakistan agency was consequently advanced by three months in agreement with the Government of India and the Reserve Bank. It was at the same time decided to establish a Central Bank of Pakistan in preference to any other agency for managing our currency and banking. This decision left very little time for the small band of trained personnel in this field in Pakistan to complete the preliminaries and they have by their untiring effort and hard work completed their task by the due date which is very creditable to them, and I wish to record a note of our appreciation of their labours.

"As you have observed, Mr. Governor, in undivided India banking was kept a close preserve of non-Muslims and their migration from Western Pakistan has caused a good deal of dislocation in the economic life of your young State. In order that the wheels of commerce and industry should run smoothly, it is imperative that the vacuum caused by the exodus of non-Muslims should be filled without delay. I am glad to note that schemes for training Pakistan nationals in banking are in hand. I will watch their progress with interest and I am confident that the State Bank will receive the co-operation of all concerned including the banks and universities in pushing them forward. Banking will provide a new and wide field in which the genius of your young men can find full play. I am sure that they will come forward in large numbers to take advantage of the training facilities which are proposed to be provided. While doing so, they will not only be benefiting themselves but also contributing to the well-being of our State.

"I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country. The monetary policy of the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world and it is only to be desired that your policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade. The monetary policy pursued during the war years contributed, in no small measure, to our present day economic problems. The abnormal rise in the cost of living has hit the poorer sections of society including those with fixed incomes very hard indeed and is responsible to a great extent for the prevailing unrest in the country. The policy of the Pakistan Government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer, as well as to the consumer. I hope your efforts will be directed in the same direction in order to tackle this crucial problem with success.

"I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

"May the State Bank of Pakistan prosper and fulfil the high ideals which have been set as its goal!

"In the end I thank you, Mr. Governor, for the warm welcome given to me by you and your colleagues and the distinguished guests who have graced this occasion as a mark of their good wishes and the honour you have done me in inviting me to perform this historic opening ceremony of the State Bank which I feel will develop into one of our greatest national institutions and play its part fully throughout the world."

((A.P.I.)' The Civil & Military Gazette, July 2, 1948.)

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Sibi (Baluchistan) Feb. 14, 1948, Addressing the Shahi Darbar.

INTERVIEWS

Interview given to Mr. Beverley Nicholas, Bombay, December 18, 1943.

Beverley Nicholas. The most common accusation of your critics is that you have not defined Pakistan with sufficient precision - that there are many details of defence, economics, minorities, etc., which you have left deliberately vague. Do you think that is a just criticism?

Jinnah. It is neither just nor intelligent, particularly if it is made by an Englishman with any knowledge of his own history. When Ireland was separated from Britain, the document embodying the terms of separation was approximately *ten lines*. Ten lines of print to settle a dispute of incredible complexity which has poisoned British politics for centuries! All the details were left to the Future - and the Future is often an admirable arbitrator. Well, I've already given the world a good deal more than ten lines to indicate the principles and practice of Pakistan, but it is beyond the power of any man to provide, in advance, a blue-print in which every detail is settled. Besides, Indian history proves that such a blue-print is totally unnecessary. Where was the blue-print when the question of Burmah's separation was decided at the Round Table Conference? Where was the blue-print when Sind was separated from Bombay? The answer, of course, is 'nowhere.' It didn't exist. It didn't need to exist. The vital point was that the principle of separation was accepted; the rest followed automatically.

Beverley Nicholas. How would you describe the 'vital principles' of Pakistan?

Jinnah. In five words. The Muslims are a nation. If you grant that, and if you are an honest man, you must grant the principle of Pakistan. You would have to grant it even if the obstacles were a hundred times more formidable than they actually are. Of course, if you do *not* grant it, then... He

shrugged his shoulders and smiled... Then, there is an end of the matter.

Nicholas. When you say the Muslims are a Nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?

Jinnah. Partly, but no means exclusively. *You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical Code of Conduct.* I am thinking in terms of life, of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence...

Nicholas. Please, I would like to write these things down.

Jinnah. *(after a pause)* In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different beings. There is nothing in life which links us together. Our names, our clothes, our foods—they are all different; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women, our attitude to animals...we challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat the cow, the Hindus worship it. A lot of Englishmen imagine that this 'worship' is merely a picturesque convention, an historical survival. It is nothing of the sort. Only a few days ago, in this very city, the cow question became a matter for the police. The Hindus were thrown into the greatest agitation because cows were being killed in public. But the cow question is only one of a thousand. *(A pause)* What have you written down?

Nicholas. I have only written "The Muslims are a Nation."

Jinnah. And do you believe it?

Nicholas. I do.

Jinnah. (*with a smile*) What other questions have you got there?

Nicholas. The first is economic. Are the Muslims likely to be richer or poorer under Pakistan? And would you set up tariffs against the rest of India?

Jinnah. I'll ask you a question for a change. Supposing you were asked which you would prefer...a rich England under Germany or a poor England free, what would your answer be?

Nichols. It's hardly necessary to say.

Jinnah. Quite. Well, doesn't that make your question look a little shoddy? This great ideal rises far above mere questions of personal comfort or temporary convenience. The Muslims are a tough people, lean and hardy. If Pakistan means that they will have to be a little tougher, they will not complain. But why *should* it mean that? What conceivable reason is there to suppose that the gift of nationality is going to be an economic liability? A sovereign nation of a hundred million people -- even if they are not immediately self-supporting and even if they are industrially backward -- is hardly likely to be in a worse economic position than if its members are scattered and disorganized, under the dominance of two hundred and fifty million Hindus whose one idea is to exploit them. How any European can get up and say that Pakistan is 'economically impossible' after the Treaty of Versailles is really beyond my comprehension. The great brains who cut Europe into a ridiculous patchwork of conflicting and artificial boundaries are hardly the people to talk economics to us, particularly as our problem happens to be far simpler.

Nichols. And does that also apply to defence?

Jinnah. Of course, it applies to defence. Once again I will ask *you* a question. How is Afghanistan defended? Well? The answer is not very complicated. By the Afghans. Just that. We are a brave and united people who are prepared to work and,

if necessary, fight. So how does the question of defence present any peculiar difficulties? In what way do we differ from other nations? From Iran, for example? Obviously, there will have to be a transition period. We are not asking the British to quit India overnight. The British have helped to make this gigantic muddle, and they must stay and help to clear it up. But before they can do that, they will have to do a lot of hard thinking. And that reminds me — I have something, I would like to show you.

[He excused himself and left the room. I lit a cigarette and waited. And suddenly I realized that something very remarkable was happening, or rather was not happening. I was not losing my temper. Jinnah had been almost brutally critical of British policy (though I have not quoted his remarks in the above dialogue), but his criticism had been clear and creative. It was not merely a medley of wild words, a hotchpotch of hatred and hallucination, in the Hindu manner. It was more like a diagnosis. The difference between Jinnah and the typical Hindu politician was the difference between a surgeon and a witch doctor. Moreover, he was a surgeon you could trust, even though his verdict was harsh.]

'The British must realize,' he had said to me before we tackled the problem of Pakistan, 'that they have not a friend in the country. Not a friend.'

A Hindu politician would have said that at the top of his voice; with delight. Jinnah said it quietly, with regret... Here he was again, In his hand he carried a book.]

Jinnah. You will remember I said, a moment ago, that the British would have to do a lot of hard thinking, It's a habit they don't find very congenial; they prefer to be comfortable, to wait and see, trusting that everything will come right in the end. However, when they do take the trouble to think, they think as clearly and creatively as any people in the world. And one of their best thinkers — at least on the Indian problem — was old John Bright. Have you ever read any of his speeches?

Nichols. Not since I left school.

Jinnah. Well, take a look at this. I found it by chance the other day.

He handed me the book. It was faded old volume, *The Speeches of John Bright*, and the date of the page at which it was opened was June 4th, 1858. This is what the greatest orator in the House of Commons said on that occasion:

'How long does England propose to govern India? Nobody can answer that question. But be it 50 or 100 or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its 20 different nationalities and its 20 different languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire confine? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible.'

I handed back the book.

Jinnah. What Bright said then is true to-day. In fact, it's far more true, — though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the 20 nationalities as on the 2. the Muslim and the Hindu. And why is it more true? Why hasn't time brought us together? Because the Muslims are *awake*. because they've learnt, through bitter experience, the sort of treatment they may expect from the Hindus in a 'United India.' A 'United India' means a Hindu-dominated India. It means that and nothing else. Any other meaning you attempt to impose on it is mythical. 'India' is a British creation...it is merely a single administrative unit governed by a bureaucracy under the sanction of the sword. That is all. It is a paper creation, it has no basis in flesh and blood.

Nichols. The ironical thing is that your critics say that Pakistan itself is a British creation -- that it is an example of our genius for applying the principle of 'divide and rule.'

