

Pakistan Movement

Foundational Thoughts of **Pakistan Movement**

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Dedicated

To the wisdom, farsight commitment of the founding fathers of Pakistan; they not only correctly identified the shrouded perils to the Muslims of undivided India, but chose a path with a vision and dedication that led to the creation of a new state. They based the ideas and ideals of newly established nationstate on universal values of Islam. We owe them to assimilate these values and give Pakistan its rightful place in the comity of nations.

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Foreword

Pakistan existed back in the hearts and minds centuries ago. It was an untold concept in the late nineteenth century, an idea in 1930 and an ideal in 1940, which became a reality in 1947. Each moment and step, every year and chapter had its own history, characteristics and characters, but their destiny was one single objective – a separate, independent and sovereign homeland – Pakistan. Turning the dreams into reality took several years of valiant struggle, determination and prudence. Questions may be asked about the pros and cons of this strenuous struggle right from what they call Sir Syed's 'Rational approach' to Allama Iqbal's 'Emotive reasoning.' There is no denying the fact that the 'Soul of Pakistan' was the 'Two-Nation Theory', which is now called 'Ideology of Pakistan.' 'Two Nations Theory' was not only separating from the other majority nation in undivided India, it also is a spirit, reason and a binding force for all groups/sub-groups to remain united under the banner of a separate homeland i.e., Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is undoubtedly the sole architect of the rare idea at a right time, which Allama Iqbal formally articulated into the demand of a sovereign identity, though with a gap of seven decades. Literally, it was the hatred by the Hindus and the discrimination by the British that heaped through the years in making the call of a separate homeland. Hindus wanted to avenge the eight hundred years of rule by Muslims and the British were revengeful because of the 1857 War of Independence fought by Muslim soldiers.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan appeared as a ray of hope. He realized the wrongs, weighed the options and found the panacea for the issue. "Hindus and Muslims cannot live together as a single nation", he said. "Hindus and Muslims are two major nations that hold outstanding

differences between their way of life, religion, customs, culture and historical traditions". His was so forceful a voice that only 30 years later, Sir Syed's "ideal" transformed into a prevalent "ideology". Allama Iqbal, in 1930, came out with a comprehensive plan of partition of India, which he presented at the 21st session of All India Muslim League held at Allahabad on December 29. "India is a continent of human groups where they belong to different races, speak different languages and profess different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common consciousness", he said. "The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified", he emphasized that "Sind, Punjab, Baluchistan and the NWFP be amalgamated into a single Muslim State."

The next ten years revolve around giving the final shape to Pakistan's concept. The 'confidential' letters of Igbal written to Jinnah speak volumes how both the leaders were on the same page over the demand for a separate homeland. This is endorsed by none other but the Quaid himself, in the 'Foreword' of book 'Letters of Igbal to Jinnah': "I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain Iqbal's views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future for Muslims of India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problem facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, passed on 23rd March, 1940." At the historic Minto Park, Lahore, the Quaid meticulously enumerated the differences he had experienced during his over 30-year political career. In his presidential address to All India Muslim League, he concluded: "Muslims are a nation by any definition of a nation and that they must have their own homeland, their territory and their state...Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor inter-dine, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions." Thus, the Muslim League adopted the historic Lahore

Resolution to form a separate State in Muslim majority areas, which, *Al Hamd-o-Lillah*, materialized on 14th August 1947.

This book carries in its small volume the selected material of Pakistan Movement – starting from the self-awakening under the visionary Sir Syed to the dream-actualization under the invincible Quaid. While reading one visits the period of struggle and its culmination towards achieving Pakistan. This is also a reminder for us all to keep following, in letter and spirit, the golden principles of our Quaid to make Pakistan strong, vibrant and progressing state.

The Inter-Services Public Relations takes pride in this effort; and I am sure this will serve as a reference for students of Pakistan's history, for scholars and intellectuals to analyse fundamental thought and ideal for which Pakistan came into being. It is not on the basis of common ethnicity or language, but Islam as identity and reference point, for an equal-to-all-based system of governance, economy and justice, without discrimination of caste, creed and colour.

Major General Asif Ghafoor

Director General Inter Services Public Relations General Headquarters, Rawalpindi March 23, 2019

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Genesis of Two Nation Theory

"Now I am convinced that these two nations will not work unitedly 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."*

"This is a proposal which will make Hindu-Muslim unity impossible to achieve. Muslim will never agree to Hindi and if the Hindus, in accordance with their latest attitude, insist on Hindi, they will reject Urdu. The inevitable consequence of such a move will be that the two will be completely and permanently separated". **

^{*} Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's reaction to Mr. Shakespeare, Commissioner of Banaras on Urdu-Hindi Controversy in 1867 (Source: Hayat-e-Javed, written by Altaf Hussain Hali, First Published in 1900)

^{**} Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote this letter to Nawab Mohsinul Mulk on 29 April 1870 (Source: Fazale Kareem, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan – Reformer and First Protagonist of Muslim Nationalism, Karachi, Computing Centre, nd., p. 215.)

"Long before the idea of founding the Indian National Congress was mooted, I had given thought to the matter whether representative government is suited to the conditions of India. I studied John Stuart Mill's views in support of representative government. He has dealt with this matter exceedingly well in great detail. I reached the conclusion that the first requisite of a representative government is that the voters should possess the highest degree of homogeneity. In a form of government which depends for its functioning upon majorities, it is necessary that the people should have no differences in the matter of nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, mores, culture, and historical traditions. These things should be common among a people to enable them to run a representative government properly. Only when such homogeneity is present can representative government work or prove beneficial. It should not even be thought of when these conditions do not exist.

In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any one of these fields, the introduction of representative government can not produce any beneficial results; it can only result in interfering with the peace and prosperity of the land. I sincerely hope that whichever party comes into power in Great Britain—be they the Conservatives, the Liberals, the *Unionists, or the Radicals—they will remember that India is* a continent; it is not a small and homogeneous country like England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. India is inhabited by different peoples, each one of whom is numerically large and different from the others in its culture, its moral code, its social organization, its political outlook, its religion, its physique, and its historical associations. These peoples have never been united since the downfall of the Muslim empire. Instead of being able to organize some other form of government they have just indulged in mutual fighting and internecine wars All the difficulties with which Ireland has been faced are due to the fact that the British are the rulers and the Irish are the ruled, and the two peoples are different from each other... and yet there is great resemblance between the two; they have the same complexion, their religions are not so different; they can intermarry; their cultures are similar; so are their mores....

The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon an ignorance of history and present-day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities; they presuppose that the Muslims, the Marathas, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Banias, the Sudras, the Sikhs, the Bengalis, the Madrasis. and the Peshawaris can all be treated alike and all of them belong to the same nation. The congress thinks that they profess the same religion, that they speak the same language, that their way of life and customs are the same, that their attitude to History is similar and is based upon the same historical traditions For the successful running of a democratic government it is essential that the majority should have the ability to govern not only themselves but also unwilling minorities.... I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make fraught with dangers and suffering for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims. The Muslims are in a minority, but they are a highly united minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it will bring about disasters greater than the ones which came in the wake of the happenings of 1857.... The Congress cannot rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions, ideals, and aspirations of the Muslims. "***

^{***} Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's views on Indian National Congress written in Akhari Madamin, pp. 45-50 (Sources of Indian Tradition, Volume II, General Editor, WM. Theodore De Bary, Compiled by, Stephen hay I. H. Qureshi)

"The system of representation by election means the representation of views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is comprised 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 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 distinction 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 over ride the interests of the smaller community, and the would hold Government ignorant publicresponsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever"."

^{****} Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's speech on the Local Self-Government bill, as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council on 12 January 1883. (Source: Fazale Kareem, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan —Reformer and and First Protagonist of Muslim Nationalism, Karachi, Computing Center, nd., pp.253-236.)

Presidential Address by Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal

All-India Muslim League Twenty-First Session Allahabad, December 29-30, 1930*

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

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity— by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), Foundations of Pakistan (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 130-152). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal.

What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims, both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe.

In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast church-organization. The protest of Luther was directed against the church-organization, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity. And Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organization; though, I think, he did not realize that, in the peculiar condition which obtained in Europe, his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of the universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus, the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e. on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life.

Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time.

Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichaean thought. Her best thinkers are realizing this initial mistake to-day, but her statesmen are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European States. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted States dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted States, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e., the need of a unity which the Christian churchorganization originally gave them, which. but instead reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther.

A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organization, similar to that of Christianity in the Middle Ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam, we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modem world, to-day stands in need of renewed power by adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has before assimilated and transformed many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to

me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment, the national idea is racializing the outlook of Muslims, and this is materially counteracting the humanizing work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam.

I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this Session of the All-India Muslim League, you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as of states, and finally, who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny! Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history has Islam had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to-day. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly, and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone is it possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

Unity Through Harmony of Differences

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity, in favour of national polities in which the religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe, the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Ouran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experiment and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which, at the present moment, directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man", says Renan; "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India, if the teaching of Kabir and the 'Divine Faith' of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of the

collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India ate not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True states manship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual cooperation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands, is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by a feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Ouran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, it's thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognize the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind, they say: "To say from the viewpoint of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognizes that without the fullest national autonomy, it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international State. So also, without the fullest cultural autonomy—and communalism in its better aspect is culture—it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation."

