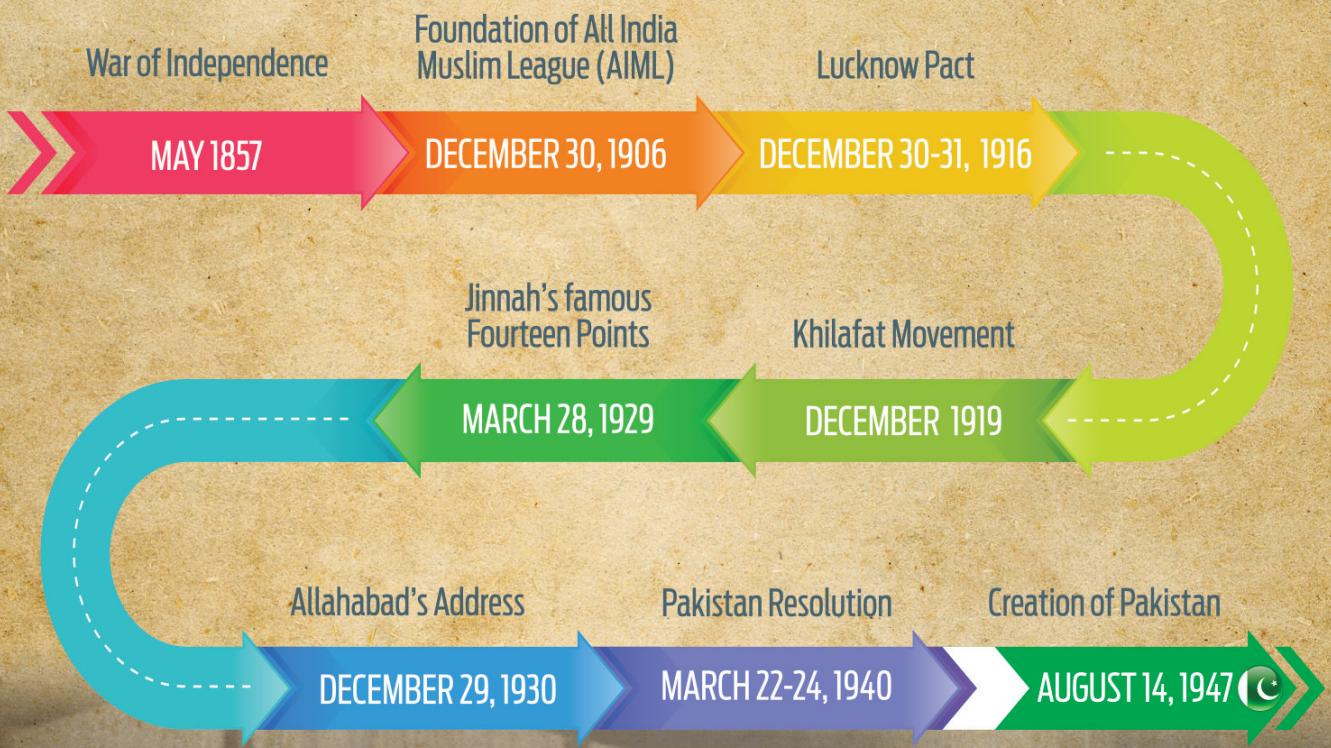


STRUGGLE FOR **PAKISTAN**

A CHRONOLOGICAL TIMELINE **1857-1947**



Struggle for Pakistan

A Chronological Timeline
(1857-1947)

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Struggle for Pakistan

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The booklet is a sequel to “Foundational thoughts of Pakistan Movement”, already published by Hilal Publications. It is dedicated to the youth of Pakistan with a hope to correctly understand the vision of the Founding Fathers, value the sacrifices of millions, rendered during the struggle of Pakistan, and make Pakistan a truly great country in comity of nations. Hilal Publications is thankful to Prof Dr. Riaz Ahmed, an eminent scholar in Pakistan Studies, whose in-depth researched articles written on Pakistan Movement were initially published in Monthly Magazine “Hilal English”. The present booklet is compilation of those articles, and it is hoped that these will help students in grasping the struggle of Pakistan, in its entirety yet in a brief manner.

Struggle for Pakistan

A Chronological Timeline

(1857-1947)

MAY 1857

War of Independence, which the British call “*Mutiny*”, started under the leadership of Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal ruler.

SEPTEMBER 19-20, 1857

British forces captured the *Red Fort* by entering through the *Lahore Gate* which was seized by Brig Jones. Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar escaped to tomb of King Humayun along with his family.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1857

Bahadur Shah Zafar was arrested by Captain William Hodson along with two queens, three sons, Jawan Bakht, Mirza Mughal, Khizr Sultan and grandson Abu Bakr. Two princes were shot dead by Captain William Hodson and their severed heads were brought before the King.

JANUARY-MARCH 1858

Bahadur Shah Zafar was tried by the Military Court. Finally, it was decided that the King along with his two wives Zeenat Mahal and Taj Mahal and his young son, Jawan Bakht be exiled to Rangoon (now Yangon), Myanmar.

NOVEMBER 7, 1862

Bahadur Shah Zafar died in Rangoon (Myanmar) and was buried there.

1867

Prominent Hindus campaigned to replace the existing court language Urdu (Persian script) with Hindi (Devanagari script). Reacting to this Sir Syed Ahmed Khan met Mr. Shakespeare, Commissioner of Banaras, and said to him: "Now I am convinced that these two nations will not work united in any cause. At present, there is no open hostility between them. But, on account of the so-called educated people, it will increase a hundredfold in the future. He, who is alive at that time, will see it come to pass."

APRIL 29, 1870

Sir Syed wrote to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk: "This is a proposal which will make Hindu-Muslim unity impossible to achieve. Muslims will never agree to Hindi and if Hindus, also following the new move, insist on Hindi, they will also not agree to Urdu. The result will be that the Hindus and Muslims will be completely separated".

DECEMBER 26, 1870

On his return from England, Sir Syed started a Society for the Educational Progress of Indian Muslims at Banaras. This Society later became the basis on which the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was founded.

MAY 25, 1875

Opening ceremony of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was arranged by Sir Syed at Aligarh, but the classes started on June 1, 1875. This M.A.O. College was later raised to the status of a Muslim University in 1921.

JANUARY 12, 1883

As Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, speaking on the Local Self-Government Bill, said: “The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed, and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the sociopolitical life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever”.¹

DECEMBER 28, 1885

Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in December 1885. Sir Syed called upon the Muslims not to join this party because it was the representative body of Hindus, not of Muslims. As the Muslims form a separate nation, they will be required to form their own

¹ Fazale Kareem, *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: Reformer and First Protagonist of Muslim Nationalism*, (Islamabad: National Book Council, 2003), 240-256.

separate body. At that time there was not a sizeable educated class all over British India which could form a separate body of the Muslims. Therefore, in a number of speeches he called upon them to devote their efforts towards education.² It was after his death in 1898 that his associates established a Muslim party.

1887

In a forceful speech, Sir Syed said: “When our Hindu brethren... wish to make a move which involves a loss to us and humiliation to our nation we cannot remain friendly, and undoubtedly it is our duty to protect our nation from those attacks of the Hindus... which, we are sure, are going to harm our nation.”

OCTOBER 27, 1888

Badruddin Tyabji, a Muslim leader from Bombay who had joined the INC, wrote a letter to A. O. Hume, Secretary-General of the Congress, in which he informed him: “An overwhelming majority of Mohammedans is against the movement (Indian National Congress). Against this array it is useless saying that the intelligent and educated Mohammedans are in favour of the Congress.... I observe increasing bitterness between Hindus and Mussalmans”. He also explained that well known Muslims such as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Amir Ali and Abdul Latif were against the Congress.

1888

In a speech at Meerut, Sir Syed said: “The proposals of the Congress are extremely inexpedient for the country which is inhabited by two different nations.... Now, suppose that all the English were to leave India.... then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations – the Mohammedans and the Hindus – could sit on the same throne and remain equal in

² Ibid., 240-256.

power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.”

MARCH 27, 1898

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan passed away.

OCTOBER 16, 1905

Partition of Bengal. The British decided to redraw boundaries, the provinces of Bengal and Assam were re-constituted to form two provinces – Western Bengal, and Eastern Bengal and Assam – because of administrative problems as Bengal was too big a province for one governor to administer. Incidentally Western Bengal became the Hindu majority province, and the Eastern Bengal and Assam became a Muslim majority province. The Hindus started the Swadeshi Movement against this partition, especially against the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam because it became another Muslim majority province. This factor aroused the Muslims all over British India and made them conscious enough to start their own separate political party which was established in the next year. Ultimately, the British Government bowed down before the Swadeshi Movement and reunited both provinces by ending the partition in 1911.

OCTOBER 1, 1906

Simla Deputation. A delegation of 35 prominent Muslim leaders from all over the subcontinent headed by Sir Aga Khan III met the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla and presented the Muslim demands that the Muslims were a distinct community with additional interests of their own, which were not shared by other communities. They had hitherto suffered from the fact they had not been adequately represented. In reply, Lord Minto assured the Muslims that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded in the coming electoral representation.

DECEMBER 27, 1906

Jinnah, who was already a member of the INC since 1906, attended the 22nd Congress session at Calcutta as a delegate from Bombay Province. But the fact remains that despite being member of the Congress he advocated the Muslim cause at the Congress sessions. At this session, Jinnah pleaded that: i) Muslims should be given equal status along with the Hindus in the National Congress; ii) The Muslim community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community; and, iii) The Congress should work for the restoration of Muslim *wakf-alal-aulad* (Muslim wakf rights) issue for which a resolution was passed.

DECEMBER 30, 1906

All India Muslim League (AIML) was founded at Dacca (now Dhaka) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Mussalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government. This was done by a resolution moved by Nawab Salimullah Khan Bahadur of Dacca. By another resolution moved by Nabiullah, various provincial committees were formed to have this body established in all provinces of the Indian Subcontinent. Another resolution moved by Nabiullah, various provincial committees to have this body established in all the provinces of the Indian Subcontinent. Nawab Salimullah Khan Bahadur of Dacca in his address after moving the resolution said that the AIML would be the representative voice of all the Muslims of British India. Therefore, “formation of a separate organization of the Mussalmans is necessary” as it will represent “the views of the Mussalmans of India”.

FEBRUARY 20, 1909

In a letter to the Times of India (Bombay), Jinnah supported the Muslim cause that in the new reforms the Muslims should be given

the right of separate representation based on separate electorates at the central and provincial legislative assemblies.