Jinnah. (*with some heat*) The man who makes such a suggestion must have a very poor opinion of British intelligence, apart from his opinion of my own integrity. The one thing which *keeps* the British in India is the false idea of United India, as preached by Gandhi. A United India, I repeat, is a British creation -- a myth, and a very dangerous myth, which will cause endless strife. As long as that strife exists, the British have an excuse for remaining. For once in a way, 'divide and rule' does not apply.

Nichols. What you want is 'divide and quit'?

Jinnah. You have put it very neatly.

Nichols. You realize that all this will come as something of a shock to the British electorate?

Jinnah. Truth is often shocking. But why this truth in particular?

Nichols. Because the average, decent, liberal-minded voter, who wishes Britain to fulfil her pledges, and grant independence to India, has heard nothing but the Congress point of view. The Muslims have hardly a single spokesman in the West.

Jinnah. (*bitterly*) I am well aware of that. *The Hindus have organized a powerful Press and Congress -- Mahasabha are backed up by Hindu capitalists and industrialists with finance which we have not got.*

Nichols. As a result they believe that Congress is 'India,' and since Congress never tires of repeating that India is one and indivisible, they imagine that any attempt to divide it is illiberal, reactionary, and generally sinister. They seriously do believe this. I know that it is muddle-headed, but then a democracy such as ours, which has to make up its mind on an incredible number of complicated issues usually is muddle-headed. What they have to learn is that the only liberal course,

the only generous course, the only course compatible with a sincere intention to quit India and hand over the reins of government....

Jinnah. And the only *safe* course, you might add, is..

{Nichols Jinnah}

Pakistan!

(QAP-File-785/pp-99-104)

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**Interview to Mr. Stewart Emeny,
Representative of 'News Chronicle' of
London, New Delhi, February 29, 1944.**

The following is the report sent by Mr. Stewart Emeny, the representative of News Chronicle, London, to his paper, regarding the interview he had with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, a few days ago:

Mr. Jinnah, in an exclusive interview with me today completes the trilogy of authoritative opinion by spokesmen of the chief parties on the political and constitutional stalemate in India. Congress view came the other day from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the only member of the Congress Working Committee at Liberty, who says the Congress still stands by the tenets which led to the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and others, and that the first movement towards settlement must be for the Government to allow Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders to meet and afterwards to let them talk with Mr. Jinnah.

The Government attitude was expressed in the Legislative Assembly here by Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, who refuses to release Mr. Gandhi and his fellows, because there is no evidence for a change of heart; because Congress is not prepared to consider any solution except on its own terms, and because the members of the Congress High

Command will not give the guarantee to withdraw their opposition to war effort or cease their attempts to coerce the Government and negative Pakistan.

The Muslim League view now comes from Mr. Jinnah in the following questions and answers in an interview:

Q. Will you, Mr. Jinnah, sum up the present position as you see it?

Mr. Jinnah: "Well, the Government seems to be content with the present position, and so far as any action is concerned it appears to be completely paralysed. The Congress is outlawed and shows no change of heart.

Q. Why should the Government not open negotiations with Coiners or allow somebody like Mr. Raj Gopal Acharia, who agreed in principle to your demand for Pakistan, separate Muslim and Hindu States, to go and try, and to persuade Mr. Gandhi to change their attitude?

Mr. Jinnah: That means that, unless Mr. Gandhi is persuaded, the Government won't meet our just demand for Pakistan. We cannot accept this position. So far as the Government is concerned, I don't know what their policy is in this matter, but if Government were to follow your suggestion it would be an admission that Congress has won, and that Government cannot get on without Congress.

Q. Well, what should be done?

Mr. Jinnah: If the British Government is sincere in its desire for peace in India it should now frame a new constitution dividing India into two sovereign nations -- Pakistan for Muslims representing one-quarter of country, and Hindustan for Hindus, who would have three-quarters of all India.

Q. But, surely, it is not a desirable thing to weaken India and lay her open to future aggression by dividing her into two countries?

Mr. Jinnah: I don't agree that India would be any the safer under a forced unity. In fact, she might be more vulnerable, because Hindus and Muslims will never be reconciled with each other. Any agreement between Muslims and Hindus to work together as a single unit even in a federation is an impossibility. Newfoundland has been promised complete independence. If the little Newfoundland can stand on its own feet in the same continent as Canada, then Pakistan with its population of 70 to 80 millions equal to twice the population of Great Britain is certainly stronger enough to march alone. Russia does not think it a source of weakness to divide herself into 16 autonomous States. Britain has for years tried to establish India as a united nation and all its efforts have failed. Now Britain must reconcile herself to the idea of an India consisting of two nations.

Q. But you know that congress and the Hindus would never accept that. If Government tries to implement such a plan Congress and Hindus would launch civil disobedience campaign, and there would be violence and possibly a civil war?

Mr. Jinnah: On the contrary, nothing like that would happen. If British Government announced its intention of setting up Pakistan and Hindustan, Congress and Hindus would accept it within three months. In other words Government would have called the Congress bluff. In fact, the Pakistan principle is working smoothly already in the five predominantly Muslim provinces where Hindus are holding cabinet office in the Muslim League Governments. Pakistan would be in the interests of every body. Certainly Hindus would have no grievance under it, because they would get three-fourths of India -- a territory larger and population greater than any sovereign state with the exception of Soviet Russia and China.

Q. But surely there would be civil war. You would be creating an Indian Ulster which Hindus might one day attack in the name of united India.

Mr. Jinnah: I don't agree, but there would be under the new constitution transitional period for settlement and adjustment during which time British authority so far as armed forces and foreign affairs are concerned, would remain paramount. The length of the transitional period would depend on the speed with which the two peoples and Great Britain adjusted themselves to the new constitution. Finally, the two Indian nations would enter into treaties with Britain, just as Egypt did when she won her independence.

Q. What if Britain then refused to leave India on the ground that relations between Hindustan and Pakistan were not good enough to live as neighbours?

Mr. Jinnah: That might happen, but it is not likely. Even so we should enjoy a degree of autonomy which we do not possess today. As a separate nation and dominion, we should at least be in a better position to deal with and possibly to reach an agreement with the British Government which we are not able to do during the present deadlock.

Q. Do you believe that Britain is sincere when she says: she wants to give India freedom at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Jinnah: I will believe Britain's sincerity when she divides India and gives both Muslims and Hindus freedom. As John Bright, said in 1858: "But how long does England propose to govern India? Does any man with the smallest glimmering of commonsense 'believe' that so great a country with its 20 different nations and its 20 languages can ever be 'bound' up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire?"

Q. Are you likely to see the Viceroy while you are in Delhi?

Mr. Jinnah: If the Viceroy asks me to see him I shall be very pleased, but I do not know what more I can say other than what I have already said.

**Interview to J. S. Cama
of the "News Chronicle" (London),
Bombay, January 24, 1945.**

"There is a large body of people in England who have not yet understood the real problem of India, and Congress propaganda, which is so systematic and heavily financed, is responsible for misleading not only England but also America."

"The first and the foremost question, which very few people yet appreciate, is that Hindu society is so caste-ridden, that democracy is completely foreign and opposed to its very basic and fundamental principles and structure, in everything that matters, namely, the life, conduct and the condition of the people. Hindus, Mr. Gandhi and Congress leaders firmly believe in the graded caste system, which consists not only of the four main castes but numbers of sub-castes among four main castes. 60,000,000 people are considered Sudras or untouchables. The remaining body of Hindus belonging to the other three castes are exclusive of one another and the Brahmin-Bania combination constitutes the worst possible Hindu imperialism; they want to substitute Hindu Imperialism and Hindu Raj for the British Raj.

"Very few foreigners can understand that 100,000,000 Muslims can never agree to the demands of the Hindu Congress, which will mean that they will be transferred from British Imperialism to Hindu Raj and Hindu Imperialism of the Brahmin-Bania combination, which will have a perennial Hindu castes majority if all India is united and a so-called parliamentary, democratic constitution is introduced in this country.

"If such an attempt succeeded, then 100,000,000 Muslims will revolt, at their being sacrificed and let down by the British Government who will be committing the grossest breach

of faith with the Muslims, because of the solemn declarations and pledges which they have given them. Muslims will not be coerced in any way, nor could any constitution be forced upon them by the British Government.

"The Cripps offer, while contemplating two or more dominions, accepted the principle which would give the right to Muslim dominant or Muslim majority provinces, which are Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal and Assam to agree to any Union Constitution which the Hindu Majority may frame. But the procedure suggested in the Cripps proposals was the most dangerous one for us, because (1) we were to be forced into a constitution-making body of All-India, which was to be set up to frame the Union Constitution.

"The Union Constitution-making body was to consist of ten per cent of the present Provincial Legislatures, where according to the Communal Award, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab, which are the main units of Pakistan, the Muslims are in a minority in each House of Legislature, although according to population they are in a majority. In such a constitution-making body we would be completely swamped, as the Muslim representation would be about 20 per cent and if the Indian Princes sent in their representatives (most of which are Hindu States), then our proportion of even 20 per cent would be considerably reduced."