Muslim India within India

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

Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Puniab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy State. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population, the State contemplated by the proposal would be much smaller than some of the present Indian provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division, and perhaps of some districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population...so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated State to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this living country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding unfair treatment from the British, made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets. The Punjab with a 56 per cent Muslim population supplies 54 per cent of total combatant troops in the Indian army; and if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from the independent State of Nepal are excluded, the Punjab contingent amounts to 62 per cent of the whole Indian Army. This percentage does not take into account nearly 6,000 combatants supplied to the Indian Army by the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. From this, you can easily calculate the possibilities of North-West Indian Muslims in regard to the defence of India against foreign aggression. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri thinks that the Muslim demand for the creation of autonomous Muslim States along the North-West border is actuated by a desire "to acquire means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India". I

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

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

Federal States

Thus it is clear that, in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous States based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular Assembly and makes it

an Assembly of the representatives of Federal States. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my wholehearted support to this view of the matter; but I venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfill two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new constitution, and it must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word 'nation' to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces, as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances, territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities, possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

The Simon Report Conception of Federation

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal State is concerned, there is a subtle difference of motive in the Constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the Centre tends to work contrary to their interests and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their

hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the Centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different from those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem, i.e. the communal problem. The Royal Commissioner's view of federation, though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for Federal States. Indeed, it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that: in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report, realizing a Hindu majority in the Central Assembly, reaches for a unitary form of government, because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retain the present British Dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing States, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of Federal States. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

The Round-Table Discussion of Federation

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was probably seen long before the British discovered the most effective means for introducing this change. That is why, at a rather

late stage, it was announced that the participation of the Indian Princes in the Round-Table Conference was essential. It was a kind of surprise to the people of India, particularly the minorities, to see the Indian Princes at the Round-Table Conference dramatically expressing their willingness to join an All-India Federation, and, as a result of their declaration, the Hindu delegates—uncompromising advocates of a unitary form of Government—quietly agreeing to the evolution of a federal scheme. Even Mr. Shastri, who, only a few days before, had severely criticised Sir John Simon for recommending a federal scheme for India, suddenly became a convert and admitted his conversion in the plenary session of the Conference—thus offering the Prime Minister of England an occasion for one of his wittiest observations in his concluding speech. All this has meaning both for the British, who have sought the participation of the Indian Princes, and the Hindus, who have unhesitatingly accepted the evolution of an All-India Federation. The truth is that the participation of the Indian Princes among whom only a few are Muslims—in a federation scheme serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it serves as an all important factor in maintaining the British power in India practically as it is, on the other hand, it gives an overwhelming majority to, the Hindus in an All-India Federal Assembly.

It appears to me that the Hindu-Muslim differences regarding the ultimate form of the Central Government are being cleverly exploited by British politicians through the agency of the Princes, who see in the scheme prospects of better security for their despotic rule. If the Muslims silently agree to any such scheme, it will simply hasten their end as a political entity in India. The policy of the Indian Federation thus created will be practically controlled by Hindu-Princes forming the largest group in the Central Federal Assembly. They will always lend their support to the Crown in matters of Imperial concern; and in so far as internal administration of the country is concerned, they will help in maintaining and strengthening the supremacy of the Hindus. In other words, the scheme appears to be aiming at a kind of understanding between Hindu India and British Imperialism you perpetuate me in India, and in return, I give you a Hindu oligarchy to keep all other Indian communities in perpetual subjection. If, therefore, the British Indian provinces are not transformed into really autonomous States, the Princes' participation in a scheme of Indian federation will be interpreted only as a dexterous move on the part of British politicians to satisfy, without parting with any real power, all parties concerned: Muslims with the word 'federation'; Hindus with a majority in the Centre; and British Imperialists whether Tory or Labourite—with the substance of real power.

The number of Hindu States in India is far greater than of Muslim States; and it remains to be seen how the Muslim demand for 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly is to be met in a House or Houses constituted of representatives taken from British India as well as from Indian States. I hope the Muslim delegates are fully aware of the implications of the federal scheme, as discussed in the Round-Table Conference. The question of Muslim representation in the proposed All-India Federation has not yet been discussed. "The interim report", says Reuter's summary, "contemplates two chambers in the Federal Legislature—each containing representatives both of British India and the States, the proportion of which will be a matter of subsequent consideration under the heads which have not yet been referred to the Subcommittee." In my opinion, the question of proportion is of the utmost importance, and ought to have been considered simultaneously with the main question of the structure of the Assembly.

The best course, I think, would have been to start with a British Indian federation only. A federal scheme born of an unholy union between democracy and despotism cannot but keep British India in the same vicious circle of a unitary Central Government. Such a unitary form may be of the greatest advantage to the British, to the majority community in British India, and to the Indian Princes: it can be of no advantage to the Muslims unless they get majority rights in five out of eleven Indian provinces with full residuary powers, and a one-third share of seats in the total House of the Federal Assembly. In so far as the attainment of sovereign powers by the British Indian Provinces is concerned, the position of H.H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari and Mr. Jinnah is unassailable. In view, however, of the participation of the Princes in the Indian Federation, we must now see our demand for representation in the British Indian Assembly in a new light. The question is not one of the Muslim share in a British Indian Assembly, but one which relates to representation of British Indian Muslims in

an All-India Federal Assembly. Our demand for 33 per cent must now be taken as a demand for the same proportion in the All-India Federal Assembly, exclusive of the share allotted to the Muslim States entering the Federation.

The Problem of Defence

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of a Federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In their discussion of this problem, the Royal Commissioners have marshalled all the deficiencies of India in order to make out a case for Imperial administration of the army. "India and Britain", say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now, or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of August 20, 1917, are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained, that any future change involves putting the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further, to fortify their argument, they emphasize the fact of competing religious and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest". These features of the question have been emphasized in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace, but are also the 'neutral guardians' of internal security. However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e., external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army composed of units recruited from all provinces

and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point, I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes, the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "As the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the King's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now, however genuine may be the desire and however earnest the endeavour to work for the transformation, the overriding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (Whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen), in the words 'Progress... must be contingent upon success being secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained throughout', must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior rank and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class—and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers—flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianization to a point which will bring a completely Indianized army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed."

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races or to the slowness of the process of military training? The military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no

military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman, I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process lo be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Anny, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to the question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing reference to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontiers; but it is obvious that her present master took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days, have to take greater care of her sea coast than her land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established Muslim Federal States will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India, was a reality in the days of Mughal rule. Indeed, in the time of Akbar, the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

The Alternative

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India calculated to securer a permanent solution of the communal problem is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand for a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee

them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact, which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called 'Punjab Ruralism', resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to the position of a minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. The Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document, the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The Despatch recognize that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the Councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the Despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned this is the more crucial point-it endorses the socalled 'carefully balanced scheme' worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a majority of two over the Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the house as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total house. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification of communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless and until, by the extension of franchise, their voting strength more correctly reflects their population; and further, unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a Provincial Council unanimously agree to surrender the right separate representation. I cannot, however, understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of the Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province, and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point of life and civilization, the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Masudi noticed this kinship long ago, when he said, "Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam." The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt: "Egypt has her back towards Africa and her face towards Arabia." With necessary alternations, the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and her face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems, which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis in India, it is unwise to keep her attracted to a Presidency which, though friendly to-day, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But, assuming there are such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province, it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the Council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light, every human-being is entitled, whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has

recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a stepmotherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India. I only hope that British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest of the province is due to any extraneous causes.

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.W. F.P. made in the Government of India's Despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative Cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on an equal footing with other Indian provinces. Indeed, the Afghan is by instinct more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

The Round-Table Conference

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round-Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that, away from the actual scene of communal strife and in a changed atmosphere, better counsels would prevail, and a genuine settlement of the differences between the two major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed, the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated, more clearly than ever, the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiment". Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike

most of our Indian politicians, will be able to pierce through the surface of things, and clearly see the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country like India. To base a Constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various peoples that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modem lines, without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution of what I call India's international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word 'communalism'—expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are 70 million, and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed, the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modem sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation, but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure (Bold and Italics added). Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious arguments that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e. territorial, lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book'. There are no social barriers between Muslims and 'the people of the Book'... Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come

forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come, let us join together on the 'word' (Unity of God) that is common to us all." The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day, it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations, you must be ready for such action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But, I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis, when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders, I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd instinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickering in religion do not do much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil, I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise, leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to decide the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address, I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion, I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organization and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia. And since seventy millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem, not only from the Muslim point of view, but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organized will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganized condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalized by a single purpose.

Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalizing idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you, who as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are nor what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided" (5:104) (Bold and Italics added).

Few Letters of Allama Muhammad Iqbal to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Lahore 20th March, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address to the All India National Convention and that you fully realise the policy underlying it in so far as Indian Muslims are concerned. I believe you are also aware that the new constitution has at least brought a unique opportunity to Indian Muslims for self-organisation in view of the future political developments both in India and Muslim Asia. While we are ready to co-operate with other Progressive Parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I therefore suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Delhi to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem (Bold and Italics added). If you could hold this Convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslim Legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspirations of Indian Muslims. It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity. I am coming to Delhi in a few days' time and hope to have a talk with you on this important matter. I shall be staying in the Afghan Consulate. If you could spare a few

moments, we should meet there. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

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

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

Confidential.