AUGUST 2, 1909

Jinnah moved a resolution at a meeting of the *Anjuman-i-Islam*, Bombay by which he demanded from the Government to form separate Mussalman electorates in consultation with Mussalman leaders.

JANUARY 4, 1910

Muslim members of the Bombay Legislative Council elected Jinnah by a majority vote as member of the Imperial Legislative Council for a term of three years.

FEBRUARY 1910

Though not member of the Muslim League, Jinnah attended a meeting of the Council of AIML on invitation.

DECEMBER 31, 1912

On a special invitation, Jinnah attended the meeting of AIML Council at Bankipur which was presided over by Sir Aga Khan. On Jinnah's motion, a resolution was passed by this Council by which it was demanded that the goal of AIML should be to get system of self-government suitable to India, and not on the colonial model as demanded by the INC.

MARCH 5, 1913

On a motion by Jinnah, the Imperial Legislative Council passed the Mussalaman Wakf Validating Bill after discussion for two years. This was the first bill moved by a private member of the Imperial Council. This was accomplishment of a great demand of the Muslims since the time of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who had advocated this issue before the British Government many times.

OCTOBER 10, 1913

Jinnah formally joined the AIML by signing the proforma of party membership on which Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Syed Wazir Hasan also testified.

DECEMBER 20, 1913

Jinnah presided over the meeting of *Anjuman-i-Islam*, Bombay to welcome Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Syed Wazir Hasan on their return from England where they had gone to plead the cause the *Cawnpore Mosque* issue.

DECEMBER 26-28, 1913

At the INC's session in Karachi, Jinnah got the Congress to agree to the Muslim League's demand for the grant of self-government as suitable to India.

JULY 28, 1914

First World War started in Europe in which the whole world was engulfed. The British, as leader of the Allied Forces, fully participated in the War against opposing *Central Powers* led by Germany. The problem for the Indian Muslims was that *Ottoman Empire* sided with the *Central Powers*. In this way British Government saw it as their enemy. As a fear from the Indian Muslims, the Indian British Government secretly contacted some Muslim leaders so that the annual session of AIML could not be held in December 1914. This was on the plea that the holding of AIML session would tantamount to as being against the interests of the British Government. Jinnah thought that the Indian Muslims were being led on the wrong path through some "wire-pullers". But the problem was that at that time Jinnah had not become a member of the AIML Council. It was in February 1915 that Jinnah was elected as member of the AIML Council.

APRIL 12, 1915

Jinnah, on becoming member of the AIML Council, contacted a number of Muslim leaders. By April 12, 1915 he was able to get signatures of twenty-eight Muslim leaders on a requisition for holding the AIML session in Bombay.

APRIL 26, 1915

Jinnah sent requisition to Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the AIML, requesting for the session of the AIML to be held in Bombay. This requisition was signed by thirty-three Muslim leaders.

JUNE 6, 1915

Meeting of the AIML Council was held in Bombay for the purpose of making a decision for holding AIML session in Bombay. A decision could not be taken because of opposition of Suleman Cassim Haji Mitha and Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad, President and Vice-President of the Bombay Muslim League. As a result of this, a controversy started in the columns of Bombay newspapers in which Jinnah group and the Mitha group wrote against each other.

NOVEMBER 10, 1915

Meeting of the AIML Council held in Lucknow decided to hold the next session of the AIML in Bombay on invitation from the Jinnah group of Muslim leaders. Mitha group was defeated and the decision of the Council was taken by 49 to 13 votes. Thus, Jinnah prevailed over the deliberations of the Muslim League.

NOVEMBER 11, 1915

Jinnah published an appeal to the Muslim leaders in the newspapers of Bombay in which he called upon all of them to sink their differences and close their ranks so that it could be proved that "we are fit for the real political franchise, freedom and self-government". Concluding his appeal, he said: "In conclusion, I urge

all the Mohammedans to rally round the flag of the All India Muslim League and, as true patriots, stand by its constitution and thus make the community feel proud of the only political organization it possesses at present”.

DECEMBER 9, 1915

On the desire of the Mitha group, a delegation of the Bombay Muslim League leaders – led by Jinnah – met Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay at the Governor House in which Sir Ali Imam, the Law Member of Viceroy’s Executive Council, Jinnah, Faiz Tyabji, Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Muhammad Hakim Abdullah Shah, Sharif Devji Kanji, Suleman Abdul Wahid, Suleman Cassim Mitha and Rafiuddin participated. All concerns of the Government with respect to the holding of AIML session in Bombay were removed. The Government also agreed that it would not oppose the holding of the session.

DECEMBER 30-31, 1915 TO JANUARY 1, 1916

Three-day session of the AIML was held in Bombay presided over by Mazharul Haq, a friend of Jinnah. When there was some disturbance on December 31, Jinnah was asked to control the session. Jinnah did so and the third day’s proceedings were held at Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay. The successful holding of the session proved Jinnah’s dominance over the League’s proceedings. Towards the end of session, the President thus thanked Jinnah: “Mr. Jinnah, we the Mussalmans of India thank you” – a remark acclaimed by “loud” and “continued” cheers by the audience. At this session, Jinnah succeeded in appointing a committee of the Muslim League members to negotiate with the Congress committee members for finalization of a joint scheme of reforms. This committee was to negotiate with the committee appointed by the Congress – formed as a result of a motion by Banerjea, also a friend of Jinnah – for developing joint scheme of reforms on December 27, 1915. It was Jinnah’s personality which made the Muslims,

Hindus, and Parsis work together and successfully hold the League and the Congress sessions at the same time in Bombay. This showed Jinnah's popularity and people's faith in his ideals.

NOVEMBER 9, 1916

Bombay High Court Bench hearing the Tilak Sedition Case accepted Tilak's plea advocated by Jinnah, as the leader of a group of lawyers appearing in the High Court on behalf of Tilak, that Tilak's criticism of the "sarkar" should not be taken as criticism of the British Crown but of the government or the bureaucracy. What Tilak's criticism meant was for the betterment of the performance of the bureaucracy through act of parliament and not otherwise. This argument of Jinnah was accepted by Justice Bachelor, head of the High Court Bench, who pronounced the judgment and released Tilak from all bonds. Though this judgment was disliked by Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, the Viceroy did not favor him. This was a great victory on the part of Jinnah who, for the first time in Indian history, got the right of official existence of the opposition in Indian legislature.

DECEMBER 30-31, 1916

9th session of AIML was held in Lucknow which was presided over by Jinnah as per the decision of the AIML Council. It was at this session that a joint scheme of reforms, concurrently prepared by the Congress and Muslim League Committees, was approved which decided that a "complete self-government in India" should be established on the basis of Lucknow Pact which was adopted by the Muslim League and the Congress. This joint scheme known as the Lucknow Pact approved the scheme of democracy based on separate scheme of electorates for the Muslims and other minorities. The two parties had already approved this scheme some days before their sessions at Lucknow. This was not only the first pact which the two greatest political parties agreed on but was also a pact between two nations – Hindus and Muslims. This was the

realization of Jinnah's long-held view that unless the two nations were united, the British Government will not hand over power to Indians. But this Pact proved a short-lived affair because of dominance of M. K. Gandhi in the Congress' politics in 1920. However, Jinnah's ideals remained to be realized until later when in the 1940s Congress and the AIML had to agree again, though not as part of the same nation but as two separate nations representing the two countries – Hindustan and Pakistan.

Jinnah had already contacted the British Government that a Joint Scheme of Reforms was being settled between AIML and the Congress – the two largest political organizations of the country – and the Government should be ready to negotiate with the political leaders for the grant of self-government suitable to India. For this purpose, the British Government formed a Round Table group headed by Lionel Curtis, a member of Bombay Governor's Executive Council. Curtis attended these Lucknow Sessions. Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and some other officials were also in attendance in these sessions.

JANUARY 26, 1917

Jinnah arranged a meeting of 70 politicians with the Round Table official group headed by Lionel Curtis in Bombay which lasted for about two hours for the purpose of evolution of new reforms for the grant of self-government suitable to India. The matter could not be settled. When the British Government had introduced the idea of self-government on the colonial model in 1905, it was given that when a sizeable educated class – no less than 10% – in India would come into being, the British Government would grant self-government to the Indians.

APRIL 1917

In a number of public addresses and at the Imperial Legislative Assembly speeches Jinnah demanded that since the educated Indians had grown at 12% of its population, therefore they deserved to be granted self-government as already promised by the British Government.

AUGUST 20, 1917

British Government made a policy announcement that it is not responsible for the educated class of Indians, but for the people of India. It also clearly announced that until the people were not capable enough to attain independence, the British would continue to rule the country. In this way the entire politics of India changed and new developments took place which led to the rise of Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress' politics. Jinnah termed this announcement of the British Government in line with the British "imperial" policy.

APRIL 19, 1918

Jinnah's marriage with Rattanbai took place in Bombay. Before being married to Jinnah, she embraced Islam and her marriage rites were performed according to the Islamic rites.

DECEMBER 10, 1918

Lord Willingdon, the retiring Governor of Bombay, was to be given a farewell address and a proposal was presented for a memorial to Lord Willingdon for successfully working as the Governor. This effort of the Government and their supporters was foiled by a demonstration in which more than three thousand people participated under Jinnah's leadership. As a result of this public demonstration headed by Jinnah this memorial meeting was thwarted and made a failure. This was a great victory for Jinnah who was later honored by way of a memorial hall named Jinnah's People's Memorial Hall. It was constructed by using public funds

that were collected to raise a statue of Jinnah in the Bombay Town Hall and still stands today as a memorial to Jinnah.

MARCH 28, 1919

As a protest against the passage of Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill (popularly known as the *Rowlatt Act*), which had recently been passed by the Imperial Legislative Council, Jinnah resigned from the membership of Imperial Legislative Council. In a letter he addressed to the Viceroy, Jinnah made it clear that “the passing of the *Rowlatt Bill* by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice”. Jinnah further wrote: “The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the state by an over fretful and incompetent bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion.”

APRIL 13, 1919

Following Jinnah’s resignation, there started a demonstration against the Government. It was declared that April 13, 1919 will be observed as a protest day all over India. It was on this day that *Jallianwala Tragedy* (also known as *Jallianwala Bagh* massacre) in Amritsar occurred in which more than four hundred people were killed by British Indian forces led by Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer. Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah were to address such a protest gathering in Bombay but the Government suppressed holding of this protest rally in Bombay. They then proceeded to Hyderabad (Deccan) and addressed a protest meeting there.