(2) The next hurdle was that after the union constitution was framed by this body then the provinces as they are constituted at present in their respective Legislatures, are given what was considered an opportunity to accede to the Union or not, and if 60 per cent of the whole Legislature of a province favoured Union, then the matter terminated. As I have already said, in Bengal and Punjab the Muslims are already in a minority in the whole House, and we are not prepared to submit to the slender and possible chance of our succeeding in the House composed of 250 members in Bengal and 175 in the

Punjab, that they should decide the future and the destiny of 100 million Muslims starting in both the Houses with a numerical minority position.

(3) But if perchance 41 per cent were opposed to accession then the matter did not end there, but we were given another hurdle to go through, and that is a mixed and promiscuous plebiscite of all the inhabitants of the Provinces. The demand is not a territorial demand but a Muslim national demand, and the mixed plebiscite was not only unjustified but owing to the powerful organized position of the Hindus and the financial and the Press backing at their command it was a dangerous position for us to accept, and that is why mainly the Cripps offer was rejected by us. We were told that this proposal could not be discussed or modified, and we were presented with this attitude of the powerful British Government, namely "take it or leave it".

"The question whether the Muslims should remain separate from the Hindu majority provinces or not, must be left to their determination as the demand comes from them, and they are, by every definition and by every notion which one can think of, a distinct and separate nation living in the sub-continent. The question is a very simple one when you boil it down. The Muslims certainly cannot wish to live under the domination of the British for ever and the British have made repeated declarations that they are willing to transfer authority and power of government to the peoples of India. On the assumption that the British domination is to cease in this country we are to have our complete freedom and independence.

"If that be so, then the Muslims cannot agree to the change of masters from the British to the Hindu-Brahmin Imperialist Raj, because it is sure as death that the position will be three votes against one which will mean that one society, distinct and different in every manner and life, with a perennial majority will rule over the other society, whose history, culture and everything that matters in life is totally different from that

of the Hindus. Such a Government if set up can only be by force and coercion and will not last even for a few months, and will lead to disastrous results, because it will constitute a cockpit of feuds and conflict regarding the culture, language and notions of civilisations of the two nations, and will affect their vital and fundamental interests.

"There is only one solution to this and no other, and that is, that the Hindus must trust their minorities to the Pakistan Government and we must trust the Hindus with our Muslim minorities, with all such safeguards as possible for any civilised Government to provide for. In that case, there will be stable governments in Pakistan and Hindustan.

"I was amused at the recent pronouncement of the Viceroy at Calcutta at the gathering of the European Chamber of Commerce. This soldier-Viceroy showed signs of shirking his responsibility when he advised us to avoid what he called a major operation of a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. I wonder with whose advise or authority he has been creating this confusion. It struck me that he was merely trying to dope the Hindus and thereby was unnecessarily creating hostile feelings and alienating the Muslims.

"Besides, unwise pronouncements like these are contrary to the declared policy of the British Government which has accepted the principle of division and constitution of two or more dominions in response to the unequivocal demand backed up by 99 per cent of Muslim India."

In the end, I must say that if the British Government in any way departs from their solemn declarations and pledges, which they have given from time to time after the outbreak of this war, to the Muslims, and if they make any attempt to sacrifice them or their interests, and let them down in any way whatsoever, in order to appease the Hindu Congress or Hindu leadership, it will be not only the grossest breach of faith, but an act of cowardice on their part. Such a dishonourable move on

their part will not succeed, but I am confident that they will force a hundred million Muslims to revolt, as even a worm turns, and for the consequences that may follow the British Government will be responsible.

(QAP-File-810/pp. 186-189)

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**Comments made on Beverly Nicholas' Book
"Verdict on India" during his interview with
J.S. Cama of the "News Chronical" (London),
Bombay, January 24, 1945.**

"I have read the book written by Mr. Beverly Nicholas, namely *"The Verdict on India"*. When he first came to see me, he was all for the Hindu Congress, because he was utterly ignorant of the Muslim point of view, owing to the powerful and false propaganda which the Congress was conducting in England and America. But when he had travelled all over the different parts of India and had met various peoples, and had got the knowledge and information of the real problem, and when he came to see me a second time, he was considerably shaken in his original views. But when he came to me for the third time, he was honestly convinced that the only solution was in division of India, on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan. On most of the subjects, Mr. Beverly Nicholas has spoken out boldly and fearlessly, and what he has stated is substantially true, but truth is always bitter, but in fact his is really an impartial verdict. But the party that is exposed in all its nakedness, naturally must be furious, and all sort of attempts have been made to discredit what is substantially a true verdict given by a bold and fearless journalist. Perhaps it has added to the greater annoyance and irritation of the Hindus because he has not hesitated to call a spade a spade. But we have reached a stage, when it will be a folly and a disaster, if the realities and true conditions of India,

and the real problem of India is not put before all those who are concerned in the plainest possible language; and I think that Mr. Nicholas has made a great contribution in stating the truth, and exposing the falsehood and hypocrisy as well as the false propaganda which has been carried on by the powerful and financial backing which the Hindu Congress commands from a large body of Hindu capitalists and industrialists, who have their axe to grind, as it is acknowledged by Mr. Gandhi, that his most willing donors and supporters are the Hindu capitalists."

(QAP-F-810/p.185.)

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**Interview to Duncan Hooper,
Reuter's Special Correspondent,
Bombay, December 7, 1945.**

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, told me today: "I shall certainly refuse to take part in any constitution-making body before the Pakistan issue is settled. And I remain convinced that Pakistan is the only hope for a fair and lasting settlement of the Indian problem. The deadlock in this country is not so much between India and the British. It is between Hindu Congress and the Muslim League.

"I think more and more Congress members are beginning to realise that this is the crux of the matter and that furthermore, nothing can or will be solved until Pakistan is granted."

"The British government, "Mr. Jinnah added" are putting the cart before the horse in proposing an all India constitution making body before a settlement of the Pakistan issue. First we must get agreement on Pakistan. Then, and only then, can we proceed to the next step. But there will have to be not one, but two, constitution-making bodies—one to frame and

decide the constitution of Hindustan and the other to frame and decide the constitution of Pakistan.

"I don't consider that I am being unreasonable about this and I do not see any ground for a compromise from me. It is Congress that must moderate its attitude," Mr. Jinnah said.

Asked - "What if the British government decides to force through a settlement? - Well, impossible things can happen but it will mean no lasting or even momentarily endurable solution, not to say that the consequence of such a step will be most disastrous.

"Patchwork methods will not work at this stage in India's destiny. What is needed is real statesmanship and a real effort to face facts. We could settle the Indian problem in ten minutes if Mr. Gandhi would say: 'I agree that there should be Pakistan—I agree that one fourth of India comprised of six provinces, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam with their present boundries should constitute Pakistan state.

After that it would be a simple matter to sit down as friends and work out the details of a friendly and neighbourly life between the two great nations of this sub-continent.

"Canada and the United States live together. Why can't Hindus and Muslims? Granted there may have to be many adjustments. It is possible that there will have to be exchange of populations, if it can be done on a purely voluntary basis. There will also doubtless have to be frontier adjustments where primarily Hindu and Moslem lands are contiguous to the Hindustan or Pakistan States, as the case may be. All that can come - but first it is necessary to take the present provincial borders as the boundaries of the future Pakistan.

"Our Pakistan government will probably be a federal government, modelled on the lines of autonomous provinces with the key power in matters of defence and foreign affairs etc.

at the centre. But that will be for the constitution-making body, our constitution making body, to decide.

"I personally do not doubt the sincerity of the British government. But I do doubt the sincerity of those who profess to see any hope of a settlement outside the granting of full Pakistan to the Muslims of India."

QAP-F-810/p.112-14

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**Interview to Earnest Durham of
the United Press of America,
Calcutta, February 21, 1946.**

An exclusive interview of Mr. Jinnah with Earnest Durham, a United Press of America staff correspondent, in which the Muslims of India would 'revolt' if the British called a single constituent assembly, has been well recieved and prominently displayed by the Amercian press, especially the New York papers.

The correspondent asked Mr. Jinnah as to what he meant by 'revolt.'

"By 'revolt' I mean revolt," he replied.

1940 Declaration

Elaborating his point further Mr. Jinnah said, "It will be a revolt because, firstly, it will be the grossest and the most flagrant breach on the part of the British, who have pledged themselves in their August 1940 declaration not to impose upon us; any constitution or any machinery for the purpose of framing a constitution. Secondly, if a single constituent assembly is imposed upon us, it follows that we shall be thrown to the wolves, for we shall be in a hopeless minority in that assembly, and such a step will threaten the very existence of Muslims and will mean a question of life and death for us. We will not agree

to a single constituent assembly for the whole of India. We want the British Government to make an unequivocal declaration of policy accepting the Pakistan demand of Muslim India.