Lahore 28th May, 1937

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

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

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

^{*} Ashraf, S. M. (Ed.). (2011). *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (pp. 4-5). Ashraf Printing Press, Lahore, Punjab/Pakistan (Original work published 1942)

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

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

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

Yours Sincerely, (Sd.) Mohammad Iqbal

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

Private and Confidential

Lahore June 21st, 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you

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

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

Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities (Bold and Italics added).

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

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

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

good in Lahore. The interest in the All-India Muslim League is rapidly growing in the Punjab, and the holding of the coming session in Lahore is likely to give a fresh political awakening to the Punjab Muslims.**

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

^{**} Ashraf, S. M. (Ed.). (2011). *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (pp. 6-10). Ashraf Printing Press, Lahore, Punjab/Pakistan (Original work published 1942)

All India Muslim League Twenty-Seventh Session

Lahore, 22-24 March 1940

- Presidential Address by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah
- Text of Pakistan Resolution
- Speeches by the Prominent Leaders of All-India Muslim League

Presidential Address by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

22 March 1940*

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are meeting to-day in our Session after 15 months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna Session of 1938.

Assessment of Developments since 1938

You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organize Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last 15 months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every Province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organizing the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 299-311). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna Session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organize provincial and district Muslim Leagues: (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This Central Committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done, we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face illtreatment and oppression on Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States, such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress, which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared, the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of a federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of the Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government, the

Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are a very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very dear, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realized that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me, but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet, the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted, and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League', whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realize the value, the importance, the significance of organizing ourselves, I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake, and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody, whoever he may happen to be Men may come and men may go, but the League will live forever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this: We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be the freedom of all India and not the freedom of one section or, worse still, of the congress caucus, and slavery for Musalmans and other minorities.

Building up Self-Reliance

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

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

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

Issues for the Future Constitution

Now, what is our position with regard to the future Constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit, or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future Constitution must be examined de novo, and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration." The Congress said, "No no, we want another kind of declaration. You must declare, now and at once, that India is free and independent, with the right to frame its own Constitution, through a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests." Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied, then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character, and most impartial, should decide the dispute. Now apart from the impracticable character of this proposal, and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we, the solid body of Muslim representatives, do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a National Constitution of this huge Subcontinent, except in those matters which may be germane to the safeguards of the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may strictly be called safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as the Constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the Constitution will decide whether the British will disappear, and if so to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: first give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back.

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

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago, I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalachari, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorate. That is his prescription, as one of the great doctors of the Congress Organization. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago said; "Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?" I will read you his words. Referring to the minority question, he says:

"If Britain would concede our right of self-determination, surely all these differences would disappear."

How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

"But so long as Britain remains and holds power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future

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

And this how is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 10th of March, 1940.

He says:

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

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

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

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

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslim to-day? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

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

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

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so

because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly."

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

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

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans; and if they do not agree, then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real, genuine desire — if there existed any—to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? Why does not 'Mr. Gandhi agree -and I have suggested this to him more than once, and I repeat it again from this platform—why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of a Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, 'I am a Hindu, the Congress has solid Hindu backing'? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. I am right I hope, and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now, that the Muslim League has the solid backing of the Musalmans of India. Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans. This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

Negotiations with the British

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

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

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important are: that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future Constitution of India without our approval and consent, and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand, when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Musalmans a Constitution which they do not approve of, and to which they do not agree. Therefore, the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance, and give the Musalmans complete peace and

confidence in this matter, and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not—after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength I make it plain from this platform that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist it. And no mistake should be made on that score.

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

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

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

The Hindu-Muslim Situation

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd of February. As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it; and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future Constitution, and we have also appointed a subcommittee to examine the details of

the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition.

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

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering—and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme for a Constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you, in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C.R. Das. It was written I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago, and the letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash, recently published, and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said-but before I read his letter, it is plain that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you, are Hindu. The word 'Nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

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

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

I think his reading is quite incorrect.

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

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

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

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

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader 15 years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject, as it strikes me, taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been, for many decades past, brought up and nurtured with

settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which have built up the British constitution functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the Cabinet system. Their concept of party-government, functioning or political planes, has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country; and the one-sided and powerful propaganda which naturally appeals to the British has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the leading statesmen of Great Britain saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonize the inconsistent elements in India.

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

Autonomous National States

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

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits, and is the cause of most of our troubles, and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one

is a foe of the other, and like wise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State.

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

Muslim India cannot accept any Constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu Majority Government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial Constitutions during the last two and a half years; and any repetition of such a Government must lead to civil war and raising private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur, when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow and if they could not, they must emigrate.

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

Conclusion

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you; but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been. saying, and I think you can easily get that publication, both in English and in Urdu, from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements.

Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realize how big and stupendous it is? Do you realize that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can, and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realize your

aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your minds definitely, and then think of devices, and organize your people, strengthen your organization and consolidate the Musalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organize the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody.

Text of the Pakistan Resolution

(23 March 1940 - Second Day*)

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 17th of August, 17th and 18th of September, and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country, and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India.

Act 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de nova, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 311-312). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution, for them and other minorities, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally, by the respective regions, of all powers, such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

Speeches by the Prominent Leaders of All-India Muslim League*

Fazlul Haq

Mr. Fazlul Haq said, "We have stated definitely and unequivocally that what we want is not merely a tinkering with the idea of federation, but its thorough overhauling, so that the federation may ultimately go. This idea of federation must not only be postponed, but abandoned altogether. On many an occasion on the platform of the Muslim League, and the other day, on the floor of the House in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, I made an emphatic and definite assertion that the Musalmans of India will not consent to any such scheme which is framed without our approval.

We will make such a Constitution absolutely unworkable. I hope that those who may have it in their power to shape the future Constitution of India will take Muslim feelings into consideration, and not take any step which may be regretted. We have made our position absolutely clear. The problem is very simple. At present the Muslims constitute 80 millions scattered all over India. It may sound a big number, but as a matter of fact, the Muslims are in a weak position numerically, in almost every province of India. In the Punjab arid Bengal, we are in an effective majority, but we are hopelessly in a minority elsewhere. The position is such that whatever may be the constitution, Muslim interests are bound to suffer, just as they have suffered during the last three years of the working of provincial autonomy."

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 312-317). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Mr. Fazlul Haq characterized as un-Islamic sentiments the statements of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Presidential Address to the Congress, that the Muslims should not feel nervous, as 80 millions was not a small number, and that they need not be afraid. Mr. Fazlul Hag said that even if a sufficient proportion of the 80 million had been congregated in one province, we would have had nothing to fear. "Situated as we are, our political enemy can take advantage of the situation. Our friends will remember that even in the Punjab and Bengal our position is not very safe. In the legislatures we are not in such a large majority; we have to seek the help of other interests and minorities to form coalition governments which are the weakest form of governments known to constitutionalists. As regards the other provinces, we are in a very weak position, and are at the mercy of the majority. Until a satisfactory solution of this unequal distribution of the Muslim population is found it is useless to talk of constitutional advance or of safeguards.

I earnestly appeal to my Muslim friends throughout India to remain united, to exercise a calm and sober judgement, and remember that we have to stand on our own feet and cannot rely on anybody. It is a case of every one for himself, and no one for the Muslims of India." Mr. Haq appealed to the audience to accept his motion, and hoped that the result would be good.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman

Seconding the resolution, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that they should consider the circumstances which had forced the Muslims to demand separation, and their own Government where they were in a majority. Firstly, the responsibility of this demand rested on the British Government, who in order to exploit the Indians, declared that media was one nation and started the majority and minority questions. They opened a flood of such stupendous propaganda that the question came to be regarded as a real problem, whereas, in fact, this question did not exist.

After the British, the Congress and the majority community were responsible for the Muslim demand for separation. The working of the provincial part of the Act of 1935 in Congress province's during the last three years had finally settled the question of separation. The

treatment that the minorities in these provinces had received at the hands of the majority needed no comment. The Muslims had now realized that their existence was in danger, and that if they wanted to maintain their identity, they must struggle for it.

Third and last, the responsibility was of those Muslims who tried to split the ranks of the Muslims by setting up rival organizations or joining the Congress or other non-Muslim political parties. Continuing, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman said that he differed from Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, when he said that because the Muslims were strong enough to defend themselves, they should not demand separation. He added that the responsibility of those Muslims who had damaged Muslim rights in India was great, for they were not only betraying the present generation, but the future generation also. If the Congress continued to act on the advice of Muslim Congressmen, there was sure to be a civil war in India.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

Supporting the resolution, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said that he was on this day feeling as if he was speaking from a free India. For a long period, he had been an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, and had been in the Congress for a number of years. During all this time, he had found that the Congress was not at all anxious to achieve freedom, but in fact wanted to suppress the minorities. The Congress had achieved its present high position as a result of the support Muslims lent it in the past, but now the Congress had adopted an indifferent attitude towards Muslims. He, as well as others of his school of thought, had been criticizing the Muslim League for not undertaking any constructive programme. Referring to the Congress proposal for a Constituent Assembly, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan reiterated that they would not accept any Constitution which had not been approved of and consented to by the Muslims of India.