APRIL 26, 1919

The possibility of arresting Jinnah was discussed for some months but on April 26, 1919 a decision was taken to ban Jinnah’s

newspaper *Bombay Chronicle* and its editor Benjamin G. Horniman, a British journalist, was deported to England. Thus Jinnah was deprived of his newspaper for stirring the Indian people against the British Government. As a matter of fact, the Government avoided arresting Jinnah because of his “pragmatic” and popular ideas which, if he was arrested, would gain support of the people. The Government worked so as to control the publicity of his ideas. It was in this background that Gandhi was secretly encouraged to come at the forefront of politics and check the popularity of Jinnah. The Hindu mind was already ready for it because they also feared the dominance of Jinnah as a Muslim leader in the Congress, which was considered against the interest of the *Hindu Raj*.

AUGUST 27, 1919

Jinnah, being the leader of the Muslim delegation, along with his delegation met Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in London and presented the Muslim viewpoint regarding Ottoman Turkey and preservation of Holy Places of Islam in Arabia.

DECEMBER 23, 1919

Government of India Act 1919, incorporating the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was approved by the Crown after the Bill was passed by the British Parliament. For the purpose of presenting his viewpoint regarding these reforms, Jinnah visited London and presented his viewpoint before Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in the Joint Parliamentary Meeting and other forums.

DECEMBER 30, 1919

The sessions of AIML and INC were simultaneously held at Amritsar as sympathy for the martyrs of *Jallianwala Bagh*. This was all done in accordance with Jinnah's planning. The most important issue in these sessions was whether to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 1919 or reject them. In these

sessions two groups emerged: 1) Tilak-Das group who wanted to reject the new reforms; 2) Jinnah-Gandhi group who wanted to accept these reforms with some amendments. Ultimately Jinnah-Gandhi group prevailed over the deliberations of the AIML and Congress, and respective resolutions were passed with the support of the majority. The AIML session, which was presided over by Hakim Ajmal Khan, passed another resolution with the support and amendment of Jinnah which made it clear that in the future in India further efforts would be made “to protect and advance the political, religious, and other rights and interests of Indian Mussalmans”. In the original resolution, the word ‘religious’ was not included. It was because of Jinnah’s suggestion that the word was also included.

DECEMBER 28, 1920

Jinnah attended the Nagpur Congress session. In this session, Gandhi introduced his resolution to intensify the *Non-Cooperation* or *Satyagraha Movement* by which elections under the new reforms were to be boycotted. Schools, educational institutions and foreign goods were also to be boycotted. The lawyers were also required to boycott the courts all over the country. This was against the stance of Jinnah for which Gandhi promised to work the new reforms in the Amritsar Session of the Congress on December 26, 1919. Jinnah tried his best to appeal to the participants but his sane call was not heard because Gandhi had aroused the religious sentiments of both the Hindu and Muslim youths and leaders. The Muslims were stirred over the *Khilafat issue* and danger to the holy places of Islam in Arabia. In this matter, Gandhi got the support of *Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind* and the *Central Khilafat Committee* by ignoring Jinnah and his AIML. The Hindu youth were also secretly stirred that the rise of Jinnah in the Congress and AIML alike was considered against the interests of the *Hindu Raj*. This was prepared under the secret role of the Hindu youth headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. After the Congress Amritsar session, Gandhi had gradually changed and got the support of *Home Rule League*,

Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind, and *Central Khilafat Committee* before capturing over the Congress politics at the Nagpur sessions. Jinnah thought this a dangerous scenario for the future of the Muslims, which a number of Muslim leaders including the Ali brothers were to realize later. Therefore, Jinnah left the Congress and devoted all of his political activities to the Muslims led by AIML. Jinnah developed the belief that Gandhi had deceived him by turning against the promises he had made to him in December 1919 at the Congress Amritsar session.

1922

During this year in February, Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation Movement when he saw this issue had divided the Indian people. It was not only that the Muslims became divided, but the Hindus as well. All this was witnessed at Congress Gaya session held on December 26, 1922. For all this there was none but Gandhi who was responsible. The AIML session in December was also not held. Jinnah, as President of the AIML, took the responsibility of keeping the Muslim people united around one political party.

MARCH 31-APRIL 1, 1923

It was because of efforts of Jinnah that the annual session of the AIML was held at Lucknow. G. M. Bhurgri, a close associate of Jinnah, presided over this session. This session was prorogued because of some divergent views amongst the League leaders for the revival of AIML.

AUGUST 1923

Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, who was arrested in the Khilafat Movement agitation in 1921, was released from jail. This was because on July 1923 the *Lausanne Treaty* was concluded by which Istanbul was vacated by the British forces “removing the major Muslim complaint against the British”. In this way “the Khilafat movement had lost much of its momentum” because Gandhi had

separated himself from the Khilafat Movement. This had disappointed Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar.

SEPTEMBER 4-8, 1923

Special Congress session was held in Delhi in which Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar participated. Maulana Jauhar sided with C. R. Das' Council-entry programme, instead of Gandhi's path which was against the proposal. Gandhi considered the Council-entry programme actually mooted by Jinnah, who had already left the Congress.

NOVEMBER 14, 1923

Jinnah was elected unopposed as member of Indian Legislative Assembly from the Bombay constituency.

MAY 24-25, 1924

The prorogued AIML session was held in Lahore presided over by Jinnah in which Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar also participated. A number of AIML leaders appreciated Jinnah's efforts for the revival of Muslim League because of the reason that "under the present circumstances" it was "most essential to voice our grievances and to safeguard and advance our rights and privileges in India". In this way majority of the Muslim leaders had become favorable to Jinnah's concern for revival of AIML and his thinking that for the future of the Muslims of British India, the revival of the League was of utmost importance. Some days before the holding of this session of the AIML at Lahore, Jinnah gave an interview to the press in which he explained that there was great danger to the existence of Muslims in the Indo-Pak subcontinent because of the rise of *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan movements* who have made a point of playing music near the Muslim mosques. Under these circumstances, there was no other organization other than the AIML that could save the future of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1924

In June 1924 the Government of India appointed the Reforms Enquiry Committee (also known as the Muddiman committee) headed by A. P. Muddiman, of which Jinnah was also appointed a member. For some months this Committee interviewed a number of people and conducted its proceedings, finalizing its report in November 1924. There occurred a split in the proceedings of this Committee. The majority members wrote a separate report i.e., the Majority Report while Jinnah along with three other members (Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, and R. P. Paranjpye) wrote a Minority Report which disagreed with the Majority Report. Both these reports were submitted on December 3, 1924. In the Minority Report, it was on insistence from Jinnah that the AIML Resolution was included which demanded that: 1) Separate electorates should be continued and included in the new reforms; 2) Federal constitution should be proposed by which autonomy of the provinces should be maintained; 3) Integrity of the Muslim majority provinces must be maintained in the new constitution; and 4) On any communal issue, the majority will not impose its will on the minority community unless and until $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of the concerned community agree to it.

DECEMBER 30-31, 1924

16th session of AIML was held in Bombay and presided over by Jinnah. In this session majority of the Muslim leaders from all over India participated and agreed for the revival of AIML, including Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, who erstwhile had not agreed. Now, he not only agreed to the revival of AIML but “garlanded Mr. Jinnah at the conclusion of proceedings and embraced him and kissed him on both cheeks amidst loud outburst of applause from the audience”. In his speech Jinnah made it clear that it was the “practical situation” in the political sense which made him struggle

for the revival of the party, a decision which was essential for the future survival of Muslims as a whole in the Indo-Pak subcontinent.

MARCH 1925

Under the pressure from Congress and Swarajya parties, the Government was not ready to accept the Minority Report. In a press conference on March 1925, Jinnah made it clear that unless the new constitution was not framed in the light of the Minority Report, the Muslims would not accept the new constitution. The Government considered it a threat from Jinnah and delayed the constitutional proposals in fear of Jinnah who was still very popular and effective in the Indian politics.

JUNE 1925

The Government of India appointed the Indian *Sandhurst Committee* (also known as the *Skeen Committee*) headed by Lieutenant General Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General Staff and with a number of members of the Central Legislative Assembly including Jinnah. The purpose of this Committee was to probe into the possibility of how the Indian applicants could be granted commission in the Indian Army and whether it was desirable and practicable to establish a military college in India to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army and, if a military college was established in India, it should supersede or be supplemented by Sandhurst and Woolwich so far as the training of Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is concerned. Jinnah had been speaking for this cause in the Central Assembly since the World War I. All the elected members of the Central Assembly became favorable to Jinnah's concept of grant of commission to the Indians in the Army so that Indians could take up the defence of India.

AUGUST 1925-APRIL 1926

The Indian Sandhurst Committee visited various prominent educational institutions all over British India and interviewed various personalities all over the country. Jinnah put forth probing questions which directed people to answer in favor of grant of commission to the Indians in the Army. The Committee also appointed a three-member Sub-committee headed by Jinnah. Two other members were: Sir Phiroze Sethna and Zorawar Singh, who were also members of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly. This Sub-committee was given the task of visiting the military institutions of UK, France, U.S. and Canada.

MAY-AUGUST 1926

The Indian Sandhurst Sub-committee headed by Jinnah visited the military institutions of UK, France, U.S. and Canada and finalized their report on August 9, 1926. This Sub-committee report was written by Jinnah himself which the other members endorsed. Wherever the Sub-Committee went, Jinnah was vocal enough to enquire into the pinching matters which the British rulers were not happy to note and were rather perturbed.

AUGUST 13, 1926

On his arrival in Bombay, Jinnah issued a press statement in which he said: "We saw various institutions in France, England, Canada and America. The system, no doubt, was different in each country. You cannot take any single system en bloc and apply it to India having regard to the circumstances of this country. Therefore, you will have to consider what particular elements in each system would suit Indian conditions and probably it will ultimately be a combined system in its main features. Whatever system India may adopt ultimately its success will greatly depend upon enlisting the cooperation of the educational authorities in India".

NOVEMBER 1926

Jinnah was elected member of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly. In this election there were two other contestants against Jinnah. On the election day, seeing the poor return of voters from Bombay, the two other candidates announced their withdrawal from the contest. Jinnah won with overwhelming majority. His opponents were: Hassenbhai A. Lalji supported by Swarajya Party and Salehbhoy K. Barodawala, Sheriff of Bombay as an independent. Jinnah secured 2700 votes against 700 secured by his opponents.