Pakistan Provinces

Mr. Jinnah explained that Pakistan would comprise of six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Bengal and Assam—north-western and north-eastern zones—which constitute roughly one-fourth of India. Hindustan would be made up of the remainder. The geographical areas of Pakistan, the League leader said, would then require its own constituent assembly, just as Hindustan would require its own. These two assemblies, which would be de facto sovereign bodies, would negotiate such treaties as might be necessary with the British and between themselves, as between two contiguous sovereign States.

"Pakistan is the demand of Muslim India and not of a particular Province," Mr. Jinnah said when referred to Provincial elections. "I am confident that out of 560 seats (Muslim) in various provinces we shall certainly capture an overwhelming majority of them", he added.

League Ministries in Muslim Provinces

Asked about the setting up of League Ministries in Muslim dominated provinces. Mr. Jinnah said the question of forming such Ministries stood on a different footing. It was obvious, he said, that the dice was loaded against Muslims in this matter of representation which in turn weighed against them in the formation of Ministries. He stressed that the League should not be judged in the matter of its demand of Pakistan solely on the issue of its ability or inability to form Ministries in Provinces.

Asked about the policy of the Muslim League towards the Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said that the League did not wish to interfere with any one of them Hindu or Muslim. The Indian

States were sovereign and their relations with the British were governed by treaties and agreements with the King Emperor, whose paramountcy they had accepted under the terms of the treaties. Otherwise they were free and neither the British Parliament nor the Government of India could legislate or interfere in the internal administration of such States.

Pakistan "Already Exist"

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said to the correspondent, "Your people do not seem to know that India is not one, never has been one and never shall be one. There exist already several big Indian sovereign States, many of them bigger than those sovereign countries in Europe or America."

The Eastern Times, February 23, 1946.

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Interview to Donald Edwards of the B.B.C., New Delhi, April 2, 1946.

"Pakistan must be a fully sovereign state, with complete control of defence and foreign policy. In a Federation, member states are compelled to grant more and more power to the Central authority. Little by little, they lose their independence. That may have been all right in such Federation as the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa, but in an Indian Federation, the Central authority would inevitably be Hindu," declared Mr. M.A. Jinnah, in an interview with Mr. Donald Edwards of the B.B.C., at New Delhi.

The Muslim League leader further made a strong appeal to the Hindus for an amicable settlement. He said: "We must try to come to a friendly agreement. If it is a question of force, well then, whoever wins, dictates. But we want to negotiate peace.

"God forbid that there should be insuperable difficulties. Let us work in the spirit that we have come to make a

settlement as honourable men and work together for the welfare of the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation."

Mr. Jinnah made this appeal during a talk in his library. Asked about the difficulty of forming a Pakistan state out of two areas, one in the north-east of India, one in the north-west, nearly thousand miles apart, with a Hindu corridor dividing them. Mr. Jinnah replied: "When you travel from Britain to other parts of the British Commonwealth you pass through foreign territory—the Suez Canal for instance. It is all done by amicable arrangement. We travel from the Muslim areas of the north-east to the Muslim areas of the north-west across this so-called 'Hindu corridor' without any difficulty today.

"Why should that arrangement not continue? The Hindus must not be allowed to put difficulties in the way of a state that wants to be their neighbour in a friendly way. They must not be allowed to close the doors of communication between the Muslims of the north-west India and the Muslims of the north-east.

"This must be one of the terms of the treaty. Are the Hindus going to come to an amicable settlement? — that is the point. If we are going to negotiate in a friendly way there is no difficulty."

Hindus' Attitude

Mr. Jinnah said that in the past he had worked hard to bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. He took a leading part in the Lucknow Pact between the Hindus and the Muslims in 1916. But the Congress Party became more and more a Hindu movement.

That is why the Muslim League broke away. And that is why, he said, "the Muslim Provinces will not join an Indian Federation no matter how much independence they are offered, because an Indian Federation would be dominated, as the Congress is dominated, by Hindus.

On being asked what he proposed for those areas where the Muslims are in a minority, Mr. Jinnah replied: "These areas, like Madras for instance, will have a Hindu Government and the Muslim minorities there will have three courses open to them: "They may accept citizenship in the state in which they are. They can remain there as foreigners; or they can come to Pakistan. I will welcome them. There is plenty of room. But it is for them to decide."

Assam's Position

Questioned as to why Assam, with its huge Hindu population, should be part of Pakistan, he replied: "There is no other way of fitting Assam in anywhere except in Pakistan. Any scheme that you will frame for any country in the world where you have these different nationalities, can never be a perfect scheme."

Asked how Pakistan would be defended against foreign attack, Mr. Jinnah said: "Like any other sovereign State does. If a state of a hundred million people cannot defend itself, then no body can defend it. Naturally no nation stands by itself. There will be alliance with other nations whose interests are common." On being asked "What nations?" Jinnah smiled as he replied: "I will tell you when I get the Government in my charge."

Economic Strength

When he was told that there were doubts whether Pakistan would have the economic strength to be an independent nation, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Economically Pakistan would be a powerful state. Even Congress Party experts had a shock when they investigated the matter.

"The theory that Pakistan would not be economically sound is now exploded. Pakistan has wonderful economic

opportunities. There would be trade with the world and Britain would benefit more than anyone else."

Regarding Pakistan's relations with the British Commonwealth, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Pakistan would be free to remain within the Commonwealth or to go outside it. What the Pakistan Government will decide to do, I do not know. Canada, Australia and South Africa are free to leave the Commonwealth tomorrow, but they do not, and it is not for purely sentimental reasons.

"Real vital interests compel those Dominions to continue in the British Commonwealth. The same sort of interest might compel Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth, but we have not made up our minds."

Replying to the question, why the North-West Frontier Province, which is predominantly Muslim, had voted for the Congress Party, Mr. Jinnah said:

"The elections were not free. The Caretaker Government in power in the North-West Frontier Province abused its powers, and was helped by the fact that so many of the voters are illiterate.

"There have been some discreditable incidents which I am investigating. Election contest in the N.W.F.P. was purely between the Muslims who proved by their slogans, flags, and buntings that they had nothing to do with the Congress, but were fighting for the freedom of the Frontier Pathans."

(The Dawn, April 3, 1946.)

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**Interview to Duncan Hooper,
Correspondent of Reuter,
Karachi, October 25, 1947.**

The following is the full text of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's interview with Reuter's correspondent, Mr. Duncan Hooper, which he gave on October 25, 1947:

- Q. How do you view the latest developments regarding Palestine? What would be the attitude of Pakistan if the partition plan resulted in a conflict between the Arabs and Jews?
- A. The leader of our delegation to the UNO, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, has clearly defined our position regarding the latest developments in Palestine and I do still hope that the partition plan will be rejected, otherwise there is bound to be the gravest disaster and unprecedented conflict, not only between the Arabs and the authority that would undertake to enforce the partition plan, but the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically or morally. In such a case, Pakistan will have no other course left but to give its fullest support to the Arabs and will do whatever lies in its power to prevent what, in my opinion, is an outrage.

Response to Pakistan's Appeal

- Q. What response has been received from the other Dominions to Pakistan's appeal for help in solving the communal problem?
- A. So far, nothing definite, but I believe that this matter is under the earnest consideration of the Prime Minister of England and of the other Dominions.

Q. What, in your view, is the best basis for firm and friendly relations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan?

A. First and the foremost, both Dominions must make all-out efforts to restore peace and maintain law and order in their respective States—that is fundamental. I have repeatedly said that; now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions.

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. It is very unfortunate that vigorous propaganda has been going on from the moment that the division was agreed upon and the two States were created that Pakistan is only a truncated Pakistan, that it is merely a temporary madness on the part of the Muslim League that has brought about this 'secession', that Pakistan will have to come into the Union as a penitent, repentant, erring son and that the 'two-nation theory' is responsible for all that has taken place.

It is also very unfortunate that the Muslims in Hindustan are told threateningly that they must abjure the leadership of the League and declare their 'folly' in having supported Pakistan and in believing in this

'fantastic two-nation theory.' Also that certain tests and standards of loyalty are demanded from them and unless they satisfy those tests, it is said they have no place in Hindustan.

No Union Between two States

I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common centre.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation. But all this propaganda and agitation, all the threats that are held out even by prominent Congress speakers, against our fully independent sovereign State are not likely to restore goodwill and friendly relations between the two States.

We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions. The methods advocated for the achievement of this end are:

- (1) Bring about a revolt by Muslims against the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government.
- (2) Failing that making the leaders of Pakistan realize the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and force them once again to agree to join the Union and thereby create a single India by war.