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, said that he had the privilege of supporting the resolution which had been moved by the 'Lion of Bengal'. It should be considered calmly and dispassionately. He congratulated the Muslims living in Hindu provinces for lending their support to the resolution, which sought freedom for six crores of Muslims. Speaking for the Frontier, he said that his province was the gateway of India, and he was there to assure Muslims living in the Hindu provinces that they were ready at all times to lay down their lives for the sake of their coreligionists. The speaker expressed the opinion that it was absurd to declare the Muslims a minority community when, in four provinces of India, they were in a majority. Concluding, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan said, "We do not want British democracy, which is nothing but a counting of heads. Muslims are a separate nation; we want a home for the Muslim nation, and our home is as indicated in the resolution."

Sir Abdullah Haroon

Sir Abdullah Haroon said that it was a well-known fact that the Muslims came to India through Sind. The Muslims of Sind were the first to meet this question which was now before the League. In 1938, the Muslim League passed a resolution for establishing 'Independent States' in the north-western and the eastern zones. Since then, various constitutional schemes had been framed, and they were now being examined by a command that it was the duty of the Muslim to pass it without any hitch. Sir Abdullah Haroon warned the Hindus that if the Muslims in Hindu provinces were not justly treated, the Hindus in the Muslim Provinces would be treated in the same way in which Herr Hitler treated the Sudetans. The speaker hoped that the proposal embodied in the resolution would be acceptable both to-the Hindus and the British, as there was no better solution of the thorny problem.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan

Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, President of the Bihar Muslim League, supporting the resolution, said that he belonged to a minority province where the Musalmans did not enjoy freedom of speech. In this Session, which was being held in a free land, he had pleasure in speaking freely. He thanked the Muslim majority provinces for the offer of help to the Muslims of minority provinces if an attempt was made to suppress their rights; but he had full confidence in the ability of the Muslims of his own province to

defend themselves in the hour of need. Referring to Maulana Azad's presidential address, the Nawab said that he wanted to tell the Congress that Maulana Azad's voice was not the voice of the Muslims; it was Mr. Jinnah who truly reflected the Muslim opinion in India.

Mr. Mohammad Isa Khan

Mr. Mohammad Isa Khan assured his co-religionists in the Minority Provinces that, when they had achieved freedom in the Majority Provinces, they would not forget them, and would be prepared to render every kind of help in their power. He reminded the audience that, like the Musalmans of the N.W.F.P., the Musalmans of Baluchistan were also the gatekeepers of India, as they guarded the Bolan Pass. They were the trustees of a great charge, and he hoped that they would acquit themselves well in the eyes of their brethren in the Minority Provinces.

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan

Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Madras Assembly, declared that the All-India Muslim League had been carrying on its fight for the freedom of India for the last 4 years. In this struggle, they had cooperated with the Hindus in the hope that the freedom of India meant freedom for every inhabitant of this country. But their belief had been belied by the conduct of the Congress during, its regime of two and a half years in seven out of the 11 provinces. Mr. Abdul Hamid said that thanks to the Congress regime in these provinces, the Muslims had been awakened, and the Muslim League had been organized in every province. He expressed the hope that when the League prepared a new Constitution, the Muslims of Minority Provinces would be fully consulted.

Mr. Ismail Chundrigar

Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League party in the Bombay Assembly, declared that a Federation of the whole of India, in which the Musalmans would be in a hopeless minority, was entirely unacceptable to them. He maintained that the scheme embodied in the resolution was fair and just from all points of view. The Muslims were in no circumstances, prepared to support the Congress proposal for a Constituent Assembly wherein the Muslims would be in a minority of one to three. He recalled the appointment of the Rajkot Inquiry Committee, when Mr. Gandhi had expressed his willingness to take two Muslims on the Committee, on the condition that they should vote with the members of the Praja Parishad. Was this the sort of freedom which the Congress would give to the Muslims?

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, President of the C.P. Muslim League, said that he belonged to a province which had been the target of Congress oppression. In spite of the tyranny of the Congress Ministry, the Muslims did not lose patience. He asked his co-religionists not to worry about Muslims living in the Minority Provinces. They trusted in God that a day would come when they would also be free like their brethren in the Majority Provinces.

Dr. Mohammad Alam

Dr. Mohammad Alam, who had recently resigned from the Congress, was given a great ovation as he rose to support the resolution. He rebutted the notion that the scheme outlined in the resolution was a mere dream, and felt confident that it would be turned into a reality. He asserted that when a similar proposal was made by Bhai Parmanand in 1914-15, on behalf of the Ghadar Party, nobody characterized it as dream. Analyzing the position of the Congress, Dr. Alam said that the Congress did not want independence, but a Hindu Raj under the aegis of the British Government. This was why distinguished Muslim nationalists like Maulana Mohammed Ali had severed their connection with the Congress. It was not a fact, he asserted, that the Muslims had left the Congress; but, on the contrary, the truth was that the Congress had abandoned its original position, and given up its. goal of complete independence. Dr. Alam related how, before joining the League, he went to Delhi to meet Mr. Jinnah and enquire what sacrifice the Muslims League would be prepared to make to achieve the programme now outlined in the resolution. Mr. Jinnah assured him, continued Dr. Alam, that he would give his life

for it, and be the first to go to jail (thunderous cheers). Dr. Alam appealed to the Muslims to organize branches of the League in all districts, towns, villages and mohallas and to strengthen the hands of the Quaid-i-Azam.

All India Muslim Legislator's Delhi Convention

7-9 April 1946

- Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Address to Convention
- Text of the Delhi Resolution
- Speeches by the Prominent Leaders of All-India Muslim League
- The Pledge for Pakistan
- Quaid-i-Azam's Concluding Address

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Address to Convention*

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

You know that in the battle of elections that was raging for months all over India, by the grace of God and with your sweating labour we have won a victory for which there is no parallel in this world. Ladies

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 472-476). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

^{**} After 1946 elections in which Muslim League secured almost 90% seats, Muslim League Legislators' Convention was called at Delhi from 7th April to 9th April, 1946 attended by all prominent leaders of party. M.A Jinnah delivered address supporting strong arguments about a need of separate country for Muslims, he emphasized that "the acceptance of the demand of Pakistan is a sine qua non for the Muslim League cooperation in an Interim Government at the Centre". Later on a Subjects Committee was formed consisting of 10% of legislators from each province with task to formulate a resolution accordingly. Mr. Suharwadi moved Delhi Resolution on behalf of Subjects Committee. The resolution called for a separate sovereign independent State for Muslims comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India where the Muslims are in a dominant majority. The resolution was supported by various Muslim League leaders i.e. Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Sir Firoz Khan Noon etc. in their respective speeches. After the Resolution had been put to the vote, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan read out the pledge. Every member stood up during the reading and all had signed copies of the pledge; thus resolution was passed unanimously. In concluding address Quaid-i-Azam was optimistic enough that Muslims would win the demand of separate country with their courage and faith.

and Gentlemen, we had to fight against heavy odds, powerful organizations and all the manoeuvres and machinations of our enemies. But I am glad to say that we have routed our opponents in every battlefield. To-day this historic record stands, that we have captured something like 90 per cent of the Muslim seats, and you have gathered here to-day as the chosen legislative representatives of various constituencies all over India. This Convention is one the like of which has never taken place in the history of India.

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

Now you will have the opportunity of exchanging your view among yourselves. We have tried to lay down a practical programme; and the programme is that after my address to you, you form yourselves into a Subjects Committee—and each province will select

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada writes in the book Foundation of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947, Vol. II, pp. 311-313: The Muslim League Legislators Convention which was held in Delhi from April 7 to April 9, was the first of its kind in the political history of the Muslim nation of India.

Amidst scenes of tense expectancy and in a specially constructed pandal bedecked with Muslim national green flags, green buntings and green streamers bearing national slogans, the Muslim Legislators' Convention opened in the quadrangle of the Anglo-Arabic Hall, Delhi, on Sunday evening.

The Famous extract from the Quaid speech in which he had defined just why Muslims are a separate nation was inscribed in white letters on green cloth measuring some 24 feet by 24 feet, and this made a striking impact:

We are a nation of hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law, we are a nation.

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

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

The Congress position, according to the latest pronouncements of the leading spokesmen of the Congress during the course of this week, is this: In answer to the Muslim demand of Pakistan, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says: "The Congress can accommodate the Muslim

Two streamers stretched across either side of the dais read: "The road to freedom lies through Pakistan." And another read: "We are determined to fight till the last ditch for our rights in spite of the British or the Congress."

As the various provincial leaders arrived, they were given enthusiastic ovations, and the Quaid-i-Azam on arrival was led in a procession headed by Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Chief Salar of the Muslim National Guards, and members of the Working Committee and other leaders.