APRIL 26, 1927

Jinnah addressed a public meeting in Bombay arranged by Servants of India Society in which he lamented that the Indian Sandhurst Committee Report has not been published and clarified: "So long as India was unable to defend herself, no *Swaraj* would come to her either from outside or from within". Despite such complaints on the part of Jinnah and other members of Indian Central Legislative Assembly, the British Government avoided implementation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee Report. It was in 1932 that the Indian Military Academy was established in India.

AUGUST 10, 1928

The All Parties Congress Committee popularly known as the Nehru Committee published its report. The Committee was chaired by Motilal Nehru with his son Jawaharlal Nehru as the Secretary. This Committee rejected the separate electorate for Muslims and other smaller communities. All the Muslim demands made by Jinnah under the Delhi Muslim Proposals of March 1927 were ignored. The tone of Hindu Raj was visible in the language and tenor of the Report. This opened the eyes of different sections of the Muslims, especially those living in the Muslim majority provinces. All sections of Muslim population felt threatened by the *Nehru Report*.

Majority of the Muslim leaders belonging to different parties felt alarmed by the tone of the Nehru Report regarding Muslims. The Muslim India as a whole rose in revolt against this Report.

MARCH 28, 1929

Jinnah presented his famous *Fourteen Points* before the AIML Council in which he made it clear that: 1) Muslim representation in the Central Legislative cannot be less than one-third and that was to be based on separate electorates; 2) Muslim majority provinces – Bengal, NWFP, Punjab and Balochistan – will not be disturbed at any cost; 3) Sindh should be separated from Bombay; 4) Constitutional guarantees are required for the adequate safeguards of the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, and Muslim charitable institutions; 5) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

JUNE 19, 1929

Jinnah wrote a letter to the newly elected British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald pleading that the Simon Commission's report, due to be submitted to the British Government, should not be taken as a true reflection of the Indian opinion. Therefore, Jinnah suggested to the Prime Minister that the Indian politicians of different sections should be invited to discuss with them the final draft of the constitutional bill reflecting the true Indian opinion covering different sections of the Indian society.

OCTOBER 31, 1929

On the direction of British Prime Minister, the Viceroy of India Lord Irwin announced the holding of Round Table Conference (RTC) in London in the next year for final settlement of Indian constitutional issues.

DECEMBER 30-31, 1929

Indian National Congress approved the starting of Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) by which the British Indian Government was to be forced to hand over power to them ignoring the Muslims and other communities. This made the Muslim leaders of all sections further alert of the Congress' designs.

JANUARY 31, 1930

In a meeting with a group of Hindu leaders led by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Jinnah made it clear that from now on the AIML will not compromise with the Congress and other parties with nothing short of the *Fourteen Points* already presented by him. Jinnah also termed the *Nehru Report* signaling the parting of ways.

FEBRUARY 3, 1930

AIML Council was held under the chairmanship of Jinnah which called upon the British Indian Government not to be cowed down by the Congress' threat or that of its *Civil Disobedience Movement*. It further called upon the Government to hold the RTC (Round Table Conference) as early as possible.

FEBRUARY 28, 1930

Jinnah's efforts for uniting the two factions of the AIML – *Jinnah group* and *Shafi group* – culminated and AIML Council meeting was held in Delhi presided over by Jinnah. Shafi also participated. Over fifty Muslim leaders from different parts of the country participated in this meeting. Finally, it was announced that the two groups of AIML were united under Jinnah's leadership and Jinnah's Fourteen Points would now be the goal of AIML.

APRIL 22, 1930

Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar addressed a public meeting in Bombay in which most of the Muslim leaders belonging to all

segments of Muslims participated. In his address Maulana Jauhar denounced Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement because he believed that Gandhi's real objective was "to establish Hindu Raj".

MAY 1930

The Viceroy of India announced the schedule of *Round Table Conference* to be held in London in October 1930 to which various segments of leaders were to be invited, including Jinnah.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1930

In a press interview published in the newspapers, Jinnah warned the Congress leaders that they are committing a "grave mistake" by launching the Civil Disobedience Movement and that they have "failed" to understand the "present condition of India".³

OCTOBER 2, 1930

On the eve of his departure to London from Karachi, Jinnah made it clear that there were four principal parties in India: 1) British Government, 2) Indian States, 3) Hindus, and 4) Muslims. He made it clear that unless these four principal parties do not agree on a unanimous programme the RTC is bound to fail.

OCTOBER 1930

Jinnah was elected Member of Indian Central Legislative Assembly unopposed in the first week of October.

OCTOBER 25, 1930

A meeting of all the members of Central and Provincial Legislatures was held in Lucknow which was presided over by Raja of Salempur, leading taluqdar of Oudh. Jinnah could not participate in this meeting because he had already left for London to participate in the RTC. However, all the leaders unanimously agreed that a united

³ *Times of India*, September 8, 1930.

policy on the lines suggested by Jinnah's Fourteen Points will be pursued at the RTC in London.

DECEMBER 29, 1930

As planned by the AIML Council presided over by Jinnah, Allama Iqbal delivered his presidential address at the Allahabad Session of the AIML in which Iqbal demanded: "I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of the North-West India".⁴

Towards the end of his address Iqbal also said: "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 seventy million 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 organized will fixed on a definite purpose... And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalized by a single purpose".⁵

NOVEMBER 12, 1930-JANUARY 19, 1931

The *First Round Table Conference* was held in London opened by King George V. Jinnah and other political leaders of British India participated. The Plenary Session was presided over by Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister. Important Indian leaders

⁴ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: 1906-1947*, Vol. II, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007), 135-136

⁵ Ibid., 147.

including Jinnah also addressed the Plenary Session. Thereafter the delegates were split into various committees and sub-committees. Jinnah was member of a number of such committees such as the Federal Structure Sub-committee, Minorities Sub-Committee, Defence Sub-committee, and the Sub-Committee on the Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency. The reports of these committees were to go to the committee of the whole conference of which Jinnah was also a member. Jinnah spoke for the rights of Muslims and for the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency.

FEBRUARY 4, 1931

Jinnah gave interview to *Reuters* in London in which he announced his decision that he has decided to remain in England “indefinitely” so that he could “fight India’s battle in England” for the future of the Muslims. For this reason he had even decided to contest the coming elections for the Parliament from London.⁶

MARCH 30, 1931

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, M. A. Khuhro, Mir Mohamed Allabux, Mir Mohamed Baloch, Haji Abdullah Hassan and 20 other leaders from Sindh and Balochistan issued a joint press statement in London by which they urged upon the British Government to accept Jinnah’s Fourteen Points.⁷

APRIL 5-6, 1931

All India Muslim Conference was held in Delhi to which Gandhi was also invited. At this conference, Maulana Shaukat Ali urged Gandhi to accept Jinnah’s Fourteen Points. When Gandhi opposed this idea, Maulana Shaukat Ali warned Gandhi to “leave Muslims alone”.⁸

⁶ *Times of India*, February 6, 1931.

⁷ *Times of India*, April 1, 1931.

⁸ *Times of India*, April 6-7, 1931

JULY 31, 1931

Jinnah came to Bombay on a short visit. In his interview to the Times of India, he announced that he had come to India to resign from his membership of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly so that during his absence the electorate could elect a new member in his place. In this interview he also made it clear that there was major disagreement between the Hindu and Muslim leaders in the RTC and that unless the disagreement between the two nations – Hindus and Muslims – was resolved, there would be no constitutional agreement amongst the Indians.⁹

SEPTEMBER 4, 1931

On the eve of his departure Jinnah was given a big farewell by the Muslim Students Union in Bombay. During his speech, Jinnah made it clear: “What is a State? Does it mean that the seventy million Muslims should be tied hand and foot in a constitution where a particular class of Hindu can possibly tyrannize over and deal with them as they like? Is that representative government? Is that democratic government? Certainly not?”¹⁰

SEPTEMBER 5, 1931

On Rampur Ship, Jinnah, Allama Iqbal, Shafi Dawoodi, Secretary of All Parties Muslim Conference and other leaders sailed for England to participate in the London Round Table Conferences.

SEPTEMBER 7-DECEMBER 1, 1931

Second Round Table Conference was held in London. Jinnah and other political leaders including Allama Mohammad Iqbal participated. Mahatma Gandhi also participated in this conference. During the 2nd RTC, the Muslim delegation jointly framed their

⁹ *Times of India*, August 1, 1931.

¹⁰ *Times of India*, September 5, 1931.

strategy and elected Jinnah as their leader. In his speech at the Federal Structure Committee which was presided over by the British Prime Minister, Jinnah made it clear that “until and unless the Muslim demands and the safeguards are incorporated in the constitution it will not be acceptable to us [Muslims]”. Sir Muhammad Shafi, who followed Jinnah to express his view, supported Jinnah’s stance, saying: “Muslim interests of the eighty millions of His Majesty’s subjects must be safeguarded, those safeguards must be included in the constitution”. Dr. Ambedkar who was the leader of 50 million *untouchables* of British India also supported the Muslim demands. Gandhi, disliked this behavior of Dr. Ambedkar. He tried to create division between Jinnah and Ambedkar but failed. Jinnah’s Fourteen Points had already been presented to Lord Sankey, Chairman of this Committee, by Jinnah himself. In the meeting of this Committee on November 26, 1931 Jinnah made it clear that no constitution “will work for 24 hours” in India if it fails to meet the Muslim demands.¹¹ Jinnah’s bold stance at the RTC was “disliked” by the British Government but, as a matter of fact, continued to cause fear in the government circles.¹²

SEPTEMBER 1931

Jinnah purchased his West Heath House in Hampstead, London. Built in the style of 1880’s, the three-storied villa had many rooms and gables, a lodge, a drive, and eight acres of garden and pasture.

OCTOBER 29, 1931

All the Muslim delegates to the RTC met in London and decided to authorize Jinnah, Sir Aga Khan, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Ghuznavi to evolve a common formula for the security and protection of the interests of the minorities, including

¹¹ *Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November 1930-19th January 1931: Proceedings of Sub-Committee*, Vol. I, (London: HMSO, 1931), 276-333.