India is a Hindu State

If firm and friendly relations are to be established between the two Dominions, this sort of propaganda must stop. As for the two-nation theory, it is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact and what is more, that fact has been proved beyond doubt by the ugly and deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the Dominion of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as their nationals. How then can it be said that there is one nation? I do not wish to dwell upon this further. There are many other events that are taking place which go to show the reality which is that the Dominion of India is a Hindu State.

Even a great Professor Dr. Gadgil, in his statement of October 9, says that a 'Hindu State or more fully a federation of Hindu national States' is the only proper description of the new Indian Union. And he says that to describe the Indian Union as a Hindu State is to bring out its dominant and most significant characteristic and he further proceeds to say that this does not mean that the territories of the Indian Union have no place for those who do not belong to the Hindu tradition and that others will be discriminated against.

Minorities do not cease to be citizens

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of

security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan.

Every citizen is expected to be loyal to the State and to owe true allegiance to it. The arm of law should be strong enough to deal with any person or section or body of people that is disloyal to the State. We do not, however, prescribe any school boy tests of their loyalty. We shall not say to any Hindu citizen of Pakistan "if there was war, would you shoot a Hindu."

To the Muslim minority and their leaders left in India, I have already conferred advice that they must reorganize themselves under their own chosen leadership as they have a very big part to play in safeguarding the rights and interests of many million. They have already professed under my advice their loyalty to the Government of India and made their position clear on the very first day when they attended the Indian Dominion Constituent Assembly.

In spite of this, insidious propaganda is going on that they have been let down by the Muslim League and Pakistan is indifferent to what may happen to them. The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. Nobody visualized that a powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the India Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government.

I, therefore, while deeply and fully sympathizing with their sufferings, urge upon Muslims in India to bear

their trial with courage and fortitude and not get panicky and play into the hands of our enemies by hasty decisions or actions. They should not in their adversity be led away by mischievous propaganda of interested parties and hold the Muslim League and its leadership responsible for all their tribulations. They must hold on to their posts, and Pakistan. I can assure them, will not be a mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger that they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them.

Strike at the roots of Conspiracy

- Q. Do you consider that Pakistan and India have now passed through the worst of the communal troubles following the transfer of power?
- A. You can hardly call this communal trouble, although I know it has been very loosely described as that. It is now clear beyond doubt that it was well-planned, well-organised and well-directed and the object of it all, it seems to me, was to paralyse the new-born Dominion of Pakistan, which obviously was starting from scratch. There is only one remedy now left—that is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate, I say extirpate, the roots of the plot and the powerful men who are behind the organization. It is no use dealing with symptoms. You must strike at the root.

Functions of Muslims

- Q. What do you consider are now the proper functions of the Muslim League outside Pakistan?

- A. The Muslim League has already achieved its mission—its fundamental object—which was to establish the independent State of Pakistan.

The remaining aims and objects of the Muslim League are very general. I quote 'to protect and advance the political, religious and other communities of India, and to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other communities. I wanted to call a meeting of the Working Committee and of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at an early date because it is obvious that we have to reorient the Muslim League organization in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place. But, unfortunately, owing to the grave situation that was created, we were so fully absorbed that we had no time to attend to this or many other matters which are facing us and which still require our urgent consideration.

Fair Deal for Indian Muslims

The main objective of Muslims in India is to play their part in ensuring that they get a fair deal. But, with the establishment of the two Dominions, this is also a matter which can be handled effectively on a Governmental level.

The Plan of June 3 was accepted by the two major nations as successor authorities and now in accordance with that plan and under the terms of Indian Independence Act of 1947, there have emerged two independent sovereign States. In accepting the Plan, even before then, solemn declarations were made both by the Congress and the Muslim League that the minorities of both States would be given a fair deal and that safeguards for them should be secured specially for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights in consultation

with them and that position is not seriously questioned even now by any responsible person.

Terrific Bloodshed

The birth of the two Dominions was, I am glad to say, celebrated everywhere as the day of the attainment of freedom and independence, not only for these two major nations but for all the inhabitants of this great sub-continent—yet immediately thereafter there came this terrific bloodshed which was undoubtedly intended to eliminate the Muslim minorities from Hindustan.

Lastly, I must emphasize that the Congress and the Indian Dominion Government must put down the leadership of those who planned this ruthless killing and also those elements which are collaborating with them to defy law and order.

No Retaliation: no Revenge

I have refrained as far as possible from apportioning blame between the Hindus as a community or the Muslims as a community. But I must make it clear that I deplore and condemn without reserve the horrible deeds of killing and destruction that have taken place irrespective of their place of occurrence or origin.

I have done my utmost, and I am glad to say, not without considerable success, to impress upon the Muslims that whatever the provocation, there shall be no retaliation, no revenge. On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honour—and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them that there shall be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizens." (A.P.I.)

(The Civil & Military Gazette, October 24-25, 1947.)



M. A. JINNAH ADDRESSING MUSLIM LEAGUE MEETING,
KINGSWAY HALL, DECEMBER, 1946.



MISS LATIMA JINNAH, M. A. JINNAH, HAQUAT ALI KHAN
AND BEGUM HAQUAT ALI KHAN

MESSAGES

Id-ul-Fitr, October 11, 1942

"I wish the Mussalmans a happy and prosperous Id-ul-Fitr. All other Muslim festivals are the universal festivals of Islam and are observed in all the countries and climates of the globe. Id-ul-fitr is a symbol of Unity and Brotherhood, divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present and also in the future new order of the world according to the light of Islamic heritage.

"The Mussalmans came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers and teachers and brought with them their own culture and civilisation, and founded mighty empires and built up great civilisation. They reformed and remoulded the subcontinent of India.

"To-day the hundred millions Mussalmans of India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. They have their own national culture and civilisation distinct from others. They stand for complete freedom and equality of all nations and peoples. Muslim India is destined to play its part as a powerful factor in the world-wide struggle that is going on, as well as in the future new order and post-war peace and settlement of the world.

National Freedom

"At the same time we, the Mussalmans of India, are determined to attain our national freedom and independence by establishing our own independent and sovereign states in the north-west and eastern parts of this sub-continent where we are no less than seventy millions of souls and which are our

homelands and where we are in a majority. I appeal, therefore, to every Muslim to stand solidly by our goal of Pakistan, for it is a matter of life and death to us and to the future destiny of Muslim India. Either we achieve Pakistan or we perish.

"Let us to-day be one in spirit and one in mind. Let us be united as a solid nation and come under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and further augment and strengthen our organisation which has already mobilised and solidified us in a manner and to an extent unknown in the history of British India.

The world to-day is passing through the greatest crisis known to history. Islam and Mussalmans are playing no less an important part in this titanic world war than any other nation. Let us resolve today unitedly to play our part also in the forthcoming world peace.

"The war is being fought no less on Muslim lands than on other battle-fields and some of the most important strategic points are in the Muslim countries. In India herself the immediate peril is facing the north-western and eastern zones -- the homelands of the Mussalmans. We are passing through grave and dangerous phases of developments, both external and internal. Our foremost (aim) is, therefore, not only to achieve our freedom and integrity but our whole-hearted sympathy and moral support go out to other countries that are fighting for their freedom and independence particularly the Muslim countries.

Muslim Countries

"It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that just as we have taken an abiding interest in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim States, such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries and our sympathies have always gone out to them so I find that the people of Muslim countries to-day have similarly displayed their concern and

sympathy in our struggle for Pakistan. Therefore, while we are engaged in your struggle for freedom and independence, let us not forget our brethren who in other parts of the world are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for those Muslim States who are independent and sovereign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty.

"No civilised nation can look upon this present conflict and clash of arms and the insane slaughter of mankind and the destruction of centuries-old civilisation with equanimity and without gravest anxiety. Let us hope and pray that time is not far off when this will bring such a universal peace and settlement, whereby it will not be possible for any nation to dominate and exploit another, but each nation will rise to its fullest stature and will have equal rights and opportunities to develop itself as free and independent people."

(The Dawn, October 12, 1942.)

Pakistan Days

Delhi, March 22, 1943

"To-day the 23rd of March is a day of great significance of Muslim India. On this auspicious day, three years ago, was declared, at Lahore, for the first time authoritatively from the platform of the All-India Muslim League, the final national goal of Muslim India, which later on came to be known as the 'Pakistan Scheme.'

"The progress that Mussalmans, as a nation, have made, during these three years, is a remarkable fact. Never before in the history of the world has a nation rallied round a common platform and a common ideal in such a short time as the Muslims have done in this vast sub-continent. Never before has a nation, miscalled a minority, asserted itself so quickly, and so

effectively. Never before has the mental outlook of a nation been unified so suddenly. Never before has the solidarity of millions of population been established and demonstrated in so limited a time and under such peculiar circumstances as are prevalent in India. Three years ago Pakistan was a resolution. To-day it is an article of faith, a matter of life and death with Muslim India.