Among the visitors were four Akali leaders, including Gyani Kartar Singh whose arrival was greeted with enthusiasm. A large number of women visitors were also present. Some 200 journalists were present, representing the world press, and an entire wing was allotted to them. The Press Enclosure contained a number of women journalists, and most prominent among the large number of press photographers was a well-known woman photographer representing the American magazine, Life.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan explained that, as the Convention was an entirely new gathering, a formal Chairman had to be elected from amongitsmembers. Nawab Ismail Khan proposed and the Nawab of Mamdot seconded that the Quaid-i-Azam should take the Chair, which he did amidst acclamation.

League to the extent of reorganizing the provinces and giving the fullest autonomy possible to those areas in which the Muslims are predominantly in the majority." He goes on to say: "This would be subject to there being a strong Centre, which would be necessary for the defence of India as a whole." "The Congress", he adds, "would never agree to the idea of there being two nations, nor will it recognize nationality based upon religion."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on April 4, that the way to deal with the present situation was to see Indian independence clearly recognized and leave Indians to compose their differences and find a way out without interference. "It is always difficult to consider these differences in relation to the presence of a third party which controls the situation. When once it is clearly and definitely realized that India is going to function as an independent entity and that the people of India of various groups and communities must come to terms or unfortunately fight before they come to terms, then reality comes into the picture." He further goes on to say that he envisages, as the first stage after the recognition of independence, the creation of a

The Quaid-i-Azam wore a cream-coloured Sherwani, white Shalwar and the fur cap which is now widely known by his name.

After a recitation from the Quran, the Quaid-i-Azam rose to speak at exactly three minutes to six. He spoke in ringing tones which were carried to the remotest parts of the large Pandal packed to capacity through loud speakers which functioned excellently. At times the Quaid-i-Azam's voice became charged with a quiet passion of earnestness which produced a visible effect on the delegates and the visitors. At times he spoke in more subdued tones, and once or twice with devastating sarcasm, especially when he referred to the inducements in the shape of better trade facilities which Congress leaders, including Mr. Gandhi, were offering to the British for the purpose of an Anglo-Hindu deal.

Formulation of Subjects Committee

After the Quaid-i-Azam had delivered his speech, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan announced that a Subjects Committee would be formed consisting of 10percent of legislators in each province. The quota allotted was: Madras, Bombay 4, Bengal 14, United Provinces 8, Punjab 9, Bihar 4, C.P. and Berar 4, Assam 4, N.W.F.P. 4, Orissa 1, Sind 3, Central Assembly 10, Council of State 3. The elections then took place.

constitution-making body with sovereign authority. In another recent speech, he was good enough to offer a 'diluted Pakistan' under the suzerainty of a strong Central Congress Government.

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

But we have already got the reality in front of us, and it is foolish to shut our eyes and imagine that the Congress Interim Government or

The names of the members of the Subjects Committee are given below: Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Haji Esaak Sattar Seth, Mr. Moosa Killedar, Mr. Muhammad Nauman, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, and Captain Abid Hussain—as representatives from the Central Assembly.

Mr. Husain Imam, Mr. Mahmud Padsha, Mr. Abdul Razzak Sttar Seth, from the Council of State.

Bombay: Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, Mr. K.S.A.A. Khan, Mr. S.M. Hassan, Mr.AS. Sheikh.

Sind: Haji Ali Akbar Sahib, Agha Badruddin Sahib, Mr. Mahmud Haroon.

Punjab: Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Mian Iftikharuddin, Begum Shah Nawaz, Pir Sahib Makhad, Major Ashiq Hussain Qureshi, Choudhury Salamuddin.

Assam: Maulana Abdul Hamid, Mr. Saeed-ur-Rehman, Moulvi Munawar Ali, Moulvi Abdul Haji.

C.P: Syed Rauf Shah Sahib.

N.W.F.P: Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Colonel Nawab Sir Akbar Khan of Hoti, Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, Mr. Habibullah Khan.

U.P: Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Z.H. Lari, Begum Aijaz Rasul, Nawab Sir Muhammad Yousuf, Moulvi Aijaz Ahmad Khan, Mauiana Hasrat Mohani, Professor AB.A. Halim, Mr. S. Rizwanullah.

a decree, the writ and the fiat of the so-called constitution-making body of his conception, will command allegiance, respect and obedience. If such a proposal be given effect to and a Government of his dream is set up, it will not hold for 48 hours. It is inconceivable that this Fascist Grand Council should be vested with full powers immediately to decree the fate and destiny of 100 million people—the existing machinery in their hands to be used against 100 million Musalmans and other millions of minorities of and other interests involved. It seems that Congress does not realize how fantastic this proposal and scheme is, whatever you may call it.

On the other hand, the Muslim League proceeds on the basis of

Madras: Muhammad Ismail Sahib, Mr; K.M Khan Bahadur Doctor Tajuddin.

Bihar: Mr. Latifur Rehman, Mr. Tajammul Hussain, Mr. Abid, Mr. Jafar Imam.

Bengal: Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Mr. Abdul Hashim, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Mr. Hameed-ul-Haq, Mr. Fazl-ur-Rehman, Khan Bahadur Noor-ul-Amin, Khan Bahadur Sharfuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Muazzam Uddin Hussain, Maulana Baqi, Khan Bahadur Ghofran, Mr. Ahmad Hussain., Khan Bahadur Ahmad Ali, Mr. M.A.H. Isphahani.

The Subjects Committee of the Muslim League Legislators' Convention spent a busy day on Monday discussing the resolutions to be presented before the open session held on April 8.

The Committee commenced its work at 10:30 a.m. in one of the rooms of the Anglo-Arabic college, the Quaid presiding.

The morning session lasted for over four hours and adjourned at 2:45 p.m., to meet again at 7p.m. The evening session lasted for nearly one hour. All the time that the Subjects Committee was in - session, volunteers of the Muslim National Guard kept strict vigil in the vicinity of the room where it met, and no one was permitted beyond a line which had been drawn. A large number of League workers, spectators and pressmen had gathered and waited patiently for the leaders to come out. Although strict secrecy was maintained and no one was permitted within ear-shot and even eye-shot, occasional long/distance glances stolen through the glass window panes of the doors of the room showed that the Quaid-i-Azam was frequently on his legs, and his characteristic gestures with his hands showed that the Committee was at close grips with the problems under discussion. Quite a large number of the Committee took active part in the discussion, and some were seen to get up to speak on a number of occasions.

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, according to our formula, there would be two sovereign constitution-making bodies, one for Hindustan and the other for Pakistan, and it is the Pakistan constitution-making body which will be in a position to deal with defence or such other matters as may require adjustment, by virtue of contiguity, which will naturally arise. But all this can only be done by means of treaties and agreements between Pakistan and Hindustan.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah was in the Chair and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan called on Mr. Suhrawardy to move the resolution. (Ref: Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundation of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947, Vol. II, pp. 311-313,)

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

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

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

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

If, unfortunately, the British are stampeded by the threat of bloodshed, which is more a bluff than a reality, this time Muslim India is not going to remain passive or neutral. It is going to play its part and face all dangers. Mr. Nehru is greatly mistaken that there might be trouble, as he says, but not very much. He is still living in the atmosphere of 'Anand Bhawan'.

Equally, if the British fall a prey and are prepared to sell the Muslims for trade facilities, which are so profusely offered by the Congress leaders to them—and Mr. Gandhi has gone one better, as he has strongly expressed the view that they will be ready and willing to give 'preferences' to British goods. But they forget that the consumer has got a say in the matter, too, and not merely the Hindu capitalist patrons of the Congress, and that the largest consumers of British

goods are Muslims. I hope that the commercial tendencies of Britain will not stampede into such alluring promises and attractive preferential trade offers. In fact, the Congress is always in the habit of giving terms, but they only not mean to keep them, and they over-rule any commitment that may be made according to the circumstances that may suit the Congress.

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

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

We cannot agree to a single constitution-making body, because it will mean our signing our death-warrant and we cannot agree to consider any interim arrangement unless the Pakistan scheme is accepted as a *sine qua non*.

If any interim arrangement or constitution is forced upon us, we have no other course open to us but to resist it in every way possible. I am sure I say this on behalf of all of you, that we are prepared to sacrifice anything and everything, but we shall not submit to any scheme of government prepared without our consent. And if the British go to that length, they will be guilty of the grossest breach of faith and the solemn assurances that they gave us when they wanted our blood and money in the midst of war by their declaration of August 1940. It will be the last straw on the camel's back, and we shall bear it with courage and determination and resist it by all means if they betray us. God is with us because our course is righteous and our demand is just to both Hindus and Muslims inhabiting this great

Subcontinent, so we have nothing to fear. Let us march forward with complete unity amongst ourselves, as disciplined soldiers of Pakistan.

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

Text of the Delhi Resolution*

Whereas in this vast Subcontinent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies, and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma Philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid Caste System resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, the creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically;

Whereas, the Hindu Caste System is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;

Whereas, different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations;

Whereas, soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years' regime of Congress Governments in the

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^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 478-479). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Hindu majority provinces, under the Government of India Act 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and oppression, as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the Constitution and in the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors, and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a united Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims, even in majority provinces, would meet with no better fate, and their interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre:

Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to save Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East zone and the Punjab. North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West zone (Bold and Italics added);

This Convention of the Muslim League Legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose, and that any formula devised by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India which does not conform to the following just and equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and tranquility in the country, will not contribute to the solution of the Indian problem:

That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India, namely Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay (Bold and Italics added);

That two separate constitution-making bodies be set up

by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions;

That the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League Resolution passed on March 23, 1940, at Lahore;

That the acceptance of the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the *sine qua non* for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united-India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence.