¹² Hoare to Willingdon, 5 April 1934, *Templewood Papers*, MSS. Eur. E. 240/4, British Library, OIOC, London.

the Muslims, in consultation with Sir Herbert Carr, Col Gidney, Dr. Ambedkar – a leader of the untouchables – and Pannir Selvan.¹³

NOVEMBER 7, 1931

An agreement was finally reached in London amongst the leaders of the Muslims and other minorities in India by which separate electorates for Muslims and other minorities was considered *sine qua non*.¹⁴ This perturbed Gandhi and the Congress. In its meeting held on November 8, 1931 the INC Working Committee condemned this unity amongst the minorities and requested Gandhi, who was in London at that time for the purpose of participation in the 2nd RTC, to come back to India.¹⁵

DECEMBER 31, 1931

A public meeting at Madras was presided over by Maulana Yakub Hassan, member of Indian Legislative Assembly and former Deputy Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly. In his presidential address, Maulana Yakub Hassan, referring to Iqbal's recent Allahabad Muslim League Session, explained, "Iqbal's utterances had given new complexion to the legitimate and rational demands of Muslims as contained in Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points".¹⁶

NOVEMBER 17-DECEMBER 24, 1932

Third Round Table Conference was held in London. Allama Iqbal and other politicians from British India participated. It ended without coming to any conclusion or agreement. Jinnah, however, was not invited to this conference.

¹³ *Times of India*, October 31, 1931.

¹⁴ *Times of India*, November 9, 1931.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Times of India*, January 2, 1932.

JANUARY 3, 1932

On a request from Jinnah, Nawab Ismail Khan and Maulana Shah Masood Ahmad, President and Secretary All India Muslim Conference respectively, in a statement issued from London resigned from their offices and announced the merger of All India Muslim Conference in the AIML.¹⁷ This was done for uniting the Muslims under the aegis of AIML.¹⁸

JUNE 1932

The Congress' Civil Disobedience Movement, initiated for the purpose of pressuring the British Government to hand over power to the Congress leaders, continued all over British India. The Muslim leaders of all the provinces were against this. Other minorities were also alarmed by Congress' Movement. Statements were being issued against each other. In this background Dr. Moonje, a Congress leader, remarked that Jinnah and Sir Aga Khan were in London as if they were Ambassadors-at-large of the Muslims at St. James Court. In this way the Congress leaders were doing their utmost to suppress the Muslims' identity as a nation or as a community.¹⁹

AUGUST 16, 1932

As there was unity amongst all the leaders of the minorities including the Muslims. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, in a statement announced on behalf of the British Government that His Majesty's Government proposed to grant separate electorates to the Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans living in British India in the central and provincial legislatures. In this statement the Muslim demand for creation of Sindh as a separate Muslim province was also accepted. It was also

¹⁷ *Times of India*, January 5, 1932.

¹⁸ *Times of India*, January 6, 1932.

¹⁹ *Times of India*, June 6, 1932.

made clear that the Muslim majorities in Bengal and Punjab will not be disturbed.²⁰ This is known as the *Communal Award*. This was done to pacify Jinnah and other Muslim leaders who had become united at the RTC.

OCTOBER 23, 1932

In a statement issued from London, Jinnah made it clear to both the Congress leaders and the British Government that unless there was a settlement between the Muslim and Hindu nations, no constitution in India could work in the coming future.²¹

JANUARY 1933

Choudhary Rahmat Ali, a student at Cambridge, issued a pamphlet titled “Now or Never” in which he coined the word “*Pakistan*”, which means ‘P’ derived from the Punjab, ‘A’ from Afghan (North-West Frontier Province now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), ‘K’ from Kashmir, ‘S’ from Sindh, and ‘tan’ from Balochistan. This scheme was also brought to the notice of Joint Parliamentary Committee which was framing the new constitutional reforms for India.

MARCH 5, 1933

A meeting of the Executive Board of All India Muslim Conference presided over by Allama Iqbal decided to merge the All India Muslim Conference with the AIML.

MARCH 12, 1933

A meeting of the AIML Council presided over by Abdul Aziz was held in Lahore. About 20 Muslim leaders including Sir Mohammad Iqbal, Sir Mohammad Yakub, Maulvi Shah Dawoodi, M. Yamin Khan, Captain Sher Mohammad Khan, Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmad, and Khan Sahib S. M. Abdullah participated. It was

²⁰ *Times of India*, August 17, 1932.

²¹ *Times of India*, October 24, 1932.

“unanimously resolved to invite Mr. Jinnah to give a lead to the Mussalmans of India in the present political situation and with that end in view to hold the annual session of the League on April 29 and 30, 1933 or such other date as would suit the convenience of Mr. Jinnah”.²²

MARCH 17, 1933

The *White Paper* was issued by the British Government from London in which the *Communal Award* was given parliamentary cover. It was on this basis that a Joint Parliamentary Committee by the British Parliament was formed to frame the new constitution of India which later took the shape of Government of India Act 1935.²³

MAY 12, 1933

Abdul Aziz, President of AIML, issued a press statement in which he disclosed that he had received a requisition signed by more than 100 Muslim leaders belonging to all the provinces of India – UP, Punjab, Bombay, Sindh, Madras, Bengal, Assam, CP and Berar, Madras, Delhi, NWFP, Bihar and Orissa – dated April 12, 1933 in which it had been requested to disband All India Muslim Conference and the AIML “being the old premier political organization of the Indian Mussalmans”, to be made the “Parliament of Indian Muslims”. This requisition also made it clear that “the presence of a personality like Mr. Jinnah is essential to lead, guide and unite the community in the present chaotic state of Muslim politics”.²⁴

DECEMBER 7, 1933

Sir Allama Mohammad Iqbal’s press statement was published in the newspapers in which he urged upon Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru

²² *Times of India*, May 13, 1933.

²³ *Times of India*, March 18, 1933.

²⁴ *Times of India*, May 13, 1933.

that “Either Indian majority community will have to accept for itself the permanent position of an agent of British imperialism of the East or the country will have to be redistributed on the basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities so as to do away with the question of electorates and the communal problem in its present form”.²⁵

JANUARY 4, 1934

Jinnah arrived in Bombay on a short visit to India. On his arrival he was given a rousing reception.

FEBRUARY 24, 1934

Debate on the “Constitutional Reforms and India” was held in Bombay which Jinnah attended as the chief guest. In his speech, Jinnah criticized certain aspects of the White Paper, especially the diarchy. Jinnah explained that the White Paper had not proposed a “genuine” federation.²⁶ He, however, made it clear that he accepts the Communal Award for the present.

APRIL 1-2, 1934

Jinnah came on a short visit to India and presided over AIML Council meeting held in Delhi in which the Communal Award was accepted. Some speakers at this meeting expressed a strong feeling that Mr. Jinnah should stay in the country at this critical hour. Mr. Jinnah replied that he could come back to the country at any time, by air when he needed, and that he would be promoting the interests of the country in England.”²⁷ It was at this meeting that both groups of the Muslim League became united making Jinnah their President. Jinnah was happy to note that the AIML had become united after a long time. In an interview Jinnah also said:

²⁵ *Times of India*, December 7, 1933.

²⁶ *Times of India*, February 26, 1934.

²⁷ *Times of India*, April 2, 1934.

“I was immensely impressed with most of the speeches made there by the various leaders, who had come from different provinces in India”. Thus, he was also happy to note that the AIML had become a “perfectly sound and healthy” organization.²⁸

MAY 24, 1934

Jinnah departed for England from Bombay with the happy memories that Muslim India had become united.

OCTOBER 1934

Jinnah was re-elected unopposed as Member of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly from his Bombay constituency despite being in London.

DECEMBER 14, 1934

Jinnah departed for India from London by ship, Venice.

JANUARY 3, 1935

Jinnah reached Bombay by ship.

JANUARY 16, 1935

A meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Council was held at the house of Allama Iqbal in Lahore. Allama Iqbal presided over this meeting as President of the Punjab Muslim League. In this meeting Congress’ attitude towards the Muslims was strongly condemned. The meeting also urged upon Jinnah as President of the AIML to focus on Muslim interests with full force.

JANUARY 24, 1935

Jinnah maneuvered amongst the Members of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly and managed to get his friend Sir Abdul

²⁸ *Times of India*, April 3, 1934.

Rahim elected as President of the Assembly by 70 votes to 62. The opponent, a Congress candidate, T. A. K. Sherwani was defeated.

FEBRUARY 7, 1935

Jinnah's called for a resolution asking for acceptance of the Communal Award and partial adoption of the provincial portion of the final report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) – which later became known as Government of India Act 1935 – but rejection of central portion of the JPC was passed by majority vote by the Indian Central Legislative Assembly. The Congress' resolution for total rejection of the JPC was defeated. It must be mentioned here that for the purpose of Assembly business the nomenclature of Jinnah's party was "Independent Party."

FEBRUARY 13, 1935

Congress inspired an anonymous letter in the name of "J" published in the *Times of India* in which Congress' frustration about Jinnah was expressed in this way: "Assembly by its approval of Mr. Jinnah's 'judgment' discarded all immediate thought of an Indian 'nation' embracing all India's peoples. What he wants apparently is the creation of a 'Hindu India' and a 'Muslim India' in the north, composed of a solid block of Muslim States extending from the Afghan frontier as far as and including Bengal. This will exist as a perpetual menace overhanging 'Hindu India' of the South". This meant that Jinnah was secretly working for the establishment of Pakistan.

FEBRUARY 16, 1935

The AIML Council chaired by Jinnah discussed various matters. A great concern was also expressed as to why Balochistan was not made a separate province at par with the other advanced provinces of India.

MARCH 1, 1935

Jinnah-Prasad Talks ended in failure. Talks were held between these two great leaders – Jinnah as President of the AIML and Rajendra Prasad as President of the Indian National Congress. The Congress President who had felt hurt on account of Jinnah's recent success in the Assembly feared that Jinnah may go for Pakistan. The Jinnah-Prasad Talks, however, failed to win over Jinnah on the issue of One Indian Nation.

APRIL 22, 1935

Jinnah addressed a meeting arranged by the Bombay Muslim Students Union in which he made it clear that the Hindu Mahasabha is working for the "complete supremacy and ascendancy of Hindus". They are not treating the Muslims as their equals. This is the position, Jinnah continued, under which the Congress is also working. This situation, Jinnah added, has forced the Muslims to resort to a different path.²⁹

APRIL 23, 1935

Jinnah sailed to London from Bombay for the purpose of watching the final debates on the Government of India Bill 1935 based on JPC in the British Parliament. The purpose of this visit was also Jinnah's concern that the Congress lobby might not be able to do anything against the separate electorates issue for the Muslims and the minorities.

JUNE 4, 1935

The Government of India Bill incorporating the JPC Report was passed by the House of Commons.

²⁹ *Times of India*, April 23, 1935.

JULY 24, 1935

After a debate in the House of Lords, the Government of India Bill, as passed by the House of Commons, was approved.

AUGUST 2, 1935

The Government of India Bill passed by the British Parliament received the Royal Assent and became the Government of India Act 1935 incorporating the Communal Award and other aspects of JPC Report.