"It is not mere sentiment or propaganda that has helped us in establishing our national solidarity. It is really the justice of our cause, the fairness of our demand and our birthright to self-determination, by which to-day we are proud to stand and for which we are prepared to die.

"We have embodied our goal in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, as the only solution of the political problem of India. It is a proposal that will bring universal peace and will uphold and ensure the maintenance of honour and glory of the various sections of the people inhabiting this sub-continent.

"We have created a solidarity of opinion, a union of mind and thought. Let us concentrate on the uplift of our people for their educational, political, economic, social and moral well-being. Let us co-operate with and give all help to our leaders to work for our collective good. Let us make our organisation stronger and put it on a thorough efficient footing. In all this the final sanction and censure rests with and upon the verdict of our people. We, the Muslims must rely mainly upon our own inherent qualities, our own natural potentialities, our own internal solidarity and our own united will to face the future.

"I particularly appeal to our intelligentsia and Muslim students to come forward and rise to the occasion. train yourselves, equip yourselves for the task that lies before us. The final victory depends upon you and is within our grasp. You have performed wonders in the past. You are still capable of repeating the history. You are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues

in comparison with the other nations. Only you have to be fully conscious of that fact and to act with courage, faith and unity."

(QAP-File 561/p,66.)

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Lahore, March 22 1944.

"This is the fourth year since we passed our Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940, and this golden day has been ever since observed every year by the Muslim Nation all over this subcontinent.

"I have no doubt that this year it will be observed as enthusiastically and wholeheartedly as in the past. Every year that passes the Muslim League is going forward from strength to strength, and our organisation is tackling great questions and issues in every department of life—educationally, economically, socially and politically. We are nearer realisation of our goal of Pakistan and the achievement of our freedom than ever before.

"I am sure that I am speaking on your behalf when I say that Muslim India will not rest content until we have realised our goal. Our goal is clearly indicated in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, and it is the only solution of the political problem of India, and it is a proposal that will bring universal peace. It will make the two major nations in this country happier, and in that direction lies the achievement of freedom of both Hindus and Mussalmans.

"For us Pakistan means our defence, our deliverance, and our destiny. It is the only way which will ensure to us our freedom and the maintenance of our honour and glory of Islam. We have to mould our people into a well-organised and solid nation. The speed of the final victory depends upon the proportion of labour that we put forth, and it is within your grasp.

"During the last several years we have made a remarkable progress, and every year it is doubled and redoubled. We are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues in comparison with other nations. We have achieved a big step, and have created a vigorous consciousness of national unity. Let us go forward, full of hope for the coming year, with faith in our heart, unity in our camp, discipline in our ranks, and I am confident of our success, and we shall without doubt realise our goal of Pakistan."

(The Dawn, March 23, 1944.)

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New Dehli, March 22, 1945.

"Today is the fifth anniversary of our solemn declaration that was made in the open session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on March 23, 1940 defining once for all our national goal of Pakistan. This is our irrevocable and unalterable national demand. Muslim India will not rest content till we have fully realised, achieved and established Pakistan in the north-western and eastern zones of this sub-continent. It is, as you know, a struggle of life and death for Muslim India.

"In Pakistan lies our deliverance, defence and honour. If we fail, we perish and there will be no sign or symptom of Muslims or Islam left in this sub-continent. This is the stupendous task that you have in front of you. Therefore, I appeal again on this our national day to organise yourselves in every department of life and rally round the banner of the All-India Muslim League.

"In our solidarity, unity and discipline lie the strength, power and sanction behind us to carry on this fight successfully. No sacrifice should be considered too great. We shall never accept any future constitution on the basis of a united India.

"I see powers working around us and our enemies are active; but let us go forward undaunted, fearless, without faltering. I have sufficient information from all parts of India and I have my finger on the pulse of Muslim India, and feel confident that ten crore Mussalmans will stand as one man at any critical moment, and will not hesitate to make every sacrifice, if we are to be thwarted, ignored or by-passed by those in power in this land or any party or organisation.

"I am confident that Pakistan is within our grasp. It is already there in action and it is by our efforts in those provinces of ours like Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier, Punjab, Bengal and Assam to seize all the power that is available to us at present and it is open for us to do so. If the Muslims stand united and give up their personal quarrels for the sake of our sacred and noble cause, I have no doubt in my mind that these present can be fully and effectively captured by us even under the present Constitution such as it is. I know that intrigues recently shook the Muslim League ministry in Sind. That was entirely due to want of solidarity and unity among the Mussalmans.

"I knew that for similar reasons, in the North-West Frontier Province, the Muslim League Ministry was defeated and the Congress Muslims, under orders from Wardha, have accepted office throwing away all their fundamental principles to the four winds. It was recently announced by a Congress leader, after his interview with Mr. Gandhi, that it was one to put down the Muslim "fanaticism" and establish fully the influence of the Congress over the North-West Frontier Province.

"It is not possible to believe that any Mussalman, who has got the slightest of self-respect and an iota of pride left in him, can tolerate a Ministry in a Muslim majority province, which takes order from and is subject to the control of Mr. Gandhi at Sevagram or the Congress who are deadly opponents to all Muslim aspirations and their national demands. This is a

blot on the fair name of the province and I appeal to every Mussalman in the North-West Frontier Province to organise the League and remove this blot. Of course, the fall of the ministry or the establishment of a Muslim League Ministry, is not all. It is only a means to an end.

"Let me now warn and caution every province that they should from now begin to systematically organise themselves.

New elections may take place sooner or later under the present constitution and they may come upon us sooner than we imagine, and therefore from now onwards, I urge upon the Committee of Action, the Central Parliamentary Board and all the Provincial Muslim Leagues immediately to get ready for this coming fight, that we have to face.

These elections and their results will be one of the important criterions by which the strength and the power of the All-India Muslim League will be judged not only in this country, but specially abroad.

Solemn Oath

I therefore most fervently appeal to you that on this national day, reaffirm your solemn declaration for Pakistan, and on your honour pledge yourselves, man, woman and child, to come under the banner of the Muslim League, and take a solemn oath that you should not falter or fall to make all sacrifices for the establishment and achievement of our national goal of Pakistan. *Insha-Allah*, we shall win. (A.P.I.)

(*The Dawn*, March 23, 1945.)

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Id Message to the Musalmans of India Bombay, August 28, 1946.

On this most auspicious and happy occasion, I wish all Musalmans "Id Mubarak," happiness and prosperity.

The sacred month of Ramazan is just over and the Muslims have gone through its regime of the most trying nature and rigours prescribed with patience and confidence. It is a great institution in itself and it teaches the Musalmans that without undergoing hardships, toil and trouble and without making sacrifices, it is impossible for one to achieve one's objective, and for we Muslims of India, there is much to learn from the regime laid down for Ramazan.

We have now to grip with realities and I appeal to the Musalmans to organize, consolidate and co-ordinate all our activities and forces as one solid and disciplined nation and be ready to face all eventualities. There is no royal road to freedom except by suffering and sacrifice and by removing all obstacles in our way. I want every Musalman, man, woman and child, to resolve on this auspicious day to work as disciplined soldiers in every department of life, educational, social, economical and political, and thus build up for our nation of hundred million people, a place worthy of our glorious past and historic traditions.

Horizon Is Dark For Us

Today the horizon is dark for us. The doings of the British Government and the Viceregal Lodge are shrouded in mystery; we are vilified, misrepresented and threatened from every direction and the Viceroy has gone headlong and seems to be persistent in his career, in a manner which is reckless and irresponsible. The Muslim League is ignored and bypassed: tremendous false propaganda is carried on to throw the blame on the Muslim League, for which there is not an iota of justification; the Viceroy and the British Government have surrendered to the Congress and it only remains for them now frankly to make a declaration that they have abdicated and are about to hand over to the Fascist Caste-Hindu Congress—the Government of this sub-continent.

The Test of the Fire

The British public is kept in darkness and Parliament is in recess. This has created a very grave and dangerous situation for us and we must face it as a united nation and go through the test and fire of being suppressed, oppressed and persecuted. I am confident that if hundred million Muslims stand united, all the manoeuvres, machinations and designs of our opponents will fail miserably and we shall emerge out of this struggle triumphantly and shall achieve Pakistan which is our only salvation and without which we perish.

We have argued; we have reasoned; we have supplicated and we have made great concessions but all to no purpose. There remains in front of us a grim struggle and we must face it boldly and courageously but in a disciplined and organised manner and our failure or setback should not make us despaired; nor should our success elate us. Our demands are just and righteous and we cannot fail.

Rally Round Muslim League

I appeal to every Musalman at this critical juncture to rally round the Muslim League unreservedly, especially after what has happened during the last few months. Let there be no fratricidal war among Muslims and let us stand as one united nation under one flag and on one platform and be determined and prepared to face the worst as a completely united and great people with our motto: unity, faith and discipline. God is with us and we are bound to succeed.