Speeches by the Prominent Leaders of All-India Muslim League*

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Addressing the cheering multitude, Mr. Suhrawardy said that the historical Convention was holding its deliberations at a momentous period in Indian history, when Britain, on the one hand, and the people of India, on the other, were at the parting of ways.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there was no room for Muslims outside the League and for that Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan, whether he was "a renegade from Sind or the Punjab". Even the Congress Muslims from the N.W.F.P. were not against Pakistan, and probably they had already realized Pakistan there. He said: "Does not Malik Khizr Hayat say that he believes in Pakistan? I will ask him to join the League as a humble servant; and if he seeks honour, then why does he not seek it from his own people?"

Referring to the future of Muslims, Mr. Suhrawardy declared that nobody could stem the march of 100 million Muslims.

He said: "Britain wants to hand over power to the Indians and the Cabinet Mission is here to find out suitable machinery for the transfer of power."

He said Congress wanted power to suppress the aspirations of Muslims and other rising nationalities of India.

"The Congress", Mr. Suhrawardy continued, "was saying: hand over power to us. We shall sweep away all opposition. We shall suppress the Muslims. We shall bring the Scheduled Classes to heel, and we shall annihilate the Adibasis. Give up the police, your army and arms and we shall reproduce an Armageddon in the name of a

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 481-487). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

united India. This I call insanity induced by the lust for power."

"It would be sheer blindness if the Cabinet Mission decided to put the destiny of India in the hands of this murderous gang", he said.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that 100 million Muslims were a nation, but it would be incorrect to think that the 300 million people who are called Hindus were one nation. He pointed out that other suppressed communities, like the Scheduled Castes, were rising and claimed their rightful position in the Subcontinent of India.

"Is Pakistan our last demand?" he asked, and replied: "I will not attempt to give an answer. But that is our latest demand. I would like the Congress to recall that we in the past asked for much less, and we were prepared to accept the superior number of Hindus in a democratic constitution, but they turned down every one of our modest demands. Now there is nothing left for us except to demand separation. This is a fair and legitimate demand of ours."

"What next?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy. He said the Quaid-i-Azam says we will resist the imposition of a constitution unacceptable to us. I think that the cry of 100 million Muslims is: "We will resist." He continued: "We want to Jive in peace. We do not intend to start a civil war, but we want a land where we can live in peace."

He said that there were many Hindus who Look to the League for emancipation. What the Muslims wanted were only two comers in India at the present moment. "If you wage war against us," he said, "I am not prepared to forecast the future."

He said: "We are a nation, and we believe we have something to contribute to the civilization of the world."

Mr. Suhrawardy asserted that the Hindu masses had not been touched by the Congress ideology. The Congress represented the Hindu intelligent via who were vocal and voluble. On the one hand, they held out threats and, on the other, they were cooing like a dove.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that there were many Hindus who saw Pakistan as a solution of their ills, because Pakistan would be a heaven for the oppressed and the downtrodden.

Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was impossible for Muslims to rely on the goodwill of the Congress, and that that was why they demanded Pakistan.

"What is extravagant in the demand for Pakistan?" asked Mr. Suhrawardy.

He said that Muslims wanted two small corners in India where

Muslims were in the majority. Mr. Suhrawardy said that Muslims would accept nothing less than a sovereign State for the nation.

Mr. Suhrawardy said the question was whether the British or the Hindus were prepared to give Pakistan peacefully and with grace.

Mr. Suhrawardy said: "I have long pondered whether the Muslims are prepared to fight. Let me honestly declare that every Muslim of Bengal is ready and prepared to lay down his life."

Mr. Suhrawardy paid a warm tribute to the Muslims of the minority provinces, from whom originated the wave of Muslim freedom. He said that it was admirable that they were prepared to make sacrifices for Pakistan. But the Muslims of the majority provinces should be able to bear the brunt of the struggle.

Addressing the Quaid-i-Azam, he said: "I call upon you to test us. Muslims of Bengal are prepared to make every sacrifice for the great glory of Pakistan."

Referring to the problem of defence, Mr. Suhrawardy asked: "Defence against whom? He asked if Britain or U.S.A. could defend themselves alone. We do not think that as soon as we get Pakistan, we shall start a crusade of aggression and begin arming ourselves. Replying to the question of how Pakistan would defend itself against aggression from Hindustan, Mr. Suhrawardy said: "Leave us alone. We know how to defend ourselves."

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, who was repeatedly applauded during his Urdu speech, regretted that neither the British nor the Hindus tried to understand Muslims. He said that the gulf between Hinduism and Islam was so wide that it was impossible to build up one nation in India.

He said that the Hindus' treatment of Muslims and the Scheduled Castes was so unjust and disgraceful that their profession of being the nation could be clearly discerned as empty and hypocritical.

Giving the historical background of Pakistan, Choudhry Sahib said that after the *Khilafat* movement, Hindus were convinced that British power had become weaker, and began their efforts to become their successors. He said that Muslims have always been striving to retain

their separate existence; but the British Government always avoided this problem.

He said: "The British Government wanted to cripple the Muslims, and this helped the Hindus. After a great agitation, the Muslims succeeded in having separate electorates." He said that the Muslims have been striving ever since 1857 to maintain their existence, and the demand for Pakistan was the consummation of those aspirations.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that Pakistan was the last demand of the Muslims, and the Cabinet Delegation should accept it. Referring to the setting up of an interim Government at the Centre, he said that it would reduce the Constituent Assembly into a *tamasha*.

He declared that Muslims would resist the imposition of such a Government, and would make the establishment of Constituent Assembly impossibility.

He pointed out that once an interim Government was formed at the Centre, then the permanent Hindu majority would use all the powers of the State to suppress Muslims and other dissatisfied nationalities, and the Assembly would become a farce.

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman said that it was fortunate that the occasion of the final struggle for Pakistan had arisen in the lifetime of the man who had united the nation. He said: "Muslims will now decide their own destiny."

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman said that the Hindu Press was asking the Muslims of the minority provinces how they would benefit from the Pakistan which they were supporting. He said that Muslims were wise enough to decide what was good for them, and they needed no advice from the Hindu Press.

Choudhry Sahib said: "Hindus know that Pakistan is in the interest of Muslims of minority provinces, otherwise the lathis of the Hindu zemindar and the money of the Hindu capitalist would not have been used against us in the minority provinces."

Referring to Maulana Azad's statement that the Muslim League resorted to oppression to get votes, Choudhry Sahib said: "I and every Muslim Leaguer feel surprised about this discovery of Maulana Azad. But we should not be surprised because the statement is not addressed to us. It is a personal explanation which Maulana Azad has offered to the blackmarketeers and profiteers whose money he wasted in the elections."

Referring to the communiqué of the Bihar Government about Adibasis, Choudhry Sahib said it gives an idea of the way in which Congress Ministries will work this time.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said that in Aligarh there was some trouble, and two Ministers were sent to report. But while Muslim shops and houses were burnt in Kasgunj and the Mosque was set on fire, not even one Minister was sent there. He added: "This time the Congress Ministries have come into power with more murderous intentions than in 1937."

Choudhry Sahib said that the desire for Pakistan was intense amongst Muslims; and even Mr.G.M. Syed, Malik Khizr Hayat and Dr. Khan Sahib did not say that they were against Pakistan. He said: "I have heard that Dr. Khan Sahib, in reply to the Cabinet Ministers 'question, whether he wanted a united India, he said he wanted a united world."

In reply to another question, whether he would stay in N.W.F.P. if Pakistan was established there, he is reported to have replied: "How can I separate myself from my people?"

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said: "We do not give threats of civil war like Sardar Patel, but we want to say that it may be easy for the Congress to get the Government, but very difficult to retain it."

He said: "If disturbances start in the country, Muslims would not lag behind anybody in the game. Mr. Gandhi used to say, "Muslims are *goondas*, while Hindus are cowards, and everybody knows that a *goonda* can make more mischief than a coward."

Addressing the Quaid-i-Azam, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman said:

"We will lay down our lives for Pakistan. We are awaiting the order."

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, congratulated the Muslims of the minority provinces for joining their Muslim brethren in their struggle for Pakistan. There was no Muslim who did not believe in Pakistan. Even Malik Khizr Hayat Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib were not against it.

The Sind Premier said that Hindus were not democrats; and had they not been in a majority, they would not have demanded a democratic government. He referred to the intrigues of the Congress in Sind, and said that educated Hindus have accepted the leadership of four Muslims to hoodwink the Muslims. They have accepted as their leaders people who had not even been to school.

The Sind Premier said that elections have proved that 90 percent Muslims were with the League, and were determined to achieve Pakistan. He said that Muslims would get Pakistan in spite of strong opposition. He declared: "We shall not accept anything less than Pakistan. Every man in Sind will resist the imposition of a government unacceptable to Muslims with all possible means."

Sir Muhammad Saadullah

Sir Muhammad Saadullah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assam Assembly, said that Muslims were the largest single community in Assam. He said that Assam was a poor province and had no High Court, Medical College or Engineering College and looked towards Bengal for help. "Apart from this", he continued, "Assam's physical situation is such that it leaves no alternative to Assam but to join Pakistan."