OCTOBER 1935

Jinnah sold his property in London and returned to India.

APRIL 11-12, 1936

24th Session of AIML was held in Bombay and presided over by Syed Wazir Hassan. Jinnah also addressed this session. Addressing this session, Jinnah explained the coming dangers to the Muslims from the Congress and other Hindu organizations. In his speech, Jinnah made it clear that the Congress was “behaving like an ostrich, putting its head in the sand and thinking that nobody was observing it”. It was in this session that a unanimous resolution was passed by which Jinnah was authorized to constitute Muslim League Parliamentary Board consisting of 35 members for the purpose of coming elections. Full confidence in Jinnah was expressed in this session by various speakers as a “pilot” of the Muslim nation. The real purpose of this was that “the Muslims should organize themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme”.

JUNE 8-11, 1936

First meeting of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board was arranged in Lahore and presided over by Jinnah. Of the 35 leaders invited at this meeting only 23 leaders participated but they

represented all the provinces of India. Thirteen aims and objectives of the Parliamentary Board were finalized including the safe religious and political future of the Muslim nation, preservation of Urdu as a national language, and protection of Muslim culture, etc. These were the aims for which the provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Boards were to be formed. Jinnah, Abdul Matin Chaudhry, and Raja of Mahmudabad were elected President, Secretary and Treasurer of this Central Board respectively.

APRIL-OCTOBER 1936

Jinnah toured different provinces, especially Sindh, Punjab, NWFP (now KP), Bengal and Assam to convince different Muslim leaders of the concerned provinces to unite but his efforts could not materialize because in every province the Muslims themselves were divided into various groups or parties.

JANUARY 1937

In a statement to the press, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared: "Essentially there were only two parties in the country, namely, the Government and the Congress". Refuting this claim of Nehru, Jinnah declared that "there was a third party, namely, Indian Muslims".

JANUARY 13, 1937

Sir Mohammad Yakub, a prominent Muslim leader, gave an interview to the representative of the *Times of India* in which he said that the real objective of the Congress was to merge the Muslims into the Hindu majority. He supported Jinnah's efforts for the cause of the Muslim nation.

JANUARY-MARCH 1937

Election to the provincial legislatures was held in different provinces. Out of 482 seats reserved for the Muslims in the eleven

provinces, the AIML won only 25% of these seats, i.e., 106 seats. Congress could not win more than 5% of these seats, i.e., 26 seats. Along with it should also be known that of these 5% candidates, 3% belonged to the NWFP (now KP). The Congress' performance in other Muslim majority or minority provinces was not more than 2% as a whole. This showed that the Muslim nation's public opinion had turned against the Congress and other Hindu parties. However, the regional parties in the Muslim majority provinces attracted the Muslim masses. This meant that the Muslim population as a whole had turned against the *Hindu Raj* as claimed by the Congress and other Hindu parties.

MARCH 17-18, 1937

INC Working Committee meeting presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru was held in Delhi. In his address to this meeting, Nehru made it clear that the *Hindu Raj* was coming and that Congress was the only organization in the country with which the Government was authorized to negotiate. This alarmed all the Muslims, particularly those living in the Muslim majority provinces.

MARCH 21, 1937

In order to review the performance of AIML in the recent elections, a meeting of AIML Council was held. Expressing his view, Jinnah noted that the difference between the performance of Muslim majority provinces and Hindu majority provinces was "because of the differences between their cultures". Jinnah also emphasized that "Muslims must unite as a nation, and then live or die as a united nation".³⁰

³⁰ Quotes from the Proceedings of the Council Meeting of AIML, 21 March 1937, in AIML Papers, Vol. 222, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad.

APRIL 1937

As Congress started dictating the British Government after the recent elections, Nehru demanded that the British Governors not use their power of veto against the resolutions or bills passed by the Congress ministries or their legislature. In order to counter this claim of Congress, the British Government asked the winning parties in Muslim majority provinces to form their ministries. Accordingly, the ministries in Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Sindh and NWFP were formed.

JULY 1937

Congress ministries in six Hindu majority provinces – UP, CP, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, CP and Berar, Madras – were installed. With this the Congress started their propaganda against the AIML and Jinnah by leveling false charges so as to mislead the Muslim masses. Responding to these charges, Jinnah, in a statement to the press, warned Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders to desist from this effort of “vilifying” and “misrepresenting” the Muslim demands and the stand taken by AIML. Jinnah also decided to sponsor certain Muslim journals and newspapers so that the Muslim cause could be popularized.

OCTOBER 15-18, 1937

25th session of the AIML was held at Lalbagh, Lucknow which was presided over by Jinnah. Raja of Mahmudabad, who was Chairman of the Reception Committee, made arrangements for this session from his own pocket. This session was particularly significant given the participation of Chief Ministers of all the Muslim majority provinces including, A.K. Fazlul Haq, Premier of Bengal, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Premier of Punjab, Sir Saadullah Khan, Premier of Assam, and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sindh. The Congress Raj in six Hindu majority provinces was termed by the Congress leaders themselves as the “Hindu Raj”, a

matter which alarmed the Muslim leaders of all the provinces whether they belonged to the AIML or other parties. Even Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Chief Minister of Punjab, belonging to the Unionist Party felt challenged by the Congress' threat. In his speech, Jinnah made it clear that Congress had lost the support from Muslim masses all over the country. Jinnah also urged upon the Muslims to "equip yourselves as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of esprit de corps, and of comradeship among yourselves". In this way, he believed, the 80 million Muslims need not fear anything because they will ultimately succeed.

The Congress leaders were perturbed by the success of this session and unity of the Muslim leaders belonging to all parties. Gandhi wrote a letter to Jinnah on October 19, 1937 in which he blamed that by his presidential speech Jinnah had made "a declaration of war". Replying to this, Jinnah wrote to Gandhi what he said at Lucknow was "purely self-defence". In this way a long correspondence continued between Jinnah and Gandhi, followed by Nehru-Jinnah correspondence, and then by a prolonged Bose-Jinnah correspondence. Jinnah befittingly replied to all of them and pleaded the cause of Muslim nation towards a destination.

JULY 1937-NOVEMBER 1939

In July 1937 Congress ministries in six Hindu majority provinces were installed. The Congress ministries resigned as a protest against the British joining the Second World War (1939-1945). The Congress wanted Britain to join the War on the Congress' terms which the British refused to accept. Jinnah and the AIML termed this Congress Raj as the "Hindu Raj" because these governments functioned against the very existence of the Muslims in their provinces which meant elimination of Muslim culture and civilization. Jinnah's view was substantiated by the Pirpur *Enquiry Report* and Sharif *Enquiry Report*.

DECEMBER 22, 1939

On a call by Jinnah and the AIML, the Muslims and other minorities celebrated this day as *Day of Deliverance* from the Congress Raj in the six Hindu majority provinces which was termed as the Hindu Raj. There were 11 total provinces in British India. Five provinces were Muslim majority provinces, but Balochistan was not given the status of a province. In this celebration not only Muslims from all over India participated but other minorities including Scheduled Caste Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians fully sided with the Muslims. Thus an anti-Congress wave took over British India in the political sense which the British rulers could not ignore. Thus by this demonstration Jinnah's status became equal to that of Gandhi and the Congress leaders. Consequently, in the political future of British India, the British Government could not do anything by ignoring Jinnah's demand for Pakistan and the good future of Muslims, especially during the Second World War. Jinnah's support became all the more necessary for another reason that half of the British Indian Army consisted of Muslim soldiers who considered Jinnah as their "Quaid-i-Azam", i.e., the Greatest Leader.

MARCH 22-24, 1940

27th session of AIML was held at Lahore which was presided over by Quaid-i-Azam amongst great hopes and aspirations by Muslims all over the Indo-Pak subcontinent. In this session more than one lac Muslims from all over the subcontinent participated. Jinnah delivered his long presidential address on March 22. On March 23 the famous "*Pakistan Resolution*" was presented which was passed unanimously. Leaders from all the provinces supported this resolution. Under this resolution the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Punjab, NWFP (now KP), Sindh and Balochistan were demanded as parts of Pakistan. The Congress leaders and the Hindu press were shocked over Jinnah's announcement of Pakistan which they opposed tooth and nail. There were some other opponents of the

scheme of Pakistan, but Jinnah did not fear all this opposition because he had already organized the Muslim nation all over the subcontinent which stood behind Jinnah as a well-disciplined and united force under his leadership to achieve Pakistan under all circumstances.

MARCH-APRIL 1942

Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House of Commons, came to India on March 22, 1942 to discuss the issue of transfer of power to Indians. This was the first serious attempt on behalf of British Government to discuss the issue of Pakistan and transfer of power to Indians. Cripps met Jinnah, Nehru and other Congress leaders. He heard Jinnah's view on Pakistan and held discussions with other Indian leaders but ultimately published his draft proposals known as the "*Cripps Proposals*" in Indian newspapers on March 30. Jinnah termed these proposals as against the concept of Pakistan. The Congress also did not like the Cripps Proposals. Finally, on April 12 Sir Cripps departed from British India and his mission failed.

AUGUST 1942

Upon Gandhi's insistence the Congress demanded from the British Government to "*Quit India*" and hand over power to the "Congress Caucus" which was calculated towards the "Hindu Brahman Raj". A movement in this direction was started which failed because the Muslims and other minorities did not support Congress in this move. It also failed because Jinnah demanded from the British to "first divide and then quit".

SEPTEMBER 1944

Jinnah-Gandhi Talks were held in Bombay. In these talks a number of meetings between Jinnah and Gandhi took place at Jinnah's House in Bombay followed by exchange of a number of letters. Gandhi tried to give the impression that he was ready to accept the

idea of Pakistan, though it was unnatural division of India, but after the transfer of power from British to Congress – a plea which Jinnah felt was a dodging trick by Gandhi. Thus Jinnah refused. Jinnah wanted Pakistan before the departure of British from India. Gandhi tried to confuse Jinnah on a number of issues regarding Pakistan Resolution which Jinnah clearly explained in the interest of Muslims and Pakistan. Thus Gandhi-Jinnah Talks failed.

JUNE-JULY 1945

The Second World War came to an end in Europe in May 1945. As promised by the British Government, 22 Indian leaders belonging to different parties including Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru and others were invited to meet at Simla on June 25, 1945 for the purpose of settling the future of British India. This is known as *Simla Conference* which continued up til July 14, 1945 with some intervals. Quaid-i-Azam pleaded Pakistan's case. AIML, headed by Jinnah, faced Congress leaders as equals. Pakistan issue was the single issue on which the Quaid was not ready to surrender. The Congress did not agree. On this plea, the British announced failure of the *Simla Conference*.