(The Eastern Times, August 29, 1946.)

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Message on the Pakistan Day, Bombay, March 22, 1947.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a Pakistan Day message asked all Muslims to observe the day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities and maintain law and order, in view of the present disturbed condition in India.

"I urge upon the Musalmans all over India not to insist on taking out processions, or even upon holding public meetings, but every Musalman, wherever he or she is, should observe this day and reaffirm our resolve and determination to achieve our goal of Pakistan." Mr. Jinnah said.

The following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's message:

"It was on the 23rd of March 1940 that the All-India Muslim League laid down definitely the establishment of Pakistan as the goal of Muslim India. This is the seventh year of our struggle for the realization of that goal.

Wonderful Solidarity

"Every year the Muslim League has forged ahead and gone from strength to strength. Muslim India has stood its tests and trials with wonderful solidarity; Pakistan has been getting nearer and nearer and we are fast reaching in our approach and the realization of it.

"The present conditions in India are far from peaceful and everywhere there is terrific tension and unrest. We must, therefore, observe this day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities and maintain law and order. I urge upon the Musalmans all over India not to insist on taking out processions or even upon holding public meetings, but every Musalman, wherever he or she is should observe this day and reaffirm our resolve and determination to achieve our goal of Pakistan.

"Pakistan is the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem; Pakistan alone will lead to stable and secure Governments in Hindustan and Pakistan and Pakistan alone will guarantee real progress welfare and happiness of all the people inhabiting this vast sub-continent.

One India — An Impossibility

"Pakistan means freedom and independence for Hindu India and Muslim India in their respective homelands where they are predominant. One India is an impossibility. For it can and will only mean the establishment of Hindu Raj — and for Musalmans merely transfer from British domination to the Hindu caste imperialism.

"A constitution and Government attempting to function as an All-India Central Government reducing 100 million Muslims to an All-India minority can never succeed but only lead to terrific disasters for it will mean the rule of one nation with its perpetual and brute majority over another nation of 100 million people.

"The only common ground and basis of a settlement is Pakistan, and I do hope that we may yet find a peaceful and amicable solution on that basis.

"But one thing is most essential. At this critical moment in the history of Muslim India, we must stand absolutely united, come what may, and let us be ready to carry on our struggle and face all dangers and eventualities that may beset our path for the realization of our goal of Pakistan.

"I once more most earnestly appeal to every Muslim at this moment that he should rally round the banner of the Muslim League—the only authoritative representative organization of Muslim India.

"We must, for the moment at least, bury the hatchet and whatever domestic differences there may be, we can solve them

and settle them ourselves but on the fundamental issue, I am happy to say that there is no difference of opinion and the Musalmans to a man stand firm for the establishment of Pakistan." (A.P.I.)

(QAP-F-1022/p.84 & *The Dawn*, March 23, 1947.)

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**Message to the Nation on occasion
of Eid-ul-Azha,
Karachi, October 24, 1947.**

"God often tests and tries those whom He loves. He called upon Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice the object he loved most. Prophet Ibrahim answered the call and offered to sacrifice his son. Today too, God is testing and trying the Muslims of Pakistan and India. He has demanded great sacrifices from us. Our new-born State is bleeding from wounds inflicted by our enemies. Our Muslim brethren in India are being victimized and oppressed as Muslims for their help and sympathy for the establishment of Pakistan. Dark clouds surround us on all sides for the moment but we are not daunted, for I am sure, if we show the same spirit of sacrifice as was shown by Ibrahim, God would rend the clouds and shower on us His blessings as He did on Ibrahim. Let us, therefore, on the day of *Eid-ul-Azha* which symbolizes the spirit of sacrifice enjoined by Islam, resolve that we shall not be deterred from our objective of creating a State of our own concept by any amount of sacrifice, trials or tribulations which may lie ahead of us and that we shall bend all our energies and resources to achieve our goal. I am confident that in spite of its magnitude, we shall overcome this grave crisis as we have in our long history surmounted many others and notwithstanding the efforts of our enemies, we shall emerge triumphant and strong from the dark night of suffering and show to the world that the State exists not for life but for good life.

"On this sacred day, I send greetings to our Muslims brethren all over the world both on behalf of myself and the people of Pakistan. For us in Pakistan, this day of thanksgiving and rejoicing has been overshadowed by the suffering and sorrow of 5 million Muslims in East Punjab and its neighbourhood. I hope that, wherever Muslim men and women foregather on this solemn day, they will remember in their prayers these unfortunate men, women and children who have lost their dear ones, hearths and homes and are undergoing an agony and suffering as great and cruel as any yet inflicted on humanity. In the name of this mass of suffering humanity I renew my appeal to Muslims wherever they may be, to extend to us in this hour of our danger and need, their hand of brotherly sympathy, support and co-operation. Nothing on earth now can undo Pakistan.

"The greater the sacrifices we are made to undergo the purer and more chastened shall we emerge like gold from fire.

"So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation."
Pakistan Zindabad.

(A.P.I. *The Civil & Military Gazette, October 25, 1947.*)

**Message on the eve of inauguration of
the Pakistan Broadcasting Service,
Karachi, August 15, 1947.**

"It is with feelings of greatest happiness and emotion that I send you my greetings. August 15 is the birthday of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. It marks the fulfilment of the destiny of the Muslim nation which made great sacrifices in the past few years to have its homeland.

"At this supreme moment my thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause. Pakistan will remain grateful to them and cherish the memory of those who are no more.

"The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed.

"Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relationships with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nations' Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

Muslims are a United Nation

"Muslims of India have shown to the world that they are a united nation, their cause is just and righteous which cannot be denied. Let us, on this day, humbly thank God for his bounty and pray that we might be able to prove that we are worthy of it.

"This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and a noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear.

"To the freedom loving tribes on our borders and the States beyond our borders, we send our greetings and assure that Pakistan will respect their status and will extend to them its most friendly co-operation in preserving peace. We have no ambition beyond the desire to live honourably and let others live honourably.

Build Up Pakistan

"Today is Jummat-ul-Wida, last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast subcontinent and for the matter of that throughout the world. Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all the mosques, bow in all humility before the Almighty and thank him for his eternal kindness and generosity, seeking his guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great State and themselves into its worthy citizens.

"Finally, let me tell you, fellow citizens, Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. *Pakistan Zindabad.*"

(The Pakistan Times, 16 August, 1947.)

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Message in a broadcast from Pakistan Broadcasting Service, Lahore, October 30, 1947.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in a broadcast from the Lahore Station of the Pakistan Broadcasting Service on October 30, 1947 at 8.30 p.m., gave the following message to the people of Pakistan:

"A few days ago, I received harrowing accounts of the terrible happenings in the Punjab and the situation from all accounts appeared to be so grave that I decided to come to Lahore. On my arrival here I immediately got in touch with various sources that were available to me and I was deeply grieved to realise that unfortunately, there was a great deal of truth in what had been told to me.

"I am speaking to you under deep distress and with a heavy heart. We have, undoubtedly, achieved Pakistan and that too without bloody war and practically peacefully by moral and intellectual force and with the power of pen which is no less mighty than the sword and so our righteous cause has triumphed. Are we now going to besmear and tarnish this greatest achievement for which there is no parallel in the whole history of the world by resorting to frenzy, savagery and butchery? And will this lead us anywhere? Pakistan is now a *fait accompli* and it can never be undone, besides, it was the only just, honourable and practical solution of the most complex constitutional problem of this great sub-continent.

Boundary Commission Award Unjust and Perverse

"The division of India is now finally and irrevocably affected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse, and it may not be a judicial but political Award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.

"Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the world but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Mussalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands, we have undoubtedly talents, Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities.

Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it.

Protect Minorities

"It is agreed on all hands that peace should be restored without delay and that law and order must be established and maintained at any cost. Now it is up to the leaders and the rank and file of the communities to leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the sacred and honourable undertaking that was given at the Special Conference on August 29 to protect the minorities and work in every way for the welfare and safety of the refugees.

"The Lahore Conference of August 29 has further laid down categorically certain ways and means to be adopted to implement its decisions and such further measures will be taken which have the solemn, firm and determined sanction of the Pakistan and the Dominion of India Governments. Henceforth they will be naturally responsible as the Punjab Boundary Force, which was limited only to certain areas, could not deal with the entire Punjab—both West and East—especially now as the rural areas have also been affected and, therefore, it has been abolished.

"These decisions and measures adopted by the Special Conference should reassure the people of all communities that both the Pakistan and India Governments are determined to put down ruthlessly these orgies and their far-reaching consequences. But it requires both the communities concerned to realise the folly and futility of indulging in this savagery which has already taken a colossal toll of human life and especially of the innocent ones and has displaced hundreds of thousands of innocent people, rendered them homeless and delivered them to starvation, and the misery of wandering about in the country-side for their lives, besides resulting in the destruction of property on an extensive scale.