Syed Rauf Shah

Syed Rauf Shah, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the C.P. Assembly, declared that Muslims of C.P. would make every sacrifice for Pakistan. He said, "Delhi had been the burial ground of many an

Empire, and we have gathered here to bury the dreams of a united India forever."

The Nawab of Mamdot

The Nawab of Mamdot, who was lustily cheered as he walked to the rostrum, called upon the British to concede Pakistan and quit India.

He said: "We are asked how we will defend Pakistan. I would say that if stalwart soldiers of the Punjab could defend Britain against Nazi aggression, they can also defend their own hearths and homes."

The Nawab of Mamdot declared that Pakistan was the last demand of the Muslims, and Muslims would not rest until they had achieved it.

He said: "Whenever the Punjab Muslims showed signs of awakening from their slumber, they were given sleeping doses."

This time Sir Bertrand Glancy also gave sleeping doses to Muslims in the form of *Murabbas* (squares of land) and Jagirs (laughter). He sometimes gave as many as 20 *Murabba* doses to some Muslims, but he failed. "All the Muslims", he said, "who were elected to the Assembly, including the Unionists, supported Pakistan."

The Nawab of Mamdot declared, amidst loud applause, that they were prepared to sacrifice hundreds of Ministries for Pakistan. He gave a detailed account of the intrigue of the Glancy-Azad-Khizr Axis against the formation of the League Ministry in the Punjab.

Mr. I.I. Chundrigar

Supporting the resolution moved by Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Mr. I.I. Chundrigar, leader of the League Party in the Bombay Assembly, declared that if million Irishmen could tell the British Government that they were not prepared to join a Parliament in which they would be in a perpetual minority, then 100 million Muslims certainly have the right to claim a separate existence for themselves.

He said that a government imposed on unwilling people cannot be

secure, and pointed out that in Yugoslavia a Central Government was imposed upon the various nationalities, but the whole structure of the State collapsed when the crisis of war came.

Mr. Chundrigar said that Muslims in the minority provinces supported Pakistan because a Muslim State would thereby be established in the Subcontinent, and it would create a balance of power between Hindustan and Pakistan.

Mr. Chundrigar added that it was a mockery to talk of an Indian nation when one people did not take water from another people's hand, and did not inter-dine or inter-marry.

Mr. Chundrigar added that a balance of power was the best safeguard for the minorities. When there was Hindu rule in the Deccan, the Muslims were oppressed, and similarly when there was Muslim rule there, the Hindus did not always feel happy. But when in the Deccan there was, side by side, a Muslim Nizam and a Mahratta power neither oppressed its minorities.

That was what would happen when Pakistan and Hindustan existed side by side as sovereign States: neither would oppress its minorities.

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the N.W.F.P. Assembly, declared amidst thunderous applause, that if the British Government imposed a Central Government upon Muslims, there would be no alternative for them but to take to the sword and rebel against the British Government.

He said: If 'Quit India' means that the British would withdraw immediately and Hindus and Muslims will be allowed to decide the future, then I say that Muslims are prepared to settle. But the fact is that the Hindus do not want that the British should withdraw immediately. They want the British to stay long enough to allow them to suppress the Muslims with the help of the British Army, Navy and Air Force.

"It cannot happen," he said, adding: "Thank God, we have one flag, one leader, one platform and one ideal, Pakistan, to fight for. We are only waiting for the final order to do whatever is considered necessary for the attainment of Pakistan."

He condemned Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Congress Leader, for his opposition to the League, and said: "His name will go down in history as one of the Muslims who, at this hour of trial of the Muslim nation, tried to stab us in the back."

The people in the tribal areas who were all armed, he said, were for Pakistan. Muslims, he said, were enthusiastic; and during his, Journey to Delhi, he was asked by many Muslims, students and men in uniform, as to when "marching orders would be given by the Quaidi-Azam."

Referring to the problem of defence, he said that if Transjordan, with a population of lakhs could be declared a sovereign State, then Pakistan could also be established.

He said: "If the British Government is stampeded by the promises of trade preferences and other considerations, then I hope that the Muslim nation will gather together and strike swiftly, so that a Central Government may never be established."

Concluding he said: "We are not indulging in any threats against the Congress or the Hindus. But if the British force the setting up of a Government of the *Akhand* Hindustan type, and if they decide that there should be one Constituent Assembly, then the Muslims will have no other alternative but to take to the sword and rebel against it."

Mr. Muhammad Ismail

Mr. Muhammad Ismail, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Madras Assembly, said that India had never been one, and even to-day there were hundreds of states. Referring to the Quaid-i-Azam's declaration that he would be the first man to face bullets for the sake of Pakistan, he said that the bullet will have to travel first through the chests of 100 million Muslims before it could touch the Quaid-i-

Azam.

Ismail Sahib referred to the various conceptions of Islam and Hinduism, and said that the gulf between the two was so wide that it was impossible to evolve a common nationality in India.

Begum Aizaz Rasul

Speaking next, on behalf of the women delegates, Begum Aizaz Rasul of U.P. described the Convention as a unique occasion in the history of Islam. She referred to the part which women had played in the elections, and said that everywhere she had seen a great awakening among the women and girls who did not want to lag behind in the freedom struggle of their nation.

"Every child in every Muslim home is being brought up in the spirit of Pakistan", she said, "and women will make their share of sacrifices if bloodshed comes. They are no longer sleeping, and are just as impatient as their menfolk to discharge their responsibilities to the nation to which they belong."

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, coming to speak next, was given an ovation. "I represent the martial clans of Pakistan who do not believe in words but in action", he said.

"They will fight till death if any attempt is made to subject their nation to the domination of anyone else. I speak for the Punjabi soldier, and I say that three-quarter million demobilized soldiers in the Punjab are pledged to achieve Pakistan. They talk of defence, but I ask: What will defence avail if a hundred million people are discontented?"

Continuing, the Sardar said: "Britain asks us: 'Can we defend ourselves?' Let there be a test, let us be given a chance here and now, when the British are still here and a Congress Government rules the Punjab."

Turning to Mr. Jinnah, Sardar Shaukat Hayat said: "You, sir, are holding us back, and we beg of you to give the word of command. Let us prove to the doubting how we can and how we mean to defend our Pakistan."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon

Next to speak was Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who said: "Neither the Hindus nor the British know yet how far we are prepared to go in order to achieve Pakistan. We are on the threshold of a great tragedy.

"The problem of defence is set forth as an argument against Pakistan. I am convinced that it is not the defence of Pakistan which they are afraid of, but the defence of *Akhand* Hindustan. They want us to remain in *Akhand* Hindustan because they want to use the army of Pakistan to defend them."

He asked if New Zealand, with a population of less than 2 million, and Australia, with a population less than 7 million, should be free and defend themselves, why should not Pakistan, with a population of over 70 million, will be able to defend itself? The majority of the combatant personnel in the Indian armed forces came from the Punjab, and the problem of defence and protection rose only in the case of Hindustan, he said.

Similarly, it was said, continued Sir Firoz, that Pakistan would be economically weak, but why was Britain now, for nearly a year, begging of the door of the USA for a loan?

"If Britain cannot do without the economic help of the U.S.A., why should there not be an *Akhand* U.S.-Englistan? Instead of trying this 'unity' in their own countries, why do Englishmen want to make us the sole recipients of their affection?"

Continuing, he said: "Even if we have to die fighting. We shall see that our children will never be slaves of *Akhand* Hindustan.

"I tell you that if we do not get Pakistan, after 20 or 30 years, no Muslim in *Akhand* Hindustan will dare to give a Muslim name to his son."

"Russia at San Francisco declared that from then onwards, the freedom of the oppressed peoples of Asia was going to be its concern. We are con fronted with the problem of defence. Defence against whom? If the Hindus give us freedom, they are our friends. If the British give us freedom, they are our friends. If neither of them gives us freedom, Russia is our friend. I warn them of a great new surge of sentiment that is rising even among the big landlords of the Punjab. Communism is spreading, and as for myself, if I have to lose every rupee that I possess—if that is the only way to salvation and freedom for the Musalmans — I am prepared to lose it."

Turning to the standard of living in the country, Sir Firoz said that in Pakistan that standard was much higher than in the Far East or the Middle East. Attempts were being made to impoverish the Musalmans, and *Akhand* Hindustan would mean their economic ruin.

"Things are so manipulated to-day that machinery is not allowed to go into Pakistan. As a former Member of the Government of India, I know that machinery worth crores of rupees has been imported into India during the war, but not one bit has been allowed to go into Pakistan.

"Unless you have political, economic and religious freedom, you will in 40 years be serfs in worse plight than the Scheduled Castes.

"With this Hindu mentality, and this Shuddhi Movement, if you fall into this trap and lose political power, you will lose something dearer than life itself-your faith.

"If Britain sells our freedom to gain the trade of *Akhand* Hindustan, if the British force on us an *Akhand* Government, the destruction and havoc which Muslims will cause, will put to shame the deeds of Halaku Khan and Chengiz Khan, and the responsibility for this will be Britain's.

Sir Firoz paid glowing tribute to Mr. Jinnah, and said that if Mr. Jinnah had belonged to any other country, then that country would have followed him "101 percent". He continued: "There is a man who can give them freedom to-day, but they will not take it from him because he is a Musalman."