AUGUST 1945

British Government announced the holding of elections in the next winter 1945-1946.

AUGUST-NOVEMBER 1945

Jinnah and other AIML candidates started their election campaign, especially in the provinces which were to form Pakistan. Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP (now KP) were specially concentrated apart from the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. A number of Muslim leaders left Congress and other parties, and joined the AIML. This was a very successful election campaign. For instance, Khan Abdul Qayyum from NWFP and Mian Iftikharuddin from Punjab left

Congress and joined AIML. Similarly, other desertions took place and the AIML became very popular.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1945

Elections for the members of Indian Central Assembly were held. In these elections 30 seats were reserved for the Muslims. All these seats of the Central Assembly were won by AIML candidates. Thus AIML's victory in these elections was 100%. The candidates backed by the Congress and other parties were miserably defeated.

JANUARY-APRIL 1946

Elections to 11 provincial assemblies were held in different provinces. 491 seats were reserved for Muslims in the provincial assemblies. Out of 491, 429 seats were won by the Muslim League candidates. Thus the Muslim League victory was about 90%. These elections proved that 90% majority of the Muslims of the Indo-Pak subcontinent were in favour of Pakistan. In the Punjab Assembly, majority of 88 members out of 175 were with the Muslim League. Of the 88 members claimed by Nawab Mamdot, leader of the Punjab Muslim League, 73 belonged to the Muslim League, plus 5 Independent and 10 others. Despite this, Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana's Ministry was installed, although his Unionist Party was able to win only 20 seats. This was to facilitate him because of the Congress' designs against Pakistan. As a result, agitation against Khizar started which resulted in his resignation towards the end of March 1947.

APRIL 1, 1946

Jinnah's interview to Norman Cliff, Foreign Editor of the *News Chronicle*, London, was published in the *Times of India*, Bombay in which Jinnah said: "I do not regard myself as an Indian. India is a State of nationalities, including two major nations, and all we claim is a distinct, sovereign State for our nation – Pakistan". Jinnah also

said: “There is no room for us to compromise on the issue of Pakistan”.³¹

MARCH-AUGUST 1946

Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty arrived in Delhi on March 24. Soon they started meeting the Indian politicians. Initially each member met each politician separately, and later collectively. On March 30 Cripps had a meeting with Jinnah and found him “calm, reasonable but completely firm on Pakistan”. The Delegation also met the Congress leaders and others who were opposed to the idea of Pakistan. During May 5-12, the Delegation had another meeting in Simla with the Indian leaders including Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru and others. As a result of these talks, the Cabinet Mission announced the following recommendations on May 16: 1) Government of the Union will deal with subjects of foreign affairs, defense and communications only; 2) 11 provinces of British India should be grouped together in three categories: a) Group A will consist of provinces of Madras, Bombay, UP, Bihar, CP and Orissa, b) Group B will consist of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, and one representative from Balochistan, c) Group C shall consist of Bengal and Assam. Each of these groups will hold their separate meetings and decide their own future to the extent that if any province decided to opt out of the group, it was allowed to do so.

This created a very critical situation for the AIML and Jinnah. A meeting of the AIML Council was called in Delhi on June 5 in which Jinnah gave an “in camera” address and asked for patience in the new scenario and called for readiness to work the Cabinet Mission’s proposals because it contained “the foundations, the basis of Pakistan”. He was fully aware that the Cabinet Mission “mutilated”

³¹ *Times of India*, April 1, 1946.

facts about Pakistan. Still Jinnah believed: “So far as Pakistan is concerned let me tell you that Muslim India will not rest content until we have established full complete sovereign Pakistan”.³² The Council meeting continued to discuss Cabinet Mission Proposals for four days.

On the basis of this, the Delegation and the Viceroy contacted the Congress and the AIML Presidents to form the Interim Government. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, proposed that in the Executive Council, 5 members of the Congress, 5 members from the AIML, 2 members from the Minorities, and 3 members from others shall be included. The Congress objected to this parity between the AIML and Congress. Jinnah termed this Congress objection to what had already been agreed between him and the Congress leaders with the Congress Delegation. The Cabinet Delegation abandoned the talks for formation of Interim Government, left India on June 29 and went to London.

Maulana Azad as President of the Indian National Congress was replaced towards the end of May and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru joined as the new President of the Congress. Thus Azad whom Jinnah had rightly termed as the “showboy of the Congress” was used and shunted putting the Congress in the hands of Pandit Nehru to deal with the British Government in the new scenario for transfer of power in a more confident way. On July 8, Nehru announced in Bombay that Congress had formed the Congress *Volunteer Corps* to counter the *Muslim League National Guards*.³³ This created an alarming situation because Congress was now bent upon crushing the Muslims for the purpose of keeping India united.

To ponder over this alarming situation, Jinnah convened the meeting of the AIML Council on July 29 in which it was decided to

³² *Times of India*, June 6, 1946.

³³ *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 4.

reject the Cabinet Mission Proposals and resort to *Direct Action* to achieve Pakistan.³⁴ After three days' deliberations the Council passed a long Resolution which stipulated that "Council of AIML has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other". This Resolution also called "upon the Muslim Nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organization, the AIML, and to be ready for every sacrifice". Actually the Viceroy and Congress both had agreed to form Interim Government on the basis of Muslim League "Congress" and 3 for minorities formula. Later the Viceroy and Congress deviated from their promise. The promise of equality of the Muslim League with the Congress previously agreed to by the Viceroy and Congress was broken. That is why the aforementioned Resolution blamed the Viceroy, Cabinet Delegation, and the Congress for "breach of faith" and promise.

AUGUST 16, 1946

On a call by Jinnah, this day was celebrated all over British India as "*Direct Action Day*". Demonstrations against the British and the Congress were carried out throughout the country. Muslims and the Hindus clashed with each other at certain places in which hundreds and thousands of Muslims and Hindus were killed or injured. This forced the Congress leadership and the British Government to come to terms with Jinnah.

AUGUST 24, 1946

The Viceroy sided with the Congress leadership and announced the formation of a 12-member *Interim Government* headed by Pandit Nehru. This included 5 Hindus, 3 Muslims, one representatives each from the scheduled castes, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis.

³⁴ *Times of India*, July 30, 1946.

Jinnah termed this as a breach of contract made at Simla and termed it as a “blow to Muslim India”.³⁵ Jinnah also warned the Government that the Muslim League would soon start “grim struggle” to achieve Pakistan.³⁶ Accordingly, Jinnah started organizing the *Muslim League National Guards* and appealed to the *Khaksars* to join them in their struggle against the Government.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1946

Forced by the circumstances and on instructions from the British Prime Minister, the Viceroy met Jinnah and asked him to join the *Interim Government*. As a follow up of this meeting Jinnah laid down certain conditions for joining the *Interim Government* with the approval of the Muslim League Working Committee and the Committee of Action.

OCTOBER 26, 1946

After a prolonged discussion and dialogue between Jinnah and the Viceroy in which Nehru and Gandhi were also taken into confidence by the Viceroy, Jinnah’s terms for joining the *Interim Government* were accepted by all the parties and the following 5 Muslim League nominees joined the Interim Government: 1) Liaquat Ali Khan – Finance, 2) I. I. Chundrigar – Commerce, 3) Abdur Rab Nishtar – Port and Air, 4) J. N. Mandal – Legislative, and 5) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan – Health.³⁷ The most important point proposed by Jinnah to which the Viceroy agreed was that “the joining of the Government will not mean that the League has surrendered its goal of Pakistan”.³⁸ In this way Muslim League joined the Interim Government with commitment to Pakistan as their goal. In this

³⁵ *Times of India*, August 27, 1946.

³⁶ *Times of India*, October 28, 1946.

³⁷ *Times of India*, October 28, 1946.

³⁸ *Times of India*, October 14, 1946.

connection H. V. Hodson writes: “By this exchange, therefore, Mr. Jinnah had scored a very important tactical advantage”.³⁹

NOVEMBER 1946

The Muslims in Bihar province were killed on a large scale by the anti-Muslim Hindu gangsters in which certain Congress Ministers of the Interim Government were also involved. This created a great wave of anger in the Muslim majority areas. On November 14 Jinnah warned these Congress Ministers not to do so and at the same time issued an appeal to the Muslims of the majority Muslim areas to remain calm and not to be misled by the Hindu leaders’ provocations so that “our demand for Pakistan” is not hampered.⁴⁰

DECEMBER 1946

Jinnah demanded that existing Central Legislative Assembly should be divided into two Constituent Assemblies – one of Hindustan and the other for Pakistan. Nehru did not agree to this demand. But the tension in the Muslim majority was increasing. In order to solve this problem, the British Prime Minister decided to invite the Indian leaders to London. Consequently, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan, M. A. Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh proceeded to London on December 1, 1946. A number of meetings between these leaders and the Prime Minister Attlee were held and a final agreement was reached between them on December 6. By this agreement both the parties accepted that any decision regarding the One or Two Constituent Assemblies will be imposed unless and until both parties come to an agreement. Nehru returned on December 7, but Jinnah remained in London until December 15. In an interview to BBC London Jinnah made it clear that India should be divided into

³⁹ Harry V. Hodson, *The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan*, (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 169.

⁴⁰ *Times of India*, November 15, 1946.

Hindustan and *Pakistan* because “we differ in our history, culture, language, architecture, music, law, jurisprudence, calendar and our entire social fabric and code of life”.⁴¹ In another interview on the eve of his departure from London, Jinnah made it clear that the Muslim members will not participate in the existing Legislative Assembly unless their separate Assembly is created.

JANUARY-MARCH 1947

Despite the Muslim League majority with 80% votes, the Punjab Governor installed Sir Khizar Hayat Khan’s Ministry in Punjab with the support of non-Muslim members in March 1946. When Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League decided to start *Civil Disobedience Movement*, the anti-Khizar Movement started in January 1947. The prolonged protests and demonstrations took place in almost all the cities of Punjab against the Khizar Ministry. This created a very alarming situation for the Government because Punjab was considered by the British as the basis of their power which was shaken by these demonstrations. Ultimately Khizar was forced to resign on March 2, 1947. This was because of the pressure of thousands of the Muslim League protestors put in jail by the Khizar Ministry. They were all released in order to bring the situation to normalcy after March 2, 1947.