Indelible Stigma

"This is not the moment for me to go into the origin or cause of all that is happening or to apportion blame as to which community has disgraced itself more. It will be for the historians to give their verdict. Humanity cries loud against this shameful conduct and the deeds that have been committed. Those who are responsible for this holocaust must be dealt with an iron hand and put down ruthlessly. The civilised world is looking upon these doings and happenings with horror and the fair name of the communities concerned stands blackened in the eyes of the world.

"It is now up to the leaders and those responsible and in charge of the Governments to make their supreme effort to make amends for this indelible stigma. While the horizon is beset with dark clouds, let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan: Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task with courage and hope and we shall do it. Are we down-hearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference, and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilisation and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and work and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto, unity, discipline and faith.

"I have so far spoken to you in English as you know that the eyes of the world are upon Pakistan and we are watched by the various nations of the world with the keenest interest since the establishment of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state which has been a great and historical event. I, therefore, used the medium of English so as to be able to reach the world-wide audience, which has exhibited great interest in Pakistan.

"The text of my broadcast will be translated in Urdu and read to you in a few minutes time as well as published in the

Press tomorrow, but, nevertheless, I would also like to say a few words in Urdu..."

”یہاں تک میں نے انگریزی میں تقریر کی، کیونکہ آپ جانتے ہیں کہ دنیا کی نظریں پاکستان کی طرف لگی ہوئی ہیں اور دنیا کی مختلف قومیں نگراں ہیں اور آزاد و خود مختار پاکستان کے قیام پر اس کے معاملات میں گہری دلچسپی لے رہی ہیں، کیونکہ یہ ایک عظیم تاریخی واقعہ ہے۔ اس لیے انگریزی کو ذریعہ اظہار بنایا تاکہ دنیا بھر کے سامعین تک بات پہنچ سکے۔ اب میں کچھ الفاظ اردو میں کہنا چاہوں گا:

☆☆☆

”آپ کو اس وقت تک معلوم ہو گیا ہو گا کہ لاہور میں جو سپیشل کانفرنس ہوئی تھی، اس میں کیا کیا فیصلے کیے گئے، اور ان پر عمل کرنے کے کون سے قدم اٹھائے گئے۔

”اس کانفرنس میں انڈین ڈومین اور پاکستان کی حکومتوں کے نمائندے، ڈومین آف انڈیا اور پاکستان کے گورنر یعنی لارڈ ماؤنٹ بیٹن اور میں، ہمارے صلاح کار اور سپیشلسٹ شامل تھے۔

”کانفرنس نے پورے پورے اتفاق کے ساتھ یہ اعلان کیا ہے کہ دونوں حکومتوں کا یہ پاک فرض ہے کہ وہ عوام کے مال اور جان کی ہر طرح سے حفاظت کریں گے، اور ہزاروں کی تعداد میں جو لوگ اپنا گھر یا چھوڑ بھاگ رہے ہیں، ان کی حفاظت، ان کی دیکھ بھال، اور بہتری کے لیے دونوں حکومتیں اپنی اپنی طاقت کے مطابق سب کچھ کریں گی۔

”میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک پاکستان کی حکومت کا تعلق ہے، ہم اپنی ذمے داری کو سرانجام دینے کے لیے سب کچھ کریں گے۔

”مجھے پوری امید ہے کہ انڈین ڈومین کی حکومت بھی ایسا ہی کرے گی۔

”جن جن باتوں پر ہم نے اقرار کیا ہے، اگر ان کو باعزت طریقہ سے اور پورے ارادے اور طاقت سے پورا کیا گیا، تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس وقت جو نازک صورت حال

پیدا ہو چکی ہے، اس میں جلد ہی اچھی تبدیلی پیدا ہوگی، اور ہم سب پھر امن و امان سے
 دونوں حکومتوں میں آزاد قوموں کی طرح زندگی خوشی سے بسر کریں گے۔ ”پاکستان“
 زندہ باد“

(دی پاکستان ٹائمز، ۳۱ اکتوبر ۱۹۴۷ء)

(The Pakistan Times, October 31, 1947.)

Message to the Nation on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, Karachi, August 6, 1948.

"On this day of rejoicing I send my greetings to Muslims all over the world and wish them a very happy Eid.

"For us the last Eid-ul-Fitr which followed soon after the birth of Pakistan was marred by the tragic happenings in East Punjab. The blood bath of last year and its aftermath—the mass migration of millions—presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity strained our energies and resources to breaking point. The immensity of the task very nearly overwhelmed us and we could only just keep our heads above water.

The brief span of 12 months was not sufficient to see all the *Mohajireens* settled in profitable employment in Pakistan. Considerable progress has been made in resettling them but a good many remain to be rehabilitated. We cannot rejoice till everyone of them has been put on his feet again. I am sanguine that by next *Eid* this formidable and intractable problem will

have been solved and all the refugees absorbed in Pakistan's economy as useful members of society.

Robust Confidence

"The history of the last 12 months has been one of continuous struggle against heavy odds, but what sustained us during these dark days was our unity of purpose and firm resolve to see that our young State did not founder under the blows of our enemies. We have weathered the worst storms, and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight. We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions. There never was greater need for discipline and unity in our ranks. It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dreams into reality. You are celebrating *Eid* today after a month of fasting. Why was fasting enjoined upon Muslims if it were not to teach them discipline and orderliness? These are the virtues to cultivate and in that lies your salvation and that of the nation.

Eye-Opener

"My *Eid* message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.

"Let me, therefore, appeal to you—in whatever language you may put, when the essence of my advice is boiled down, it comes to this—that every Musalman should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly."

(*The Pakistan Times*, August 7, 1948.)

**Last Message to the Nation on the occasion
of the First Anniversary of Pakistan,
Karachi, August 14, 1948.**

Citizens of Pakistan!

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. A year ago complete power was transferred to the people of Pakistan, and the Pakistan Government, under the present Constitution as adapted, took over charge of the affairs of the country in its own hands. We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy which have been so often referred to before, especially the pre-planned genocide and pushing on with real constructive work internally. The result of our constructive and ameliorative work has gone far beyond the expectations of our best friends. I congratulate you all—my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Members of the Constituent Assembly and of the legislatures, officials working in various administrative departments and the members of the Defence Forces, for what you have achieved during so short a period, and I thank the people of Pakistan from whom we have received patience and genuine support in every effort that we have made to put forward the programme of the first year.

"But that is not enough. Remember, that the establishment of Pakistan is a fact of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is one of the largest Muslim States in the world, and it is destined to play its magnificent part year after year, as we go on, provided we serve Pakistan honestly, earnestly and selflessly.

"I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions.

"The story of the millions of refugees who had to flee from their homes across our borders and seek asylum in

Pakistan is well known to you all. The tragedy occurred even before our State had had time to settle down. In fact it involved also a large proportion of the people who, as Government personnel, were to set up the very machinery of the State. I know that it has not been possible to do all that might have been desired for these homeless and oppressed brethren of ours. There are still many hardships that many of them have to face. But the very fact that a large number of the refugees have already been rehabilitated in their new home with prospect of a new and a happier life ahead of them, is an achievement of no mean order. But for the spirit of brotherhood shown by the people of Pakistan and the courage with which the people as well as the Government faced the almost overwhelming difficulties created by a catastrophe, unparallel in the history of the world, the entire structure of the State might well have crumbled down.

"Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic manoeuvres would achieve the object they had at heart. With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited. Our first budget was a surplus one; there is a favourable balance of trade, and a steady and an all-round improvement in the economic field.

"One year is a brief period in the history of a State for finally assessing its progress or predicting its future. But the way in which tremendous difficulties have been overcome, and solid progress recorded during the last twelve months, gives a firm basis for optimism. In the administrative field, we had to start from scratch at the centre. And in the West Punjab, at the very inception of our State, we had to face very nearly a breakdown of administrative machinery. But I am glad to say that we have

successfully dealt with all threats to our solidarity, and on some major questions of the day, the Pakistan Government has displayed not only its determination but its capacity to deal effectively with the various world problems that have arisen from time to time.

"Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God speed! *Pakistan Zindabad*".

((A.P.I.) *The Civil & Military Gazette, August 15, 1948.*)

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With the officers of Armed Forces. at Staff College, Quetta.



LORD MOUNTBATTEN LISTENING TO MR JINNAH'S INAUGURAL SPEECH
AS THE FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN, AUGUST 14, 1947



Talking with Liaqat Ali Khan on some matter.



MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH AND HIS SISTER, MISS FATIMA JINNAH



Karachi, Jan. 23, 1948. Reading his speech at P.N.F. base.



Nowshera, April 13, 1948. Shaking hand with the officers of Armoured Corps.

Risalpur, April 13, 1948. Talking with P. A. F. officers at Risalpur Air Base.





Inspecting the Royal Air Force workshop at Risalpur.

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