Begum Shah Nawaz

Begum Shah Nawaz next made an eloquent speech. She described how Muslim women had steeled their hearts, and cited the instance of a mother in the Punjab whose son had been stabbed to death by Ahrars.

When Begum Shah Nawaz went to see her, she said: "I have given my son to the nation." Muslim women were prepared for all sacrifices and were anxious to be put to the test.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan said the resolution he was supporting was nothing new. The elections had been fought on this principle. He said that not a single non-League Muslim had fought the election on any other issue than Pakistan and they had told their voters so.

The Muslim League, the Raja Sahib added, was the greatest democratic institution, and it was a man's worth and conviction that counted, not the manner of his dress, for instance, which was so important to the Congress.

"If the Quaid-i-Azam does not remain a two anna member of the League, he will cease to be a leader of the League, but look at the Congress dictator." Referring to the "mild phraseology of the resolution", the Raja Sahib said that those who meant business did not shout loudly. They acted; whereas those who wanted to bluff and bluster but did not mean to act, used strong language.

Mr. Abdul Hashim

Mr. Abdul Hashim, General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, described Mr. Jinnah as the world's greatest realist, and said that where justice and equity failed, shining steel would decide the issue.

The Muslims of India, he said, were not only fighting for their own emancipation, but to establish permanent peace and tranquility in the world. The struggle for *Akhand* Bharat was a struggle for exploitation,

domination and injustice. He said that Bengal was ready for any action that might be taken for the achievement of Pakistan. (After this speech the resolution was put to vote by Mr. Jinnah, and was passed unanimously.

"Any one against?" asked Mr. Jinnah.

"None!" said the whole House with one voice.)

The Pledge for Pakistan*

After the Resolution had been put to the vote and carried unanimously, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan read out the pledge. Every member stood up during the reading. All had signed copies of the pledge; and when the reading was finished, with a sincere, solemn Amen, every member signified his acceptance of it:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, say: My prayer and my sacrifice and my living and dying are all for Allah, the Lord of the worlds." (Quran)

I, a member of the Muslim League Party of the Legislative Assembly Council, do hereby solemnly declare my firm conviction that the safety and security, and the salvation and destiny of the Muslim Nation, inhabiting the Subcontinent of India lies only in the achievement of Pakistan, which is the one equitable, honourable and just solution - of the constitutional problem, and which will bring peace; freedom and prosperity to the various nationalities and communities of this great Subcontinent.

I most solemnly affirm that I shall willingly and unflinchingly carry out all the directions and instructions which may be issued by the All-India Muslim League in pursuance of any movement launched by it for the attainment of the cherished national goal of Pakistan, and, believing as I do in the rightness and the justice of my cause, I pledge myself to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice which may be demanded of me.

Our Lord bestows on us endurance and keep our steps firm and help us against the disbelieving people—Amen.

(As it was nearing 2 a.m., Mr. Jinnah said that there had been sufficient discussion on the resolution, and be placed it before the Convention for its acceptance. The resolution was passed unanimously, amidst loud cheers.)

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 487-488). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Quaid-i-Azam's Concluding Address*

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

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

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

"I do not want to hurt their feelings; for after all, what is the use? And they do not count, but they might at least keep quiet now. Quite obviously they cannot; they have to do what they are doing; it is a case of the 'master's voice'. "They do not count, and I say on this platform, without fear of contradiction, that Muslim India is one and Pakistan is our demand.

"As I said, I also belong to a minority province, but let 70 millions of our brethren establish their 'Raj'. But it is not only that. If there is any safeguard known in the world for minority provinces, the most effective safeguard is the establishment of Pakistan. The present

^{*} S. S. Pirzada (Ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan* (First ed., Vol. II, pp. 488-490). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University.

Constitution has safeguards also, but are paper safeguards any good?

"What will you do if, after *Akhand* Hindustan is established, they want to change the Constitution? Who will prevent them? Five years or 10 years, and then if they do away with separate electorates—what then? They will get stronger and stronger, and you will get weaker, and all safeguards will be blotted out one by one.

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

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

"We have taken this oath now—Ministries are nothing merely a playpen under a nurse."

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

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

"And yet, we have done wonders. In five years our renaissance has been a miracle of achievement. I begin to think it has been a dream.

How rapidly the nation is developing that character again in its pristine nobility! Our men, our women, our children—they think, talk and act differently now."

Referring to the large body of women present, Mr. Jinnah said: "No nation achieves anything unless its women go side by side with men—even to the battlefield (Bold and Italics added)."

Taking a long pause, Mr. Jinnah concluded: "Is Britain going to decide the destiny of 100 million Muslims? No. Nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic Convention full of hope, courage and faith. Insha'Allah we shall win."

Address by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

(On 11 August, 1947 to 1st Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi*)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me — the greatest honour that it is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer — by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty subcontinent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regards to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of a revolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any

^{*} Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48 (Second ed.). (2012). Islamabad, Pakistan: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this — remember that you are now a Sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this. One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering — I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse — is bribery and corruption. (Hear, hear.) That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that blackmarketeers are frequently caught and punished. According to our judicial sentences are passed, and sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and or the essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of food-stuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death. The next thing that strikes me is this. Here again is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things good and bad, has arrived this great evil — the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of Indian and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the questions of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the wellbeing of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities — the Hindu community and the Muslim community — because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalese, Madrasis and so on will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance

in the way of India to attain its freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 millions souls in subjection; no body could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, no body could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this. (Applause) Therefore we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Hear, hear). As you know, history shows that in England conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India to-day. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. (Loud applause) The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist: what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen, of Great Britain and they are all members of the nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-

operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world. (Loud applause)

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

On the occasion of of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

Address by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

(On 14 August, 1947 at the Inauguration of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi*)

Your Excellency, I thank His Majesty the King on behalf of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and myself for his gracious message. I know great responsibilities lie ahead, and I naturally reciprocate his sentiments and we are grateful for his assurance of sympathy and support, and I hope that you will communicate to His Majesty our assurance of goodwill and friendship for the British nation and himself as the Crown head of the British.

I thank you for your expressions of goodwill and good wishes for the future of Pakistan. It will be our constant endeavor to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that everyone would be inspired by the idea of public service, and they will be imbued with the spirit of co-operation and will excel in their political and civic virtues which go to make a great nation and help to advance its greatness.

I once more thank you and Lady Mountbatten for your kindness and good wishes. Yes, we are parting as friends and sincerely hope that we shall remain friends.

I wish to emphasize that we appreciate the spirit in which those in

^{*} Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah made speech in response to last Viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten at the Inauguration of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi. Reference: Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48 (Second ed.). (2012). Islamabad, Pakistan: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. pp. 154-157

the Government service at present and in the Armed Forces and others have so willingly and ungrudgingly volunteered themselves provisionally to serve Pakistan. As servants of Pakistan we shall make them happy and they will be treated equally with our nationals. The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslim is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (PBHU) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practiced.

Finally, I thank you for your good wishes for Pakistan, and I assure you that we shall not be wanting in friendly spirit with our neighbors and with all nations of the world.

Pakistan — Birth of a Nation

"The creation of the new State has placed a tremendous responsibility on the citizens of Pakistan. It gives them an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how can a nation, containing many elements, live in peace and amity and work for the betterment of all its citizens, irrespective of caste or creed."

"Our object should be peace within and peace without. We want to live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large. We have no aggressive designs against any one. We stand by the United Nations Charter and will gladly make our full contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world."

"This day marks the end of a poignant phase in our national history and it should also be the beginning of a new and a noble era. Let us impress the minorities by word, deed and thought that as long as they fulfil their duties and obligations as loyal citizens of Pakistan, they have nothing to fear."

"Today is Jummat-ul-Wida, last Friday of the holy month of Ramazan, a day of rejoicing for all of us wherever we may be in this vast sub-continent and for the matter of that throughout the world. Let the Muslim congregations in their thousands, in all the mosques, bow in all humility before the Almighty and thank Him for His eternal kindness and generosity, seeking His guidance and assistance in the task of making Pakistan into a great state and themselves into its worthy citizens."

"Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come for all wholeheartedly." *

^{*} Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48 (Second ed.). (2012). Islamabad, Pakistan: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. pp. 55-56

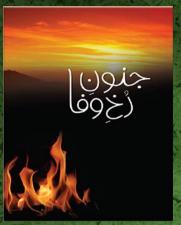
"The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State — to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims—Hindus, Christians, and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan "**

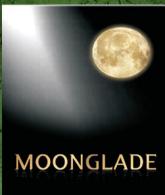
^{**} On 1st February, 1948, at the Radio Broadcast to the People of the United States of America. Reference: Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48 (Second ed.). (2012). Islamabad, Pakistan: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. *P. 157*.

"I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages, of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contended people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."***

^{***} On 1st July, 1948 at the occasion of the Opening Ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan. Reference: Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48 (Second ed.). (2012). Islamabad, Pakistan: Directorate General of Films & Publications, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. P. 271.

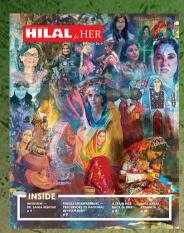
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