FEBRUARY 20, 1947

Seeing Jinnah’s intentions that he is ready to go to any extent for the creation of Pakistan, British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the British will leave India by June 1948 by transferring power to the Indian hands.⁴²

⁴¹ Z. H. Zaidi, *Jinnah Papers*, Vol. XIV, 737.

⁴² *Times of India*, February 21, 1947.

FEBRUARY 20-JUNE 4, 1947

In NWFP (now KP) Assembly there were 38 seats of the Muslim members of the Assembly. Of these 19 were secured by the Congress members, 17 by the Muslim League members, and 2 seats went to the members of *Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind*. Thus majority seats were won by the members of the Congress and the Muslim League, but the majority of the Muslim votes went to the members of Muslim League as a whole because Muslim League secured 147,380 or about 45% votes, but the Congress secured 130,975 or 39% of the votes. Thus majority of the voters were in favour of the Muslim League which was further confirmed later in the referendum held in July 1947. Because of this majority of the Muslim votes, the Muslim League decided to stage anti-Khan Sahib Civil Disobedience Movement on February 20, 1947 which paralyzed the Khan government. It was as a result of June 3, 1947 Partition Plan and on call of Lord Mountbatten, the Viceroy, that Jinnah called off the anti-Khan Sahib movement and waited for the referendum.

MARCH 22, 1947

Lord Mountbatten replaced Lord Wavell as the new Viceroy of British India with Congress' blessings. With Gandhi's and Nehru's backing Mountbatten first tried "to work for *Unitary Government* for India on the basis of the *Cabinet Mission Plan*", but failed to do so. It was because of organized Muslim pressure led by Jinnah that Mountbatten came to be favorable to the idea of Partition of India. Marathon dialogues and meetings took place before settling the partition scheme.

APRIL 9, 1947

In a meeting at the Delhi Viceroy's house, Lord Mountbatten offered Jinnah to become Prime Minister of united India and leave the Pakistan demand. Jinnah not only refused this offer but showed his determination to get "full Pakistan" consisting of full six

provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, NWFP (now KP), Bengal and Assam with its separate armed forces.

APRIL 15, 1947

A meeting of all the Governors of the provinces was held at Delhi in which Mountbatten's talks with Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah and other Indian leaders was discussed. Because of fear of civil war, particularly in the Punjab, NWFP, and Bihar with the danger to spread to other provinces and Jinnah's pressure for Pakistan duly backed by united Muslim public opinion all over the country, it was ultimately decided that the Indo-Pak subcontinent should be divided into two countries: *Hindustan* and *Pakistan*. Thus the later dialogues with Indian leaders were focused on how to divide the country and carve out two new dominions. Congress leaders gave a tough time to settle the partition issues, but Jinnah continued to pursue his goal of Pakistan.

JUNE 3, 1947

With the consent of Indian leaders including Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru, and approved by the British Prime Minister, Lord Mountbatten announced the *Partition Plan* which is also known as the Mountbatten Plan. According to this Plan, India was to be divided into two parts – *Hindustan* and *Pakistan* – each having its own Constituent Assembly. Bengal and the Punjab were to be divided into Hindu majority and Muslim majority areas. Muslim majority parts were to be included into Pakistan. Respective provincial assemblies were to decide accordingly. Referendum was to be held in NWFP (now KP) and Sylhet (Assam). Balochistan Municipality was to decide about Balochistan. Armed forces were to be divided but the Common Command of General Auchinleck was to continue at Delhi for one year.

JUNE 5, 1947

In order to implement the Partition Plan, a *Partition Council* headed by Lord Mountbatten was created. Jinnah, Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan and Vallabhbhai Patel were to be its members. Any other person could also be co-opted with the proceedings of the Partition Council. On Quaid-i-Azam's pleading, it was also decided that the Interim Government will not interfere into the business of the Partition Council.

JUNE 20, 1947

Bengal Assembly members met in two groups. One group represented non-Muslim majority areas of the Bengal under the presidency of Maharaja of Burdwan. This group decided by a vote of 58 to 21 that non-Muslim majority areas of Bengal should join Hindustan Constituent Assembly. The other group of Bengal Assembly members headed by Nurul Amin decided by a vote of 107 to 34 that they would join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly with Dhaka as the provincial capital of Eastern Bengal.

JUNE 23, 1947

The Punjab Assembly as a whole held its meeting at Lahore presided over by Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha, the Speaker. 91 Members of the Assembly voted for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, while 77 members voted for the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. Thus the majority went for non-division of Punjab province. But the decision had to be taken in the light of Mountbatten Plan. Accordingly, the members met in two separate meetings – one in Western Punjab and the other in Eastern Punjab. In a meeting, Western Punjab Assembly decided by 69 votes to 27 under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Eastern Punjab Assembly in a separate meeting presided over by Sardar Kapur Singh decided to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly by 50 votes to 22.

JUNE 26, 1947

Sindh Legislative Assembly held its meeting in Karachi and decided to join Pakistan by a majority vote of 33 members.

JUNE 27, 1947

At the Partition Council meeting presided over by the Viceroy in which Quaid-i-Azam also participated, it was decided that headquarters of the Pakistan Army will be established in Rawalpindi and the headquarters of the Indian Army will be in Delhi. However, the Supreme Commander of both the armies will continue to function in Delhi for another year.

JUNE 29, 1947

A joint session of the *Shahi Jirga* and the elected members of the *Quetta Municipality*, as required under the Mountbatten Plan, met in Quetta under the presidency of Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogeza and unanimously decided to join Pakistan. 54 members unanimously decided to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. However, 8 non-Muslim members were absent.

JULY 6-7, 1947

The Sylhet Referendum was held as part of the Mountbatten Plan in which 239,619 votes were cast in favor of joining Eastern Bengal, while 184,041 for remaining in Assam. Thus with a clear-cut majority the Sylhet district of Assam province joined Eastern Bengal province of Pakistan.

JULY 8, 1947

On Jinnah's recommendation, the Viceroy agreed to declare Karachi as the capital of Pakistan.

JULY 11, 1947

The Partition Council presided over by the Viceroy participated by Jinnah and Liaquat, finally decided to divide the assets of the Army, Navy, and Air Force between India and Pakistan.

JULY 15, 1947

On Quaid-i-Azam's urgings, the Viceroy agreed to the present shape of the flag of Pakistan.

JULY 19, 1947

Royal Assent was given to the Indian Independence Act 1947 passed by the British Parliament. Thus the Partition Plan of 3 June 1947 was given legal cover by which two dominions of Hindustan and Pakistan were to be established by 15 August 1947. A provision was also included that until such time that these two dominions frame their new separate constitution, they could adopt/adapt the Government of India Act 1935 as an interim legal cover.

JULY 7-20, 1947

The result of NWFP (now KP) was declared on July 20 by which about 51% of the voters voted. Of this 286,370 votes were cast for Pakistan and 2874 votes for united India. Thus 99% voted for Pakistan. In this way the people of NWFP decided to join Pakistan. Before the referendum Dr. Khan Sahib, the Chief Minister had promised to resign, but after the Referendum he did not honour his commitment. But after creation of Pakistan, his Ministry was dismissed by the Governor of NWFP.

AUGUST 10, 1947

First meeting of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was held in Karachi in which the members signed their presence.

AUGUST 11, 1947

Quaid-i-Azam was elected as the first President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Thus he delivered his first speech in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

AUGUST 13, 1947

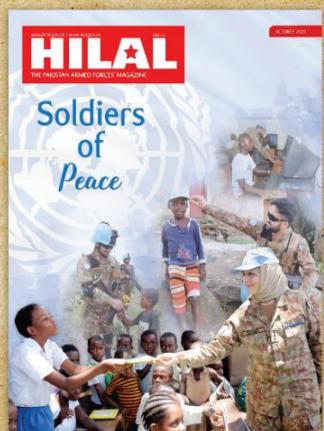
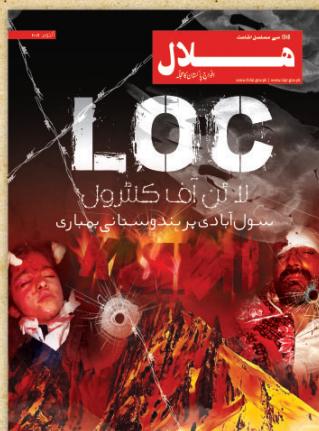
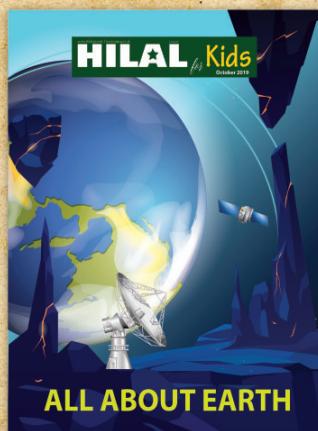
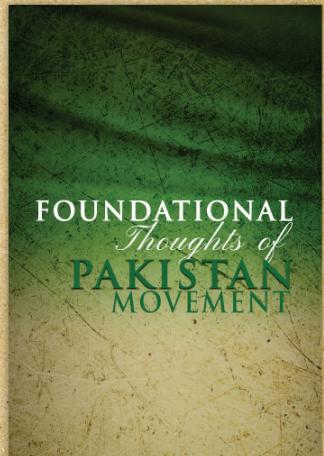
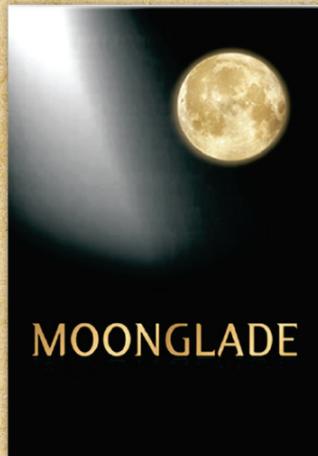
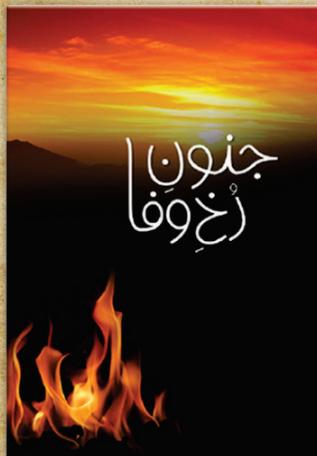
Lord and Lady Mountbatten arrived in Karachi and presided over the first Provisional Pakistan Cabinet at the Government House, Karachi.

AUGUST 14, 1947

At the transfer of power ceremony held at the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Mountbatten transferred power to Pakistan on behalf of the British Crown. Thus Pakistan became an independent country under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



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